

Notes

1 Introduction: Green Consumerism, Green Labelling?

1. In Chapter 3, we elaborate on the definition of eco-standards and green labelling.
2. There are many such studies. See, for instance, Boström et al., 2005; Klinton & Boström, 2006. Harrison et al. (2005) discuss the notion of 'the ethical consumer', and a number of articles investigate behaviours, beliefs, and attitudes of consumers. Similar types of studies are found, for example, in Zaccai, 2007; Batte et al., 2007; and Teisl et al., 2002. It should be mentioned, however, that the above-mentioned volumes also include analyses of institutional and other circumstances behind green or ethical consumerism, which are important sources used in this book. Furthermore, Gallastegui (2002) uses a broader perspective by including the relevance of eco-labels from the marketers' perspective, whereas Grankvist et al. (2004) compare consumer preferences with regard to negative vs. positive labels. McEachern and Schroder (2004) study the potential for consumers to express their views about eco-labelling.
3. This use of the term epistemic relativism is borrowed from the school of critical realism (see, e.g., Bhaskar 1989, p. 23; Soper, 1995; Sayer, 2000). A basic idea of this school is that, whereas all beliefs are socially and historically conditioned and thus subject to change, there are often rational criteria for judging some explanations as being better and more useful than others. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that our choice of certain concepts from critical realism does not mean that we refrain from taking a strong position in the endless realist–constructionist debate, nor does it imply that moderate versions of social constructionism could not offer equally useful conceptual tools.
4. We have studied US and Swedish organic food labelling, supplemented with other Northern European examples, to an equal degree. In the cases of forestry and electricity, we have had a certain imbalance between our own Swedish/European and our US data. For the US forestry case, we use only secondary data. In the fishery and paper cases, we use rich primary data, but they refer mainly to the Swedish context. As to our case of green mutual funds, the balance has been equal between our interviews across the continents. Yet, the main part of this case consists of a comprehensive review of green mutual funds internationally, and of the body of research on the subject. We have been conscious of all the asymmetries that have led us to make comprehensive collections of secondary data. Moreover, by being part of the international research communities on environmental sociology, consumer studies and standardization, we have received a great deal of help from our foreign colleagues with more thorough experience of our cases in

their respective countries. Previous publications from our case studies are mentioned in Chapter 2.

5. For an extensive analysis of the adversarial policy climate in the United States, with focus on the consumer role as political, see Cohen (2003).
6. The various documents have, of course, been essential sources of facts and figures about various aspects of the labelling schemes and their organizational arrangements. Moreover, the documents have enabled an analysis of public statements, positions, and arguments from various labelling stakeholders. The interviews in our study are crucial complements to the document analysis. We have conducted 120 interviews, lasting from 30 minutes to 2 hours and 30 minutes and comprising both specific and general questions. In addition to our interviews with consumers, we selected informants with extensive experience in dealing with issues in their respective fields, thereby enabling us to make use of their specific expertise. The informants were asked to give an adequate and balanced picture of the general views, attitudes, understandings, and conflicts about labelling issues in the organizations they represented. Accordingly, the informants we chose had to be well aware of their own professional network and organizational setting (often as directors, board members, and managers). We designed a specific interview guide for each interview (questions specific for the organization), although a set of general questions was addressed in most interviews. For example, we asked questions about access: whether they believed that certain actors – themselves or others – had been excluded from or included in the labelling practice and whether certain ideas and issues have been included or excluded. Key questioning themes concerned the interaction processes: for example, (a) whether the labelling project had been marked by conflict or a collaborative atmosphere; (b) whether it had led to common understandings and expectations or whether disagreements and controversies had continued or even increased; and (c) whether the distribution of roles among stakeholders in the labelling arrangement was regarded as fair and reasonable. There were also questions about strengths and weaknesses in the labels. Some interviewees had substantial knowledge of such contextual factors as existing regulations to which the labelling was related. In-depth interviews were conducted until the data indicated saturation, which is the established criterion for choosing the number of interviews.
7. The case of green mutual funds has been a bit more difficult to study 'backstage' than the other cases, due to the partial business secrecy surrounding the development of new green mutual funds. Therefore, we have supplemented a more limited number of interviews with observations of meetings involving NGOs, funds companies, and governmental agents in the United States and Sweden.

2 The Historical Context – Key Trends

8. Such guides still exist, for example, *The Good Shopping Guide* (Berry & McEachern, 2005; see <http://www.thegoodshoppingguide.co.uk/>, accessed 2008).

9. Ahrne & Brunsson (2004b) maintain that rules are useful tools for (1) influencing and governing actors; (2) facilitating interaction and coordination among actors; and (3) establishing and maintaining identity and status relative to others.

3 Green Labels and Other Eco-Standards:

A Definition

10. We here echo Bowker & Star's (1999) claim that even seemingly neutral classifications – in our case technical details of green standardization criteria – create advantages for parts of nature, groups of animals or people, and disadvantages or suffering for others. This makes virtually all classification carry a moral weight. In turn, it becomes important for the researcher to analyse norms of classifications, and to suggest alternative normative principles.
11. The Blue Angel is a voluntary third-party scheme with the German Federal Environmental Agency and a multi-stakeholder forum, the Environmental Label Jury, in the governance arrangement. The jury makes room for a wide range of stakeholders, including consumer and environmental NGOs, industry, churches, and scientists. The Blue Angel sets out to label best environmental choice within markets for products and services (e.g., paper, computers, washing machines, public transport, car sharing).

4 The Consumers' Role: Trusting, Reflecting or Influencing?

12. In the case of fair-trade coffee, the magazine claims that 'the low price of commodities such as coffee is due to overproduction, and ought to be a signal to producers to switch to growing other crops. Paying a guaranteed Fairtrade premium – in effect, a subsidy – both prevents this signal from getting through and, by raising the average price paid for coffee, encourages more producers to enter the market. This then drives down the price of non-Fairtrade coffee even further, making non-Fairtrade farmers poorer.'
13. Firstly, we have shown elsewhere that most consumers are interested in more aspects of products than merely product quality and price (Klintman et al., 2008; Ekelund & Tjärnemo, 2004). Thus, there appear to be hidden groups of green political consumers that are not found if the questions are formulated too narrowly. Secondly, depending on how green consumers are defined – as those who consciously follow green 'principles' or have a low negative environmental impact – two distinctly different consumer groups are found (Klintman & Boström, 2006). Thirdly, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to separate green consumer choices that have been made out of self-interest or green interest, particularly in the food sector. Fourthly, what are seen as 'political' and 'green' consumer choices are largely based on differences in culture across countries. Eco-labelling and fair-trade labelling are currently highly relevant in Northern Europe, whereas labelling is less common in several other regions, for instance Southern Europe. In the latter countries,

local and domestic production may be intertwined with green and political consumption in a particularly strong way (see Kjaernes et al., 2007). Finally, research on green and political consumerism typically focuses on daily products, which are still largely the responsibility of the woman in the household. Thus, it remains to be seen in future studies whether a larger focus on painting, construction tools, and chemicals used in automobile maintenance can give a more nuanced view of male consumer patterns.

14. Research on such comprehensive consumption issues usually takes place in studies of lifestyles, household practices and in public opinion polls (e.g., Mont & Bleischwitz, 2007; Lindén & Carlsson-Kanyama, 2001). Combining theoretical frameworks of political consumerism with these other research perspectives could most likely generate fruitful research for the future.

5 Our Cases

15. Our case studies on organic food labelling are documented in various reports, articles, and book chapters; for instance Boström & Klintman, 2003; Klintman & Boström, 2004; Boström & Klintman, 2006a; Boström, 2006a; Klintman, 2002a, b; Klintman, 2006.
16. See <http://www.demeter.net/>, accessed 3 January 2008.
17. Source: KRAV's annual review for 2006. Electronically available at www.krav.se.
18. Our case studies on forest certification are documented in various reports, articles, and book chapters; for instance Boström, 2002, 2003b, and 2006a. For the US case we have used secondary literature, and particularly the work of Cashore et al. (2004) has been important.
19. See http://www.fsc.org/en/about/policy_standards/princ_criteria, accessed 21 December 2007.
20. Source: FSC News + Notes, Vol. 5(10), December 2007.
21. Calculated based on information retrieved from http://www.fsc.org/keepout/en/content_areas/92/1/files/2007_11_23_FSC_Certified_Forests.pdf, accessed 21 December 2007.
22. The general FSC Principles and Criteria were further concretized in region-specific standards across the United States.
23. Our case studies on GM labelling debates are documented in various articles and book chapters; for instance Klintman, 2002a and 2002b.
24. Since this Directive, two regulations have been introduced: one on mandatory labelling and traceability (EC) 1830/2003 and one on GM food and feed (EC) 1829/2003.
25. Aside from mandatory GM labelling, however, there are clear signs that EU regulators and agbiotech opponents are partly moving in different directions. According to Levidow and Boschert, this is reflected in the strong variation of 'agricultural development frames' and 'coexistence frames' (how GM and non-GM agriculture could coexist) across EU regulators and agbiotech opponents (Levidow & Boschert, 2008:179).
26. Our case study on marine certification is documented in various reports, articles, and book chapters; for instance Boström, 2004b, 2006b.

27. The main part of our research on the electricity case is based on unpublished research conducted in 2004–2007 by Mikael Klintman with the assistance of Erika Jörgensen.
28. <http://www.green-e.org/>, accessed 12 October 2007.
29. <http://www.epa.gov/greenpower/aboutus.htm>, accessed 12 October 2007.
30. http://www.energystar.gov/index.cfm?c=about.ab_milestones, accessed 17 March 2008.
31. <http://www.energystar.gov/>, accessed 17 March 2008.
32. For instance, the RES Directive (2001/77/EC) aims to increase the share of electricity produced from renewable sources from 13.9 per cent in 1997 to 22.1 per cent in 2010 (EU, 2001). Eco-labelling schemes of various kinds, and at various administrative levels, are among several strategies to reach this goal. Yet, voluntary eco-labelling of electricity in the EU has a rather marginal position in the European portfolio of policy instruments. Other policy instruments that have gained a more central position include CO₂ emissions trading and green certificates (see Gan, 2007, p. 152). The EU Directive 2003/54/EC (EU, 2003) concerns common rules for the internal market in electricity. That directive states that suppliers of electricity must provide information about the energy sources for their electricity production and the environmental impacts (at least emissions of CO₂). This is the basic transparency requirement that electricity with a green label rests upon.
33. <http://www.energylabels.org.uk/eulabel.html>, accessed 11 October 2007.
34. For an overview of electricity with a green label in other European countries, see <http://www.greenlabelspurchase.net/en-gps.html>, accessed 12 October 2007.
35. See, for instance, Micheletti's case study on this labelling programme (2003, pp. 122 ff.).
36. Part of our research on the case of SRI funds is based on an unpublished research paper by Beatrice Bengtsson and Mikael Klintman in the spring of 2007.
37. In practice, these as well as other types of screens are usually combined and exercised in different steps. They rest on a qualitative rather than a quantitative type of analysis.
38. <http://www.unpri.org/signatories/>, accessed 17 October 2007.
39. http://www.ftse.com/Indices/FTSE4Good_Index_Series/index.jsp, accessed 20 November 2007.
40. <http://www.sustainability-indexes.com/>, accessed 20 November 2007.
41. The European level is not the main level for organizing or screening of SRI funds. Such practices as the launching of sustainability indexes, along with organizing and screening of SRI funds, take place to a large extent at the intercontinental level as well as within countries. Still, the European level is also significant. Although it is not an administrative part of the European Union, the European Social Investment Forum (Eurosif) is a pan-European non-profit group that consists of pension funds, financial service providers, academic institutes, research associations, and NGOs. The members are made up of Social Investment Forums (SIFs) in a number of European countries.
42. <http://www.csrwire.com/sb/article.cgi/3197.html>, accessed 20 November 2007.

43. This case study was conducted by research assistant Sofia Nilsson, supervised by Magnus Boström, and was reported in Nilsson (2005).
44. According to SIS Miljömärkning AB, the organization responsible for the Nordic Swan, 85 per cent of the public in the Nordic countries know what that label stands for (see <http://www.svanen.nu/Broschyter/VemLyssnarDuPa.pdf>, accessed 28 September 2007).

6 Sceptical and Encouraging Arguments

45. See <http://www.ota.com/about/accomplishments.html>, accessed 4 January 2008.
46. See, for example, the Rural Advancement Foundation International's website: <http://www.rafiusa.org/> (accessed 17 January 2003); and the Organic Consumers Association's website: <http://organicconsumers.org> (accessed 17 January 2003).

7 Policy Contexts and Labelling

47. On the most general level, we may expect green labelling initiatives to take place only in countries with established market systems. While we see markets in all societies, not all societies embrace or contain market systems. A market system is a 'system of society wide coordination of human activities not by central command but by mutual interactions in the form of transactions [between buyers and sellers]' (Lindblom, 2001, p. 4). To be sure, we can see, as an example, that fair-trade certification has been developed in several developing countries without established internal market systems. Yet, it is the market dynamics in developed countries that explains these fair-trade labelling initiatives. A supporting condition – albeit not a necessary one – is the existence of democratic political systems (representative democracy) in the country concerned. Although green labelling exists also in countries with very weak democratic traditions, reliance on global markets is fundamental, and basic democratic structures in the countries where the initiatives are taken appear to be an important factor explaining the initiatives. Not least of all, democratic traditions foster political activism, including environmental and consumer-related concerns that are basic engines behind labelling initiatives. Finally, on a general level, it is clear that we should expect green labelling initiatives to take place in relatively wealthy societies, with a culture of solidarity rather than egoistic individualism (Cohen, 2005). Being able to express political visions by consumer choice is, quite naturally, related to a level of income; but also to a relatively fair distribution of income. We hypothesize that in a society with more equal distribution of income it is more likely that people on lower income levels are willing to express solidarity in shopping behaviour; they are less inclined to demand action and responsibility only from the richest.
48. Why do we concentrate on these context elements? In part, we focus on such elements as appear central to our cases, elements which clearly concerned the people (informants) involved in labelling processes. Hence, we have given weight to inductive reasoning. The analysis of the context

elements must also be relevant to our key themes discussed in the book. And, in a more deductive vein, we were also guided by existing literature on policymaking, rule-setting, and governance in general. Previous literature has helped us to look at this set of factors. Finally, our focused comparisons have enabled us to identify special or general opportunities and obstacles.

49. The concept partly overlaps other relevant concepts such as policy style (e.g., Richardson et al., 1982; Liefferink et al., 2000) and political opportunity structure (e.g., McAdam et al., 1996). Our notion of context factors as a latent propensity to act in a certain way is in our view closest to the term political culture.
50. JEP refers to 'The type of policy arrangement ... both jointly formulated and/or implemented by the state and private actors and by having a voluntary element' (Mol et al., 2000, p. 2), which can include labelling.
51. Since the mid-1990s the government has gradually adopted stricter goals for the growth of organic production. Organic labelling is now part of the general political goal and strategy that 20 per cent of the Swedish arable land should be certified organic by 2010 (Swedish National Board of Agriculture, 2004). Hence, the government clearly signals that organic production and food labelling are part of a strategic political effort to make the whole of agriculture more 'sustainable' (e.g., prop. 1997/98:2; Swedish National Board of Agriculture, 2004). A similar, albeit less explicit and ambitious, position is apparent in the 2004 EU Commission 'European action plan for organic food and farming'. See http://europa.eu.int/comm/agriculture/qual/organic/plan/comm_en.pdf, accessed 1 February 2005.
52. It should be mentioned that quite progressive sustainability-oriented policymaking is taking place below the federal level in the United States, something which we exemplify in the green electricity case.
53. The 60 groups represent the environmental and scientific communities, and include advocates of the small farm movement and consumers' rights organizations.
54. For example, the global fish regulatory regime with UN conventions and agreements is often criticized for being unable to tackle efficiently the overuse of fish resources (Porter et al., 2000; Stokke, 2001). Yet, despite lack of binding regulation and tremendous difficulties dealing with problems, such as overcapacity in the fishing fleet, a common global understanding is emerging of the need for improved fisheries management and conservation of marine biodiversity. The 1995 FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries and its technical guidelines gave international support to improved fisheries management. It emphasized the importance of achieving sustainability objectives through market-based measures (Deere, 1999). Likewise, FSC developed out of strong criticism of the failure among existing IGOs to counteract effectively such problems as global deforestation. For instance, the UNCED in Rio in 1992 failed to establish a binding forest convention. However, as the establishment of FSC took place in parallel with the UNCED, several ideas permeating this event were repeated in the FSC framework, for example the emphasis on combining environmental, social, and economic objectives and the insistence on establishing an organization that balances the interests of the South and the North (Elliot, 1999).

55. These principles are formalized in the WTO Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT) and the Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) Agreements.
56. The Nordic Swan suffers from related problems. As regards the paper case, informants from the Swan thought it was more difficult to convince Swedish producers to use their label, because the companies in the pulp and paper industry have become less Swedish due to acquisition of companies. The contact persons are not always Swedish citizens, and they are less inclined to see the unique benefits of a Nordic label (Nilsson, 2005).
57. Menz (2005) concludes that there are still important impediments to green electricity in the United States. These include price distortions for fossil-fuel-based electricity. According to Menz, environmental regulations or taxes that are much more stringent, and that take place at a federal level rather than locally or on a state basis, are needed in order to create more rapid development for green electricity markets.
58. Meta-organizations are defined as organizations that have organizations (not individuals) as members (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2008).
59. See <http://www.gen.gr.jp/index.html> (accessed 23 January 2007). GEN presents itself as a non-profit association of third-party environmental performance labelling organizations. Its mission is to assist its members (about two dozen member organizations, including the US Green Seal, the European Commission DG Environment [EU flower], Germany's Federal Environmental Agency [Blue Angel], the Nordic Ecolabelling Board [the Nordic Swan], SSNC [Good Environmental Choice]) and other eco-labelling programmes and stakeholders, to engage in dialogue and debate with other kinds of policy actors, and to improve the credibility of eco-labelling programmes worldwide. It also aims to foster cooperation, information exchange, and harmonization among its members.
60. See <http://www.isealliance.org/index.htm> (accessed 23 January 2007). Full members are FLO, FSC, IFOAM, MAC, MSC, SAI, and Rainforest Alliance (see list of abbreviations).
61. See Seippel (2007) on the environmental movement in Norway and Boström (2001, 2004a, 2007) on the environmental movement in Sweden.
62. In the 1980s, upscale supermarkets specializing in organic food appeared. These include Whole Foods Market, Bread and Circus, and Wild Oats, all of which have stores in many states (Boström & Klintman, 2006). However, the previous market division between organic and non-organic food stores is becoming much less clear-cut. In 2003, health and natural food stores accounted for 47 per cent of the organic food sales. Conventional mass markets sold 44 per cent, with direct sales through farmers' markets and coops, food service, and exports making up the remaining 9 per cent (OTA, 2004). Moreover, in 2005, The Organic Trade Association in the United States conducted a survey, called 20 Year Organic Survey Questions. To the question 'Where will organic products be sold in 2025?' a majority of respondents representing various organizations assumed that organic products 'will be sold anywhere and everywhere' (OTA, 2005).
63. The terms 'sociomateria' and 'sociomateriality' refer to the interwoven nature of materiality with society, a relation that, for instance, Orlikowski

(2007) and Law & Urry (2004) argue needs much more attention in future research.

64. In terms of policymaking the Swedish governmental consumer agency (Konsumentverket) in its evaluations has drawn the conclusion that the lack of separability between 'green' and 'grey' electrons is highly problematic from a legal point of view (cf. Lindén & Klintman, 2003), although such legal challenges have been solved in several countries.

8 Three Framing Strategies: From a Complex Reality to a Categorical Label

65. There was indeed a discussion of this last point addressed by KRAV – the organization that ran the Swedish seafood labelling project – but after some scornful comments from stakeholders this suggestion was quickly withdrawn (Boström, 2004b).
66. The order in which these three strategies are presented here does not reflect any ideal or real order of framing processes in general or of labelling in particular.
67. The definition of frame bridging provided by Snow and colleagues (1986, p. 467) is useful: 'By frame bridging we refer to the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem.'
68. Frame extension is the strategy of actors to extend their frames beyond their initial interests, goals, and knowledge basis so as to increase frame resonance (Snow et al., 1986; Snow & Benford, 1988; cf. Gamson, 1992 on 'cultural resonance').
69. John A. Fagan, *Science-Based, Precautionary Engineered Foods* (2000); available online at <http://www.geocities.com/luizmeira/label.html> (accessed 3 March 2001). John Fagan is Professor of Molecular Biology at Maharishi University of Management in Iowa.
70. FDA (Food and Drug Administration) (1992) Statement of policy: foods derived from new plant varieties. Federal Register, 57, 22984–23005 (WWW document). URL <http://vm.cfsan.fda.gov/~lrd/biocon.html> (accessed 18 July 2006).
71. See, for example, Klintman & Boström (2004) for more details of this particular debate.
72. Metaframing differs from boundary framing in that the latter has its focus on the boundary between the desired and undesired components. Metaframing, in contrast, is a strategy of including components across boundaries. Thus, metaframing also differs from frame bridging, where various groups and positions across which a 'bridge' is framed (e.g., environmental movement and everyday consumer motives) do not appear to be polarized, but ideologically congruent.
73. 'Sustainability' and 'ecomodernism' could very well be understood as metaframes in that they have been developed by combining (and transforming) opposite discourses on 'economic growth' and 'limits to growth'.
74. For instance, large retailers in Sweden (e.g., Hemköp) have begun to favour 'ecological' Christmas ham, which includes nitrite, rather than the

KRAV-labelled ham, which does not include nitrite. Retailers claim that consumers favour the ham with nitrite since it gives the meat its pink colour (13 December 2004, http://www2.unt.se/avd/1,1786,MC=7-AV_ID=367191,00.html, accessed 16 July 2007).

75. A positive note, however, is that KRAV is currently engaged in developing climate labelling for food products. The idea is not to include it in the organic framework but to develop an independent system. The future will show how successful the attempt will be.

9 Organizing the Labelling

76. The Swedish seafood labelling case is a good example. Swedish fishermen's associations and related industries had expressed a hostile attitude to the WWF-led MSC initiative. However, when fishermen came under severe media and public attack in the years around the turn of the millennium, many business actors gradually understood they had to do something to regain trustworthiness. They developed a friendlier attitude towards EMOs such as the WWF and gradually business actors committed to the discussions about introducing an eco-labelling system, in the hope that such a system would create credibility and good PR for the business.
77. Such activities include the organizing of policy development, standards development, standards interpretation, fund-raising, and marketing activities. They may furthermore include activities such as accreditation of certification bodies, facilitation of communication with consumers, monitoring of performance of licence holders and certification bodies, and prevention of misused labels.
78. Nevertheless, issues such as transparency, public involvement, and accountability are often standard criteria for companies to be 'labelled' as ethical or socially responsible, not least under green and ethical mutual funds.
79. The Domini Social 400 Index is the exclusive property of the KLD Research & Analytics, Inc.
80. Likewise, the European FSC-competing model PEFC – which has eventually become a global model of which SFI is a member – mirrors the FSC's tripartite structure. The members of PEFC, as are those of the FSC, are divided into three equal groups: (1) forestry, (2) primary processing industry, and (3) other interests. In this form, the business side (1 and 2) gets a majority position, which many EMOs do not accept. The formal structure allows for the participation of EMOs, but the main EMOs such as WWF and FoE have chosen not to participate.
81. To use KRAV as an example, it is stated in the constitution that a member must be 'a national association, another association or a single company with a significant position within its industry' (see Boström, 2006a). All member organizations have one vote in the annual KRAV assembly, which is the highest forum for decision-making. The board must, at a minimum, consist of two representatives from agriculture (including at least one from organic agriculture); two from trade (retailers); one from processing industries; and two from consumer, environmental, and animal-welfare groups. Because decision-making follows the majority principle, the business side

- could, theoretically, achieve dominance over SMOs on the board (if the organic party and the consumer groups, environmental and animal-welfare groups are seen as SMOs).
82. Gale makes a systematic comparison of the development of regional FSC standards in Canada and the United States. He notes that 'more bottom-up negotiation arrangements are associated with more demanding forest management standards, the more top-down with less' (2004, p. 80), which is a finding that supports our argument here. The bottom-up approach implies the inclusion of more SMO-type actors.
 83. Additional differences concerned, for example, auditing and chain-of-custody arrangements (see also Domask, 2003). Initially, the SFI programme did not have to be independently audited by external organizations, as members could either audit themselves (first-party auditing) or have the AF&PA do it (second-party auditing). The SFI has been reluctant to develop a stringent chain-of-custody arrangement, which indeed is essential for the possibility of tracking labelled products to certified raw material.
 84. For example, in 1998 the SFI changed its policy to allow third-party auditing and it addressed chain-of custody issues (Cashore et al., 2004). The environmental groups that participate within SFI 'aggressively pursue more strict environmental standards or threaten that they will have to resign to protect their image' (Cubbage & Newman, 2005, p. 266). The FSC, for its part, has tried over time to develop more flexible mechanisms in line with market-pragmatic thinking, especially in the United States, because FSC promoters had to face the potential disappearance of the FSC as a certification programme in the US context (Cashore et al., 2004). 'FSC has become more pragmatic in their operations, especially in implementation, if not on paper' (Cubbage & Newman, 2005, p. 266). Likewise, the competitor programmes have adopted certain substantive rules. It has been claimed that PEFC in certain parts of Sweden is more similar to the FSC in Sweden than is PEFC in other regions (where the FSC is lacking) (see Lindahl, 2001).
 85. For instance, the American thresholds for the label 'Made with organic ingredients' can be used for products with 70–95 per cent organic content; this was partially an adaptation to the thresholds used in the European Union. The fact that 70 per cent was the lower limit in the EU in the early 2000s was partially something that motivated the National Organic Program to raise the bar, for reasons of international trade (Klintman, 2002b).
 86. Although the labelling process was administrated by KRAV, which is a body in which SMOs are represented in decision-making (see above), this specific project used a specific organizational form. The reason behind the choice was that the project was extraordinarily controversial, with huge mutual mistrust between fishing industries and EMOs (see Chapter 10), so it was not possible to include the latter group as decision-makers (Boström, 2006b). The KRAV staff believed they had to design a particular organizational structure, which was biased to the advantage of fishing industries (representatives of the fishermen, fish processors, retailers, professional buyers, and marine research).
 87. Södra Dalarnes Tidning, 16 August 2003; interview with Johan Kling, an expert on electricity transportation at the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC), 14 September 2004. Moreover, SSNC, which also used

- to be a frontrunner in eco-labelling of paper products, is currently finding that not a single company wants to use Good Environmental Choice for most types of paper products (Nilsson, 2005, pp. 14–15). SSNC ended up making its model irrelevant to the paper market, because of failure to meet market-pragmatic goals.
88. See http://www.envocare.co.uk/ethical_investment_criteria.htm (accessed 25 October 2007).
 89. The ISO 14000 is considered the most widely recognized global-level voluntary initiative on the part of the industry (Clapp, 2005). By 2001, almost 50,000 firms in 118 countries had gained ISO 14001 certification (*ibid.*).
 90. The fact that the FSC's very democratic structure has caused many protracted conflicts and debates is confirmed and reported by Timothy Synnott, a previous Executive Director of the FSC and one of the key figures in the FSC's establishment, in his notes on the early years of the FSC (Synnott, 2005). The first General Assembly in 1996 almost caused a meltdown, because of the strong differences of opinions among FSC members, he recalls.
 91. Benjamin Caspar, team coordinator, http://ec.europa.eu/environment/ecolabel/pdf/marketing/management_group/minutes_mmg_retailer_040406.pdf, accessed 17 July 2007.
 92. <http://www.domini.com/about-domini/The-Domini-Story/index.htm>, accessed 25 October 2007.
 93. One moderate variant of coalition-building after the establishment of a labelling organization is the building of buyers' networks, such as WWF's Global Forest and Trade Network. The idea is to organize a network to visualize a demand for FSC-certified raw material, and a joint pressure in the face of forest producers.

10 Dealing with Mutual Mistrust

94. An inclusive labelling organization provides a setting for repeated dialogue and negotiation surrounding labelling policies and standards specifically, but possibly also concerning green consumerist policies in general. Other scholars have observed that repeated interaction over time in organized networks comprising a wide array of actors can result in mutual learning, mutual trust, and common expectations of proper behaviour (Cutler et al., 1999; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999; Rhodes, 2000; Elliot & Schlaepfer, 2001; Wälti et al., 2004).
95. It could, however, be seen as systematic in the sense that science is reflectively (or systematically) assessed from a firm framework which includes notions of naturalness.

11 Green Labelling and Green Consumerism: Challenges and Horizons

96. <http://www.green-e.org/>, accessed 12 October 2007.
97. An interesting review of these aspects can be found in a book chapter by Karl and Orwat (1999). They suggest that increasing competition among

labels will require tighter criteria and may therefore help to alleviate many of the problems generated by labelling schemes and increase the overall credibility of the labels. Competition may also create confusion among consumers, however, which runs counter to one of the main motives behind the creation of eco-labels. Therefore various institutions, such as research and test centres, are needed to support consumer decisions.

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Index

Note: Page numbers in **bold** denote tables and figures.

- accountability, 23, 81, 92, 208
- Adams, C., 23, 32
- advertising, 24, 37, 59, 87, 108, 195
- agriculture
 - alternative, 18, 46–7
 - criticism of conventional, 5, 46, 166
 - industry, 143, 189
 - sector, 48, 99, 107, 205
 - see also* GM labelling; organic food labelling
- Ahrne, G., 26, 102, 135, 138, 201, 206
- Allen, P. and Kovack, M., 8, 42, 191
- Alternative Farming Systems Information Center, 49
- Amaditz, K.C., 48–9
- ambivalence, 11, 37–8, 194–6
- American Crop Protection Association (ACPA), 160
- American Forest and Paper Association (AF&PA), 53, 118, 133, 137, 138–9, 141, 173, 209
- Änglamark, 31, 137
- animal
 - rights organizations, 47, 136, **145**, 152, 208–9
 - welfare, 5, 43, 48, 118, 161
- antagonism, *see* conflict
- argumentation
 - and crossovers, 75, 89, 164, 184
 - and framing, 43, 112–15, 123, 130
 - green governance-oriented, 76–82
 - knowledge-oriented, 73–6
 - market-oriented, 9, 68–73
 - and mutual understanding, 159, 161
 - and organizing, 134, 141, 146
 - and policy context, 87, 89, 95, 100, 106, 111, 185
- Association of Independent Corporate Sustainability and Responsibility Research (AI CSRR), 65
- auditability, 7, 28, 53, 78, 125, 168–74, 209
- Austria, 88, 105
- authorities
 - charismatic, 45
 - cognitive, 113, 161–8, 174, 182, 186
 - and individualization, 19, 37–8
 - moral, 152
 - private (non-state), 24–6, 90, 110, 159, **178**
 - public, 1, 7, 9, 56, 78–80, 91, 110, **178**, 189
 - regulatory, 77, 90
 - state, 48, 51, 54, 56, 61, 91–2, 97, 159, 183
- Barham, E., 99, 191
- Batte, M.T. and colleagues, 199, 212
- Bauman, Z., 37
- Beabout, G.R., 62
- Beck, U.
 - demand of labels, 5
 - globalization, 20
 - governance, 25
 - individualization, 19, 37
 - scientific uncertainty, 162
 - sub-politics, 2, 32, 181–3
- Belgium, 105
- Bendell, J., 25, 50, 77, 81, 133
- Benford, R.D., 80, 164, 207
- Bernstein, S., 92, 95, 96
- Berry, H., 18, 23, 200
- Bertoldi, P., 60
- Bhaskar, R., 75, 199
- Big Three, 69, 90, 122–3, 155–6
- biodiversity
 - and forest protection, 164

- biodiversity – *continued*
 framing of, 113–14, 116, 120–2,
 126–30, 152
 and green electricity, 57
 loss of, 1, 50
 and marine protection, 205
- Blue Angel, 18, 29–30, 201, 206
- Blyth, M., 15
- Boli, J., 20, 152
- Boström, M.
 auditability, 171
 case studies, 49, 51–2, 56, 202, 204
 credibility, 194
 eco-standards, 31
 environmental movement
 organizations (EMOs), 21, 22,
 61, 70, 152, 206, 209
 framing, 114, 118, 120, 121, 123,
 125, 126, 128–9, 207
 governance, 25, 26, 139
 green labelling and scientific
 knowledge, 5, 74, 75, 163
 inclusiveness, 135, 143, 182
 mutual trust, mistrust, 165
 organizational form, 144, 207
 policy context, 89, 91, 95–9, 105,
 107–8, 111, 206
 political consumerism, 10, 195,
 199, 201
 responsible corporate conduct, 23,
 133
 social movement organizations
 (SMOs), 153
 transparency, 7, 80, 170
- Boulanger, P.M., 179, 180
- Bowker, G.C. and Leigh Star, S. 187, 201
- boycotts
 forest products, 50, 78, 180
 and organizing, 133, 152
 and Paper Profile, 104
 and political consumerism, 2, 10,
 18, 38–9
 and reputational damage, 70
 strategies in the United States and
 Europe, 21–2, 86
- Brunsson, N., 26, 27, 135, 138, 201, 206
- van den Burg, S., 25, 27, 29, 93, 180
- Busch, L., 27
- Business Ethics*, 169
- boycotts, 2, 10, 18, 38–9
- Canada, 53, 56, 89, 209
- Canadian Standards Association
 (CSA), 140
- Carlson-Kanyama, A., 36, 202
- Carson, M., 23, 94
- Cashore, B.
 comparing standards, 139–40, 142
 differentiation, 193
 forest certification in Sweden, 52, 100
 forest certification in the United
 States, 52–3, 89, 118, 133–4,
 138, 173, 202, 209
 forest owners, 151
 governance, 146
 legitimacy, 91–2, 133
 regulation, 95–6
 retailers, 148
 traceability, 76
- categorization, 12, 70, 168
see also symbolic differentiation
- certification
 body, 78, 97, 98, 129, 154, 166, 168,
 170, 172, 208
 and costs, 71
 organization, 8, 102
 practice, 172–3
 third-party, 28, 48, 76
- chain-of-custody, 51, 52, 53, 56, 76,
 140, 150, 209
- Cheftel, J.C., 55
- China, 58, 62
- choice
 active, 9, 43
 best, better, green, greenest, 2,
 3, 72, 109, 175, 179, 188,
 197, 201
 cultural, 62
 freedom of, 54, 71, 123
 and individualization, 19, 37–8
 of organizational form, 139, 144
 political, 43
 rational, 69, 118
 and retailers, 146
 strategic, 133
see also consumer choice
- Chong, D. and Druckman, J.N., 114
- Christensen, T., 15, 86, 89, 93

- citizen-consumer, 1, 22, 155
 civil rights movement, 21, 87
 civil society
 associations, 82, 162
 and empowerment of consumers, 180–1
 and organizational landscape, 85, 103–4, 110
 and societal spheres, 135
 Clapp, J., 31, 76, 146, 210
 cleanliness, 116, 120–1, 126, 128, 130
 climate change, 1, 58, 121, 130
 climate labelling, 208
 coalitions
 actors involved, 147, 152, 154, 210
 and arguments, 82
 and GM labelling case, 54–5, 163–4
 and organic standardization, 98
 and organizing, 132–5
 and policy context, 110
 unexpected, 67
 Cochoy, F., 27, 153
 codes of conduct, 2, 31
 Coetzee, J.M., 1
 Coffey, C., 165
 Cohen, L., 21–2
 Cohen, M., 11, 87, 94, 200, 204
 Collins, H. and Pinch, T., 4
 complexity
 and framing, 112–15, 130–1
 and globalization, 20
 and materiality and technology, 85, 106
 and translation to a categorical label, 57, 67, 195
 compromises
 and consumer trust, 8, 42, 196
 and forest standard, 52
 and framing, 12, 119, 125, 130
 in the labelling strategy, 191–4
 and organic food, 73
 and organizational form, 141–2, 144
 and political culture, 87–90, 161
 science as a basis for, 165–6
 and sub-politics, 182
 conflict
 and coalitions, 134
 and consumer movements, 22
 and different eco-standards, 32, 140
 and framing, 116, 117, 122–5, 127–8, 161
 and methodological consideration, 200
 and organizational form, 210
 and policy context, 15–16, 86–7, 89–90, 96, 102, 110, 168, 184
 see also controversies
 confrontation (strategies), 78, 87, 89–90, 133, 159
 Connelly, J. and Smith, G., 25
 consensus
 and framing, 116, 122
 and governance, 25
 and political culture, 16, 57, 86–90, 111
 and science, 162, 167
 Constance, D. and Bonanno, A., 56, 80, 91, 150
 Consume Less, 20, 22, 175–6, 189
 consumer
 activism, 17
 agency, 18, 88, 155, 207
 categories, 36, 195
 choice, 2–3, 29, 39, 54, 71, 107, 147, 181, 201, 204
 confusion, 42–3, 190
 democracy, 42–5, 69, 122, 154, 163
 empowerment, 40, 45, 69, 177, 194–8
 engagement, 10, 42, 44, 131, 179, 188–9, 197
 guide, 22–3, 158
 instruments and tools, 2, 16, 40, 177, 183, 187
 movements, 17–18, 21
 organizations, 2, 17–18, 23, 65, 88, 147, 155, 181, 187
 policies, 40, 41, 45, 84, 88, 106–8
 power, 29, 34, 56, 152, 155, 160, 180, 183, 194, 197
 preferences, 91, 101, 199
 reflections, 37–8, 80, 152, 194
 regulation, 22, 86
 representation, 143–5, 154–6, 177, 196
 responsibility, 80
 roles, 7, 40–5, 200
 see also citizen-consumer; trust

- controversies
 and GM-labelling, 54, 55, 118, 160, 163, 168
 and inter-frame reflection, 128
 resolving, 115, 122–3, 125
 and seafood labelling, 57, 89, 107, 209
 and symbolic differentiation, 117
 and trust, mistrust, 161
see also Big Three; conflict; disagreements
- conventional
 and framing, 115, 118
 and market logic, 73
 products, 5, 9, 29, 71, 74, 77, 96, 97, 108, 148, 162
 retailing system, 105
 sector, 5, 46, 47, 49, 55, 75, 98, 105, 151, 166, 172, 188–9
 shopping behaviour, 180
 and symbolic differentiation, 191–2
- Coop, 31, 137, 147, 155, 171
- cooperation
 and consumer empowerment, 196
 and mutual trust, mistrust, 158–9
 and policy context, 88, 91, 104, 110
- cooperative
 forms of policy-making, 25
 movement, 17
 strategies, 21, 24, 78, 81, 153–4
- corporatism, 87–8, 103
- Courville, S., 102
- Crane, A., 23, 24, 37, 192, 194
- credence goods, 69, 107–9
- credibility
 and argumentation, 70, 76
 and auditability, 47, 168, 171–3
 of information, 23
 and ISEAL Alliance, 102
 of labels, 136, 211
 and organizational form, 139, 143
 and science, 5, 162
 and SMOs, 136–7, 141, 142, 152–3
 and symbolic differentiation, 104, 194
 and transparency, 170
see also legitimacy
- Cabbage, F.W. and Newman, D.H., 140, 190, 209
- Cutler, C. and colleagues, 24, 90, 210
- Darby, M. and Karni, E., 69, 107–8
- Deere, C., 96, 205
- del Río, P. & Gual, M.A., 57
- demand
 for advice, 37, 73
 from business, 156
 for consumer guides, 23
 for eco-standards, 32
 imagined, represented, real, 29
 for labels and labelled products, 5, 29, 103, 108, 152, 180, 210
 market, 9
 and retailers, 105, 146
 for rules, 4, 26, 100, 184
 side of green consumerism, 24
 for supervision, 170
- democracy
 and broadening of power, 78, 79, 154
 deliberative, 40, 181
 direct, 42–5
 participatory, 44–5, 195
 representative, 10, 92, 204
see also consumer democracy
- democratic
 consequences, 8, 10, 43, 131, 195, 197
 debate, 35, 111
 image, 34
 and political consumerism, 38
 procedures and structures, 136, 144, 151, 155, 210
 values, 2, 143
- democratization, 3, 175
- Denmark, 88, 105
- De Pelsmacker, P. and Janssens, W., 37
- deregulation, 25, 77, 85, 99–101
- differentiation, *see* symbolic differentiation
- Dingwerth, K., 32
- disagreements, 13, 67, 78, 113, 115, 128, 162, 166, 200
see also controversies
- distrust, *see* mistrust
- Djelic, M.-L., 26, 95
- Do-It-Yourself (DIY), 50, 146, 148, 180

- Domask, J., 50, 78, 140, 150, 209
 Domini, 64, 137, 149, 186, 208
 Dow Jones, 64, 138, 170
 Dryzek, J.S., 44, 90, 93, 103, 143
- eco-labels
 and other eco-standards, 2–3, 32, 147, 169–70
 and other policy instruments, 77–8
 schemes, 6, 7, 18, 23, 29–30, 65–6, 69, 128–30, 142, 203, 206
 term, 28
see also green labelling
- ecological modernization, 20–1, 22, 25, 86, 207
- economic man, 34–5, 54, 69
The Economist, 34–5, 187
- eco-standards
 and auditability, 172
 comparing, 97, 140, 142, 177, 181
 competition among, 65–6, 72, 76, 102, 140–1, 145, 194
 definition, 27–8
 and politics, 181, 183
 and reflective trust, 177, 187
 relation to consumption, 7, 9
 setting of, 3, 104
 types of, 1–2, 31–2
- Eder, K., 43
 Egan, M., 93–4
 Ek, K., 9, 58
 Ekelund (Axelson), L., 48, 108, 201
 Elad, C., 91
 Elkington, J., 22, 41
 Elliot, C., 50–1, 91, 133, 205, 210
 Energy Star, 59–60
 environmentalism, 18, 20–2, 35, 82, 121, 130
 environmental management systems
 and auditability, 173
 definition, 31
 and governance, 25
 and other eco-standards, 2, 72, 76, 140, 142
 and politics, 181
 environmental movement
 organizations (EMOs)
 and campaigning, mobilizations, protests, 22–3, 35, 50, 56, 180
 and consumer power, 29
 disagreements among, 67
 and framing, 113, 118, 123–5, 129, 139, 142, 144
 initiating labelling, 32, 51–2, 95, 134, 193
 and mutual trust, mistrust, 89, 158–61, 164–5, 168–9, 171, 173–4, 186, 209
 and policy context, 92, 98, 103, 106, 108
 raising criticism in labelling, 30, 53, 208
 roles in labelling, 6, 61, 78, 132, 136–8, 141, 145, 146, 148, 151–6, 181, 196
 and symbolic differentiation, 192
 and symbolic power, 103
- environmental reports and
 declarations
 definition, 32
 informing consumers, 73, 97
 and other eco-standards, 2, 72, 76, 141
 and politics, 181
 and transparency, 80, 169–70
see also Paper Profile
- Erskine, C.C. and Collins, L., 42, 118
 EU energy label, 60, 72
 EU flower, 7, 30, 66, 206
 Europe
 consumer activism, policy, and regulation, 17–18, 21–3, 93–4
 political culture, 86, 167
- European Union
 Eco-labelling Board, 6–7, 146
 and GM labelling case, 53–5, 94, 202
 and green electricity labelling case, 58, 60–2, 203
 and green mutual funds case, 65, 137, 186, 203
 and organic food labelling case, 47–50, 98–9, 140, 183, 205, 209
 and regulatory state, 94
 expert system, 37, 73
 Eyerman, R., 153
- Fagan, J.A., 119, 207
 fair trade, 10, 11, 18, 34, 69, 83, 141, 192, 201, 204

- farmers
 conventional, 47, 98
 ecological, 46, 47, 73, 98, 146
 and value of independence, 151
- farmers'
 associations, 47, 49, 151
 markets, 83, 206
- Fernau, K., 42
- Finland, 105
- Fischer, F., 115, 125, 128
- fisheries
 administration, authorities, 91, 159
 crises of, 56
 and framing, 112–13
 and free trade, 97
- fishermen
 and knowledge claims, 107, 113, 158, 165
 and mutual mistrust, 159, 171
 and seafood labelling, 56, 97, 112–13, 208, 209
 and value of independence, 151
- food
 governance, 145
 and local and small scale, 105, 129–30
 and public trust, 103
 regulation, 93–4, 99
 scandals, crises, 1, 21, 23, 108
 and transport and energy use, 129–30
see also GM food; organic food; seafood labelling
- Føllesdal, A., 35
- forest certification and labelling
 case study, 50–3
 consumer roles, 180
 framing, 122, 126–7, 129
 organizing, 133, 138, 140, 146, 152, 208
 policy context, 88, 96, 99–100, 104, 107, 111, 184
- forest companies, 51–3, 74, 76, 129, 135, 150, 156, 161, 174
- forestry
 administration, 91
 and materiality and technology, 107, 109
 and science, 164–5, 168
- Forestry Act, 99–100
- Forest Stewardship Council (FSC)
 case study, 50–3, 202
 and civil society, 103
 and framing, 118, 129
 and green governance oriented arguments, 78, 80, 81
 and ISEAL Alliance, 102, 206
 and knowledge-oriented arguments, 74, 75, 76
 and MSC, 56
 and mutual trust, mistrust, 158, 160–1, 165, 174
 and organizing, 133–4, 138–40, 144, 150–1, 154, 208, 209, 210
 and political culture, 88–9
 and regulation, 100, 205
 and symbolic differentiation, 190, 193
 and WTO, 96, 102
see also forest certification and labelling
- Fowler, P. and Heap, S., 56
- frame
 bridging, 69, 117, 134, 141, 161, 193, 207
 extension, 117, 124, 207
 reflection, 86, 90, 109, 115, 116, 124, 125–31, 143, 161, 164, 177, 178, 185, 187, 194
 resolution, 115, 116, 122–5, 129, 131, 163
- framing
 and argumentation, 82
 boundary, 115, 116, 117–21, 125, 131, 193
 and coalition, 134
 concept of, 84, 85, 114–15, 207
 and consumer empowerment, 177, 178, 196
 and credence goods, 108
 diagnostic, 80
 and ecological modernization, 20
 of existing regulation, 95
 meta, 90, 116, 123–5, 129, 131, 143, 207
 and mutual trust, mistrust, 161, 166
 and political consumerism, 43

- framing – *continued*
 prognostic, 80
 and science and ideology, 4, 89
 and symbolic differentiation, 190,
 193
see also argumentation; frame
- Frankel, G.C. and Borque, M., 49
- free rider, 9, 71, 81, 185
- free trade, 9, 72, 84, 93, 96–7, 99, 102,
 125, 146, 147, 181
- Friedman, A.L. and Miles, S., 64
- Friedman, M., 38
- Friends of the Earth, 50, 65, 152, 208
- Gale, F., 140, 209
- Gallastegui, I.G., 199
- Gan, L. and colleagues, 25
- Garsten, C., 23, 25, 26, 31, 95, 133,
 144
- Germany, 29, 30, 50, 51, 53, 89, 100,
 101, 105, 206
- Getz, C. and Shreck, A., 83
- Giddens, A.
 expert systems, 73
 globalization, 20
 governance, 25
 individualization, 19, 37
 life politics, 180–1
 structure, 84
- Gieryn, T., 164
- Gilg, A. and colleagues, 36
- Glasbergen, P., 25
- Glickman, D., 123
- Global Compact, 31, 32, 63
- Global Ecolabelling Network (GEN),
 101, 206
- globalization, 16, 20, 37, 66
- Global Reporting Initiative (GRI),
 32, 65
- GM food
 and EMOs' agenda-setting, 152
 and framing, 118–23
 and knowledge-oriented
 arguments, 74, 75
 labelling, case study of, 53–5, 202
 and market-oriented arguments, 71,
 72, 73
 and mutual trust, mistrust, 160,
 164, 168
 and policy context, 89, 94–5, 110
 and science and ideology, 4
see also Big Three; food; organic
 food
- Goffman, E., 106
- Golan, E. and colleagues, 46,
 49, 99
- Goldemberg, J., 58
- Good Environmental Choice
 and chemical engineering
 products, 69
 and green electricity, 61–2
 and paper labelling, 66, 141
 and SMO-governed labelling, 136,
 152
- Goul Andersen, J., 36
- governance
 and argumentation, 76–82
 and Blue Angel, 29, 201
 and FSC, 50, 139
 from government to, 24–6
 and KRAV, 139
 market-based, 92, 146
 multi-level, 110–11
 and political consumerism, 40
 and retailers, 145
 and SIF, 64
- government
 critique of, 77
 to governance from, 24–6
 and green governance oriented
 arguments, 80
 and legitimacy, 91
 and regulation, 94–101, 205–6
- Grankvist, G. and colleagues, 199
- Greece, 105
- Green, K. and colleagues, 146
- Greenberg, C., 22
- The Green Consumer Guide*, 22
- green consumerism
 debates on, 99, 130, 180, 183
 and environmentalism, 20,
 22, 35
 and framing, 117, 127
 literature on, 24, 33–40
 space for, 110, 184
 tools and policies for, 3, 6
see also consumer; political
 consumerism

- green electricity
 abstract, 179
 case study of, 57–62
 and credence goods, 109
 and deregulation, 100–1
 and framing, 121, 128
 and green governance oriented arguments, 77–8
 and market-oriented arguments, 71
 and organizing, 136
- green labelling
 and communicative tools, 33, 178, 196
 definition, 3, 27–9
 as information tool, 27, 196
 and other eco-standards, 31–2, 181
 as political 2, 4–6, 179
 as scientific knowledge reflectors, 7
 types of, 28–9
see also eco-labels
- green mutual funds
 case study of, 62–5
 and framing, 118
 and organizing, 137–8
 and other eco-standards, 2–3
 and policy context, 110
 and role of producers, 148–50
 and transparency, 169–70
see also socially responsible investment
- Greenpeace, 50, 52, 94, 127, 152
 green trademarks, 23, 30, 137, 147
 greenwashing, 23, 24, 30, 45, 142, 144
- Gregory, R., 173
- Gulbrandsen, L.
 auditability, 173
 disorganized consumer power, 29, 155, 180
 forest certification, 50, 52, 103, 141
 free trade, 96
 retailers, 146
- Guthman, J., 8, 82, 99, 130, 151
- Hajer, M., 20–1, 127, 134
 Halkier, B., 36, 37, 81
 Hall, R.B. and Biersteker, T., 24, 90, 152
- Hancher, L. and Moran, M., 79, 135
 Hannigan, J., 122
 Hardin, R., 157–8
 Harrison, R. and colleagues, 10, 36, 199
 Hasselberg, Y., 165
 Held, D. and colleagues, 20
 Hill, R.P. and colleagues, 62, 63
 Hofer, K., 92, 133
 Höijer, B. and colleagues, 37
 Holzer, B., 24, 29, 133, 155
 Howes, R., 56
 Hultkrantz, L. and colleagues, 171
 Humphrey, C. and Owen, D., 173
 Hunt, S.A., 117
- identity
 and individualization, 19, 146–7
 and movement, 153
 politics, 179, 181
 and symbolic differentiation, 29
- ideology
 dimension in labelling, 5, 6
 diversity, 3, 8, 187
 and ecological modernization, 21
 neo-liberal, 25
 and organic food, 151
 polarization with science, 4, 74, 89, 118, 166–7
 and political consumerism, 33, 43
 and political envisioning, 179, 185
 and political parties, 10
 and retailing systems, 105
- inclusiveness, 135, 137, 139, 143–4, 178, 182
see also organizational form; organizations, hybrid
- independence
 and auditability, 78, 168, 170, 172, 209
 and green labelling, definition, 28
 and trust and credibility, 7, 76, 125
- individualization, 10, 19, 25, 29, 37, 42, 146

- information
 and auditability, 171–2
 and consumer roles, 40–2
 and eco-standards, 27, 31–2, 65–6, 96–7, 141
 and epistemic poles, 6, 75
 and framing, 120, 125
 and governance, 25
 and knowledge-oriented arguments, 73
 misleading, 54, 59, 68
 neutral, 4, 73, 183
 and political consumerism, 34, 37–8, 39
 and relation to consumers, 11, 186, 196–7
 right to know, 69, 93
 and shopping guides, 23
 and transparency, 80, 169–70
- interaction
 and organizing, 132, 135
 repeated, 157–61, 174, 186, 210
 SMO-business, 136–44, 156
- intergovernmental
 organizations (IGOs), 31, 39, 50, 56, 165, 205
 regulatory processes, 50
- International Council for the
 Exploration of the Sea (ICES), 113, 165–6
- International Federation of
 Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM), 18, 46–7, 98, 102, 145, 185, 206
- International Labour Organization (ILO), 65, 95
- International Organization for
 Standardization (ISO), 31, 72, 95, 102, 145, 185, 210
- International Social and
 Environmental Accreditation and Labelling Alliance (ISEAL Alliance), 101–2, 145, 185, 206
- Irwin, A. and Wynne, B., 4, 162
- Italy, 83, 105
- Jacobsson, B., 26, 27, 74
- Jamison, A., 88, 153, 165
- Jasanoff, S., 86, 162
- Johansson, B., 97, 165
- Jordan, A. and colleagues, 27, 29, 30, 188
- Karl, H. and Orwat, C., 43
- Kerwer, D., 172
- Kitschelt, H.P., 88
- Kjærnes, U. and colleagues, 158, 202
- Klintman, M.
 case studies, 49, 54, 82, 179, 202–3, 209
 crossovers, 75, 164
 epistemic relativism, 6
 framing, 118, 120, 121, 123–4, 126, 128–9, 207
 green governance oriented arguments, 77, 80, 81
 green labelling and scientific knowledge, 5, 74, 163
 knowledge-oriented arguments, 74–5
 market-oriented arguments, 69, 71
 mutual trust, mistrust, 7, 160, 163–4
 policy context, 91, 96, 98–9, 105, 107–8, 109–11, 206, 207
 political consumerism, 10, 35, 43, 44, 195, 199, 201
 transparency, 7, 80, 170
- Klonsky, K., 145
- knowledge
 claims, 5, 162
 and consumer roles, 41, 43
 and epistemic poles, 6, 7, 163–4
 and framing, 113–14, 115–16, 118, 126, 207
 labels as substitute of, 7
 objective, 4
 and policy context, 90, 107
 and politics, 177, 179, 181–2, 184–5, 190, 191, 197
 and reflectivity, 38, 80, 187
 and retailers, 147
 and sceptical and encouraging arguments, 73–6, 78
 society, 37
 and transparency, 80, 169
 and trust, mutual mistrust, 158–9, 161–8
 uncertainty, 162, 164–5

- van Koppen, C.S.A. and Markham, W.T., 20
- KRAV
 comparison with FSC, 139
 and consumer representation, 155
 and organic labelling, 47–8, 49, 98, 137, 144, 146, 153
 and seafood labelling, 57, 89, 92, 125, 159, 171
- Krumsick, B., 63
- labour union, 2, 6, 21–2, 51, 87–8, 89, 133, 136
- Lafferty, W. and Meadowcroft, J., 25, 182
- Lang, T. and Gabriel, Y., 17, 18, 22, 23
- Lash, S., 129
- Lathrop, K.V., 46
- Laufer, W.S., 63, 168
- Law, J., 207
- learning
 and consumer insight, 43
 mutual 74, 111, 135, 158, 174, 210
 and reflective trust, 177, 187
- legitimacy
 and auditability, 172–3
 and authoritative knowledge claims, 5
 and business, 8, 76, 81, 118, 129
 crises, 25
 and organizing, 133, 137, 141, 143–4, 153
 and political culture, 86, 91–2
 and science, 162, 164–6
 and soft regulation, 95–6
see also credibility
- Le Guillou, G. and Scharpé, A., 47
- Le Velly, R., 141, 192
- Levidow, L. and Boschert, K., 55, 202
- Lewis, A. and Mackenzie, C., 149
- Lidskog, R. and Sundqvist, G., 162
- Liefferink, D. and colleagues, 88, 205
- lifestyle, 1, 19–23, 127, 181, 202
- limits to growth, 20, 127, 207
- Lindahl, K., 209
- Lindblom, C., 184, 204
- Lindén, A-L., 36, 71, 77, 179, 202, 207
- Lindvert, J., 88, 173
- Lintott, J., 22, 35
- Locke, J., 33
- Lönn, M., 155
- Lovan, R. and colleagues, 173
- LRF (The Federation of Swedish Farmers), 167
- Lundqvist, L.J., 87, 133
- Lundström, T. and Wijkström, F., 103
- van Maanen, J. and Pentland, B.T., 125
- Macnaghten, P., 22
- Magnusson, M.K. and colleagues, 48
- Majone, G., 93–4
- Marine Stewardship Council (MSC), 8, 56–7, 59, 92, 96, 102, 146, 154, 171, 206, 208
- market
 based instruments and approaches, 2, 16, 25, 28–30, 32, 77, 86, 92, 110, 123, 141, 146
 and definition of green labelling, 28–9
 dynamics, 28, 69, 191, 204
 entry, 69, 192, 193
 impact, 57, 66, 85, 110, 180, 191, 197
 liberalism, 19, 34, 84, 86, 93, 110
 oriented arguments, 68–73
 pragmatic pole, 123–5, 129, 139, 141–2, 144, 147–8, 209, 210
 segments, 116, 188
 share, 9, 190–1, 193, 198
 and societal spheres, 135
 structures, 8, 29, 104–5, 192
 systems, 204
see also niche
- marketing
 activities and strategies, 5, 40, 115, 180, 208
 and consumer empowerment, 178
 and framing, 115, 119, 193
 and green labelling, labels, 24, 42, 66, 73, 186
 and regulation, 97
 and symbolic differentiation, 29

- Marsden, T. and colleagues, 145–6, 147, 150
- Martin, J., 62
- Marx, K. 19, 35
- Marxism, 33
- materiality, 84, 85, 106–9, 110, 206
- McAdam, D., 132, 205
- McAvoy, S., 73
- McCarthy, J.D., 103
- McEachern, M.G. and Schroder, M.J.A., 204
- McNichol, J., 50
- media
 - and actors involved in labelling, 145
 - and auditability, 168
 - and discursive political consumerism, 39
 - flow of information, 34, 37
 - and protest, 40, 132–3, 173, 208
 - and public attention, education 50, 181
 - and SMO strategies, 70
- mediated
 - experiences, 106
 - transparency, 7
- Meidinger, E., 96, 151, 172
- Mertig, A. and colleagues, 103
- Micheletti, M.
 - eco-labels, 29, 30, 65
 - individualization, 19
 - organic labelling, 47
 - policy context, 84, 87, 103
 - political consumerism, 2, 10, 18, 35–7, 39, 179
 - from production to consumption, 21–2
- Michelsen, J., 90
- Mill, J.S., 45
- Miller, H.I., 4
- von Mises, L.E., 34
- mistrust
 - in advertising industry, 24
 - in authorities and regulation, 19, 25, 45
 - in eco-standards, 7
 - in labels, 8, 71, 109
 - mutual, among groups, 89, 113, 157–74, 184, 186, 209, 210
 - mobility, 85, 106, 113
- Mol, A., 21, 25, 88, 93, 182, 205
- Mont, O. and Bleischwitz, R., 202
- Moore, O., 83
- Mörth, U., 26, 95
- Moyer, W. and Josling, T., 99
- Murphy, D., 50, 77, 81
- Murphy, J., 11
- Nader, R., 18
- National Consumers League, 17, 18
- National Organic Program (NOP), 49, 209
- National Organic Standards Board (NOSB), 49–50
- natural
 - vs. artificial, 123–4, 127
 - farming, 166
 - food, 31, 108, 124, 130, 152
 - products, 161
 - products stores, 105, 206
 - resources, 20, 122, 126, 151
- naturalness, 116, 120–1, 123, 126, 130, 147, 166, 210
- negotiation
 - between science and politics, 6
 - and framing, 126, 129, 130
 - and organizing, 140, 144, 147, 209, 210
 - and political culture, 85, 87–90, 110, 111, 185–6
 - and science, 164, 166
 - and sub politics, 181–3
- neo-liberalism, 25
- Nestle, M., 145
- the Netherlands, 50, 51, 88, 100, 101, 105
- network
 - buyers', 210
 - organized, 174, 210
 - position, 146
- Newell, P., 172
- niche, 9, 69–70, 118, 146, 147, 188
- Nilsson, H. and colleagues, 7
- Nilsson, S., 66, 72, 73, 75, 80, 97, 104, 141, 160, 204, 206
- Nimon, W. and Beghin, J., 43

- non-governmental organizations (NGOs)
 and civil society, 103, 135
 and credibility, 70
 and political consumerism, 39, 44
 roles in labelling, 79, 80, 101, 138
see also social movement organizations (SMOs)
- Nordic Council of Ministers, 30, 36, 57, 65, 171
- Nordic Swan, 30, 61, 65, 72, 106, 139, 141, 160, 192, 204, 206
- normalization, 105
- normal products, 100, 124, 147, 191, 193
- Norway, 83, 103, 206
- Nowotny, H. and colleagues, 37, 162
- objectivity, 5, 125, 162, 163, 183, 194
- Olson, M., 81
- Oosterver, P., 16, 20, 96
- openness, 31, 90, 102, 116, 125, 128, 166
see also transparency
- organic food
 and coexistence with GM plants, 55
 and framing, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122–5, 129, 131
 and green governance oriented arguments, 79–80
 and knowledge-oriented arguments, 74, 75
 labelling, case study of, 46–50
 and market-oriented arguments, 70, 73
 movement, 47, 91, 98, 152, 166, 186
 and organizational form, 140, 144, 208
 and organizational landscape, 104–5, 206
 and perceptibility, 107–8
 and political culture, 88–91, 94–5, 104–5, 205
 and regulation, 96, 97–9, 111
 and retailers, 146
 and safety claims, 5
 and science, 166–7
 and small-scale thinking, 151
see also Big Three; food; natural food
- Organic Food Protection Act (OFPA), 49
- Organic Trade Association (OTA), 5, 41, 49, 70, 206
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 65, 102, 145
- organizational
 design, 139, 196
 form, 132, 138, 139–42, 143–4, 156, 177, 209
 landscape, 84, 85, 102–5, 110, 111, 132, 133, 134
 setting, 87, 92, 133, 143, 159, 161–2
- organizations
 formal, 132, 134–5
 hybrid, 48, 61, 135, 139, 143, 152, 155
 members of, 8, 187
 meta, 101, 135, 138, 160, 206
 and standardization, 27, 31
see also non-governmental organizations (NGOs); social movement organizations (SMOs)
- organizing
 and mutual trust, mistrust, 161, 186
 perspectives on, 132–6
 and policy context, 85, 85
 process, 82, 103, 122, 131, 132, 135, 156, 196
see also coalitions; organizational; organizations
- Orlikowski, W.J., 206
- O'Rourke, A., 23, 39
- Ott, S., 103
- Ozinga, S., 52
- paper labelling
 and actors involved, 145, 152
 case study of, 65–6
 and mutual trust, mistrust, 160
 and organizational form, 141
 and policy context, 88, 104, 106, 109, 206
see also Paper Profile; pulp and paper industry

- Paper Profile, 65–6, 72, 104, 106, 141, 160
see also environmental reports and declarations
- Parviainen, J. and Frank, G., 126
- Patterson, L.A., 55
- Peattie, K. 23
- Pellizzoni, L., 182
- Pepper, D., 43
- perceptibility, 85, 106–7
- Peters, G., 15, 24, 86, 89, 93
- Peuhkuri, T. and Jokinen, P., 129
- Pierre, J., 24
- policy context
 concept of, 12, 84, 85, 86
 and framing, 122
 and meta politics, 183–5
 and methodology, 14–15
 and mutual trust, mistrust, 161
 and reflective trust, 186
 state-centred, 83, 86, 110
- policy instruments and tools
 and governance, 25
 and labelling, 27, 175–6, 177, 178, 198
 and political consumerism, 39, 40–5
- political consumerism
 concept of, 2, 10
 and confrontational, social movement strategies, 133, 136
 and consumer empowerment, 177, 178–81, 194–5, 197–8
 and consumer representation, 154–6
 and consumer roles, 41, 41–5
 discursive, 39, 40
 extrinsic and intrinsic value of, 69
 front and back stages of, 39
 and historical examples, 18, 21–4
 monetary, 39, 40, 94
 research on, 33–8, 201–2
see also boycott; buycott
- political culture
 and metaframing, 129
 and meta-politics, 184–5
 and organizational form, 140
 and policy context, 85, 83–95, 110–11, 205
 and precautionary principle, 167–8
 and trust, 158, 161
 and trust in natural science, 165
- politics
 meta, 177, 178, 183–5, 187, 194, 196
 and social movements, 153
 sub, 2, 32, 177, 181–3, 187, 190, 194, 197
- Porter, G. and colleagues, 122, 205
- power
 asymmetry, 81, 141–2, 186
 broadening of, 78, 79, 154
 and coalitions, 133–4
 decision-making, 51, 78, 136, 138–9, 144
 of labelling, 9, 177, 191, 192, 194
 and organizational landscape, 85, 102, 104, 140
 resources, 102, 104, 132, 153
 shifts, 139, 182
 structural, 146
see also consumer power
- Power, M., 7, 24, 26, 125, 170, 172
- precaution, 54, 75, 93–4, 114, 116, 120, 123, 126, 130, 152, 166–8
- Principles for Responsible Investment (PRI), 63
- product labelling, *see* green labelling
- Programme for the Endorsement of Forest Certification schemes (PEFC), 52, 53, 103, 140, 153, 160, 208, 209
- pulp and paper industry, 72, 104, 106, 160, 206
- Radin, R.F. and Stevenson, W.B., 137
- Rametsteiner, E., 92, 95
- ranking and rating, 2, 31, 32
- Raynolds, L., 8, 191, 197
- reflective
 capacity, 11, 19, 194
 public, 7, 37, 80
 trust, *see under* trust
 and typical political consumer, 37–8, 41
 view on science, 5, 166–7, 182, 210
see also consumer reflections; frame reflection; trust, reflective

- regulation
 command and control, 24–5, 72, 78, 95, 100, 184, 189, 192
 and policy context, 85, 95–102, 110
 and political culture, 86, 88, 91, 93–5, 185
 self, 53, 137, 192
 soft, 25, 78, 80, 91, 95, 99–100
see also deregulation; regulatory; standardization
- regulatory
 failures, 19, 25, 56, 80, 99
 frameworks, 80, 91, 95, 97, 98, 102, 166, 184
 space, 79, 80, 102, 135, 185
 state, 93–4
 void, vacuum, 25, 77, 101
- Rein, M., 114, 125
- relativism
 epistemic, 6, 199
 judgmental, 6, 74–5, 167, 182
- Rémy, E. and Mougenot, C., 126
- reputation, 24, 70, 133, 154, 165, 171, 180
- responsibility
 corporate, 23–4, 70, 79, 80, 81, 100
 and individualization, 19
 and political consumerism, 69, 177, 179, 180, 182
see also consumer responsibility
- retailers
 and business-governed labelling, 137
 and coalitions, 133
 and organizational landscape, 104, 105
 and roles in labelling, 145, 145–8
 and symbolic differentiation, 147–8, 193
- Rhodes, R., 24, 210
- Rhodes, S.P. and Brown, L.B., 42
- Ribbing, P., 101
- Richardson, J. and colleagues, 205
- risk
 assessments, 94, 167, 168
 culture, 1, 108
 and framing, 117, 119, 120, 121, 126, 128, 129, 130
 and globalization, 20
 and individualization, 19
 uncertainty, 54
 unsensed, invisible, 107, 126
see also precaution
- Roff, R.J., 94
- van Rooy, A., 173
- Rosenau, J.N., 24
- Rosendal, K., 54, 55
- Rubik, F., 30, 61
- rule-making, 24, 27, 95, 184
see also regulation; standardization
- rules
 explosion of, 25–6
 and framing, 124
 and policy context, 84, 85, 86, 95–102, 110–11, 184
 and sceptical and encouraging arguments, 72, 77, 79, 151
 substantive vs. procedural, 139–40, 209
 types of, 27
see also eco-standards; free trade; rule-making
- Rydén, R., 151
- Sabatier, P. and Jenkins-Smith, H., 132–4, 210
- Sahlin-Andersson, K., 26, 95, 135
- Sammer, K. and Wüstenhagen, R., 61
- Schlaepfer, R., 133, 210
- Schmidt, S. and Werle, R., 153
- Schmiesing, K.E., 62
- Scholl, G., 29, 30, 61
- Schön, D., 114, 125, 127
- Schumacher, E.F., 46
- Schwartz, M.S., 137, 169
- science
 epistemic poles, 6, 167, 182
 and framing, 118, 120
 and ideology, 4, 89
 and mutual trust, mistrust, 161–8
 and politics, 4–6, 68, 86, 176, 177, 179, 181
 popularization of, 19
 pseudo, 74
 and technology studies, 4
see also ideology; politics; precaution

- scientific
 advice, 113, 165–6
 claims, 163
 consensus, 162
 evidence, 5, 120, 165, 167–8, 183
- seafood labelling
 case study of, 55–7
 and consumer concerns, 155
 and EMOs' role, 141, 152
 and fish resource, 107
 and framing, 112–13, 124–5, 207
 and free trade, 96, 97
 and knowledge-oriented arguments, 74
 and market-oriented arguments, 70, 72
 and mutual trust, mistrust, 158–9, 165, 167, 171–2, 186, 208
 and policy context, 88, 89, 90, 92
see also Marine Stewardship Council (MSC)
- Seippel, Ø., 206
- Sierra Club, 32, 64, 139, 152
- Silver, I., 117
- Skillius, Å., 64
- Sklar, K., 18
- small-scale, 46, 73, 82, 83, 90, 105, 129–30, 150–1, 192
- Smith, A., 33–4
- Snow, D., 80, 164, 207
- Social Accountability International (SAI), 206
- Social Investment Forum (SIF), 63, 64, 138, 203
- socially responsible investment (SRI), 43, 62–5, 110, 137, 150, 169, 186, 203
- social movement organizations (SMO)
 and actors involved in labelling, 6, 145, 152–4
 and auditability, 168, 169, 173
 and broadening of power, 78, 79
 and campaigning, protests, 70
 and civil society, 103, 135
 and coalitions, 133
 and credibility, 70, 141, 152
 interaction with business in labelling, 136–44, 152, 156, 196, 209
 and political consumerism, 39
see also environmental movement organizations; non-governmental organizations
- sociological institutionalism, 143
- Soneryd, L., 55
- Soper, K., 17, 23, 33, 199
- Sörbom, A., 37
- Sørensen, M.P., 10, 33
- Spaargaren, G., 21
- Sparkes, R., 62
- Spencer, R.C., 62
- stakeholder
 dialogue and debates, 25, 57, 61, 63, 89, 90, 102, 132, 139, 143, 156
 involvement, 30, 32, 56, 70, 78, 79, 80, 137, 138, 141, 173, 181, 185
 and mutual trust, mistrust, 8, 78, 79, 143, 157–61, 162, 166, 167, 170, 185
- standardization
 concept of, 26, 27
see also eco-standards; regulation
- states
 and globalization, 20
 and political culture, 86–8, 90–3
 and societal spheres, 135
 in the US, 48, 53, 58–9, 133, 140
see also authority; regulation; regulatory state
- Steinberg, M., 114
- Stø, E., 30, 66
- Stokke, O.S., 165, 175, 189, 205
- Stolle, D., 36–7, 39
- Strasser, S. and colleagues, 21
- Streck, W. and Schmitter, P., 95
- Strømsnes, K., 36
- sustainability
 and corporate practice, 74, 75, 82, 181
 discourse, 21
 framing, 114, 119, 121, 122, 129, 130, 207
 indexes, 64, 138, 170, 203
 reporting, 32
- Sustainable Forestry Board (SFB), 138–9

- Sustainable Forestry Initiative (SFI), 52–3, 118, 137, 138–40, 153, 172, 190, 193, 208, 209
- Sweden
- consumer activism, policy, and regulation, 18
 - and forest certification and labelling case, 50, 51–2, 53
 - and green electricity labelling case, 61–2
 - and green mutual funds case, 64
 - and organic food labelling case, 47–8
 - and paper labelling case, 66
 - and policy context, 14, 87–9, 91, 98, 99–101, 103, 105, 110–11, 184–5
 - and seafood labelling case, 55–6
- Swedish National Board of Agriculture, 205
- Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC)
- and forest certification and labelling, 51, 174
 - and Good Environmental Choice, 69–70, 136, 141, 144, 206
 - and green electricity labelling, 61, 77–8, 142
 - and paper labelling, 209–10
 - and role of EMOs, 152, 155
 - and seafood labelling, 141, 166, 171
- Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU), 167
- Swesif, 64
- Swidler, A., 84, 115
- Switzerland, 105
- symbolic differentiation
- and definition of green labelling, 2, 9, 28–9, 30, 32
 - and empowerment of labelling, 176–8, 188–94
 - and framing, 117
 - and market-oriented arguments, 70, 71
 - and mutual mistrust, 161–2
 - and organizing, 140, 147–8
 - and policy context, 85, 96, 104–5, 109
- Synnott, T., 52, 210
- Tamm Hallström, K., 27, 144, 153
- van Tatenhove, J. and colleagues, 25, 95, 182
- technology
- and auditability, 172
 - and free trade, 97
 - and policy context, 85, 106–9, 110
 - and risk assessment, 94, 167–8
- Teisl, M. and colleagues, 199
- Terragni, L., 103
- Thedvall, R., 173
- Thomas, G., 20, 152
- Thornber, K., 151
- Tjärnemo, H., 108, 201
- Tobiasen, M., 36, 37
- Torjusen, H. and colleagues, 47, 105
- Törnqvist, T., 151, 161, 165
- traceability, 55, 75, 76, 171, 202
- transparency
- and arguments, 69, 76, 80
 - and auditability, 168–70, 171
 - and insight-based political consumerism, 41, 42
 - layers of, 170
 - mediated, 7
 - see also* accountability; openness
- transport, 96, 112, 129–30, 147, 150, 201
- Trentmann, F., 17, 24, 33
- Trewavas, A., 75
- Triandafyllidou, A. and Fotiou, A., 114
- trust
- and auditability, 171–4
 - excessive, 78, 119, 125, 173
 - in labels, 6–7
 - mutual, 157–9, 161, 210
 - and policy context, 103, 105, 161
 - reflective, 8, 11, 38, 116, 119, 131, 134, 143, 144, 157, 159–61, 164, 168, 170, 174, 176–8, 185–7, 194–5, 198
 - in science, 5, 164–6
 - simple, 7, 40, 41, 41–2, 43, 44, 45, 80, 81, 125, 185, 186
 - see also* mistrust
- UK, 46, 64, 83, 149
- UK Social Investment Forum (UKSIF), 64

- uncertainty
 and consumer insight, 40, 41, 43, 182, 194
 and framing, 114, 119, 128
see also knowledge uncertainty; precaution; risk uncertainty
- United Nations (UN), 32, 58, 63
- United Nations Conference for Environment and Development (UNCED), 50–1, 122, 205
- United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 50, 63
- United States
 consumer activism, policy, and regulation, 17, 21–2
 and forest certification and labelling case, 50, 52–3
 and GM-labelling case, 53–5
 and green electricity labelling case, 58–9
 and green mutual funds case, 64
 and organic food labelling case, 46, 48–50
 and policy context, 14–15, 83–6, 88–91, 93–4, 97–9, 101, 103, 105, 110–11, 167–8, 183–6
- Urry, J., 22, 207
- US Department of Agriculture (USDA), 49–50, 73, 79, 91, 94, 98, 118, 120, 122–3, 150, 160
- US Department of Energy, 59–60
- US Food and Drug Agency, 72, 94, 120
- US Green Seal, 30, 206
- Vachon, S. and Menz, F.C., 57, 58, 59
- Vaupel, S., 105
- Vogel, D., 21, 87, 93–4, 99, 167–8
- Waide, P., 61
- Wälti, S. and colleagues, 92, 210
- Warren, M.E., 158
- Wasik, J.F., 43
- Weinberg, A., 23
- Weir, A., 56
- Whole Foods Market, 30, 147, 206
- Worcester, R. and Dawkins, J., 36
- World Conservation Union (IUCN), 50
- World Trade Organization (WTO), 72, 86, 95–7, 102, 145, 185, 206
- World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF)
 and forest certification, 50, 51, 77, 78, 81, 107, 139, 210
 and role of EMOs, 152, 154
 and seafood labelling, 56, 92, 107, 141, 146, 158, 159, 208
- Yearley, S., 4, 5, 43, 162
- Zaccai, E., 10, 179, 180, 199
- Zald, M.N., 103
- Zavestoski, S. and colleagues, 8, 44
- Zinkhan, G.M. and Carlson, L., 24, 37
- Zutshi, A., 23, 32
- Zwick, D. and colleagues, 34