MASTER THESIS

Institutional Multitasking:

Institutional Work and Political Legitimacy in the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil

STU Count: 267,615

Ida Hjorth Bøgestrand

MSc International Business and Politics

Josephine Mark Jacobsen

MSc BLC Business and Development Studies

Supervisor: Kristjan Jespersen

Department of Management, Society, and Communication

Copenhagen Business School

May 15, 2017

Abstract

This paper takes its point of departure in an increasingly important type of sustainability governance, namely private commodity standards. Using the case of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO), it studies the internal dynamics that underpin the political legitimacy of standards. Specifically, we rely on Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) taxonomy of institutional work to uncover how types of institutional work are used to gain and maintain political legitimacy in RSPO. By emphasising how institutional work is associated with the political legitimacy of a standard, our thesis combines largely separate theoretical perspectives to explain the mechanisms that give rise to the regulatory capacity of private commodity standards. To illustrate this process, we derive a theoretical framework for standardisation, whereby the rule of private commodity standards becomes accepted as appropriate and justified. Drawing on longitudinal archival data supported by interviews with seven members of RSPO, we find that ten different types of institutional work are employed to gain and maintain political legitimacy. Based on this finding, we argue that institutional work is more appropriately approached as a thriving ecosystem of different types of work than as a taxonomy. Adding to the scholarly literature, we present two new theoretical concepts, namely 'institutional multitasking' and 'dynamic balance of compromises', which reflect the complex dynamics and ever-evolving nature of standardisation.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

CSPO   Certified Sustainable Palm Oil

CSR   Corporate Social Responsibility

GHG   Greenhouse Gas

HCV   High Conservation Value

ISPO   Indonesia Sustainable Palm Oil

MSI   Multi-Stakeholder Initiative

MSPO   Malaysia Sustainable Palm Oil

NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation

NSMD   Non-State Market-Driven

P&C   Principles & Criteria

PPP   Public-Private Partnership

RSPO   Roundtable On Sustainable Palm Oil

UNGP   United Nations Guiding Principles on Human Rights

WWF   World Wildlife Fund

List of Technical Terms

Biodiversity	The variety of plant, animal, and bacterial life, most often measured in species, that is, groups of living things that can interbreed[1]
Carbon sequestration	Long-term storage of atmospheric carbon dioxide[2]
Carbon sink	A reservoir that accumulates and stores carbon for a long period of time[3]
Criterion 5.6	In the RSPO Principles and Criteria for Sustainable Palm Oil Production (2013), Criterion 5.6 requires that plans to reduce pollution and emissions, including greenhouse gases, are developed, implemented and monitored[4]
Criterion 7.8	In the RSPO Principles and Criteria for Sustainable Palm Oil Production (2013), Criterion 7.8 requires that new plantation developments are designed to minimise net greenhouse gas emissions[5]
Dispute Settlement Facility	RSPO's in-house facilitation service to support RSPO members (notably growers), local communities and other stakeholders to effectively use mediation as a means to help resolve disputes[6]
High Conservation Value (HCV)	The biological, ecological, social, and cultural values associated with natural habitats and which are considered significant for reasons such as the presence of rare or endemic species, provision of ecosystem services, sacred sites, or resources harvested by local residents[7]
HCV Assessment	An assessment undertaken to determine whether a piece of land contains HCV[8]
HCV Assessor	A professional who undertakes HCV assessments[9]
Land Use Change Analysis	An analysis conducted to determine previous vegetation status, which serves as a proxy for the potential loss of HCV 1-3, and ecological aspects of HCV 4[10]
Monoculture	Growing genetically similar or identical plants over a large area, year after year[11]

---

[1] National Wildlife Federation, 1996-2017
[2] United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), 2017
[3] USDA, 2017
[4] RSPO, 2013c
[5] RSPO, 2013c
[6] RSPO, 2017r
[7] HCV Resource Network, 2005-2017
[8] HCV Resource Network, 2005-2016
[9] HCV Resource Network, 2005-2016
[10] RSPO, 2014g
[11] Harvard T. H. Chan School of Public Health, 2012-2017

National interpretation	The adaption of RSPO Principles & Criteria for use by different countries[12]
PalmGHG Calculator	A tool developed by RSPO, which allows palm oil producers to estimate and monitor their net greenhouse gas emissions[13]
Peat and peatland	Carbon-rich, partially decayed vegetation that has accumulated over thousands of years[14]
Smallholders	Farmers who grow oil palm, alongside with subsistence crops, where the family provides the majority of labour, the farm provides the principal source of income, and the planted oil palm area is less than 50 hectares[15]
Smallholders, independent	Smallholders who are self-organised, self-managed and self-financed. They are not contractually bound to any particular mill or association[16]
Smallholders, scheme	Smallholders who are structurally bound to a particular mill. They are often organised, supervised or directly managed by the managers of the mill, estate or scheme to which they are structurally linked[17]

---

[12] RSPO, 2017t
[13] RSPO, 2017s
[14] Talocchi, 2014
[15] RSPO, 2017e
[16] RSPO, 2017e
[17] RSPO, 2017e

Chapter 1: Introduction

This paper studies the mechanisms that give rise to the regulatory capacity of private commodity standards. Specifically, it investigates how the leading standard in the global palm oil industry, namely the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO), gains and maintains political legitimacy. By focusing on the sustainability of the palm oil industry, the paper addresses an important contemporary challenge. The global population has now reached approximately 7.5 billion people, and it is estimated to increase to almost 10 billion by 2050. This population growth is largely a result of an increase in life expectancy, which stems from the development of new medicines and the improvements in living standards that arise from declining poverty rates. Especially developing countries face a large increase in their populations over the next decades, as they still have high fertility levels (United Nations Population Fund [UNFPA], 2017). The increasing global population combined with rising incomes drive up global food demand, which is expected to increase with at least 59 per cent by 2050 (Elferink & Schierhorn, 2016). As such, world consumption growth outpaces population growth, especially when it comes to vegetable oils such as palm and soy (European Commission [EC], 2015). However, crop yields are currently growing at a rate too low to meet this rising global demand. Therefore, farmers, mainly in developing countries, must increase their crop production. This can be done either by increasing the amount of agricultural land or by increasing the productivity of existing farmland (Madre & Devuyst, 2015; Elferink & Schierhorn, 2016).

Yet, many farmers are faced with a considerable challenge in the form of climate change, which in some regions causes substantial declines in agricultural output due to rising temperatures and extreme weather. This problem is aggravated by the fact that agricultural commodities themselves contribute to global warming, as the deforestation necessary to clear land for crops is a large source of carbon dioxide emissions (Elferink & Schierhorn, 2016). Moreover, globalisation poses a challenge for governments in countries producing agricultural commodities: Since economic integration has far outpaced political or regulatory integration, nation states alone cannot overcome the issues posed by global consumption growth and climate change. As a result, no or insufficient global rules exist to address these global sustainability issues (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011). For this reason, it is essential that businesses, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and other stakeholders engage to ensure

sustainability in agricultural supply chains and meet the demand of rising global consumption (Elferink & Schierhorn, 2016).

In accordance with this, private actors are increasingly engaging to address the policy gaps brought on by globalisation. Their engagement reflects a shift away from a national constellation in which the government is the sole authority with the mandate to prescribe regulations to a post-national constellation where the legitimate development of rules exceeds public authority (de Bakker, Rasche, & Ponte, forthcoming; Habermas, 2001). In this sense, the post-national constellation is characterised by the blurring of boundaries between public and private power (Habermas, 2001; Scherer & Palazzo, 2011). An important driver for companies to take an interest in sustainability issues is self-interest. Indeed, Dauvergne and Lister (2013) argue that the primary goal of corporate sustainability efforts is to ensure the sustainability of the companies themselves. In the past two decades, a fair amount of research studies have been dedicated to examining the link between corporate sustainability efforts and financial performance. Explanations of the possible existence of such a link include cost-cutting through waste-reduction, profits from innovation, reputational benefits allowing price premiums, and reduction of risks (Schuler, Rasche, Etzion, & Newton, 2017). Notably, Porter and Kramer (2011) advocate the generation of profits through the creation of societal value, which they term 'shared value creation'. Another reason why companies engage in sustainability management, however, relates to ethics: Sustainability is intrinsically valued for its own sake and not necessarily for its instrumental benefits (Schuler et al., 2017). In line with this, Scherer and Palazzo (2011) argue that corporations take on political roles not to enhance their competitiveness but because they are forced to fill governmental gaps. The political roles assumed by companies are perhaps most evident in their creation of and participation in global sustainability standards (Schuler et al., 2017).

Corporations engage in global sustainability through an array of voluntary, self-regulated, and public-private mechanisms. These include corporate social responsibility (CSR), public-private partnerships (PPPs), and non-state market-driven (NSMD) global governance systems (Bernstein & Cashore, 2007), the latter of which is the focus of this thesis. NSMD systems are distinct from CSR and PPPs in two very important ways. Firstly, they aim to create standards and rules that are binding and enforceable along the global supply chain, distinguishing them from purely voluntary mechanisms. Secondly, they derive authority directly from interested stakeholders, including those they attempt to govern, and

not from sovereign states. As such, the central actors in NSMD governance systems are private and civil society actors. Due to these characteristics, Bernstein and Cashore (2007) argue that NSMD systems have great potential to develop and embed social and environmental norms in global markets. As such, they are effective means to address the global sustainability issues arising from the increasing consumption of agricultural commodities.

Palm oil is perhaps the perfect test case for sustainability in agriculture. Firstly, palm oil is practically ubiquitous. Due to its high efficiency and versatility, it is found in approximately 50 per cent of common consumer goods, ranging from food to cosmetics (Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil [RSPO], 2017a). Palm oil is also increasingly used for biofuels production (Sustainable Palm Oil Transparency Toolkit [SPOTT], 2017a). Secondly, palm oil has the highest percentage of market share compared to other vegetable oils. Global consumption of palm oil has risen from 14.6 million tonnes in 1995 to 61.1 million tonnes in 2015, rendering it the most consumed oil in the world (European Palm Oil Alliance, 2016). Thirdly, palm oil is supplied through extensive commodity chains, which link producers from countries with tropical rainforest, particularly Indonesia and Malaysia, to buyers in international markets. In these producing countries, the farming and production of palm oil form the backbone of many communities, and millions of individuals rely on the commodity for their livelihoods (GreenPalm, 2017a; RSPO, 2017b). As we shall see in the below, however, palm oil production also has significant negative externalities, and these have attracted the attention of civil society organisations. In this sense, palm oil affects stakeholders across sectors throughout the world. Therefore, there is a variety of different players at the table, from growers and processors over manufacturers and retailers to NGOs.

In spite of its important economic benefits, palm oil production is often highly criticised for its negative environmental impacts, particularly in relation to deforestation in areas with pristine rainforest. The rapidly increasing demand for palm oil leads to the expansion of oil palm plantations, which comes at the expense of tropical rainforests, as trees are cut or burned down to make space for new plantings (World Wildlife Fund [WWF], 2017a). This has two serious consequences. Firstly, tropical forests form critical habitats for many endangered plant and animal species, and the loss of these habitats pose a significant threat to these species' survival. As species go extinct, the biodiversity of the planet is reduced (WWF, 2017a; GreenPalm, 2017b). Secondly, the burning of forests releases carbon

dioxide into the atmosphere, which contributes to climate change. Likewise, the conversions of tropical forests and peatlands into plantations release the carbon dioxide stored in these 'carbon sinks' whilst simultaneously decreasing the capacity for future carbon sequestration (WWF, 2017a; Rushing & Lee, 2013).

Recently, social concerns have also been raised in relation to palm oil production. In particular, palm oil companies have been criticised for developing land without adequately consulting or compensating local communities. Companies have been known to either lure or force locals to give up their traditional lands, their practices sometimes triggering social conflicts (Li, 2015). Moreover, the loss of livelihood resulting from the privatisation of lands, which were previously harvested to meet the daily needs of locals, and the increased dependence on oil palm plantations for work have deteriorated the social and economic welfare of many individuals (RSPO, 2017b; GreenPalm, 2017b). Finally, violations of workers' rights on oil palm plantations have been a cause for worry. Especially issues relating to child and forced labour, fair remuneration, and safe working conditions are areas of concern (Accenture for Humanity United, 2013; RSPO, 2017a).

In response to the serious issues faced in the palm oil industry, the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) was formally established in 2004. RSPO is an NSMD certification system which unites more than 3,000 stakeholders from all links of the palm oil supply chain in an effort to define and enforce sustainability standards in the industry (RSPO, 2017c). More recently, state-driven initiatives, such as Indonesia Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO) and Malaysian Sustainable Palm Oil (MSPO) have also emerged to define their own "rules of the game" (North, 1990) in relation to sustainable palm oil. Unlike RSPO certification, these national standards are legally mandated by their respective governments. While RSPO does not possess a legal mandate to rule, however, it remains relatively successful in governing the palm oil industry alongside national governments (Paoli, 2014; SPOTT, 2017b). This renders RSPO an interesting case to explore the seemingly paradoxical existence of regulatory capacity in the absence of legal authority to rule. Rather than legality, we argue that the regulatory capacity of RSPO rests on political legitimacy, which it must actively work to create and maintain. Doing so requires constant attention to the evolving demands made by its constituencies, which comprise a variety of sectors and geographical locations and therefore have disparate concerns relating to sustainable palm oil. As such, RSPO represents a fascinating case for investigating how the variety of efforts undertaken by actors to advance

their different interests serve to co-create a standard. To explore the ways in which the economic, environmental, and social interests of various actors are promoted and balanced, we explore efforts undertaken to promote four key debates within RSPO: (1) biodiversity and high conservation value (HCV), (2) greenhouse gas, (3) smallholder inclusion, and (4) human rights. Each of these debates captures the tensions that arise when RSPO members attempt to drive the standard in different directions.

We investigate RSPO's attempts to gain and maintain political legitimacy through the lens of institutional work theory. This theory highlights actors' intentional efforts to impact institutions, that is those relatively enduring elements of society which enable and constrain actors (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). The strength of this approach is that it allows us to investigate the dynamics of RSPO, especially the ways in which diverging interests of multiple stakeholders are furthered. A thorough examination of the micro-level activities undertaken by those individuals and groups who comprise a standard-setting organisation is currently missing from the academic literature, which largely focuses on the functions and outcomes of standards within global governance and on the motivations for private actors to support them (Jespersen, Kruuse, Bøgestrand, and Gallemore, forthcoming; Slager, Gond, & Moon, 2012). For this reason, we consider the present paper an important theoretical contribution to the scholarly literature surrounding NSMD initiatives. By emphasising how institutional work is associated with the political legitimacy of a standard, our thesis combines largely separate theoretical perspectives to explain the mechanisms that underpin the regulatory capacity of NSMD governance. In this way, the paper addresses a resonant topic within organisational theory, showing how political legitimacy arises through complex and dynamic interactions of work undertaken by various actors within an organisation. We also add to the existing literature on institutional work, according to which efforts to create and maintain institutions occur in separate phases (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). We expand on this understanding by showing how creating and maintaining work may occur alongside and in response to each other. Moreover, considering that palm oil may be a perfect test case for sustainability and that RSPO is a relatively successful standard, our findings could also apply to other agricultural commodities, such as soy. For this reason, we expect to make relevant contributions to practitioners in terms of how NSMD systems can work to gain and maintain political legitimacy in order to promote sustainable practices across supply chains.

1.1. Research Question

Based on the contextual factors surrounding our research topic and on our ambition to add to the theoretical and practical knowledge in the field, we have developed the following research question:

How are types of institutional work used to gain and maintain political legitimacy in RSPO?

We view the following three sub-questions as natural steps in answering our research question: *(1) Which types of institutional work does RSPO rely on? (2) Which types of institutional work are used to promote each of the four key debates within RSPO? (3) What implications does the institutional work undertaken in RSPO have for its political legitimacy?* As the paper develops, we will explore these questions in depth. In order to further specify our research focus, the next section sets out some justifiable delimitations. Specifically, it sets the boundaries of the paper by presenting three aspects that are not included and expands on our reasons for choosing to leave these out. Subsequently, we provide an overview of the remainder of the paper by presenting its structure and stating the main points of each chapter.

1.2. Delimitations

In developing our research question and selecting the theoretical perspectives which we apply to answer it, we naturally exclude certain aspects from our sphere of investigation. After all, if you aim to talk about everything at once, you often end up talking about nothing at all (Haveman & David in Greenwood, Oliver, Suddaby, & Sahlin, 2008). In other words, if we attempted to cover all aspects of palm oil with all applicable theories, we would run the risk of not discovering anything worthwhile about the sustainability practices associated with palm oil or the theoretical perspectives used to illuminate them. Firstly, we limit ourselves to focus exclusively on RSPO. While we do include a discussion of the impacts of the multiplicity of standards in the field, we leave out any exploration of the internal dynamics of other initiatives, such as ISPO or MSPO. Our choice to focus on RSPO rather than other sustainability standards within the palm oil industry stems from the fact that RSPO is the one adopted by the most organisations worldwide (Paoli, 2014; SPOTT, 2017b). Secondly, our research focus on political legitimacy is restricted to the underlying dynamics that go into

creating and maintaining it. We could have theorised political legitimacy as a reflection of actual impacts and explored the impacts of RSPO in terms of environmental and/or social sustainability on the ground. Such an evaluation, however, would not have allowed us to explore how institutional work is used within RSPO to gain and maintain political legitimacy, as it would have been more focused on results than on the process leading to these results.

Thirdly, we limit our research in terms of the theoretical perspectives we employ in our investigation. We could have relied on actor network theory to study the relations among actors within RSPO. This theoretical perspective could have revealed something about the ways in which different interests are furthered within an NSMD system that comprises multiple human and non-human actants. However, actor network theory does not subscribe to the notion of a layered reality, but instead conflates micro-level actions and macro-levels structures, meaning that it does not support our aim of explaining the causal mechanisms of the political legitimacy of an organisation. Moreover, actor network theory subscribes to an extreme notion of change in that it assumes that events only occur once, rendering any attempt to develop generalisable findings redundant (Modell, Vinnari, & Lukka, forthcoming). As such, it does not fit our purpose of providing explanations for the attainment and retention of political legitimacy on a more general level. Finally, we could have investigated the political legitimacy of RSPO using only legitimacy theories. However, this would have been a far more static and evaluative approach than the one which we have opted for. The unique combination of institutional work and political legitimacy theory provides us with a process-oriented approach that is infused with agency to investigate the standard-setting capacity of RSPO. We argue for our theoretical choices and combinations in greater detail in our literature review.

1.3. Structure

The rest of this thesis is divided as follows. Chapter 2 expands on the relevance of our research by introducing the backdrop against which our study unfolds. Firstly, this chapter presents the global presence of palm oil in a wide array of products and the resulting positive and negative impacts of the industry. It then moves on to introduce RSPO, which was developed in response to the aforementioned tensions within the palm oil industry, and zooms in for a closer look at its organisational characteristics by virtue of its status as an NSMD initiative. Based upon these two sections, the final section of this chapter provides four key

arguments for the relevance of this thesis, namely (1) the importance and urgency of the sustainable transition of the palm oil industry, (2) the potential for generalisable conclusions that may be transferable to other commodities, (3) the relevance of political legitimacy to a standard-setting NSMD initiative, and (4) the call for further research on the internal dynamics of organisations.

Chapter 3 presents and critically reviews three branches of literature surrounding our research topic: NSMD governance and standard setting, political legitimacy, and institutional theory and work. The first section reviews the literature on governance and standard-setting, focusing on NSMD systems. It begins by providing a definition of NSMD initiatives, after which it presents three main themes within the literature surrounding them: input, institutionalisation, and impact. As the notion of legitimacy permeates all three of these themes, this section also reviews the literature on political legitimacy. Firstly, we introduce and challenge the dichotomy between strategic and institutional legitimacy by arguing that both are of equal importance to our research. Secondly, we introduce Bernstein and Cashore's (2007) political legitimacy framework, which was created especially to be applied on NSMD systems. The second section of the literature review goes on to introduce one of the most popular theories in relation to the study of organisations, namely institutional theory. This section proceeds to argue that institutional theory is not adequate to investigate our particular research focus, wherefore Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) institutional work typology is presented along with a brief criticism. Based upon all three branches of literature as well as the model created by Slager et al. (2012), the third and final section of the literature review develops a revised theoretical framework for standardisation, that is the institutionalisation of a standard.

Chapter 4 presents and argues for our methodological choices. Firstly, it presents the critical realist worldview and argues for its superiority relative to positivism and social constructivism in investigating our particular research topic. Secondly, the chapter presents the multi-method qualitative research design which this paper employs in accordance with the critical realist philosophical stance. This section also argues for our use of a hybrid research approach, consisting initially of deduction and sequentially on a combination of abduction and retroduction. The third section begins by arguing for the appropriateness of the theories that we employ, after which it introduces the practical methods employed to collect and analyse our data. The methods used to collect archival documents and to conduct semi-

structured interviews are described in detail, and our choice to employ these particular types of data is subjected to critical reflections. Subsequently, we present the methods employed to analyse our data. This chapter ends with a brief discussion of validity, reliability, and generalisability.

Chapter 5 presents the results of our data collection and analysis. The first section investigates which types of institutional work are employed within RSPO and expands on their use. The second section analyses which types of institutional work are used in relation with two of the key characteristics of NSMD systems, namely input and impact. The following four sections analyse how types of institutional work are used to advance each of the four key debates within RSPO, namely the debates surrounding (1) biodiversity and HCV, (2) greenhouse gas, (3) smallholder inclusion, and (4) human rights and the shift towards a more social conception of sustainability. The chapter ends by presenting some concluding remarks. Chapter 6 discusses the implications of our analysis. Firstly, it discusses the practical implications of our results in relation to the political legitimacy of RSPO based on two key characteristics of NSMD systems, namely input and impact. This includes a brief discussion of the impacts of national standards, namely ISPO and MSPO, on RSPO's political legitimacy. Secondly, it discusses the theoretical implications of our results for the institutional work theory. Based upon this discussion, it revises the theoretical framework derived in Chapter 3. As such, this section presents the implications of our results for the academic literature surrounding the political legitimacy of NSMD systems as well. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes on the thesis. It also offers some final reflections and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2: Background

This chapter begins by presenting the broader context of the paper in a review of the controversy that surrounds the global palm oil industry. Next, it introduces the most essential features of RSPO's organisational structure and certification standard as well as some criticisms pertaining to both. Finally, the chapter expands on the reasons why this particular research focus merits our attention.

2.1. Good and Bad Palm Oil

Many consumers in the developed world are, perhaps blissfully, unaware of their daily consumption of palm oil. Their ignorance can partially be ascribed to Western labelling regulations which permit palm oil to be listed on the back of products as vegetable oil (Accenture for Humanity United, 2013). In fact, it was not until December 2014 that a new law requiring companies to provide information on the vegetable origin of refined oils and fats became applicable in the European Union (EC, 2017). Furthermore, even commodities containing certified sustainable palm oil (CSPO) may not carry the RSPO logo, since manufacturers are often reluctant to draw attention to the fact that their products contain palm oil at all (Lim, 2015). Yet, palm oil is an ingredient in one of every two products sold in Western supermarkets (Accenture for Humanity United, 2013). The multipurpose oil is found in everything from our everyday commodities (such as foodstuffs, liquid detergents, and cosmetics) to industrial lubricants as well as being a growing staple of the biofuels industry (Verité, 2013a; WWF, 2017b). In addition, palm oil is widely used in Asia and other developing regions as the primary source of cooking oil (Accenture for Humanity United, 2013). And its use is only growing: In 2015, almost 60 million tonnes of palm oil were produced (RSPO, 2017d), and this number is expected to grow to over 70 million tonnes by 2020 (Global Industry Analysts, Inc., 2015). Palm oil is not only versatile but also extremely productive. It requires only half as much land as other crops to produce the same amount of oil. This makes palm oil the highest yielding vegetable oil crop per square meter in the world (RSPO, 2017b). This efficiency along with the low labour costs associated with the countries where oil palm is grown means that production costs are very low (WWF, 2017b).

In spite of these benefits, palm oil is heavily disputed. It has been decried for its negative environmental and social externalities, which are not reflected in its price due to

market failure (Ojemade & Bankole, 2013). Environmental externalities mainly relate to deforestation, which has two serious impacts. Firstly, tropical rainforests contain some of the highest levels of biodiversity on land in the entire world. Here, an abundance of animal and plant species live in complex habitats and provide a variety of essential ecosystem services, such as climate regulation, many of which are important to human inhabitants of the forests. Many of these species, such as the famously threatened Bornean orangutan and Sumatran rhinoceros, are highly specialised and do not live anywhere else on the planet. This complex environment is drastically changed when a monoculture like palm oil is introduced. The introduction of a monoculture obviously brings a stark reduction in plant biodiversity, but it also reduces the biodiversity of animals, as the simplified oil palm environment cannot sustain all specialised species (SPOTT, 2017c). Secondly, peatlands and primary rainforests, which are cleared for planting oil palm, store much larger amounts of carbon than oil palm plantations. As such, planting on peat and clearing rainforests releases the carbon stored, leading to a net increase in greenhouse gas emissions, which has negative impacts on global climate change. These negative impacts are aggravated when primary forest is burned, as this results in massive releases of sequestered carbon from the trees. As such, the impacts of deforestation on greenhouse gas emissions are closely related to biodiversity, insofar as the ability to store carbon and reduce the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is greatly reduced when replacing rainforests with plantations (SPOTT, 2017d).

The social externalities associated with palm oil relate to two issues in particular. Firstly, plantations are often encroaching on lands on which locals are dependent for small-scale farming and natural resources. As oil palm plantations expand, food security decreases, since locals can no longer rely on the forests and rivers to meet their daily needs (Vartiala & Ristimäki, 2014). This issue especially affects indigenous peoples. For them, the loss of land is also associated with a loss of culture, since they lose access to the places where they perform their religious rituals (Institute for Ecosoc Rights, 2013). In Indonesia, indigenous peoples hold informal or customary rights to more than 60 per cent of land holdings in the country (Schuster Institute for Investigative Journalism, 2012-2014), but these traditional land tenure rights are subject to national interests (Fernz, 2012) and, as such, not always recognised by the state. Since the Indonesian government often sides with large corporations, customary land rights seldom hold up against corporate pressures to acquire and convert the land into profitable oil palm plantations (Schuster Institute for Investigative Journalism, 2012-

2014). Land grabbing is sometimes conducted in very subtle ways, where companies trick individuals into surrendering their land by making promises that are not kept. For example, landowners might be ensured that they will be included in future smallholder schemes, thereby not entirely giving up the land (Li, 2015). Other times, companies use force to acquire land. For instance, there have been reports of companies destroying land or using private security officers to exert pressure onto landowners (Institute for Ecosoc Rights, 2013). Consequently, the National Human Rights Commission in Indonesia received a staggering 2,483 complaints concerning land disputes in 2014 alone (Nuraini, Aziz, Cahyono, & Moniaga, 2016).

Secondly, workers on plantations face hazardous working conditions. The harvesting and processing of oil palm are associated with long hours of hard, physical labour (Verité, 2013a). Workers may be exposed to various risks while working, including exposure to pesticides, snake bites, and cuts (Verité, 2013b), and they are seldom provided with adequate equipment and gear to protect themselves (Institute for Ecosoc Rights, 2013). These issues are compounded by unfavourable terms of employment. Rather than a fixed monthly salary, workers on oil palm plantations receive performance-based remunerations (Vartiala & Ristimäki, 2014). The targets set to earn a minimum wage are often unrealistic, leading to excessive overtime work (Amnesty International, 2016). When workers struggle to reach their targets, they may also bring their spouses and children to assist them in their work at the plantations. As such, child labour is widespread in the industry (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2016). Furthermore, migrant workers in Malaysia are subject to debt bondage resulting from high recruiting fees. They also often face restrictions on their freedom of movement, as the retention of their passports is widespread practice. This combination makes them vulnerable to forced labour (Verité, 2013a).

The negative impacts of palm oil production attracted increasing global attention in the 2000s, when a number of NGOs released a series of campaigns to raise awareness on the unsustainable practices of the industry (The Oil Palm, 2016). Notably, Greenpeace in 2010 launched their 'Kit Kat campaign' against Nestlé to shed light on the fact that Nestlé sourced the palm oil for its candy bars from companies contributing to deforestation and loss of orangutan habitat (Greenpeace, 2010a). Two months later, Nestlé responded to the campaign by committing to source its palm oil sustainably (Greenpeace, 2010b). The following year, Rainforest Foundation Norway launched a campaign with the slogan 'Do not eat the

rainforest' in an attempt to stop Norwegian food producers from using palm oil entirely, regardless of whether it was sustainably sourced or not. The NGO claims that as a result of this campaign, Norwegian palm oil consumption was reduced by two thirds in one year (Rainforest Foundation Norway, 2017). Since then, palm oil has become vilified to the point where companies have begun to place 'no palm oil' claims on their products (Vergano, 2015).

However, World's Best News recently warned against the dangers of a boycott (Zacharewicz, 2017), highlighting the fact that several countries remain dependent on exports from palm oil. This especially holds true for the two largest palm oil producing countries, Indonesia and Malaysia, where palm oil accounts for a large share of export earnings (GreenPalm, 2017c). In these countries, and other developing nations, the cultivation and production of palm oil form the backbone for many communities, and millions of individuals rely on the commodity for their livelihoods. In Indonesia and Malaysia alone, 4.5 million oil palm smallholders, who are among the poorest farmers in the world, earn their living from palm oil production. As such, the palm oil industry plays an important role in the reduction of poverty for these farmers and enables them to care for their families (GreenPalm, 2017a; RSPO, 2017b).

Furthermore, the replacement of palm oil with other types of vegetable oil would only lead to other - and potentially worse - environmental and social problems (RSPO, 2017b). This is due to the fact that oil palms require less than half the amount of land of other crops to produce the same amount of oil, wherefore it involves less land clearing. Hence, the environmental and social consequences of land clearing as outlined above would be exacerbated if palm oil were to be replaced with other vegetable oils, which require far more land to be cleared. An example of this is soybean oil, which is one of the main alternatives to palm oil. Not only does soy need more land to produce the same amount of oil as oil palm (Rushing & Lee, 2013), but it also requires more fertiliser, pesticides, and energy than palm oil (Moulds, 2015). Excessive use of fertiliser is harmful to the environment, as it can leach into and contaminate water supplies (Center for Agriculture, Food and the Environment, 2017). Pesticides are toxic, wherefore their misuse or unsafe handling is harmful to human health. Moreover, pesticides can contaminate soil, water, and vegetation (Aktar, Sengupta, & Chowdhury, 2009). As palm oil requires less of both, it is not only more environmentally friendly but also more cost effective than soy (World Growth, 2011). Thus, rather than shunning its use, solutions to the numerous problems associated with palm oil production

should be sought and found within rather than outside the palm oil industry (Zacharewicz, 2017). The industry must undergo a sustainable transition from producing conventional palm oil towards producing environmentally and socially responsible and sustainable palm oil. In other words, there is a need to break the link between palm oil and deforestation and social exploitation, and that is where RSPO enters the picture.

2.2. Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil

RSPO emerged in response to the above-mentioned issues in the palm oil industry. Initiated by Aarhus United UK Ltd., Migros, Malaysian Palm Oil Association, Unilever, and World Wildlife Fund (WWF) in 2001 and formally established in 2004, it is arguably the leading global initiative working to transform the palm oil industry by developing and implementing global standards for sustainable palm oil. As we shall see in this section, RSPO is a highly complex organisation that must simultaneously establish itself as an ambitious sustainability standard and ensure that it retains a broad membership. To this end, RSPO must incorporate the different opinions and demands of this membership.

RSPO is an NSMD multi-stakeholder initiative (MSI) representing stakeholders from the seven sectors of the palm oil industry: oil palm producers, processors/traders, consumer goods manufacturers, retailers, banks/investors, and environmental and social NGOs. Its more than 3,000 members have all committed to support, promote, and work towards the production, procurement, and use of CSPO (RSPO, 2017c, 2015a). Notably, the ordinary membership sectors with the largest representation in RSPO are the consumer goods manufacturers with 708 members and the processors and traders with 514 members. Third come growers with 170 members. This correlates with the fact that only two grower countries, Malaysia with 134 members and Indonesia with 114 members, make it to the top ten of RSPO members by country. The other eight places are occupied by countries in the developed world (RSPO, 2017d).

Arguably, this membership distribution is distorted, seeing as how the majority of the world's palm oil is produced in Indonesia and Malaysia. Since growers are the very first link in the supply chain, they are essential players to engage in transitioning the industry towards sustainable practices, because they have direct environmental and social impacts on the ground (SPOTT, 2017e). As we have shown that oil palm growers, particularly smallholders, have a high economic stake in the industry, it is key that they have the opportunity to

influence the sustainability standard on equal terms with downstream players to ensure that its implementation is feasible. Naturally, it is also important that downstream stakeholders can push for reasonable improvements to the standard in order to progress the sustainable transition. It is therefore crucial that no stakeholder group single-handedly dominate the discussion. This concern is mirrored in the organisational structure of RSPO, which is depicted in Figure 1. As we shall see, RSPO attempts with this organisational structure to adjust for the imbalance in sectoral and geographical representation presented in the above.
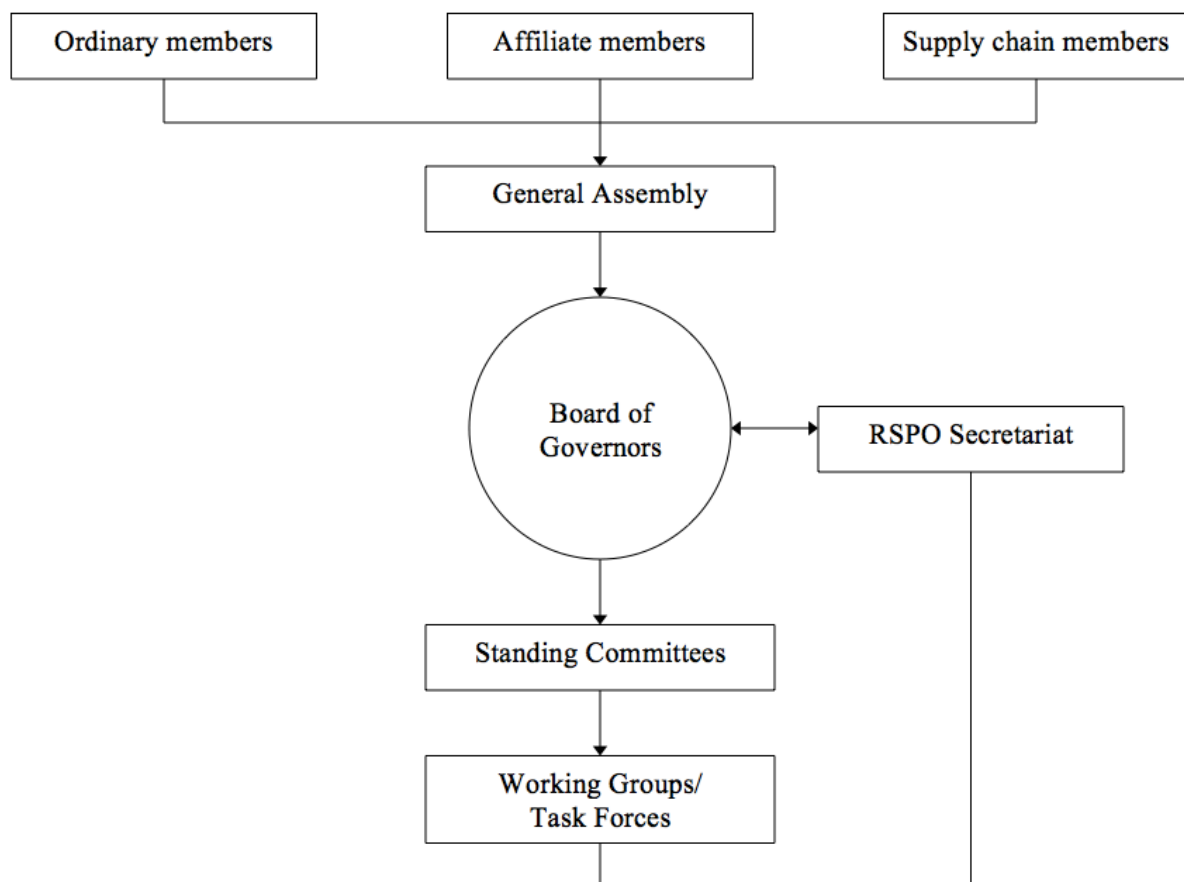
Figure 1: The Organisational Structure of RSPO (adapted from RSPO, 2017f)

RSPO is managed by a Board of Governors, which is normally comprised of 16 members elected by the General Assembly. The size of the Board constitutes an attempt to overcome the abovementioned imbalance in representation of the seven sectors of RSPO by allowing two representatives from each sector to sit on the Board. The only exception to this rule is the growers who occupy four seats: Indonesian growers, Malaysian growers, 'rest of the world' growers, and smallholders (RSPO, 2017g). This division reflects a recognition that

different kinds of growers operate under different constraints, all of which must be considered if the RSPO standard is to be effectively implemented. The four seats of the growers also balance the seats of the two social and two environmental NGOs to ensure that their sustainability demands remain reasonable to the growers who must implement them (RSPO, 2017g). The daily administration of RSPO is handled by the Secretariat, which also organises meetings of the Board and other groups. The Secretariat coordinates the yearly General Assembly, where members table and vote on resolutions, and which is the only forum in RSPO where decisions are made by majority voting rather than by consensus (RSPO, 2017h). Moreover, the Secretariat coordinates the yearly Roundtable meetings which brings together various stakeholders to discuss the path to making sustainable palm oil the norm (RSPO, 2017h,i).

In response to the continuous expansion of RSPO and the issues it must deal with, the standing committees, task forces, and working groups were developed (RSPO, 2017j). As with the Board, RSPO emphasises balanced stakeholder participation in these groups. Especially the working groups are of importance to this paper, since they were created to come up with solutions to critical issues as they emerged in RSPO. The working groups focus on biodiversity and HCV, greenhouse gas, smallholder inclusion, human rights, and peatland. The findings of these groups are important in shaping and interpreting the Principles and Criteria (P&C) which, in a sense, illustrate how RSPO defines sustainability.

In 2008, RSPO developed its first set of environmental and social P&C, which companies must live up to in order to produce CSPO. Only by gaining certification by an independent auditor approved by RSPO are members able to claim that they produce, use, and/or sell CSPO (RSPO, 2017f). The P&C are revised every five years. As such, they have only been reviewed once so far. The second review is currently taking place, and it is expected to be ratified in November 2018 (RSPO, 2017k). It is therefore the RSPO P&C 2013 which currently apply. The eight overarching principles for growers are: (1) a commitment to transparency, (2) compliance with relevant laws and regulations, (3) a commitment to economic and financial viability in the long rung, (4) the use of appropriate best practices, (5) environmental responsibility and the conservation of natural resources and biodiversity, (6) consideration of the responsibility for employees and for individuals and communities affected by the industry, (7) the responsible development of new plantings, and (8) a commitment to ongoing improvement in central areas of activity (RSPO, 2013).

National interpretations are developed to accommodate the legal and cultural differences that exist between producing countries. At the same time, however, national interpretations should remain consistent with the P&C. Therefore, the translation of requirements is essential to provide guidance for different groups on how to follow the P&C, and the adaptation of the P&C to fit different national contexts is important to negate any potential conflicts between the P&C and national laws. Notably, national interpretations for smallholders have also been developed in an effort to recognise the unique challenges faced by this group of growers (RSPO, 2013, 2017l). Another effort to acknowledge the diversity of RSPO members was made in 2016, when RSPO NEXT certification was introduced in recognition of companies that go further than required by the P&C. The central components of RSPO NEXT are: (1) no deforestation, (2) no fire, (3) no planting on peat, (4) reduction of greenhouse gases, (5) respect for human rights, and (6) transparency (RSPO, 2017m). Importantly, deforestation is closely associated with the loss of biodiversity and HCV.

Thus far, the impact of RSPO P&C has been significant: 2.53 million hectares of plantation is certified of which 335,158 hectares are owned by smallholders. Currently, 12.15 million tonnes of palm oil - corresponding to 21 per cent of the global volume - is RSPO certified (RSPO, 2017d).

Certification scheme	RSPO	ISPO	MSPO
Certified area	2,530,000 ha (March 2017 est.)	1,400,000 ha (April 2017 est.)	245,599 ha (March 2017 est.)

Table 1: Market Uptake of RSPO, ISPO, and MSPO (RSPO, 2017d; Hambali, 2017; Malaysian Palm Oil Certification Council [MPOCC], 2017)

As evident from Table 1, RSPO is relatively successful in terms of market uptake of the standard compared to the two other major sustainable palm oil certification programmes, ISPO and MSPO. In spite of this positive impact, however, RSPO faces difficulties and criticisms. Obvious examples relate to the development of two government-driven standards, namely ISPO and MSPO. ISPO was developed because Indonesia's palm oil industry perceived RSPO as being slow, expensive, and biased towards consumer countries (Down to Earth, 2011). MSPO was developed to address the shortcomings of RSPO in terms of

adjusting to local conditions and ensuring the inclusion of smallholders, which were perceived to hinder economic development (Ministry of Plantation Industries and Commodities, 2014; Malaysian Palm Oil Council, 2012).

Moreover, CSPO has not yet managed to fully penetrate the market, as the uptake of CSPO has been stagnant at around 50 per cent of production for years (RSPO, 2017d). This means that growers often have to sell the remainder of their CSPO as conventional palm oil without receiving a premium for their efforts. The result is that farmers are poorly incentivised to engage with RSPO and go through the P&C certification process (Balch, 2013). Relatedly, certification can initially be costly, which means that primarily larger corporations are able to afford it. Smallholders, on the other hand, may not have the financial capacity to endure the costs of changing their practices to operate more sustainably and still earn a profit (Hewson, 2016; Rowling, 2015). For this reason, it has been pointed out that smallholders are at risk of being excluded from RSPO certification, in particular with the introduction of more stringent requirements in RSPO NEXT (Rowling, 2015; Howard, 2016). Of course, the poor uptake of CSPO and the high cost of certification are mutually reinforcing. Together, they aggravate the difficulties for smallholders to convert from traditional to sustainable production, as they have to bear considerable costs and may risk having to sell their CSPO without an added premium. Since smallholder production accounts for 40 per cent of total palm oil production, this issue is of paramount importance for the global uptake of the RSPO standard (RSPO, 2017n).

RSPO has also been criticised for certifying plantations that do not adequately live up to the P&C. Investigations have found that serious labour rights abuses continue to take place at certified plantations, and they blame the weak compliance requirements of RSPO (International Labor Rights Forum [ILRF] & Sawit Watch, 2013; Chow & Ananthalakshmi, 2016). This reflects another critique, namely that RSPO's definition of sustainability primarily involves environmental aspects and only secondarily includes the social ones, almost neglecting labour rights (Chow & Ananthalakshmi, 2016). Indeed, a number of NGOs and human rights advocates have attacked the organisation for not adequately addressing issues relating to human rights. Yet, calls have also been made for RSPO to strengthen its standards and enforcement when it comes to environmental sustainability, especially with regards to deforestation, peatland clearance, and greenhouse gas emissions. Critics argue that the gaps in the standard ultimately undermine its effectiveness and credibility (Fleming,

2015). Evidently, RSPO must address these important issues and criticisms to keep up its momentum and ensure a balance between the credibility and feasibility of its standard. However, it is also important to note that these criticisms do not render the positive impact of RSPO negligible, as this section has also illustrated the strong current position and future potential of RSPO in terms of furthering the sustainable transition of the palm oil industry.

2.3. Research Phenomenon

This section expands on our reasons for studying the political legitimacy of RSPO through an institutional work lens. We present four arguments to justify this particular research focus. The arguments relate to (1) the importance of the sustainable transition of the palm oil industry, (2) the potential for generalisable conclusions that can be applied more broadly to other industries, (3) the relevance of studying how NSMD governance systems can gain and sustain political legitimacy, and (4) the call for research on the dynamics of institutional work. We go through each of these justifications in turn.

Firstly, the critical state of the industry all by itself implies that the subject merits further attention. As we have seen, palm oil production has both environmental and social externalities of sizeable concern to a wide array of stakeholders. Needless to say, there is an urgent need to come up with solutions that address the adverse effects of the industry presented in the above. Given the poor alternatives to palm oil, the solutions must be found within the industry rather than outside of it. The millions of people whose livelihoods depend upon it underline the importance of finding solutions that allow the industry to persist. The inherent tensions between its economic importance and its environmental and social externalities renders an investigation into its sustainable transition highly relevant to a large audience. Secondly, the sustainable transition of the palm oil industry might very well represent a critical case with generalisable merit. Indeed, the importance of palm oil as a commodity and the significant efforts undertaken by various actors for the industry to become sustainable renders it a great test case for sustainability governance in other agricultural commodity supply chains. As such, the lessons that we learn about its journey towards sustainability could be directly transferable to other agricultural commodities, such as soy. We will return to discuss the potential for generalisability in Chapter 4 on methodology.

Thirdly, the importance of political legitimacy in enabling RSPO to govern the palm oil industry gives ground for investigating our topic. RSPO is a voluntary NSMD system, yet

it is the most successful standard in the industry. Therefore, it is relevant to investigate the foundation of its authority to govern. Given the diversity of RSPO's membership and the impressive voluntary uptake of the standard, its level of political legitimacy is likely a result of processes that incorporate diverse opinions, issues, and interests of its members. A detailed investigation into the actors and dynamics within RSPO is expected to provide important insights into the intricacies of political legitimacy, enabling us to better understand how RSPO's authority is developed. This is the central point of investigating this particularly research topic.

Fourthly, by focusing on the micro-activities that take place within an organisation, we answer academic calls for further research on this subject (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Slager et al., 2012). The institutional work lens is particularly interesting to apply on a NSMD initiative like RSPO because it is made up of multiple stakeholders. It seems feasible that these various actors work within RSPO to promote their own agendas, which may be mutually incompatible. More specifically, we expect to see tensions between demands for rigour (i.e. strengthening the ambition of the standard in order to mitigate more environmental and social externalities) and inclusion (i.e. simplifying the demands in order to achieve greater scope of the standard by enabling the inclusion of e.g. smallholders) (Jespersen, Kruuse, Bøgestrand & Gallemore, forthcoming). For this reason, we expect to learn more about the multi-level processes of institutional work, which give rise to and address tensions within institutions (Seo & Creed, 2002). Since many different things are taking place simultaneously, we are impelled to question the ability of a pure taxonomy to explain a complicated issue. As such, the case of RSPO is likely to provide new and interesting insights into the world of institutional work.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Overall, and inspired by Slager et al. (2012), we employ an institutional work lens to explore the political legitimacy of RSPO. Therefore, this chapter reviews the academic literature surrounding the institutionalisation and political legitimacy of an NSMD standard. Institutionalisation is "the process by which social processes, obligations, or actualities come to take on a rulelike status in social thought and action" (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p. 341). Something is institutionalised when it has achieved this rule-like status, which might make alternatives unthinkable (Greenwood et al., 2008). As we shall see, the institutionalisation of a standard is also known as the standardisation process. For this reason, we adopt the term standardisation to describe the process by which RSPO works to become deeper ingrained as a legitimate authority in the global palm oil industry by gaining and upholding political legitimacy. Adding to the scholarly literature which is introduced in this chapter, we propose a theoretical framework for standardisation. This framework corrects the existing literature's inattention to the ambidexterity of NSMD systems and the ongoing maintenance necessary to uphold political legitimacy.

The rest of the chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section explores the scholarly literature on NSMD governance and standard setting. Highlighting the most essential features of NSMD systems, this section provides a frame for investigating some of the central mechanisms of political legitimacy. This encompasses both internal organising characteristics as well as contextual relationships. As a natural extension, the second section introduces the academic literature on political legitimacy, as inspired by both institutional and strategic traditions. The third section provides an introduction to the academic literature on institutions and institutional work. Placing institutional work within the field of institutional theory, this section highlights the shortcomings of traditional institutional theory, which are addressed by the institutional work literature. The section goes on to introduce the taxonomy of institutional work developed by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), which is later used to guide our data collection and analysis. The fourth and final section introduces the model developed by Slager et al. (2012), which brings together aspects of private standard-setting, legitimacy, and institutional work - all of which have been demonstrated as being central to our research topic in the preceding parts of the chapter. Based on the drawbacks of existing

theoretical models, we present a revised theoretical framework which incorporates considerations of the ambidextrous and continuous nature of standardisation.

3.1. Governance and Standard Setting

NSMD systems encompass roundtable-types of governance and, therefore, they are of great importance to this paper. NSMD systems are defined as "deliberative and adaptive governance institutions designed to embed social and environmental norms in the global marketplace that derive authority directly from interested audiences, including those they seek to regulate, not from sovereign states" (Bernstein & Cashore, 2007, p. 348). They are a specific type of MSI to govern standards of production and, therefore, are characterised by having members representing public, business, and civil society interest groups as well as a governance structure that allows for equal representation. Yet, NSMD systems only allow for private members to have decision-making powers, restricting governmental agencies to act as observers or advisors (de Bakker et al., forthcoming; Schouten & Glasbergen, 2011).

De Bakker et al. (forthcoming) present a comprehensive review of the scholarly literature on MSIs. As their MSI typology strongly resembles that of NSMD systems, this thesis considers their findings equally applicable to NSMD governance. The authors (de Bakker et al., forthcoming) identify institutionalisation as one of the main themes within the literature on NSMD systems. Since the entirety of our thesis concerns itself with institutionalisation and therefore employs theories that provide detailed tools with which to investigate institutionalisation, this aspect of the NSMD literature does not offer further insights. De Bakker et al. (forthcoming) present two other aspects which provide a useful structure with which to investigate standardisation. These two aspects are input and impact. Firstly, input is concerned with "actors, decisions, processes and practices that give rise to MSIs and ensure their expansion or survival" (de Bakker et al., forthcoming, p. 10). Input brings about a certain type of legitimacy, namely input legitimacy. Renate (2010 in de Bakker et al., forthcoming) defines input legitimacy as "the belief that decisions are derived from the preference of the population in a chain of accountability linking those governing to those governed" (p. 11). MSIs can derive input legitimacy from democratic processes that enable its constituents to exert their influence and, thereby, shape the initiative. These processes include participatory mechanisms, deliberation, accountability, and transparency. Common obstacles

to inclusiveness are language barriers, access to financial resources, and a lack of expert knowledge.

Secondly, impact is measured in terms of outputs and impact on public regulation (de Bakker et al., forthcoming). Outputs often relate to the strength of the underlying rules of the MSI. This could, for example, be in terms of membership rules, issue areas, and whether some are favoured over others. In terms of the impacts of MSIs on public regulation and vice versa, de Bakker et al. (forthcoming) conclude that public and private standards do not compete, but instead complement each other: MSIs are capable of compensating for weaknesses in public regulation, and strong public regulation can provide a favourable context for MSIs. This mutual reinforcement of legitimacy and uptake is especially likely to occur if the public and NSMD schemes are dependent upon each other. If they are not, however, government regulations can limit the rulemaking authority and uptake of NSMD schemes (Gulbrandsen, 2014). Finally, another noteworthy argument is that the proliferation of policy schemes lead to fragmentation. On the one hand, this might undermine the effectiveness of NSMD governance (Overdevest & Zeitlin, 2014). On the other hand, however, regime complexity allows for more flexibility and local adaptability over time, which ultimately strengthens sustainability governance as well as the institutionalisation and legitimacy of NSMD schemes (Abbott & Snidal, 2009a,b in Overdevest & Zeitlin, 2014; Keohane & Victor, 2011).

3.2. Political Legitimacy

Legitimacy is a central theme within the NSMD literature, particularly in terms of inputs and processes (de Bakker et al., forthcoming). Becoming more deeply ingrained as legitimate authorities is especially important for NSMD systems to "achieve their goal of moving beyond static systems in which firms and social actors constantly evaluate and reevaluate whether to withdraw support based on short-term cost-benefit calculations" (Levi & Linton, 2003, p. 419). Specifically, gaining and maintaining legitimacy is important to NSMD initiatives for at least three different reasons: Firstly, the voluntary nature of private governance constrains it to rely on its perceived legitimacy as the justification of its authority, since it cannot rely on coercion to ensure compliance like governments. Secondly, legitimacy is an important factor for ensuring the effectiveness and stability of institutions through the acceptance of shared rules and standards. Thirdly, members of NSMD initiatives are

accountable not only to those affected by the standard, but also to its shareholders and members (Schouten & Glasbergen, 2011). Seeing as how legitimacy is of critical importance and a central construct within the literature on NSMD systems, it seems only appropriate for this paper to review the legitimacy literature.

The academic literature on legitimacy is divided into two camps: strategic and institutional. Strategic scholars, such as Ashforth and Gibbs (1990), emphasise managerial agency. In this instrumental perspective, legitimacy is a resource that organisations can employ towards profit maximisation (Suchman, 1995). To institutional scholars, on the other hand, access to resources is merely a by-product of legitimacy: To explain legitimacy as a mean for organisations to garner support from external constituencies can be compared to "explaining the nuclear family by showing how it allows couples to obtain tax breaks from the Internal Revenue Service" (Suchman, 1995, p. 576). In reality, this instrumental benefit is of secondary importance. Rather than a commodity, institutionalists perceive legitimacy as "a condition reflecting cultural alignment, normative support, or consonance with relevant rules or laws" (Scott, 1995 in Deephouse, Bundy, Tust & Suchman, 2017, p. 7). The cultural context of organisations is important, as cultural definitions shape how the organisation is built, run, understood, and evaluated. Within the institutional tradition, legitimacy becomes synonymous with institutionalisation, as "both phenomena empower organizations primarily by making them seem natural and meaningful" (Suchman, 1995, p. 576). As evident from this quotation, legitimacy affects both the survival and performance of organisations (Deephouse et al., 2017). For this reason, and inspired by Bernstein and Cashore (2007), we seek to challenge the common dichotomy between strategic and institutional legitimacy. Organisations face strategic challenges as well as institutional pressures and, therefore, both perspectives merit attention.

Bernstein and Cashore (2007) investigate whether and how NSMD governance systems can acquire political legitimacy by applying a perspective focusing on actors, audiences, and their interactions. Political legitimacy is defined as "the acceptance of shared rule by a community as appropriate and justified" (Bernstein & Cashore, 2007, p. 348). This definition reflects both the institutional and strategic perspective outlined in the above. Evidently, the appropriateness of the standard resonates the normative support which is central to legitimacy. The acceptance of shared rule, on the other hand, more closely resembles the instrumental benefit which is emphasised by strategic scholars. When rules are

accepted by a community, the NSMD system achieves regulatory capacity. In other words, political legitimacy gives rise to regulatory capacity. Based on this, we argue that political legitimacy is central to NSMDs if they are to become and remain legitimate standard-setting authorities. Bernstein and Cashore (2007) create an analytical framework, which draws attention to the interactions among NSMD systems and their competitors as they fight for political legitimacy. In this framework, the authors propose a three-phase interaction process: (1) initiation, (2) widespread support, and (3) political legitimacy.

In the first phase, early support for an NSMD system begins to grow, even though economic demand is limited. Firms as well as environmental and/or social groups undertake strategic evaluations as to whether they stand to benefit from addressing the issue at hand. The niche created by a small number of firm and environmental and/or social actors fights for increased support in the second phase. To attract firm participants whose current practices lie far from the requirements, either the cost of participation must be decreased, meaning that the requirements must be maintained or lowered, or the cost of non-participation must be increased. The latter is achieved by naming and shaming and/or boycotting companies. In the same phase, however, new norms which may lead to a redefinition of disparate interests are generated. In the third and final phase, the NSMD system becomes institutionalised when a critical group of actors come to agreement on a common set of standards and practices. Once the NSMD system has achieved political legitimacy, strategic calculations occur within the system rather than about it. By outlining three successive phases for achieving political legitimacy, Bernstein and Cashore (2007) theorise NSMD governance as a linear process with a clear end goal. Once this goal has been realised, the NSMD system no longer has to work to be acknowledged as a regulatory authority. Yet, it seems unlikely that continuous maintenance of political legitimacy is entirely redundant. Furthermore, Bernstein and Cashore (2007) do not provide any explanation of the specific mechanisms that allow NSMD systems to gain and (assuming that maintenance work is indeed necessary) uphold political legitimacy. To circumvent these pitfalls, we propose our own theoretical framework to explain how political legitimacy is gained and maintained. As opposed to the model put forward by Bernstein and Cashore (2007), our framework assumes that standardisation is an ongoing process which is driven by intentional efforts of various actors. The next section introduces the academic literature on institutions and institutional work, which highlights the deliberate participation of actors in creating and maintaining institutions.

3.3. Institutional Theory and Work

In the 1960s and 1970s, the prevailing perspectives within organisational studies largely examined the adaptation of organisations to 'fit' their environment. These environments were portrayed in a largely technical manner, and the organisational actors were assumed to be rational, albeit boundedly. It is against this backdrop that institutional theory has emerged as a counteragent to excessively rationalist and technocratic approaches (Greenwood et al., 2008). Early institutional theorists Meyer and Rowan (1977) challenged conventional theory by proposing that organisations are influenced by their institutional context, and that this context largely determines what it means to be 'rational'. Organisations become isomorphic with their institutional environments by conforming to institutional structures and rules in order to harness legitimacy. Unfortunately, Meyer and Rowan's iconic study did not provide any definition of institutions, and since its publication, a plethora have followed. This conceptual confusion has led Haveman and David (as cited in Greenwood et al., 2008) to encourage institutionalists "to reach agreement on the meaning of central constructs and wean themselves from using the vapid term institution, which means everything and therefore nothing" (p. 5).

First published in 1995, Scott's (2001) comprehensive review of the institutional literature serves as a useful organising framework. Scott (2001) himself defines institutions as "social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience" (p. 48). As such, institutions serve to stabilise social systems. Synthesising the institutional literature, Scott (2001, 2014) proposes that institutions are influenced by three systems: the regulative, the normative, and the cognitive-cultural systems. As hinted at in the above, each of these three systems have been theorised as being the most central to social life. An economist like North (1990), for example, emphasises rule systems and enforcement mechanisms (Scott, 2014). To him, institutions are "the *rules* [emphasis added] of the game in a society" (North, 1990, p. 3). Early sociologists, on the other hand, tend to focus attention on normative rules and values (Scott, 2014). March and Olsen (1989), for example, emphasise prescriptions as to how certain actors are supposed to behave: "Rules define relationships among roles in terms of what an incumbent of one role owes to incumbents of other roles" (p. 23). Finally, anthropologists and some sociologists stress the importance of the cultural-cognitive dimensions of institutions. Geertz (1973), for instance, emphasises the importance of symbols

and meanings, and DiMaggio and Powell (1983) describe how belief systems and cultural frameworks shape actions.

Combining these differing perspectives, Scott (2014) suggests that the three institutional systems form part of a continuum. In this view, all three systems (or pillars) empower and constrain actors. Firstly, the regulative system operates on the basis of rules and laws. Emphasis is placed on explicit regulatory processes: Rules are established, compliance is monitored, and (non)compliance is sanctioned accordingly. The regulatory system may both operate through formal (such as the police and the courts) and informal (such as community shaming) mechanisms of control. Secondly, the normative system brings a prescriptive dimension into social life through values and norms. This system rests on a logic of appropriateness: Actors are expected to behave in certain ways. Accreditations and certifications are indicators of the normative pillar. Thirdly, the cultural-cognitive system highlights that external cultural frameworks shape internal interpretations. This system is comprised of "the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and create the frames through which meaning is made" (Scott, 2014, p. 67). We comply with the cultural-cognitive system because we take it for granted as "how we do things". As such, habitualised patterns of actions and isomorphism play important roles within this institutional pillar (Scott, 2014).

Institutional theory provides well-developed accounts of how institutions govern organisational action, and there is no denying its popularity of the institutional approach to studying and understanding organisations. Yet, as evident from the above example, institutional theory runs the risk of portraying individuals as being constrained by institutions of their own making and with little capacity to alter them. This is known as the paradox of embedded agency, and we discuss it in greater detail in Section 3.3. on our theoretical framework. The missing account of how individuals can and do influence institutions introduces a discrepancy between theory and reality: Institutional theory is fairly static, but the institutions that it seeks to describe are dynamic as a result of individual and organisational actions (Peters, 2000). Indeed, its theoretical focus on macrodynamics (i.e. the process of large-scale changes) renders it unfit to analyse the day-to-day efforts of individual people to affect the institutional status quo (Lawrence, Suddaby & Leca, 2011).

After all, organisations are made up of people. In an attempt to bring individuals back into institutional theory, the institutional work literature emerged in the early 2000s with

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) as the main scholars. This stream of literature theorises the link between institutions and work by highlighting actors' intentional efforts to impact institutions (Lawrence, Leca & Zilber, 2013; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). As such, institutional work is defined as "the sets of practices through which individual and collective actors create, maintain and disrupt the institutions of organizational fields" (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 220). Borrowing from prominent institutional theorists, including Meyer and Rowan (1977), DiMaggio and Powell (1983), and Scott (2001), Lawrence et al. (2011) define institutions are "those (more or less) enduring elements of social life [...] that affect the behavior and beliefs of individuals and collective actors by providing templates for action, cognition, and emotion [...], nonconformity with which is associated with some kind of costs" (p. 53). This is also the definition of institutions adopted in this paper.

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) systematically examine an array of empirical research studies to develop a taxonomy of institutional work, which brings together three key elements of extant institutional theory and sociology of practice. Firstly, institutional work incorporates the cultural competencies and reflexivity of individual and collective actors: Actors are aware of their competencies, and they have the practical skills to use these competencies to navigate within their organisational fields (Giddens, 1984). This also means that actors are capable of adapting to demanding and dynamic conditions in an environment of institutionally defined logics (March, 1994; Giddens, 1984). Secondly, institutional work considers institutions as the result of conscious actions. In other words, institutions cannot be separated from individual or collective actions, wherefore the practices in which institutional actors engage are central to their study (Barnes, 2001). Thirdly, a practice perspective entails that actions cannot be separated from practices, as actions and social practices are always institutionally embedded in the field in which they occur (Giddens, 1984). As such, these practices rely on already existing institutional rules, resources, and skills.

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) outline three broad categories of institutional work, namely creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions. Since this piece of research focuses on how NSMD systems gain and uphold legitimacy, we limit ourselves to outlining those sets of practices that are related to the creation and maintenance of institutions. The reason why we focus on both of these is that it is difficult to evaluate with any certainty in which of these two stages the RSPO is currently residing. Indeed, as argued by Slager et al. (2012), most institutional work "simultaneously contributes to standard creation as well as maintenance

activities" (p. 780). As such, it seems plausible that the RSPO is not constrained to either one of these two categories, but that they parallel and overlap as concomitant processes. The following two subsections present institutional creation and maintenance in turn.

Creating Institutions

Building on the notion of institutional entrepreneurship (Eisenstadt, 1980), Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) identify nine types of work undertaken in creating institutions. These nine types of work can be divided into three broader categories. Firstly, 'advocacy', 'defining', and 'vesting' reflect political work in which actors reconstruct rules and boundaries (i.e. rules-based work). Secondly, 'constructing identities', 'changing normative associations', and 'constructing normative networks' reflect actions that reconfigure belief systems (i.e. norms-based work). Finally, 'mimicry', 'theorising', and 'educating' reflect actions that alter abstract categorisations in which boundaries of meaning systems are altered (i.e. meanings-based work). Table 2 summarises the nine types of work that actors employ to create institutions.

Overarching category	Types of institutional work	Definition
Rules-based	Advocacy	The mobilisation of political and regulatory support through direct and deliberate techniques of social suasion
	Defining	The construction of rule systems that confer status or identity, define boundaries of membership, or create status hierarchies within a field
	Vesting	The creation of rule structures that confer property rights
Norms-based	Constructing identities	Defining the relationship between an actor and the field in which the actor operates
	Changing normative associations	Re-making the connections between sets of practices and the moral and cultural foundations for those practices
	Constructing normative networks	Construction of inter-organisational connections through which practices become normatively sanctioned and which form the relevant peer group with respect to compliance, monitoring, and evaluation
Meanings-based	Mimicry	Associating new practices with existing sets of taken-for-granted practices, technologies, and rules in order to ease adoption
	Theorising	The development and specification of abstract categories and the elaboration of chains of cause and effect

	Educating	The educating of actors in skills and knowledge necessary to support the new institution

Table 2: Creating Institutions (adapted from Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006)

Advocacy work involves purposeful and direct representation of the interests of specific actors. The objective is to re-allocate the material resources or the social or political capital necessary to create new institutional structures and practices. Often used by or on behalf of marginal actors, advocacy is a powerful tool to influence how institutional norms are perceived and, as such, which norms are followed and which are violated. Defining work focuses on the creation of constitutive rules or rules that enable institutional action. Emphasising the establishment of parameters of institutional structures and practices, defining work allows actors to specify the boundaries and frameworks within which new institutions can be developed. Vesting occurs when government power is used to reallocate property rights and create new actors and field dynamics by changing the rules of market relations. Vesting work often involves the negotiation of a regulative bargain between the state or some other coercive authority and another interested party. Therefore, it usually entails some degree of sharing of regulatory authority (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). Lawrence & Suddaby (2006) make two interesting observations about the three types of work presented in this paragraph.

Work to construct identities is mainly associated with the emergence of new professions or the transformation of existing ones. It aligns actors' identities with the new institutional field in which they operate (actor-field). Changing normative associations, on the other hand, influences the relationship between norms and the institutional fields in which they are created (norm-field). It does so by making actors question the moral and cultural foundations of pre-existing institutions, but without directly challenging them. Constructing normative networks alters the ways in which groups of actors collaborate within a network (actor-actor), which provides the foundations for a new institution. As such, it reforms the relationships among actors in a field by changing the normative assumptions that connect them. In some cases, the newly formed institution imitates activities that are traditionally performed by the state. In other cases, it merely supplements activities that were once performed by the state (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

Mimicry work attempts to create new institutions by associating the new with the old. This strategy can make the new institution understandable and accessible, while at the same

time pointing to potential problems or shortcomings of pre-existing practices, technologies, and rules. Doing so will lead actors to cognitively conform to the new institution based on a perception of legitimacy. Theorising involves specifying abstract categories and elaborating chains of cause and effect. Naming new concepts and practices is essential in order to make them part of the cognitive map of the field. The narrative component of theorising is equally important, as actors articulate the causal relationships between institutional elements in support of the adoption of the new institution. Finally, educating provides actors with the skills necessary to support the new institution, engage with new practices, and interact with new structures. Educating is obviously an important type of cognitive work, since new institutions often involve the development of entirely new practices and control mechanisms (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

As mentioned in the above, these nine types of work fit into three broader categories of work associated with creating institutions, namely rules-based, norms-based, and meanings-based work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). While these categories closely resemble Scott's (2001) three institutional pillars and might well be inspired by them, they remain slightly different. For example, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) group together norms and belief systems in one category, while Scott (2001) separate the two. This also means that belief systems are separated from meanings, which is grouped together with cognitivity.

Maintaining Institutions

The issue of maintaining institutions has received much less scholarly attention than creating institutions (Scott, 2001 in Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006), as institutional theorists have taken institutional perpetuation largely for granted. This is reflected in one of the main features of institutions, namely their relative durability. Yet, most institutions' reproductive mechanisms of social control are not strong enough to render continuous maintenance redundant. Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) define six types of institutional work associated with maintaining institutions, which according to the scholars (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) can be divided into two broad categories: rules-based and norms-based. We, however, argue that the six types of maintaining work represent all three categories observed in creating types of work.

Firstly, and in accordance with Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), 'enabling', 'policing', and 'deterring' emphasise adherence to established rule systems. As such, these types of work

support the rules-based types of creating work. Secondly, 'valourising and demonising' and 'mythologising' focus on reproducing existing norms and belief systems and, therefore, support the norms-based types of creating work. Although we acknowledge the authors' (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) suggestion that 'embedding and routinising' also focuses on reproducing norms, we argue that this type of maintaining work more closely represents work to support the meanings-based types of creating work. The reason is that this type of institutional work stresses embedding the desired practices into the day-to-day work of actors to create meaning through routines. We also note that this type of work emphasises repetition in educating work and argue that it also supports theorising work (concepts and relationships become embedded as boundaries of meaning) and mimicry work (practices previously associated with taken-for-granted practises now become taken-for-granted). As such, this type of maintaining work goes beyond merely illustrating the normative features of an institution. Table 3 summarises the six types of work that actors employ to maintain institutions.

Overarching category	Types of institutional work	Definition
Rules-based	Enabling	The creation of rules that facilitate, supplement, and support institutions
	Policing	Ensuring compliance through enforcement, auditing, and monitoring
	Deterring	Establish coercive barriers to institutional change
Norms-based	Valourising and demonising	Providing for public consumption positive and negative examples that illustrate the normative foundations of an institution
	Mythologising	Preserving the normative underpinnings of an institution by creating and sustaining myths regarding its history
Meanings-based	Embedding and routinising	Actively infusing the normative foundations of an institution into the participants' day-to-day routines and organisational practices

Table 3: Maintaining Institutions (adapted from Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006)

Enabling work involves creating rules that facilitate, supplement, and support institutions. It brings certainty and agreement into institutional arrangements by introducing constitutive rules. This serves to avoid intra-institutional conflict and, thereby, further enable the formation, dissemination, and reproduction of shared meanings within the institution. In

line with this, policing ensures compliance with the rules of the institution. This is done by using, for example, regular monitoring and information disclosure. Policing can also involve the use of both sanctions and incentives, often at the same time and by the same actors. Deterring work focuses on establishing coercive barriers to institutional change in order to instill conscious obedience of institutional actors. This type of work depends to a high degree on the legitimate authority of the coercive agent (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

Valourising and demonising work seeks to maintain institutions by providing the public with positive or negative examples that illustrate its normative foundations. Closely related, mythologising emphasises the preservation of the normative underpinnings of an institution by mythologising its history. To create and sustain a myth, actors need a story and an opportunity to tell it. Evidently, both these types of work rely on discursive strategies. Contrary to valourising and demonising, however, mythologising is focused on the past rather than the present. Unlike both types of work, embedding and routinising work actively infuses the normative foundations of an institution into the day-to-day routines of actors in order to create a stabilising influence and reproduce the institution's normative features. This is done by embedding routines and repetitive practices, such as education, hiring, and decision-making practices, into the institution (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

A Brief Criticism

Thus far, we have remained largely uncritical towards the literature on institutional work. While we remain enthusiastic about the conceptual framework proposed by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), we also recognise that it has some shortcomings. As noted in the above, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) use published research studies as the foundation for their empirical investigation. The authors themselves admit that drawing on a relatively small sample of case studies might impact on the generalisability of their findings. It might also mean that their subsequently derived taxonomy contains gaps. Indeed, the authors admit that "our understanding of institutional work is formative at best" (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 246). We agree with the authors, as we argue that the synthesis of previously disparate ideas necessarily creates some overlaps between the concepts extracted from them. This conceptual ambiguity becomes especially apparent when trying to distinguish defining and enabling work, which both focus on the creation of constitutive rules. It is neither within the scope nor the interest of this paper to refine the taxonomy proposed by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006),

at least not before having presented our empirical grounds for making these justifications. Nevertheless, and for the record, we understand the difference between defining and enabling in terms of the novelty of the practice: Defining work introduces new rules, whereas enabling work introduces rules or roles that support or elaborate on existing ones. In addition, we understand that enabling work emphasises the diversion of resources towards supporting institutions and rule systems. This is not within the scope of defining work.

We offer one additional critique of the institutional work literature, which relates to the dichotomy of creating and maintaining categories of work. Considering the literature on ambidextrous organisations, it is evident that modern organisations must engage in more than one process simultaneously in order to be successful (O'Reilly & Tushman, 2004). As such, we envision that creating and maintaining types of work are not as separate as suggested by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), but that they overlap. This is in line with the findings of Currie, Lockett, Finn, Martin, and Waring (2012) and Slager et al. (2012) that different types of work cross categories of creating and maintaining.

3.4. Theoretical Framework

Building on the academic literature reviewed in this chapter, the present section presents the theoretical framework which informs this thesis. The framework brings together key theoretical insights from the literatures on governance and standard setting, political legitimacy, and institutional work. It also incorporates the work of Slager et al. (2012) on standardisation as a product of institutional work. Standardisation is "a process of constructing uniformities [...] through the generation of agreed-upon rules" (Timmermans & Epstein, 2010, p. 71). Since this definition closely resembles the one of institutionalisation presented in the beginning of this chapter, we understand standardisation as the institutionalisation of a standard. As such, we use the term standardisation to denote the process by which a standard takes on a rule-like status in society (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Building on this definition, we argue that regulatory capacity, or authority to rule, is the goal of this process. What allows NSMD systems to achieve this goal is the acceptance of its authority by society, that is political legitimacy (Bernstein & Cashore, 2007).

Studying the creation and maintenance of a responsible investment index called FTSE4Good, Slager et al. (2012) theorise standardisation as institutional work. Slager et al. (2012) present eight types of institutional work, which they later organise into an overarching

framework of standardisation. This framework shows how institutional work contributes to design, legitimation, and monitoring processes which, ultimately, strengthen the regulatory power of a standard. Unfortunately, the study lacks an adequate account of the selection process of these eight types of work that are theorised as being central to standardisation, and this renders the subsequently derived framework of little use to this paper. Nevertheless, Slager et al. (2012) make three important theoretical contributions to the study of standardisation. Firstly, standardisation is a continuous process which is never completely finished. It consists of different micro-level activities undertaken by a variety of actors. Due to the dynamic nature of standardisation, institutional work may be employed to simultaneously create and maintain the standard (Currie et al., 2012; Slager et al., 2012). Secondly, standardisation is a highly participatory activity. In order to enjoy legitimacy, the continuous development of a standard must be inclusive of all relevant stakeholders or 'co-constructed' (Durand & McGuire, 2005) to meet the expectations of both standard makers and standard adopters. Thirdly, unintended consequences of standardisation work can be recaptured to strengthen a standard in unexpected ways. The combination of different types of work may add up to more than the sum of their parts (Slager et al., 2012). We draw on the theoretical insights of Slager et al. (2012) throughout the remainder of this paper, not least to derive a revised framework for standardisation, which is presented in the below.
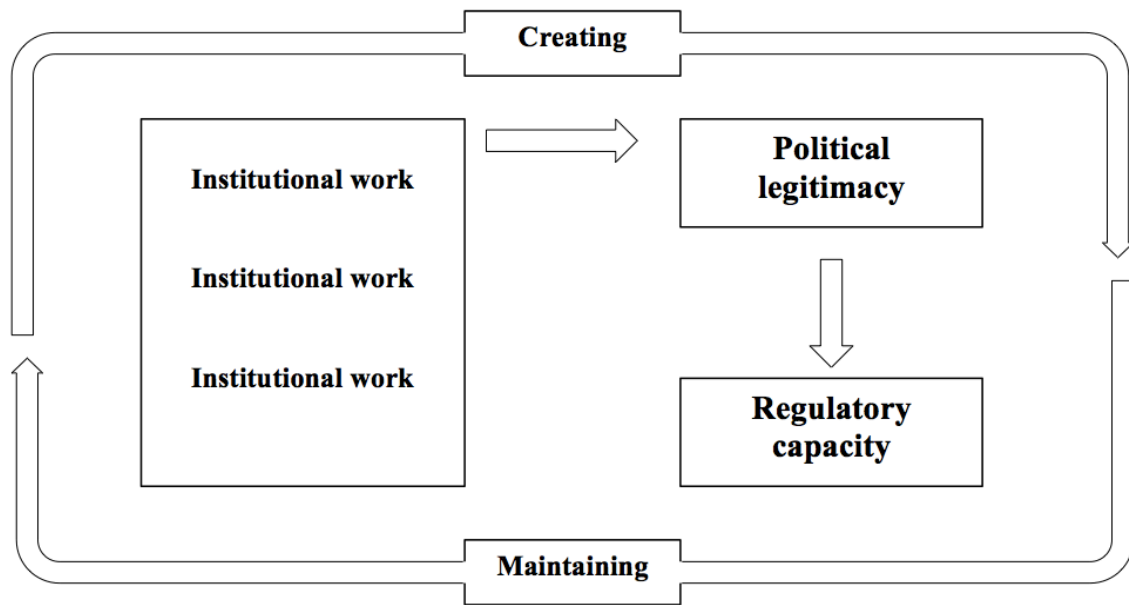
Figure 2: A Revised Framework for Standardisation

Figure 2 shows how institutional work drives standardisation. By theorising institutional work as the driver for standardisation, we highlight the intentional participation of actors in the standardisation process. We do recognise that actors may be limited by the standard, since the rules of the standard informs the actions of its adopters. In other words, agency is institutionally embedded (Seo & Creed, 2002). Nevertheless, we assume that actors remain relatively free to continuously undertake work to influence the standard. This is because agency is not simply a result of embeddedness. Rather, actors have the capacity to reflect on and operate within the context in which they are embedded (Lawrence et al., 2011).

While we draw on insights from both Bernstein and Cashore (2007) and Slager et al. (2012), the framework proposed in the above is inherently different from the ones presented by these authors. Unlike Slager et al. (2012), we assume that any type of institutional work employed may feed into the standardisation process. For this reason, we rely on all 15 types of institutional work associated with creating and maintaining institutions to investigate the standardisation process. As such, our proposed framework is currently empty, meaning that it does not contain any pre-selected types of institutional work. Our intention is to derive these categories from our empirical data and, thus, incorporate them into our model later in our analysis. From our review of the academic literature on political legitimacy, it became evident that political legitimacy is essential to the regulatory capacity of a standard. For this reason,

Figure 2 depicts political legitimacy as *the* central driving force behind regulatory capacity rather than one in several tools that may enhance the regulatory power of a standard. As such, and unlike Slager et al. (2012), we chose not to include design and monitoring processes in our theoretical framework.

Unlike Bernstein and Cashore (2007), we theorise the institutional work undertaken within RSPO as a continuous process rather than as a linear narrative. As such, the proposed framework for standardisation visualises Slager et al.'s (2012) first theoretical contribution, namely that standardisation is a continuous process. Importantly, this also implies that standardisation does not become static once it reaches a certain level of standardisation (cf. the third phase of of NSMD governance in Bernstein and Cashore's (2007) analytical framework). Furthermore, we theorise that creating and maintaining types of institutional work do not necessarily occur in two separate steps. Rather, we assume that they occur alongside each other and even overlap (Slager et al., 2012). This assumption is illustrated by the two arrows that encapsulate the standardisation process.

Seeing as how modern organisations must be able to engage in more than one process at once and in line with the findings of Currie et al. (2012) and Slager et al. (2012), we expect to find that actors in RSPO undertake creating and maintaining work simultaneously. Considering that RSPO is a complex organisation that must pay attention to the disparate interests of various actors at once, we envision that actors within it use a multitude of types of institutional work simultaneously. As such, we aim to take the work of these scholars further by providing an account of the ways in which different actors promote and reconcile their differing interests to form a standard. While other scholars have touched upon the multi-level processes that produce various institutional arrangements (Seo & Creed, 2002) and the recurrent and intertwined nature of standardisation work (Currie et al., 2012; Slager et al., 2012), we still lack an adequate understanding of how divergent interests interact to shape the functions that a standard performs (Jespersen et al., forthcoming). We therefore expect to contribute important insights on the multiplex dynamics involved in the standardisation process. The next chapter outlines how we approach this task.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter introduces and argues for the research methodology applied in this thesis. Our overall research approach is qualitative, since we are investigating a complex issue with a multiplicity of nuances and individual opinions, which cannot easily be quantified (Creswell, 2014). This research approach is supported by our philosophy of science, research design, and practical research methods, which the remainder of this chapter introduces in that order.

4.1 Philosophy of Science

As outlined in the previous chapter, this paper employs an institutional work lens to explore the standardisation of RSPO. A key challenge of this research focus involves the paradox of embedded agency. To avoid conflating the influence of actors on institutions and the structures in which they are embedded, we employ a critical realist perspective to analyse our data. Critical realism allows us to uncover the mechanisms that give rise to the phenomenon, which we seek to explain (Leca & Naccache, 2006). Indeed, critical realism originated as a response to both the direct realism (or naïve empirical realism) associated with positivism as well as to social constructivism, and occupies a sort of middle ground between the two (Reed, 2005 in Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2016). Like direct realism, critical realism subscribes to the idea that the world exists independently of our knowledge of it. Accordingly, it addresses the epistemic fallacy, which refers to the mistake of equating the question of what is with the question of what we can know, and holds that epistemology (i.e. the theory of knowledge) exists independently from ontology (i.e. the theory of being) (Archer, 1998). Contrary to direct realism, however, which advocates that "what you see is what you get" (Saunders et. al, 2016, p. 138), critical realism seeks to explain what we see in terms of the underlying mechanisms and structures that give rise to these observable events. By doing so, it assists us to overcome one of the central issues in social sciences, namely that of conflation (Leca & Naccache, 2006).

Central to critical realism is the notion of a stratified reality, meaning that only some events are observable. In other words, our world – and our knowledge of it – consists of both transitive and intransitive dimensions, and we must be able separate the two (Archer, 1998). The transitive dimensions consists of the models and concepts which people create, whereas the intransitive dimensions consists of mechanisms that are not dependent upon our

knowledge or definitions of them. Specifically, critical realists distinguish between three domains: (1) the real, (2) the actual, and (3) the empirical. The domain of the real consists of objects and their structures, causal powers and mechanisms, and tendencies, which science attempts to discover. It is these unobservable structures and powers that generate the observable and unobservable patterns of events, which we find in the domain of the actual. The domain of the actual consists of events, or sequences of events, brought on by the activation of structures and powers in the real domain. These occur in complex and often unpredictable conjunctures. The domain of the empirical consists of events that can be observed. As such, the empirical (i.e. experienced events) makes out only a small subset of the actual (i.e. experienceable events) (Sayer, 2000; Benton & Craib, 2011). Bhaskar (2008) summarises that "structures and mechanisms then are real and distinct from the patterns of events that they generate; just as events are real and distinct from the experiences in which they are apprehended" (p. 46), and that experiences as well as conjunctions of events are social products from which the layered reality arises.

To illustrate this layered reality with an example, one may observe that a team of operatives dutifully follow repetitive standard operating procedures even without being supervised. This observation takes place within the domain of the empirical. To explain this behaviour, one can look beyond the events being observed to the underlying causes, such as team dynamics, random surveillance, or professional training, which reside in the domain of the actual. Once again, these mechanisms all have their own underlying causes or structures, such as national training systems and the routines of supervisors, of which we may not be aware. These latter mechanisms reside in the domain of the real (Edwards, O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014). Building on this stratified notion of reality, critical realism goes beyond what is observable to investigate the mechanisms that underlie an event. It is this ontological depth which makes it appropriate for examining both the institutional embeddedness and the autonomy of actors and their micro-level actions that drive standardisation (Leca & Naccache, 2006).

An important implication of the stratified ontology presented in the above is that powers may be dormant, meaning that not all powers are necessarily exercised. In the words of Sayer (2000), "what has happened or been known to have happened does not exhaust what could happen or have happened" (p. 12). As such, critical realism is mainly used for its explanatory benefits. This is another important feature which distinguishes critical realism

from social constructivism, which favours interpretation over explanation (Archer et al., 2016). In accordance with this, we do not seek to develop any predictions. Rather, the purpose of our research is exploratory and explanatory: We seek to explore the dynamics of various debates within RSPO and to explain the relationship between these micro-level actions and the standardisation of RSPO as a whole. Finally, and as the name implies, critical realism requires the researcher to remain critical towards the phenomenon under study as well as the theories that are used to study it (Sayer, 2000). We have kept this imperative in mind throughout our research process and, as we shall see in the below, it has directly informed some of our methodological choices. Indeed, our philosophy of science permeates all our research methods from design to data collection and analysis. These will be discussed next.

4.2 Research Design

Critical realism is compatible with a range of different research methods. It rejects the existence of a perfect recipe, and merely states that the choice of research methods should be based upon the nature of the research issue and what one wants to learn about it (Sayer, 2000). In accordance with this, our research issue guides our overall research strategy. The objective is to achieve a reasonable level of coherence throughout our research design and, of course, to enable us to answer our research question. This has led us to adopt a so-called multi-method qualitative research design, which is likely to overcome the weaknesses associated with using only one method (Saunders et al., 2016). This is an example of methodological triangulation, which makes use of variations within the same basic methodology (Denzin, 1970 in Yeung, 1997). Overall, Denzin (1970 in Yeung, 1997) distinguishes between four types of triangulation: (1) data triangulation, (2) investigator triangulation, (3) theoretical triangulation, and (4) methodological triangulation. We will return to discuss our use of the remaining three types of triangulation in the relevant sections of this chapter. According to Ghauri (2004) and Saunders et al. (2016), there are three overall benefits of triangulation. Firstly, it ensures that the data is telling us what we think it is. In this way, it minimises error. Secondly, it adds depth to our research. Thirdly, it adds breadth to our research by aiding an understanding of our research issue from differing points of view.

An essential component of our multi-method qualitative research design is to employ a hybrid approach to interpret our data. In the first stages of our research, we apply a deductive approach, as we use established theoretical concepts to make sense of our data. In

other words, we theorise that we can study the political legitimacy of organisations with institutional work through the theoretical framework for standardisation developed in the previous chapter. In line with the deductive approach, we attempt to reason from the general theoretical framework to a particular case, namely RSPO, and allow our framework to guide the initial steps of our data collection and analysis. After this initial stage, however, we revise our theoretical framework based on the findings from our empirical data. In doing so, we apply an approach resembling induction, that is making use of our own findings to come up with a model and add to extant theory (Creswell, 2014). As critical realists, we rely specifically on the explanatory logics of abductive and retroductive approaches to move from the empirical to the real. We do so because induction in itself does not allow us to reveal anything about the underlying mechanisms of social structures and actions (Archer, 1998; Edwards et al., 2014).

Retroduction seeks to describe the broader context of our data by considering patterns over time and attempting to derive other underlying structures for these patterns and mechanisms. It therefore relies on multiple theoretical perspectives to explain different aspects of mechanisms. For this reason, our reliance on three different theoretical branches is appropriate. Moreover, this reliance reflects theoretical triangulation, insofar as we apply multiple theoretical perspectives to the same data (Yeung, 1997). Abduction re-describes our empirical data in a more general sense to describe the causation that gives rise to actual patterns of events. Abduction therefore involves the combination of theory and data that produce the most likely explanation for what we observed in our collected data. As such, abduction is the ongoing process of fitting our theoretical framework together with our data to ultimately derive the underlying institutional work mechanisms driving the activities of the RSPO (Edwards et al., 2014).

This leads us to one of the key arguments for why abduction and retroduction are preferable for critical realists: They potentially allow the researcher to gain a better understanding of the topic than deductive or inductive approaches, since abduction and retroduction add theory to data, rather than testing a single theoretically-based hypothesis or deriving a theory from data (Edwards et al., 2014; Benton & Craib, 2011). By combining abductive and retroductive approaches, we overcome the potential issue of forcefully fitting data into the theoretical framework, which we initially relied upon to guide our data collection and analysis. Instead, we have allowed the data to change the framework in an attempt to

ultimately end up with the best explanation for the gathered data. The concrete methods employed from the onset of our investigation over data collection to data analysis are introduced in more detail in the following section.

4.3 Research Methods

As our research interest was ignited, we searched for literature on the topic of institutionalisation and legitimacy of NSMD sustainability standards. We found that three branches of literature were of especial importance to our topic: (1) governance and standard-setting, (2) political legitimacy, and (3) institutional theory and work. We reviewed central scholars within these branches of literature to assess their applicability to our research paper. Based upon this review, we developed a theoretical framework, which we presented in the previous chapter. Applying theory that originates in Western sources, however, represents a nominal methods issue that should be addressed. Since our theoretical lens is primarily based upon institutional theory and work, the following justification of its use is focused on this particular stream of literature. Firstly, RSPO was initiated by four Western organisations and, as such, it is arguably a Western institution. This fact somewhat justifies the use of institutional theory all by itself. Secondly, there are no non-Western (i.e. Asian, African, or Latin American) institutional theories that we could have used instead. Thirdly, institutional theory implicitly assumes that its use is universal, meaning that it should be valid for examining institutions all around the world. Indeed, institutional theory is readily deployed to investigate institutions that lie geographically far from its scholarly origins in the United States (see, for example, Amine & Staub, 2009). Now that we have argued for our grounds for employing an institutional lens, we turn to discuss the activities that took place following our review of the literature, that is data collection and analysis. Note that although we conducted most of the literature review before we engaged in data collection and analysis, we did return to our literature review to confirm that the branches of literature presented in that chapter were indeed relevant for our findings. The following two subsections provide detailed accounts of the methods which we have employed to collect and analyse our data.

Data Collection

In line with our multi-methods qualitative research design, we gathered multiple types of qualitative data, which also served to introduce data triangulation to our research. As such,

we attempted to enlighten as many aspects of our topic as possible to ultimately make the best approximation of the 'truth', that is, the underlying structures and mechanisms of RSPO's political legitimacy. Additionally, data triangulation helped us overcome uncertainty and bias of using only one type or source of data (Yeung, 1997). We analyse the development of RSPO over time to better understand the institutional work mechanisms which underpin institutional change. To this aim, we relied on archival documents as our primary data source (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2017). We did so because they provided the historical content necessary to perform such a longitudinal analysis as well as the best examples of institutional work in action. Moreover, given the natural limitations to human recollection, we had higher confidence in the accuracy of archival documents. Our archival data had the additional benefit of being fairly easy to collect, which allowed us to collect a large amount of data. Semi-structured interviews and newspaper articles then enabled us to confirm our interpretation of the archival documents.

Archival Data

The first step in our data collection was to collect archival data from RSPO's website in order to gain an understanding of the work undertaken by RSPO to gain political legitimacy, including the ways in which different debates are furthered within the organisation. Therefore, we began by gathering all the publicly available minutes from the Board of Governors meetings and the General Asssemblies. As we went through these meeting documents, we identified four main debates, which arose and developed within RSPO in the period between 2004 and 2016: biodiversity and HCV, greenhouse gas, smallholder inclusion, and human rights. Having identified these debates, we decided to collect all the meeting minutes from the RSPO working groups, which were developed in response to the importance of addressing these four different issues. Note that we only read selected parts of the annexes from the working group minutes, depending on their perceived relevance to our study. These annexes do not count towards the number of pages indicated in the table below.

Category	Period of time	Number of pages
General Assembly	2004-2015	230
Board of Governors	2004-2016	578

Smallholder Working Group	2012-2015	89
Greenhouse Gas Working Group	2010-2011	10
Emissions Reduction Working Group	2013-2016	138
Biodiversity and HCV Working Group	2009-2016	196
Human Rights Working Group	2015-2016	38
Sum	**2004-2016**	**1279**

Table 4: Meeting Minutes

These qualitative documents provided information on which types of institutional work RSPO relies upon both in general and, more specifically, to further the four central debates. Ultimately, this knowledge would allow us to reflect upon and discuss which implications these types of institutional work have for the political legitimacy of RSPO. Therefore, the meeting minutes were central in answering our research question. However, the meeting minutes are fairly censored. In addition, we suspect that a significant amount of debating is taking place 'behind the scenes' as either corridor talk or during other gatherings outside the official RSPO meetings. For this reason, we needed interviews to confirm and provide us with a more nuanced understanding of the archival data.

Interviews

The somewhat exploratory nature of our research is consistent with our decision to conduct semi-structured interviews. This method of data collection allowed us to gain new and valuable insights whilst at the same time retaining our particular research focus. The development of an interview guide (see Appendix A) enabled us to follow up on our respondents' answers without losing sense of where we wanted to go with the interview. Since our goal was to tap into the personal experiences and knowledge of each of our respondents, we decided to change the interview guide to fit each of them. For example, questions about furthering the human rights agenda were posed to social NGOs, while questions concerning the institutional work to promote the biodiversity and HCV agenda were asked to members of the Biodiversity and HCV Working Group. Naturally, this customisation of our interview guide prevented us from comparing all the answers from our respondents to

generate, for instance, any quantitative representations of differing opinions across membership sectors. While we do not object that this would also have been a noble pursuit, it would be at odds with our qualitative research approach. As also mentioned in the above, our interview guide was informed by relevant literature on NSMD governance and institutional work and by our archival data. As such, the purpose of our interviews was to confirm our findings from the archival data as well as to generate new and deeper insights to support our ongoing data collection and subsequent analysis. With this in mind, a highly structured and standardised interview protocol resembling a survey would have been an inappropriate tool to obtain the kind of in-depth and privileged information that we were aiming for.

While our interview guide was customised to each of our respondents, each interview had some common features. For example, they all began with "warm up" questions to facilitate initial rapport building and make the respondent feel at ease, while more sensitive or provoking questions were saved for later in the interview. We continuously asked probing and follow-up questions during the course of the interview in order to allow the respondent to elaborate on her/his answers as well as to confirm our interpretation of them so as to ensure validity. A total of seven interviews were conducted to compile data for this report. All of our respondent were anonymised. Table 5 outlines the codes and roles within RSPO of their respective organisations.

Code	Organisation's role within RSPO	Date of interview	Length of interview
Social NGO A	Member of Smallholder Working Group	28 March, 2017	00:42:31
Grower	Member of BHCVWG and ERWG and alternate member of BOG	29 March, 2017	00:49:43
Social NGO B	Member of HRWG and BOG	31 March, 2017	01:03:04
Environmental NGO A	Former member	3 April, 2017	00:53:47
Environmental NGO B	Member of BHCVWG and alternate member of BOG	5 April, 2017	01:03:59
Retailer	Member of BOG	10 April, 2017	00:44:49
Processor/Trader	Member of HRWG and BOG and alternate member of BOG	14 April, 2017	00:59:31
Sum			**6:17:38**

Table 5: Interviews

Our respondents were carefully selected to allow us to gather information on the institutional work undertaken by different players within RSPO to further the four central debates listed previously and the organisation as a whole. In other words, we did not select our interviewees at random, but had certain selection criteria to ensure that our interviews would help us answer our research question. Criteria for the selection of the organisations were (1) representatives of the sectors most relevant to our research, i.e. social and environmental NGOs and growers, (2) members of the working groups representing the four central debates of RSPO, that is the Biodiversity and HCV Working Group, the Emissions Reductions Working Group, the Smallholders Working Group, and the Human Rights Working Group, (3) members or alternate members of the Board of Governors, preferably from other sectors than the three listed above, and (4) that they had proposed resolutions at General Assembly. Environmental NGOs are relevant for our study of the standardisation processes and political legitimacy of RSPO because they presumably concern themselves with greenhouse gas, protection of biodiversity and HCV land, and assisting smallholders to become environmentally sustainable. Social NGOs are essential for our study, as we assume they have an interest in furthering the human rights agenda and the social aspect of the smallholder agenda. Finally, growers are important to include, as they have a comprehensive understanding of on-the-ground issues in terms of all four debates. Securing interviews with these organisations also ensured that we had interviews with representatives from all the relevant working groups, as illustrated in the table above. The reason why we wanted to get a few representatives from the Board of Governors, preferably from other RSPO sectors than the three of primary interest to us, was to get a more balanced and holistic understanding of our research issue by learning about it from different perspectives. Finally, to help us select the specific organisation among these different sectors, working groups and Board members, we set up the criteria that we wanted to speak with organisations that had been fairly active during the General Assemblies by proposing resolutions furthering one of the four debates.

The criteria we had for selecting the specific person, whom we would approach within the selected organisations were that (1) they work with sustainability and palm oil, (2) that we got respondents of different types and/or at different levels in their organisation, and (3) that we got respondents representing both the developed and developing world. This would introduce data triangulation in terms of level and, naturally, person (Yeung, 1997), in that we

would not have to rely on the statements from one certain type of position (e.g. sustainability manager) or depend on the insights only of representatives of the developed world. These are both important to get a more nuanced and balanced understanding of the work going on in RSPO, and especially the latter is important, since we are - as mentioned earlier - investigating the work of an organisation that governs production in the developing world. As such, it is beneficial that we incorporate the point of view of persons representing this part of the world to make our research more credible.

In terms of the number of interviews we aimed for, we did not initially expect to conduct a certain number of interviews, as that would have been an arbitrary measure. Instead, we aimed to gather data - archival as well as interviews - until we had reached data saturation, that is until the collection of data no longer sparked new insights (Charmaz, 2006 in Creswell, 2014). Of course, feasibility was also a concern due to the limited amount of time we had available for our research, which is an additional reason behind gathering the extensive amount of archival data we did to attempt to strike a balance between feasibility and data saturation. We also aimed to have the same number of interviews with each of our four categories of respondents: environmental NGOs, social NGOs, growers, and other sectors and/or Board members. This criteria was put in place to ensure a balanced respondent representation while also acknowledging that our interviewee selection would be based on accessibility. In other words, while we would have to rely on convenience sampling due to our limited time, resources, and access to respondents, we attempted to avoid favoring either of the three critical membership groups over another. However, we only managed to get one interview with an organisation in the grower sector. We attempted to overcome this imbalance by focusing to a great degree on smallholders when speaking with Social NGO A, as it is a member of the Smallholder Working Group and therefore would provide us with insights from both a smallholder and a human rights perspective. We are therefore convinced that our diverse group of respondents, which represent five of the ten RSPO sectors, allowed us to gain a holistic understanding of our research issue.

With the permission of our respondents, we have recorded and transcribed all of our interviews. The recordings, which can be made available upon request, served to ensure the accuracy of our transcriptions. The transcripts (see Appendices B-H), in turn, allow for a reanalysis of our data in order to ensure reliability. We realise, however, that the introduction of recording equipment might also seem off-putting to some respondents, as it introduces a

different dynamic into the interview. Indeed, the respondent from Environmental NGO B asked to check the transcription for fear of having said something inappropriate. Furthermore, we have chosen to conduct our interviews over Skype due to pragmatic considerations relating to time constraints and limited financial resources to undertake travels. We chose to conduct these Skype interviews without video in order to prevent inadequate Internet speed from interfering with sound quality. As already mentioned, we also made use of probing and follow-up questions in order to ensure our accurate understanding of our respondents' answers to our questions. Additionally, we introduced ourselves and posed opening questions in order to help our respondents open up in spite of the physical remoteness and the recording equipment. Finally, another group of students were investigating a topic so similar to ours that we deemed it feasible to conduct joint interviews. We chose to conduct our interviews in collaboration with this other group of students in order to accommodate our respondents' busy schedules, as it might prove burdensome for them to partake in two separate sessions. Conducting our interviews together with another group also allowed for investigator triangulation (Denzin, 1970 in Yeung, 1997). It allowed us to discuss the respondent's answers after each interview to ensure that we interpreted them in the same way.

Newspaper Articles

We gathered supporting material in the form of newspaper articles. To obtain supporting data, we made use of Factiva, which contains information from more than 8,000 newspapers, journals and magazines (CBS Library, 2015). We conducted four main searches associated with the four key debates of RSPO as well as one contextual search to provide additional information on the emergence of ISPO and MSPO. All our searches would include the keywords 'RSPO' or 'Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil' and then, depending on the issue in question, we would add additional search terms (Dow Jones, 2012). In terms of the desired dates of the newspaper articles, we entered the date range from the inception of RSPO to today as to not miss any valuable information. Naturally, each search returned a large number of results. We therefore sorted the results according to relevance and only considered the first 100 results of each search. If the title and preview of these most relevant 100 articles did not contain any of our keywords, we would exclude it from any further consideration, leaving us with only the most relevant data set for our research.

Data Analysis

The intent of the data analysis is to make sense of the collected data by taking it apart and putting it back together (Creswell, 2014). An important pre-analysis task was to prepare the data for analysis, which essentially involved transcribing the semi-structured interviews as mentioned above. Since we are undertaking a qualitative study, we embarked on transcribing and analysing the data simultaneously with the data collection and the write-up of results. This was possible, as the collection of data took place over an extended period, allowing us to analyse it continuously as interviews and archival data were gathered. Importantly, as the qualitative data which we collected was very dense, we focused on only those aspects most essential to our research. For this reason, the coding of data was an essential first step of our analysis, as it allowed us to aggregate the data into themes.

To this end, we developed a list of codes, which we would later use to hand-code the data. Whereas the traditional methods in the social sciences is to develop codes on the basis of emerging information in the data (Creswell, 2014), we instead used predetermined codes based on the institutional theory literature as presented in Chapter 3. We chose to do so because of our aim to investigate how types of institutional work are employed in furthering different debates in RSPO. However, in line with our abductive and retroductive approach, we allowed for the codes to change in response to knowledge obtained from the data (Creswell, 2014). Moreover, we developed a codebook (see Appendix I) in which we listed all our predefined codes, definitions, and guidelines for when to use and not to use the codes (Saldaña, 2009). We did so in an attempt to maximise coherence among the codes and to avoid ambiguities, as mentioned in the previous chapter (Creswell, 2014; Saldaña, 2009). Saldaña (2009) further emphasises the benefits of having a well-developed codebook when working in a team on the same project data, as this will ensure alignment in the team members' coding of data. To ensure a high degree of alignment, we initially coded the same part of a text to ensure that our understandings of the many different codes were the same, before we began coding the remainder of our data.

During our first round of coding, in which we coded the archival data collected, we noted that the codes 'vesting', 'constructing identities', 'mythologising', and 'embedding and routinising' as described in the codebook were rarely or never observed in the data. We therefore decided to disregard these codes for further coding, and marked them with grey in the codebook. Especially with regard to 'embedding and routinising', however, we realise that

although we have not observed it explicitly, it is likely to take place implicitly, as rules, procedures and structures should facilitate repetitive practices. Moreover, we found that the 'policing' and 'deterring' categories were difficult to distinguish, as deterring work could easily represent sanctions, which is a type of policing. Therefore, we decided to merge the two categories. This is represented in the codebook by making a punctured line between the two categories and marking the 'do not use' guidelines for each of them with grey. Having coded our data, we applied our theoretical framework in order to understand how the types of institutional work identified in the coding promote the standardisation of RSPO. This part of the analysis primarily relies on the institutional work and NSMD literature. Following this, our discussion reflects on the implications of our results to the political legitimacy of RSPO, since we theorised in Chapter 3 that standardisation and political legitimacy are both the result of institutional work. This discussion primarily relies on the political legitimacy literature.

Validity, Reliability, and Generalisability

Validity and reliability in qualitative research, although distinct from those of quantitative research, are important to discuss. Qualitative validity, or internal validity, implies that we employ certain procedures to ensure the accuracy of our findings (Gibbs, 2007 in Creswell, 2014), and is a stronghold of qualitative research due to the emphasis on gathering in-depth data from a variety of viewpoints. One of the primary ways in which we ensure internal validity in our research is through triangulation, in particular data triangulation, as presented in the previous sections, as data convergence confirms that the information we have gathered is fairly accurate, hence introducing a strong justification for the codes and themes developed through coding. However, we also make sure to include contradictory information that counters other findings in order to build a holistic and realistic account or approximation of the reality expressed in our collected data. Both the converging perspectives and controversial perspectives are important in building the rich description of our case based on our findings and allows the reader to reflect upon the different perspectives presented (Creswell, 2014). Qualitative reliability then indicates that we employ a consistent and transparent approach, which could be replicated in a future study (Gibbs, 2007 in Creswell, 2014). To ensure qualitative reliability of our approach and findings, we have in this chapter in detail outlined our step-by-step procedure and documented many of the steps

in our interview protocol, interview transcripts and codebook. This should allow other researchers to replicate our method and reanalyse our data.

Finally, there is the issue of generalisability. Usually, generalisability is not a central concern in qualitative research, as this type of research aims to capture the particular rather than the general. Indeed, particularity is the value of most qualitative research (Creswell, 2014). Many scholars would argue that since we are not comparing a range of different cases with each other, our findings are not generalisable (e.g. Yin, 2009 in Creswell, 2014), but they can lay the ground for further research. Yet, the work of Flyvbjerg (2001) leads us to argue we may indeed be able to generalise from a single case. Flyvbjerg (2001) demonstrates that certain types of cases offer remarkable potential. By selecting an extreme case, that is, a case that is somehow outstanding, for example, we are able to get a point across very clearly. And by selecting a critical case, that is, a case with strategic importance in relation to the issue under scrutiny, we are able to conclude that if something is valid for this case, then it must be valid for other cases. In light of the critical importance and state of the palm oil industry and considering RSPO's unequalled regulatory power in the field regardless of the fact that it has no legal mandate to govern, we find this case so complex and challenging that it appears to offer extreme or critical case potential. If significant findings develop from this case, there should be generalisable merit for other agricultural commodities, such as soy. Whether generalisable or not, however, our findings can certainly contribute to knowledge accumulation in the field. To paraphrase Flyvbjerg, the power of the good example is too often underestimated.

Chapter 5: Results

This chapter provides a detailed presentation of our results. We begin by introducing the coding results of our archival and interview data to show that RSPO relies on a wide variety of types of institutional work, both in general and to further each of the four key debates under investigation. Next, we investigate how different types of institutional work are utilised by RSPO members to shape the key characteristics of NSMD governance outlined in Chapter 3. Following this, the proceeding four sections zoom in on the four debates on biodiversity and HCV, greenhouse gas, smallholder inclusion, and human rights. Each of these sections analyses which types of institutional work are used to promote specific debates and why.

5.1. Institutional Work in RSPO

This section considers which types of institutional work actors in RSPO use to further its standardisation. It begins by presenting Tables 6 and 7, which provide key data examples for each type of institutional work used in RSPO and an overview of the key types of work employed to further each of the four debates within RSPO, respectively. Followingly, it provides commentary on all the types of institutional work used in RSPO. Next, it shows how different types of work are strategically combined. Finally, it outlines those types of work that are not used in RSPO.

Types of Institutional Work Used in RSPO

Table 6 presents the most prominent examples of institutional work used by RSPO detected in our archival and interview data. For a full list of the coded data, refer to Appendix J.

Type of institutional work	Examples from data
Advocacy	*"All agree to lobbying the Tripartite [Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Netherlands] to provide funds for the STF work."* (RSPO, 2006a, p. 9) *"a lot of what we're doing in terms of influencing the RSPO and influencing the sector is done more unofficially, behind the scenes, more lobby and advocacy based, than through*

	technocratic tools" (Social NGO B, personal communication, 31 March 2017)
Defining	*"...the RSPO CoC should explain what is expected from members, how members comply with the P&C and very importantly, what happens when members do not comply."* (RSPO, 2006c, p. 5) *"...only one representative should be present at EB meetings to avoid crowding and a misbalance in representation."* (RSPO, 2006a, p. 3)
Changing normative associations	*"[...] land rights and land use issues need to be addressed from economic and sovereignty perspectives as well."* (RSPO, 2009d, p. 5) *"NPP [New Planting Procedure] is not only about HCV. It also cover social aspect. We can say high or low risk can be the best medium for threshold on HCV, but maybe not when come to social issue."* (RSPO, 2015e, p. 5)
Constructing normative networks	*"multi-stakeholder processes are crucial to get an understanding of the business interests, and how business interests and social and environmental interests align"* (Social NGO B, personal communication, 31 March 2017) *"Biswaranjan Sen spoke of the need for further engagement based on a 'triangular' model where the industry, civil society and government need to come together to resolve issues and challenges."* (RSPO, 2015f, p. 2)
Mimicry	*"The RSPO should follow examples from initiatives such as FSC-WWF and ECO-Trading."* (RSPO, 2004c, p. 6) *"It is just an additional step going towards a fuller assurance of what is being done."* (RSPO, 2008a, p. 11).
Theorising	*"[...] it was important that members get a chance to comment on it as this will encourage ownership of RSPO's vision and mission and strategies."* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 14) *"Compliance to standards help increase yields which further means that there is a reduction in pressure for deforestation"* (RSPO, 2012i, p. 6)
Educating	*"The Secretariat flagged the need for more training to build capacity as more and more audits are scheduled."* (RSPO, 2008c, p. 3) *"There are tools on how to begin, how to become a member, how to start trading, how to start buying. The tools are available in a number of languages"* (RSPO, 2010c, p. 3). *"To add onto the dashboard and the website the organization chart of the Secretariat on the website and roles of everyone."* (RSPO, 2011a, p. 10-11)
Enabling	*"Just make the criterias as simple as possible, so that people can go through them"* (Social NGO A, personal communication, 28 March 2017) *"RSPO establishes a capital fund that will encourage independent smallholders to comply with and be certified against the RSPO Criteria, including through group certifications."* (RSPO, 2007c, p. 9)

Policing and deterring	*"[...] RSPO is not the palm oil police but if someone complains about our member, RSPO needs to take action."* (RSPO, 2007e, p. 6) JV notes that you must identify *"some carrots and some sticks to make sure that they [sustainability standards] are more broadly adopted."* (Social NGO B, personal communication, 31 March 2017)
Valourising and demonising	*"The system is working and growing. This is demonstrated by: the growing supply of CSPO; growing use of certified oil, mostly in Europe; first smallholders being certified and; entering Phase II: trade to grow further; consumer trademark introduced in 2011; efforts to expand trade to India, China."* (RSPO, 2010b, p. 7) *"The BOG endorses RSPO CTF recommendation to publicly disclose list of non-submitters [of HCV liability disclosure] on RSPO website in multiple languages [...]"* (RSPO, 2015h, p. 3)

Table 6: Examples of Institutional Work Employed in RSPO

All of the types of institutional work exemplified in Table 6 are used to further the standardisation of RSPO in general. Zooming in on the four key debates under scrutiny in this thesis, it becomes evident that certain types of work are more predominantly employed than others. Table 7 illustrates which types of institutional work we found in our data to be most significant in promoting each of the four key debates.

Key debate	Most prominent types of institutional work
Biodiversity and HCV	Advocacy Educating and enabling Policing and deterring
Greenhouse gas	Defining Theorising Educating and enabling
Smallholder inclusion	Advocacy Defining Enabling and educating
Human rights	Changing normative associations and mimicry Educating and enabling Policing and deterring

Table 7: Types of Institutional Work Employed in RSPO Key Debates

We will return to discuss the use of institutional work within each of the four key debates in Sections 5.3. through 5.6. The remainder of this section is dedicated to analyse the ways in which types of institutional work are used in general within RSPO. Advocacy is particularly important to further different interests within RSPO. In this way, it can be a precursor to the employment of other types of work. Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, members use advocacy in attempts to influence the work of RSPO. As our respondent from Environmental NGO A expressed: "Honestly, either you enter the game and you try to make a difference or you leave it" (personal communication, 3 April 2017). Part of this advocacy work takes place openly during meetings and assemblies. We discuss this type of direct advocacy work in more detail in Section 5.5. on smallholder inclusion. Some advocacy work also takes place "more unofficially, behind the scenes" (Social NGO B, personal communication, 31 March 2017). For example, our Processor/Trader respondent explained the importance of carefully explaining a resolution to members in order to persuade them to vote for its adoption: "[…] networking needs to be done, so that people truly understands what is the agenda, or what is it that you're proposing" (personal communication, 14 April 2017). Secondly, we have observed several deliberate attempts at influencing the Indonesian government to align their national legislation with the RSPO P&C. For example, Unilever's representative on the Board highlighted that RSPO "[...] should encourage governments to take on suitable elements of the Criteria in legislation" (RSPO, 2004a, p. 3). We explore these attempts, which can be both direct and indirect, in further detail in Section 5.3. on biodiversity and HCV.

Defining occurs when RSPO creates constitutive rules. Re-defining takes place every time these rules are altered, whether this alteration pertains to lowering membership fees (e.g. RSPO, 2013a), modifying decision-making structures (e.g. RSPO, 2015b), or raising the standard (e.g. RSPO, 2010a). We discuss this in more detail in Section 5.2. on NSMD characteristics. Changing normative associations occurs when the rules are reinterpreted from a different normative viewpoint. In this way, work aimed at changing normative associations is closely related to defining and re-defining. We discuss the use of work to change normative association in more depth in Section 5.6. on human rights. Normative networks are constructed within RSPO when working groups and task forces are formed to strengthen certain agendas. For example, each of the four debates explored in this chapter has its own working group. On an overall level, the construction of a normative network is what RSPO is

all about. Indeed, the establishing of interorganisational connections is what has allowed this NSMD system to arise as a collaboration between multiple types of stakeholders that work towards achieving a common goal across industries. As we have observed, it is also important to engage governments, which are not part of RSPO, to diffuse the standard. We discuss the construction of normative networks in relation to national governments and regulations in Chapter 6.

Mimicry work is not only used to imitate other organisations, but also to imitate established practices which are considered legitimate within RSPO. Indeed, gradual changes by way of mimicry may be so closely related to existing practices that it is difficult for members to discern whether a change is actually taking place. Since this aspect has been relatively neglected in the literature to date, we spend some time exploring in Section 5.6. on human rights. Theorising work is used as a lever to push certain agendas by incorporating them into a cause-and-effect narrative. This strategy has been most noticeably employed in furthering the debate on greenhouse gas by ways of linking it to the overall legitimacy of RSPO. We describe this narrative in further detail in Section 5.4 on greenhouse gas. Theorising is also used to name new concepts, such as RSPO NEXT. Interestingly, other names like RSPO Plus and RSPO Beyond were also discussed for this voluntary standard (see e.g. RSPO, 2013b). The ultimate choice of NEXT frames the initiative less as something that is above and beyond what might be expected and more as a natural next step for those members that are already complying with the regular certification requirements.

Educating work is directed at both RSPO members and the general public. The former is often associated with enabling work: In order to enable members to live up to the P&C, they need to be equipped with the relevant knowledge and skills. The combination of educating and enabling work is discussed in greater detail below as well as in Section 5.4. on greenhouse gas. Besides from simplifying the P&C in order to enable members to go through them, enabling work is most commonly associated with the establishment of working groups and task forces as well as the allocation of financial resources. While enabling work is used to promote all four agendas within RSPO, it is most noticeable in relation to smallholders, wherefore we return to analyse its use in Section 5.5. on smallholder inclusion. Policing and deterring work is widely used to ensure that members comply with the P&C in a transparent manner. Measures include auditing carried out by licensed assessors, monitoring through mandatory reporting and disclosure of information, and sanctions of violations in the form of

financial compensation. Policing and deterring is discussed in greater detail in Section 5.3. on biodiversity and HCV. Closely associated to deterring, valourising and demonising are used when examples of (non-)compliance with the P&C are published on the RSPO website to inspire others to comply and to ensure transparency. We elaborate on RSPO's commitment to transparency in Section 5.2. on NSMD characteristics.

Combinations of Institutional Work

Institutional work is combined in a variety of ways. In keeping with Slager et al. (2012), we have observed that various types of institutional work may add up to more than the sum of their parts. In other words, by combining different types of institutional work, actors may form a better combination than expected from each of the individual types of work. Notably, we have identified three different combinations of institutional work. Firstly, changing normative associations is strategically combined with mimicry to ease the transition between the current and the desired. When successful, efforts to change normative associations through mimicry allow changes to be perceived as natural extensions of existing practises. We explore this phenomenon in greater detail in Section 5.6. on human rights. Secondly, enabling and educating are combined to create tools and educate members in their use. When these two types of institutional work are married, their boundaries become difficult to discern. Interestingly, the combination of educating and enabling work is a combination of creating and maintaining work. We investigate this in Section 5.4. on greenhouse gas. Thirdly, educating may be combined with policing and deterring and valourising and demonising efforts to increase transparency. We elaborate on these combinations in Section 5.2. on transparency.

Types of Institutional Work Not Employed in RSPO

The types of work that we have not found in our archival and interview data also deserve a brief mentioning. Firstly, we have not seen any significant attempts to construct identities. Some new professional roles did emerge, such as the decision to create a new position as greenhouse gas manager (RSPO, 2011a). Yet, these were created to enable certain agendas rather than to re-define the relationship between actors and the field and, hence, they are not examples of work to construct identities. Also, we identified a few attempts at repositioning the organisational identity of RSPO itself. For example, the RSPO Secretariat

emphasised the need to "reposition the RSPO from the position of a fixer to a position of a facilitator, participate in debate(s) and other possible solutions to treat the issues that the people care about" (RSPO, 2015c, p. 13). These attempts were so few, however, that we found it unlikely that this type of work would contribute significantly to the standardisation process of RSPO. Secondly, we found no examples of vesting. This is likely due to the fact that vesting involves transferring property rights, which falls outside the legal mandate of RSPO.

Thirdly, we saw few examples of mythologising. This could be due to the fact that storytelling about RSPO's inception has been deemed either irrelevant and/or excessively long to note down in the meeting minutes. We have seen examples of storytelling about cause-and-effect relationships. This type of narrative, however, is associated with theorising work rather than mythologising. We explore this type of narrative in greater detail in Section 5.4 on greenhouse gas. Finally, we have not identified any significant examples of embedding and routinising work. We are fairly certain, however, that RSPO does indeed embed its normative foundations into its day-to-day practices. For example, voting procedures and the annual General Assembly both resemble embedding and routinising work. The reason why we have not been able to find any more examples in our archival and interview data is likely due to the fact that routines are usually taken for granted and, therefore, not explicitly expressed. In order to identify these deeply embedded procedures, we would need to observe the everyday practices of RSPO over a period of time.

5.2. Institutional Work and NSMD Characteristics

Now that we have looked into the types of institutional work used by RSPO on an overall level, we turn our attention to two key features of NSMD systems: input and impact. The present section explores in greater depth the ways in which RSPO uses institutional work associated with these features. As introduced in Chapter 3, input is concerned with actors, decision-making, and processes, all of which are important mechanisms for creating and maintaining NSMD systems. Therefore, we investigate the types of institutional work utilised by RSPO to (1) establish and maintain participatory mechanisms that ensure multi-stakeholder participation, and to (2) ensure transparency in its work. Both of these aspects are important in ensuring that RSPO remains accountable to its diverse membership and to the general public. Impact centres on outputs in terms of rules and issue areas. Therefore, we

analyse a key tension relating to the development of the RSPO P&C, that is the contrasting demands of rigour and inclusion. Following this, the subsequent four sections will discuss the four key debates in RSPO to shed light on the tensions and developments of central issue areas in the P&C.

Stakeholder Participation

Concerning stakeholder participation in RSPO, especially two aspects stand out from our archival and interview data: the issue of balanced representation and consensus versus majority decision-making. Both of these aspects are closely related to the defining work undertaken by RSPO. In terms of representation, an important first step was the construction of seven ordinary membership categories, or sectors, based on the different interests across and around the palm oil supply chain. As such, RSPO recognised early on that different members have inherently different interests. Subsequently, the RSPO Board and all the RSPO working groups and task forces are ideally made up of representatives from each membership sector, as also mentioned in Chapter 2, regardless of the overall sectoral representation across RSPO. Exceptions are made if no representatives from specific sectors are willing to stand for election, as RSPO is inherently a voluntary organisation. It therefore utilised defining work to ensure a degree of balanced representation among the different sectors so that no stakeholder group could dominate the organisation (RSPO, 2005a). As Darrel Webber, the Chief Executive Officer of RSPO, notes "Central [...] is the RSPO commitment to our philosophy of harmonizing the interests of diverse group of nations, organizations and individuals through an inclusive, participative and consensual process" (Daily News and Analysis, 2012).

In spite of these attempts, the notion of balanced stakeholder representation across the organisation is discussed from time to time in RSPO. As early as 2004, the issue was that "[...] RSPO membership is dominated by producers and processors, and effort should be made to have better representation of the other sectors" (RSPO, 2004a, p. 6). In line with this, Indonesian stakeholders advocated that producers should have proportionately more seats on the Board to reflect their majority membership in RSPO. This request was denied, as it was argued that it would introduce a high degree of imbalance in stakeholder representation if producers were to dominate the Board (RSPO, 2005a). These examples show very different attempts at deliberately persuading RSPO to alter its constitutive rules to ensure a better degree of balanced representation. Because these examples deal with direct efforts to re-

define membership rules, they reflect members' use of advocacy work to encourage the use of defining work.

Theorising work is also used to maintain balanced stakeholder participation in RSPO, in particular between growers and NGOs, as a Malaysian processor states that "the success of the RSPO all this while has been because this balance has been maintained between growers and the NGO seats" (RSPO, 2012a, p. 7) and IOI stresses that "[RSPO] would never have survived 10 years without the balance." (RSPO, 2012a, p. 7). Although it is not explicitly stated, it is implied that it is essential to balance the demands from NGO to enforce stringent social and environmental criteria with the practical feasibility of implementing these criteria on the ground, as growers, especially smallholders, are primarily concerned with their own economic sustainability. This theorising work is undertaken as a counter-argument against the advocacy work used as an attempt to re-define the membership rules to the benefit of smallholders (RSPO, 2012a).

RSPO has also used institutional work to overcome obstacles to stakeholder participation, most often with regards to smallholders, as in the above example, and NGOs. One important obstacle to participation is insufficient financial means. To address this, RSPO has made use of defining work to re-define the membership fee structure for smallholders, as shall be discussed in more detail in Section 5.4. on smallholder inclusion. It has also made use of enabling work by introducing the possibility for NGOs with an insufficient budget to have their membership fee waived or reduced in order to "expand the [NGO] stakeholder base" (RSPO, 2010b, p. 7). To address obstacles of language barriers and a lack of expert knowledge, RSPO utilises both educating and enabling work, often intertwined. The most notable examples of this are the translation of key documents into Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia, ensuring easy access to key information (RSPO, 2004b) and the creation and translation of toolkits and guidelines for achieving certification (RSPO, 2005b). As stated by the RSPO President in 2010, "there are tools on how to begin, how to become a member, how to start trading, how to start buying. The tools are available in a number of languages" (RSPO, 2010c, p. 3).

Finally, there is the issue of consensus versus majority decision-making in RSPO. Based on the early defining work of RSPO, the procedures are established in such a way that most decisions are made by consensus. In fact, some theorising work is used to emphasise consensus decision-making as a causal factor of RSPO's success. For example, the Malaysian

Palm Oil Association argues that "RSPO success is being [a] cohesive and collaborative organization which makes decisions on consensus" (RSPO, 2010c, p. 9). However, consensus decision-making is associated with a trade-off between the thorough multi-stakeholder process, which includes lengthy negotiations, and the flexibility to respond to external demands, which often involves a sense of urgency (RSPO, 2012b). Reflecting the need to balance the two, RSPO has also used defining work to establish the constitutive rule that decisions at the General Assembly are based on majority voting. As the grower New British Palm Oil argues: "Having consensus with sustained objection ensures that the minority groups are not disenfranchised. Having a majority decision at the GA [General Assembly] and ensuring that people can attend allows us to take a vote and move forward" (RSPO, 2012b, p. 16). In this way, RSPO is attempting to balance stakeholder participation and effectiveness.

Transparency

As also reflected in its eight overarching principles, RSPO is committed to transparency (RSPO, 2013c). At the European Roundtable in Milan last year, Darrel Webber stated:

> Trust and transparency are the cornerstones of our collaboration in the sustainable palm oil supply chain. If we don't trust each other, we can't work together. And if we don't work together, we will never be able to make the global palm oil market sustainable. Third party certification and voluntary disclosure of supply chain information for public scrutiny are essential elements to win the trust of all stakeholders and consumers who want to be reassured that companies' sustainability policies are genuine (RSPO, 2016a).

Transparency efforts often involve the use of policing and deterring, educating, or valourising and demonising work. In the case of policing and deterring, the above quotation perfectly summarises the efforts of RSPO to audit and monitor it members through, for example, annual communication of progress reports. In the case of educating, RSPO attempts to educate both its own members and the public by making pertinent information easily accessible through its website. As also stated by Darrel Webber, RSPO makes information available "for public scrutiny" in an attempt to win the trust of consumers and, thereby, create demand for certified sustainable palm oil. In case of valourising and demonising, RSPO

exemplifies (un)desirable conduct through its website. For example, the Board decided to make a full case history of all grievances against RSPO members available online in 2011 (RSPO, 2011a). And all historical complaints were published in 2013 (RSPO, 2013d). Finally, RSPO combines the educating with valourising and demonising by providing positive and negative examples of palm oil production to counter negative campaigns and to "stop people running away from [palm oil]" (RSPO, 2013d, p. 7).

Rigour versus Inclusion

A key tension within RSPO relates to the rigour of the standard versus the inclusion of more members. On the one hand, RSPO must continuously raise its bar to meet the growing expectations of external audiences and, therefore, "the P&C must be constantly evolve *[sic]* to meet any legitimate demands" (RSPO, 2010c, p. 9). On the other hand, however, "RSPO was established to promote sustainable palm oil for which, to be more effective, it has to attract as many companies as possible to join" (RSPO, 2008a, p. 13), and the adoption of "yet more stringent standards [...] may be a deterrent both to new and existing members" (RSPO, 2009a). To insure inclusion, enabling work is often associated with either a simplification or a relaxation of existing demands - or both. The lowering of demands is perhaps most apparent in relation to smallholder inclusion: "For the smallholders, through the national interpretation process, through the engagement process, their standard for certification is very much reduced – just compliances with legal requirements, e.g., land title, user rights" (RSPO, 2009a, p. 17).

Efforts to make requirements more stringent are often associated with mimicry work in order to minimise the perceived gap between the current and desired practices. Indeed, the success of RSPO partially hinges on its ability to make decisions based on consensus and, as such, requirements cannot simply change left and right. Coding our archival data, we have found several examples of the strategic use of mimicry to mask that any change is taking place. Members might claim that a change is "just an additional step going towards a fuller assurance of what is being done" (RSPO, 2008a, p. 11), or that there is no change at all. Indeed, the changes may be so well hidden that they are difficult to discern. For example, Oxfam expressed their attitude to a proposed resolution in the following way: "I fail to see the difference between this resolution and that already in the [General Assembly] approved Code of Conduct" (RSPO, 2009a, p. 10). Mimicry work is also used to change normative associations in more obvious ways. One way is by associating desired practices with existing,

broadly accepted institutions outside of RSPO. An example of this is the parallel drawn between the inclusion of greenhouse gas considerations into RSPO P&C and the United Nation Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (RSPO, 2010d). Another way is by linking the desired practices within one area to current practices within another area of RSPO. By doing so, members create a smooth transition between the old and the new, which eases adoption. An example of this is the introduction of social considerations through firmly established environmental considerations concerning HCV. We return to discuss this in Section 5.6 on human rights.

Having thus analysed the ways in which RSPO utilise different types of institutional work in terms of input and impact, we now shift our attention to how institutional work is used to further our four central debates. Indeed, impact is not only measured in terms of rigour or inclusion of the P&C, but also in terms of the issue areas which RSPO itself chooses to focus on. Naturally, any strict division of issue areas like the one attempted in the below is bound to create some overlaps. We often observe that the four issue areas are intertwined in reality, and this was also noted by one of our interviewees. Nevertheless, a rigid categorisation is necessary for analytical purposes, and RSPO itself also distinguishes between these four debates, wherefore it is beneficial to our analysis to make the same categorisation to investigate which types of work go into each debate.

5.3. Biodiversity and High Conservation Value

Biodiversity and HCV is perhaps the agenda most commonly associated with the work of RSPO: "So, it's all beginning from an issue which is fire – forest fire, haze – and then slowly emerge and evolve, become an influence to the whole palm oil industry" (Grower, personal communication, 29 March 2017). We have identified four types of institutional work which are more often employed than others to further the biodiversity and HCV agenda. They are: (1) advocacy, (2) educating, (3) enabling, and (4) policing and deterring. Table 8 presents the most prominent examples from our archival and interview data. We expand on the use of each of these types of work below.

Type of institutional work	Examples from data
Advocacy	*"SS raised the need to engage the government for the legal status of HCV in Indonesia. This is very key to enable the HCV concept be well implemented in Indonesia."* (RSPO, 2011g, p. 3) *"OT commented that there were a few universities in Indonesia which have great influence in certain ministries. OT suggested PH to identify and approach these universities. Action: PH to get in touch with OT separately to strategise on lobbying the subject."* (RSPO, 2013f, p. 8)
Educating and enabling	*"RA commented on poor auditing and the need to improve on CBs understanding and interpretation of P&C."* (RSPO, 2009c, p. 2) *"The development of practicable and useable management guidelines that support the infield application of sustainable biodiversity standards."* (RSPO, 2011b, p. 6)
Policing and deterring	*"To continue with the suspension of pending certification of PT SMART and PT Ivomas Tunggal until such time there is a clear agreement on High Conservation Value compensation for post 2007 land clearing without HCV assessments."* (RSPO, 2011e, p. 5).

Table 8: Biodiversity and High Conservation Value

Advocacy

RSPO faces a challenge relating to the Indonesian legal system, as this does not recognise the HCV concept (RSPO, 2012c). To overcome this issue, the Board established an Indonesian HCV Task Force in 2012 (RSPO, 2012d) with the explicit objective "to explore options to reform local and national laws and procedures to secure HCV areas and accommodate the RSPO P&C" (RSPO, 2012e, p. 2). To this end, the task force presented an action plan to lobby the Indonesian government with the explicit aim of revising the national regulatory framework in 2013 (RSPO, 2013f). The action plan outlines the strategy of "getting buy-in" (RSPO, 2013f, p. 48) from three key ministries during face-to-face meetings.

From our interviews, it quickly became clear that lobbying the national government is a highly sensitive matter that must be approached with caution. This sensitivity was particularly evident in our interview with our respondent from Environmental NGO B, who told us that RSPO "does always have to be incredibly careful about it, how it approaches its engagement with all governments" because of considerations surrounding national sovereignty (personal communication, 5 April 2017). She said: "I don't think so much

lobbying the government [...] but rather engaging and collaborating with the government to come up with solutions" (personal communication, 5 April 2017). Our Retailer respondent similarly expressed that she "would see it more as a conversation than a specific lobbying perspective" (personal communication, 10 April 2017). Due to the delicacy of the matter as expressed by our interviewees, advocacy work is sometimes undertaken in indirect ways. Rather than directly approaching the government, for example, the chairman of the Biodiversity Technical Committee instead recommended approaching the advisors to relevant ministers (RSPO, 2011b). Another example of indirect lobbying is the decision to go through Indonesian universities that are believed to have influence in certain ministries (RSPO, 2013f).

The sensitivity of the topic might also mean that even more examples of direct lobbying efforts exist but are subject to censorship. Indeed, our Grower respondent was very surprised that we were at all informed about the issue facing RSPO in relation to recognition of the HCV concept under Indonesian law (personal communication, 29 March 2017). Furthermore, the action plan prepared by the Indonesian HCV Task Force is marked as "private and confidential" with a request not to circulate (RSPO, 2013f, p. 45-56). Whether or not additional examples exist, however, we feel confident claiming that RSPO undertakes advocacy work to promote the HCV agenda in both direct and indirect ways.

Educating and Enabling

A Biodiversity Technical Committee (which was later replaced with the Biodiversity and HCV Working Group) was formed in 2009 (RSPO, 2014a). At the very first meeting of the Biodiversity Technical Committee, it was suggested to adopt an overall approach consisting of "education, 'force' and incentive" (RSPO, 2009c, p. 3) to ensure compliance with biodiversity requirements. The first part of this three-pronged approach corresponds to educating work. Educating is used to further the biodiversity and HCV agenda in two different ways. Firstly, practical guidelines and tools on the topic of biodiversity and HCV are created and made available. This type of educating is closely associated with enabling, since the translations of complicated requirements into practical tools that are fit for use by members enable them to live up to the P&C on the issue. Examples of tools include the HCV Toolkit published in 2008, the Threat Monitoring Protocol from 2013, and the current focus on developing clear guidance to members in relation to riparian protection and restoration

(Grower, personal communication, 29 March 2017). Furthermore, RSPO developed a simplified HCV guidance procedure for smallholders in 2013 in response to allegations that it did not adequately address the HCV issue (RSPO, 2012a; 2013e). Our respondent from Environmental NGO B perfectly summarised the importance of educating and enabling work: "[...] there's no way any of those things are gonna be achieved at scale if there aren't enough consultants, organisations, members – whoever they are who are meant to be implementing – with the skills to implement them well" (personal communication, 5 April 2017). In this view, tools are a specific type of education which enable members to adhere to basic requirements.

Secondly, the capacity of HCV assessors has been raised as a concern on numerous occasions since 2009, and poor audits is a major liability for RSPO. For this reason, it was decided in 2012 to develop an HCV Assessor Licensing Scheme in order to raise the capacity of HCV assessors (RSPO, 2013e). Since then, capacity building of HCV assessors is continuously undertaken in collaboration with experts from HCV Resource Network. Our Grower respondent summarised the importance of well-trained certification bodies and HCV assessors: "[The] majority of the complaints, we can say that this are related to the quality of the HCV assessment as well. Because if the quality is bad, and it reflects to the operation, and later it will lead to issues on the ground, so I think it all begins with the good quality of the HCV assessments" (personal communication, 29 March 2017). This type of education is closely associated with policing, since the capacity building of auditors is undertaken in order to enable them to police RSPO members.

Policing and Deterring

Policing and deterring is arguably the second part of the three-pronged approach suggested by the Biodiversity Technical Committee in 2009. Policing and deterring is used to further the biodiversity and HCV agenda in two different ways. Firstly, and as we saw in the section above, RSPO educates HCV auditors in order to enable them to conduct audits of a high quality, meaning that they are able to rigourously and consistently identify the presence or absence of HCV. The importance of auditors should not be underestimated: "I guess a huge part of the implementation gap [...] is a poor quality in auditing and in the HCV assessments themselves." (Environmental NGO B, personal communication, 5 April 2017).

Secondly, RSPO sanctions its members for land clearances conducted without any prior HCV assessments. Criterion 7.3, which was adopted in 2007 (RSPO, 2007a), requires

the preservation of primary forest and HCV within plantations established after 2005, necessitating an assessment of HCV areas prior to any new plantings. The cut-off date of 2005 was subject to a great deal of commotion: While environmental NGOs were in favour of the cut-off date, growers were very much against it due to the costs which they might incur, reflecting the tensions between normative and commercial motivations (Ruysschaert & Salles, 2016). Taking the concerns of growers into consideration, RSPO finally agreed to change the cut-off date for land use change analysis to 2014 (RSPO, 2014b). In 2011, the Biodiversity and HCV Working Group established the Compensation Task Force to support its work of developing compensation packages for land clearance by members without prior HCV assessment (RSPO, 2011c). This type of policing and deterring work focuses on enforcing existing rules through the use of sanctions: "[...] if you are not going to comply with the HCV, that would be the punishment, that would be the sanction that you can't escape. Otherwise, you won't be able to get a certification" (Grower, personal communication, 29 March 2017). Yet, it is also linked to demonising work insofar as violations of rules are typically published for public consumption on the RSPO website. It seems plausible that this demonising work feeds into policing and deterring work by way of a double loop, which prevents other members from committing the same mistakes as their peers.

5.4. Greenhouse Gas

Closely linked to the biodiversity and HCV agenda, particularly in relation to the concern with deforestation, is the issue of greenhouse gas. In fact, our Retailer respondent notes that "the two are different impacts of the same challenge, which is land use change so actually [...] they are entirely part of the same agenda" (personal communication, April 10 2017). Although there is some merit to this statement, RSPO works with these agendas in different ways, using different types of institutional work. We argue that especially the following four types of institutional work are prominent in furthering the greenhouse gas debate: (1) defining, (2) theorising, (3) educating, and (4) enabling. Table 9 provides examples of these types of work, which we expand upon below.

Type of institutional work	Examples from data
Defining	*"It was agreed that [...] for the work to succeed, all RSPO members need to commit to GHG reductions and not just growers."* (RSPO, 2010a, p. 11) *"since 2013, when we have the new revised P&C, there are new criteria introduced into the RSPO standard. So, as you know, the whole 7.8 is a new criteria that talks about emission reduction, including avoidance of high carbon-stock area or prioritise planting on low carbon-stock area."* (Grower, personal communication, 29 March 2017)
Theorising	*"In my view, one of the reasons why there is a slow uptake of the current CSPO is because there are still certain flaws in the credibility of the current CSPO. In particular in regards to issues of HCV and GHG emission."* (RSPO, 2012a, p. 9) *"it is particularly when it comes to emissions from land use change and peatland, as the RSPO, you know, needs to be able to demonstrate having an impact in those areas because that is such a huge concern of downstream companies."* (Environmental NGO B, personal communication, 5 April 2017)
Educating	*"A workshop with CBs is also being planned to ensure that they understand the requirements of C5.6 in relation to the use of PalmGHG or an endorsed equivalent."* (RSPO, 2014c, p. 9) *"[...] that calculation, that tool, kit for calculation of greenhouse gas for palm oil is extremely important, and it's extremely important to educate the public"* (Trader/Processor, personal communication, 13 April 2017).
Enabling	*"The Palm GHG calculator has been launched. Growers can now use it to calculate the carbon footprint of the palm oil they produce."* (RSPO, 2012a, p. 2) *"a Emission Reduction Working Group was formed to support members to achieve this requirement [Criteria 7.8 on GHG]."* (Grower, personal communication, 29 March 2017)

Table 9: Greenhouse Gas Emissions Reductions

Defining

Defining work has been employed to promote the greenhouse gas agenda since the early days of RSPO, as greenhouse gas considerations have been incorporated into the standard little by little since the official launch of the first P&C in 2007. At this time, the standard contained a basic criterion on greenhouse gas, namely Criterion 5.6 (RSPO, 2007b,c; Damodaran, 2007). With this criterion, RSPO utilised defining work to establish its members' responsibility for greenhouse gas as the requirement to develop, implement, and monitor plans to reduce pollution and emissions (RSPO, 2007b). Since then, RSPO members have attempted to redefine the practice standards in relation to greenhouse gas in very different

ways. In 2009, opposing opinions on the topic clashed: NGOs required RSPO to tighten greenhouse gas criteria (RSPO, 2008b; Damodaran, 2008), while growers opposed this ambition (RSPO, 2009d), arguing that RSPO failed to include economic and social considerations in the greenhouse gas criteria (The Guardian, 2009; Adnan, 2009). This lead to a stalemate as growers blocked attempts of re-defining the P&C by declining to vote on the greenhouse gas proposal at the General Assembly (The Guardian, 2009; Bernama, 2009a; Adnan, 2009).

To end the stalemate, the RSPO Board employed defining work to redefine the status of the greenhouse gas requirements, stating that "any acceptance [of including greenhouse gas considerations to RSPO] must be voluntary and introduced in stages" (RSPO, 2009a, p. 6). To relieve the burden of the growers, defining work was also used to establish that all RSPO members must put in effort to reduce greenhouse gas emissions (RSPO, 2010a). Years later, as a result of the 2013 review of the P&C, defining work was successfully utilised to redefine the RSPO standard in order to push the greenhouse gas agenda further. Specifically, the existing Criterion 5.6 was revised to incorporate greenhouse gas considerations more explicitly, and Criterion 7.8 was introduced to mandate that "new plantation developments are designed to minimise net greenhouse gas emissions" (RSPO, 2013c, p. 56). Some industry representatives, however, criticised the reviewed standards for adding more costs of certification to growers without an equal increase in CSPO premiums (Thean, 2013). In spite of this, RSPO has recently undertaken additional defining work with the launch of RSPO NEXT in which it has defined even more stringent - albeit voluntary - practice standards for all RSPO members, in part "to address the shortfalls in the Principles and Criteria when it came to requirements around peatland management" (Environmental NGO B, personal communication, 5 April 2017). At this point in time, RSPO also relied on defining work to ascertain that the boundaries of the RSPO standard is to reduce the environmental impact of the palm oil industry (RSPO, 2016c).

Theorising

One important driver of the defining work outlined above is theorising work. Theorising work is especially used by NGOs, as they try to convince the membership that RSPO should take the lead in addressing greenhouse gas emissions due to the severe impact of the palm oil industry on climate change (RSPO, 2009d). NGOs clearly stated that failure to

ratchet up the standard would lead the same NGOs to question RSPO as a certifying organisation: "Failure to reach a compromise would be a serious blow to the credibility of the RSPO. I find it hard to believe that in 2010 people will accept a definition of sustainability that does not explicitly address the need to reduce greenhouse gas emissions" (The Guardian, 2009). Later, NGOs used theorising work to provide additional critique to the P&C as it was originally designed: "In my view, one of the reasons why there is a slow uptake of the current CSPO is because there are still certain flaws in the credibility of the current CSPO. In particular in regards to issues of [...] GHG emission" (RSPO, 2012a, p. 9). This is a clear example of promoting an agenda by identifying causal relationships between institutional elements, that is the credibility of the RSPO standard and the incorporation of greenhouse gas, as well as the credibility of the standard and the uptake of CSPO.

Our Grower respondent also emphasised that this causal link between defining the practice standard in a way that it properly addresses greenhouse gas issues and RSPO's credibility is an essential one for the progression of the greenhouse gas agenda in RSPO (personal communication, 29 March 2017). It is evident that this theorising work helped advance the greenhouse gas debate and redefine the RSPO practice standards. In addition, RSPO used defining work to strengthen the P&C in an attempt to overcome internal criticism of the flawed credibility of the standard provided by theorising work. As such, the application of both of these types of institutional work is essential in furthering the greenhouse gas debate, and they reinforce each other. Another example of how theorising work furthered the greenhouse gas agenda is the manner in which RSPO responds to pressures against tightening the standard for the grower members, as it theorises that "for the work to succeed, all RSPO members need to commit to greenhouse gas reductions and not just growers" (RSPO, 2010a, p. 11). By theorising that commensurate effort of the entire RSPO membership is the only feasible way to incorporate greenhouse gas considerations into the standard, the requirements related to greenhouse gas are redefined.

Educating and Enabling

As in the biodiversity and HCV debate, educating and enabling types of work become difficult to separate as promoters of the greenhouse gas agenda. We observe that the RSPO Board undertakes enabling work when it establishes greenhouse gas related working groups. The first group was established in 2008 to address criticisms of the lack of detail of Criterion

5.6 and to support the implementation of Criterion 7.8 (RSPO, 2007d, 2010d). The second group, replacing the first, was established in 2009 and was charged with focusing more strongly on stakeholder engagement to avoid another stalemate like the one caused by the clashing opinions of growers and NGOs, as previously described (RSPO, 2009e). The third greenhouse gas related working group was established in 2013 and tasked with facilitating the implementation of the greenhouse gas related P&C: "[...] there is a need to establish a WG [working group] to oversee implementation of Criterion 5.6 and Criterion 7.8 on measurement of GHG" (RSPO, 2013g, p. 7) and "to support members to achieve this requirement" (Grower, personal communication, 29 March 2017). The establishment of these groups demonstrates the importance of creating new internal structures to facilitate the work of RSPO and to take into account the concerns expressed by multiple members, as indeed a multi-stakeholder forum should. In this way, enabling work is used to reinforce the defining work outlined in the sub-section above.

The main outputs of the working groups were best practices for development on peatland and methodologies for measuring emissions on peat, including the development of the carbon assessment tool (RSPO, 2014d). In addition, the first and second PalmGHG Calculator were launched in 2012 and 2014, respectively, to help growers measure the carbon footprint of their production (RSPO, 2011d, 2012a, 2014e). The development of the second version of the PalmGHG Calculator was discussed with growers, including smallholders, who faced difficulties with the requirements (RSPO, 2014e). To enable the use of these tools, growers and certification bodies were trained in the correct use of the PalmGHG Calculator (RSPO, 2013h, 2014c). Our Grower respondent highlighted that these tools are very useful in helping RSPO members monitor their emission reduction (personal communication, 29 March 2017). She recognises that the creation of clear guidelines for growers to avoid planting on peat is an important example of educating work and that, moving forward, an essential task of the greenhouse gas related working groups is to enable smallholders to apply these tools. It is especially in the creation of tools and the ensuing education in the use of these tools that we observe a combination of enabling and educating work. As we also saw in Section 5.3. on biodiversity and HCV, enabling work blends with educating work, as the development of tools is important in providing actors with skills that enable them to comply with the P&C. As such, the development of tools has been an important strategy in furthering

the greenhouse gas debate in RSPO (Environmental NGO B, personal communication, 5 April 2017).

5.5. Smallholder Inclusion

Both the biodiversity and HCV and greenhouse gas agendas are closely related to the issue of smallholder inclusion. As our Retailer respondent notes, smallholder inclusion is a critical issue to discuss, because "[...] how do we achieve good biodiversity protection, good emissions reduction and potentially, but to a lesser extend, better human rights protection. We can only achieve that at scale by being inclusive of smallholders [...]" (personal communication, 10 April 2017). We clearly observe that especially four types of institutional work are put to use to further the smallholder debate: (1) advocacy, (2) defining, (3) educating, and (4) enabling. Prominent examples of each of these types of work are illustrated in Table 10. Below, we outline in more detail how actors within RSPO use each type of institutional work to promote smallholder inclusion.

Type of institutional work	Examples from data
Advocacy	*"OT from SIPEF expressed concern that the bar is raised very high for smallholders with the endorsement of the RSPO Management System Requirements and Guidance for Group Certification of FFB Production draft document."* (RSPO, 2016f, p. 7) *"together with other social NGOs and also companies, we proposed a resolution to re-look into the smallholder strategy."* (Grower, personal communication, 29 March 2017)
Defining	*"The adoption of the proposal for EURO500 Ordinary Membership subscription fees for palm oil producers/growers of up to 499 ha in size was accepted by the membership."* (RSPO, 2007a, p. 9) *"EB endorses the proposal to allow certification for scheme smallholders and other growers without mills."* (RSPO, 2013g, p. 5)
Educating	- *"Smallholder needs to have additional guidance tool in order to understand the standard."* (RSPO, 2013j, p. 6) *"Capacity building is very important to prepare smallholder to be ready for certification audit [...] it is important for smallholders to get a good agricultural practices training including fertilizer distribution system since it will effect on their productivity."* (RSPO, 2012f, p. 11)
Enabling	*"The RSPO is investing in smallholder organisations, helping particularly the independent*

	smallholders to become certified against the RSPO P&C." (RSPO, 2013k, p. 2)
	"Now we are seeing them coming up with more simplified documents for smallholders, for smallholder use [...] So now, you see more simplified versions of what the plantations, what the big guys are supposed to do" (Social NGO A, personal communication, 28 March 2017)

Table 10: Smallholder Inclusion

Advocacy

Advocacy work has been used since the inception of RSPO as a tool for especially NGOs and grower members to directly and deliberately represent smallholders' interest to the RSPO Board and during the General Assemblies. These actors do so by voicing the concerns of smallholders and tabling resolutions to support smallholder inclusion. Especially in the early stages of the debate, we note that advocacy is used to place the issue of smallholder marginalisation on the agenda. A prominent example is how Oxfam has pointed out the poor inclusion of smallholders in RSPO more than once and stressed the importance of taking into consideration the unique issues of this group of stakeholders (RSPO, 2005c, 2006a). Similarly, the Malaysian Palm Oil Association advocated smallholders' concerns when it raised an important obstacle to smallholder inclusion, namely that of the discrepancy between smallholders' finances and the annual RSPO subscription fee of 2,000 euros (RSPO, 2006a). Nowadays, organisations continue to advocate for the inclusion of smallholders: "[...] we do need to acknowledge the challenges around producers, and that includes smallholders" (Retailer, personal communication, 5 April 2017).

The use of advocacy work does not only aim at furthering the smallholder debate by collecting notions of support, but it also aims at changing some of the constitutive rules of RSPO, such as the untiered membership fee, and at creating new structures to support smallholders. An example of this was when a grower member, FELDA, pointed out that there should be another certification system for smallholders with a lower entry level. This raised the dilemma between ensuring high standards and securing smallholder inclusion, since RSPO "cannot lower the standard bar for everybody" (RSPO, 2015e, p. 5). This tension became increasingly apparent with the launch of RSPO NEXT, which lead some members express their concern that this new standard would eventually be absorbed into the RSPO P&C: "This will be raising the bar again - and smallholder will [be] too low to reach this"

(RSPO, 2015e, p. 7). In this way, members used advocacy work to point out that the creation of RSPO NEXT could create a two-tier system inaccessible to smallholders, which renders market-wide change impossible (Howard, 2016). In an attempt to overcome this tension between rigour and inclusion, different NGOs recently employed advocacy work by tabling a resolution to create a comprehensive smallholder strategy, considering tools beyond certification (RSPO, 2015f). This resolution was successfully adopted, and it illustrates how RSPO members propose new rules and attack existing ones with the interest of smallholders in mind.

Defining

Noting that the promotion of smallholder interests entail proposing changes to the existing rule structures of RSPO, advocacy becomes closely related to defining work. As such, advocacy work arguably lays the foundations for the subsequent defining work undertaken in RSPO. We have observed that defining work is especially used to redefine two types of membership rules: the RSPO subscription fee and the eligibility for certification. Specifically, in response to the advocacy work undertaken by the Malaysian Palm Oil Association and other actors, the subscription fee is reduced markedly for smallholders. As such, scheme or independent smallholders that combined own up to 1,000 hectares have their membership fee reduced from 2,000 to 500 euros, and for those owning up to 499 hectares the fee is reduced to 250 euros (RSPO, 2006b, 2007a, 2013a). This is a clear example of how the redefining of membership rules is used to prevent the exclusion of smallholders from RSPO by removing, or at least reducing, an important obstacle to their participation. Likewise, the redefining of membership rules to enable scheme smallholders without mills to become certified (RSPO, 2013g) is a clear example of how defining work may be used to enable smallholders to achieve RSPO certification.

Yet, according to our respondent from Environment NGO A, the continuous stream of new initiatives is also a sign of slow progress: "You are now more than 13 years after that the process started. Why there is not a proper mechanism to include smallholders [...]" (personal communication, 3 April, 2017). He argues that RSPO is not serious enough about smallholder inclusion. As opposed to the rather specific initiatives mentioned in the above paragraph, a final example of defining work relates to the adoption of a resolution proposing to develop a comprehensive smallholder strategy (RSPO, 2015f). As our respondent from Social NGO B

expresses, RSPO is realising that "certification has limitations and smallholders are a particular target group that face those limitations" (personal communication, 31 March 2017). He stresses the importance of the fact that RSPO now considers what happens before and beyond certification and which other tools to apply in order to actively include smallholders. Although our respondent from Social NGO A applauds these positive results of defining work, she advocates for even more redefining to be undertaken, as she believes that the certification process needs to be transformed and that large companies should be mandated to support smallholder certification (personal communication, 28 March 2017).

Educating and Enabling

Advocacy work has not only laid the ground for defining work, but also for enabling and educating work. We observe an example of enabling made possible by advocacy when the Smallholder Task Force (which is later replaced with the Smallholder Working Group) is created based on a resolution to accomplish this very aim (RSPO, n.d., 2005b). The creation of groups to support smallholders in meeting the requirements for certification illustrates the importance of the furthering of smallholder inclusion. We note two important instances of enabling work undertaken by these working groups to allow smallholders to become and remain RSPO certified: the smallholder interpretations of the RSPO P&C and the possibility to obtain financial support to achieve certification. As noted by our respondent from Social NGO A, it is of considerable importance to "[...] make the criterias as simple as possible, so that people can go through them" (personal communication, 28 March, 2017). An important example of enabling work was therefore the acceptance of the Indonesian and Malaysian national interpretations for smallholders and the adoption of a generic guidance for the certification of both scheme smallholders and independent smallholders under group certification (RSPO, 2009f, 2010e, n.d.). Especially the option of group certification for smallholders was aimed at overcoming their financial burden of certification (Bernama, 2009b).

In the same year that the smallholder national interpretations had been accepted, a fund to share the cost of certification for smallholders was established in the recognition of the financial hurdles faced by this membership group in becoming certified (RSPO, 2009a). In spite of this important example of enabling work, it was still difficult for the smallholders to meet the interpreted P&C, indicating the need for more flexibility and adjustments to the

standards. As the Board did not allow for standards to be lowered for smallholders, funding was granted for "capacity building [...] to be ready for certification audit" because "it is important for smallholders to get a good agricultural practices training [...] since it will effect on their productivity" (RSPO, 2012f, p. 11). To this aim, the RSPO Smallholder Support Fund was created to enable smallholder certification by providing funding to cover some of the costs of certification, such as the cost for training, audits and assessments, and development of techniques for smallholders (RSPO, 2017m). Our respondent from Social NGO A underscores the importance of funding for the Smallholder Working Group to develop guidance and knowledge sharing for smallholders, which is essential in integrating smallholders into the sustainable supply chain (personal communication, 28 March 2017).

The efforts to enable the participation of smallholders also include educating work, as the poor knowledge and technical skills of smallholders had been raised as an obstacle to certification for them (RSPO, 2008a). Early on, the Smallholder Task Force undertook educating work by training smallholders in how to become certified (RSPO, 2008a). Later, the Smallholder Working Group was mandated with developing guidance documents, interpreting standards, managing knowledge, and working to improve smallholder livelihoods (RSPO, 2012f, 2013i,j). These examples point to the combination of enabling and educating work to overcome the rigour of the P&C by providing smallholders with the knowledge and skills needed to live up to the strict requirements. Since smallholders account for 40 per cent of global palm oil production (RSPO, 2017n), and are therefore important to advance RSPO's aim to transform the industry, enabling and educating work simultaneously promotes smallholder inclusion and the standardisation of RSPO itself.

5.6. Human Rights

Human rights are becoming increasingly central in the public debate on palm oil. Social sustainability is seen as a natural next step to environmental sustainability: "You see, in practice that often it is easier to address the environmental and technical side of things first and then say 'hold on, but if we're doing this, people might be affected? What is the social side of this anyway?'" (Social NGO B, personal communication, 31 March 2017). In furthering the human rights debate, five types of work are most often used. They are: (1) changing normative associations, (2) mimicry, (3) educating, (4) enabling, and (5) policing and deterring. The below table presents the most important examples of their use.

Type of institutional work	Examples from data
Changing normative associations	*"Jan Maarten Dross (Solidaridad) [...] lauded RSPO for being the first multi-stakeholder initiative that he was involved in that was developing social mechanisms"* (RSPO, 2009a, p. 12) *"The Chairman informed the group that the RSPO EB had [...] requested that the BTC include social aspects of the HCV (4&5) into its strategy"* (RSPO, 2011b, p. 2) *"...no forest does not mean there is no HCV. HCV involves social and cultural values as well"* (RSPO, 2014f, p. 10)
Mimicry	*"Addressing Human Rights as a fundamental component for Sustainability in the Palm Oil sector is the next challenge for RSPO. RSPO has demonstrated that it can effectively address environmental issues. [...] However, these tools and guides respond only to HCV categories 1-3. HCV categories 4-6 must have similar clarity for RSPO companies. Eco-system services (HCV4), basic needs of local people (5) and protecting cultural identity (6) are all HR concerns. [...] These matters should not become a stumbling block as RSPO seeks greater legitimacy as the global arbiter of sector best practice"* (RSPO, 2011f, p. 18)
Educating	*"[...] dealing with the private sector, it helps a lot if you can translate fundamental, sort of rights based, human rights issues and concerns, and moral and ethical topics into technocracy"* (Social NGO B, personal communication, 31 March 2017)
Enabling	- *"JV raised the topic of the formation of a Human rights working group"* (RSPO, 2013a, p. 16)
Policing and deterring	*"There's no way you can come up with new planting without free, prior, and informed consent. Because there are NGOs there that will immediately report you to the RSPO Secretariat"* (Social NGO A, personal communication, 28 March 2017).

Table 11: Human Rights

Changing Normative Associations and Mimicry

While the RSPO P&C were drafted to be consistent with the most salient human rights requirements (RSPO, 2016d), they did not make any explicit reference to human rights before the review in 2013. In 2006, RSPO stated that it is not within its mandate to be involved in labour disputes (RSPO, 2006c). Rather than dealing with this issue within RSPO, there were calls to engage governments (RSPO, 2007c), suggesting that rights-holders in the workplace were not an inherent concern to RSPO at the time. Two years later, in 2008, there was talk of providing smallholders with training on free, prior, and informed consent, indicating that

rights-holders in the community were of some importance to RSPO (RSPO, 2008a). In 2010, however, Sawit Watch stated that social issues were still not given enough attention (RSPO, 2010f). One year later, in 2011, the Malaysian Palm Oil Association argued that human rights can be seen as a natural extension to RSPO's on-going work in the environmental sphere and suggested the formation of a dedicated working group on human rights. Specifically, they urged RSPO to broaden its scope in terms of HCV: "[...] RSPO has demonstrated that it can effectively address environmental issues. [...] However, these tools and guides respond only to HCV categories 1-3. HCV categories 4-6 must have similar clarity for RSPO companies" (RSPO, 2011f, p. 18). Up until this proposal, RSPO had been focusing exclusively on HCV categories 1-3, which are concerned with environmental conservation value. The Malaysian Palm Oil Association argued that RSPO should expand its focus to also include HCV categories 4-6, which are focused on social conservation value.

When actors attempt to integrate human rights and social concerns into a standard which primarily focuses on environmental issues, they are effectively trying to change normative associations. As mentioned in Section 5.1 on institutional work in RSPO, efforts to change normative associations are combined with mimicry to create a smooth transition from the old to the new. When work to change normative associations is combined with mimicry work, the distance between existing and desired normative associations, which underpin all practices, is bridged by imitating accepted practices. In furthering the human rights agenda, actors mimic existing and accepted components of the biodiversity and HCV agenda to build a bridge between what is accepted in one area and what is desired in another. The proposal to form a working group on human rights was presented as an extension of successful environmental practices.

While the proposal to form a working group on human rights was generally well-received, its detailing was deemed insufficient, wherefore no working group was established at the time (RSPO, 2011f). Though the formation of a working group on human rights was postponed, the line of reasoning presented by the Malaysian Palm Oil Association began to permeate other working groups shortly after his presentation. In 2011, the Board asked the Biodiversity Technical Committee to include the social aspects of HCV 4 and 5 into its strategy (RSPO, 2011b). A year later, the Compensation Task Force was also asked to look into all three social HCVs, 4-6 (RSPO, 2012h). As noted by our Retailer respondent, the social HCVs do not focus on labour rights (personal communication, 10 April 2017). Still,

these also found their way into the meetings of the Biodiversity and HCV Working Group in 2012, when the rights of workers were flagged, and it was decided that the Biodiversity and HCV Working Group should collaborate with the potential future Human Rights Working Group. The inclusion of social considerations into the Biodiversity and HCV Working Group illustrates an important and ongoing shift from a strict focus on environmental externalities to increasing attention placed on human rights, which began to permeate several areas of RSPO.

Following a proposal to to conduct a gap analysis of the RSPO P&C against the UN Guiding Principles on Human Rights (UNGP) in 2012 (RSPO, 2012h), the P&C were altered to explicitly encompass human rights concerns. The 2013 review of the P&C made explicit reference to the UNGP in Criteria 2.1. and 6.13, hereby strengthening the human rights agenda. While the focus of RSPO remained the same, the perspective had shifted: "The tree is not just there for its ecological value, but it actually has a very strong cultural value because the community considers the tree the graves of their ancestors for example" (Social NGO B, personal communication, 31 March 2017). By employing mimicry to change normative associations, the Malaysian Palm Oil Association made human rights concerns seem like a logical next step for RSPO to build on extant environmental practices rather than a move away from its traditional focus. Our processor/trader respondent also confirmed that the HCVs were a good lever to promote human rights more within RSPO (personal communication, 14 April 2017).

Educating and Enabling

In 2012, Oxfam once again raised the topic of forming the working group on human rights. Following a formal resolution presented at the Roundtable in 2013, the Human Rights Working Group was officially established in 2014 (RSPO, 2016d). By the time of its establishment, RSPO was faced with "[…] a sense of urgency to look into labour issues in highlighting to the public that RSPO is doing something to deal with these issues" (RSPO, 2016e, p. 4). Protocols, procedures, guidelines, training, capacity building, workshops, and hand-outs are all stressed activities in the summary report of the Human Rights Working Group. The emphasis placed on these outputs suggests that educating plays an important role in furthering the human rights agenda within RSPO.

In relation to the education of members, Social NGO B stressed the importance of making high-level human rights principles understandable to members: "That is typically

translating a principle of, you know the right to say yes or no to the development on your land, into technical tools, education members of how to apply that high level principle, and how to do that in practice" (personal communication, 31 March 2017). As we have already seen, this type of educating is closely associated with enabling work. In a sense, the educating work undertaken to ensure the respect for human rights is also linked to the work related to changing normative associations, which we saw in the above. The translation work that goes into educating members on human rights issues by putting difficult concepts into terms that businesses understand is also an effort to change their normative associations of a business from purely concerned with profit and, perhaps, the planet, to incorporate people as essential to their economic viability. Rules need to be "[...] well embedded, well linked to existing business practices or to gradual change in business models rather than imposing a rule that goes against the, let's say the economic interest dynamics", if they are going to lead to the desired effect (Social NGO B, personal communication, 31 March 2017).

Policing and Deterring

The Human Rights Working Group focuses on both land rights and labour rights as well as on access to remedy through RSPO's own complaints system. Our processor/trader respondent confirmed that sanctions are an important means to reinforce members' respect for human rights (personal communication, 14 April 2017). The policing and deterring work undertaken to further human rights is very similar to the work undertaken to ensure respect for HCV. Indeed, and as we have seen, the HCV concept also encompasses social concerns. As part of its complaints system, RSPO has established a Dispute Settlement Facility. The type of policing and deterring work undertaken by this facility is somewhat softer than the work undertaken by the Complaints Panel. While it does monitor cases of labour and community rights issues, its focus is also very much on facilitation and learning (RSPO, n.d.b). Still, our Social NGO A respondent emphasised the deterrent effect of RSPO's internal sanctioning mechanisms in relation to social issues: "There's no way you can come up with new planting without free, prior, and informed consent. Because there are NGOs there that will immediately report you to the RSPO Secretariat" (personal communication, 28 March 2017).

5.7. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, we found that RSPO relies on no fewer than ten different types of institutional of work to further its standardisation. Within the four key debates alone, we found that eight out of these ten different types of institutional work were employed by actors to further their agendas. All of the debates relied on the combination of educating and enabling work. In addition to this, the biodiversity and HCV debate was promoted using advocacy work and policing and deterring work. The greenhouse gas debate was furthered defining work and theorising work. Smallholder inclusion was advanced through advocacy work and defining work. Finally, the human rights was promoted by a strategic combination of work to change normative associations and mimicry work as well as by policing and deterring work. The types of institutional work employed in RSPO fall within both creating and maintaining types of work. This finding supports our initial expectation that RSPO is an ambidextrous organisation, which must undertake creating and maintaining work simultaneously. As such, our original assumption that creating and maintaining work occur alongside each other, rather than in two separate steps, has been confirmed by our data.

Creating and maintaining work do not only occur in parallel, but they also overlap and merge. We saw this in the marriage of enabling and educating work, which is also a combination of creating and maintaining types of work. This combination to create tools and teach members how to use them was especially potent in furthering the greenhouse gas debate. We noted one additional instance where two types of institutional work fused to become more forceful than if used individually. Specifically, we saw that the combination of mimicry with efforts to change normative associations enabled the smooth introduction of human rights concerns into RSPO. This apparent complexity in the use of different types of institutional work is aligned with our anticipation that a complex organisation like RSPO must not only be ambidextrous but multiplex. We expect to learn more about this multiplexity in relation to the political legitimacy of RSPO in the following chapter. As such, we envision that we will contribute new insights on the complex dynamics involved in the standardisation process.

Chapter 6: Discussion

In this chapter, we discuss the implications of our results from practical and theoretical perspectives, thereby presenting our contributions to the field of study. Section 6.1. begins by discussing the practical implications of our research. In this section, we consider both the context in which RSPO operates as well as its internal organising structures. Next, Section 6.2. discusses the theoretical implications of our research. In this section, we consider our results in relation to established theory and highlight that institutional work theory is more appropriately approached as a thriving ecosystem of types of work than as a taxonomy. Finally, we revise the theoretical framework, which we derived in Chapter 3, to encompass our findings.

6.1. Practical Implications

This section discusses both the context in which RSPO is embedded and the organisational characteristics of RSPO. The first part of this discussion reflects an important and ongoing discussion within the literature on NSMD systems, namely the impacts of NSMD governance and state-based governance on one another. The second part of this discussion considers how the structures and processes of RSPO impact on its political legitimacy. Finally, this section sums up the practical implications presented and discusses the broader ramifications of our findings in terms of the significance of governments and organising structures and processes of successful NSMD governance.

Operational Context: Governments and State-Led Standards

In the previous chapter, we saw that RSPO members undertake a considerable amount of institutional work to engage governments, in particular in relation to the HCV issue. This shows that while governments are not directly represented in RSPO, they are seemingly still important to RSPO and the development of its P&C. We discuss the importance of governments further in the present sub-section, which revolves around two important points. Firstly, we discuss how RSPO interacts with governments, and secondly, we discuss how RSPO more specifically interacts with the government standards for sustainable palm oil, that is ISPO and MSPO.

Our findings show that RSPO makes use of two distinct types of institutional work in its interactions with governments: advocacy and creating normative networks. Since the regulatory powers of RSPO are not on par with those of states, it must resort to lobbying national governments in order to change legislations that undermine the RSPO P&C (RSPO, 2010c). We observed this type of advocacy work very clearly in the biodiversity and HCV debate, when RSPO directly and indirectly lobbied the Indonesian government with the purpose of revising national laws to recognise the HCV concept (see Section 5.3.). Evidently, this type of institutional work is used to reinforce the RSPO P&C, and this has important consequences in terms of political legitimacy. When the P&C are at odds with national regulations, they become difficult to implement. And if the RSPO standard cannot be implemented on the ground, the sustainable impacts of RSPO are decreased. As such, national regulations may pose an obstacle to RSPO's overall goal of transforming the global palm oil industry. Such a hindrance reduces the legitimacy of RSPO in terms of the effectiveness of its regulation to solve the issues in the palm oil industry (Mena & Palazzo, 2012; Bernstein & Cashore, 2007). This, moreover, is likely to reduce stakeholders' acceptance of RSPO as the appropriate standard to govern the industry. We therefore argue that in order to be accepted as an appropriate NSMD governance scheme, RSPO must be aligned with governmental regulations to a degree that allows for its standard to be fully implementable.

Work to create normative networks is similarly used to enhance the support for RSPO, albeit in a less confrontational manner. We have observed how RSPO collaborates with governments to reach a mutual goal, that is to increase the production of CSPO. Engaging governments in this manner should "[...] not only help build the credibility of the growers but will also solve a lot of hindrance of RSPO" (RSPO, 2016f, p. 5). Hence, the implications of this work are similar to the implications of advocacy work: Collaborating with governments is important to the political legitimacy of RSPO insofar as it reduces obstacles to the implementation of the P&C on the ground. As this reduction of obstacles has a direct impact on the opportunities for Indonesian and Malaysian growers to become RSPO certified, it should improve the legitimacy granted to RSPO by its grower members (RSPO, 2016f).

Any investigation of the political legitimacy of RSPO in relation to national governments must include a discussion on the emergence of ISPO and MSPO. As we saw in Chapter 2, ISPO and MSPO were both developed to address shortcomings of RSPO. These shortcomings mainly relate to a perceived bias towards consumer countries (Down to Earth, 2011) and little consideration for local conditions, particularly with regards to the inclusion of smallholders (Ministry of Plantation Industries and Commodities, 2014). We argue that the development of these national standards indicates dissatisfaction on the part of the national governments of Indonesia and Malaysia with RSPO as the sole rule-maker in the industry. This disapproval is shared by some growers who perceive RSPO mainly as "a forum of multinational buyers and international NGOs" (Lingga, 2013) which places a prohibitive cost of certification onto growers (Thean, 2013; Bernama, 2013). For these reasons, some of RSPO's own members have left RSPO in favour of the national standards (RSPO, 2011f; Lubis, 2013). Their move suggests that growers still make strategic calculations in terms of the costs and benefits of membership about RSPO (Bernstein & Cashore, 2007). In other words, the perceived dominance of buyers and NGOs and the high cost of certification act as deterrents to some actors, who perceive ISPO or MSPO as better options to pursue their interests. As such, some actors consider RSPO an inappropriate governance scheme.

We suspected that the emergence of ISPO and MSPO would lead to tensions between the three standards, especially in light of the challenge which they pose to RSPO's political legitimacy. In response to such tensions, we would expect a rather remarkable change in the use of institutional work within RSPO. Coding our archival data, however, we found no such change in the composition of types of work used by RSPO after the emergence of either standard (see Appendix K, Table 1 and Figure 1). Furthermore, when asked about critical moments in the history of RSPO, none of our respondents mentioned the emergence of either standard. Our Grower respondent who has been employed in the RSPO Secretariat even expressed that "I would not say that, actually, [the emergence of ISPO and MSPO] affect the way how RSPO works" (personal communication, 29 March 2017).

Rather than competitors, RSPO, ISPO, and MSPO are viewed as complementary. RSPO has even engaged in a joint study with ISPO to synergise their respective P&C (RSPO, 2016f). This engagement reflects work on the part of RSPO to construct normative networks by establishing ISPO as a peer to support sustainable practices of which the two standards

share a common normative understanding. This support will likely contribute to the realisation of RSPO's goal to transform the palm oil industry. In line with this, Our Grower respondent notes that ISPO and MSPO function as stepping stones for becoming RSPO certified "[...] because ISPO and MSPO has legal compliance [...] both standards can raise the floor of sustainability compliance and also encourage more upstream producers to go for higher standards" (personal communication, 29 March 2017). Our Social NGO B respondent agrees with this assessment. He further emphasises that the standards reinforce each other because "[...] part of the sector cannot be reached by the RSPO and its high level goals, and [the] stepwise approach does help the sector at large, and the transformation of it" (personal communication, 31 March 2017). RSPO supports this stepwise approach through educating work, emphasising that "transparency with [ISPO] regulations needs to be managed to ensure that it is easy for the Indonesian growers to know once they have complied with one of the standards [what] they need to do in order to comply with the other standards" (RSPO, 2012b, p. 3). In other words, RSPO educates stakeholders in how to move from ISPO or MSPO to RSPO requirements, thereby underlining their complementarity.

The above statements illustrate how RSPO portrays itself as a natural extension of ISPO and MSPO. By doing so, it effectively minimises the gap between RSPO and the national standards. This portrayal is especially clever in light of the aforementioned point that some actors perceive ISPO and MSPO to be more appropriate governance schemes of the industry than RSPO, considering the cost and stringency of the RSPO P&C. By collaborating rather than competing with ISPO and MSPO, RSPO signals that political legitimacy is not a zero-sum game, but that it is, in fact, beneficial for the industry to have more than one organisation governing it. This is consistent with the findings of Keohane and Victor (2011) that the existence of loosely coupled governance schemes may lead to a stronger de facto regulatory regime. Our Environmental NGO B respondent even believes that RSPO should look into ways it can help strengthen ISPO, for example in terms of smallholders, so that RSPO does not have to create its own system to deal with these issues (personal communication, 5 April 2017). Allowing smallholders to use the national standards as stepping stones to become RSPO certified would permit RSPO to uphold its high level of ambition whilst ensuring smallholder inclusion. Overall, this would render RSPO better equipped to encourage the participation of various players at different levels of compliance. This could ultimately serve to strengthen the political legitimacy of RSPO because political

legitimacy is ultimately about uniting different actors in a community that accepts the shared rule of NSMD governance (Bernstein & Cashore, 2007).

Organising for Political Legitimacy

Having discussed the implications of governments and state-led standards to RSPO and its political legitimacy, this section turns its focus to the internal mechanisms that drive the acceptance of RSPO governance.

Organisational Characteristics and Tensions

As evident from our analysis, RSPO actively works to ensure balanced stakeholder participation across all seven sectors of the palm oil industry. For example, balanced representation is underpinned by democratic structures, such as consensus-based decision making and majority voting, which are the result of defining work. In accordance with the academic literature, these structures underpin its political legitimacy. Most importantly, balanced stakeholder participation ensures that the resulting standard is perceived as more appropriate and justified than had it been dictated by a few powerful actors to meet their interests only (de Bakker et al., forthcoming). Indeed, as we saw in the analysis, a lot of theorising work goes into articulating the link between balanced stakeholder participation and the success of RSPO (see e.g. RSPO, 2012a). On a very basic level, buy-in from members across sectors is central to the survival of RSPO. To obtain said buy-in, RSPO must convince its (prospective) members that they are able to pursue their self-interests more effectively through collective action within RSPO than on their own. Acceptance of RSPO as a governance scheme, that is the political legitimacy of RSPO, rests on the notion that actors work through the NSMD system to advance their interests (Bernstein & Cashore, 2007). As such, it is unlikely that RSPO could convene massive support, if it did not extent its members the opportunity to exert their influence.

It is of paramount importance, however, that RSPO manages to balance thorough multi-stakeholder negotiations with the flexibility to quickly respond to urgent demands from its constituencies. While the latter is sometimes perceived to come at the expense of the former (RSPO, 2012b), we argue that they are essentially two sides of the same coin: If RSPO relied solely on consensus decision-making, which requires lengthy negotiations, changes in requirements would be very slow indeed. Logically, slow progress is perceived as

inappropriate (see e.g. RSPO, 2009a) and, hence, it would not grant RSPO with the normative support which is essential to its political legitimacy. Indeed, this was one of the criticisms that lead to the formation of ISPO and which caused members to leave RSPO in favour of this state-driven initiative. The benefits of majority voting are clearly expressed at the General Assembly in 2012 when it is noted that majority decision-making "[...] allows us to take a vote and move forward" (RSPO, 2012b, p. 16). If RSPO did not have the possibility to make some decisions by majority voting, RSPO might turn into a stagnant organisation. As one member remarked,"you would be here a lot longer than an afternoon and I don't think we can get very much work done" (RSPO, 2012b, p. 16). Moreover, excessive reliance on consensus might enable members to effectively control the decision-making process by prolonging it. Allowing members to capture decision-making in this way would ultimately jeopardise legitimacy (de Bakker et al., forthcoming).

In line with the democratic attributes that characterise NSMD systems, transparency is essential to build trust among both internal and external stakeholders (de Bakker et al., forthcoming). Certainly, if RSPO is not transparent, neither its (prospective) members nor consumers are able to ascertain whether the shared rule of RSPO is appropriate or justified. In Chapter 5, we have seen educating work used to inform consumers about RSPO and palm oil in general through the RSPO website. We have also observed the use of valourising and demonising work to publicly communicate examples of (un)desirable conduct. While RSPO is highly committed to transparency, however, it sometimes struggles to make its members abide by its rules to share information. For example, members are required to share annual reports detailing their progress towards 100 per cent CSPO. Yet, 25.5 per cent of members failed to prepare and submit these reports for public consumption in 2016 (RSPO, 2017q). Interestingly, the transparency of RSPO has been exploited by its members with the purpose of furthering their own interests. Members attempted to capture the democratic decision-making process by proposing a resolution at the General Assembly in 2008 and urging other members to "imagine what the world would think of RSPO if they voted 'No' instead of 'Yes'" (RSPO, 2008a, p. 11) to a resolution asking for increased transparency. In this way, transparency was used as a tool to attempt the coercion of members into voting for the adoption of the resolution with the threat of reputational damage. This strategy proved successful, as the resolution passed after some commotion (RSPO, 2008a).

Balanced stakeholder participation also ensures that economic, environmental, and social ambitions are converged. The integration of these divergent interests in RSPO reflects an attempt to address the tension between demands for rigour and inclusion: RSPO must simultaneously position itself as an ambitious standard to meet legitimate demands for sustainability and consider the feasibility of the P&C to retain a large membership. We have shown that RSPO has managed to make the standard more stringent (e.g. through reviews of the P&C), whilst allowing for a simplification in requirements in certain contexts (e.g. through national interpretations). By balancing rigour and inclusion, RSPO can attract and retain members from different segments and at different levels of compliance, thereby becoming an appropriate certification forum for a larger group of people. In this way, both rigour and inclusion underpin the political legitimacy of RSPO.

As we have already touched upon, inclusion is closely associated with ensuring participation of smallholders. As highlighted in our interviews, the sustainable transition of the palm oil industry would be unachievable without smallholders. As such, RSPO would be unable to achieve its goal, which is exactly this transformation. Rigour, on the other hand, is often associated with a strengthening of the P&C. Because increased requirements are associated with increased costs, it may be difficult to convince those members who are primarily concerned with their own economic survival to vote for their adoption. To overcome this challenge, we have seen members employ one particularly clever strategy, namely mimicry work. By employing mimicry work to imitate already accepted practices within RSPO, members can effectively hide the changes that they are trying to make to the standard. Indeed, members might claim that an amendment does not constitute a change at all, but that it is simply a means to strengthen the standard (RSPO, 2008a). Arguably, the most convenient way to make members agree to changes in requirements is by making them agree to something that they have already committed to. For example, members might find it relatively simple to agree that transparency is important. Later on, and as we saw in the above example, more tangible commitments that require time and money are proposed. Because members have already agreed to support transparency on an overall level, they cannot easily refuse putting in the efforts to ensure its fulfillment in practice (RSPO, 2008a). By adding obligations little by little, RSPO can increase the rigour of the standard by holding members to commitments which they have already made. Arguably, this strategy also works to educate members by allowing them to pursue a stepwise approach to sustainability. As we have found

rigour to be important to the political legitimacy of RSPO, it follows that mimicry is an important type of institutional work underpinning political legitimacy.

Key Debates: Institutional Work and Political Legitimacy

The present sub-section is dedicated to exploring the broader ramifications of a central theme of our analysis, that is the various types of institutional work that are used to further key debates within RSPO. On an overall level, the commitment of RSPO members to continuously undertake work aimed at adjusting the P&C is indicative of strategic calculations occurring within the organisation rather than about it (Bernstein & Cashore, 2007). In other words, we observe that members devote time and financial resources to advance their interests through RSPO. This is especially evident in their development of and participation in working groups dedicated to further each of the four debates within RSPO.

Our analysis illustrates how RSPO members continuously undertake work to shape and reshape the P&C to encompass their diverse interests. The four key debates in and of themselves represent central, albeit contentious, interests of the RSPO membership. Their advancement within RSPO, including the P&C, is indicative of how RSPO has managed to attract and represent a broad array of stakeholders. What is particularly interesting in all of these debates is the way in which the strategic use of institutional work allows RSPO to reconcile tensions among its members. For example, the use of mimicry work is effective to mask changes that meet resistance. In some cases, the reconciliation of tensions recurs. For example, the cut-off date related to compensation of HCV (see Section 5.3.) and the demand for mandatory greenhouse gas criteria (see Section 5.4.) were both revisited to ensure satisfaction across membership groups. By continuously revising the standard through compromises, RSPO develops in a manner which incorporates the evolving interests of all its members.

The membership dynamics related to reaching new compromises between opposing opinions are based on complex and strategic combinations of different types of institutional work. We have observed that several types of work must be put to use simultaneously and by different actors in order to (re)shape the standard. In fact, all four key debates illustrate that using only one type of institutional work is not enough to push the boundaries of RSPO. For example in the human rights debate, we have observed that work to shift the normative underpinnings of sustainability to be more inclusive of social aspects is combined with

mimicry work in order to ease adaptation. At the same time, educating and enabling work is undertaken to make members understand what human rights are all about, and policing and deterring work enforces compliance. In this way, the different types of institutional work might be envisioned as tools in box: Actors must use whichever types of work and combinations of work that most effectively bring about acceptance of their agendas. For some specific tasks, certain tools are more appropriate than others. For instance, we have seen that advocacy work is an appropriate instrument to use when attempting to persuade governments to make adjustments to national regulations to enable the implementation of a standard. We have also noted that some types of work are needed to drive other types. This is most obvious in the smallholder debate, where advocacy work lays the foundation for defining work by promoting smallholder interests. Once this foundation has been laid, defining work is used to firmly incorporate smallholder considerations into the standard. Both of these examples illustrate the necessity of combining different types of institutional work in order to drive the standardisation process. In sum, while certain types of institutional work are useful to complete certain tasks, it requires assortment of different types of work to further an agenda and even more to build a standard.

Concluding Remarks on Practical Implications

In moving from our results to our discussion, we have taken a step back from our detailed analysis to outline some overall tendencies in terms of the political legitimacy of RSPO. This concluding section offers the broader ramifications of our findings for the political legitimacy of NSMD governance systems. Firstly, we discuss what our findings imply about the role of governments in the operational field of NSMD systems. Secondly, we discuss the overall organising characteristics of successful NSMD systems. Finally, we discuss the significance of the main drivers of institutional work, that is intentionality and effort, and what these imply for other certification schemes.

Firstly, although the literature clearly states that NSMD systems do not derive their political legitimacy from governments (Bernstein & Cashore, 2007), our results show that governments are still very important to the success of NSMD governance schemes. This is first and foremost because NSMD systems rely on supportive regulatory environments to accommodate the implementation of their standards. Indeed, if stakeholders face legal obstacles to complying with NSMD governance, the uptake of the NSMD standard is

negatively impacted. So, ultimately, will the impact of the standard, which underpins its political legitimacy (Mena & Palazzo, 2012; Bernstein & Cashore, 2007).

Relatedly, NSMD systems can enhance their political legitimacy by collaborating with state-driven standards to advance their mutual objectives. We found that the creation of ISPO and MSPO was a result of strategic calculations about RSPO by actors who assessed that the state-driven standards were more appropriate to further their cause. By acknowledging the relative strength of the state-driven standards in terms of including stakeholders, which the NSMD system could not reach on its own, RSPO positioned itself as complementary to ISPO and MSPO. In presenting itself as the natural next step in the line of certification schemes and assisting actors transition from the state-driven sustainability schemes to the NSMD scheme, RSPO took an important step to promote its agenda in alignment with government regulations and standards. Therefore, one important implication for practitioners is that NSMD systems must cooperate with governments and national standards in the field in order to advance their objectives and build political legitimacy. Since political legitimacy underpins regulatory capacity, this point implies that in order to effectively drive change for sustainability in an industry, NSMD governance schemes must cooperate with governments. It is therefore important for a standard that internal actors use institutional work to shape the playing field of the standard. On an overall level, it is also beneficial for the global palm oil industry as a whole that governments and NSMD schemes collaborate on advancing its sustainable transition.

Secondly, we have shown how three important organising characteristics of RSPO impact on its political legitimacy. The first of these characteristics is balanced stakeholder representation. Our results have shown that this characteristic is important for an NSMD governance scheme to ensure uptake of its standard, as actors must be convinced that they can represent and effectively advance their interests within the NSMD system. Indeed, we have argued that both actors' ability to provide input and the standard's effectiveness in producing the desired outcomes of its members support political legitimacy. The second characteristic is transparency, which promotes trust within the NSMD system. Transparency is important, as it allows both internal and external stakeholders to evaluate the appropriateness of the NSMD system, for example in terms of multi-stakeholder input and effective impact on the industry which it governs. As noted above, input and impact both underpin the political legitimacy of an NSMD system. As such, and in accordance to the academic literature, transparency is also

an important characteristic of politically legitimate NSMD systems. The third and final characteristic is the ability to balance rigour with inclusion. By balancing these two opposing demands, RSPO positions itself as an appropriate certification scheme for a large group of people at varying levels of compliance. As such, a second important implication of our findings for practitioners is that successful NSMD systems must be able to balance stakeholder participation with effectiveness, promote transparency, and simultaneously meet demands for rigour and inclusion.

Closely related to the notion of rigour versus inclusion are the four key debates, which constitute the main part of our analysis. By closely studying these debates, we have shown that members in RSPO continuously undertake a variety of different types of institutional work to promote their agendas and, thereby, further the political legitimacy of the standard. Our findings illustrate that successful NSMD governance systems must undertake several types of work simultaneously in order to push the boundaries of the standard. Furthermore, from the continuous nature of this work it is evident that political legitimacy is not a 'final destination'. Rather, it requires ongoing maintenance. As such, political legitimacy is the outcome of a complex and multi-dimensional process of interaction among stakeholders who continuously undertake work to further different agendas. And it is exactly this complex, multi-dimensional, and social interrelational process which underpins the broad acceptance of the governance capacity of RSPO as appropriate and justified.

Thirdly, we have argued that the practical implications presented in this chapter are of relevance to other standards than RSPO (recall Section 4.3. on generalisability). In light of our findings, this argument demands some nuancing. On the one hand, the case of RSPO - with all its complexities and tensions - seems more realistic than the ones presented by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), as each of their cases was presented as a perfect example of one type of institutional work. As such, it is more likely to generate findings which can be generalised across other organisations than Lawrence and Suddaby's (2006) neat taxonomy of ideal types of institutional work. This is because the employment of institutional work has turned out to be more complex and 'messy' in practice than in theory. On the other hand, however, we might not find a similar wealth of institutional work employed by actors in other standards that do not have the same resources available. Indeed, institutional work requires both intentionality and effort (Lawrence et al., 2011), and we have seen that the intentional efforts of RSPO members to (re)shape the standard requires both time and financial resources.

Therefore, if the members of RSPO did not have available the necessary resources to underpin their many efforts, they might not be able to undertake all the different types of work that we have seen in this paper.

6.2. Theoretical Implications

In addition to the practical implications presented in the above, our findings also contribute to existing theory on the subject. This section discusses the theoretical implications of the complex and dynamic use of institutional work as the underlying mechanisms of standardisation and, hence, the political legitimacy of RSPO. We begin by discussing our results in relation to established theory, particularly with regards to the academic literature on institutional work. From the previous chapter, it is evident that RSPO uses a wide array of institutional work to further its standardisation, and that this work falls within both creating and maintaining types of institutional work. The present section discusses these two discoveries in reverse order. Based upon these findings, we present an improved framework for standardisation, thereby adding to existing theory on NSMD governance systems and political legitimacy.

Creating and Maintaining as Concurrent Processes

In order to discover something about the evolution of institutional work, we explore its use over time. Figure 3 quantifies the pattern which we have found in our archival data. It does so by presenting the number of examples of creating and maintaining work, respectively, which we have found in two time periods. The first period is the first five years of RSPO's existence (2004-2008, both included), and the second period is the most recent five years of RSPO's existence (2012-2016, both included).
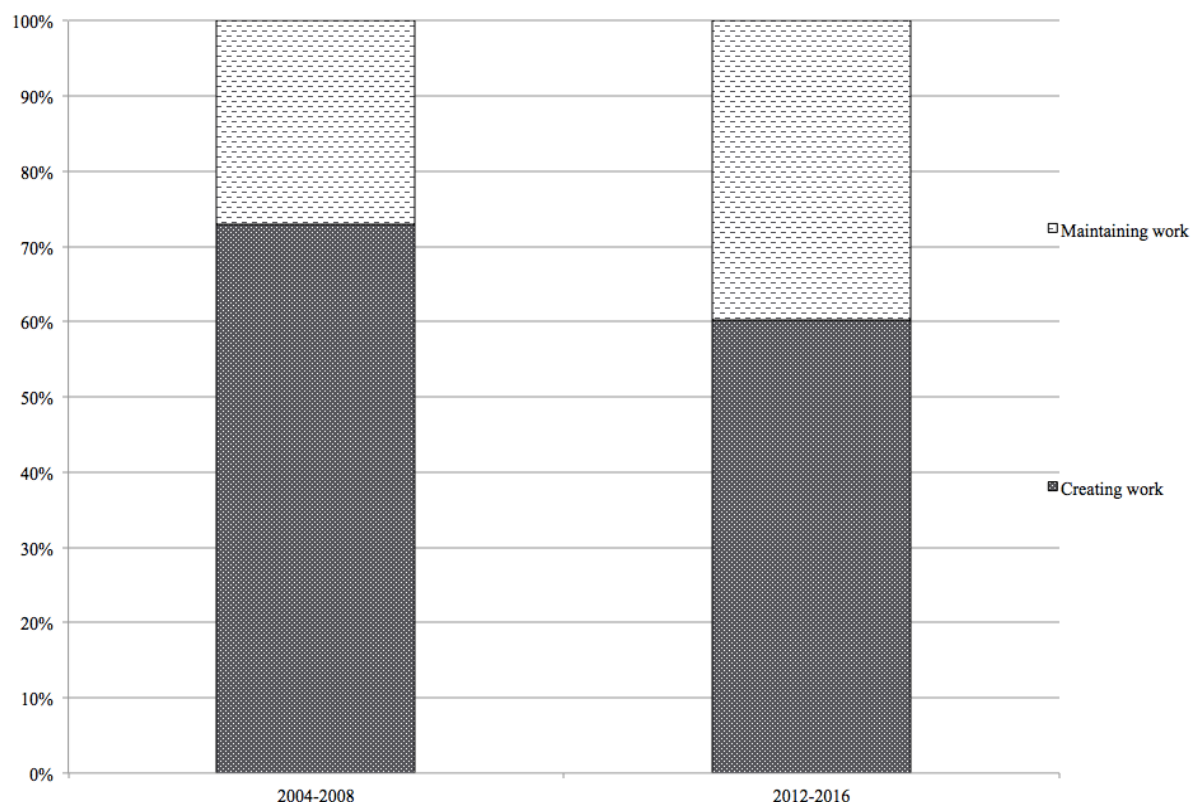
Figure 3: The Distribution of Creating and Maintaining Work in Two Periods

From the dichotomy between creating and maintaining types of institutional work presented by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006), we would anticipate our data to reflect a clear division between the two categories. Specifically, we would expect to see primarily creating work in the early phases of RSPO and primarily maintaining work later on. However, as we compare the types of institutional work used in the first five years of RSPO's existence and in the most recent five years of RSPO's existence, we do not observe such a distinct pattern. Rather, and in line with the assumptions underlying our theoretical framework presented in Chapter 3, we find that creating and maintaining types of work are used in parallel, and that they even overlap when different types of work are combined. In fact, some types of creating work, namely changing normative associations, educating, and theorising, are mainly utilised in the later years (see Appendix K, Table 2). This demonstrates that RSPO continuously works to maintain itself via creating work, for example by introducing new issues to its standard or by collaborating with alternative standards governing the industry. Our archival data also clearly points to the continuous institutional development of RSPO: "RSPO faces the challenge of trying to meet all the expectations of an ever growing organisation" (RSPO, 2007a, p. 3), and in order to address this challenge "the RSPO P&C [will] always be a

document in development" (RSPO, 2007a, p. 6). The dichotomy between creating and maintaining work arguably rests on the assumption that institutions are built and maintained, but not evolving. This dichotomy, therefore, does not capture the necessity of a successful standard to continuously renew itself by responding to the ever-evolving demands of its constituencies. The ever-evolving nature of RSPO also implies that the standardisation process is less linear than suggested by Bernstein and Cashore (2007) which, in turn, supports our original approach to investigate how creating and maintaining types of work are used continuously and in parallel rather than in two discrete phases.

Institutional Multitasking

Going deeper, we see that RSPO utilises many different types of institutional work. This is indicative of a kind of institutional dynamic which is not only ambidextrous (i.e. simultaneously working to create and maintain) but multiplex: Various actors undertake several types of creating and maintaining work at once, including strategic combinations of different types of work. We term this phenomenon 'institutional multitasking'. Institutional multitasking is representative of the constant interaction which is taking place among a multitude of actors, all of whom employ a number of types of institutional work. In this way, the case of RSPO is nowhere near as perfectly contained as the ones presented by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) to originally derive the taxonomy of institutional work. It encompasses almost every type of institutional work, and it even exemplifies how these types of work are employed in strategic combinations. This points to a problem with institutional work theory, namely that it approaches institutional work as a taxonomy as opposed to a thriving ecosystem of different types of work, which oscillates between creating and maintaining institutions.

While institutional multitasking is certainly complex and even chaotic, we argue that it underpins a kind of dynamic balance of compromises, that is a balance which continuously evolves. Indeed, the multiplicity of stakeholders involved in shaping the standard requires that the P&C are in constant innovation. This, in turn, demands that actors continuously undertake different kinds of institutional work, and these various types of work interact to cooperatively (re)construct the standard. In other words, the efforts to shape and reshape the standard in different directions must find a balance. As such, not only the individual types of work but their combination support the political legitimacy of RSPO. Or, to paraphrase Slager et al.

(2012), their entirety makes up more than the sum of their parts. This balance, however, is under constant adaptation to reach new compromises between opposing interests which continue to evolve with the standard. The process of this work - and not only its outcome - is critical. In this way, the dynamic balance of compromises in itself contributes to the political legitimacy of RSPO.

We argue that all the different types of institutional work that we have identified somehow contribute to the political legitimacy of RSPO - both on their own and in their entirety. This is contrary to the conclusion drawn by Slager et al. (2012). We especially see a disparity between our findings and the model developed by Slager et al. (2012) when it comes to defining work. In their model, defining has been left out as a contributor to the standard legitimation process. Yet, as we saw in Chapter 5, defining work is critical in overcoming barriers to stakeholder participation, ensuring balanced representation, and allowing for a mixture of consensus-based and majority decision-making. The latter permits RSPO to balance careful discussions among multiple internal stakeholders whilst remaining flexible to quickly respond to external demands. As we saw in the above, these NSMD characteristics are closely linked to the political legitimacy of RSPO. In this way, defining does not exclusively contribute to the design of the standard, as suggested by Slager et al. (2012), but also to its political legitimacy.

Building on this insight, we argue that the design, legitimation, and monitoring of a standard are not as separate as suggested in the academic literature. Slager et al. (2012) argue that design, legitimation, and monitoring are three distinct processes, which enhance the regulative capacity of a standard in separate ways. Their theoretical model depicts the three processes as being siloed. In this paper, we have primarily focused our attention on legitimacy. Still, design and monitoring elements of the standard have manifested themselves in our analysis, compelling us to question whether we can talk about one without the other. Indeed, we have seen that both the design (which is achieved through defining work) and monitoring (which is achieved through policing and deterring work) of the RSPO P&C are critical to the overall political legitimacy of the standard. As such, design and monitoring seem to form part of the legitimation process. This suggests that the boundaries are between these three processes are more fluid than previously assumed.

Concluding Remarks: A Revised Framework for Standardisation

When we derived our first framework for standardisation in Chapter 3, we made two assumptions. Firstly, we assumed that creating and maintaining work took place at the same time, and that the two categories might overlap. Our research has confirmed that this is indeed the case, but it has also provided us with some additional insights. We have seen that institutional dynamics are not only ambidextrous but multiplex, involving a wide variety of types of institutional work. Furthermore, we have observed that all these types of institutional work contribute to the legitimation of a standard on their own, in strategic combinations, and through the dynamic balance which they make up. Secondly, we theorised political legitimacy as being the most central contributor to regulatory capacity, wherefore we decided to exclude design and monitoring processes from our investigation. Our findings have shown, however, that legitimation is inseparable from the design and monitoring of a standard. Revising the framework which we derived in Chapter 3 to encompass our new findings, Figure 4 presents an improved framework for standardisation.
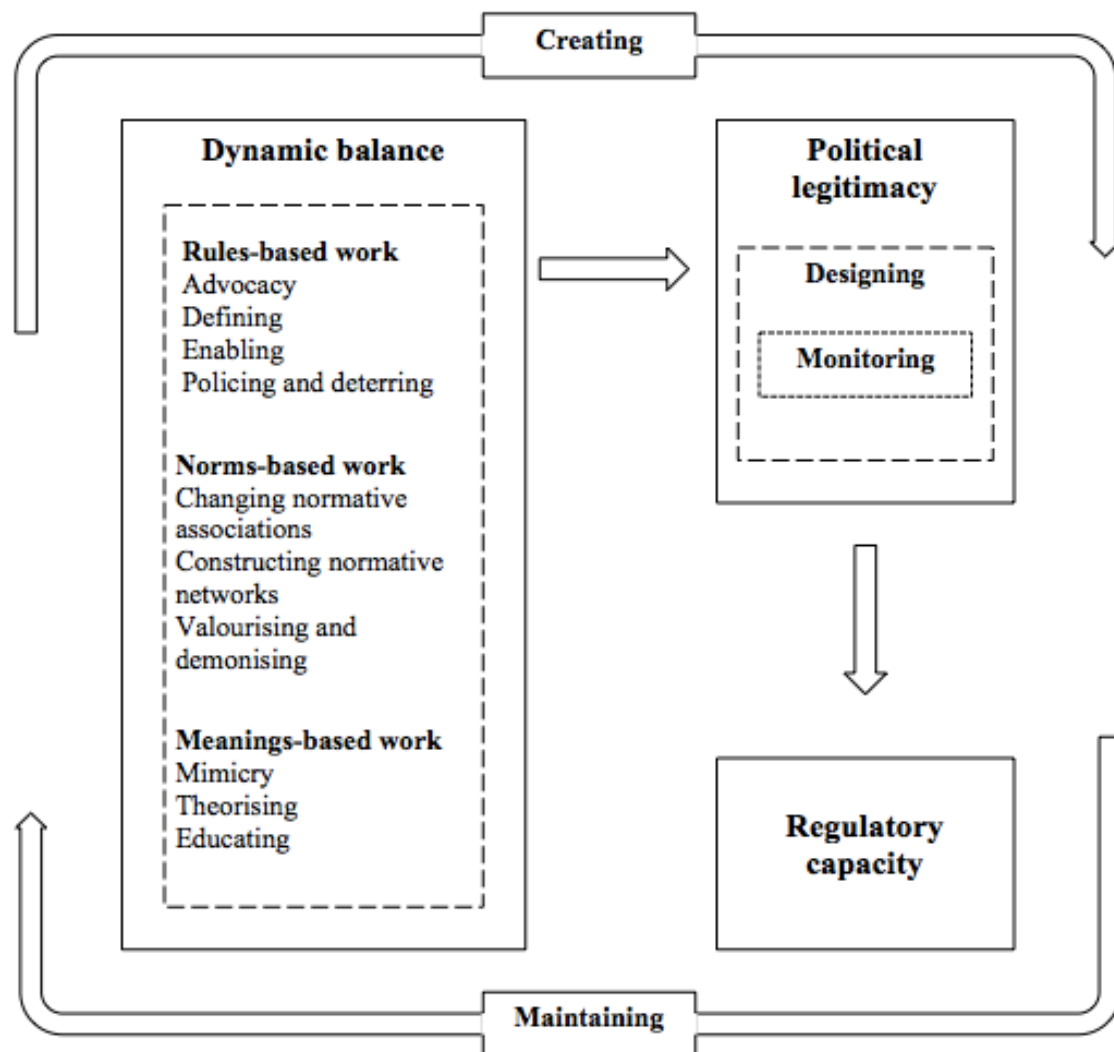
Figure 4: An Improved Framework for Standardisation

Figure 4 depicts how several types of institutional work form part of a dynamic balance of compromises. Both the various types of institutional work themselves, including their strategic combinations, and the dynamic balance which they make up contribute to the standardisation process. Political legitimacy is still the central driving force behind regulatory capacity. The improved framework, however, also incorporates design and monitoring processes in order to illustrate that these processes are not siloed. Rather, and as argued in the above, design and monitoring processes are important contributors to the political legitimacy of a standard. The entire standardisation process is still encapsulated by two arrows to illustrate two important points. Firstly, creating and maintaining work are concomitant

processes that occur simultaneously. Secondly, the overall standardisation process is continuous, meaning that it is never completely finished.

With the refinement of this theoretical model, we add to the academic literature surrounding NSMD governance and political legitimacy. Specifically, we contribute two new concepts to the academic literature, which add to our understanding of how actors promote and reconcile their differing interests to create and maintain a standard. The first of these concepts, institutional multitasking, denotes the multitude of institutional work that goes into the standardisation process. By approaching institutional work as multiplex, we are encouraging a shift from thinking about institutional work as a taxonomy to visualising it as a thriving ecosystem of different types of work that are both used in overlap and in strategic combinations. The second concept, the idea of a dynamic balance of compromises, highlights how the types of work that go into institutional multitasking make up more than the sum of their parts. As such, the types of work do not only underpin political legitimacy on their own, but also collectively. This balance is dynamic insofar as it continues to evolve in line with the standard. These theoretical contributions also imply that the process through which NSMD systems achieve and retain political legitimacy is complex and dynamic, and it must continually adjust to the demands of relevant constituencies.

Chapter 7: Concluding Remarks

This chapter is divided into two parts. Firstly, we conclude on our findings by summarising the most important points of the paper and outlining how they have contributed to answering our research question. Secondly, we reflect on the limitations of our paper and provide some directions for future research.

7.1. Conclusion

This thesis set out to answer the following research question: *How are types of institutional work used to gain and maintain political legitimacy in RSPO?* To answer this research question, we employed a lens of institutional work theory. More specifically, we combined insights from the academic literatures on NSMD governance systems, political legitimacy, and institutional work. The NSMD governance literature provided us with a lens to investigate some of the central mechanisms of political legitimacy, namely stakeholder participation, transparency, and the tension between rigour and inclusion. These concepts were operationalised by four key debates within RSPO surrounding biodiversity and HCV, greenhouse gas emissions reductions, smallholder inclusion, and human rights. The political legitimacy literature allowed us to combine strategic and institutional perspectives on legitimacy in order to conceptualise legitimacy as something which is both instrumentally beneficial and fundamentally necessary for the survival of an NSMD system. The institutional work literature offered a taxonomy of institutional work associated with creating and maintaining institutions. By adopting an institutional work perspective, we provided an account of how different actors promote and reconcile their differing interests to form a standard. Specifically, the institutional work literature allowed us to investigate the micro-level activities undertaken by individuals, which underpin political legitimacy.

By combining these three branches of scholarly literature, we created our own theoretical framework for standardisation, that is the institutionalisation of a standard. This framework highlighted that actors work to co-construct a standard through institutional work. As such, it is institutional work that leads to political legitimacy, which underpins the regulatory capacity of a standard. Building on extant theory, we assumed that creating and maintaining work are concomitant processes, which sometimes overlap. Standardisation is therefore an ongoing process, which is never completely finished.

Our theoretical framework is based upon a critical realist philosophy of science. This philosophy is particularly appropriate to uncover the institutional work mechanisms that drive political legitimacy without conflating the two, since it advocates the notion of a stratified reality. Accordingly, we employed a multi-method qualitative research design to answer our research question. Archival documents provided us with longitudinal data, which were then confirmed by interviews and newspaper articles. In addition to this method of data triangulation, an essential part of our research design was the use of a hybrid approach to interpret data and build upon our theoretical framework. Firstly, we deductively gathered and analysed our data by looking for all the types of creating and maintaining work presented in the theory. Followingly, we transitioned to abductive and retroductive approaches to evaluate our framework in accordance with our data collection and analysis by excluding those types of institutional work that were not prominent in our data. Ultimately, we revised our framework to better encompass all of our findings in order to derive the best explanation for the underlying mechanisms of political legitimacy.

Using this theoretical and methodological backdrop to investigate the standardisation process of RSPO, including the key characteristics of NSMD governance, we found that RSPO relies on the following types of institutional work: advocacy, defining, changing normative associations, constructing normative networks, mimicry, theorising, educating, enabling, policing and deterring, and valourising and demonising. We also found that some types of work were used in combination to become more forceful. Mimicry work and work to change normative associations were combined to ease the transition towards a more social conception of sustainability, and educating work was fused with enabling work to provide members with tools that would allow them to abide by the RSPO P&C. Interestingly, we found that all of the four key debates relied on the potent combination of educating and enabling work. Besides from this particular combination, each of the debates relied on a unique set of types of institutional work. Specifically, the biodiversity and HCV debate relied on advocacy and policing and deterring work, and the greenhouse gas emissions reductions debate relied on defining and theorising work. The smallholder inclusion debate relied on advocacy and defining work, and the human rights debate relied on policing and deterring work as well as the powerful combination of mimicry work and work to change normative associations.

In our discussion, we considered the implications of this complex use of types of institutional work on RSPO's political legitimacy. We argued that they relate to both the interaction with states and state-driven standards as well as with internal organising features. We found that advocacy work and work to construct normative networks were used by RSPO to collaborate with the Indonesian government and its standard, ISPO. In this way, RSPO amplified its political legitimacy by easing the transition from ISPO to RSPO, as such enhancing standard uptake and, ultimately, industry impact. Moreover, defining and theorising as well as valourising and demonising work contribute to balanced and effective stakeholder representation and transparency. The former is an important mechanism to ensure that actors can effectively promote their interests within RSPO, while the latter allows actors to evaluate the appropriateness of the governance of RSPO in the industry. Both support the political legitimacy of the NSMD system. We found that mimicry work and work to change normative associations are central to ratchet up the standard, and that educating and enabling work are useful tools to enhance the standard's inclusiveness. As we argued that balancing rigour with inclusion is essential to attract members and drive actual change in the industry, this aspect is also significant in advancing RSPO's political legitimacy. In sum, several types of institutional work are used simultaneously to further key agendas in RSPO and promote change in the palm oil industry. These types of work fall within both creating and maintaining categories of work, suggesting that standardisation is a complex and ongoing process. The various types of work drive collaboration with governments and state-driven standards, balanced and effective stakeholder participation, transparency, and balance between rigour and inclusion. Each of these mechanisms underpins the political legitimacy of RSPO in its own distinct way.

Based upon our results, we asserted that our thesis provides key contributions to practitioners and existing theory. We have argued that the case of RSPO has generalisable merit to other commodity standards, insofar as the palm oil industry represents a critical case that affects many different actors and RSPO retains unequalled governance capacity in this industry. For this reason, we believe that the practical implications of institutional work to political legitimacy that we have outlined above are applicable to other standards than RSPO. We have shown that governments still play an important role to the success of NSMD governance systems. This practical contribution is especially noteworthy, seeing as NSMD initiatives by design exclude states from exerting influence. We therefore emphasise that

practitioners must keep in mind that NSMD systems do not operate in isolation from states, but that they do to some degree rely on them to support the political legitimacy of the NSMD standard. For this reason, it is critical for an NSMD governance scheme to balance the work that goes into shaping the standard itself with the work that goes into shaping the playing field of this standard.

Finally, the theoretical implications of our findings include the contribution of two new concepts to the academic literature on standardisation: institutional multitasking and dynamic balance of compromises. Institutional multitasking implies that institutional dynamics are not merely ambidextrous but multiplex, as various types of creating and maintaining work are employed concurrently and in strategic combinations. Employing types of creating and maintaining work simultaneously is essential to sustain the continuous evolution of a standard, as its maintenance is dependent upon its constant recreation. We have shown that a wide variety of types of institutional work contribute in different ways to the political legitimacy of a standard. The idea of a dynamic balance of compromises, in turn, reflects the notion that a standard must be in constant innovation to balance the evolving demands of its audiences. This implies that types of institutional work support the political legitimacy of an NSMD system both on their own and through the dynamic balance of compromises, which they make up. Last but not least, we have shown that the process of standardisation is complex and ongoing, rather than linear and finite. In providing these theoretical contributions, we have answered calls for enhanced knowledge of the dynamics of institutional work.

7.2. Limitations and Future Research

Having presented the contributions of our thesis, we also acknowledge that it has some limitations. In this section, we offer our reflections upon these and provide suggestions for future studies. We view the most central limitation to our thesis as a methodological one, insofar as we had limited access to RSPO. Surely, it would have been beneficial to our study to be immersed in RSPO over a longer period of time to enable us to observe institutional work in action at various meetings and in different working groups. As a few of our interviewees pointed out, some work takes place 'behind the scenes', and it is likely that our archival data and interviews might not have been able to capture this work in adequate detail. The observational data that could have been obtained from field research might have made

our findings more nuanced and provided stronger support for our final contributions. Moreover, being involved with RSPO in this manner would have given us the opportunity to conduct more interviews and informal conversations with different RSPO members. This would have been a nice addition to our current interview sample and could, as with the observational data, potentially have provided even more support for our findings. Another limitation has to do with the relatively recent development of our main theoretical branch, namely institutional work. Established little more than a decade ago, only a limited number of empirical studies have tested and modified this theory. On the one hand, the fact that institutional work theory remains relatively unexplored allowed us to add some of our own insights to the literature, thereby shaping theory. On the other hand, however, it also means that we have relied on much fewer theoretical and empirical insights than if more scholars had provided their take on it. We have attempted to overcome this limitation by combining institutional work theory with other branches of academic literature.

While our thesis constitutes an important contribution to understanding the institutional work mechanisms that underpin political legitimacy of NSMD systems, further research on the topic is encouraged to add to our findings. Firstly, it would be valuable for future studies to test our practical and theoretical contributions on other agricultural commodity standards, such as soy, cocoa, or coffee. We expect that such studies could significantly add to our findings and expand our theoretical framework in order to further the development of a generalisable model. This would not only be interesting in terms of expanding upon the scholarly literature on the topic. It would also generate additional knowledge for practitioners in the field on how to promote sustainability in agricultural supply chains, hence supporting the sustainable development of food supplies for the growing global population.

Secondly, our study has not explored consumer perceptions and impact on the ground. Yet, these are important aspects to consider in relation to successful NSMD sustainability governance. In Chapter 2, we noted that many consumers are not aware of the specific vegetable oil content in their goods, and that anti-palm oil campaigns have made producers reluctant to advertise even sustainable palm oil. And in Chapter 5, we noted that the uptake of CSPO in the market lingers around 50 per cent. These points indicate that the lack of consumer awareness about the environmental, social, and economic benefits of purchasing sustainable palm oil is a hurdle to advancing the sustainable transition of the industry. As

such, it seems that the industry could benefit from more research on how actors can work to enhance the political legitimacy of NSMD standards among consumers. Or, in other words, how institutional work can be employed to drive the uptake of the certified commodity in addition to the uptake of the standard. Developing a sound strategy for increasing the uptake of CSPO - and, by extension, other sustainable agricultural commodities - might feed into a double loop: By making it easier to sell CSPO at premiums, the legitimacy of the standard will likely be enhanced among those governed by it.

Finally, the actual impacts in terms of environmental, social, and economic sustainability of RSPO are evidently essential to the success of the standard and its ambition to transform the industry. While it was outside the scope of our thesis to examine impacts on the ground, this would be an advantageous extension of our research. A future study on the impacts of RSPO might benefit from evaluating the appropriateness of the use of institutional work within RSPO in relation to furthering changes on the ground. Such an impact study might then serve to inform RSPO on which practices advance sustainability and which do not. This point is especially important to investigate considering the intentionality and effort that underpin institutional work. The better informed decisions that actors can make, the more impact they are likely to get in return for their efforts.

References

Accenture for Humanity United. (2013). *Exploitative labour practices in the global palm oil industry*. Dublin, Ireland: Accenture

Adnan, H. (2009, 5 November). Malaysia and Indonesia decline to vote on contentious greenhouse gas proposal. *The Star Online*. Retrieved 8 May, 2017 from http://www.thestar.com.my/business/business-news/2009/11/05/malaysia-and-indonesia-decline-to-vote-on-contentious-greenhouse-gas-proposal/

Aktar, W., Sengupta, D., & Chowdhury, A. (2009). Impact of pesticides use in agriculture: Their benefits and hazards. *Interdisciplinary Toxicology, 2*(1), 1-12

Amine, L. S., & Staub, K. M. (2009). Women entrepreneurs in sub-Saharan Africa: An institutional theory analysis from a social marketing point of view. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development: An International Journal, 21*(2), 183-211

Amnesty International. (2016). *The great palm oil scandal. Labour abuses behind big brand names.* Retrieved on 4 May, 2017 from https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/asa21/5184/2016/en/

Archer, M. S. (1998). Introduction: Realism in the social sciences. In M. S. Archer, R. Bhaskar, A. Collier, T. Lawson, & A. Norrie (Eds). *Critical Realism: Essential Readings* (pp. 189-205). Oxon, UK: Routledge

Archer, M., Decoteau, C., Gorski, P., Little, D., Porpora, D., Rutzou, T., … Vandenberghe, F. (2016, December 23). What is critical realism? *Theory Section*. Retrieved 4 April, 2017 from http://www.asatheory.org/current-newsletter-online/what-is-critical-realism

Ashforth, B. E. & Gibbs, B. W. (1990). The double-edge of organizational legitimation. *Organization Science, 1*(2), 177-194

Balch, O. (2013, July 4). Sustainable palm oil: How successful is RSPO certification? *The Guardian*. Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/sustainable-palm-oil-successful-rspo-certification

Barnes, B. (2001). Practice as collective action. In T. R. Schatzki, K. Knorr-Cetina, & E. von Savigny (eds.). *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory* (pp. 17-28). Oxon, UK: Routledge

Bartley, T. (2007). Institutional emergence in an era of globalization: The rise of transnational private regulation of labor and environmental conditions. *American Journal of Sociology, 113*(2), 297-351

Benton, T. & Craib, I. (2011). *Philosophy of Social Science: The Philosophical Foundations of Social Thought* (2nd ed.). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK: Palgrave MacMillan

Bernama. (2009a, September 9). Sarawak oil palm planters 'no' to RSPO suggestion. *Bernama*. Retrieved 22 April, 2017 from https://global-factiva-com.esc-web.lib.cbs.dk:8443/ga/default.aspx

Bernama. (2009b, November 11). RSPO extends reach to cover smallholders. *Bernama*. Retrieved 25 April, 2017 from http://bernama.com/bernama/v3/bm/news_lite.php?id=454348

Bernama. (2013, May 15). Don't quit RSPO, Malaysian NGOs rell MPOA. *Bernama.* Retrieved 23 April, 2017 from https://global-factiva-com.esc-web.lib.cbs.dk:8443/ga/default.aspx

Bernstein, S. & Cashore, B. (2007). Can non-state global governance be legitimate? An analytical framework. *Regulation and Governance, 1*, 347-371

Bhaskar, R. (2008). *A Realist Theory of Science*. Oxon, UK & New York, NY, USA: Routledge

Center for Agriculture, Food and the Environment. (2017). Over-fertilization of soils: Its causes, effects and remediation. *University of Massachusetts Amherst: Center for Agriculture, Food and the Environment*. Retrieved 4 May, 2017 from https://ag.umass.edu/soil-plant-tissue-testing-lab/fact-sheets/over-fertilization-of-soils-its-causes-effects-remediation

Chow, E. & Ananthalakshmi, A. (2016, November 30). Palm oil industry watchdog lax on human rights: Critics. *Reuters*. Retrieved 10 April, 2017 from http://www.reuters.com/article/us-palmoil-sustainable-rspo-idUSKBN13P072

Collier, D. (2011). Understanding process tracing. *Political Science and Politics, 44*(4), 823-830

Copenhagen Business School (2017). *Factiva*. Retrieved 9 April, 2017 from http://www.cbs.dk/en/library/databases/factiva

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (4th ed.). London, UK: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Currie, G., Lockett, A., Finn, R., Martin, G., & Waring, J. (2012). Institutional work to maintain professional power: Recreating the model of medical professionalism. *Organization Studies, 33*(7), 937-962

Daily News and Analysis (DNA). (2012, March 5). Inaugural report shows impressive uptake of RSPO-certified sustainable palm oil in 2011. *Daily News and Analysis*. Retrieved 25 April, 2017 from http://www.dnaindia.com/press-releases/press-release-inaugural-report-shows-impressive-uptake-of-rspo-certified-sustainable-palm-oil-in-2011-1658746

Damodaran, R. (2007, November 19). Global standards for sustainable palm oil out soon. *Business Times*. Retrieved 22 April, 2017 from https://global-factiva-com.esc-web.lib.cbs.dk:8443/ga/default.aspx

Damodaran, R. (2008, November 17). Pressure mounts on palm oil producers. *Business Times.* Retrieved 21 April, 2017 from https://global-factiva-com.esc-web.lib.cbs.dk:8443/ga/default.aspx

Dauvergne, P. & Lister, J. (2013). *Eco-Business: A Big Brand Takeover of Sustainability*. Cambridge, MA, USA: The MIT Press

de Bakker, F. G. A., Rasche, A., & Ponte, S. (forthcoming). Analyzing multi-stakeholder initiatives for sustainability: Learning from the past, preparing for the future.

Deephouse, D. L., Bundy, J., Tost, L. P., & Suchman, M. C. (2017). Organizational legitimacy: Six key questions. In R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, T. Lawrence, & R. Meyer (eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism* (2nd ed.) (pp. 2-41). Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

DiMaggio, P. J. & Powell, W. W. (1983). The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review, 48*(2), 147-160

Dow Jones (2012). *Factiva*. Retrieved 6 May, 2017 from https://www.mzk.cz/sites/mzk.cz/files/souboryMZK/pdf/dj-factivacom-insideout-guide.pdf

Down to Earth. (2011, April). Indonesian sustainable palm oil scheme to speed up palm oil development. *Down to Earth*. Retrieved 9 May, 2017 from http://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/indonesian-sustainable-palm-oil-scheme-speed-palm-oil-development

Durand, R. & McGuire, J. (2005). Legitimating agencies in the face of selection: The case of AACSB. *Organization Studies, 26*(2), 165-196

Edwards, P. K., O'Mahoney, J., & Vincent, S. (2014). *Studying Organizations Using Critical Realism: A Practical Guide.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press

Eisenstadt, S. N. (1980). Cultural orientations, institutional entrepreneurs, and social change: Comparative analysis of traditional civilizations. *American Journal of Sociology, 85*(4), 840-869

Elferink, M. & Schierhorn, F. (2016, 7 April). Global demand for food is rising. Can we meet it? *Harvard Business Review*. Retrieved 15 April, 2017 from https://hbr.org/2016/04/global-demand-for-food-is-rising-can-we-meet-it

European Palm Oil Alliance. (2016). *Palm oil consumption*. Retrieved 3 May, 2017 from http://www.palmoilandfood.eu/en/palm-oil-consumption

European Union, European Commission (EC). (2015). World food consumption patterns - trends and drivers. (EU agricultural markets briefs no. 6). Retrieved 2 May, 2017 from http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/sites/agriculture/files/markets-and-prices/market-briefs/pdf/06_en.pdf

European Commission (EC). (2017). *Food information to consumers - legislation*. Retrieved 3 May, 2017 from https://ec.europa.eu/food/safety/labelling_nutrition/labelling_legislation_en

Fernz, B. (2012). Indonesia biofuels scoping exercise. *Engineers Against Poverty*. Retrieved 4 May, 2017 from https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8796.pdf

Fleming, P. (2015, June 1). Investors, major brands call for stronger standards from palm oil certification group. *Ceres*. Retrieved 15 April, 2017 from https://www.ceres.org/press/press-releases/investors-major-brands-call-for-stronger-standards-from-palm-oil-certification-group

Flyvbjerg, B. (2001). *Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How It Can Succeed Again*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Geertz, C. (1971). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York, NY, USA: Basic Books, Inc.

Ghauri, P. N. (2004). Designing and conducting case studies in international business research. In R. Marschan-Piekkari & C. Welch (eds.). *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for International Business* (pp. 109-124). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkely and Los Angeles, CA, USA: University of California Press

Global Industry Analysts, Inc. (2015). *The global palm oil market: Trends, drivers, & projections*. Retrieved 3 May, 2017 from http://www.strategyr.com/MarketResearch/Palm_Oil_Market_Trends.asp

GreenPalm. (2017a). *Why is palm oil important?* Retrieved 3 May, 2017 from http://greenpalm.org/about-palm-oil/why-is-palm-oil-important

GreenPalm. (2017b). *The social and environmental impact of palm oil*. Retrieved 3 May, 2017 from http://greenpalm.org/about-palm-oil/social-and-environmental-impact-of-palm-oil

GreenPalm. (2017c). *Where is palm oil grown?* Retrieved 3 May, 2017 from http://greenpalm.org/about-palm-oil/where-is-palm-oil-grown-2

Greenpeace. (2010a). *Ask Nestlé to give rainforests a break*. Retrieved 4 May, 2017 from http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/campaigns/climate-change/kitkat/

Greenpeace. (2010b). *Sweet success for Kit Kat campaign : You asked, Nestlé has answered.* Retrieved 4 May, 2017 from http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/news/features/Sweet-success-for-Kit-Kat-campaign/

Greenwood, R., Oliver, C., Suddaby, R., & Sahlin, K. (2008). *The SAGE handbook of organizational institutionalism*. London, UK: SAGE Publications, Inc.

The Guardian. (2009, October 27). International palm oil strategy falters as producers question emission cuts. *The Guardian.* Retrieved 25 April, 2017 from https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2009/oct/27/palm-oil-initiative-carbon-emissions

Gulbrandsen, L. H. (2008). Accountability arrangements in non-state standards organizations: Instrumental design and Imitation. *Organization, 15*(4), 563-583

Gulbrandsen, L. H. (2014). Dynamic governance interactions: Evolutionary effects of state responses to non-state certification programs. *Regulation and Governance, 8*, 74-92

Habermas, J. (2001). *The postnational constellation: Political essays*. Cambridge, MA, USA: The MIT Press

Hambali, S. (2017, April 26). How Indonesia aims to make palm oil sustainable. *Indonesia Expat.* Retrieved 4 May, 2017 from http://indonesiaexpat.biz/business-property/indonesian-palm-oil-certification/

Harvard T. H. Chan School of Public Health. (2012-2017). *Biodiversity and agriculture*. Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from http://www.chgeharvard.org/topic/biodiversity-and-agriculture

HCV Resource Network. (2005-2016). *The HCV Assessor Licensing Scheme*. Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from https://www.hcvnetwork.org/als/home

HCV Resource Network. (2005-2017). *What are High Conservation Values?* Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from https://www.hcvnetwork.org/about-hcvf

Hewson, J. (2016, May 10). What will it take to make sustainable palm oil the norm? *Center for International Forestry Research: Forests News*. Retrieved 15 April, 2017 from http://blog.cifor.org/41406/what-will-it-take-to-make-sustainable-palm-oil-the-norm?fnl=en

Howard, E. (2016, February 9). Critics fear RSPO's stricter palm oil standards will create two-tier system. *The Guardian*. Retrieved 15 April, 2017 from https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2016/feb/09/palm-oil-stricter-standards-rspo-next-deforestation-human-rights-boots-ferrero-danone

Institute for Ecosoc Rights. (2013). Palm oil industry and human rights: A case study on oil palm corporations in Central Kalimantan. Retrieved 4 May, 2017 from http://www.jus.uio.no/smr/english/about/programmes/indonesia/docs/report-english-version-jan-2015.pdf

International Labor Rights Forum (ILRF) & Sawit Watch. (2013). *Empty assurances: The human cost of palm oil.* Washington, DC, USA and Bogor, Indonesia: International Labor Rights Forum & Sawit Watch

Jespersen, K., Kruuse, M., Bøgestrand, I., & Gallemore, C. (forthcoming). The "teenage" years: Organizational interests and the evolution of private standards.

Keohane, R. O. & Victor, D. G. (2011). The regime complex for climate change. *Perspectives on Politics, 9*(1), 7-23

Lawrence, T. B., Leca., B., & Zilber, T. B. (2013). Institutional work: Current research, new directions, and overlooked issues. *Organization Studies, 34*(8), 1023-1033

Lawrence, T. B. & Suddaby, R. (2006). Institutions and institutional work. In S. R. Clegg, C. Hardy, T. B. Lawrence, & W. R. Nord (eds.). *SAGE handbook of organization studies* (2nd ed.) (pp. 215-254). London, UK: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Lawrence, T. B., Suddaby, R., & Leca, B. (2011). Institutional work: Refocusing institutional studies of organization. *Journal of Management Inquiry, 20*(1), 52-58

Leca, B. & Naccache, P. (2006). A critical realist approach to institutional entrepreneurship. *Organization, 13*(5), 627-651

Levi, M. & Linton, A. (2003). Fair trade: A cup at a time? *Politics and Society, 31*, 407–432

Li, T. (2015). Social impacts of oil palm in Indonesia: A gendered perspective from West Kalimantan. (Occasional Paper 124). *Center for International Forestry Research.* Retrieved 3 May, 2017 from http://www.cifor.org/publications/pdf_files/OccPapers/OP-124.pdf

Lim, J. (2015, October 29). What consumers need to know about palm oil. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved 4 May, 2017 from http://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/what-consumers-need-to-know-about-palm-oil

Lingga, V. (2013, November 11). The RSPO engine for sustainable palm oil seems to be sputtering. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved 26 April, 2017 from http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/11/11/the-rspo-engine-sustainable-palm-oil-seems-be-sputtering.html

Lubis, A. M. (2013, May 13). RSPO wants members to stop planting on peatland. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved 23 April, 2017 from https://global-factiva-com.esc-web.lib.cbs.dk:8443/ga/default.aspx

Madre, Y. & Devuyst, P. (2015, November 17). How will we feed the world in the next decades? An analysis of the demand and supply factors for food. *Farm Europe*. Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from http://www.farm-europe.eu/travaux/how-will-we-feed-the-world-in-the-next-decades-an-analysis-of-the-demand-and-supply-factors-for-food/

Malaysian Palm Oil Certification Council (MPOCC). (2017, March 30). Detailed breakdown of certified plantations, smallholders and mills as at March 2017. Retrieved 4 May, 2017 from https://www.mpocc.org.my/facts-and-figures

Malaysian Palm Oil Council. (2012). Sustaining the palm oil industry. Retrieved 9 May, 2017 from http://www.mpoc.eu/2013/11/sustaining-the-palm-oil-industry/

March, J. G. & Olsen, J. P. (1989). *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics.* New York, NY, USA: The Free Press

March, J. G. (1994). *A Primer on Decision Making: How Decisions Happen.* New York, NY, USA: The Free Press

Mena, S. & Palazzo, G. (2012). Input and output legitimacy of multi-stakeholder initiatives. *Business Ethics Quarterly, 22*(3), 527-556

Meyer, J. W. & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structures as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology, 83*(2), 340-363

Ministry of Plantation Industries and Commodities. (2014, November 6). Implementation of the Malaysian Sustainable Palm Oil (MSPO) certification scheme. Retrieved 9 May, 2017 from http://www.kppk.gov.my/mpic/index.php/en/arkib/arkib-siaran-media/kenyataan-akhbar-tahun-2014/418-

Modell, S., Vinnari, E., & Lukka, K. (forthcoming). Institutional and actor-network theories of accounting: Can they be combined? Retrieved 13 May, 2017 from http://www.research.mbs.ac.uk/accounting-

finance/Portals/0/Users/002/02/2/Institutional%20and%20Actor-
Network%20Theories%20of%20Accounting%202015.pdf

Moulds, J. (2015, February 16). Why rush to source alternatives to palm oil is problematic.
The Guardian. Retrieved 4 May, 2017 from https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-
business/2015/feb/26/why-rush-to-source-alternatives-to-palm-oil-is-problematic

National Wildlife Federation. (1996-2017). *What is biodiversity?* Retrieved 15 May, 2017
from https://www.rspo.org/certification/how-rspo-certification-works

North, D. (1990). *Institutions, institutional change and economic performance.* Cambridge,
UK: Cambridge University Press

Nuraini, A., Aziz, D., Cahyono, E., & Moniaga, D. (2016). National inquiry on the rights of
indigenous peoples on the territories in the forest zone. *The National Commission on
Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia.* Retrieved 7 May, 2017 from
http://www.forestpeoples.org/topics/legal-human-rights/publication/2016/indonesian-
human-rights-commission-s-national-inquiry-ind

The Oil Palm. (2016, December 21). Making palm oil 'socially unacceptable'. *The Oil Palm.*
Retrieved 12 April, 2017 from http://theoilpalm.org/making-palm-oil-socially-
unacceptable/

O'Reilly, C. A. & Tushman, M. (2004). The ambidextrous organization. *Harvard Business
Review, 82*(4), 74-81

Ojemade, A. C. & Bankole, A. S. (2013). Policy interventions and economic benefits for a
market driven oil palm industry. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development,
4*(7), 30-32

Overdevest, C. & Zeitlin, J. (2014). Assembling an experimentalist regime: Transnational
governance interactions in the forest sector. *Regulation and Governance, 8*, 22-48

Paoli, G. (2014, October 3). How RSPO certification meets market demand for sustainable
palm oil. *Eco-Business.* Retrieved 14 April, 2017 from http://www.eco-
business.com/opinion/how-rspo-certification-meets-market-demand-sustainable-palm-oil/

Peters, B. G. (2000). Institutional theory: Problems and prospects. (Political Science Series
69). Vienna, Switzerland: Institute for Advanced Studies

Porter, M. & Kramer, M. (2011). Creating shared value. *Harvard Business Review, 89*(1-2),
62-77

Rainforest Foundation Norway. (2017). *Running a successful palm oil campaign.* Retrieved 4
May, 2017 from http://www.regnskog.no/en/what-we-do/how-we-achieve-political-
change/running-a-successful-palm-oil-campaign

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (n.d.a). *Terms of reference: Smallholders Working Group (SHWG)*. Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from https://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/smallholders

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (n.d.b). *Complaints System components and terms of reference*. Retrieved on 15 May, 2017 from https://www.rspo.org/publications/download/33dc47007811e3d

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2004d, May 28). *EB-02: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2004c, August 16). *EB-03: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2004e, October 6). *GA-01: Minutes of the 1st General Assembly of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil*. Retrieved 9 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-ga-ega

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2004b, October 7). *EB-06: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2004a, December 9). *EB-07: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2005d, February 17). *EB 01-05: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2005c, May 26). *EB 02-05: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2005e, September 23). *EB 03-05: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2005b, November 23). *GA2: Minutes of General Assembly*. Retrieved 9 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-ga-ega

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2005a, November 24). *EB 04-05: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2006c, February 20). *EB 01-06: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2006d, July 19-20). *EB 02-06: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2006b, November 22). *GA3: Minutes of 3rd General Assembly*. Retrieved 9 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-ga-ega

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2006e, November 20). *EB 03-06: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2006a, November 23). *EB 04-06: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2007b). *RSPO Principles and Criteria for sustainable palm oil production: Including indicators and guidance, October 2007*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2007e, January 25-26). *EB 01-07: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2007c, May 30-31). *EB 02-07: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2007d, November 19 & 23). *EB 05-07 & 06-07: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2007a, November 22). *GA4: Minutes of the 4th General Assembly*. Retrieved 9 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-ga-ega

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2008d, February 28-29). *EB 01-08: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2008c, May 27). *EB 02-08: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 11 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2008b, October 6). *EB 03-08: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 15 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2008a, November 20). *Minutes of the 5th General Assembly (GA5) of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil*. Retrieved 9 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-ga-ega

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2008e, November 21). *EB 05-08: Minutes of Executive Board meeting*. Retrieved 15 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2009c, April 15). *Minutes of the 1st Biodiversity Technical Committee (BTC) meeting*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2009b, June 13). *Minutes of the 2nd Biodiversity Technical Committee (BTC) meeting*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2009d, September 28). *Minutes of Executive Board meeting: EB 03-09*. Retrieved 15 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2009e, November 1). *Minutes of Executive Board meeting: EB 04-09*. Retrieved 15 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2009a, November 5). *RSPO General Assembly 6 (2009)*. Retrieved 13 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-ga-ega

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2009f, November 5). *Minutes of Executive Board meeting: EB 05-09*. Retrieved 15 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2010a, February 24-25). *Minutes of Executive Board meeting: EB 01-10*. Retrieved 15 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2010d, March 2). *ToRs for RSPO GHG WG2: RSPO Greenhouse Gas Working Group - phase 2*. Retrieved 23 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/files/download/8fea62575e25c8d

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2010g, July 8-9). *Minutes of Executive Board meeting: EB 02-10*. Retrieved 15 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2010f, September 9). *Minutes for Executive Board meeting EB 03-10*. Retrieved 15 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2010b, November 7). *Minutes for Executive Board meeting EB 04-10*. Retrieved 15 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2010e, November 12). *Minutes of the Executive Board meeting EB 05-10*. Retrieved 15 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2010c, November 11). *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil 7th General Assembly (GA7) - approved at GA8*. Retrieved 9 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-ga-ega

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2011b, February 9). *RSPO Biodiversity Technical Committee (BTC): Minutes of the 10th meeting held on 9 February 2011*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2011e, March 31-April 1). *Minutes of meeting EB 01-11*. Retrieved 20 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2011g, June 6). *RSPO Biodiversity and HCV Committee (BHCV): Minutes of the 12th meeting held on 6th June 2011*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2011a, July 13-14). *Minutes for Executive Board meeting EB 02-11*. Retrieved 21 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2011h, July 22). *13th meeting of RSPO Biodiversity and HCV Working Group (BHCV WG)*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2011c, August 15). *Term of Reference Compensation Task Force (CTF) of Biodiversity & High Conservation Value Working Group*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/task-forces/compensation-task-force

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2011i, October 4). *14th meeting of RSPO Biodiversity and HCV Working Group (BHCV WG)*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2011f, October 5). *Minutes of Executive Board meeting EB 03-11*. Retrieved 21 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2011d, November 21 & 25). *Minutes for Executive Board meeting EB 04-11 & EB 05-11*. Retrieved 21 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2012b, March 8). *Approved minutes: Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil 8th General Assembly (GA8)*. Retrieved 9 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-ga-ega

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2012d, February 21). *16th meeting of RSPO Biodiversity and High Conservation Values (BHCV) WG*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2012i, March 9). *Executive Board meeting EB 02-12*. Retrieved 21 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2012c, June 14). *17th meeting of RSPO Biodiversity and HCV Working Group (BHCV WG)*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from

http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2012f, June 25-26). *Minutes of meeting: 1st Smallholder Working Group (SHWG) meeting.* Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from https://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/smallholders

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2012e, July). *Term of Reference INA HCV Task Force of Biodiversity & High Conservation Value Working Group: Endorsed by RSPO's Executive Board in July 2012.* Retrieved 25 April, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/file/Term%20of%20Reference_INA%20HCV%20TF%202012_End orsed%20by%20EB%20in%20July%202012.pdf

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2012h, July 11-12). *Minutes for Executive Board meeting EB 03-12.* Retrieved 21 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2012g, October 28). *Minutes of: 2nd Smallholder Working Group (SHWG) meeting.* Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from https://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/smallholders

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2012a, November 1). *Approved minutes: Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil 9th General Assembly (GA9).* Retrieved 9 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-ga-ega

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2012j, November 29). *19th meeting of RSPO Biodiversity and HCV Working Group (BHCV WG).* Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013c). *Principles and Criteria for the production of sustainable palm oil 2013.* Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013a, February 27). *Minutes for Executive Board meeting EB 01-13.* Retrieved 21 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013e, March 18). *20th meeting of RSPO Biodiversity and HCV Working Group (BHCV WG).* Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013i, April 9). *Minutes of SHWG workstream spokespersons physical meeting.* Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from https://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/smallholders

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013k, April 25). *Approved minutes Extraordinary General Assembly of RSPO.* Retrieved 8 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-ga-ega

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013g, April 25-26). *Minutes for Executive Board meeting EB 02-13.* Retrieved 21 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013n, June 19). *21st meeting of RSPO Biodiversity and HCV Working Group (BHCV WG).* Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013d, July 3-4). *Minutes for Executive Board meeting EB 03-13.* Retrieved 21 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013b, October 4). *Minutes for Executive Board meeting EB 04-13.* Retrieved 21 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013f, October 19). *22nd meeting of RSPO BHCV Working Group.* Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013l, November 11 & 15). *Minutes for Executive Board meeting EB 05-13.* Retrieved 21 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013m, November 14). *Approved minutes: Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil 10th General Assembly (GA).* Retrieved 8 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-ga-ega

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013j, November 10). *Draft minutes of meeting: 4th Smallholders Working Group (SHWG) meeting.* Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from https://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/smallholders

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2013h, November 16-17). *Minutes of the RSPO Emission Reduction Working Group meeting.* Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/emission-reduction

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2014a). *Terms of reference Biodiversity & High Conservation Values Working Group (BHCVWG).* Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2014k, March 6). *Minutes of meeting of Board of Governors 02-14.* Retrieved 22 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2014i, April 15-16). *Minutes of meeting: 5th Smallholder Working Group.* Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from https://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/smallholders

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2014h, April 15-16). *Minutes of meeting of RSPO 24th BHCV Working Group.* Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2014g, May). *RSPO remediation and compensation procedures related to land clearance without prior HCV assessment.* Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/file/2_RSPORemediationandCompensationProcedures_May2014.pdf

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2014b, June 5-6). *Minutes for Board of Governors meeting BoG 03-14.* Retrieved 22 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2014c, July 8-9). *Minutes of 3rd ERWG meeting.* Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/emission-reduction

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2014f, November 14). *Minutes of meeting: 6th Smallholder Working Group (SHWG) meeting.* Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from https://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/smallholders

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2014d, November 14-15). *Working Group Minutes of Meeting - November 2014.* Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/emission-reduction

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2014j, November 17 & 21). *Minutes for Board of Governors meeting 04-14*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2014e, November 20). *Approved minutes: Roundtable On Sustainable Palm Oil 11th General Assembly (GA11)*. Retrieved 8 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-ga-ega

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015a). *Code of conduct for members of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil.* Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015l, February 6). *Minutes of meeting of RSPO 27th RSPO BHCVWG meeting.* Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015n, February 26-27). *Working Group Minutes of Meeting - February 2015.* Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/emission-reduction

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015h, March 6). *Minutes for Board of Governors meeting 01-15*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015m, May 7). *Minutes of meeting of RSPO 28th RSPO BHCVWG meeting.* Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015c, June 3-4). *Minutes for Board of Governors meeting 02-15*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015j, June 11-12). *Working Group Minutes of Meeting - June 2015*. Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/emission-reduction

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015i, August 4-6). *Minutes of meeting: 8th Smallholder Working Group (SHWG) meeting*. Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from https://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/smallholders

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015b, August 24). *Minutes for Board of Governors meeting 03-15*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015o, November 13). *Minutes of meeting of RSPO 30th RSPO BHCVWG meeting*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/biodiversity-high-conservation-values

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015e, November 15). *Minutes of meeting: 9th Smallholder Working Group (SHWG) meeting*. Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from https://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/smallholders

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015k, November 16 & 20). *Minutes for Board of Governors meeting 04-15*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015f, November 19). *Approved minutes: Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil 12th General Assembly (GA12)*. Retrieved 8 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-ga-ega

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015g, November 19). *Summary report: RSPO Human Rights Working Group meeting*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/human-rights-working-group

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2015d, November 20). *RSPO New Planting Procedure: Endorsed by the Board of Governors on 20th November 2015*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/certification/new-planting-procedures

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2016c, March 10-11). *Working Group Minutes of Meeting - March 2016*. Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/emission-reduction

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2016d, April 4). *Terms of Reference RSPO Working Group on Human Rights*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/human-rights-working-group

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2016a, June 10). *News and events: RSPO launches new traceability and transparency tools at Milan conference*. Retrieved from http://www.rspo.org/news-and-events/news/rspo-launches-new-traceability-and-transparency-tools-at-milan-conference

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2016b, July 14-15). *9th ERWG meeting*. Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/emission-reduction

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2016e, November 10). *Minutes of HRWG meeting*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/working-groups/human-rights-working-group

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2016f, March 7). *Minutes for Board of Governors meeting 02-16*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2016g, June 8). *Minutes for Board of Governors meeting 04-16*. Retrieved 28 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/key-documents/supplementary-materials/minutes-reports-of-rspo-bog

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017a). *#goodbadpalmoil*. Retrieved 3 May, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/goodbadpalmoil

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017b). *Sustainable palm oil*. Retrieved 12 April, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/sustainable-palm-oil

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017c). *About us*. Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017d). *Impacts*. Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/impacts

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017e). *RSPO smallholders definition*. Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/smallholders/rspo-smallholders-definition

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017f). *Who we are*. Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017g). *Board of governors*. Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/board-of-governors

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017h). *Secretariat*. Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/secretariat

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017i). *Roundtable meetings*. Retrieved 14 April, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/members/roundtable-meetings

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017j). *Standing committees*. Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/about/who-we-are/standing-committees

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017l). *How RSPO certification works*. Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/certification/how-rspo-certification-works

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017m). *RSPO NEXT.* Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/certification/rspo-next

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017n). *Smallholders.* Retrieved 14 April, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/smallholders

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017o). *RSPO Smallholders certification.* Retrieved 25 March, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/smallholders/rspo-certification

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017p). *Felda*. Retrieved 9 May, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/members/8/felda

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017q). *Annual Communication of Progress*. Retrieved 10 May, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/members/acop

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017r). *Dispute Settlement Facility*. Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/members/dispute-settlement-facility

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017s). *PalmGHG Calculator*. Retrieved 15 May. 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/certification/palm-ghg-calculator

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017t). *National interpretations*. Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/certification/national-interpretations

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO). (2017k, March 22). *Terms of reference for members of the RSPO P&C Review Taskforce 2017*. Retrieved 2 May, 2017 from http://www.rspo.org/news-and-events/announcements/terms-of-reference-for-members-of-the-rspo-pandc-review-taskforce-2017

Rowling, M. (2015, February 24). Will sustainable palm oil surge exclude small farmers? *Reuters*. Retrieved 12 April, 2017 from http://www.reuters.com/article/us-agriculture-palmoil-smallholders-idUSKBN0LS0VR20150224

Rushing, J. & Lee, C. (2013). *New oils for the new world*. Chicago, IL, USA: A.T. Kearney

Ruysschaert, D. & Salles, D. (2016). The strategies and effectiveness of conservation NGOs in the global voluntary standards: The case of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil. *Conservation and Society, 14*(2), 73-85

Saldaña, J. (2009). *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. London, UK: SAGE Publications, Ltd.

Saunders, M. N. K., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2016). *Research Methods for Business Students* (7th ed.). Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited

Sayer, A. (2000). *Realism and Social Science*. London, UK: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Scherer, A. Palazzo, G. 2011. The new political role of business in a globalized world: Review of a new perspective on CSR and its implications for the firm, governance, and democracy. *Journal of Management Studies, 48*(4), 899-931

Schouten, G. & Glasbergen, P. (2011). Creating legitimacy in global private governance: The case of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil. *Ecological Economics, 70*, 1891-1899

Schuler, D., Rasche, A. Etzion, D., & Newton, L. (2017). Guest editors' introduction: Corporate sustainability management and environmental ethics. *Business Ethics Quarterly 27*(2), 213-237

Schuster Institute for Investigative Journalism at Brandeis University. (2012-2014). *Palm oil controversies - 2: The abuse: Indigenous peoples' rights*. Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from http://www.schusterinstituteinvestigations.org/palm-oil-controversies-indigenous-people

Scott, W. R. (2001). *Institutions and Organizations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Scott, W. R. (2014). *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas, Interests, and Identities* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Seo, M. G. & Creed, W. E. D. (2002). Institutional contradictions, praxis, and institutional change: A dialectical perspective. *The Academy of Management Review, 27*(2), 222-247

Slager, R., Gond, J. P., & Moon, J. (2012). Standardization as institutional work: The regulatory power of a responsible investment standard. *Organization Studies, 33*(5-6), 763-790

Suchman, M. C. (1995). Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches. *The Academy of Management Review, 20*(3), 571-610

Sustainable Palm Oil Transparency Toolkit (SPOTT). (2017a). *Transport and biofuels*. Retrieved 3 May, 2017 from http://www.sustainablepalmoil.org/transport-biofuels/

Sustainable Palm Oil Transparency Toolkit (SPOTT). (2017b). *Certification schemes*. Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from http://www.sustainablepalmoil.org/certification-schemes/

Sustainable Palm Oil Transparency Toolkit (SPOTT). (2017c). *Environment and biodiversity*. Retrieved 14 April, 2017 from http://www.sustainablepalmoil.org/environment-biodiversity/

Sustainable Palm Oil Transparency Toolkit (SPOTT). (2017d). *Greenhouse gases*. Retrieved 14 April, 2017 from http://www.sustainablepalmoil.org/greenhouse-gas-emissions/

Sustainable Palm Oil Transparency Toolkit (SPOTT). (2017e). *Growers*. Retrieved 4 May, 2017 from http://www.sustainablepalmoil.org/growers/

Talocchi, J. (2014, June 2). 10 reasons to save the Indonesian peat (wait, peat? What's that?). *Greenpeace*. Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/9-reasons-save-peat-wait-whats/

Thean, J. M. (2013, May 6). Corporate: New RSPO rules weigh down certification premium. *The Edge Malaysia*. Retrieved 23 April, 2017 from https://global-factiva-com.esc-web.lib.cbs.dk:8443/ga/default.aspx

Timmermans, S. & Epstein, S. (2010). A world of standards, but not a standard world: Toward a sociology of standards and standardization. *Annual Review of Sociology, 36*, 69-89

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). (2016). *Palm oil and children in Indonesia. Exploring the sector's impact on children's rights.* Retrieved 4 May, 2017 from https://www.unicef.org/indonesia/Palm_Oil_and_Children_in_Indonesia.pdf

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). (2017). *World population trends*. Retrieved 2 May, 2017 from http://www.unfpa.org/world-population-trends

United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). (2017). *Carbon sequestration.* Retrieved 15 May, 2017 from https://www.nrs.fs.fed.us/niacs/carbon/forests/carbon_sequestration/

Vartiala, S. & Ristimäki, S. (2014). The law of the jungle. Corporate responsibility of Finnish palm oil purchases. *Finnwatch.* Retrieved 4 May, 2017 from https://www.finnwatch.org/images/palmoil.pdf

Vergano, F. (2015, November 25). Detrimental effects of 'no palm oil' label in the EU. *Palm Oil Today.* Retrieved 11 April, 2017 from http://palmoiltoday.net/detrimental-effects-of-no-palm-oil-label-in-the-eu/

Verité. (2013a). *Sustainable palm oil? Promoting new measures to combat risks of forced labour and human trafficking in palm oil supply chains.* Amherst, MA, USA: Verité

Verité. (2013b). *Labor risks in palm oil production: Findings from multi-country research.* Amherst, MA, USA: Verité

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. (2017). *Primary, secondary, and tertiary sources*. Retrieved 13 May, 2017 from http://www.lib.vt.edu/help/research/primary-secondary-tertiary.html

World Growth. (2011). *The economic benefit of palm oil to Indonesia.* Retrieved 4 May, 2017 from http://worldgrowth.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/WG_Indonesian_Palm_Oil_Benefits_Report-2_11.pdf

World Wildlife Fund (WWF). (2017a). *Palm oil*. Retrieved 3 May, 2017 from https://www.worldwildlife.org/industries/palm-oil

World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). (2017b). *Palm oil: Productive and versatile.* Retrieved 13 April, 2017 from http://wwf.panda.org/what_we_do/footprint/agriculture/palm_oil/about/

Yeung, H. W. (1997). Critical realism and realist research in human geography: A method of a philosophy in search of a method? *Progress in Human Geography, 21*(1), 51-74

Zacharewicz, H. (2017, March 27). Miljøorganisationer: Bæredygtig palmeolie bedre end ingen palmeolie. *Verdens Bedste Nyheder*. Retrieved 14 April, 2017 from https://verdensbedstenyheder.dk/nyheder/miljoeorganisationer-baeredygtig-palmeolie-bedre-ingen-palmeolie/

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Brief introduction to the study:
This interview is conducted to inform two studies. Our studies explore the internal activities of RSPO as a multi-stakeholder initiative, focusing on which actors and strategies drive the key debates and the work leading to resolutions being tabled. In particular, we are focusing on the debates and resolutions concerning smallholder inclusion, human rights, greenhouse gas emissions and zero deforestation and how these have evolved over time. We are also interested in learning more about the influence of external factors on the mission and activities of RSPO, focusing especially on the emergence of competing standards such as ISPO and MSPO. We believe these are some key issues to investigate, as the degree of balance in stakeholder participation and resulting strategies in promoting different agendas also holds some importance to the perceived legitimacy of RSPO as an MSI.

The questions in this study will therefore focus on your role in furthering these debates and in tabling resolutions at the General Assembly. They will especially revolve around which strategies you and your organisation employ in pushing certain agendas in RSPO and which types of work you undertake in the process of creating and tabling a resolution at the General Assembly.

Your participation in this study is voluntary, and you may withdraw at any time. With your permission, the interviews will be recorded and transcribed. If you wish, you can receive a transcript of this interview. We expect the interview to last approximately an hour.

Introduction:
1. For the record, do you give consent to be interviewed and recorded?
2. Please define your current/previous role/s within the RSPO.
3. In your opinion, what is the purpose of RSPO? Do you think it has changed since its inception?
4. What is the best way to promote your ideas and interests in RSPO?

RSPO as an MSI:
5. How does RSPO balance the differing interests of its members? Are there any ways you think it could perform better in this respect?

Agenda promotion:
6. The first resolution you sponsored was the [name of resolution]. Can you please explain to us the history about how it emerged and what type of work you did to get it there?
7. Have you been successful in proposing all resolutions that you wanted to propose? Why/why not? Has this changed over time? Please elaborate.
8. What does it depend on, whether a resolution makes it to the agenda or not?
    a. In your perception, are there certain organisational characteristics that contribute to successfully bringing resolutions to the General Assembly agenda?
    b. Is there a relation between the content of resolutions and the time you proposed it at?
9. Based on meeting minutes from the General Assembly, Board of Governors, and working groups, we have identified [sub-questions a-d depending on the role of the interviewee]:

a. four strategies that are often employed when furthering the smallholder agenda: (1) organisations represent smallholder interests within the RSPO, (2) education of smallholders in the skills and knowledge necessary to obtain RSPO certification, (3) re-defining membership rules to enable the participation of smallholders in the RSPO, and (4) diverting financial resources towards smallholders. Do you recognise these as important to your work on smallholders in RSPO? If yes, would you elaborate?

b. three strategies that are often employed when furthering the GHG agenda: (1) the development of and educating in tools to measure carbon footprints, (2) highlighting the relationship between RSPO's credibility and incorporation of GHG considerations, (3) re-defining RSPO standards to incorporate GHG. Do you recognise these as important to your work on GHG in RSPO? If yes, would you elaborate?

c. three strategies that are often employed when furthering the Biodiversity and HCV agenda: (1) lobbying the Indonesian government to make it illegal to plant oil palm on HCV areas, (2) education of CBs and capacity building of HCV assessors, and (3) sanctioning members for land clearing without prior HCV assessment. Do you recognise these as important to your work on Biodiversity and HCV in RSPO? If yes, would you elaborate?

d. four strategies that are often employed when furthering the human rights agenda: (1) shifting focus to the social HCVs, (2) educating members in respecting human rights, (3) enabling the human rights debate to unfold by creating a Human Rights Working Group, and (4) monitoring and sanctioning members through the complaints mechanism. Do you recognise these as important to your work on human rights in RSPO? If yes, would you elaborate?

Membership collaboration/tension:

10. From which group or membership category do you receive the most support/meet the most opposition in your work to promote your agenda, specifically in terms of your [biodiversity and HCV and/or greenhouse gas emissions reduction and/or smallholders and/or human rights] agenda(s)? Has this changed over time?

Wrap up:

11. Can you please list three events that have been important turning points in RSPO's history? Why were these turning points?

    a. How (if at all) do you think the emergence of other sustainability standards in the palm oil industry (such as ISPO and MSPO) have affected RSPO's ways of working?

12. Do you have any final questions or comments? Are there any questions you think we should be asking that we are not?

Appendix B: Transcribed Interview with Social NGO A

Tove: Yes. Let's just - we're just gonna double check that the recording is up and running. It's good, great. So just then for the record: Do you give your consent to be interviewed and recorded?

Respondent: Yes.

Tove: Thank you. So could you please define your current and also previous roles within the RSPO?

Respondent: Well I work with [Social NGO A], I'm based in Ghana. And I sometimes participate in the Smallholder Working Group meetings in Malaysia. But for the last two years I have not participated physically. But I do send my comments, if any, or discussions during those meetings.

Tove: Okay, great. And also just so we have that, you are the oil palm manager of West Africa for [Social NGO A], right?

Respondent: Yes.

Tove: Great. So how would you say that the RSPO balances the different interests of its members and are there any ways you think they could perform this, do this better?

Respondent: Well I'll say that normally RSPO communicates with members through their website. Normally, information includes issues for public consultations at the website and then in some cases emails are sent to members to be aware of maybe consultation issues at our website, then you visit and you contribute towards the discussion. So normally that's how RSPO communicates with their members. In some of the countries we have task forces. So RSPO also sends mails to the Secretariats of their task forces and then members are informed of activities going on. And then during the RSPO conferences, before RSPO, any RT, issues are circulated, and especially through the RSPO website, for people to bring their ideas, their comments. This is how RSPO really communicates with its members.

Tove: And that's also the way they balance the interest then of the members, that's through this structure that you just described.

Respondent: Yes. If members really have issues, they can officially send a mail to the RSPO Secretariat to the right people, those [inaudible 3:08, sounds like 'who have'] membership there, so you have Greenhouse Gas Working Committee, so depending on the issue, you can send an email to the right people at the Secretariat for consideration.

Tove: Great, interesting. So now we want to talk a little bit about how you, from [Social NGO A], how you promote your agenda, and we know that [Social NGO A] has sponsored one resolution so far in the history of the RSPO and it's on the General Assembly number nine in 2012, and it was called

'The Application of and Reporting against Relevant Principles and Criteria across all Member Sectors'. So if you would please explain to us the history of how that resolution came up and how it emerged and what kind of work you did to get it onto the General Assembly agenda.

Respondent: Which resolution are you - the one that was done last year?

Tove: It was in 2012. We've seen in the meeting minutes that you were co-sponsoring, or co-signatories, of a resolution on, that regarded the application of and reporting against relevant principles and criteria across all member sectors.

Respondent: 2012?

Tove: Yes.

Respondent: I am not aware of that one.

Tove: Okay.

Respondent: But what we do is, because, [Social NGO A] has offices in Africa, Latin America. We have [Social NGO A] representation on some of the RSPO taskforces. So what we do is we collect comments from each region. And then our representative on the RSPO Board, or on the RSPO Committee, will then officially send mail to, or not a mail but an official letter to the RSPO Secretariat about our stand. Because we normally work with smallholders. We work a lot with smallholder farmings. Very few plantations. So if there are issues about the RSPO P&C, that's what really affects smallholders, then we come out to officially report to RSPO that 'yes, we are working with the smallholders on the ground, and we believe that with this you're… with the P&C, if it's, the way it stands, if nothing is done about it then it will end up marginalising smallholder farmings'. And most of the time, the RSPO P&C takes into considerations happenings in Indonesia or let's say Southeast Asia without the African context. So we in Africa, based on the situation on the ground, we also tell our colleagues in the Netherlands, who really deal directly with the RSPO Secretariat. We send our comments, present issues to them. And then they can send official letters to the Secretariat.

Tove: Okay. So you're very involved in the task force work it sounds like?

Respondent: Yes, on the smallholder. But in Ghana I serve as a Secretariat to the National Interpretation Task Force. So anytime the RSPO P&C is reviewed, or is revised, I have to get industry people together for us to also revise the national interpretation.

Tove: And how would you, for [Social NGO A] how useful would you say the promotion of resolution is for you to get your agenda through?

Respondent: For us we see it as very, very important. If we don't send such resolutions, then some of the RSPO P&Cs would be, I mean, would stay as it is, and then our people would not be able to go through the RSPO certification. So for example last year, we sent a resolution on the new planting procedures for smallholders. We have to really act [for it] to be suspended because the NPP for

smallholders, the procedures were not so clear. So we said, you know, 'if we allow it to go as it stands, then our smallholders will not be able to go through the RSPO certification, they'll be marginalised'. So then we have to really let the RSPO know, based on our experience on the ground with smallholder farmers. So for us, resolutions are really, really important, because if you don't really act fast, and it's accepted as the [inaudible 8:11] reason then it's difficult for you to repress it. So for us it's really important. You have issues, once you have a case then we have to really put it across and get support from other RSPO members to get it done.

Tove: So you proposed one last year and then we have seen this in 2012, how come [Social NGO A] hasn't proposed more earlier during the existence of RSPO?

Respondent: Well I can't - that one is difficult for me, because I joined [Social NGO A] only in 2010, I got involved in RSPO activities 2010-2011. So, maybe there were no issues, and we started getting actively involved in RSPO activities in Ghana around, in 2012, let me say 2012, as part of our oil palm program. Because earlier we didn't have funding to really be on the ground, work with people, go through the P&C. Yes, we supported the national interpretation process, but the actual implementation on the ground we were really not involved. But we've always got to be involved, we realised that 'no, there are issues we need to look at, or else we will not be able to comply, I mean, actors and the NGOs will not be able to comply with the standard'. So you know, until you start implementing the RSPO standard, you may not see the challenges on the ground, for it to be amended. Maybe we didn't start earlier because we started the certification process late, so that's why earlier we didn't maybe send any resolution or any complaints.

Tove: Ah, okay. So, would you say then that the ones, when you've tried to, have you been successful in proposing all the resolutions that you wanted to propose? And if so, why or why not? And has this changed over time, from as long as you've been in the organisation?

Respondent: Please come again, I didn't really get your question well.

Tove: So the question is, I think it's just a clarification from what you said earlier, but if you - so every time RSPO, sorry, [Social NGO A] wants to propose a resolution, you have been able to do so? Or have there been any obstacles in order to propose resolutions to the General Assembly agenda?

Respondent: Normally it's not only [Social NGO A], because we do get other people on board with us, it's not only us working with smallholders or working in the sector. So what we do is, once we've identified a case we also ask other people in other regions whether they're also facing the same problem, and then together we put the resolution together.

Tove: Okay…

Respondent: [interrupts Tove] If we are alone, we won't get enough support, but we need the support of all other RSPO members, other environmental NGOs, social NGOs, growers themselves. So we look at the issue, the issues affecting the most people. Then we believe that we have a case, and then we can rally other people to really send a resolution to RSPO.

Tove: That's interesting. So then would you say that - because we've noticed that some resolutions are sponsored only by one organisation, and sometimes the ones we've seen from [Social NGO A] they're co-sponsored with large groups. Would you say that - what does it depend on whether a resolution makes it to the agenda or not? Is it because of their organisational characteristics of the member that is proposing, or is it more a matter of the content of the resolutions and the time, like the year you propose it at?

Respondent: I think normally it has to do with the issue at stake. Because for example the last year one on NPP [inaudible 12:37] is affecting all smallholders. And since we have smallholders in Southeast Asia, Latin America, Africa, everywhere, we could just get a lot of people to really agree with us because it was going to affect most people. So the whole thing has to do with the issue at stake. Because some point to have negative impact in other areas, then you get people to support you. But if it's just going to offense only few people, minorities, already Africa is part of the Rest of the World, we are [inaudible 13:09]. But I'm sure if it had been only an African issue, maybe we wouldn't have had a lot of people supporting this whole NPP procedure for smallholders. As the cause is going to affect all smallholders wherever they are located, that's how come we got even the growers to support us. So it has to do with the issue and not the company or the NGO behind it. The issue at stake.

Tove: Okay, great, thanks.

Ida: [Respondent], I would like to ask you a little bit more about the types of work that you do, since you at [Social NGO A] work a lot with smallholders in the smallholder working group and also, it seems, with the more social agenda in the RSPO. You've already talked a little bit about it, but could you maybe tell me something else about how you work to promote the smallholders and the social agenda in your organisation?

Respondent: So as part of promoting sustainable oil palm production, we have an oil palm program that we are implementing in Ghana, Nigeria, and Cote d'Ivoire. Our ultimate is to integrate smallholders into the sustainable supply chain. So for us to do that we are going to be using RSPO certification. And for us to be able to get certified, we really need to comply with all the principles and criteria related to smallholders. So if the smallholder document is too cumbersome, you cannot go through the certification process, then we need to really let RSPO know that there are a few issues that must be resolved in the P&C that will Africa to go through the certification process. When you look at the RSPO smallholder document, that is the certification, group certification document for independent smallholders, they're talking about a minimum size of 500 hectares for a smallholder. My country, Ghana, 500 hectares you have a large plantation. We are working with smallholders with very, very small acreages. One hectare, two hectares, three hectares, five hectares. So you realise that some of the things that they are asking for do not really apply. So normally we bring in the African context for them to understand that if you are doing it this way, it won't work for African farmers. So we try and really influence, not influence, but we try to make sure that the standard that comes out for smallholders will really apply in the African context as well. Not only in Southeast Asia. So when we're implementing smallholder, varying smallholder farmers in Africa towards RSPO certification. And a lot of the lessons we have learnt feeds back into the review of the smallholder document. Currently we are still fighting over land titles. You know, you go to the document and the document is asking for land titles for, I meant he farmer should have a land title. If you come to my country,

Ghana, having a land title can take you more than ten years. And you have farmers that are not farming on their own lands, but they have leased the land. So there's no way they can get land title. Already, that issue has to be resolved. In our national interpretation, we are saying that if you have a user right, that should be accepted by the certification body. So we are still discussing with RSPO Secretariat, that must be accepted, they shouldn't limit in the, at the discretion of the certification body. No. Now the certification body will state 'I want to see land title', and they are coming - they are not coming from Africa, they are coming from Indonesia, Malaysia. So maybe Indonesia, Malaysia getting a land title, it's easy. But in my country, Ghana, here it's not easy. So in during review of such documents, you bring this on board, and then you ask that 'if you make this land title, already smallholder farmers in Africa are out. So then make it land titles or user rights, and then smallholders in Africa are covered.' So these are some of the things that we bring on board, the African context. Because most of the time, those, the consultants that bring, that develop principles and criteria have no, they've never been to Africa, so they don't know what happens in Africa. Everything is based on Indonesia, Malaysia.

Ida: Do you know if there are some of the similar issues in Latin America? Are you aware of?

Respondent: Yeah, so our office in Latin America also brings on board what happens in Latin America. And will try to make the standard applicable wherever you are and not only in Indonesia and Malaysia.

Ida: So it sounds like you, like [Social NGO A], advocate a lot for smallholder rights, and that you really try to, in a sense, re-define how RSPO have their rules for example in terms of land right, or land titles.

Respondent: Yes. So we provide input into the developments of the smallholder document. We will bring aboard the Latin American context, the African context.

Ida: How big a role does it play to [Social NGO A] to work to educate smallholders in how to live up to the P&C criteria, and maybe also to divert some financial resources towards supporting them in living up to the criteria?

Respondent: You know, RSPO has a smallholder support fund. So we normally access that funding to support smallholder activities in Africa. So for us we have the RSPO smallholder support fund projects in Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria. So that's funding available that you can access. You have to send your proposal and then you access the funding to support the smallholders. And normally anytime RSPO comes out with a new smallholder document, we pilot it in Africa to make sure that this is workable. In the groups we are working with.

Ida: Is it - do you use the smallholder support fund a lot?

Respondent: The RSPO Smallholder Support Fund, the RSSF.

Ida: Yeah, but have you been supported by them a lot, have you made a lot of applications?

Respondent: Yeah, we have a project in Ghana that we started in 2012 and then we have a project in Nigeria as well, still [Social NGO A], and then recently Cote d'Ivoire. So we've received funding from the RSSF to support smallholders, to integrate smallholders into the sustainable supply chain. And it's something to all countries, once you have a good proposal, you can always access the fund.

Ida: And how about educating the smallholders, is that something that [Social NGO A] does, trying to help them?

Respondent: Yes. So as part of the funding from the RSSF. Awareness creation is part of it. Training them in the relevant P&C, preferably, all that is required as part of the projects.

Ida: Okay, I see. And then I would like to ask you if you think that in the time that you have been in the RSPO, or with the knowledge that you have of RSPO in general, do you think that the way they define and work with sustainability has changed?

Respondent: Well, I don't think it has changed but I still think they're asking for, they're making it more stringent so that - to close all the loopholes, so that people will not take advantage of the system and then produce unsustainably. So I'm seeing it to be - RSPO certi - I mean, RSPO is asking for more transparency, pushing for more sustainability, activities on the ground.

Ida: How about the social aspect of sustainability, human rights or labour rights?

Respondent: Yeah so for labour rights - in fact, everything that's really in the standard. When you look at the standard it says, it talks so much about the labour rights. If you really, really, really want to be RSPO certified then you have no option than to comply with the rules or to meet the criteria and practices where it's talking about employees, the communities, so you have to do the free, prior, informed consent. For me, I have seen RSPO as a good tool. Because even the smallholders we are working with in Ghana here, for some of them they have, their land have been sold to big time - to a big plantation. And because of RSPO, you know, the smallholders are aware that the plantation cannot really sack them from the land, or they cannot really cut down their trees. They know that if anything, they'll have to sit down with them, they'll have to negotiate. So that alone has [inaudible 23:25, sounds like 'given'] us a way. The plantation is also aware that they cannot just one day get up and cut down all the trees, you may have to really talk to the people, talk to the smallholders. So RSPO is really serving as a check on a lot of things that people would have done without consultation. So for me it's really, really important. It has come at the appropriate time, and we really have to push for everybody going through the certification process. Just make the criterias as simple as possible so that people can go through them.

Ida: And do you think that, in the time you've been in the RSPO, do you feel like other members, other NGOs or growers or retailers, have emphasised this stakeholder engagement, or this free, prior, and informed consent more?

Respondent: As far as I'm concerned, in my country, it's been/being done. I don't know what really happens in other areas. Yes. But I'll say that in areas where you develop as a conglomerate, for example in Liberia, you know, there's no way you can come up with new planting without free, prior, and informed consent. Because there are NGOs there that will immediately report you to the RSPO

Secretariat. So that means, the RSPO standard is putting people on their toes. And then the right things are being done. But I don't know what happens in other countries. But Ghana, yes, we are doing it in Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire. Following the standard.

Ida: We talked a little bit about, earlier, about how different members need to support each other when tabling resolutions. So I'm wondering, is there a certain stakeholder or a certain membership group, which you get a lot of support from in your work?

Respondent: Well, as social NGOs, we really work with other social NGOs. But as stated earlier, everything depends on the issue at stake. So whatever issues that you have, if it's good, it really affects a lot of people, then whether they are growers, or if they are environmental NGOs then they understand your course, they really support you in the voting.

Ida: How about in terms of opposition, is it the same or are there some groups that you meet more opposition from?

Respondent: No, well, for us what we normally do is to get… if it… you look at the issue at stake, which other NGOs you'll really need to support you in this, your cause, so then you start engaging them. So once you have a good case, you get them to support you.

Ida: Okay. Do you think there are any membership categories in the RSPO that has more influence than others, in general?

Respondent: I don't think so, because we can have a proportion on the Board and the membership - once you are a member, you'll have a voting right. Everybody has just one vote. So I don't see that kind of…any group being more powerful than others. It all comes down to voting - so it's more of maybe lobbying. If you have a - like I said, if you really have a good cause, you definitely have - you can easily convince people that 'this is my case'. This is how my case is going to affect my smallholders or - I mean that's be the effect. For one we'll see that to have negative impact, you get their support for your solutions.

Tove: So you say that once you have a good cause or a good case, then it's not a problem. Could you define what defines a good cause?

Respondent: Well if you have a good case, so for us the NPP procedures for smallholders. You are saying that every smallholder, irrespective of the size, should go through the NPP procedures, which includes GIS [Geographic Information System, ed.] mapping, land use change analysis, social impact - social environmental impact assessment. So if you are saying that irrespective of the size, if I'm doing new planting - so you have a smallholder in Africa who is just going to do one acre. You expect the one, that one farmer to go through this process? No! That is really not feasible, it's so costly. So I say that we need it transformed. So definitely when you discuss this with all other members, they'll understand you that 'how do I expect a smallholder farmer and a plantation to do the same thing when they are expanding?' So it's like 'If I'm expanding by 100 ha. And I'm also expanding by one acre, and you expect us to do the same things?' No! Definitely you can get people to support that, no this will not work in terms of the money involved and other activities after that, that have to be done. So with you coming up with all the issues that will affect or I mean the impact of the standard or

whatever it is that RSPO is coming up with, the impact on smallholders. Definitely when people read into it they'll see the sense in what you are saying, you get them to really support that, 'no this will not work, it has to be reviewed'. That's how we go about these things.

Tove: Okay, thanks.

[Connection lost 29:32]

[Connection regained 31:18]

Ida: I'm sorry we lost the sound, sorry about that.

Respondent: Well that's okay.

Ida: So we were wondering if you could list a few of the events that you think have been very important in the history of the RSPO, or that have changed the way that RSPO is working?

[Long silence]

Tove: And this can be both internal and external things.

Respondent: For me, I don't know what appears as RSPO Secretariat internally, but what I can say is now we are seeing them coming up with more simplified documents for smallholders, for smallholder use. Now, in developing - coming up with standards, you know we have the Smallholder Working Group is really consulted. We have different Working Groups. And most of the time what is done is - they do things without consultation with the Smallholder Working Group. So everything is done without having smallholders in mind. But now this one is changing because the Smallholder Working Group is pushing for members to be on various Working Groups to be able to push forward the agenda of smallholders. So now you see more simplified versions of what the plantations, what the big guys are supposed to do. You have simplified versions for what the smallholders will have to do. So that's what I can say that now we have simplified versions for smallholders.

Ida: Do you think - I'm not sure if you can answer this question - but do you think that the emergence of other sustainability standards, such as the ISPO or the MSPO, have affected the way that [Social NGO A] works or the way that the RSPO works?

Respondent: No for us we are still working with the RSPO standard. But what we do is that if there's a national standard, and the farmers we are working with will really have to meet that standard. Then you support them to go through that standard. So in the case of ISPO, the one that's in Indonesia, the [Social NGO A] office in Indonesia will have to work with their smallholders to also go through that kind of, the standard. Plus the RSPO standard being the international one. So we don't really have problems, no. For us, you know, certification is really, really market-driven. So if - as part of our work, we always want our farmers, we want to see improvements in their livelihoods and incomes. Well if the market wants ISPO - what the market wants, that's what we have to work with. We know that the RSPO is the global one, that's the [inaudible 34:41] so working with all standards.

Ida: So what you're saying is that the market prefers the RSPO to a lot of the other standards?

Respondent: Yes, well for us in Ghana here the RSPO is what the market is asking for. We don't even have any other standard.

Ida: Do you know if it's the same in Indonesia or Malaysia?

Respondent: I have no idea.

Ida: Okay.

Respondent: My colleagues there would know. But they know of the ISPO, the Indonesia one. So they are looking at jurisdictional approach. But it's definitely, if you are working with farmers and you want to improve market access, you also have to support them in the ISPO plus the RSPO.

Ida: Yeah. And talking about the RSPO more in general, it seems to be a quite - like you're also talking about now - it seems to be a quite successful standard and the market is taking it up well, at least the companies. Why do you think the RSPO is so successful?

Respondent: Well maybe for now, we don't have other sustainability standards globally. I don't think we have come to a success. The RSPO is the most suitable global standard for oil palm. And we have a lot of financial institutions also asking for RSPO certification before they give out financing. Because everybody is thinking about deforestation and once you're RSPO certified, you know you have not really abused primary forest for your production. So it's because others relevant to the [inaudible 36:37] also demanding that. And that's why maybe I'll say RSPO has been successful.

Ida: Yeah. Do you think that there's something that the RSPO could improve in years to come?

Respondent: Yeah I'll want to see that. See, for now, the market is not really able to consume all the certified palm oil. So we're not really getting high premiums. So what they need for smallholders [inaudible 37:09] here in Africa that 'whether I'm RSPO certified or not, I can still sell my fruits or still sell my CPO'. So what we want to see is we want to push for 100% certified CPO by 2020. And then we're also talking about RSPO Next. Well we look at RSPO Next, what goes into it. We have a lot of smallholder farmers producing 60% of FFU requirements in their various countries. Yet, nobody's pushing the big guys to support them. We want to see RSPO asking 'if you want to move from RSPO to RSPO Next, then at least one of the criteria should be to support at least 500 smallholder farmers to go through RSPO certification'. Then you carry everybody along. Or else, a time will come when the big guys will be on their own, they'll decide not to work with the smallholder farmers. Because they are not RSPO certified.

Ida: Ah okay, I see. So do the smallholders in Ghana and West Africa, would they like to be RSPO Next certified if they got the support?

Respondent: No, what I'm saying is that we have the big companies going for RSPO Next. And that means you are above RSPO certification, you have obtained the certification, you want to go to the

next level. But the next level there's also principles and criteria. I want to see, or we'll want to see, as one of the criteria that the company should have supported smallholder farmers to go through RSPO certification as one of the criteria. That will push them to support smallholders. Because for now, we don't see a lot of plantations supporting smallholders to go through RSPO certification. So if we don't make conscious effort to get them to support them, they will not mind them.

Ida: Okay, I see.

Respondent: Want everybody to produce sustainably? Then we need the support from everybody to integrate the smallholders. Because the smallholders in Africa cannot work with certification without [inaudible 39:35, sounds like 'the standard's' or 'sustaining'] support.

Ida: Is this something that you are discussing with the Secretariat?

Respondent: Well I remember two years ago at the RSPO Conference I made a suggestion that if every big companies should adopt two or three groups in their personal areas, support them to go through RSPO certification, then the next five-ten years, we'll see all smallholders practicing sustainable, or implementing sustainable practices.

Ida: Okay, I see. That's very interesting. And do you think overall that the purpose of RSPO has changed, with RSPO Next and everything happening, for as long as you have been there?

Respondent: Well, I don't think it's changed. That is, if you want to move to RSPO Next then you have to make zero deforestation commitments. So it's making more, adding more to it. That go beyond what they're doing now, do something extra to save the forest, labour issues… So it's trying to get people to do the right thing, sustainably.

Ida: And is the main focus still on the environment?

Respondent: Yes. So on zero deforestation, saving the environment. All of the rare, threatened species, saving them.

Ida: Okay, I see. Alright [Respondent], thank you so much for all your answers. Do you have any other questions or comments or anything that we have not been asking that we should have asked you?

Respondent: No, because I don't know exactly what you're going to use this information for.

Ida: We're using it for [interrupted by Respondent]

Respondent: If after going through the responses you realize that you still need additional information, you can send me a mail, then I can supply you that information.

Tove: Thanks, that's very nice.

Ida: We appreciate that very much. And you are of course also welcome to email us back if you have any questions or comments or anything.

Respondent: Okay.

Ida: Thank you so much [Respondent] for taking the time, it was really nice to talk to you. We got a lot of very good information. It was very interesting.

Respondent: You're welcome.

Ida: Have a lovely day.

Respondent: You too. Bye.

Ida and Tove: Thank you. Bye.

Appendix C: Transcribed Interview with Grower

Ann-Christin: Just for the record then, do you give your consent to be interviewed and recorded?

Respondent: Yup.

Ann-Christin: Okay, perfect. Great. So, to introduce yourself a little bit, please define your current and previous roles within the RSPO, as we saw that you worked in different positions.

Respondent: Within RSPO or my current role with [Grower]?

Ann-Christin: Both. I mean, we're interested in both roles.

Respondent: Okay, so maybe I'll just start to introduce my current role. Right now, I'm the sustainability manager for [Grower]. And then, [Grower] is part of RSPO member, so we do have upstream plantations operating in Africa – central Africa, Gabon. And since 2011, [Grower] has joined RSPO as a grower member. So, my role in [Grower] right now is to assist the company to achieve RSPO certification according to their time-bound plan. And also to ensure their sustainability commitment is, well, according to the industry trend. And my previous role: Before I joined [Grower], I was working with RSPO. And at that moment, I started with the biodiversity and HCV portfolio, managing on all the relevant compliance requirements related to biodiversity and HCV. And after that, I was promoted to be the Head of Impacts. So, Head of Impacts is a new unit under RSPO at that time, which is looking at two major components. The first component is more on the research study: to study what are the real impacts that RSPO has made on the ground from all these members who has achieved certification. What are the differences from those conventional plantations or conventional supply chain players? And the second part of this impact is to actually provide a feedback loop into the management of RSPO system through various channels. One of the channels are actually RSPO's complaints system. RSPO do have a complaints system, and at that moment, I think, if we look at the complaints that we receive, there is certain key topics that we were able to evaluate and analyse and provide improvement recommendations into the RSPO system. So, that was my previous role with RSPO.

Ann-Christin: Okay, great. That sounds like you have a lot of experience. So, in your opinion, what is the purpose of the RSPO? And do you think it has changed since its inception?

Respondent: I think RSPO has grown a lot. We know that RSPO was initiated by four initial members of RSPO – Aarhus, Unilever, WWF – during 2011 right after the haze period in 1997. At that time, I think the organisations are looking into a solution on how can we actually continue with the palm oil production and consumption without really destroying the environment. So, I think that was the first concept of RSPO. However, now RSPO has turned to 15 years old, and I think the whole organisation goal has changed and become broader. So, now I think for RSPO and for us – for myself as well – I think RSPO has a very critical role to ensure that sustainable palm oil production will be the norm, will be the trend for the future of the palm oil industry. So, it's all beginning from an issue which is fire – forest fire, haze – and then slowly emerge and evolve, become an influence to the whole palm oil industry.

Ann-Christin: I mean, now in your role as representing [Grower] in RSPO… I mean, as a grower, you're very affected by this. How can you promote your ideas and interests in the RSPO?

Respondent: Very good questions. But first of all, I think we have to clarify the [Grower] participation in RSPO. Because we are not only a grower, we are also involved in the supply chain as well. So, upstream plantation is part of our business, but we do have some refineries based in the UK, based in Africa, and we do have trading business that focus on palm oil as well. So, I think in terms of how we influence RSPO and actually plant our ideas into the whole RSPO debate, I would say that [Grower] is very much involved at various levels of the RSPO Roundtable. So, we are the alternate board members representing "Rest of the World" for Africa region. And the Board actually is looking at the governance of the whole RSPO. We are also actually involved in various working groups, especially for those subjects that would be our key concerns. For example, emission reduction – when we talk about GHG – and also other working groups, such as Biodiversity Working Group, which talks about no deforestation or avoid deforestation. So, I would say that from our involvement at various levels, we would be able to influence RSPO in the decision-making process.

Ann-Christin: Okay. That sound really interesting. So, I mean, RSPO doesn't only have one kind of organisation. You say also that [Grower] is part of different, so to say, stakeholder groups. How do you think the RSPO balances these different interests of its members, and are there any ways that you think it could perform better in this respect?

Respondent: [Laughs] Yeah, when I was in RSPO, there was always complaints coming from members saying that RSPO always side [with] the growers too much. Or, on the other hand, the other party would say that RSPO is siding [with] the NGOs too much. So, I think it's a very thin balance for RSPO to achieve this kind of multi-stakeholder initiative. However, all these decisions is based on consensus and always coming from the working group levels or task force levels and going up to the Standing Committee and to the Board later. So, I would say that RSPO is trying to maintain that kind of involvement from various stakeholders. They always ensure that the stakeholders' involvement covers all membership categories. So, if the members are claiming, like… Actually, for us, [Grower], we would say that RSPO has already tried their best to involve all the stakeholder groups.

Ann-Christin: Okay. As we said beforehand also, we are also interested in the resolution that [Grower] proposed. And we see, I mean, [Grower] only joined in 2011, but then in 2012 they already co-sponsored their first resolution on the application of and reporting against relevant P&C across of all member sectors. Please explain to us the history about how this emerged and what type of work you did to get it there. So, what did you do in order to get the resolution onto the floor of the General Assembly agenda?

Respondent: I might not be able to give you the institutional knowledge about the history on how they established this resolution because that was before I joined [Grower] when I was with RSPO. But this resolution, as I mentioned in the e-mail, RSPO has changed a lot due to… Maybe not only because of this resolution but also the call for members to report on the similar principles during the ACOP period, the Annual Communication Of Progress, and the change of the members' Code of Conduct, where I think currently not only grower members but supply chain, downstream players are also playing similar. They also have a similar responsibility to report on relevant P&C criteria, Principles and Criteria, in the annual progress. And also, on the other hand, you might know that

RSPO Next was endorsed last year. And in this very new standard, it actually clearly specifies that commensurate effort from the downstream players is the key of the success of this standard. So, besides the grower members who comment to additional criteria, the supply chain members are also requested to ensure the commitments on the uptake and ensure the commitments on the greenhouse gas emission reduction and all the other relevant criteria. So, I would say that the resolution posted five years ago, now it has already been integrated as part of the RSPO system.

Ann-Christin: Okay. So, what we could see until 2015, that was the only resolution that [Grower] was proposing until now. Were you ever involved on [Grower]'s side in proposing a resolution?

Respondent: Yes. In fact, last year, we proposed a resolution related to smallholders. That was related to the smallholders, the revised New Planting Procedures, where we requested… I mean, RSPO requested all the smallholders to also comply with the New Planting Procedures. And we realised that, actually, on the ground, there are a lot of practical challenges for smallholders to comply with the RSPO standards. And without looking to the comprehensive challenges faced by the smallholders, it is going to be a failure. And we can expect three years later, we will be notified that a lot of smallholders they are not complying with the New Planting Procedures. And we can already foresee that kind of an outcome. So, I think last year, together with other social NGOs and also companies, we proposed a resolution to re-look into the smallholder strategy.

Ann-Christin: Okay. And was that the only resolution you wanted to propose, or have you been successful in proposing all the resolutions that you wanted to propose?

Respondent: That was the resolution that we proposed, the only resolution that we proposed. And it was passed at the GA last year.

Ann-Christin: Okay. I can see that you work a lot also in Board of Governors and working groups. So, do you see that resolutions are then a good way to promote your interests as [Grower]?

Respondent: Actually, it is a good way to inform the wider members on the concern of all these critical decisions at the GA itself. Because GA is one of the platforms that we can actually touch base with thousands of members, either through the electronic platform or through the physical meetings. However, that is not the only platform that we can actually propose changes to the RSPO system. In fact, I think it is more routine and more effective that we involve – as RSPO members – we involve in the working groups that talk a lot about the technical challenges and also propose some improvements and also involvement in the board. I feel like all these platforms are equally important. GA is only once a year and other platforms like the Board of Governors and working groups, they are meeting more frequently to look into the progress of RSPO a bit closer. So, I would say that… Yeah, good to propose a resolution on critical change during the GA, and that it could actually communicate widely to all the members. However, it think the continuous involvement in the various working groups and Board of Governors is equally important.

Ann-Christin: Okay. So, just as a last question in regards to the resolution: What does it depend on, whether a resolution makes it to the agenda or not? Or whether you propose it? Is that certain characteristics or is that the context of what is happening at the moment?

Respondent: Well, when we propose a resolution, we try to involve other membership categories before even we submit a proposal. So, it will give us a higher chance to craft a proposal which is more

rounded and more comprehensive. So, the first criteria that we always look into – whether we are going to support a resolution or not – is to look at who are the proponents of the resolution. Is it multi-stakeholders? And then, if that topic actually has been addressed by the RSPO internally or not. If it's really an issue that we need to bring up to the GA, yes, then we would definitely like to be part of the resolution proponents. And when you ask about what resolution can be accepted or not accepted, I think at the backend RSPO Secretariat is tasked to look into the resolutions submissions. And whatever resolution has been submitted before the deadline, by default we will accept the resolution. However, if there is a legal check, if the resolution is actually against our statutes or is against the law, then the RSPO Secretariat might be able to communicate to the proponent and say that this resolution is not able to bring forward to the GA.

Ann-Christin: Okay, so the legal check is happening, and otherwise it's, like topic-wise, it's free to whomever proposes.

Respondent: Correct.

Ann-Christin: Great. Thank you.

Josephine: So, [Respondent], I'm gonna take over from here. My name is Josephine, and I'd like to talk a bit more to you about your work as a member of the Biodiversity and HCV Working Group and as a member of the Greenhouse Gas Working Group. So, could you tell me a bit more about the work that you do to promote the greenhouse gas agenda and the biodiversity-HCV agenda, and if this work has changed over time?

Respondent: Yes, in fact, I think, let's start with the Emissions Reduction Working Group. There was a history behind this working group because when the first 2005 Principles and Criteria was published, the working group was formed to support on two items: one is on the GHG reduction, the other one is on the peatland protection. So, at that time, I think the working group was named as GHG Emission Working Group 1 and Working Group 2, and they have a sub-group of Peat Land Working Group. So, at that time, I think the major outcome of the group is to actually… First, they produce some very clear guidelines to all the RSPO grower members on peat avoidance and also study the GHG emission related to oil palm planting on peat. And they do have also published some papers to look into where exactly are oil palm plantations that are established on forest. So, they have conducted some kind of land-use change analysis across Malaysia, Indonesia, and Papua New Guinea as well to look into land-use change. And since 2013, when we have the new revised P&C, there are new criteria introduced into the RSPO standard. So, as you know, the whole 7.8 is a new criteria that talks about emission reduction, including avoidance of high carbon-stock area or prioritise planting on low carbon-stock area. So, then I think a Emission Reduction Working Group was formed to support members to achieve this requirement. And our involvement started from 2013 when we had the revised P&C, and then after that we involved directly into the Emission Reduction Working Group. So far, for the working group itself – not only from our end – but the working group has actually developed RSPO Calculator that can be used by RSPO members to report on their GHG emission for existing plantings and also for new plantings. So, the new plantings should aim to lower the emissions. And for us, I think, based on our experience, it is achievable. In fact, based on the calculation, we are able to produce a carbon-neutral oil, climate-friendly new plantings, based on various guidance provided by the RSPO working group, Emission Reduction Working Group. So, I would say that the major component led by the Emission Reduction Working Group is, first of all, new plantings should be

lower emissions, and they have developed very useful tools – the Carbon Assessment Tool, RSPO GHG Calculator – and also helping the members to monitor their emission reduction. But moving forward, I think the group right now is focused more on the smallholders' inclusiveness. So, how can smallholders apply this tool for their expansion area.

Josephine: That was a really great and comprehensive explanation, [Respondent]. Thank you for that. Can you tell us a bit more now about the work that you do in the biodiversity and high conservation value agenda?

Respondent: Yeah, that is even more interesting [laughs]. Because I was directly involved at the Secretariat at that time as their Biodiversity Manager, facilitate the working group, and then join [Grower] and return back to the working group as a member of the working group.

Josephine: Yeah, so you've seen it from more sides.

Respondent: Yeah, both sides – seen from both sides, involved both sides. Correct.

Josephine: That's great.

Respondent: So, I think earlier on, the Biodiversity Working Group, they had a sub task force, which is called Compensation Task Force. I think it's very famous. You've probably heard about that. They look into those areas developed after 2005 without HCV assessment. And I think after long previous discussion, the group has come up with a certain protocol on how to deal with this kind of situation. And it is a very, very novel concept, even if we look at other certifications, like the FSC, or other standards that has a cut-off date. I think, right now, they're looking at this concept to also replicate this concept into their certification standard as well. So, Compensation Task Force has completed their task to come up with a protocol to deal with the HCV non-compliance issue after 2005, and now I think the monitoring of the projects is done by Biodiversity Working Group. So, that is one part of the major tasks by the Biodiversity Working Group members. In addition to the compensation projects, I think the working group right now is also focused on… First one, same to Emission Reduction Working Group, is about smallholders: How can smallholders apply all these RSPO biodiversity and HCV requirements with a simplified methodology but without compromising the RSPO standard. So, smallholders, that is one. And the second part, I think is to also look into other biodiversity and HCV related criteria within the standard. For example, the Biodiversity Working Group is currently looking into riparian protection and restoration and giving some clear guidance to the members on what exactly a certified company should do with regards to the riparian protection.

Josephine: Okay. That sounds great. So, we've been looking through your meeting minutes, [Respondent]. And for the Greenhouse Gas agenda, we've identified some strategies that we think you employ quite often in trying to further this greenhouse gas emission agenda. So, there are three strategies we have found. And the first is that you develop and you educate in tools to measure carbon footprints. The second one is that you try to highlight the relationship between the credibility of the RSPO and then that you incorporate greenhouse gas emission considerations. And the final one is that you try to redefine the standards to incorporate greenhouse gas considerations. Can you recognise these three strategies as important in your work, and can you elaborate a little bit maybe?

Respondent: Yeah, I think all these are very critical strategies. For example, the first one: Just now, when we discussed about the Emissions Reductions Working Group, that is one of the key outputs

related to the criteria 5.6 and 7.8, where I think a standardised measurement tool must be given to the members, so all of us can report based on the same framework. So, it has been developed, and it is very useful to also educate the members on what are the key elements in plantation set-up that can impact our GHG emissions. So, now we actually know that if you have conversion of planting on peat, that would be a major emission source. If we have any land-use change, land-use change would be also a major source. And the other part would be the POME, the palm oil mill effluent, that would be another third source of major emission for the GHG. So, I think the first strategy is very critical for all the RSPO members. In terms of the credibility and related to the GHG emission, I think that is also important because there are some compliance by the European market customers, and we actually knew that, for example, some competitive standards, such as ISCC, they are also looking into this aspect, and that it is very important for RSPO to also consider GHG as part of the standard itself. So, I think earlier on, RSPO is trying to come out with a separate standard that can actually fulfil the biofuel products requirements, and RSPO RED was created solely for this purpose, yeah, about GHG credibility.

Josephine: Great, thank you. Moving on to the HCV and biodiversity agenda then, we have also identified some strategies that you use. And so, the first one is educating certification bodies and doing capacity building of HCV assessors. And the second one is that you sanction members for land clearing without prior HCV assessment – this Compensation Task Force that you were talking about before. And then, finally, we've seen some efforts to try to lobby the Indonesian government or universities that have influence in certain ministries in order to make it illegal in Indonesia to plant oil palm on HCV areas.

Respondent: [Laughs] Yeah, okay. So, I would like to elaborate a little. I'm quite surprised that you are aware about that HCV conflict issue under the Indonesian law as well. But let's talk about the CB and HCV assessors. Three years ago, I think RSPO has the responsibility to approve to actually evaluate the performance of the HCV assessors and the certification body capacity to conduct their audits against the HCV standard on the ground. But I think RSPO has made a good move by making it independently monitor through a credible organisation. So, nowadays, I think all the HCV assessments must be conducted by the HCV Resource Network licensed assessors. And all the reports will be published on the HCV Resource Network. And for the high-risk areas, based on the HCV Resource Network definition, they would also request the HCV report to be peer reviewed. So, it could ensure that the quality of the reports is very very top notch, yeah? If you recall earlier on when I talked about those complaints submitted to RSPO, majority of the complaints, we can say that this are related to the quality of the HCV assessment as well. Because if the quality is bad, and it reflects to the operation, and later it will lead to issues on the ground, so I think it all begins with the good quality of the HCV assessments. And we rest assure right now that HCV Resource Network licensed assessors are monitored by the credible organisation. And in terms of the certification body, I'm not sure whether you are aware the RSPO has engaged with ASI, Accreditation Standard International.

Josephine: Yes.

Respondent: Yes. So, they have engaged ASI to monitor the performance of CBs, and CBs are actually bound to compliance check and also witness check by this independent body. And all these quality performance evaluation reports are also published on the website, on the ASI website. And any under-performing certification body will be suspended by ASI. So, I think the major quality issue that arises from CB and HCV assessors, we can say that it has been resolved at this moment, and we are

just hoping that more and more CB and assessors can actually reach to the standard set by ASI or HCV Resource Network. Yeah. And you talk about the second strategy on sanction of non-HCV compliance. Yes, I think that is a very critical role of RSPO, but the awareness of RSPO members on HCV compliance is, I would say, is the highest at this moment. You can see from the latest impacts report, the HCV area has increased 9 per cent again year-to-year comparison, where we look at the impacts of the RSPO.

Josephine: That's very impressive.

Respondent: Yeah. I think, today, RSPO members are very much aware about their responsibility to take care of HCV, however…

Josephine: Sorry for interrupting. Do you think that this sanctioning mechanism has something to do with that?

Respondent: The sanctioning mechanism has actually not a lot of growers at that time, yeah. But not only about this compensation but also other sanctions that comes from NPP non-compliance. Because there was other announcement made by RSPO that the membership will be suspended if you do not comply to the NPP, and part of the NPP is about HCV as well. And when compensation procedure was announced, all the members are required to declare their liability if they have cleared any HCV, so that would also allow RSPO to communicate a clear message to the members, saying that if you are not going to comply with the HCV, that would be the punishment, that would be the sanction that you can't escape. Otherwise, you won't be able to get a certification. So, it is clearly a very huge impact to the production, for the producers. And when we talk about the sanction… Just now, I would like to mention that some of the government, the regional government has not supported the HCV protection. So, you bring up the issue of Indonesia: I think they do have a conflicting legal requirement for the growers to develop within their 'izin lokasi', within their land permit. And it actually creates some issues for the growers to protect the HCV and set that aside as a non-plantable area, so it would be considered as a non-productive area by the government. But I think one of the task forces formed by the BHCV Working Group has looked into this method. It is very much related to the district government and how they interpret the regulations. There are some regulations that clearly specify the need for the growers to protect the forest zone within their concession as well, but somehow there are also other competing laws. So, RSPO has tried to also look into this method on a wider horizon by looking at the jurisdictional certification. So, with this approach, we are able to engage with the government directly, and then get the government involved into the process, understand the RSPO, and try to resolve any kind of conflicting legal requirement that is not supporting the RSPO standard. So far, I see positive feedbacks from Central Kalimantan, see positive feedbacks from the Sumatran regional government as well, and these two regions are the major palm oil producer regions as well.

Josephine: Okay. So, you engage with the government on a very local level, you say. But RSPO has also collaborated a bit with ISPO on HCV and Free, Prior and Informed Consent. Is that right?

Respondent: Yeah, correct. RSPO has conducted a study together with ISPO to make a comparison on the standards: where exactly are the similarities and where are the differences. But I think the study concluded that, actually, the requirements are very much aligned. Except that ISPO focus a lot on the legal requirements, where they have no legal requirements saying that, okay, you have to protect HCV. I think that is one difference from RSPO: RSPO is above legal requirements, so members are required to act above the legal requirement.

Josephine: Okay, great. Now, we are talking a lot about biodiversity and greenhouse gas and these different stages and the different work that you have been doing. Do you think that RSPO's definition of sustainability is changing or has changed?

Respondent: Yeah, it is definitely changing all the time [laughs]. Yeah, yeah. How we define sustainability is based on RSPO standards, and then the standards are changed from 2005 to 2013, and then now, RSPO just announced their P&C review period again. So, I think the standard will again change by 2018. So, it is progressive target, then and it will get more and more. I mean, it is a multi-stakeholders process, so we will need to hear the opinion from the downstream side: what would be the expectation of sustainable palm oil? And then the producers will try to also adapt and try to communicate on what can be achieved or what cannot be achieved.

Josephine: Yeah, I'm guessing it's a difficult balance between flexibility and then pragmatism, somehow.

Respondent: Yeah, if you have chance to get yourself an invitation to the RSPO P&C review process, I think that would be a very interesting eye-opening opportunity.

Josephine: Okay, we will look into that.

Respondent: Yeah, write to RSPO, they just started the process and they will allow the observers or experts from various parties to get involved as well.

Josephine: Alright, thank you for that tip. We'll definitely have to look into that. It sounds very interesting. Can you tell us, [Respondent], which group or membership category maybe do you receive the most support from or maybe meet the most opposition to in relation to promoting the agendas on biodiversity and greenhouse gas? Are there certain groups that are more willing to help push that agenda, or are there certain groups that are trying to push the agenda in another way maybe?

Respondent: Well, all these standards, when we speak about the GHG or the biodiversity, is written for the grower's category. So, I think the major membership category that receives the impacts is actually the grower category. But we also receive support from the downstream supply chain players, who are also currently involved in the working group, and also they are trying to match with the recent change of the requirement where about they have to also report to the RSPO on their performance in terms of greenhouse gas, yeah. But the real impacts, because it is based on the nature of the standard, the standard is written for the growers. So, hence, the growers will receive… they will need to put on more efforts to actually comply with the standards. And the downstream players, the best thing they can do is to actually show by uptaking the certified oil. I think that will be the clear message to the downstream players that what they are doing is correct, and they are supported. So, that is how it works.

Josephine: Okay. [Respondent], can you list three events that have been important turning points somehow in RSPO's history and tell us why these were turning points? You are allowed to take a minute to think about it – it's a tough question, coming up with three events. But we would be very interested to hear, in your perception, where there were some turning points in RSPO.

Respondent: Okay, maybe I will start with the first which I think should be the NPP introduction in 2010. So, that is really a very interesting procedure introduced by RSPO to the production side, whereby all the new plantings should undergo the 30 days' consultation. So, it gives chance to any

stakeholders to be aware of the upcoming development and even, of course, to the development based on the RSPO standards. So, I don't think this is implemented by any other commodity certification standard. So, it has a huge impact by increasing the transparency, the first thing, and also to get the stakeholders involved before the development. Because you understand that once oil palm is planted, then whatever values are lost will be permanent. So, I think putting consultation prior to the operation happened, it is a very critical moment for RSPO, yeah, where it was in 2010. The second event that maybe I would like to mention would be the… I want to say compensation, but compensation again is very much on addressing the issue. So, maybe I'll leave compensation, since we have already talked about that. But RSPO Next could be something interesting to discuss as well. Yeah, after we finalised the 2010 P&C, there are a lot of voices from other stakeholders groups saying that the standards are not stringent enough. Hence, they call for a different level of RSPO standards, which is RSPO Next. And to me, I think it is a double-sided sword. Why I would say that: I think those stakeholders are also involved in the P&C review process, and P&C review process is a consensus process. So, when the standard has been finalised, certain stakeholders are not satisfied and coming out with this kind of request could be quite detrimental, yeah, detrimental to the RSPO. Because we would like to see that the whole P&C review process, which is the most critical stakeholder's consultation under the RSPO, can get agreement, can get consensus from all members from all the groups. And it was endorsed at the GA, discussed by the multi-stakeholders, but again, objected by certain stakeholders groups, and it leads to the formation of RSPO Next. So, I think this element, the second event, RSPO Next, is starting really like a major movement, yeah, I will say, for RSPO.

Josephine: Can I just follow up on one thing, [Respondent], real quick? Because you said in relation to RSPO Next that some members might not be so happy with it. Could you just elaborate: Which members do you mean?

Respondent: Well, you can actually still follow back to those articles related to our RSPO P&C revision 2013. There are stakeholders from environmental NGOs or the consumer goods manufacturers, saying that the standards are not according to the expectation. And they also signed these… issued some statement after the P&C review. So, all this, I think, article published online as well.

Josephine: Okay, I see. Thank you. And do you have a final turning point in mind?

Respondent: Well, I would say that right now… the last one would be the no palm oil campaign. And it becomes more and more like a situation where I think RSPO should have control over the messaging and the campaign in those markets. I would not say that it has come to clear closure, but somehow knowing that the members, RSPO members, who are also active in certain markets, and they have made some no palm oil claims… It's really giving a wrong message to the production side, yeah? So, as I said, the best message that the downstream suppliers can give to the producers is through the uptake of CSPO. Instead of uptaking the CSPO – we know it's about 50% – instead of increasing the uptake, we are hurt by the message of no palm oil claims. So, I think this will be the third event, which I think RSPO should look more from the communication side.

Josephine: Yeah, okay. Great. When we think of turning points, we also think of maybe this emergence of some other sustainability standards within the palm oil industry, like the ISPO and the MSPO. Do you think that the emergence of these standards have affected the way that RSPO works in any way?

Respondent: I would not say that, actually, they affect the way how RSPO works. But it is a positive sign that I would like to highlight because ISPO and MSPO has legal compliance, and they make it a mandatory standard for all the producers in their countries to achieve it. So, basically, I would say that both standards can raise the floor of sustainability compliance and also encourage more upstream producers to go for higher standards. Once they have really reached to the baseline, they can actually easily go to a higher standard, international standard of RSPO.

Josephine: That's great. So, it sounds like you see them more as, actually, helping you reach your goal than as competitors.

Respondent: Yeah. Yup, yup. Exactly.

Josephine: Great. Good. Well, we are through with our questions for you, [Respondent]. Do you have any questions for us, or do you have any other comments? Are there some questions, maybe, you think that we should be asking you that we haven't asked?

Respondent: [Laughs] No, but I would like to ask your team whether you have opportunity to speak to RSPO directly?

Josephine: No, not as of yet.

Respondent: Ah, okay. And also not intended to?

Josephine: We would like to, but it's a little difficult to schedule an interview.
Respondent: Ah, okay. Let me know if I can help in any way.

Josephine: Thank you.

Respondent: I think two key person that you can speak to would be the co-chairs of RSPO board. So, both of them, I think they can give you very good point of view on where is RSPO heading to.

Josephine: Okay, that would be really great. [Respondent], thank you so much for that. We might hold you to that.

Respondent: No, not a problem.

Ann-Christin: I mean, besides this, is there… Like, if we have any other questions that maybe come up later in the process, is it okay if we contact you again? Just for some follow-up questions or clarifications.

Respondent: Yeah, not a problem. Just that… Let you all aware that I'm taking my maternity leave starting from 1ˢᵗ of April. So, I will be contactable via e-mail, my colleague will have to support in case if I'm away for too long.

Josephine: Well, good that we caught you!

Respondent: [Laughs] Yeah, just nice, the timing.

Ann-Christin: Yeah, thank you very much for talking to us. And congratulations!

Respondent: Thank you, thank you.

Josephine: Thank you for a really great interview, [Respondent].

Respondent: Okay, thanks.

Ann-Christin: Thanks.

Josephine: Have a nice day!

Respondent: Bye, everyone! Bye!

Appendix D: Transcribed Interview with Social NGO B

Ann-Christin: Just so that we have it also on the recording, do you give your consent to the recording of the interview?

Respondent: Yes, that is all right.

Ann-Christin: Then, when we have the formal stuff handled, could you maybe describe a little bit your current role or your previous roles that you have within the RSPO? So, how you work with the organisation?

Respondent: Yeah. So I'm representing one of the social NGO's in the RSPO Board and in a couple of the working groups. There are ten or so such NGO members, and I represent that group together with another social NGO representative in the RSPO Board of Governors. And I've been representing there since quite a while. [Social NGO B] has been a Board member since 2004, and I've been also a Board member and substantive Board member since the beginning. And myself and [Social NGO B] colleagues, both [Social NGO B] Indonesia as well as International [Social NGO B] representatives, have been taking part in the various working groups and task forces working on specific issues such as human rights, smallholders, the whole establishment and review of Principles and Criteria, the complaints panel, etc.

Ann-Christin: Ok, that's very interesting. We'll come back to that later. In your opinion, what is the purpose of the RSPO and do you think this has changed since the inception of the organisation?

Respondent: Well, yes. It is changing, or maybe it's not [small laugh]. It's maybe rather the way the organisation works in a achieving that, and as [Social NGO B]… We've engaged with the RSPO since such a long time because we believe that it is an important vehicle in transforming the sector, the palm oil sector, to sustainable practices. Not the only game in town, there are other ways of influencing that sector transformation but the RSPO is clearly the most prominent one. The RSPO mission to transform the sector, to transform the market so that sustainability becomes the norm, I think has been there for six years or eight years or something, quite a number of years. The way that the interventions by the RSPO has been designed to achieve that vision and mission have been focusing a lot on certification, next to a few other activities, including complaints handling. I think increasingly the RSPO is coming to realise that certification has limitations, and smallholders are a particular target group that face those limitations. So in that sense the purpose of the organisation is shifting a little bit, because of the focus it is putting on that specific tool called certification, next to other tools. So, yeah, maybe that's a bit of a long answer to the question but you're asking the question at a quite crucial moment at which the RSPO is redefining its theory of change, and that helps to make a couple of the assumption explicit. And this is one of those, and I think as [Social NGO B], we're one of the organisations really pushing to do so and to really look at achieving social and environmental impact positively rather than sort of just verifying current practices and certifying these. Which is one way of getting there, but definitely not the single and silver bullet.

Ann-Christin: So what would you say then is your best way to promote your ideas and interests in the RSPO? Because you say that it is just not about the certification?

Respondent: Yeah. So again, the official answer there is that the mission is to have a multi-stakeholder process and multi-stakeholder engagement to arrive at solutions and verifications of better practices. And that's where clearly certification does fit in. But you could do certification just as a technical instrument, without any multi-stakeholder engagement, so I think the strength of the roundtable is literally in the name "roundtable". It is literally a gathering of different stakeholders, working with the same end goal in mind from their specific perspectives, and stakeholder interest, but combining these. And therefore… You know that multi-stakeholder process is really what is crucial for the roundtable success, and maybe that also put the General Assembly, and the resolutions at the General Assembly which is part of your question, into a context. The General Assembly is the only moment in the year that the organisation is using voting as a means to take decisions, whereas all the other processes, all the other multi-stakeholder processes, are really based on consensus decision making.

Ann-Christin: Ok.

Respondent: So going there, bringing resolutions to the GA is merely a way to get confirmation through a different type of decision making, about things that the organisation should be working on in the following year, or sometimes years, multiple. It is a way of agenda setting for the organisation, but of course, a decision by the broad membership through voting does not necessarily guarantee that what's voted upon is reality the next day.

Ann-Christin: So voting is one way, what would you see is the best way for [Social NGO B] to promote the ideas and interest, for their interests, so for example local communities, smallholders etc?

Respondent: Yeah. So, I guess with the previous answer I've indicated that for decisions, even General Assembly decisions, to be implemented, you need buy in from other stakeholder groups to actually implement better practices, [inaudible 8:49, sounds like 'in'] official to those social groups. And therefore, these multi-stakeholder processes are crucial to get an understanding of the business interests, and how business interests and social and environmental interests align, and where maybe there are some carrots and some sticks to make sure that they are more broadly adopted. We as [Social NGO B] we really believe that in this specific context that engagement is crucial. It is a huge sector determined by international trade dynamics, and therefore simply putting a rule is not necessarily gonna lead to the desired effect, unless it is well embedded, well linked to existing business practices or to gradual change in business models rather than imposing a rule that goes against the, let's say the economic interest dynamics.

Ann-Christin: OK. You mention a lot that it is very much this consensus building, you need to find engagement, so how do you think that the RSPO is balancing these different interests? Is there anything that they could perform better in?

Respondent: Well, again, truly embracing the multi-stakeholder approach is key and the typical pressure between the stakeholders in the sector and therefore also in the roundtable is a little bit this game of, "who's the boss?" and "do we acknowledge, that nobody is?" If you see what I mean. So that is in very simple terms. In practice, are the buyers determining the rules? Are the producers determining the rules? Are the NGO's determining the rules? There is a constant, let's say, struggle

for power. And in practice, all instances where one of the stakeholders takes or is given too much power, or takes too much power, the solutions turn out to be least effective.

Ann-Christin: Ok. Coming back a little bit to the resolutions. When looking at the resolutions that you've sponsored, we saw that you sponsored some already in 2008, then in 2012, '13, and the last one in '15, about the smallholders. Can you maybe explain to us a bit in general, how does the history, like how does it emerge, like what kind of work do you do when you propose a resolution?

Respondent: There are different ways of arriving at a resolution but I guess your question is what, in my experience, is the best way for a successful resolution.

Ann-Christin: Yeah.

Respondent: I'll go into the specifics of the three resolutions and you'll have to remind me what they are about exactly. There are three, but I'll say more generally first that we've seen in the past resolutions by individual stakeholder categories saying "we want the General Assembly to impose a rule for producers to do X, Y, and Z." And usually those type of resolutions came from for example environmental NGOs. Or, "we propose that buyers from now on, must do A, B, and C", coming from the producers actually demanding something from the market through a resolution. Now, the voting system and the membership composition is such that you'll never get a majority by formulating a resolution from a single category position imposing it on another category. That is simplifying it, but just to illustrate that there is a wrong way of doing it, just before explaining the right way of doing it. At least in my experience, I've seen the most successful resolutions go through because they were addressing the interests of different stakeholder groups within a balanced proposal. And still, of course on an issue, that was not properly handled thus far, and the resolution making sure it got tabled and therefore got officially on the agenda and the smallholders strategy resolution 2015 is a good example of that. But maybe before going there, I'll give you another example which illustrates even more clearly... I don't think it's one of the other two that you mentioned, but I think the first resolution that [Social NGO B] submitted basically was built on the observation that we had established Principles and Criteria so we had basically defined what is sustainable and what is not sustainable. How do we verify that? So the initial certification audit had been done, and there was certified oil available, becoming available on the market. We saw the effect that the first buyers were hesitant to commit to buying large volumes because they said "well, it's only just starting, we don't want to stick our neck out first, because if we commit to big buying volumes, we're paying the price for that. There is this scarcity, so it is going to be expensive." And the producers on the other side said "you know, we can produce and certify more, but there is an investment, and there are costs to certification, and we will not certify big volumes until we see that the market is buying big volumes. So actually, the two important stakeholder groups of producers and buyers were sort of sitting on the fence, each on their side, saying "if you move, then I'll move". So as [Social NGO B] we were seeing that, and said, "Hold on, you guys both want to move, we definitely want to move, how do we break this stalemate, or how can we speed this up?". And we developed a resolution which in simple terms came down to we propose that you publicly share your commitment for the coming year in terms of your buying and producing volumes. So we proposed what has since been called the Annual Communications of Progress, in which you report what have you done last year and what are your plans for the next, so if you then add up all these plans for the next year, you can predict more clearly where the market is going and where the production volume is going, and you have a better informed decision making and therefore you have a quicker decision making and a quicker change. And since it addressed the needs

of those two other stakeholder groups sitting on their respective fences, it got majority support and it helped to move beyond this sort of hesitation phase. So just using that example as an illustration… I mean, we even took like a third party position, clearly from the interest to make the transformation go quicker, but almost mediating between different interests. And we've seen the same with the smallholder strategy resolution, that is one of the three cases you proposed, where we got different signals from different actors in the market saying "Hmm, hold on, we're doing this certification, but is it providing smallholders with better livelihood perspectives? Is it really benefiting smallholders or is it maybe that we're doing this for the bigger producers and just mitigating the negative impacts of the possible exclusion even of small producers?" And that sort concern was emerging, and various stakeholders looked at us in [Social NGO B], and said "You guys, you should be the first ones to promote a more proactive smallholder inclusion in our systems, rather than preventing exclusion." And frankly - and that is nice about these types of interviews, that I'll give you a little look into the kitchen of how did we cook up this resolution - I would not have written that resolution if I had not received those signals from different players that there was a need to get this on the table and get this formally acknowledged and addressed. We could have done this differently but there seemed to be this emerging concern and we were in the best position to connect the dots and come up with a proposal where we basically asked RSPO to start reviewing how it is addressing the needs of smallholders and how to build that in more structurally and more proactively than before.

Ann-Christin: When you now for example explain the first resolution and now the smallholder one... The first one you co-sponsored, so there were some growers in there that co-sponsored the resolution, whereas the one about the smallholders in 2015, there was just [Social NGO B] sponsoring it alone.

Respondent: No, no.

Ann-Christin: Is there a specific reason for that?

Respondent: No actually both those resolution were led by [Social NGO B], and co-sponsored by other stakeholders.

Ann-Christin: Ah ok. Then that might be something that is not written down in the minutes…

Respondent: Well then what you should do is to go back to the formal resolution text, and that will specify the co-sponsors.

Ann-Christin: Ah ok, great. We will do that.

Respondent: They are all on the website, so you can quite easily retrieve them.

Ann-Christin: Yeah. Great. Then, we saw that, as [Social NGO B] sponsored several resolutions, has that then been all the resolutions that you've tried to table, or have there been other resolutions that you actually wanted to propose but you couldn't, or, I don't know, something happened on the way?

Respondent: [Small laugh]. I'll get there, but let me first clarify another point for you. So, there are a couple of Board of Governor decisions, or rather proposals for decisions. There are a couple of things that the Board can prepare but that the General Assembly officially needs to approve. So they are within the mandate of the Board to prepare, but for the GA to confirm. The most clear example for that is the review of the Principles and Criteria. So what happens in practice is that, maybe rather a formality, that what has been prepared in the Board is then proposed to the General Assembly and

then you see those resolutions where almost a full range of Board members is co-sponsoring the resolution. So that is actually a Board's resolution to the GA. It looks the same as a members' resolution to the GA, but you see that the origin is different.

Ann-Christin: Yeah ok, so for example for the adoption of the P&C in 2013, is that what happened? 'Cause that was a lot of different organisations sponsoring it.

Respondent: Yes exactly. Those are actually the Board members. The Board is not in the position to... It does not have the mandate to bring something to the GA, like that, it's done by members. So the members in the Board then say "Ok we've agreed this, as a Board, but then as individual members then will go through the formality", let's call it like that. So that is important to understand that, where the mandate of the Board begins and ends. But the ones that you are more interested in are those that come up from individual members or from groups of members, like the smallholders strategy and the other two.

Ann-Christin: Yeah exactly, and as [Social NGO B] as an organisation for example when you have the plan of proposing something.

Respondent: Yeah, so basically, and that is why I started with those two examples because they illustrate best, you want something to be achieved, and at least you want it to get officially on the agenda, and then the GA scenario is a possible option. But of course you can also get things on the agenda in a different way, you can release a report, or you can run a public campaign, you know. There are different ways to make sure that an issue is coming on the the agenda. Or you can collaborate with another organisation that issues a critical report and then everybody sort of gets into panic, and then you can sometimes see that there is an interplay between so called outsider NGO's and insider NGO's. You know Greenpeace, or Rainforest Action Network, they raise an issue, they are not RSPO members but they are seen by members as influential so they wanna act on it and they see RSPO as a way to address that, and then WWF and [Social NGO B] and other insider NGO members actually have even a better position in the negotiation because there is this external pressure. So there is always this interplay between stakeholder groups. Just telling you that to illustrate that sometimes the GA provides the right forum, but in many other cases not. So maybe to reflecting the question, the real answer is, if you really need formal broad membership confirmation that something needs to be done, then you go the GA route. You're asking me if we have considered resolutions and not submitted them, or withdrawn them. I don't think I remember any example of that happening, but the question is interesting. It could indeed have happened. For example, and it is more theoretically, but it is illustrating how we've been considering this, for example if what we wanted to call for in a resolution was already adopted before the GA even took place, triggered by another event, or a resolution and we've seen examples of that in the past where we've been consulted like "Do you want to sign on to this resolution?" and I've said "well I'm not so sure, I'd like to support you, but my advice would be, instead of getting more NGO's to sign on, can you get a retailer or a bank, or a prominent brand manufacturer to sign on? That will increase your chances of getting your resolutions adopted, much more than having [Social NGO B] and WWF and Conservation International, and you know… All sorts of NGO signing on." In line with what I said earlier, an all NGO resolution, is less likely to be adopted.

Ann-Christin: So besides, I mean of course it helps if you have different stakeholders onboard, but is there any other… I don't know, does it depend on who sponsors the resolution or, is it what you said

before, external pressure, what other characteristics are there besides the more stakeholder groups are involved the better, in order to make a resolution successful?

Respondent: Yeah well, comparing to parliament, and I guess your parliament and ours in the Netherlands have the same similarities in that... It sometimes have these proposals brought forward in parliament that get supported by a broad coalition of political parties, but it depends which political party brings it forward. It could be the same sort of message, but its origins can make a difference in its credibility or in other seeing it as a call with a hidden agenda, informed by who's the messenger. So I think the same applies in the RSPO GA. It depends on which brand company or which grower is signing on to your resolution. We've had quite a number of resolutions brought forward by the Indonesian growers and the Malaysian growers, but without any grower from the rest of the world and the smaller producing countries, and that automatically races suspicion. Is this just a coalition between the two biggest producer countries? Well, the proposal might be very relevant and important. The sender and the combination of senders, already make people look at it differently, with more trust, or less trust, if you like.

Ann-Christin: That's indeed very interesting. OK, thank you very much for your answers. Ida now has a few more questions for you.

Respondent: Okay.

Ida: Hi [Respondent], I'll shift a little bit away from the resolutions that Ann-Christin has been focusing a lot on. And I would like to ask you generally, how do you as a person and you in [Social NGO B], work to promote the smallholder as well as the human rights agenda in the RSPO?

Respondent: Wow, yeah that's a very broad question. But you're asking for the how, isn't it?

Ida: Yes, and whether it has changed over time as well. So, the different methods so to say.

Respondent: Yeah, yeah, yeah. I'll start answering that on smallholder issues because that is maybe most illustrative. And attached to what I said before maybe, that we're shifting the attention as RSPO a little bit and as [Social NGO B] we've been pushing for that shift among others through that resolution. We came into RSPO knowing that the sector needed big changes and that we needed to define criteria that largely applied but also, with the experience from other sectors and other certification schemes, that certification is not always helpful for small producers, in many many cases actually, it promotes those that are going well already, and excludes those that cannot meet the high level of requirement. So we acknowledge the need to establish the standard and certification etc, but also, tried to at least mitigate the negative impact it could have on the huge numbers of smallholders in the sector. So in hindsight you can say that the most achievable strategy at that point in time was preventing exclusion. Now, years have gone by, and facts proven that the involvement of smallholders in the RSPO systems is not as high as its involvement in the sector globally. So in a way, you could say that the prevention of exclusion has not worked effectively, or has not worked to the extent needed. And [Social NGO B] of course has been signaling that throughout the years a couple of times, but we're only reaching now a stage where there is like a significant acknowledgement and support for moving from the prevention of exclusion to the promotion of inclusion and that is reflected in that resolution calling for a comprehensive strategy rather than further fine tuning the certification. No, we said that - and that's actually the outcome of this resolution one and a half year later. There is a strategy, still to be finalised and confirmed, but there is a strategy that now looks at not just better

certification but also what happens before certification, and what happens beyond certification, so I call that the triple B. Before, better and beyond. And that is a quick summary to explain, what happened after that resolution. And reflecting on that I think that is a nice outcome of what we called for, we purposely left it very open of what the solution would need to be, although we have our own ideas about it, as [Social NGO B] and as co-sponsors of the resolution. We didn't want to impose a solution, we just wanted that resolution to signal a problem. And to signal a need for taking a step back, and looking at, "what are we doing here? Are we doing the right thing? And are we doing what we're doing in the right way?" But first of all, "Are we still doing the right thing?" No, we could be doing more than just one thing, and we should acknowledge that there are more tools in the box that we could be and should be applying. There is this saying that goes "if the only tool that you have is a hammer, you start seeing everything as a nail." And in the case of RSPO there has been a lot of focus on that single tool called certification. And therefore we try to hammer everything, we try to fix everything, with nails, instead of at looking at additional intervention strategies. Now that for the smallholders is changing, and there are more tools available in the box, or at least acknowledgement of the need to apply more tools from the possible tool box.

Ida: So it seems like what you're saying is that you in [Social NGO B] really try to represent smallholder interests and the whole smallholder agenda within the RSPO, as well as try to re-define a little bit how the RSPO actually works with this agenda.

Respondent: Yeah.

Ida: But we have browsed through the meeting minutes from the Board of Governors and the GA and also some of the working groups, and we thought we could identify that both [Social NGO B], but also RSPO as a whole, work a lot with educating of smallholders in the skills that they need to live up to the standards, and also in diverting some financial resources towards supporting them. Do you recognize these as important tools?

Respondent: … There was a long silence before he answered [laugh]... Ehm, yes and and no. I think, and you are not to blame for that, but if you look at the minutes only, you see like this official and sort of technocratic output from the processes. I guess from what I've told you so far, I'm not telling you a secret now if I'm telling you that a lot of what we're doing in terms of influencing the RSPO and influencing the sector is done more unofficially, behind the scenes, more lobby and advocacy based, than through technocratic tools. These of course play a role, and if you look at official documents and websites and so, you see a lot of it translated into technical guidances and to financial mechanisms and it all looks like a machine. But, how to put it… You see the machine, but you don't see the design process that has let to the machine. And frankly, I've also found that dealing with the private sector, it helps a lot if you can translate fundamental, sort of rights based, human rights issues and concerns, and moral and ethical topics, into technocracy. Because that is, you know, what they can deal with in the private sector. You translate high level principles into something that looks like a tool, then it is much easier to apply than when you have to be ethical. "What does that mean?"

Ida: Yeah.

Respondent: You get the point?

Ida: Yeah I think so. It has to make sense to business I guess, for them to really be able to work with it.

Respondent: Yeah and of course, not to undermine any of the sort of tools or the financial mechanisms that have been established... the resulting tools, they're fine, but if your conclusion is that [Social NGO B]'s role has to establish those, well that is then only a part of the picture.

Ida: Ok, I see. And now that you're speaking of human rights, that is also something I wanted to talk to you about. And again as you mention, we've look a lot on the meeting minutes, but for some of the people we talk with, they also agree that a lot of the work takes place behind the stage, which is also why it is so great to talk to you and confirm or see if some of our conclusions are not right. So, in terms of human rights, you talked a little bit about translating principles into tools for players, in a sense educating them in how to handle this.

Respondent: Yeah, true.

Ida: We see that, we identify that the creation of the Human Rights Working Group in the past years might also enable the human rights debate, and really shift focus towards that. And also monitoring and sanctioning members through the complaints mechanisms, which you talked about in the beginning of our conversation. And then also, we've noticed, especially in the talk that has been about the high conservation values, that at some point someone pointed out that we should also look at the social HCVs and not just the environmental. Do you recognize these things that this is something that has been done in the RSPO?

Respondent: Yeah. So you're listing a number of observations and conclusions and I think you're right on all of them. Maybe the most clear example, illustrating also my last point is the guidance on free prior and informed consent, FPIC. That is typically translating a principle of, you know the right to say yes or no to the development on your land, into technical tools, education members of how to apply that high level principle, and how to do that in practice and how to do that while looking at respecting the rights and respecting the people that of course have the human rights. On HCVs, it is probably the same, and there is another dynamic that comes into the picture. It is, whether we like it or not, we have noticed that often as social NGOs, the story of dealing with environment is slightly more technical than how to deal with people. I sometimes say jokingly: "The trees they don't talk back when you decide about them, but the people they do! And they have different opinions!" You can quite easily say that all the trees they have the same interest, while people don't. That is simplifying things, but it illustrates that the dealing with people is more complicated than dealing with environmental issues, and you can deal to a large extent with environmental issues by tackling them technically. At least that is what you would think, but then again we know, you know, climate change and deforestation and so, also have very very clear economic approaches that determine how they go. And the fires and the haze problem, conserving high carbon stocks and conserving ecosystem functions cannot be done without looking at the factors that leads to the not so desired practices. Why do people burn their land? Why do people kill orangutans? Why do people cut trees? Why do… Yeah, I can go on for long. Why do people grab other people's land? Questions simply asked, but difficult to answer unless you go really into what drives people to take these issues. What are their survival mode or what are their profit making motives, what systems are fair and which systems are corrupt? So there is a lot that goes on in play behind that, and is therefore you see in practice that often it is easier to address the environmental and technical side of things first and then say "hold on, but if we're doing this, people might be affected? What is the social side of this anyway? And if we've saved all the trees, mind you, there might be people who actually don't want these trees at all or who want to protect yet another tree because it represent their great grandfather. And then the tree is not just there

for its ecological value, but it actually has a very strong cultural value because the community considers the tree the graves of their ancestors for example. But, like I said, whether you like it or not, social NGO's have encountered that quite often, the social perspectives come second. But, at least, you know, our environmental NGO friends they clear the way for us and then we can follow on quite quickly.

Ida: It is good to see that you're doing such hard work to further the debate. Just a little bit about... Because obviously we've read something about the complaints mechanism and the complaints panel, which you mentioned earlier, in the RSPO. So we have, I guess you can say a crude question, but just out of interest, out of curiosity of your opinion, do you think that the RSPO should be the Palm Oil Police in a sense, in terms both of environmental and social well being?

Respondent: Good crude question. And one that has been asked before. Of course the answer can be quite crude and I can say "Yes!". Of course, if we set up a system called RSPO, rules that we've all developed together, the least we should do is to enforce those rules and be very strict about them and so on. So that is that side of the answer. The "Maybe not" side of the answer is, we must be cautious in the mandate that we actually give ourselves. You know, we can walk into the streets of Copenhagen and say: "From today on, we are the police of this street" but, hold on, who gave you that authority?

Ida: Yeah, yeah.

Respondent: So there is something to be cautious about. And of course, the even more important consideration is that you give your very, very strict rules, and applying those rules, without consideration of, know "Why did you kill your husband?" "Well, he was beating me.".... There is always a more complicated story behind, and in the case of palm oil, do we want as RSPO to have a small number of members who all meet a very high standard, and then we're happy about the few well-performing ones. Or do we want a true sector transformation in which we can say, "We've also taken our neighbour onboard and at the end of the day, involved a large majority of the sector to start operating sustainably, and sustainable palm oil has become the norm, not just the nicely polished certified exception." So if the goal of the organisation is the sector, mainstreaming sustainability in the sector - and it is - then you should also be realistic about applying carrots and sticks. And that means you sometimes also have to be a little bit cautions in being too harsh on members. So if you can, you know, punish a member fairly, saying "We put you in the corner of the classroom for five minutes and you think of what you have been doing, and then you come back and then you start apologizing and then you start cleaning the mess that you have made", we'd been more effective than saying "You're dismissed from school".

Ida: Absolutely. So it is a balance really, it sounds like.

Respondent: Yes. And then I go back to the first question, which is "YES!". I think in the past we've been too soft. And I say "we", as RSPO. But as [Social NGO B] I can clearly say, we've not been successful in assuring the most stringent application of rules and need it, without saying that - and this is the "maybe no" part of the question - without being unrealistic or unproductive or ineffective.

Ida: I see. This is all very interesting what you're saying, and I would like to in a sense tie what we've just talked about together with some of the points we talked about when we asked you some questions about resolutions and co-sponsoring. Because we're wondering if there is a specific group or

membership category that [Social NGO B] receives a lot support from or even meet a lot of opposition from in the work you to do to promote both the smallholder agenda and the human rights aspect?

Respondent: That is a difficult one.

Ida: You're allowed to think about it for a bit if you want!

Respondent: If all what we wanted was achieved smoothly, we would not be sitting there for so long. We would have moved on long time ago, because it was accepted and done and fine and improved and we would move on and focus on soy and cocoa or.. Anyway, we could have… But we haven't. So apparently what we want to acheive has not been achieved yet, or in full, or as quick as we impatiently would have wanted. I think the big challenge is not so much that within the RSPO there is a lot of resistance, although of course there is always a little bit of resistance from producers to implement far reaching and somewhat costly measures, there is resistance from buyers to pay extra because externalities have gotten internalized into the product and therefore gotten into the cost of the product, so we continue to push, both on the market side as well as on the production side. And sometimes we push in a friendly way, and sometimes we push in a more aggressive way, and sometimes there is the "[Social NGO B] behind the brands"-campaign which is more aggressive style of publicly ranking companies on a scale in the food and beverage sector of who is performing better than others or who is performing worse. And that we do to create dynamics and what we call a race to the top. And while talking about that, that is a typical example of doing things more in the public sphere and also mobilizing consumers and the general public in support of that. Sometimes we're more diplomatic and behind the scenes, and advocating, and finding allies, and so on. It is always a mix of interventions, and therefore, you know I hesitate to answering your question a little bit because yeah, probably in a way if we would look at this always from the perspective of "Where is the resistance?", I would become quite pessimistic. And I'm more inclined to think in terms of "Where are the opportunities?", where do we align well, and we'll come back again to the most illustrative third resolution: If retailers call me up and says: "[Respondent], there is this issue with the smallholders, we really think something needs to be done but we are hesitant to put something forward, but can we suggest you do that? We'll help! We'll give you input and we'll co-sponsor it, but would you mind taking the lead?" And yeah, that is a beautiful moment, isn't it? They acknowledge that we are seen as being able to lead on that topic and represent it well. And you know the game is played in such a way that the result is guaranteed almost before going to the voting.

Ida: So it sounds like it really changes a lot who supports you or who is opposed to you, or who wants you to mediate something?

Respondent: Yeah. And call me naive, and this is going back to my very first point, but I try to at least at the personal level be friendly with everybody. We may have tough fights, but we sometimes in [Social NGO B] call this the "critical friend approach". If you go out drinking with us on a Friday night, we might come up with some tough questions about your performance or your behaviour or your ethics or your moral and you may even at some point in the bar dislike the fact that we asked the question, but the next morning you'll think "Oh, he had a point. He made me think." It can also be going to the bar and talk rubbish, you know. So that is why we apply this term "Critical friend", we bring it friendly, we bring it constructive, but we don't hesitate to bring up the critical issues.

Ida: That sounds like a good strategy, I think. To wrap up a little bit [Respondent], can you think of three specific events that have been important turning points in the history of RSPO? And you're also allowed to take some thinking time for this one.

Respondent: It is a really… Wow, yeah… And then I have to explain all the events?

Ida: Well you can just explain why you thought they were important.

Respondent: I'll be a little bit selfish: The first event I've told you already: The [Social NGO B] resolution that I explained about the Annual Communication of Progress, where the various parties were sitting on the fence, I think that was a beautiful moment, especially from our perspective of playing our role cleverly. And for speeding up the second transformation, that was a good moment. That is a positive example. We've also had a few crisis moment in the RSPO, and there is also this approach of "never waste a good crisis", so we've had a couple of fights, which have also been turned into opportunities… What is the best example? There are a couple of those moments of course… Without going into too much detail, we had the infamous Indonesian grower walkout in one of the General Assemblies, where the Indonesian producers very clearly stated "We feel that higher standards are imposed upon us, and we feel we have not been properly heard and our interests have not been properly taken into account". And it was an important moment of empowerment of Indonesian producers who've always been a little bit sidelined, so I guess that is a crucial moment. So you ask me to mention three. Maybe, and now I go back very, very far, the establishment of the Roundtable, the few organisations, well before my time, that came to realising "we've got a problem that is so big that none of us can solve it on our own, so we better do it together". And that created the Roundtable.

Ida: Yes, indeed. Do you think that the emergence of the other sustainability standards on the palm industry, such as the national ones, ISPO and MSPO, have affected the RSPO, at all?

Respondent: Yes, of of course they have. I think initially those were seen as competitors, and I think crucially important was the realisation that, and that maybe fits in that description of before certification, better certification and beyond certification, that part of the sector cannot be reached by the RSPO and its high level goals, and that stepwise approach does help the sector at large, and the transformation of it. So, I think the general acknowledgement now is that these systems can be complementary. That can still mean there is some friction, but there is a healthy tension between them.

Ida: Do you think that the ISPO and the MSPO will keep become redundant in the future?

Respondent: No I don't think they will. I think they will also move up their level of requirement, but there will always be in any sector a diverse crowd of early adopters and late adopters and early followers, late followers, laggers… You will always have that playing field in which you have different speeds, different starting points… So a multitude of approaches and multiple tools will always be needed if you talk about entire sectors to change.

Ida: Wow, thank you so much for all your input, very valuable! We're at the end of our questioning line. Do you have any other questions or comments for us, or is there anything you'd like to tell us that we haven't asked you about?

Respondent: Well, I guess you probably have many more questions and we could talk a lot longer, but I have to go, and maybe you also have to go, so I'm glad I've been helpful and that I've possibly have triggered some thoughts and some insights. So I look forward to the results of your research, I'm quite keen to see the overall results, at some point. If you run into specific short questions that you want to shoot at me through email, don't hesitate to do so. If you want me to check conclusions that you derive from the transcripts, you know where to find me, and also, don't forget to share your final reports, because that will also help me understand what you have picked up from other important conversations. I hope multi-stakeholder process works there as well.

Ida: [small laugh] We will see.

Respondent: Let's hope so. Good luck with the further follow-up, nice to talk to you.

Ida & Ann-Christin: Bye bye.

Appendix E: Transcribed Interview with Environmental NGO A

Tove: Then we have your consent to be interviewed and record. Thank you for that. So I wonder, we know that, actually, you are not involved in [Environmental NGO B] anymore, are you?

Respondent: No, not at all. I left them in December 2011, and then I did my PhD in social rules of biodiversity loss, PhD trying to understand why we have all these international frameworks and why is not applied in the ground and there are different chapters and one is on the RSPO, which is in French.

Tove: Ok, so I think what we are interested in now is, we have also seen in the meeting minutes and so on, that you've been representing [Environmental NGO B] for the RSPO, so if you have the possibility to kind of recall what that was like and so on. That is kind of the perspective, we would like to take in this interview, if possible.

Respondent: Exactly. Of course.

Tove: So, when you were involved representing [Environmental NGO B], could you please define the role you had within RSPO?

Respondent: Well, you know, you have to understand, that RSPO at the start. RSPO is born 2004, then 2006 is quite Swiss and English led. And what happened is that from 2006, [Environmental NGO B], who is also a Swiss-based organisation, like WWF that was basically, pushing the RSPO said "Oh that will be a nice way forward to really work with the private sector". That basically since 2006, [Environmental NGO B] is basically a board member eh not a board member but is a member, is one of the first NGO being a member in the RSPO. And then my, at that time, I met the president Regina Frey and I told her, "you know, that may be a good tool, that you need to take care the way it is used. We need to drive our agenda and not their agenda, which may be complicated". And then she said, "ok, then you will be the one dealing with that", because in the past, I worked at UNEP, United National Environment Programme, and we were doing all this issue [inaudible 02:30] at the backdoor trying to understand [inaudible 02:32-02:33] the process, what to do and how we can work, how we can influence the debate. Then, basically, when I was in [Environmental NGO B], more the activist, I could understand, maybe, all this work, all this organisation, even though it was an organisation in the making. Then what happened in RSPO, very soon in 2006 already, [Environmental NGO B], with my ex-president, she drafted and put forward a resolution. And the resolution was to develop fallow land. And the resolution passed in fact. That's why...

Tove: Yeah, is that the one on Tripa forest?

Respondent: No, that's why you need to understand the whole context. In 2006, you already passed a resolution, that was passed. The resolution you can find it back, it is quite difficult to get it back but it exists in the proceeding. And the resolution was developing fallow land and the idea was to develop palm oil on degraded land or palm oil on land that nobody really wanted. And it was really interesting, because at that time, as RSPO was a kind of young organisation, they were quite open minded about

whatever type of development we need to do. The idea was to stop deforestation and to develop palm oil in other ways. And it was good. That's why it was quite well-received even though nobody after really funded [it]. But then we discussed and we worked with different organisations, and especially the Biodiversity Agricultures Communities Programme from the International Finance Corporation. And then it took like 3 years and therefore after they financed us, to develop these schemes to develop fallow land on degraded land to develop then for palm oil. We developed that with smallholders between 2009 and 2012 with the big company called Socfindo with and ICRAF because of their knowledge and with BACP programme of the IFC. But then, from that time we, our goal was to show that was possible to develop this fallow land and to maybe influence the RSPO on something. But it didn't really quite happen. Nobody, you know, the WWF puts a small note even a small document trying to show that it is important to develop fallow land. Then we have also World Research Institute that developed this project POTICO which is about cartographing mapping out the fallow land. And, but all of this got no interest really from the industry and no interest, basically, from the RSPO it was just led aside. Then what happened is that, for [Environmental NGO B], what we wanted to do is to stop, of course, the deforestation, especially because its low land is for the orangutans. And as we could not really have a lot of success in proposing alternative developments, then in 2008, we developed this new proposal. The new proposal which is the one you are talking about, the [Environmental NGO B] proposal on the Tripa peat swamp stopping deforestation. But then, you can see already the wording of the resolution, that already [Environmental NGO B] is quite not very happy, the way RSPO has developed. Because you already put in the wording itself, that, you know, they really should put their word together and to do something to act and that refer to the idea of fallow land and the fact that we have the impression that the industry really didn't really do something but was still developing as an organisation as the RSPO. Then therefore, we developed this new resolution. But to tell you the truth, the resolution was carried out by my president. And my president said "well that's a good idea, you are going to defend yourself, [Respondent], in front of everybody". So I said "ok, ok, fine but the issue there is we need to do clever and to work cleverly to make it happen". To have the resolution to go pass was not really obvious, why? Because already at that time environmental NGOs were like 3, 4 persons of the overall agenda, overall RSPO member. Then I say "well we need to, if you want to have that resolution passed, we need to get the right information and we need also to build basically the whole agenda to make it happen". And therefore, we did quite a number of things. The first thing, we did is that we had a new report, we made the brand new report on the Tripa values. Showing the value of Tripa and then on the area, that was threatened by palm oil for local communities, for climate change and then we...and for orangutans. But the idea was just to change. Instead of telling us, basically, an environmental NGO that is important for orangutans, we just left out, basically, the orangutans, we just put more forward the issue of greenhouse gases, climate change and the issue of local committee, local development. And then that was the first thing we did. We did a very thorough report. The second things, we did is that we spreaded and we tried to get some actors supporting us. And therefore we went to see directly to people in the board, especially Oxfam, because Oxfam was interested in social issue. Then we discussed a lot with Johan Verburg and we invited him even to Tripa to see the situation and also, basically, also to help, to ask him to see if Oxfam could support for the fallow land which was the previous idea and therefore, after we discussed also at lengths with Greenpeace, Greenpeace Indonesia, Greenpeace UK. And then we talked to Sawit Watch and therefore we...who has authority on the board of the RSPO and from there we had quite a consistent network like 6,7 different organisations. And then we just went to the press also, to show the destructions of the RSPO, and it went in the Independent and we invited, in fact, international journals especially from the Independent, but also from the American Journal they also did something.

And after that, already before the RSPO started, the General Assembly, then some older board members, who are really knowing that there was something happening and that there was this resolution that was getting quite serious. And therefore, in the board itself, some people happened to be involved and especially Rabobank was involved. Because Rabobank was at that time the one providing most of the credit to Astra Agro Lestari that was depending on charities. And therefore, Rabobank went to see me and discuss bilaterally "oh yeah, you are going to improve, you are right".It was not true but it's ok. It's ok, I understand it is not your fault, but the resolution has to go through anyway. We have passed it… we have not passed it but now, you know that is a serious issue and then basically, you will need to address it. We don't attack anybody personally. We know that there are different actors involved. And they need to do something. And the third, the fourth things we did. I say 4 because first is the report, second is the collusion of NGO local and international. Third is the journalist. And the fourth is in fact just before proposing the resolution, we also invited the senator. One of the senators in that region that we know Annan. Because he is in… i don't know if you know the legislative system in Indonesia, but...

Tove: Not really unfortunately.

Respondent: There is some parliamentary that are elected directly with the people and others through the political party. Then basically the one directly elected by the people, they are more linked to the region and area. Therefore, for province of Aceh, there were four, and therefore, we invited one of them to [inaudible 12:33]. And then before the resolution, we organised a workshop. We invited everybody and we did a video presentation and then after we did a small discussion. But in the discussion, I stayed very quiet because I want that is the people really discussing and not myself questioning an area and therefore, it was really...with a translator discussing with very big room. It was quite of a surprise, like more than one hundred person in the room. We had booking, it was a bit costly for us because it cost more than 1000 euro eh dollar just to do it. To organise it and then the following day or even it was the afternoon. I don't remember, if it was the afternoon or just the following day, then it was the resolution that was just put forward. And when it was the resolution at the General Assembly itself, you know, it went quite fine, quite surprisingly, and in fact, different people, including the then Unilever president, went to tell me that "oh yes, [Respondent], I voted for you, you know you have to know that and that's you" … and then I said "ok that's fine". You have to understand when somebody like this votes, it means that you have already also like 15 person voting right because you can vote by proxy in the General Assembly. So if you have these people on board voting and supporting and then you have quite quickly a number of people. But at the voting itself, I don't remember exactly the real casting but I remember very well that basically everybody voted for but all the growers voted against. It was so clear. It was so clear. They were complaining.

Tove: Oh, really?

Respondent: Yes, of course, it was so clear, all the growers, especially Malaysian, Indonesian, one or two tried to, because they were foreigner, basically, and tried to discuss a bit "oh yeah, it's not that bad", but basically you can see. It was quite interesting, the total divide. Therefore, I don't remember it was something like 60:40 or 70:50. It was not that big difference but the fact that all the growers were simply against. It was a quite simple situation.

Tove: Yeah, that's really interesting actually. Is that something, when you propose resolutions and so on and maybe something you have seen in general, would you say that there are certain groups or membership categories that [Environmental NGO B] then received more support from and also more opposition from when you promote resolutions like this or your agenda, specifically in terms of biodiversity and high conservation value and smallholder agendas?

Respondent: Well, you know, is not because of that, why it was turned against is just because the resolution dealing. As I said, we presented the issue not by biodiversity, that would be a mistake. We took the presentation because of local communities, because of climate change. Why it has been turned down? Because in fact, for the first time RSPO was putting the Tripa as the high conservation value therefore, the local… the growers were threatened that basically that they were just impeded to expand it. It was not really about biodiversity as such, it was just the fact that this type of resolution just prevented to expand and, therefore, at that time, especially the main concern and that's a bit changed now, but the main concern of the growers was to try to get rights on lands and therefore to expand. Then, the…in 2008, 2009 the goal was really to expand. And to expand you need the rights. To get the rights, you need to have more concessions, not necessarily even to implement them, but to have rights to expand. Therefore at that time when I made some calculations, there were a lot of these big guys, you know, like in the case of Astra Agro Lestari, of course, but also so the others had a lot of land bank. Land bank means the still have lot of palm oil that was not yet developed, but they want it to develop in the future, you see.

Tove: Yeah, okay, but...so you have proposed those 2 resolutions that we can see, or 3 in the RSPO and that was fairly early. Have you been successful in proposing all resolutions that you wanted to propose? I mean, it is obvious that you prepared very very much and like worked a lot with corporations so on and tried to get voters on board. But have you tried to do this and have you failed at some point and why and why not, if so?

Respondent: No, our resolution passed. We took two resolutions, they passed. The problem, of course, is the implementation of this resolution.Then, you know, you have to discuss why after we didn't do much more. After 2008/2009, you know, you have the RSPO that is becoming very organised and very strict and with a kind of management discourse. Therefore, there is less and less opportunities to have impact even though you want to put a resolution. You can put resolutions but the fact is that they have an impact. And there is two things to say about that. The first thing is that all resolutions on Tripa also triggered the interest of another organisation. You know, SOS also the year after, made also a resolution on the Tigapuluh [Bukit Tigapuluh National Park] which basically was the continuation of our resolution and why? Because Tigapuluh is a reintroduction side of the orangutans and is exactly where we were reintroducing the place. Basically, is SOS who did it but we were very close and we just let them to do and we didn't really in board on that but then this resolution also passed and it went through. But then after the resolution, first [Environmental NGO B] with Tripa, second Tigapuluh Ecosystem, then really, the growers complained that it was a total misuse of the General Assembly to put forward specific resolution when of course the RSPO, is a multistakeholder forum. And basically is not the idea to have then specific resolutions to get a specific agenda, but in fact the idea for them is that the resolution should come at the end of a long negotiation process. Like for example, is the case of the review of the Principle & Criteria, you know. That's one thing. Second, while we were not really then, very happy about that, about what is following because why not? After, for the follow up, okay, it's a high conservation value, ok fine, then we discussed in

that case Astra Agro Lestari "oh yeah, but is so bilateral, is not tangible", from there no much process. We asked some person from the Board of Governors, that's called Executive Board at that time. Is Shiuan from Sawit Watch. He came to Tripa to assess the situation and said "yes it's true there is some problem". And then after he went back like no it's, you know, then there is no, RSPO was not very consistent. They don't really have means, they didn't put their means either then, basically, they were happy to have a resolution like that, with the NGO for them but that was not happy for us. What you want is a reform of the sector, improvement of the situation and you know that it's true is quite difficult to demonstrate the link between the different actors in Tripa and the different actors with RSPO but they are and there are quite a number. But it takes time because it's about the traders, it's about the refiners and then it is a bit out of our reach. And therefore, we are in this kind of grey zone. People are "ah yeah, you don't know". Then as we don't know, we cannot demonstrate, we cannot demonstrate, they don't do anything. Yeah but it is not our rule to find out the relationship between RSPO trader and the Tripa grower. It's a bit hard for an NGO to demonstrate it, but of course, the one who are in the world of trade knows it, then basically you have all this grey area which is quite painful and the RSPO didn't do anything to improve it. And why didn't they do anything to improve it, because you never put in a budget for it and for the secretariat is only know that is proof where they put their money. They put their money on [inaudible 22:25], they put their money on creating new agencies to promote them but they don't put to really start on the business, you know. Then it's a bit of a, that's why we, after that, then we didn't really put energy. And therefore, as we didn't put energy, at one point my, and I left, and my president say "what's the policy? What we should do?", and I said to her "honestly, either you enter the game and you try to make a difference or you leave it". Because the problem is that if you are following as a member and paying your fee without doing anything on it, you are just considering participating and agreeing with all what is happening. Then they decided last year to leave the organisation.

Tove: Yeah, yeah, of course. But that's interesting when you talk about with the resources and how that takes, because that can be so varying between the different type of members that are in the RSPO. So like, in your general perception, do you see that whether like, in order for, as a member organisation, to get a resolution to the agenda or not, would you say that is more a matter of organisational characteristics such as resources or you know whatever that can be? Or is it more a matter of the content of the resolution and the time it's presented at, you know, what is hot topics so to say. So is it more depending on the characteristics of the organisation or more the content in relation to the time it was proposed at?

Respondent: You know, it depends on what you are talking about. If you are talking about just passing the resolution itself, you can see the history, because, I study themselves, you know, all these resolution or after they are there. It does not depend at all, whether the organisation is big or small, it depends really about the timing, I mean the organisation and also the way it's written. You know for example, the resolution that was after us from SOS on Tigapuluh was not necessarily well prepared, there was not all this process that we did, but it still it went through. It went through very well. Why? One reason , yeah, British person on writing it, she knows exactly our agenda, she knows how to link it to the broader issue in the RSPO. And it went fine. Why it went fine? Because, you have to understand who is who and then a resolution like Tigapuluh or other, it doesn't harm ever the one who are controlling the resolution and the one who is controlling the General Assembly. The ones who are controlling the General Assembly is the retailers and the producer of goods and services. But not therefore, they even like this resolution. Why? Because it feels good. It is true the industry needs to

improve and therefore they feel good because it is good for in the evening. When they leave, they can sit with their children that "yes, it's true, through my work, I went to pass a resolution it's going to save the orangutans". It's very good, you know, then they are happy and I mean it's not a problem, you have to understand it is really then the timing and the way it is framed and not at all a lot of resources.

Tove: Ok that's great, that's really interesting

Respondent: But that is, when you want to have this type of resolution that is going through. If, for example, you put the opposite, no grower that tried to get a resolution through. That is different ball game, why? Because they are in minority and if it is a resolution to do something that's for them will be easier for them, for example, to expand their membership in the board or to be able to plant on peat, is peat and shallow, you know, why not, you know? They have also the right to but no, actually they will be turned down, you know, whatever powerful they are, because it goes against the mainstream you know. And therefore, even there you have different resolutions whether they are turned on is, what is interesting for you, for example, is not the resolutions that went through but the resolutions that were turning down. The resolutions from the growers are turned down. Even though they put a lot of effort on that. They organise, they make sure they are all there. I mean, they have a lot of resources, they have a lot of money then you know, that is more who is controlling what, you know.

Tove: Yeah, no that's really interesting to follow as well. Thank you, thank you so much for those super elaborated and interesting answers.

Josephine: So, [Respondent], I would like to learn a bit more about [Environmental NGO B]'s work within the RSPO focusing on certain agendas and it seems to us that your work or [Environmental NGO B]'s work within the RSPO has been very focused on promoting the biodiversity, high conservation value agenda and also the smallholder agenda. Do you agree with this?

Respondent: Yes, and also the greenhouse gases but the point is that about this two agenda is why we are a bit more on this agenda is because it was, you know, kind of vague you know those agendas. Then we look a bit more there, but it's just because there were not many other players. It's a bit...because, for example, we are also very interested in greenhouse gases. That we follow very closely. But we know that Wetlands International were doing that very well, then we just discuss with them every two months and we don't need to be there. It is not because we are not there physically that we don't follow, you know, if you just go for one what we wanted it's ok.
Josephine: So, you saw it as your tasks to kind of fill the voids?

Respondent: For biodiversity, of course, it's basically the roots of our organisation was to protect the orangutans after smallholders it's also true, because it's also the history of our organisation. And Regina Frey, she always thought that the only way we are going to save and do changes by local development and by involving smallholders or community. Then basically, if we don't do that, we are going nowhere. Therefore she has this vision, and that was, I totally agree with, that we need to combine biodiversity, conservation and local communities, support and development.

Josephine: That's really, that's really interesting that you say that, because we've been looking through the meeting minutes of the RSPO. And we found that a lot of the work that's been eh when

the work on local communities began to emerge in this kind of more social focus within the RSPO, it was kind of being framed from the high conservation value agenda, so there was a lot of focus on biodiversity and HCV and then at one point the organisation began to focus more also on the social parts of the HCV, the number 4,5 and 6, if I remember correctly.

Respondent: Sure.

Josephine: Yeah, do you recognized that as a change that's been happening and a way of framing the social agenda?

Respondent: Not so very as clearly as you. What I remember well and why it was high conservation value is just because it's framed initially by WWF. You know, you have to understand that everything that comes from the FSC, FSC was developed in '96 and then from there they tried to apply to other roundtables and the first one was then the high conservation value, for instance. And then in 2007, I even participated to the roundtable on high conservation value forest for the RSPO. It was organised by WWF and then Daemeter and all their friends and I can tell you, the focus was really "oh wow you are conservation, how can we be fine" and they were so environmentalist that it was so dizzying for me, because they end up thinking that the whole Indonesia is basically high conservation value. Therefore, the definition of it, if we define it to clearly then it should be a way for palm oil plantations to develop on the one we didn't have developed. And no, it was then very very indeed environmentally biodiversity-framed. And therefore, already in 2006, they say well, "what you are going to talk really about it". And therefore at that time, there was this IFC that even passed the resolution, I think in RSPO on telling, you know, "ok, what are we talking about?" and that's why they developed the biodiversity technical committee, BTC. Then after involved to a biodiversity and working group and that's one angle. But then after you have this group more led by Peoples Forest Programme. That say "oh well, no, we need to really consider also humankind inside and therefore, with Sawit Watch, they partner and they really tried to open up a little bit to local communities and social issues. It is a bit like this that things happened. But for us, [Environmental NGO B], honestly, we didn't have that much capacity and also not that much interest in the RSPO and then, basically, we followed the biodiversity. We were like "ui ui ui ui" we are not very impressed what they were doing but they were fine doing it and then we participated not more than one meeting a year when it was next to the RSPO otherwise we don't really participate and then after we discussed one or two times with different people with Forest Peoples Programme. But Forest Peoples Programme is very clear. They are very organised and their partners are local partners, Sawit Watch especially. And therefore, they drive their agenda then on that direction.

Josephine: Ok.

Respondent: But you have to understand, on that moment at the same time there was the specific issue related to the smallholders each different places. And there the smallholders became of a nutshell and became just basically a small issue that nobody really cared ever, but you look at it nicely. "Oh yeah, it is true, we need to do something" and there were these kind of smallholder working groups that...where Sawit Watch was trying to work with others. And basically it was, instead of making a difference, that group became simply isolated. Therefore, they were simply at the end, nobody really cared about it, it was quite terrible, you know.I think it was really the main issue and nobody cared. I mean, it was interesting to see this development between 2006 and 2010, when you can see what is

pushed forward, what is fallow land, and also fallow land nobody cared and then the other one was smallholders and nobody cared and that was interesting to see that in fact, in 2005, when the RSPO is developed and you really had all these ideas together and suddenly, they dried up and only the ideas focusing on the big players and really developing their lands in the best manner remained. Which is kind of this management way of working. But there are other issues that were as much important like the fallow land. Then, which means developing another manner or the smallholders just simply died out. After they came back like 2 or 3 years ago. But you can see they didn't go back with the smallholders, they went back with big social NGOs from the Netherlands, that tried to do something. But it is not at all anymore the same player as before.

Josephine: Ok, now, I'd like to talk a bit more smallholders that you mentioned. Because we went through the meeting minutes, as I told you before, and we think we found some strategies that are quite often employed by RSPO members to try to push the agenda or pull the agenda a bit more in direction to inclusion of the smallholders. And I would like to read these four strategies to you and see if you can maybe recognize them and if you have some comments. So the first one we've identified is that organisations really tried to lobby and to represent smallholder interests within the RSPO. And the second one is that RSPO does some education of smallholders in order to give them the skills and the knowledge that is necessary to obtain certification. Then number three is trying to redefine the membership rules of RSPO in order to actually enable the participation of smallholders and the final one is trying to divert some financial resources towards them.

Respondent: Yes.

Josephine: Do you recognize these as strategies that are employed by members of the RSPO to try to include smallholders a bit more to further that agenda?

Respondent: Ok, let's go one item by one time.

Josephine: Alright, we will do that.

Respondent: And then I reply to what happened.

Josephine: Great, so the first one, that there are some organisations within the RSPO that kind of speak on behalf of smallholders. So, they represent the smallholder interests within the RSPO.

Respondent: Sure, but you know, imagine what you said.

Josephine: Yes.

Respondent: Imagine what you said, you know what, you know, it's terrible, you know. They organise network in Indonesia and Malaysia, you know. Of course, there is Sawit Watch that is the most organised, then there is, also there is Campesinos. There is also trade unions on local level. Then you know, why international? I don't get it. I understand that these organisations directly tried to improve and it's true that these organisations at the beginning 2004/2005 five tried to...but along the way they give up, why? Because it was impossible to make an impact. Then what happened is that other NGO, especially from the ex-colonies, especially Dutch are now telling "we are supporting the smallholders for them to participate". But, you know, I don't like that at all, because I think it is totally

twisted because you need to understand why it has never happened that it was a proper process. You are now more than 13 years after that the process started. Why there is not a proper mechanism to include smallholders organised that exist in Malaysia. And why we still need to have international organisation especially from social networks in Dutch ex-colonies that need to explain to the others, "oh, we are going to facilitate you". I think that's exactly the point. And why? If, because, if the RSPO was very serious, it would have happened. Now what is happening is that, we have all the basis of these organisations that try to support, a non-inclusive support. You understand? All these organisations are trying to do something, it's a good reason not to do something, because we are still in the process of doing it. You understand?

Josephine: I see. I think that is a very valid critique, but then on the other hand, you know, you are also trying to set up a fund, right, for smallholder certification?

Respondent: Yeah, no, but let's go one point by a point and I have replies for all your parts.

Josephine: Ok, so next one, you educate smallholders in the skills and knowledge that is necessary in order to obtain certification by the RSPO.

Respondent: That is very interesting also. You know that also means that basically RSPO has now grown in a certain level to impose to everybody this managerial view and that's the way it has to be forward and therefore, of course, it worked very well for all these big companies, growers, big growers or downstream firms because it is basically like this that they function. They function through the improvement of their management system and when they try to avoid for health or environment or security reasons their project. That basically is the way capitalism works. Yeah? That's bitter. Then the issue is that now what is happening is that, instead of thinking differently, we try to incorporate those actors that have totally different skills that are not at all managers in, as the last drops, as the last way in our system when in fact, the main problem is where Indonesia or Malaysia...the main problem was at the beginning that's why the RSPO was even designed for it. That the state has totally left out the smallholders, [inaudible 41:06] and therefore one of the key issue would have been to redevelop cooperative independent organisation to really have a balanced power and be able to have part of the incomes and be and to process the oil. But instead no, we just add the smallholders to be organising themselves to be the last drop. And why the last drop? Because in the system for palm oil, they never basically control the mill and you have to control the mill. Then you, basically, you have a system where you just ask "please my little farmer, be the last [inaudible 41:45] and crop correctly and then we are going to take your badge of food and then process it and make goods". And therefore they will never really improve their...but it is like this that RSPO has been framing. Ok, third.

Josephine: Wow [Respondent], number 3. Redefining membership rules to enable participation of the smallholders. So you say, for example, smallholders, they don't have so much money we can lower the fee for them.

Respondent: Yes sure, but already been...that's why I am a bit joking. This has already been discussed since 2006, I think in 2007/2008, it was already a decision. Then of course, I think it has been really be...sorry it has already always been very shocking that basically they have to pay when others they just don't have it 2000 euros a year, and of course when you are Nestle is not the same. Just eh...I don't think that it has even to be stated "oh we are doing something", it is just normal. I

mean it is normal everywhere that you just put member fee according to the size and the weight of the organisation. Then, you know, indeed, yes, it is a practice. But I am surprised that you consider that even as something good and that can be done or will done because it has been already discussed and implemented, and I am sure it should simply be done it's not something that people should be proud of it. But ok, next, third.

Josephine: It's good with the critical perspective, [Respondent].

Respondent: When you see what I saw from inside and after, it would be....the worst thing is the discrepancy between all these meetings and reality in the ground. You know, one of the key issue for [Environmental NGO B] is that we are basically based on the ground, you know, I was going to there only after visiting the situation, taking picture, and that's my problem. It's the RSPO, for me, is a quite outrouted system, and therefore, I know that we can have very nice idea but reality is be a bit more complex. But ok, anyway, let's...tell me the fourth one.

Josephine: The final one. I think you also answered that a bit already. But it's about diverting some financial resources toward smallholders, so for instance setting up this fund.

Respondent: No, that's a good point. That's why I wanted for that one, because on that one, well very good. No no, but very good, you divert money, you know, if the money, ok, the money that in our case is just to get certified and just to be part of the system, you know. But if there is money to really support, why not? You know, it's like, I don't like air trafficking of gasoline, you know, air pollution, but if there is air tax, you know, you can do something, you know, I am not at all against taxing. I think it is a good system, if you redirect it correctly and use the taxes [inaudible 45:12] is correct. And there comes the problem, because you know honestly, it is a bit of a farce. Because, I think it is 1 dollar a ton and you can see the whole money you get in a year you can, basically, certify the, maybe, 5000 smallholders. Make your calculation. I did it 2 years ago, and I tell you that very blantly, because I discussed at that time, 2014, because of course we had our smallholders and you know, I went to see them because I participated also in 2014 at the RSPO on behalf of [Environmental NGO B], I was hired there as a consultant and I defend them and I went to see the one where at the time and the smallholders, it was Petra, I don't know her name, she is a Dutch nationality and she was working for Sime Darby, I think, and then the other one from Solidaridad. And then what happens, I told them "oh you know this, can we get certified? But then she told "oh there is a process" and then she told me "yeah, but honestly, to tell you the truth, [Respondent], with the money we have, we can do 10 projects a year". She said "Yeah","it is ridiculous", I say, "it is ridiculous", "yeah you are right, it is ridiculous, but it is like this, it is the way it has been set up" And therefore, for me, this fund is nice but it is always the idea to feel good. It is not to reform the system, it's only "oh we did something there" but without touching the core. What is the core? That is the problem. But the core, the problem is that palm oil production is very cheap compared other seeds, other oil. The cost of production is around 300 euros eh 300 dollars a ton and therefore, if it is 5500 and you get some good income and, of course, the other cost of production worldwide of the other oil is a bit higher and therefore, anything that touched that problem is the problem. And that's why, you understand, after a while, they all take the certification market where they pay 2 or 3, at the best, dollar a ton. Now it's changing, they go towards segregation, but it was not the case and even the segregation, even full segregation is maybe 50 dollars, it is still not a lot, it becomes a lot if you cut maybe 10% increase..and that's why, you have to understand, the whole game there is money. The only thing that concerns is the costs and

not to change the business and therefore, what is about improving the business, getting more efficient. It's ok. What is really have additional costs is not ok.

Josephine: It is very interesting, [Respondent], I would love to talk a lot more with you about this. It is so great to get a more critical perspective, I must say. We are almost out of time but I have a final question for you. If you can, list, quickly, 3 events you think have been some important turning points somehow in the history of the RSPO.

Respondent: 3 events?

Josephine: Yes, 3 events of some kind, internal or external, that you think were important to RSPO.

Respondent: I think the first, well, it was withdrawn, it didn't work, but then the next one was ok. The second resolution by Wetlands International on greenhouse gases. That made a big difference, because from there, after that they had to change seriously the whole pattern and to consider really greenhouse gases. It happened in 2010, I think, that was a big change after, only after they started to have this assessment, RSPO+ and whatever. But you know that changed. The other was the kat. Kitkat against, Kitkat campaign against, and Nestle by Greenpeace, why? Because since then people were saying "yeah, it's ok, we are going to improve, we are going to improve" Everybody was like this. And then Greenpeace attacked really Kitkat seriously and what happens is that the beginning they denied, they denied for 3, 4 months. But in fact what had forgotten at that time...Nestle is that the world has changed. Now it was very easy to get access to all map that are digital satellite, they probably, they totally miss that only after 3, 4 months they discovered that will never work. And therefore, they changed and said "yes, we are going to change. We need to improve our supply chain" And they say "ok we are going to cooperate" and that was a big drama and a big change because from there all the other big brands said "uh uh, we are going to be caught". And in fact, they did, the NGOs attacked then all the other brands, but at the same time all the other brands very quickly reacted, telling "ok, yes, we are going to improve our supply chain". And then came the issue of transparency of the whole supply chain. That is the second main thing. And for a third one, we have done such a big boo, maybe one or so, would be the 2014 regulation by the European Union for food labeling that is compulsory and, therefore, the RSPO was very worried that at that time they could lose all their market. Because, basically the different suppliers, the different actors, different consumers in Europe, don't want to hear about palm oil, especially in the food chain. Therefore, they were very worried. And therefore, they, at that time, re-attacked by creating all this European bureaus and this big branding and therefore, you can see this RSPO create all this big branding things. Including the one where you are going, where your boss is going. That was a new way just to stop this [inaudible 52:19]. Because there is [inaudible 52:17] in reality, in Europe, there is less and less palm oil used for the food, more now for biofuel but not for food. I think that is 3 things have been are quite serious.

Josephine: Very good. You are a fast thinker and a fast talker, [Respondent]. Thank you so much for your view on this. We have reached, we don't have any more time with you and we've reached the end, luckily, of our interview guide. Do you have any questions for us, maybe? Or do you have any comments? Or something you think we should have asked you that we haven't, that you'd like to tell us?

Respondent: No it's a bit difficult. You know, myself, I am writing some papers, so if one day you want to write a paper with me, I will be quite happy, but you know, I know, it's your paper too then, but you know. Go...

Josephine: Thank you for that offer.

Respondent: The same thing, as a good researcher, be critical!

Josephine: We will. We got a lot of critical from you also to put in our paper, so thank you very much for that and we will definitely keep your offer in mind.

Respondent: Ok, thank you so much.

Josephine: Alright, bye bye [Respondent]. Thank you. Have a nice day.

Tove: Thank you a lot.

Respondent: Bye.

Tove: Bye.

Appendix F: Transcribed Interview with Environmental NGO B

Tove: Then we go. So, now, I just started a recording. So, for the record, do you give your consent to be interviewed and recorded?

Respondent: Yes. Yes, I do.

Tove: Great. So, [Respondent], could you please define your current and/or previous roles within the RSPO?

Respondent: Sure. Sure. So, [Environmental NGO B] has been a member for some years. I think – this might not be exactly accurate – but I think it's since about 2008, so about sort of eight or nine years now. And we currently are a representative on the Board of Governors. So, we're an alternative representative for the eNGO category, so for the environmental NGOs. And we're an alternate to the World Resources Institute who are one of the substantive eNGO representatives alongside WWF. And we also sit on the Biodiversity and HCV Working Group, which meets – I think – roughly every quarter to discuss issues that are more related to our work here at [Environmental NGO B]. So, about how can we strengthen the RSPO standard for biodiversity conservation and particularly focusing on HCV issues. We've been involved in other groups in the past. There was something called, I think it was the Innovation Lab or the Innovation Task Force, which was sort of looking at a number of areas where the RSPO was innovating, for example with jurisdictional approaches. But that group sort of was never really formalised, so it was just sort of a discussion area we were involved in for a while. So, really it's the Board and the BHCV Working Group that are our kind of main points of engagement with the RSPO.

Tove: Yeah, okay. And what would you say is the best way as an organisation to promote your ideas and interests in RSPO?

Respondent: I think from my experience – and I don't know whether this reflects what others think – but I think the Secretariat and the RSPO has a, you know, quite an immense job, you know, working with a huge variety of members from growers all the way to retailers and the whole NGO sector as well. And they do have to deal, obviously, as any kind of multi-stakeholder standard and roundtable and certification scheme work, with a huge amount of processes. And so, that often means that engaging as a member can be quite, to be honest, can be quite difficult because the capacity of the Secretariat to respond to individual member requests isn't necessarily there when they're dealing with all of these other issues. So, I think, to really engage with the RSPO, you have to be incredibly… You sort of have to be just incredibly proactive, I think. I hope, in, you know, in a few years – and it's definitely improving – but I hope the systems will improve to bring that engagement more. And things like the GA are obviously are really good at that sort of… You know, the main opportunity for members to bring their sort of issues and propose solutions. But I think just the general involvement and if you've got ideas that you want to see the RSPO discuss or if you have concerns or if you want to help with something in particular, it's very… you have to be incredibly proactive, and it takes – I guess, particularly for the NGOs, but you could argue for all of the company members as well – it's often not a defined part of people's job description, so it can kind of limit how involved they can be

because it's all sort of voluntary. And you organisation pays you to do that part of your role, it's sort of an extra bit. So, I think that can also be a challenge for people engaging. I'm not sure if that really answered your question?

Tove: Yeah, it does. That's interesting. And when you say you really have to be proactive, can you give more detailed example of what that could mean?

Respondent: Yeah. So, I mean, proactive might even be the wrong word because I think you can be… there have definitely been examples where we felt proactive in wanting to address something. So, for example, one of the resolutions that we proposed in November 2015 around improving the whole ACOP procedure process, that had a much earlier timeline, and we were really keen to see a new system and to be involved with that, and we were pushing, pushing, pushing. But it wasn't a priority at that point because there was a lot of other things going on within RSPO related to, for example, the IOI case that came about at that time. So, there can often be these huge things which mean that other things that are aiming to improve the system might be de-prioritised. And so, the delivery of that resolution got delayed, and we then had to chase again. So, you have to be quite persistent unless it's something that… you know, if there's a really obvious case where there's like an immediate thing that the RSPO and its members need to do to protect its credibility or something, you're more likely to get a quick response. But if it's sort of a general improvement area, like for example the ACOP system, which is obviously so important, but that doesn't become as much a priority for the Secretariat to address, so it may get kind of pushed back and get delayed, so we have to continue pounding [laughs] to get progress on things like that.

Tove: Yeah, because, yeah… I see… We looked over the meeting minutes, and we could see that [Environmental NGO B] had throughout… According to the website, it says you joined in 2011, but I also know that the…

Respondent: Ah, 2011!

Tove: It's also possible that the website is wrong, cause it's been before.

Respondent: No, that probably is right. I think we might have been involved, I guess, informally before that. I joined [Environmental NGO B] in 2015, so I'm quite new compared to that time frame. Sorry…

Tove: No, no, that's great. Cause it's interesting because you've been fairly active since you joined, and you sponsored four resolutions according to the minutes, I would say, in total. I was gonna ask you about the first one, but if you joined personally in 2015, maybe you could elaborate a bit more about the history of how that resolution to improve the Annual Communication Of Progress reporting process. Like, how it emerges and what type of work you did to get it onto the floor?

Respondent: Yeah, sure. So, that resolution came out of some research that we do at [Environmental NGO B] on an initiative that we run called SPOTT, which is basically an assessment platform of companies – upstream companies – in the palm oil supply chain. So, we look at what they're reporting overall in terms of how transparent they are and what they commit to, and then how they report progress in those areas. And it's basically a tool for investors – primarily investors – but also other stakeholders to look at how companies are, like, managing environmental risks and what they should be engaging those companies on. So, you know, if they're lacking in certain areas, should they have a

policy, which an investor can encourage them to have? And through that research, we looked at transparency around reporting of just a whole number of areas that are reported in the ACOP report. So, landbank was a huge part of it, so we look at how much companies disclose on the areas that they're managing, and what those areas are used for. And also, we look at things like whether they have a time-bound plan in place and whether they've ever missed targets and that's something that we sort of regularly assess through our work on SPOTT, on this initiative. And we were finding that there was a lot of inconsistencies between what companies were reporting in their ACOP report versus in their sustainability report or in their annual report. Or we were finding that they might be reporting a time-bound plan in their ACOP that… I think, there were some that we initially were looking at… this was some time ago, but members who may have been members for, you know, five years never certified a single area and had a time-bound plan for sort of, as far away as, I think the most ridiculous one we found was for 2056. And these things weren't being picked up on by RSPO, which is partly to do with that sort of capacity issue that they didn't have a system (a) to kind of encourage better reporting and to give really clear definitions and guidance on, you know, these… when we ask you to report on your landbank, this is what we mean. When we ask you to report on certified area, that should include both planted and conservation areas and sort of the whole estate, whereas a lot of companies might be reporting to 'sum planted', and it wasn't clear whether that was right or not. But also there was a lack of guidance on okay, if you're gonna report a time-bound plan, how it needs to be sufficiently ambitious, and if it's not, then the RSPO needs to pick up and respond to it. So, it kind of… the whole idea for that resolution came about from that research and our finding these discrepancies and this lack of, I guess, a lack of follow-up on what was being reported. And at the same time, you know, a big goal of the RSPO and what they're doing is obviously to be able to track their progress and their impact, and we were sort of thinking that if they weren't able to assess based on what companies and members were reporting to them, you know, a baseline of where they are now and where they wanted to go, how on earth could they assess their progress. So, it was sort of to address these different problems that we approached… we drafted a resolution based on kind of what we'd been finding, and then we approached the NGO membership first of all to see who would be willing to support it, but then we also approached people who we sort of engage with quite a lot through the RSPO. So, other companies who we knew would be particularly supportive of better transparency and who had been demonstrating that that was something they wanted to do themselves, whereas other – I forget know who co-signed it – but we had quite a kind of cross-section of members. So, didn't just have NGOs, we had companies as well, which can be… is quite important in showing that it's a resolution that has taken into account the potential concerns of the full range of the membership categories. So, we circulated it to others as well to see if they would support it, and they did. And then that was sort of 'all as ever' in quite, like, a rushed timeframe. But yeah, that's sort of the process for getting a resolution ready and then co-signed, and then you submit to RSPO.

Tove: Yeah, okay. And according to you… I mean, since you're fairly new in the organisation, but maybe you know a bit about how this process has been going on before. Would you say that [Environmental NGO B], like, have been successful in proposing all the resolutions that you want to propose? Or why not, if so?

Respondent: Yeah, I think so. I mean, as you say, cause I wasn't here, I can't answer kind of concretely. But based on my experience from the last two GAs, we will think about some ideas and things which we might want to propose, and then we have like an internal kind of vetting and brainstorming processes. So, it's actually, do we want to address that via a resolution or is that

something actually that we just want to be, you know, communicating to the people that we work with and pushing it that way? And I think – my feeling is on it – that we never, we don't wanna, you know, put forward a resolution for everything that we think needs addressing because ultimately… First of all, you're usually the one… the one who tables the resolution is then usually the one – and I'm not saying this is a bad thing – but is usually the organisation that then makes sure it's delivered and will be quite involved in that. So, kind of capacity-wise, you really have to think carefully about what your priorities are and what as an organisation your best place to address. So, I think, on that basis, we haven't – certainly while I've been here – we haven't proposed other resolutions that then haven't got support and so, we've decided not to table. We've sort of thought quite carefully about how we prioritise the issue and how we make sure we have the capacity to help deliver it. I think there have been examples where we've said actually we're quite interested in discussing something, where we think other people might be interested, that they tend to get – that's sort of more in the brainstorming stages – and they will tend to get kind of whittled down quite early and then become things that we just sort of generally discuss with other members just through our other engagement.

Tove: And that's really interesting to hearing that about the capacity and so. Because one thing we're interested in is to hear whether, like, what you think it depends on whether then resolutions can make it to the agenda or not. Is it more, like, a matter of certain organisational characteristics that contribute to the successfully bringing it there, or is it more a matter of – which I maybe would relate this capacity to that you just talked about – or is it more a matter of, like, the content of the resolution and the time you propose it at?

Respondent: Yeah, I think it's a probable mixture of all three. So, I think that whole idea of kind of socialising the idea of resolutions amongst members and seeing what kind of support it would get and… For example with the ACOP resolution, we came up with that purely from our research on growers and on member companies with a production base, and when we started discussing it with some people whom we wanted to co-sign it, they were like, you know, pointed out to us – quite rightly – that we can't. We need that resolution to be framed so that it is addressing all members and not disproportionately addressing the growers and saying, you know, they – just the growers – need to do this, the whole point of the ACOP process being that it's for reporting by all members. So, we were quite careful then to frame it so that it was across membership categories. And yes, we had come up with it because of our focus on growers in the research but, actually, there are aspects of all members' reporting that can be improved. So, I think that sort of whole approach of socialising it and getting member feedback before is really important, and that can be a big part of why a resolution isn't successful. I think, you're right, the capacity point is really important, both as an organisation – are we able to address this if it gets delivered? – but also having the capacity to then do that original, you know, tabling a resolution. And, I think, to compare it to FSC – which I'm not personally involved in; it's my colleagues who represent us on FSC – they have their GA every two years, and… I think that's right. I feel like I'm gonna be getting you all sorts of wrong information [laughs].

Tove: [Laughs] That's all right.

Respondent: I think they have their GA every two years. And their lead-in time for resolutions, which they refer to as motions, is much longer, whereas my experience with the RSPO has been much more, like, we need to turn this around quite quickly. And it's a much shorter timeframe. And I don't really know why that is. I don't know whether that's because the FSC has been going longer, or what the main difference is. I know they definitely have an issue where they get a lot of motions tabled, and

they actually want to limit the number, because it's just too many. And I don't think the RSPO has that same problem, currently. But I think that capacity issue certainly comes into play for RSPO because we've often had to turn things around very quickly. So, if you don't have the resources to respond to stuff or, just, it doesn't work with your timeline cause you're working on other things, then that can be difficult. I can't remember the third thing you said now…

Tove: Yeah, so there is… Whether you see there is a relation – like, in order to get resolutions to the agenda – if there is a relation between the content of the resolution and the time you propose it at. So, like, depending on the…Well, what's being talked about in the media, or if there's certain events going on, or…

Respondent: Yeah, I think there are definitely trends of what is… yeah, of what is a key topic, which RSPO and the whole membership is aware of that needs addressing. And that means, obviously, it's very likely then to be tabled as a resolution but also to get passed. So, I think an example of that would be… there was a resolution, I think it was 2015 as well… I think… to develop a comprehensive smallholder strategy, and that came about, and it was actually the time that the… you know, there had been a lot of attention on RSPO for not having the right systems in place to include smallholders, so that was a huge barrier for smallholders becoming certified. And there had been a lot about that in the media and also sort of discussions amongst members. And so, this resolution was tabled sort of that year, and it has been a real focus of the RSPO since because it's such a critical thing for the RSPO's success.

Tove: Yeah. Great, thanks a lot! And now, Josephine has some questions for you also.

Josephine: I'll take over from here, [Respondent]. I'd like to talk a bit more about your work in driving the biodiversity and high conservation value agenda. So, you said before that you're part of the working group on biodiversity and high conservation value. Could you elaborate a bit on the work that you've been doing, both inside and outside this working group?

Respondent: Yeah, sure. So, most of the work that [Environmental NGO B] has done on HCV… I guess the more developed stuff actually started before I joined, and that was one of [Environmental NGO B]'s huge focuses – sort of outside of the palm oil space – was around how do you better monitor protected areas. So, we focused a lot on national parks and protected areas where there would be huge problems around encroachment and poaching and illegal activities. And there was recognition that the protected area managers weren't using the same systems, the same monitoring systems, to inform their adaptive management. And that was limiting the… kind of the utility of that data. So, every protected area manager was using a different system and reporting it in different ways, and it was therefore very difficult to see global trends around protected area management. And through that work, a consortium of NGOs came together to develop a system called SMART, which is this Spatial Monitoring And Reporting Tool, which is essentially a database. It's sort of downloadable software that protected area managers can use, and when they go on foot patrols, they can log specific threats and identify based on kind of GPS waypoint data where something has occurred, and then they can adapt their monitoring accordingly. And it was found to be really successful to deter poaching and to improve protected area management. And what [Environmental NGO B] then did with that system in the context of RSPO was to say: How about we apply the same system to the monitoring and management of high conservation value areas that palm oil companies are identifying and setting aside? So, again, a recognition of a gap and saying well, there are these criteria in the Principles and

Criteria that say you need to have a management and monitoring plan for your HCV area, you need to have a monitoring system, both under 5.2 and 7.3 for ex..., say for new plantings and for existing areas. But there was no kind of standard system or endorsed system to allow those criteria to be fulfilled. So, companies were using different systems and, again, monitoring and reporting systems work in different ways. So, what [Environmental NGO B] did was adapt this SMART system that they'd used in… had been used by a consortium of NGOs for protected areas to the oil palm context. And it was through our work with the BHCV Working Group that that system then was endorsed by the RSPO and by the BHCV Working Group. And that has kind of been our main outcome. And the main reason for our involvement in BHCV is around pushing for the uptake of these more robust systems for monitoring. Unfortunately, and you know, this would be where we would like to see it go in the future, those systems aren't mandatory as part of the Principles and Criteria. They're just sort of recommended, and companies can use, you know, different systems. But, you know, it's a good step; it's a step in the right direction. And so, right now on the BHCV Working Group – so, we will attend those meetings quarterly – and a big focus of – well that continues to be a focus – a big focus in recent years has been around the compensation mechanism and that. So, the BHCV also formed the compensation task force to develop the remediation and compensation procedures guidance and documents that companies would have to fulfil to remedy past clearance of areas without prior HCV assessment. So, that's also been a big focus of what we've been involved in over the last few years. Yeah, I guess the sort of other thing we're working on right now is a project that is funded by RSPO and it sort of fits within the BHCV agenda and the BHCV project streams, I guess. We're working on a project to identify what are, like, what are the challenges still to effective HCV monitoring and management, what's working really well in specific places, and can we try and sort of learn from to implement elsewhere, and what are the remaining challenges. Because there is this real understanding still that, actually, you know, of all the things companies are required to do to be certified, setting aside an area and making sure not only is the assessment of high value, but actually that area remains there and doesn't kind of continually become degraded is still a huge problem. So, we've been involved in a project to sort of almost do like a stock-take of where we are with challenges to HCV monitoring and management and what can we do going forward to make sure that these systems are actually effective. Sorry, that was a lot of information in one go!

Josephine: Yeah, no, it's great! So, you started off by saying that what you just described is some of the more developed stuff that you've been doing. Does this mean that your work has changed over time?

Respondent: Yeah, I would say so. I mean, I think… Yeah, definitely. I think also, you know, not only is our work… our work is changing to respond to the changing context. So, I think when we first started – or when [Environmental NGO B] first started – creating monitoring systems for companies to use on HCV areas, that was all very new and, you know, a lot of the companies didn't have monitoring systems, and RSPO on the whole was quite new. And I think now that we're much later on… I think that we first developed that system for the oil palm context in 2012. You know, we're five years later, and there has been huge advances in how not only the companies monitor their own areas… So there are examples of where, for example, concession managers are using drones to manage their conservation areas and that obviously really changes the context in which we're working in. We have to think about how we fit within that and how we support things like that.

Josephine: Yeah, I see. But you're still, then, you're still very much focusing and have always been focusing on this monitoring aspect?

Respondent: Yeah, monitoring for adaptive management. Monitoring to show impact and to show these interventions through the RSPO are successful, and then to inform improved management. As an organisation that is sort of a big part of [Environmental NGO B]'s institutional knowledge, I guess. And then, separately, you know, we do a lot of work on human-wildlife conflict and other sort of anti-poaching aspects, which can similarly be very much applied within the, you know, the palm oil company context.

Josephine: Mm. But it's not… Is it correctly understood then that it's not so much monitoring of the members, which is maybe more a part of this complaints mechanisms, but it's more the…

Respondent: Yeah, I guess there are two aspects. So, the monitoring systems that we produce or try to work with companies to produce are around monitoring impacts and informing adaptive management and kind of biodiversity on the ground, you know, limiting deforestation on the ground. And then the work that we do as our sort of broader part of our business and biodiversity program here in London is around monitoring palm oil companies as a whole. So, this initiative that I mentioned called SPOTT, which monitors companies and how they're progressing and how transparent they are, that does have quite a big focus on RSPO members because many of the, you know, the… you know, the bigger companies – the Wilmars, the Golden Agri Resources, all those companies – they are RSPO members, but we do also have some companies that we monitor who aren't RSPO members, as well. So, of the 50 that we monitor right now on our platform, 40 are members, and 10 aren't members. So, yeah, there are sort of two aspects of monitoring work.

Josephine: Okay, I see... Very cool, very interesting. So, we've been looking a bit through the meeting minutes of the Biodiversity and HCV Working Group. And we think that we have identified three strategies that are employed to kind of further this agenda. And I'd like to read them to you, and I'd like to get your response and see if you can recognise any of these strategies and if you agree that they are important. And maybe you can elaborate on them. So, I think, we'll go through them one by one?

Respondent: Sure, sounds good.

Josephine: Good. So, the first one is that you focus a lot on education of certification bodies and capacity building of HCV assessors. Do you recognise that?

Respondent: Yeah, I think I do. I mean, I guess a big part of… yeah, a huge gap in RSPO's… not success, maybe that's being… Yeah, I guess a huge part of the implementation gap when it comes to… is the standard achieving what it sets out to achieve isn't so much the Principles and Criteria that are in place; it's are there systems in place to mean that those P&Cs are complied with in the manner that they are intended to be complied with? And I think a huge part of that is a poor quality in auditing and in the HCV assessments themselves. So, HCV Resource Network are also on the BHCV Working Group and I imagine you might talk to as well, you know, have created this whole assessor licensing scheme to really address the… to make sure that the quality of those assessments is high. And I think that therefore has also then been a really big focus of the group because we're aware, you know for RSPO and for the individual working groups, even if you can make all these recommendations and things that you would like to see happen, but there's no way any of those things are gonna be achieved at scale if there aren't enough consultants, organisations, members – whoever they are who are meant to be implementing – with the skills to implement them well. So I think, yeah, I would agree with that.

Josephine: Great. So, the second one is a bit what we talked about before – this complaints mechanism – that you are actually sanctioning members for doing land clearing without having conducted a prior HCV assessment.

Respondent: Yes, yes, yeah see that's the remediation and compensation procedures which where, have been a huge focus over the last - I'm not sure when they started negotiating this and trying to come up with it, but it's been at least I think six years, maybe longer. And this was the full idea of how do you keep the credibility of the standard whilst not excluding…

[connection lost 30:44]

[connection regained 31:12]

Josephine: Hi [Respondent], can you hear us?

Respondent: Hi, sorry, it cut out.

Josephine: Yeah, you just fell out.

Respondent: Yes, I don't know what happened. Should I just carry on?

Josephine: Yes, please, you were talking about the credibility of the standard.

Respondent: Yes, okay, so there was a recognition that a lot of clearance of… a lot of land clearance had taken place without HCV assessments, but also that sometimes there was a legitimate reason because obviously, you know, ideally it would have never happened but there were definitely issues around, you know, availability of assessors or the NPP - for the first two years, the NPP hadn't been established, so you couldn't implement the NPP system, the actual system wasn't in place yet. So the remediation and compensation procedures were a way to continue to engage members and to allow for continued certification, whilst requiring those members to actually compensate for past issues. But it was sort of quite a proactive approach from RSPO, I think. I mean, admittedly, it was because there had been a lot of clearance when there absolutely shouldn't have been, but I think that some other certification schemes do have a similar requirement so you can't clear land beyond your estate and you must compensate but they then haven't created a similar system to actually allow the companies to compensate. So, this was really complicated process by thinking of there are so many issues that you have to address around what happens if you for example acquire a company that cleared land after the cut-off date of 2005 but that company wasn't a member yet. So really, it was non-compliant but it wasn't a member, so even at voluntary it wasn't meant to be complying. But if as a member you then acquire it, you have to compensate for that. And how much do you compensate and how does that work? And then questions around how do you compensate in terms of should it be like for like in terms of area? And what if there is no area left to compensate because to do so would require, you know, land that communities are now using? So, is it acceptable to compensate with a consolation project in Kalimantan for clearance that happened in South Sumatra, for example? So, all these quite sort of thorny complicated issues that had to be discussed and that was a huge focus for the Compensation Task Force, which was sort of under the Working Group.

Josephine: Okay. I can imagine that the, as you say, there were a lot of different and strong opinions on these…

Respondent: Yeah, absolutely. Absolutely! No, it is incredibly interesting and, I think, a real example of how it's a very difficult thing also. I think, also when you've been discussing something in a group for so long, and there are obviously periods for public consultation and you're communicating the outcomes of discussions and there are minutes and all these things but I think, ultimately, when you then get to the point where you've created something that's ready to go to, like, final public consultation and that is gonna be socialised with the members to then require companies to actually implement this, it's very hard to capture all of the nuances of the discussion and how you get to the ultimate outcome. And there were certainly examples, which sounds crazy, but within those discussions where we'd have a discussion come up with what we thought was a good solution, and then it might get raised again, you know, six months later. And then we'll go "Oh, you know, we thought we discussed this. We came up with this", but just kind of capturing all of the reasons why you go in a certain direction and come up with the ultimate product is… yeah, it's very hard to do, I think, really comprehensively.

Josephine: Mh. So, the final strategy, [Respondent], that I'd like to get your input on is that we've seen some efforts on the part of RSPO to try and lobby the Indonesian government in order to make it illegal to plant palm oil on HCV areas, since this HCV concept is not really recognised under Indonesian law.

Respondent: Yeah, I mean, I think the RSPO and the Secretariat is always sort of understandably, I guess, but does always have to be incredibly careful about it, how it approaches its engagement with all governments, and I guess particularly with the Malaysian and Indonesian governments because, you know, its Secretariat is headquartered in Malaysia and for both the palm oil industry is such a huge part of the country's economy and it's such an important industry. So, I think, they are careful about that engagement. And I think sometimes members can maybe get frustrated because it could be seen as overly cautious about that, but I don't really know which side of that I fall on, to be honest because sometimes I think that it can be frustrating that there is a lack of progress and you can think 'why aren't they being more forceful?' But then actually you can totally understand in terms of the politics of it why they can't be when they're a kind of competing national standards, and there's always a real rhetoric against, you know, global standards and there is sort of a real want to, I guess, regain that and sort of focus on the ISPO and MSPO instead of RSPO. But, I think, at the same time it's fully recognised that for a lot of cases, the RSPO's success hinges on, like, they have to engage the government. You have to address how do you… For example with the smallholder aspect in ensuring the RSPO isn't just excluding smallholders that the sort of best way to - or one of the approaches to go about doing that - is through government engagement and looking at sort of extension services within a government context to smallholders and not trying to reinvent the wheel and do that separately purely from the RSPO but actually kind of saying "okay, how can we support existing or what could be government mechanisms to improve the situation." Or for the example that you gave with HCV: One of the biggest barriers for companies is that they - or at least one of the, it sounds very cynical but we never know what the, like, real challenges for companies versus what some may use to say "well, this is impossible to implement", and it's probably a mixture of both, to be honest. I'm sure some cases companies are genuinely have that as a challenges, and in other cases the company is just citing the challenge to say "Oh, we can't implement". But the HCV example is sort of the perfect example of that, and it's still not legal to set aside area that is being licensed for cultivation. So, I mean, they have to engage the company on that. I don't think, there is no avoiding that on an issue like that.

Josephine: Mh… And you're talking also about lobbying the government in relation to smallholders?

Respondent: Ehm, I don't think so much lobbying the government in relation to smallholders, but rather engaging and collaborating with the government to come up with solutions to make sure that things like RSPO and other sustainability requirements don't exclude smallholders. And so, I think it's sort of more about engagement rather than lobbying.

Josephine: I see. And does that go for the HCV concept as well, or would you see that as more kind of direct lobbying and advocacy?

Respondent: Yeah, I think, as I said with the RSPO's relationship with the governments and sort of the sensitivities around that – and there isn't any real sort of evidence of this comment – but I imagine that the best approach is for the RSPO to take on this sort of engagement role and to show, for example, that they can help with like access to international markets and support for, like, Indonesian systems, for example by leveraging the power of their downstream company members, and that the actual lobbying angle is left is, sort of, it's better to come from with any of the Indonesian NGOs because there is this rhetoric around, you know, obviously around sovereignty and it not being just all externally driven.

Josephine: Yeah. Yeah, yeah, yeah, I get that. Do you then… Do some of the – I don't know if you know this at all, but – does the RSPO then sometimes maybe get some Indonesian NGOs to do the lobbying for them? We could see in the meeting minutes that…

Respondent: I don't know. They might do it, but I really don't know, to be honest. Yeah, I don't even know how many Indonesian members they have. And actually, to be honest, I guess sort of quite a frustrating example from the NGO side and admittedly speaking as a London-based NGO, but for the resolution around transparency in concession boundaries, which is being so… the progress is being so limited due to government responses to that and, you know, all this push-back on the fact that it's supposedly illegal to share – there's been no clarity on whether it is legal or illegal to share – maps of concession sites, and there was definitely an example within the RSPO where it felt like there was quite a lot of – not from the RSPO necessarily, but for other members and other sort of company members – saying, you know, NGOs need to lobby the government to make sure this isn't the case. And I think Greenpeace has certainly been doing that in Indonesia with some success. But I also don't – whilst it's definitely an option and certainly, you know, can be a really good approach – I also don't think, sort of having said that, the RSPO shouldn't lobby, and I don't really think they should. I don't think that it's members and it can rely solely on NGOs lobbying the government. Because I think some of those NGOs also have similar sensitivities and, you know, they are operating in countries as well and maybe engaging the government on other aspects. So, you know, everybody has to juggle the same sensitivities. Yeah, I'm not sure that answers any questions…

Josephine: Yeah, it definitely does. It is a very sensitive topic, and it's great to get your input on. I would like to also talk a very little bit about your work on peatland protection because I know that's something you also work with in [Environmental NGO B]. And in the RSPO, this also relates to emission reductions, right?

Respondent: Yeah.

Josephine: So, I know that you're not on the Greenhouse Gas or Emissions Reductions Working Groups, but maybe you know something about the kind of work that they do to further these debates on greenhouse gas and emissions reductions?

Respondent: Yeah, so as you said we're not on that working group, but I think that the sort of peatland issue is a real example, as you said, of something which is obviously such a huge part of media attention on palm oil, and it's just such a huge focus for the RSPO it's obviously a real priority and then with forest fires and peatland drainage and the GHG emissions associated with it, it has become much more of a priority. And RSPO NEXT sort of in part aims to address the shortfalls in the Principles and Criteria when it came to requirements around peatland management. It's definitely not something that I've… I haven't been hugely involved in, so I really can give much detail on that. I guess be it just another sort of from ZLS side, something we're working on in that context is we do a lot of work in South Sumatra where we've been working for a long time on Sumatran tiger conservation, and I think with palm oil companies there since about 2001. And obviously that's a hugely important peatland landscape, and so, we're doing a lot of work with companies actually outside of the palm oil sector, with APP, Asian Pulp and Paper, but mostly via our project partners. So, we're working with an organisation called Deltares, which is a Dutch organisation working on peatland mapping and peatland management. So, we would sort of do most of that specific peatland work through other organisations. This is not really our area of expertise.

Josephine: Mh. Could I read three strategies to you, [Respondent], and then…

Respondent: Yes.

Josephine: …maybe you can recognise them as something you've seen being used and maybe not? Okay, so first up is the development and education in tools to measure carbon footprints. That has been a focus in the RSPO.

Respondent: Yeah, I think I would agree with that. Again, it's not something that I've been directly involved in, but with things like PalmGHG… Yeah, it has been a big focus.

Josephine: Great. The next one – you talked a bit about it in another context – highlighting the relationship between the credibility between the RSPO and then, in this case, to incorporate GHG considerations.

Respondent: What, sort of linking the need to incorporate GHG consideration to its credibility.

Josephine: Yeah, so kind of… Yeah, exactly.

Respondent: Yeah, I guess so. It's not… Hm, that's interesting. It's not something… I guess, yeah, I mean I guess it is particularly when it comes to emissions from land use change and peatland, as the RSPO, you know, needs to be able to demonstrate having an impact in those areas because that is such a huge concern of downstream companies. Yeah.

Josephine: Great. Final one: to redefine the standard to also incorporate GHG considerations.

Respondent: Yeah, I think it will be interesting to see what happens in this round of the P&C review.

Josephine: Yeah, it's ongoing, right?

Respondent: Yeah, exactly. It's just kind of really kicking off now, and I'm sure that will be a big priority of a lot of NGOs and, you know, others working on the P&C review. Yeah, it's sort of not really my area. Just from like a personal point of view, I think… I guess, yeah, it's just not my…

Josephine: No, but that's great to…

Respondent: …interest area. So, it's sort of interesting to think about what, like, what are the most practical tools to address, like, deforestation at the smallholder level that also allow for quite complex measurement of GHG emissions or reductions against the baseline. And I think, whilst it's obviously critical so that you know that what you're doing is actually having the right impact, I think it's important that those… it can't become so overly obligated and technical that actually it's exclusive and un-implementable anyway. It's sort of what's the line between, like, scientific rigour and making something accessible.

Josephine: Yeah, definitely. Talking about all these changes, Respondent, do you think that RSPO's definition of sustainability in itself is changing?

Respondent: Hm, that's a really good question [laughs]. I don't know if they have a definition. Do they have a definition of sustainability?

Josephine: Hm, well, that's also a good question. I think some people think of it in terms of the Principles and Criteria, right? How do they define what is sustainable palm oil?

Respondent: Yeah, I think from my perspective I've definitely noticed in the last year more recognition from the RSPO itself as to its overall mission and its position not just as a certification scheme but as a multi-stakeholder, like, roundtable. So, they've talked a lot about what things can they do beyond certification when it comes to issues to do with like including smallholders, for example. And so I think, I guess, maybe it was sort of my assumption, but when I first became involved in RSPO, I saw it purely as a certification scheme, and in that way I think I have the same assumption as you that they define sustainability of production via compliance with the Principles and Criteria, that if there overall mission is to make sustainable palm oil kind of the norm across the industry and saying 'well, certification isn't the only way that we can achieve that', it would suggest that their definition of sustainability is actually different as well. And I think that whole area is quite an interesting thing, because I think, I imagine that the perceptions of different members around what RSPO is and what it is trying to do and how it is going to achieve that, I think there is probably huge variation in that. I think there's sort of a lot of assumptions about... where some people would say 'look, it's a certification scheme, it needs to focus purely on the credibility of the standard, and it doesn't then matter if it isn't certifying loads and loads of companies'. Whereas others would say 'well, actually, no, it's mission is around making sustainable palm oil the norm, it's a roundtable not just a certification scheme, and how is it gonna do that?' So, I think that whole area is very interesting 'cause I think there's very different perspectives on what it is and how it should do it.

Josephine: Going back a little bit then to your… to the Biodiversity-HCV agenda, can you tell us a bit about the membership collaboration or maybe tensions that you see in this regard? So, maybe tell us from which group or membership category that you receive the most support or meet the most opposition from in your work to promote this agenda.

Respondent: I think inevitably most of the opposition from – in all areas, not just in the biodiversity aspect – is from the growers, but not simply because they want to push back because they don't want to do it. I think more because they feel that what they have been doing to date isn't recognised or incentivised or rewarded because there's often this whole discussion around lack of market uptake and premiums for sustainable palm oil and the incentives just not being there. So, I think, in that way,

anything which seems like it's going to make the standard harder to implement, there's a real push back. And because, you know, ultimately, if you're the upstream company, if you're the producer, you're the one who has to change your practices and change what you're doing. Whereas if you're a downstream company and you're a member, admittedly, there are huge challenges and barriers to sourcing sustainable palm oil, particularly derivatives, that is certified when they may not be available. But ultimately it's about, you know, changing supply chains and purchasing decisions, not about actually, you know, hiring more people to manage your HCVs or developing a monitoring system or paying for a monitoring system or all these things. So, I think, sort of purely because of that, inevitably we do get quite a lot of pushback from the growers. But I think that having said that, certainly a lot of the members that we work with on the working group, because they tend to be the members that are the most engaged and the companies sort of most proactively involved in the RSPO, and they therefore also have, you know, quite extensive dedicated sustainability teams and sustainability team members who are purely focused on biodiversity, and they are probably, or at least on sort of, you know, forest conservation and the issues associated with biodiversity, they are often from a conservation background, so it's not like you're speaking another language. You kind of both understand what you're trying to do and what the challenges are and then the pushback comes from like 'okay, that may not be feasible from the company perspective'. So, I think on the whole, there's support for the intentions and understanding of kind of what best practice would look like, and then the pushback comes in a seeming lack of understanding from others outside of companies as to what's actually possible, and how much that might cost, and if they think they're adequately rewarded for all of those things.

Josephine: Yeah, okay. Thank you, [Respondent]! We are about to wrap up, but we have a final question for you, which may be a bit hard.

Respondent: Okay… [Laughs]

Josephine: [Laughs] So, you can think about it for a little bit, if you want. We would very much like to hear you list three events that you think have been important turning points in RSPO's history.

Respondent: Oh, wow!

Josephine: Yeah. And explain to us why you think these were turning points. And yeah, you can take a moment to think about it but, you know, there's no right or wrong answer here. We'd just like to get your perspective on some important historical moments.

Respondent: Hm… Let me think… I think whilst I actually wasn't there, I think the GA where the map resolution was passed was quite a historical moment because it was, I think, it was initially expected that there would be a lot of opposition to that, and the fact that it was passed, you know, with a majority, ultimately to be delivered regardless of the challenges there had been in delivering it since then, I think that's a pretty historical moment. I think in more recent years, it's around the real – you know, we talked sort of about lobbying government versus engaging government and how that works – I think the, whilst it's not a specific event, it's sort of a number of events that have led to it but the kind of emergence of these landscape approaches, whilst they're still incredibly theoretical and hard to actually sort of categorise as to like what does this actually mean, how is this gonna work for RSPO, but I think the fact that RSPO has been involved in pushing for landscape approaches and then is now piloting jurisdictional certification to look at how do you actually make a whole area more sustainable, I think, sort of with the Sabah jurisdictional pilot in South Sumatra, and now even, I think, was it

Ecuador that said they would like to be the first country – I think it's Ecuador. Those are kind of huge opportunities for engaging with the government and for not just addressing the kind of subset of members who might be already engaged but actually looking at 'okay, so how do you bring everybody in this area up to a minimum standard', and I think that's incredibly important and quite exciting. I guess other, like, historical… these are much newer, but I think, anything around legislation and whilst it's not the most important in terms of, sort of, coverage of the proportion of the palm oil market… But I think sort of recent pushes for legislation in Europe around not wanting palm oil in certain products or pushback on imports of palm oil, whether it has to do with health or environment, I think those do present… not necessarily big threats to the industry because the industry, you know, most of the palm oil is sold to China and India or domestically within Indonesia anyway, but I think just in terms of the knock-on effect that that kind of pushback can have in actually making the national industries and national standards even more focused on maintaining sovereignty and not being influenced externally and wanting to have a really strong domestic market, I think that kind of pushback on palm oil from European countries could have quite a sort of knock-on effect on how the industry responds to external pressure, generally. Whether that's from RSPO or from other markets. And I think that's something that really needs to be managed, and I don't really know how that's, like, what the solution is, but I just think it's an interesting outcome of that… of those… sort of… of that… whatever you call it. Sorry, my brain is giving up…

Josephine: [Laughs] We're almost done! Hang in there!

Respondent: No, just it will be interesting to see how that affects pushback on RSPO and on other initiatives.

Josephine: Yeah, definitely! Thank you so much for that input.

Respondent: Yeah, no, it's fun just to get to talk. I'm sorry if I spoke too much.

Josephine: Yeah, no, not at all. Final short question, [Respondent]. Because when we think about important turning points – or when I think about it – I think about also the emergence of these other sustainability standards in the palm oil industry, like the ISPO and the MSPO, which you also mentioned earlier. And I'm wondering if you think that the emergence of these have affected RSPO's way of working in any way?

Respondent: Yeah, well, I think they certainly have to be aware of these standards and if at all possible, it can't be seen as ISPO or RSPO or MSPO or RSPO has to be, like, how do you… how do you look at how these standards align. How can, for example, ISPO be the mechanism that can bring the whole industry up to a minimum standard and maybe be moving towards RSPO certification, or is there a way that RSPO can help strengthen ISPO so that it is inclusive of smallholders, and then the RSPO doesn't have to create its own system to do that. So, I think, it has to change the way they work. Otherwise, I think, there will be a lot of pushback on RSPO, and the outcome will be that maybe RSPO becomes this very niche thing, solely for kind of exports to the US and Europe, but will never ever be able to – unless, you know, India and China become very engaged and require RSPO, which at this stage isn't likely but may happen. Yeah, so I think it has to change the way they work. I'm not entirely sure how, yet. So, yeah.

Josephine: No, but it sounds like a very collaborative way of working.

Respondent: Yeah, I hope so. I think there's a recognition that that's the way to do it. That's certainly what's the RSPO has indicated. Whether that will be kind of reciprocated, I don't know, but I hope so.

Josephine: Okay, great. Thank you so much for all your answers, [Respondent]! Do you have any question for us, or do you have any comments? Or maybe you think that there are some questions that we should be asking that we're not? Anything you'd like to say?

Respondent: No, I think all your questions are really good. It sounds like you know way more about RSPO than I do. I think it will be really interesting to know what you're planning on doing with the outcomes of the research, and whether you have shared the fact that you're doing this research with the RSPO, and if they've had any response yet?

Tove: So, we… You know Kristjan Jespersen?

Respondent: Yes.

Tove: Yes. So, he will be presenting at the European Roundtable in June, and this material… I mean, it obviously informs our master theses, and we will also… we're aiming to publish scholarly articles on it, but it will also be included in the report that he will base his presentation on, as far as I know.

Respondent: Great.

Tove: Yeah, and also another girl in our team is interviewing all the Secretariat, I think representatives from there. So, I couldn't tell you exactly how, like, how officially RSPO knows about the research that we're doing, but they're involved on certain levels.

Respondent: Yeah. Yeah, yeah, yeah. Okay, cool. No, it's just that I think that you will find your findings will be really interesting. You know, it sounds like you have an avenue to get those findings back to the RSPO, which is great. So yeah, no, I look forward to seeing what comes out of them. And we'll be at the RSPO – I will actually have left [Environmental NGO B] by then, I'm moving on – but my team will still be here, and we have a reception here at [Environmental NGO B] at the zoo on the Tuesday, so if you let me know who will be attending – I don't know if any of you will be as well as Kristjan – but, you know, we'd be really happy to invite you along. So, do let me know when you'll be in town, and I can make sure that you get an invite.

Tove: That's great. Thanks!

Josephine: Thank you, that's really nice!

Tove: Well, yeah, we'll make sure. Obviously, we're happy to share this as much as possible. So, that's great. We'll stay in touch about that.

Respondent: Also, just one quick question, and you might have covered this already, but is… So, obviously it's recorded, and I'm totally happy with that. Will you be using, like, assigning comments to specific people, or will it be anonymous? And I think I may be happy either way, I'm just worried if I said anything that's very against RSPO [laughs].

Tove: No, for sure, and just so you know also, if you want to read the transcript before we use it, you're very… we can for sure send you a copy. And you can, you know, correct it and so on. I think we're both aiming to talk about the organisations in terms of membership categories.

Respondent: Yes, yes, yes, yes. Yeah, that's fine.

Josephine: Yeah, and we're aiming to talk a bit… Yeah, membership categories and the kind of working groups that you're participating in.

Respondent: Okay, that's fine. I'm happy with that. I'll be interested to see it, but don't… Yeah, not to worry if I sort of haven't got back… I'm happy for you to use what we've discussed.

Tove: But we will send you a transcript as soon as possible after the interview then, so you can give an overview.

Respondent: Yeah, okay. Thank you. And good luck with your next interviews and with writing it all up!

Tove and Josephine: Thanks!

Respondent: Yeah, I'll look out for your results.

Tove: Great. Thanks a lot for taking the time!

Respondent: All right then. Have a good day!

Tove and Josephine: You, too! Bye!

Respondent: Bye!

Appendix G: Transcribed Interview with Retailer

Ann-Christin: Is it ok if we record it?

Respondent: Yes, it is.

Ann-Christin: Ok, that's great. So, then to start with, please define your current role within the RSPO, like you as a representative of [Retailer].

Respondent: Yes, I sit on the Board of Governors of the RSPO as one of two main representatives of the retail sector.

Ann-Christin: Ok, great, and then, when you, as we said, we are interested in the different agendas that the organisations are driving, so when you, how would you say does RSPO balances these different interests of its members. So are there ways that you think they could perform better?

Respondent: Yes, I do. I think they could perform much better. But actually, undergoing a serious change of review process at the moment within RSPO and I believe that will be very helpful in realigning the vision, the purpose of RSPO across the different stakeholder groups.

Ann-Christin: Ok, and then and that helps, like how would you say in real-life terms, so to say, how does that help to balance the different interests?

Respondent: Because it defines what the RSPO objective is, which has actually become, I think, a little hazy over the years. If you look at the kind of strategy worked on by RSPO, it talks about its objective being, and I can't remember the exact words, but anything market transformation of palm oil. But there's been very little review, of whether the current system and approaches and general methodology and strategy all by RSPO is fit to achieve that. And I think that, exactly as you say, I think the different actors and stakeholders within and associated with RSPO do have different expectations and I think that's beginning to cause some problems in helping the Secretariat to understand what their delivery roles is.

Ann-Christin: Ok, great. Now, let's move a bit more to [Retailer]. We see that [Retailer] has proposed or sponsored two resolutions. One is in 2013, the adoption of the P&C, which passed and then also again in 2014, you co-sponsored a resolution together with Royal Ahold about the enabling market uptake of physical certified sustainable palm oil, but this one was withdrawn after the discussion. So could you maybe explain to us a little bit of how these resolutions emerged and what kind of work did you do in order to have them get onto the General Assembly as well as then like, why would you say that, for example, the second one, you had to withdraw it?

Respondent: Yeah, well the first one was a very broad, general resolution of which we were one of many signatories of what I recall. And it is an issue which is absolutely fundamental to the success of RSPO's Principles and Criteria. Actually, I would argue they're one of the reasons why RSPO has faced so many challenges since that date in 2013 is because, really, the Principles and Criteria were never where they needed to be at that time. But it was surely the P&C voting and so voting for the

P&C was a bit of a done deal and the vast majority of the late work had been done in advance so that all the kind of participants had a pretty good idea of the positioning - I mean, this is actually a kind of failure of the top of my head as well because I wasn't at that roundtable 2013, so… I don't think I was, I am trying to think, I don't remember. I don't think I was there, 2013. I think, 2014 is the first one that I attended. Whereas 2014, the resolution was one which was was very specific to and material to retail supply chains. It didn't have a broad applicability and, if I am really honest, it wasn't very well understood by many of the individuals who have to vote on resolutions, partly because it was so specific. To be honest, growers actually have very little idea about supply chains beyond the refinery point, the kind of first major processing, let's say. And one of my very specific learnings of that experience was to make sure that, if I was to put forward a resolution of that scheme again in the future, i.e. one which is quite specific and requires a degree of context understanding, to do an awful lot more pre-alignment with voting constituents, because actually, the ability, one's ability to explain and describe a very specific context within the podium space at the General Assembly is very, very limited. Is a very ineffective way of dealing with complexity and actually you know I would have done it completely different if I had known in advance what I knew after having undergone the experience.

Ann-Christin: So you say that the 2014 was the first General Assembly you ever attended?

Respondent: I attended one in about 2008 and then didn't attend one again until 2014 and I've been at every one since then, I believe. But yes, I haven't been at one for a long time in between.

Ann-Christin: Ok, when you say p-alignment or what… I am not sure I understood it correctly. Or pre-alignment?

Respondent: Pre-alignment

Ann-Christin: Ah pre-alignment, ok.

Respondent: Yeah so making sure people are, have a chance to have discussions and explanations in advance of the presentation.

Ann-Christin: Hm yeah, that makes sense, ok. So what do you think that it depends on whether the resolution actually makes it to the agenda or not, is that about the characteristics of the organisation that is proposing it or is it rather the relation to between the content of the resolution and the timing you propose it?

Respondent: I think… I think it's a combination of both these factors. I think timing is absolutely critical but the challenge we have is different stakeholder groups will have different perspectives of urgency and related to timing and the failure to achieve a decent P&C very much neglected that, that the market felt - and civil society probably - felt that that was a very critical issue to be sufficiently aspirational with the RSPO standard, but as the producers felt that wasn't such a critical issue, that RSPO was sufficiently strong with the proposal as it stood. And I think the next two years of campaigning was good evidence of, as I said, this slightly distorted perceptions of urgency and critical nature of issues. I think - and it depends, there are so many factors it depends on. So the art is the resolutions, the voting, primarily, takes place in Southeast Asia. So there are some real structural challenges there, because it is actually quite difficult to, if you are based in Europe, in particular, or the Americas, you know anywhere other than Southeast Asia, actually. It's very difficult to get the

quality time to do the pre-alignment that I just described. Because a lot of that is quite soft communication skills, you need to actually sit down with people and talk it through. It can be quite difficult to both get the time and to create the right context for discussion and explanation over the phone. And it depends who it is, if you know the people well, that's very different. But [inaudible 9:07, sounds like 'in the main'], we don't know… there aren't any cross-relationships between the people [inaudible 9:11, sounds like 'in the room'] and the European constituents who have to come over and present resolutions. So that's actually really difficult to do in practice so a lot will depend on how strong your personal networks are. I have to be honest, in 2014 mine were very weak. And I would say the same for Ahold, which is partly why we misjudged that and that's why we agreed to withdraw it because we recognized that it was misjudged. And there's no way that we were going to get it through with the approach that we had taken. So it's a bit of a rumble. But it's kind of lot of different factors of time and place and people and logistics that all combine to determine whether your resolution will be successful or fail.

Ann-Christin: Ok, is that also the reason why [Retailer] has not put any resolutions forward before? I mean, the organisation has been a member since 2006 but then the first resolution co-sponsored was in 2013, so is that also because of the network? Or is there another reason?

Respondent: No, as a general rule, we wouldn't see ourselves as being primary drivers of resolutions within RSPO. I mean if you were like… I mean to be fair, I have only been with [Retailer] since 2011, so it's quite difficult to explain the reasoning before that point. But in the main, we operate very collectively within the palm oil space. We only use a couple of thousand tons of palm oil every year so our volume is very, very low. Our influence from a volume perspective is very low. We see our best way of driving change within the palm oil landscape is through collaboration. So we would not tend to take unilateral action on anything. It is very unlikely we would see anything as being urgent unless we felt that it was… it had good support amongst our peers, particularly other retailers but also potentially consumer goods for the members and general brand and manufacturing sector.

Ann-Christin: Ok great, thank you very much.

Respondent: Cool.

Josephine: So [Respondent], I"ll take over from here. My name is Josephine and the thesis that I'm working on is focusing a bit more on how actors within the RSPO work to further certain agendas. So, we have identified four central debates within the RSPO and those are the biodiversity and HCV agenda, the emissions-reductions agenda, the smallholders agenda, and finally, the human rights agenda. And of course, I'd like to talk to you about each and everyone of them but I know that we are under time constraints, so if you had to choose just one of these, which one are you most deeply engaged with and would like to talk about? I can read them to you again if you want.

Respondent: No, no, I noted them down. I'm looking at it, I mean, in all honesty, I wouldn't say that I had a particular agenda which was stronger than all the rest. I think the challenge is balancing all of these agendas in a way that is pragmatic, for the, particularly the stakeholders who have to deliver, which is either producers on the ground or the supply chain and market through the manufacturing process. You know, absolutely undeniably but much, much more responsibility and therefore, [inaudible 13:14, sounds like 'budging'] on producers. So we do need to acknowledge the challenges around producers, and that includes smallholders. You know, you know, how do you treat them… to be honest, is one of the greatest challenges is that we are not going to get everything we want, you

know. The RSPO is not a system into which everyone can dip their hand and come out with the prize that they want. The reality is that what we have to do is , we have to figure out what are the optimum outcomes across all of these areas to deliver the best net-benefit on palm oil. I mean, I guess… Biodiversity and HCV, really, I mean, I actually cannot separate biodiversity and HCV from emissions and climate change. The two are different impacts of the same challenge, which is land use change so actually, I don't think they are separable I think they are entirely part of the same agenda. I don't think anyone is going to say "oh that's why we can loose biodiversity as long as climate change has progressed and mitigated better." I just don't think that's a credible argument on any level, so immediately I would say, I would say that's the originating focus of the RSPO would be biodiversity and HCV then followed by emissions and climate change. I think the human rights agenda is one which has developed much more recently. There has always been a human rights element to RSPO and standard but previously that focused more on FPIC [free, prior, and informed consent, ed.] and communities and what goes on in plantations to some extend. But a quite rudimentary level, whereas... you know, since the emergence of things like the Human Rights Act and other similar legislation on a global stage, they were actually starting to look for much more structural approaches to tackle human rights issues. And that has led to human rights becoming, starting to gain, I would say profile rather than equivalence, with the land use change issues. I think human rights is seen as a much more critical issue by the market than it is by the production countries. I think they start to get the biodiversity and climate change impact, but I don't think they've quite got the human rights relevance and the critical nature of that from a market perspective. So I guess in that way, you would face it differently. Smallholders, I see as being quite a different challenge because the reality is, we could deliver RSPO without smallholders and it would stay niche and it will only reflect best practice, gold standard within palm oil production. And it would have very little material impact on land use change and climate change in general. You know, I just, you know it will have, it will allow companies who buy RSPO to talk about how good they are because they are doing the right thing but in terms of the actual impact on the ground it will not be material unless the smallholder challenges are phased into. So the challenge of smallholders, I would describe as being more one of an enabling [inaudible 17:9, sounds like 'environment'] so it's the how do we achieve good biodiversity protection, good emissions reduction and potentially, but to a lesser extend, better human rights protection. We can only achieve that at scale by being inclusive of smallholders and I don't think that we have a good enough strategy on that at the moment, but that's my kind of general feeling. Did that makes sense or do you have any questions?

Josephine: Yes, it does, absolutely. And we are very well aware, it's a very good point you are making that this division between different agendas is somewhat an artificial one because it's one organisation that is working with all these different elements.

Respondent: Yeah.

Josephine: Still, you mention the human rights agenda and you said that biodiversity and HCV was maybe something that the RSPO was focusing more on from the beginning and then this human rights agenda has kind of emerged and we've seen...

Respondent: Yeah, it's grown. It's grown in scope and in prominence.

Josephine: Yeah, and we've seen some efforts to, we've been looking through your meeting minutes and we saw a lot of them, and we saw that there were some efforts to bringing in the human rights

agenda through the HCV debate, so kind of focusing on the social side of the HCVs, 4, 5 and 6, I believe, instead of only the first three which are very much related to the environment. Is that something you recognise a way of kind of bringing human rights even more into the RSPO?

Respondent: I think it is a very cumbersome way to approach it, to be honest. I think that the… Given the existing rigour of HCV assessment or, to be honest with you, potentially I should say the lack of rigour, because it is so challenging and so complex. I think that to try and bundle more human rights, more social aspects into it, would be really problematic. And again I think that the human rights issues are quite, I mean, I've got to be cautious of how I present this. Let's just say, there are many specific human rights dimensions within Southeast Asia and palm oil specifically, for example, the forced labour challenge. Now, I am not going to say there is no forced labour anywhere else, obviously there is, but I think there is a recognised peak issue there within Southeast Asia and palm oil. Now, HCV is a methodology and a model that has to apply to lots of different geographies and agricultural and forestry developments. So, I think, I just think it would just be awful cumbersome and not the best way to develop thinking around human rights protection.

Josephine: Just to understand exactly what you are saying [Respondent], are you saying that this is something that has not happened within the RSPO? Or are you saying that it has happened but it's not maybe the way that you would have gone around it?

Respondent: I am not an expert of all things that have happened in RSPO to be honest, but to my knowledge I thought that it had got to conversation levels rather than anything more specific and to be honest, RSPO doesn't own the HCV methodology so I don't see how RSPO could change that.

Josephine: No, maybe, I didn't express myself clearly enough. What I meant was that, you know, the HCV methodology it has - or the different kind of HCVs. To my knowledge, there are six and the first three, they are focused on the environment, and the last three are more focused on the social side you could say.

Respondent: But yes, kind of social and cultural.

Josephine: Yeah exactly. And I think in the beginning of the RSPO, a lot of focus was placed on the first three and then it was not until later that, I think in a resolution, someone said "oh but let's also look at the last three". So it's not a change of the HCV methodology but it's more a broadened focus.

Respondent: No, but I mean, certainly, the HCV methodology should be applied as one of the prerequisites to certification and obligation of certification to maintain HCVs and again I have got to be a bit cautious here, because I really don't know the details or, you know, I am not an auditor and it is not my typical space at that level of detail but my impression is that the HCV methodology has tended to focus more on social in a more community and cultural kind of way making sure rights are protected in the broadest sense. But that tends to be rights to water, rights to land, rights to areas of a cultural significance, things like that. And I might be wrong here, so, you know, please, if I'm mistaken then accept...I might be wrong.

Josephine: No you're right.

Respondent: The human rights agenda that we are seeing at the moment has got a particular focus on forced labour. And that I am not sure, how that would fit within an HCV context at all. It doesn't feel though, it would be a natural fit.

Josephine: Ok, great, that's great to get that input. You also talked about the greenhouse gas agenda as very connected to the biodiversity and HCV agenda but having emerged a little bit later on. So, I just want to ask you, if you could recognise that there have been some efforts when this emissions reductions agenda emerged in the RSPO. It was very important for the RSPO to incorporate GHG considerations in order to maintain its credibility.

Respondent: Yeah.

Josephine: Yeah? And that it was something...

Respondent: Sorry was that a question here? [Laughing]

Josephine: [Laughing] Yeah, so then, I am asking if you can recognise that as something that was being highlighted?

Respondent: Oh absolutely. Yes yes.

Josephine: Yeah?

Respondent: Definitely. I mean there has always been a greenhouse gas element to the standard. I mean, there are some obligations, but the obligations did not go far enough in terms of the last Principles and Criteria review. They didn't give sufficient coverage to peat, they didn't give sufficient recognition to high carbon stock forests and wasn't sufficient obligation on transparency or calculating and reporting of mitigation actions. So all in all, there was just too many compromises around the greenhouse gas elements of RSPO of the last Principles and Criteria review.

Josephine: Ok great, so [Respondent], going back a little bit to the purpose of the RSPO and its definition of sustainability. You talked a bit in the beginning about this, you said that RSPO's strategy has been a bit hazy. So, do you think that RSPO's definition of sustainability is also changing maybe?

Respondent: Hm, ahh is it changing? I mean, the challenge, of course, sustainability is not an absolute and it never will be. We don't achieve sustainability, you become more sustainable. It is just that it is far, far too cumbersome and complicated to kind of, every time you use the word sustainable to have to give a kind of qualification around that. But it is, I think everyone who is a sustainability practitioner recognises that what we are looking for is optimum best practice that recognises that need for our continued supply of agricultural, for example, in this context, agricultural materials while still having sufficient balance in conservation of landscapes and still recognising the human rights of individuals within the production area, I mean just to [inaudible 26:03, sounds like 'put it down to its essence']. I don't think anyone within RSPO would argue over that generic description of RSPO that is, what it's generically aspiring to do. I think that, where it becomes more complicated is that, "well what does that mean in practice?" And that's where, you know, you have to make absolute definitions of what is in, what is out. To what extend does something need to be achieved, measured, demonstrated? And that really contains an enormous degree of complexity and you're never gonna get everyone agreeing on that at all. For being an universal agreement as I said, the word that I am using very carefully is optimum, which means the best outcome with a minimum negative feeling by any particular individual who is affected by the decisions. I think the real tension of what we are going through just now is what is the model that we need to have that is sufficient enough to achieve the scale that is needed to have an impact on the ground and that's where this smallholder question becomes very relevant.

Josephine: Yeah, that's what you talked a bit about.

Respondent: You know, actually, is a gold-plated standard going to be sufficient, a gold-plated standard that almost inevitably excludes, probably, 99% of smallholders and is that what we need? Is that what we want? Is that the answer? I don't think there is an easy answer to that and I don't think that there is going to be - I think you know yourself, that that will be, you have very different perceptions and conclusions by the different stakeholders within RSPO.

Josephine: So, we are almost through. We have a final question for you and it's a hard one, [Respondent], so you are allowed to take a moment to think. We would like you to list three events that have been important turning points in RSPO's history if you can and tell us why you think these were turning points.

Respondent: Interesting.

Josephine: We think so.

Respondent: Right, just doing a bit of mental scrabbling here...

Josephine: Take your time.

Respondent: And remember I have had quite a variable degree of engagement with RSPO. So I haven't been that close to it for quite long times. And then I was close to it in kind of 2007/'8 in a kind of lesser 2010 to 2013/'14 and then very involved since 2014. So these may not be necessarily the most accurate but there are three that spring to mind. The first one goes back to, and as I said, I genuinely, I am sure that other people have come up with things that are more material and more accurate than mine but it is just to give some flavour. The first goes back to, I was actually at Sainsbury's, so I wasn't with [Retailer]. I was at Sainsbury's when I first dealt with palm oil and that was in the kind of 2006 to 2008/'9 period. And when I was at Sainsbury's, I, basically, Sainsbury's bought the very first ever certified batch of palm oil. So we were very much kind of in a leadership position at that time. Now the challenge that we had was that RSPO had been created as a scheme without market fees. So it had no labeling, no logo, no identity that we could use on products to promote this first mover advantage. So that led to basically Sainsbury's developing their own identity at the time. Which is a really simple one, it just states sustainable palm oil and a little teardrop-state-shape. And that was used on all our biscuits at the time, which is where that first certified batch of palm oil went to. It went to a biscuit manufacturers and that was maintained, they continually used RSPO certified palm oil and all these biscuits from that point onward. Now what was interesting was though that… that led to RSPO developing a logo and developing a brand identity that can be used on products. And I think somewhere… I am trying to think of the term, somewhere, the agenda got a little kind of confused and conflated. And what happened? I have very particular views about the role of labeling and in my view labeling is a very strong asset when… under particular situations, under particular contexts. First of all, here people are first-to-market, so you got something that noone else has and you want to shout about it, then a label or a logo can be highly valuable. That is exacerbated or that benefit is enhanced if the topic at hand is also one which has, for example, a lot of campaigns or media presence, so it has a topicality associated with it. So if these conditions are right then the label has a great deal of value. However, actually, I don't see that value being maintained at that level beyond that transition period. So what happens is that that label value declines in that market place as people become familiar with it, as other competitors offer the same solution so lots of products end up

with, for example, RSPO logo and, there is a general perception that either the issue has been dealt with or potentially that is, you know, with RSPO you could even say that the brand value declined as it was seen to be less relevant, there is lots of different context there. The problem is that RSPO now has looked on that initial demand for a label and kind of gone, "oh goodness grace so a label, a logo is the way for us to drive market penetration" and if you look at the RSPO communication strategy a lot of it is around you know, things like they got an app that allows you to search for what products carry the logo. And everything is about the logo and I'll be brutally honest here, our market in the UK is enormously frustrated by this because many of our companies are up at, you know, kind of 95%+ coverage of RSPO, perhaps some are even 100% and that is given no recognition within the app, so unless you actually label every single product, many of whom, I mean 80% of the products over a range that use palm oil, use it at less than 2% of the product formulation. So immediately, you know, you are kind of like "why would you possibly put a label on something that is a tiny component?" So that's created a bit of a particular tension and a direction within RSPO that I don't entirely support. So I think that was a very early kind of turning point in terms of "is it a market facing solution or is it a business-to-business supply chain assurance system", and I think too much weight is now placed on the first of these and not enough weight is placed on the second. Ok, any questions on that? Did that all make sense?

Josephine: It made perfect sense.

Respondent: Right, the second one then is in relation to an event that took place at, I think, it was the 2008 General Assembly and that was when the Indonesian growers constituency basically all walked out of the General Assembly or in mass. It was obviously strategically planned to maximize impact. And that was very, in all honestly, I actually can't remember specifically what the issue was that they were objecting to. But it, it was brinkmanship. So it was one very important constituency trying to leverage influence over all the other constituency by being a bit dramatic, in all honesty. But what it did was, I think, and again, I really wasn't that involved subsequent to this so I happen to speculate slightly, but I think what that did was, it forced RSPO to really focus on what its modus operandi is and what its stakeholder engagement strategy was and how to work on getting better at reconciling some of these tensions. Because again, that really gets to the heart of it: if we can't get RSPO to work within mainstream production within Indonesia, we're really not gonna achieve very much, quite frankly. We are only going to be getting the thumbs up to the good. And I think that event was quite pivotal and not reappraisal process. And then the third one I would say, would be the, as been talked about earlier, the compromises that were made to get the Principles and Criteria signed off in 2013. Which because they were unacceptable to - in effect civil society more than anyone else, the civil society and the market really, because we knew that if we couldn't get support from civil society, then, you know, certification really wasn't worth anything. But that led to all the zero-deforestation campaigning that then took place over 2013 and 2014 and beyond. That then led to the development of the HCS [High Carbon Stock, ed.] standard that led to the zero-deforestation commitments not only by the market companies but by many of, you know, what is it something like 80% of global trade in palm oil has got zero-deforestation commitments, that led to all the traceability programmes. Then - actually it was incredibly catalytical in redefining what we needed to get out of sustainable palm oil for it to meet market and civil society needs. Yey, there they are, there's three. Of the top of my head and I am sure if I were up in thought for another week and did some research, I would come up with different ones. I think the one that I would see is by far the strongest would be that last one around the

P&C and the other two are very much from my particular context and, I suspect that, others would come up with much stronger ones and the last one you'll probably find very universal support for.

Josephine: Yeah, yes, but very interesting to hear your point of view [Respondent], we really appreciate that. I think it's interesting that you haven't mentioned - and all the other respondents haven't mentioned - something that I think would be a huge turning point namely the emergence of other sustainability standards in the palm oil industry like the ISPO and the MSPO. Do you think that they have at all changed the RSPO's way of working?

Respondent: Not enough yet, no, I don't think they have. I hope that they will in the future, to be honest.

Josephine: Ok, in what way?

Respondent: And it's very much in my agenda that we have a much more inclusive strategy as our model of change that actually looks at "what is the role of ISPO and MSPO" and potentially other schemes as well, even though these are really not very material at the moment, you know. And I should, I mean, my kind of [inaudible 39:08] about RSPO, I would love to see it being more of a platform for change within palm oil. That has a broad range of strategies of which one is the kind of gold standard, Principle and Criteria, and the others are, you know, where does RSPO fit into that, where do government relationships fit into, where does landscaping jurisdiction solutions fit into all of this kind of wider strategy that is facilitated and enabled by RSPO. So I think it's a very good point but I don't think it has been a sufficient enough trigger yet, although I do hope it will be in the future.

Josephine: Yeah, I know you have been working a little bit together with the ISPO to kind of see where the standards differ and that one of the….

Respondent: Yes, and I have, to be honest, I have been working probably more, a better way of describing it, I've been working alongside the UNDP [United Nations Development Programme, ed.] Green Commodity Programmes and their Indonesian national action plan which is about to be launched and trying to understand and identify how that fits with RSPO as part of this, as I said, wider model of change.

Josephine: Yeah. ...[Respondent] can you hear us?

Respondent: Yes.

Josephine: [Laughing] It's been quiet so quickly. Yeah, ok, one final question, [Respondent], just in relation to this, the ISPO and I know that HCV, which you talked about before, is not really recognized in Indonesia. Has the RSPO done any kind of lobbying efforts or collaboration efforts with the ISPO or the Indonesian government to make it illegal to plant palm oil on HCV areas? Do you know?

Respondent: I would imagine so but I have not been associated with that so I really don't know. But it'd seem unlikely that that hasn't at least been conversations about that. I would see it more as a conversation than a specific lobbying perspective. But, I mean, it's a good point and it's certainly something that, I mean, to be honest, I would rather that it was dealt with institutionally and that actually there was good protection of HCV land within Indonesian law and then the ISPO reflected that rather than trying to shoehorn the end via ISPO way that wouldn't necessarily have quite the same

scale of impact as it would be achieved through Indonesian law. Indonesian law is unlikely to kind of adopt HCV in the way that it's currently structured but if it could get some kind of regulation that had an equivalence or that brought an equivalence to HCV, even if it just looked at the biodiversity aspects, the environmental, you see the first three aspects and then other elements could be added on through standards whether it's ISPO or RSPO that potentially that may be more achievable in the short term, I think, the socio-cultural aspects may take a little bit more resolving through Indonesian law given the cultural complexity that it is. But I mean the environmental aspect should be the priority there. So yeah.

Josephine: Ok, great. [Respondent], thank you so much. We have taken up too much of your time. Do you have any questions or comments for us now?

Respondent: No I guess, not a question really. I presume that you will be doing a write up or a summary of these conversations and then you will be able to share these?

Josephine: Would you like the transcription of this interview?

Respondent: Not as much that, no, I am more thinking of the summary of the collection of interviews, a kind of broader analysis.

Josephine: Well...

Ann-Christin: We can probably, I mean we can see what we can send you from our final report.

Respondent: Yeah.

Ann-Christin: I mean it's master theses so they are around 100 pages but there has to be some kind of summary of it in the beginning which is then like half a page so then you can decide yourself...

Josephine: Oh yeah, it could be interesting, we would be happy to share that with you

Respondent: Yes, certainly, even just because it's good. I might not get a chance to read everyone in full...

Ann-Christin: Yes, that is completely understandable.

Respondent: It's more to understand what research is evolving and emerging and to have that available should there be any particular usefulness for it.

Josephine: Yes of course, we will be happy to share and as Ann-Christin said there will be a kind of executive summary in the beginning. If you think that's helpful.

Respondent: Yeah that's always helpful.

Josephine: Are there any questions [Respondent], you think that we should have been asking you that we are not. Anything that you would like to say?

Respondent: No, I am quite happy with that. Actually, I kind of need to get going. Thank you.

Josephine: Is it ok if we contact you again if we have any short follow up questions.

Respondent: Yeah if it's just quickly, yeah

Josephine: Alright. Thank you so much for your time, [Respondent]. It was great talking to you.

Respondent: Pleasure, thank you.

Ann-Christin: Thank you.

Respondent: Bye

Josephine: Bye

Ann-Christin: Bye

Appendix H: Transcribed Interview with Processor/Trader

Please note: Before we started the interview and the audio recording, we discussed the procedure of recording and transcribing the interview, sharing our interview notes, and writing up our report using the information from the interview. To make [Respondent] feel comfortable about the process, we promised her that we would send her the transcript as well as our report before sharing the data with anyone else. She would then have the chance of evaluating if any misunderstandings had been made, and whether it would be appropriate for her name and [Processor/Trader]'s name to be in our report and for the data to be shared for other purposes.

Ann-Christin: Just to start with, could you please define your current or previous roles within the RSPO? I mean you already mentioned that you're in the board of governors, but can you just elaborate a little bit?

Respondent: So, me personally, or… [Processor/Trader]?

Ann-Christin: You personally, but also [Processor/Trader].

Respondent: Ok. Well, previously I was, in my previous company, I was on the Trade and Traceability Working Committee. I was, you know, cross-partner representing my previous company as a member, but primarily at [Processor/Trader]… [Processor/Trader] has a seat at the board of governors, and I am the alternate person who sits on the board of governors. Usually there are two persons, and there is a first one and an alternate one, so I am one of the alternates.

Ann-Christin: Ok.

Respondent: And [Processor/Trader] is involved in several working groups, not specifically me, but other colleagues of mine. So, I think…. And [Processor/Trader] as you know is one of the founding members of RSPO.

Ann-Christin: Yeah, we know that. Ok. Then, could you maybe also, in your opinion, what is the purpose of the RSPO? Do you think that this has changed since its inception, as you said you were also there, like [Processor/Trader] has been a founding member?

Respondent: No, I think… In terms of the RSPO and when it was first formed, it is to address a lot of misconceptions about palm oil. It's also about addressing the social and environmental issues associated with palm oil, and I think that's one reason why you have of course then the palm plantations being involved in it and also NGO's, and the purpose is obviously to address the issues that is seen in planting or in planting palm oil. So the social and the environmental issues I think are forefront in doing this, and I think it is also to develop a sort of a credible global standard, you know and, and since this is about sustainability and about sustainable palm oil, and I think that's how you develop the principles and criteria, and I think that is still the fundamental purpose of RSPO. And I think having stakeholders not just on the plantation side but also social societies, civil societies, but also investment, investors, anchors, customers. This is really important because the role of palm oil in our manufacturing is quite prevalent, it is all over. It's in our soaps, in our shampoos, in our foods…

So it is important that all the stakeholder are there, and I think that is one of the purposes that RSPO has been, you know, set up.

Ann-Christin: Ok, great. So what do you say is then, because there is different groups and different stakeholders in the RSPO, so what would you say is the best way to promote your ideas and interests in the RSPO?

Respondent: So, I mean, looking at the fundamental reason RSPO is being set up, so basically I think there is… the best way I think is to be involved with a lot of stakeholders. Stakeholders are very much… and by stakeholders I mean here the general public. Because most of the time those people who are in the sector itself understands palm oil. It's the general public who does not, who has a very different conception of what palm is all about, and that creates a lot of negative feedback, a lot of negative publicity about what palm oil is all about. So I think that the best way to promote is to make sure that there is a lot of interaction with the general public, because the general public also drives the agendas of the civil society and it also drives the way our manufacturers perceive sustainability in palm oil, and it also drives the plantation who actually cultivate palm oil… So, I think that's the best way to promote, so a lot of interaction, a lot of information, to the general public about what is palm oil and sustainable palm oil. Why is it that palm oil is an oil that is utilized most all over the world? That is really important, because the perception especially in Europe is that palm oil is bad, when if you're looking in terms of environmental usage, in terms of land use change, you find that palm oil is far more efficient so for example in one hectare of land, palm can oil can very much yield oil up til about four to five tonnes depending on an average of about three to four, but if you manage your plantations sustainably and well, it can go up to four or five tonnes per hectare. Then you compare to other vegetable oil, like soy beans, which produce about less than a tonne, probably around 700 or 800 litres, you look at sunflower seed which is probably around sun flowers… or around 400 litres. All other oil do not produce efficiently. And if you're looking at the use of the vegetable oil to feed the world, this is the best way to do it because it reduces issues of deforestation, it also, you know, reduces the issue of even, you know, how you cultivate palm oil. So I think this sort of perception is not well understood, because everybody is saying "Let's use an alternative oil", but if you're talking about sustainability, then that is not sustainable. You know, you won't be able to feed the growing population. So, I think this sort of information needs to be with the public. And then, the whole narrative will change, because all I can see right now is a lot of attack. I think it is very true that it has to be sustainably cultivated and I think the RSPO is doing a good job, however, of course there are some flaws that I see in RSPO. Namely maybe the way they have done their assurance, the quality assurance aspect, the certification aspect, needs to be strengthened to ensure that the public are comfortable that the companies that have been certified are actually sustainably growing… are actually growing sustainable palm oil.

Ann-Christin: Ok. So it's interesting that you say that the certification should be strengthened, because we heard, or I mean we read, also on the RSPO website that actually [Processor/Trader] had some issues in regards to the certification, that there was a suspension from the certification of [Processor/Trader] in 2016.

Respondent: Well, that is on a different issue. That is from a different aspect. It is not about the certification itself, so I don't know how much you are well versed with that issue, that you know [Processor/Trader] have about 80% of our palm oil planted in Malaysia. The areas that we have issues with at that point that we got suspended was in Indonesia, and in Indonesia we are very new to it, we

have about… maybe less than 20% of our plantation is in Indonesia. And that is basically in Tapan in Kalimantan. And the issue that we got was due to you know, the regulations that was changing at that point in Indonesia, and you know, and the fact that we are not well versed with it, and so… that part was one of them. The other part was that we had accidentally cleared a land that had peat in it, and because in Malaysia we have not much exposure to peat, the way we rehabilitated it, it was not, you know, up to par. We had reported this to RSPO prior to all this, when we first accidentally cleared it we had already reported it to RSPO but of course the way… you know, because we were not well versed with it, when it comes to peat management we were not very well versed because in Indonesia and especially in Kalimantan there are quite a lot of peat areas, and that was one of the reasons why we got suspended. So it had nothing to do with the certification process. What I was talking about in terms of the certification process is to ensure that when a company is certified, has been certified by RSPO, then the customers or stakeholders should be comfortable to take that as certified.

Ann-Christin: That is very interesting. On a more internal level, so within the RSPO, how do you think the RSPO balances the different interests of the members? Do you think that there are any ways that they can actually perform better in this respect? So, internally within the RSPO.

Respondent: Well, I think, you know, this is a very complex question. It is not like 'yes' or 'no', or 'maybe'. It's about looking at what drives RSPO, ok? Obviously it's about the cultivation of palm oil, sustainably. And looking at that, you have to look at the stakeholders that are involved in this. Of course, you have the plantations. They are the one's who actually need to do that. And then you have the receiver, which is usually the customers of the consumer goods. And then, in between you have the manufacturers, and then you also… You know, the manufacturers utilizes the palm oil, and the product is then passed down to the final stakeholder, which is the consumers. And then you have the civil societies who are there to ensure that we do follow the sustainable standards and, you know, sort of the conscience of the whole RSPO. And then you have the bankers and investors who are of course invested in the companies that are involved in palm oil cultivation and its usage. So I would say that, when it comes to certain activities, commensurate efforts needs to be taken into consideration. And I think this is not very well balanced in RSPO. Sometimes the demands that are being placed to the plantations has to be borne by the plantation, and it should be if its sustainability... to meet the sustainable to demands, but it is important that sustainability is a shared effort, a shared cost. And this is not so prevalent in the way RSPO manages its mandate. I was in downstream so I understand as much as upstream. So, you know I was in an oil chemical company so that point it was in downstream, and then right now at [Processor/Trader] I am in upstream, so I could understand both aspects, and I think this is one of the issues that I think is creating a lot of dissatisfaction in a lot of the members. Because for example the NGOs might feel that, you know, not enough effort is being done, because you know, there are some things that they want to get done, but the members might not agree, either upstream or downstream. And then the upstream in terms of the plantations feel that they are doing all the work, and yet… And all the [inaudible 15:24, sounds like 'pet'] is on the plantations, and also the fact that even without the work done by sustainability… you know the public always view palm oil negatively and the consumer goods and those people that are downstream are feeling the pressure from the NGO's, and they themselves also feel that there is also another focus on… And yet they realise that utilising palm oil as part of the ingredients actually benefit the consumer. So, you know, it's a very delicate balance that RSPO is doing, because you have all the stakeholders, all having their own grievances. And that's why I think it is all about everybody agreeing to everybody. So, and I think to an extent it is very difficult because we believe in everybody agreeing or if there is an objection, as

long as it is not a sustained objection, then the vote goes through. But I think that in a sense makes everybody important. So, make everybody happy and unhappy at the same time, because nobody actually gets their own way, it is a compromise that everybody goes through.

Ann-Christin: Yeah, that makes sense. You mentioned a voting, so let's move a little bit more on the agenda promotion that also [Processor/Trader] does, because we looked into the resolutions that [Processor/Trader] sponsored at the general assembly, and we found that the first resolution you sponsored was in 2008, it was the Oxfam International resolution about the communication of progress by all members, so it's the code of conduct that members specify their commitment through the annual communication of progress. Could you maybe explain to us a little bit how this emerged and what type of work did you do, or like how were you involved in that resolution?

Respondent: Ok, I can't say that, because I actually just joined [Processor/Trader] last year. So I have actually not that kind of background to RSPO.

Ann-Christin: Ok, so then I assume… Because [Processor/Trader] has also sponsored a resolution in 2013, but if you only joined last year… Maybe on a general level, because you were involved also for longer in the RSPO if I understand it correctly, not with [Processor/Trader] but with another player?

Respondent: Yeah.

Ann-Christin: Yeah, so maybe on a general level, what would you say is important in order to actually be successful in proposing a resolution or proposing your idea, what is essential there? Is it depending on the organisation that proposes, or is it more timing issue?

Respondent: Oh [laughs]. You know, when you want to sponsor any kind of legislation, any kind of agenda, you need to make sure that you've got backing of as many people as you like, so there is usually a lot of discussion and, you know, networking needs to be done, so that people truly understands what is the agenda, or what is it that you're proposing. Because you have to understand that the audience, the stakeholders are from very different backgrounds. People from the plantation side do not understand the issues that are faced by the downstream. And the downstream thinks that it is easy to run a plantation, that it is easy to do all the adoptions, and some might think that they don't even realise what is being done, so if you really want to have a successful resolution, you need to make sure that you get the backing of a lot of the stakeholders. Because it cannot come from just one sector of stakeholders and that is one of the beauties of RSPO, the fact that you cannot just get a resolution through by having one sector of the stakeholders supporting you, it needs to be more than that. And I think the consensus type of voting is good, however, at the AGM it is not about consensus, it is about majority. And that in that sense then, you know, the voice of each huge corporation is only one, and the voice of the small, you know little mamas and papas who is a member of RSPO, have the same voice. And to that extent there might be some issues related to that which I see because sometimes there are a lot more at stake for a company that has a big, you know, role in it, than for a small company that just joined RSPO for the purpose of being in the membership. So then there is no equality in terms of the impact that a resolution has. So for example if you have a resolution that would affect a company that has...you know, as opposed to a smaller company that has no effect on the resolution and just vote with no real thought behind it. And that is why it is important for the resolution to be fully understood, for all the stakeholders in order for the resolution to be passed in a manner that I think would be effective for RSPO as a whole.

Ann-Christin: Yeah, so you mentioned that in order for a resolution to be successful, to make the resolution understandable, you have to be good at networking. So in that sense, the organisations that are the best at networking are the ones who gets most of their interests on the agenda.

Respondent: No, I think what is important is this: If you have a resolution that you want to get passed, you need to get as many people to back you, to make sure it is, and therefore, and this is important, and therefore you cannot have a resolution and have people voting on it if they don't understand it, so if you really want your resolution to be successful, you have to get a lot of people to back you, and therefore you need to spend the time to talk to people, to explain your resolution. It is not about networking, it is about making people understand what you want to propose.

Ann-Christin: Ok. How much would you say that the context at the point in time is important? I mean one thing is to make other people understand your own interests and ideas, but do you think that it also matters what is the current discourse, maybe what is the public talking about, does that also matter?

Respondent: Yes, of course. It has to be relevant. It has to be relevant to just not you, but to everyone else. And even if it is not relevant to everyone else, they must understand why it is relevant to you. So if it is relevant during the context or time that you're presenting the resolution, obviously it's gonna go through. If you find that the resolution that you are proposing is not relevant at that point of time, sometimes it shouldn't be tabled, because at that point maybe it is not appropriate, you know. So, it is always about timing, it is always about the appropriateness of your proposal. That goes without saying.

Ann-Christin: Yeah, ok, that is very interesting. Thank you very much for your elaborated answers.

Ida: [Respondent], you are speaking with Ida now. I'm just going to take over from Ann-Christin and ask you a little more about the issues that you work with in [Processor/Trader] and in RSPO. And you mentioned peat earlier, which was one of the issues you encountered in Indonesia. And we see on [Processor/Trader]'s website that you are quite concerned with issues of peatland protection and deforestation and greenhouse gas emissions. So I was wondering, is this something - I mean, do you work to promote the greenhouse gas or the emissions reduction agenda in the RSPO as well?

Respondent: I think we are not the only ones working on it. One of the things that we find with greenhouse gas, because of the fact that we do export our palm oil and the biofuel to Europe, for example, we are also certified under a different certification, ISCC [International Sustainability & Carbon Certification]. So, the regulations require us to be quite - there is a measure of calculation for the greenhouse gas. And one of the things that we do want to promote is that palm oil is considered green. Why? Because of the fact that palm is a tree. While it is a tree, it is a sink. A carbon sink. So the idea of deforestation on a brownfield, in other words replacing one plantation - so for example you have rubber plantations and you replace rubber plantations, to say, with a palm oil plantation - there shouldn't be this issue of change in a greenhouse gas as it's carbon sink, because both of them are trees. And it's different if you, and instead if you used to plant corn, for example, and you replace it with palm. That should be a plus rather than a negative. You know, that sort of thing. So in that sense then, it's very important for us to go for greenhouse gas, it's important for us to be involved in any regulation, because in terms of utilisation of the palm fruit, we have two different oils that you can get. You can get oils that address different composition and use for different parts, and then you can also use the oil for food. So when people talk about palm oil, there is a technical oil, which you use for

your detergents, your soap, for your shampoos, that is palm kernel oil. And then you have CPO, or palm oil, mostly used for food, like your margarines, in bread, in some of your other pastries and that sort of things, confectionaries and everything grease. So because of that you're talking about how much, how palm oil helps in reduction of greenhouse gas. Therefore, this is a very important aspect that we do want to promote.

Ida: So could you tell me a little bit more about how [Processor/Trader] works with promoting the greenhouse gas agenda in a way, and how you work to have an influence on the regulations in RSPO?

Respondent: Well, we are involved with for example ISCC. We are in their working groups, because we are working about methane reduction. And, as well as I can capture, we are of course involved in any working group in RSPO as well, related to greenhouse gas. So that's how we work within the system.

Ida: Yeah. I'm asking because we have looked through a lot of the meeting minutes from the RSPO Board of Governors and the different working groups, including the one on greenhouse gases or emissions reductions. And we have identified three strategies that we think - it seems like they are used a lot when furthering the greenhouse gas agenda. So I was wondering if I could just tell you the three strategies and then you could maybe comment on whether you think that is relevant.

Respondent: Okay.

Ida: So what we have identified is that one, the development of the tools to measure carbon footprints and the education in how to use these is important. And two, that some members might highlight the relationship between RSPO's credibility and the incorporation of greenhouse gas considerations. And the third strategy is that the RSPO's standards are re-defined over time to better incorporate greenhouse gas considerations. Does that sound familiar to you?

Respondent: Yeah the last one for example, that is from RSPO NEXT I think you are referring to. Which we are also committed to undertake. Because under RSPO NEXT, greenhouse gas - methods related to greenhouse gas are further highlighted. You know the indicators that we have to follow to meet the requirements are higher than RSPO. So now the first one, I'm not quite sure I understand. Can you maybe read it back to me, the first one?

Ida: Yes. So the first one was that one strategy used is to develop tools to measure carbon footprints and to educate stakeholders in how to use these tools. So we were thinking for example of the greenhouse gas calculator.

Respondent: Yes, I think that's a very important strategy, because there was a [inaudible 32:03, sounds like 'people'] being presented to us in one of the RSPO meetings, in which they said that in terms of greenhouse gas and how efficient palm oil is - and they compared it with soy bean and I was very very surprised to see that they are of even, they are the same. And then I found out that one of the reasons why it became the same is because of the fact that they assume, when they are looking at indicators for palm oil calculation, it is always on a greenfield. While that's not the case for soy bean. And you have to understand that if you look at the calculation for greenhouse gas contribution, first and foremost, soybean is a bush. It is an annual plant. Every year, you have to harvest and replant. So there is no carbon sink. That's one thing. Second, more importantly, when you look at land use change, as I told you, one hectare and how much oil you get and how much oil you get from one

hectare of palm oil. And of course the fact that palm oil is a tree, and therefore it is a carbon sink. So, I was very surprised. And this is why that calculation, that tool, kit for calculation of greenhouse gas for palm oil is extremely important, and it's extremely important to educate the public. Why in terms of greenhouse gas. And how does palm oil actually contribute to reducing greenhouse gas.

Ida: Okay, I see, that's interesting.

Respondent: And the second one was, come again? [Laughing]

Ida: [Laughing] Sorry. The second one was that we noted in some of the debates that some stakeholders would highlight the relationship between the credibility of the RSPO and the RSPO standard and the incorporation of greenhouse gas considerations.

[Long silence]

Ida: So maybe it relates to, you spoke about how the certification needs to be credible and how people must acknowledge that if it's certified, it's green.

Respondent: Yes. That's exactly it. Palm oil is being - oil palms are being cultivated all over the world. And we have found out that if you actually cultivate them sustainably, the yield is actually better.

Ida: Oh wow.

Respondent: But in order to introduce it, it is also expensive. It's like, you know how they say, usually if you are rich, it is easier to get richer. When you're poor it's more difficult to get rich.

Ida: Yes.

Respondent: So it's the same thing here. Usually, if you want plantings of palm oil sustainably, you have to start correctly. And when you do that, your rewards are higher. And that's why, what we are doing right now all over the palm oil sector, is to actually encourage every single new farmers to also do it in a sustainable way, because that's the best. If you start it right, it's easier than if you start it wrong and then try to correct it. So for example if you start planting on - if you start deforestation, I mean burning - burning, as we have found out, is not exactly the best way to do things well, so that's one of the things that you do. For example if you use seedlings that produces high-yielding oil, that of course costs money, but that's sustainable because that's about land use change and that's about yielding high crops, I mean, high-yielding crops. Do yeah, definitely.

Ida: Okay, that sounds good.

Respondent: So certification would be very important because it gives assurance to our public that, yes, you want to buy palm oil, you buy certified sustainable palm oil. And right now, there's a lot of certified sustainable palm oil, but there's no uptake. So a lot of time, this is what makes the plantation site upset. Because the request is 'please plant sustainable palm oil', but people don't care whether they buy sustainable palm oil or they buy palm oil. And that's very very apparent. Even from the European market, because a lot of the manufacturers will not buy sustainable palm oil if they can get away with buying just palm oil.

Ida: And do you think that from the consumer side that also has to do with - do you think that has to do with knowledge of sustainable palm oil or the suspicion that sustainable palm oil is not actually sustainable?

Respondent: No I think it's about knowledge, understanding that there's a difference between sustainable palm oil and palm oil. A lot of the stories that they have shown, they were done by smallholders, people who are not following the sustainable palm oil P&C, you know RSPO's P&C, principle and criteria, where it's very specific that you are not allowed to do burning. So there's a group of plantations or planters or even smallholders who does not subscribe to sustainable palm oil. However, we who produce it sustainably are painted with the same brush. Because consumers, or the public, does not realise the difference between planting sustainable palm oil based on RSPO P&C and those who do not. And this is also where you have civil society not making the differentiation. And thus presenting this information to the public, and then the public does not realise the difference between sustainable palm oil and palm oil. All they hear is palm oil. And because of that, it is bad.

Ida: Mmm, yeah. That's the impression we get as well. I'll move on a little bit, because we saw that you are also a member of the Human Rights Working Group, is that correct?

Respondent: Yes, we are.

Ida: Would you elaborate a little bit on the work that you and [Processor/Trader] are doing in furthering the human rights agenda in the RSPO?

Respondent: Well, okay, so [inaudible, sounds like 'regardless' or 'regards to' or 'regardful of', 39:44] of the RSPO, [Processor/Trader] as a corporation, we came out recently, in '12, to stress our sustainable palm oil policy about human rights. And we are committed to not having forced labour, gender discrimination. All the principles of human rights. And in that sense, we have also been working with civil society to try and address some of the issues we are facing. Because these are not just what [Processor/Trader] is facing, it is faced by the sectors, industrial sectors, not just the palm oil plantation, it's also faced in manufacturing, it's faced in any agricultural sector. Because if you employ foreign workers, if you employ workers to work in your plantation or in your farm, you will be faced with the same thing. So to ensure that, for example, there's no motion of forced labour, where we have workers coming in and they have to pay an enormous amount to just come into our country to work. And this is a thing that is faced in the construction industry. I think it's very common, that's one of the things that's highlighted in, for example, in Dubai when they were going for the Olympics. If you recall, the issues that have been faced on the construction. So we have already made that commitment to ensure that where human rights is a concern, this is going to be adhered to according to the ILO standard, according to the standard stated in the RSPO. So this is our commitment and we have been working with a labour consultant to look into our labour operations, our operations associated with labour. We are also working with, as I said, civil society to address this and to look at it from a different perspective.

Ida: I see. We also, as we did with greenhouse gases, we also went through the meeting minutes of the Human Rights Working Group and the Board of Governors meeting minutes, to try to figure out how the RSPO works with human rights. And again we defined a few strategies. Maybe we should take them one by one this time, is that easier?

Respondent: Yeah! Because I kind of forgot. I think it's early in the morning for you, but I've had a full day.

Ida: Yes, that's very understandable. The first one that we identified, and that's related to high conservation value actually, that at some point the focus was shifted from more environmental HCVs to more social HCVs. Does that sound correct to you?

Respondent: Yeah. Yes that's right.

Ida: Do you think that was a good lever, in a sense, to promote human rights more in RSPO?

Respondent: Yeah, obviously, I think one of the things that is very important to realise is this: Plantation is like a microcosm, like a small village. If you look at a big plantation. In terms of a big plantation, for example like [Processor/Trader], we have for example schools that we provide for our foreign workers with children. Because there are foreign workers. They might have issues going to the national schools, because they are foreign workers, they have kids, and the kids might not have - it's difficult for them to attend national schools. So we, within our plantation, together with NGOs set up schools for the children. And this is important because I think that if we don't, then the kids get to work the whole day instead of being educated. So in this sense we also understand that, yeah kids can help out with the parents, but not at the expense of their education. So having a school is really important. So therefore, we need to address this. For example we are also looking at some of our female workers who are pregnant, and our foreign workers. When they go to our local hospital, they have to pay a very substantial fee, because they are not local. We thought about having for example midwives to address that aspect. I mean these sort of things are very important because one of the things we also found out is that we need to keep our workers happy. We have a very, a big dependence on the workers to ensure that the plantation is run, because it is labour intensive. So to me, this is a given. It is actually more of an issue to have workers come in and then leave mid-season, it makes it difficult for us to be fully productive and efficient. So I think this part - this is part of what sustainability is all about. If you keep your workers happy, you get a better yield out of it. The issue of… This is something that [Processor/Trader] has to understand. The three Ps are extremely important. There's people, there's planet, and there's profit. And all of this are all intertwined. Sustainability is very expensive, it requires profit. But profit is ploughed into the people, people are happy, the planet is happy - and you get more profit. So to us, having this - and I think it's more difficult to address the people part than actually the environment. Because environment actually we are in control. People, it's more difficult to control people, because sometimes they do things that hurt the environment. So if you control the people, then you control the environment. You control the people and the environment, you get the profit.

Ida: That makes sense, it's like the three legs of a chair, right? It needs to balance.

Respondent: Exactly, it's like balancing the three components. Everybody says - I know a lot of civil society thinks that if a corporation makes lots of profit, there's something wrong with it. To me, what is wrong is if the profit is not used to be ploughed back in order for you to make it be sustainable. You cannot keep on taking without giving. I'm a chemist. I'm not sure whether you know about the La Chatelier Principle? It's an equation of balance, equilibrium. A + B give product C and D. So every time there's more C and D, the product, then you deplete - then you won't have anymore, it goes low enough, then there won't be anymore C and D because there's no more A and B being produced.

Ida: I see. That's a good mathematical way of putting it. Time is flying, so let's move on to the second strategy we have identified. And maybe that's easier because we see that there's a lot of educating going on, like educating RSPO members in how to respect human rights while also respecting the planet in a way. What do you say to that one?

Respondent: Yeah. There are a lot of problems when you have plantations. You can see that very clearly in Malaysia and also Indonesia. It helps to increase the livelihood of the people. A plantation provides work, jobs. That's a plus that a lot of people forget. The reason why Malaysia and Indonesia was able to emerge a lot - especially Malaysia, Malaysia has started a lot longer, earlier than Indonesia - the livelihood of the people increased tremendously. That's what plantation does. It provides work, it provides livelihood. And because it is labour intensive, it helps everybody around it. So consequently not only the plantation, you have the mills, you have the refinery, and with the mills and the refineries you have to use technology. The contribution to the economy, the GDP, of a country is manyfold. And this is something that a lot of, unfortunately a lot of people forget. So it's not just about community, it's not just about the plantation coming in and taking over the land, but bearing in mind that before the people are living at poverty level. Because of plantations, because of palm oil, they have increased their livelihood, their livelihood is better. I see it so much, because I went to some of the new plantations in Indonesia, and it was very eye-opening to see, because in Malaysia it's not, of course the poverty level is not as bad as Indonesia. So I went to Kalimantan, it was interesting to see that before we came in and do the plantation and had made roads and everything, if they want to get any kind of groceries it took them three hours to go by boat. Because of our presence, and we have roads, it took them one hour. That's just infrastructure. But bear in mind that we also hire them to work in the plantation, we also provide schools for them, we also provide water, drinking project because before, they couldn't drill because they were close to the sea, so every time they drilled, they got saltwater into their water table, and of course they can't use it. We come in, we have the equipment to drill really deep, about 180 meters. We were able to get water for them, fresh water. It's that sort of thing. So it's not always about negative… there are a lot of times I think it's also about greed. Once a plantation comes in, then everybody comes in and starts claiming 'this is my land, this is your land, this is not', you know. It all happens. Obviously that happens. But RSPO has also put in place what we call [inaudible 53:04, sounds like 'actic'] forces - free, prior, informed consent that we are introducing to ensure that the rights of the community are also taken care of.

Ida: That actually links well to the next strategy that I wanted to ask you about, is whether monitoring and sanctioning members through the complaints mechanism kind of enforces the respect for human rights.

Respondent: Sanctions always does that. You know, I always believe also that there are two sides to an issue. And I think this is one of the flaws of RSPO. I feel that RSPO should, if there's a complaint being brought up, that they should go down to the ground and investigate. Rather than hear from the complainant and then issue the sanctions. It's just like in a court of law. If somebody has been accused of something, you don't presume that they are guilty. You always presumed innocent. And then proven guilty. But the way RSPO does is that, because they don't go down to the ground to go and investigate first, ensure that the complaint is valid, then come back to both the complainant and the one who perpetuated, then it doesn't work that well. That aspect is flawed.

Ida: I see, that's interesting.

Respondent: And the other thing is that a lot of the panels, the complaint panels, are not well versed sometimes, and yet they are the ones who's making the decision. Now, the problem is that the people who are well versed will have conflict of interest. So it's kind of difficult there. So the only other option is for them to get extras outside, who's not directly interested. It's not that straight-forward answer.

Ida: Sounds like it. Thank you though. We only have a few questions left and then we'll let you go.

Respondent: Yeah it's already past and I really need to go.

Ida: Yeah. Do you have time for just two very brief questions?

Respondent: Okay.

Ida: Okay, thank you. From which group or membership category do you think that [Processor/Trader] receives the most support or meets the most opposition in the work you do in RSPO?

Respondent: Oh it depends on the issue. Kind of difficult.

Ida: Okay. That makes sense to what you said earlier as well. The final question [Respondent], and it's a little bit difficult but I know you don't have a lot of time, but if possible can you list three events that have been important turning points in the history of RSPO?

Respondent: I think it's kind of difficult because I've been involved with RSPO but I'm sure there are lots of events in RSPO. And I'm not sure whether this should be from an [Processor/Trader] perspective, my perspective, or an RSPO perspective, so maybe that might not be an appropriate question for me, because I'm not sure from which perspective you're going to be asking me.

Ida: We're looking for your perspective.

Respondent: You know, previously I was from a downstream, now I'm from an upstream. If you're looking at my own experience, I think… Maybe it's not an easy question for me to answer because of the short time, I have to think about it.

Ida: Yeah. Would it be something that - could we send you the question via email? And then if you had any time to consider it then you could get back to us. Is that a possibility?

Respondent: Sure.

Ida: Okay, that would be great. I'm sorry for keeping you so long [Respondent], but you told us so many interesting things.

Respondent: That's okay.

Ida: Do you have have any final questions or comments before we wrap up?

Respondent: No, I mean, I just - you have to understand that my perspective is an overall perspective. I'm not specifically looking at plantations or downstream or NGOs, but this is my experience working with all the stakeholders. But I would appreciate, as I said earlier, if you would share with me the

transcript as well as the report. And please respect my wishes if I do need it to be anonymous or if I need it to be removed.

Ida: Yes, of course, that is absolutely no problem. Whatever you feel comfortable with.

Respondent: Thank you very much, I appreciate that.

Ida: But we'll send you the transcript as soon as it's done.

Respondent: Okay, great. Alright. So I better go, and I'll look forward to your email.

Ida: Thank you so much for your time [Respondent], and have a good evening.

Ann-Christin: Thank you.

Respondent: Bye you two, have a good day, bye.

Appendix I: Codebook

Code	Description	Use
Advocacy	Mobilising political and regulatory support for one's own interests or as a representative of the interests of others through direct and deliberate methods of social persuasion	- **Use** when identifying the persuasion of governments or organisations that hold political or regulatory power to support and promote an agenda, e.g. through (collective) lobbying - **Use** when identifying the deliberate and direct representation of certain group's interests with the aim of mobilising resources or social and political capital - **Use** when identifying proposals for new legislation or attacks on existing legislation with the interest of specific actors or groups of actors in mind - **Do not use** when identifying the involvement of governments without identifying active efforts to mobilise their regulatory or political power
Defining	Constructing rules and procedures that give status and define boundaries of membership	- **Use** when identifying the (re-)defining of constitutive rules, e.g. membership rules, categories of compliance, and practice standards - **Use** when identifying the certification of actors - **Do not use** when abstract concepts, underlying motivations, or theoretical relationships are defined
Vesting	Creating rules that grant property rights	- **Use** when identifying the use of government authority to reallocate property rights - **Use** when identifying the creation of new actors and field dynamics by changing the rules of exchange relationships in the market to divide vested rights and interests - **Use** when identifying a regulative bargain between a coercive authority and another actor in which regulatory authority is shared - **Do not use** when identifying demands to demarcate property without an element of reallocation
Constructing identities	(Re-)defining the relationship between an actor and the field in which the actor operates	- **Use** when identifying the development of new professions or roles or the transformation of existing ones - **Use** when identifying internal or external pressure to reorient roles - **Do not use** when defining or clarifying already existing roles - **Do not use** when identifying the physical creation of new agents

Changing normative associations	Changing the underlying normative, moral and cultural foundations of sets of practices	- **Use** when identifying the reinterpretation of practices from an alternate normative point of view - **Use** when identifying the extension of practices to re-create an institution based on a different normative perspective - **Do not use** when identifying the defining of the moral underpinnings of an organisation
Constructing normative networks	Constructing interorganisational connections to establish practices based on certain norms and create a peer group to support and promote these practices	- **Use** when identifying industry-wide collaboration to overcome a common issue by creating/expanding new institutions and their underlying norms - **Use** when identifying internal group formation within an organisation to promote practices based on mutually accepted norms - **Do not use** when identifying the informing of other actors of the development or progress of a network without engaging these actors
Mimicry	Easing adoption of new practices by associating the new practices with existing taken-for-granted practices to minimise the gap between the new and the old	- **Use** when identifying the implementation of new practices through mimicking existing practices used by the organisation or other organisations perceived as legitimate - **Use** when identifying the expansion of existing practices to incorporate new practices in a gradual manner - **Use** when identifying attempts to layer new techniques onto existing practices to make new practices understandable while pointing out the shortcomings of existing practices - **Do not use** when identifying attempts to implement new practices that mimic practices accepted by only a few actors
Theorising	Naming new concepts and practices and theorising the causal link between events and/or elements	- **Use** when identifying the naming or defining of new concepts to cognitively embed them among organisational actors or audiences - **Use** when identifying articulations of the causal, temporal relationships between institutional elements or practices, e.g. through narratives - **Do not use** when identifying the (re-)definition of structures of the organisation, e.g. rules, membership, or certification conditions - **Do not use** when identifying theories that do not involve a cause and effect relationship - **Do not use** when identifying the narration of an organisation's inception
Educating	Educating actors in the skills and knowledge required to support the institution	- **Use** when identifying the provision of training programmes, workshops, consultancy advice, and other educational methods - **Use** when identifying the creation of guidelines

		and templates for action - **Use** when identifying the provision of easy access to key information - **Do not use** when identifying the defining of concepts or causal relationships without an educational element incorporated
Enabling	Creating rules and regulatory agencies and diverting resources that facilitate, support, and supplement the organisation	- **Use** when identifying the creation of rules that support existing (rule) structures - **Use** when identifying the creation of new groups or agencies within the organisation that support existing (rule) structures - **Use** when identifying the investment of (financial) resources in prioritised areas or groups of the organisation to support their progression - **Do not use** when identifying the creation of novel rules - **Do not use** when identifying the (re)defining of types of roles and their normative underpinnings
Policing	Ensuring compliance through auditing, monitoring, and enforcement	- **Use** when identifying the development or use of sanctions, e.g. suing and punishment, and incentives - **Use** when identifying auditing and monitoring - **Use** when identifying the demand for ongoing disclosure of information - **Do not use** when identifying threats of (economic) coercion
Deterring	Establishing coercive barriers to change	- **Use** when identifying threats of (economic) coercion as an attempt to ensure obedience among members - **Do not use** when identifying non-coercive types of policing
Valourising and demonising	Providing the public with positive or negative examples that illustrate the normative foundations of an organisation	- **Use** when identifying the provision of examples of what is considered right and wrong - **Use** when identifying the evaluation of the moral status of participants in the field for public consumption - **Do not use** when identifying the storytelling about an institutions' past
Mythologising	Mythologising the history of an organisation to preserve its normative foundations	- **Use** when identifying storytelling of an organisation's inception to provide a normative understanding of an organisation and its vision - **Use** when identifying the illustration of an organisation's principles by referring to its reasons for coming into existence - **Do not use** when identifying the presentation of examples to illustrate the normative underpinning of an organisation

		- **Do not use** when identifying the defining of rules and principles
Embedding and routinising	Embedding the normative foundations of an organisation into the day-to-day routines of participants	- **Use** when identifying repetitive practices, e.g. in training, decision making, and certification routines - **Use** when identifying the reproduction of shared frameworks of members through routinised recruitment practices - **Do not use** when identifying individual occurrences of practices without a repetitive pattern

Appendix J: Complete Table of Coded Archival Data

Type of institutional work	Examples from RSPO archival data
Advocacy	- *"the RSPO should work on encouraging governments to facilitate discussions as well as to enact the Criteria. Governments should be engaged in a transparent manner [...]"* (RSPO, 2004a, p. 2) - *"we should encourage governments to take on suitable elements of the Criteria in legislation"* (RSPO, 2004a, p. 3) - *"[...] has written to [...] ministers in the new Indonesian Cabinet [...] to solicit their support in promoting production of sustainable palm oil in Indonesia"* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 4) - *"LB strongly suggests that smallholders be involved in the RT3SC"* (RSPO 2005c, p. 6) - *"MPOA elaborated on a proposal to adjust subscriptions based on size of potential member to accommodate smaller producer players without ability to meet the Ordinary Membership annual fees of €2,000"* (RSPO, 2006b, p. 4). - *"All agree to lobbying the Tripartite [Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Netherlands, ed.] to provide funds for the STF work"* (RSPO, 2006a, p. 9) - *"Johan Verburg (JV) proposed for the Smallholder Task Force (STF) to be included in discussions as an NI group itself"* (RSPO, 2006a, p. 9) - *"The 2007/8 budget for projects sees an allocation of RM54,000 for the Smallholders Taskforce. May I request the EB allocate more funds for this, especially for Indonesia?"* (RSPO, 2007a, p. 6) - *"Now that we are voting for those smallholders of 599 ha size and below, that is one category .. if smallholder size is smaller than that, such as 40 ha, perhaps we could offer them another rate of fee"* (RSPO, 2007a, p. 9) - *"RSPO must work very hard to convince buyers in Europe, US, India, and China to join it (RSPO) and commit to CSPO"* (RSPO, 2009a, p. 2) - *"Jan Maarten Dross (Solidaridad) Stated that although certification has been mentioned to be voluntary, the fact is that several important companies were certified with, he thought, a commitment, maybe even an obligation, to get their smallholders certified. [...] many smallholders indicated a need for more flexibility and, probably, some adjustments to the smallholder standard for them to qualify."* (RSPO, 2009a, p. 15) - *"In addition, the C&C had highlighted the urgent need for an overarching communications strategy to reach India/China/EU markets with coordinated but targeted messaging"* (RSPO, 2010f, p. 1) - *"He added that his expectation is that the RSPO will hear more of the complications that arrive from the complicated Indonesian legal system and suggested the time has come to consider whether the representative of the palm oil industry shouldn't approach the federal government of the Republic of Indonesia and ask for a legal reform"* (RSPO, 2010c, p. 12) - *"Government needs to acknowledge that HCV areas are not to be planted with oil palm as*

	there are no laws on conserving HCV areas that apply to companies (reference made to Indonesia). CC suggested that the EB engage with the Indonesian government as this is an urgent matter. The Chairman cautioned that it is difficult to have access to the right people in the government and maybe it would be better to approach those who act as advisors to the relevant ministers" (RSPO, 2011b, p. 6) - *"NJ also took the opportunity to remind that there is a need to formulate a process in which certified independent smallholders can convert their certified fresh fruit bunches into Greenpalm certificates in order to participate in the trade"* (RSPO, 2011e, p. 8) - *"SS raised the need to engage the government for the legal status of HCV in Indonesia. This is very key to enable the HCV concept be well implemented in Indonesia"* (RSPO, 2011g, p. 3) - *"OT commented that there were a few universities in Indonesia which have great influence in certain ministries. OT suggested PH to identify and approach these universities. Action: PH to get in touch with OT separately to strategise on lobbying the subject."* (RSPO, 2013f, p. 8) - *"We did ask the Executive Board if we can lower the standards for Smallholder, but we were told that there should be no change in the standard"* (RSPO, 2013j, p. 5) - *"JC advocates in maintaining and promoting B&C as small farmers are dependent on it"* (RSPO, 2015c, p. 11) - *"Members must not make claims which imply that the removal of palm oil from a product is a preferable social or environmental sustainability outcome to the use of RSPO certified sustainable palm oil. Moreover, members shall seek to promote, and not to denigrate the aims and goals of RSPO, namely the production and use of RSPO certified sustainable palm oil"* (RSPO, 2015e, p. 7) - *"In terms of minimum pricing, SP from FGVHB suggests that there may be a need to protect smallholders"* (RSPO, 2016f, p. 3) - *"OT from SIPEF expressed concern that the bar is raised very high for smallholders with the endorsement of the RSPO Management System Requirements and Guidance for Group Certification of FFB Production draft document"* (RSPO, 2016f, p. 7) - *"SY presented the decision paper made by the RSSF Panel for reinstatement of the annual allocation 50% of surplus after tax to the RSSF."* (RSPO, 2016g, p. 4)
Defining	- *"Agreed to [...] concentrate on development of criteria for sustainable palm oil"* (RSPO, 2004d, p. 8) - *"Affiliate membership was created for organisations that do not fit into the 7 stakeholder groups recognised by RSPO"* (RSPO, 2004d, p. 5) - *"Organizations who wish to join RSPO need to be transparent"* (RSPO, 2004c, p. 6) - *"Teoh Cheng Hai and Jan Kees Vis stressed that nominations for candidates [for the EB] can only be made within the members' respective categories"* (RSPO, 2004e, p. 3) - *"Joseph Tek informed RSPO members that as EB members, their respective organizations will have to bear your cost for physical EB meetings, participation in telephone conferences, etc."* (RSPO, 2004e, p. 3) - *"the P&C is meant FOR producers. However, a code of conduct for RSPO members (relating to the implementation of the P&C) needs to be discussed today"* (RSPO, 2005e, p.

5)

- *"[...] the RSPO's approval procedure needs to be improved and be more consistent"* (RSPO, 2005e, p. 13)

- *"applicant should be signing up to a commitment to the P&C"* (RSPO, 2005e, p. 13)

- *"The RSPO Secretariat's article proposal regarding membership fees, subscriptions, collection & defaulting was endorsed by RSPO members"* (RSPO, 2005b)

- *"[...] the RSPO CoC should explain what is expected from members, how members comply with the P&C and very importantly, what happens when members do not comply"* (RSPO, 2006c, p. 5)

- *"[...] only one representative should be present at EB meetings to avoid crowding and a misbalance in representation"* (RSPO, 2006a, p. 3)

- *"MPOA elaborated on a proposal to adjust subscriptions based on size of potential member to accommodate smaller producer players without ability to meet the Ordinary Membership annual fees of €2,000"* (RSPO, 2006b, p. 4).

- *"At GA5 next year, only fully paid members may attend the RT5 and have a right to vote at the GA"* (RSPO, 2007a, p. 3)

- *"The adoption of the proposal for EURO500 Ordinary Membership subscription fees for palm oil producers/growers of up to 499 ha in size was accepted by the membership"* (RSPO, 2007a, p. 9)

- *"The Criteria and guidance will apply to all countries, not just Indonesia"* (RSPO, 2008d, p. 7)

"The Secretariat has developed the framework and criteria for RSPO endorsement of training courses" (RSPO, 2008c, p. 6)

- *"Noted that for claims of 'contains only CSPO' the compromise of 95% (between 90% and 100%) was agreed"* (RSPO, 2008b, p. 4)

- *"It was agreed that [...] for the work to succeed, all RSPO members need to commit to GHG reductions and not just growers"* (RSPO, 2010a, p. 11)

- *"RSPO is building a management team supported by four directors. This is a big change from how it was managed before. It will bring different balance on power and the SG doesn't have to be the expert in everything. It will also bring more stability because employees can leave and without leaving a vacuum. Gender balance important as well. The new SG must also know where the organisation is going so they can manage it."* (RSPO, 2010b, p. 5)

- *"a number of NGOs are requesting to have a lower membership rate since they have budgetary constraints [...] The EB requests DW to develop a formula for tiered membership rates for various categories"* (RSPO, 2011e, p. 13)

- *"The 95% rule has been removed and the use of the Trademark logo will now be voluntary instead of mandatory"* (RSPO, 2011d, p. 4)

- *"make the transition from an executive board to a non-executive board"* (RSPO, 2012h, p. 3)

- *"We will gradually begin to work with the secretariat on changing the status of the Executive Board into that of a Non-Executive Board and transfer executive powers to the*

	management team in the secretariat" (RSPO, 2012a, p. 3) - *"Proposed membership fee structure for independent smallholder [...] The board approve the [...] tier"* (RSPO, 2013a, p. 6) - *"EB endorses the proposal to allow certification for scheme smallholders and other growers without mills"* (RSPO, 2013g, p. 5) - *reporting framework on C7.8 [...] should apply to all companies required to follow the NPP (independent SH excluded)"* (RSPO, 2013h, p. 9) - *"There is a need to classify the P&C 2013 indicators whether it is Major and minor [...]"* (RSPO, 2013l, p. 7) - *"On the basis of the reviewed P&C, we should look at the standard as a standard that defines a fairly broad operational space in which growers can operate. It is a choice to growers whether they want to operate at the bottom of the operational space or at the top of that operational space. Operating at the top of that operational space would include for instance voluntary reporting on the Greenhouse Gas Emissions"* (RSPO, 2013m, p. 3) - *"[...] in order to ensure that sensitive information (submission of carbon assessment reports and GHG calculation results) remain confidential, it was agreed that the WG should be more discerning in allowing observers and that it should be made mandatory to all members and observers to sign an NDA"* (RSPO, 2014c, p. 3) - *"The WG agreed that while the majority of sub-group members should be members/alternates in the ERWG it would be possible for WG members to nominate additional experts from their own organisation to participate in the sub-groups - subject to the approval of the ERWG"* (RSPO, 2014c, p. 5) - *"The Board of Governors have committed, on numerous occasions, move more of the executive functions to the RSPO Secretariat. This has been happening in a gradual manner over the last years. One of the more overt public signals of this shift, is the renaming of the RSPO "Executive Board" to the RSPO "Board of Governors""* (RSPO, 2015b, p. 3) - *"Smallholder groups (being member of RSPO) are required to provide the boundaries of their palm oil plantation, globally, whether certified or uncertified"* (RSPO, 2015e, p. 9)
Vesting	- Example of how RSPO does not utilise vesting work: *"RSPO is not the body to solve land-use planning or policy issues. But it can assist governments in considering ways of doing it, guide them to organise strategies with sophisticated tools, help in interpretations and in securing access to images. These are all being done"* (RSPO, 2007a, p. 5)
Constructing Identities	- *"to make the transition from an executive board to a non-executive board"* (RSPO, 2012h, p. 3) - *"we need to reposition the RSPO from the position of a fixer to a position of a facilitator, participate in debate(s) and other possible solutions to treat the issues that the people care about"* (RSPO, 2015c, p. 13) - *"The Board of Governors have committed, on numerous occasions, move more of the executive functions to the RSPO Secretariat. This has been happening in a gradual manner over the last years. One of the more overt public signals of this shift, is the renaming of the RSPO "Executive Board" to the RSPO "Board of Governors""* (RSPO, 2015b, p. 3)

Changing Normative Associations	- *"[...] land rights and land use issues need to be addressed from economic and sovereignty perspectives as well"* (RSPO, 2009d, p. 5) - *"The GHG issue had been hotly debated [...] It was considered there were many problems and that any acceptance [of including GHG considerations to RSPO, ed.] must be voluntary and introduced in stages"* (RSPO, 2009a, p. 6) - *"Jan Maarten Dross (Solidaridad) [...] lauded RSPO for being the first multi-stakeholder initiative that he was involved in that was developing social mechanisms"* (RSPO, 2009a, p. 12) - *"Legality is not the issue here; we are concerned how we can optimize sustainability of the palm oil of RSPO members"* (RSPO, 2009a, p. 24). - *"NJ felt that social issues were given too small a place, suggesting that key issues such as gender be addressed in the plenary"* (RSPO, 2010f, p. 4) - *"The Chairman informed the group that the RSPO EB had [...] requested that the BTC include social aspects of the HCV (4&5) into its strategy"* (RSPO, 2011b, p. 2) - *"The change of the term Grievance to Dispute and hence Grievance Panel to Dispute Resolution Panel will be considered during the review of the P&C in 2012, as this will affect many areas of the RSPO normative documents"* (RSPO, 2011a, p. 9) - *"Addressing Human Rights as a fundamental component for Sustainability in the Palm Oil sector is the next challenge for RSPO. RSPO has demonstrated that it can effectively address environmental issues. [...] However, these tools and guides respond only to HCV categories 1-3. HCV categories 4-6 must have similar clarity for RSPO companies. Eco-system services (HCV4), basic needs of local people (5) and protecting cultural identity (6) are all HR concerns. [...] These matters should not become a stumbling block as RSPO seeks greater legitimacy as the global arbiter of sector best practice"* (RSPO, 2011f, p. 18) - *"The Compensation Task Force [...] come out with further proposals and consensus within the group about how they want to deal with compensation: [...] For HCVs 5 & 6 and social parts of HCV 4 the companies would be required to negotiate and come forward with an acceptable proposal for compensation with those communities"* (RSPO, 2012h, p. 7) - *"Consider to integrate social and HCV elements in the overall training module"* (RSPO, 2013h, p. 9) - *"Talking about quality control for smallholder on palm oil, Unilever require traceability now in CSPO. Other aspects are human right and protection of biodiversity. These three elements are important to include in ensuring credibility on the production"* (RSPO, 2013j, p. 12) - *"...no forest does not mean there is no HCV. HCV involves social and cultural values as well"* (RSPO, 2014f, p. 10) - *"SHWG Members to take a look and provide comments on Terms of Reference for 'Engendering the RSPO standards for more gender equality and better performance on smallholder oil palm plantations' [...]"* (RSPO, 2015i, p. 4) - *"NPP is not only about HCV. It also cover social aspect. We can say high or low risk can be the best medium for threshold on HCV, but maybe not when come to social issue"* (RSPO, 2015e, p. 5)
Constructing	- *"as there is no direct representation of retailers in the CWG, a consultative process should be put in place to get input and feedback from the wide range of retailers"* (RSPO,

Normative Networks	2004b, p. 4) - *"RSPO membership is dominated by producers and processors, and effort should be made to have better representation of the other sectors"* (RSPO, 2004a, p. 6) - *"[...] the need for government involvement in the process, particularly in providing resources and support in production and use of sustainable palm oil."* (RSPO, 2004a, p. 3) - *"TCH reiterated the need for Indonesian stakeholders to take ownership of the initiative"* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 8) - *"RSPO's involvement in COP-8 is mainly for improving engagement with governments"* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 18) - *"RSPO should create awareness as well as invite CIES members to comment on the 2nd draft Criteria and to join the RSPO as members [...] this could motivate additional Indonesian producers to come onboard"* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 5) - *"approaching major retailers who are not a part of CIES like TESCO"* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 6) - *"active steps to encourage participation from NGOs need to be taken"* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 10) - *"RL suggested including district and provincial-level government bodies on top of national governments in RSPO's list of target stakeholder groups [...]"* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 21) - *"LB proposed the following actions: 1) start email discussion for CWG to discuss the issue of smallholders as they play an enormous part in the palm oil supply chain, 2) a task group to consult with smallholders and report back to the CWG, and 3) smallholders be included in the field testing of the Criteria"* (RSPO, 2005c, p. 8-9) - *"it was important to work with other stakeholders like Fediol to be involved in-part on the development of a scheme and discourage independent initiatives that would unnecessarily compete with RSPO's scheme"* (RSPO, 2007e, p. 12) - *"RSPO will need to further engage governments in addressing the macro level impact of palm oil expansion and land conflicts arising from this"* (RSPO, 2007c, p. 5) - *"Jan Kees Vis (JKV) suggested incorporating engagement of governments within the RSPO communications programme. JKV also mentioned that EB members involved in National Interpretation have a role in getting government representatives involved in RSPO"* (RSPO, 2007e, p. 17) - *"the TFS must work in an inclusive way and should ensure close collaboration with the leaders of the national working groups in PNG, Malaysia, and Indonesia, as well as close liaison with the RSPO Secretariat"* (RSPO, 2008d, p. 8) - *"To improve [...] RT7 including having more interactive elements including workshops to benefit from available membership resources and to provide more dedicated space for concerned interest groups."* (RSPO, 2008e, p. 5) - *"Smallholder organizations must be involved in the market for CSPO [...]"* (RSPO, 2009a, p. 2) - *"There has been a call for more NGOs to join RSPO and participate in it rather than remain outside. Some may have good reasons to disagree with majority opinion of the membership and it would be a shame if they were to be discouraged in taking part due to*

	some important issues of sustainability not being addressed" (RSPO, 2009a, p. 10) - *"That effectively means departure from the system of balanced stakeholder representation, and would crowd out the social and environmental NGOs, which, he thought, would reflect negatively on the credibility and accountability of the Principles and Criteria"* (RSPO, 2009a, p. 15) - *"MRC added that the new SG would need to be able to deal with policy makers and government. The RSPO needs personality who can get access"* (RSPO, 2010b, p. 5) - *"Smallholders' organizations need to be involved in the market for CSPO"* (RSPO, 2010c, p. 4) - *"Regular exchange among all WS should be happening. This will enable further clarification on key priority for each WS"* (RSPO, 2012g, p. 5) - *"In India and China we have completed the stakeholder mapping and we are now beginning to build relationships with the important stakeholders, both on industry and on the government side"* (RSPO, 2012a, p. 3) - *"Increasing the market share of CSPO is still a challenge and we will work very hard try to convince other companies to participate more in the CSPO market"* (RSPO, 2012a, p. 3) - *"The Secretariat also shared that there is a possibility to meet ISPO to discuss on possible collaborations"* (RSPO, 2014c, p. 11) - *"A HCV partnership was announced with HCV Resource Network to develop a HCV assessor licensing scheme that aims to raise the quality of HCV assessments going forward"* (RSPO, 2014e, p. 3) - *"On the point of SHWG, we need to formally have ML to represent SHWG in the Trade & Traceability & IT sub-Working Group (TnT and IT WG). Otherwise we will miss out on many of these issues"* (RSPO, 2015e, p. 10) - *"There is a strong win-win scenario by linking up with colleagues working on HCV because HCS areas can have biodiversity benefits and HCV areas could also have carbon sequestration benefits"* (RSPO, 2015j, p. 8) - *"Biswaranjan Sen spoke of the need for further engagement based on a 'triangular' model where the industry, civil society and government need to come together to resolve issues and challenges"* (RSPO, 2015e, p. 2)
Mimicry	- *"The RSPO should follow examples from initiatives such as FSC-WWF and ECO-Trading"* (RSPO, 2004c, p. 6) - Discussing the anti-trust guidelines: *"JKV proposed to adopt the SAI Platform model"* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 12) - *"the RSPO national interpretation work should be linked with current work by the Malaysian palm oil industry on defining Good Agricultural Practices for Malaysia"* (RSPO, 2006c, p. 10) - *"In the case of branding, new names for RSPO certified sustainable palm oil (CSPO) are being considered. The President suggested that the Criteria Working Group (CWG) reconsider the need for a new name, particularly in light of the existence and acceptance of schemes like the Forest Steward Council (FSC); one consideration could be the use of a number like RSPO100 or an Utz* [sic] *central registry number"* (RSPO, 2007a, p. 3)

| | - *"It is just an additional step going towards a fuller assurance of what is being done"* (RSPO, 2008a, p. 11).

- *"MR Chandran (RSPO Advisor) saw the resolution as an amendment to strengthen the P&C. [...] Simon Lord (NBPOL) disagreed with MR Chandran's (RSPO Advisor) take on the resolution. He could not see anything in the resolution asking for the P&C to be changed"* (RSPO, 2008a, p. 13)

- *"MS recommends that the ISO14064 be the main guideline for GHG related issues"* (RSPO, 2009d, p. 5)

- *"I fail to see the difference between this resolution and that already in the GA approved Code of Conduct"* (RSPO, 2009a, p. 10)

- *"The GHG issue had been hotly debated [...] It was considered there were many problems and that any acceptance [of including GHG considerations to RSPO] must be voluntary and introduced in stages"* (RSPO, 2009a, p. 6)

- *"It was noted that the approach moving forward should be consistent with other emission reduction mechanisms, such as the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), the proposed Reduced Emissions from Deforestation forest Degradation (REDD), and any other suitable mechanisms which are adopted internationally."* (RSPO, 2010d, p. 2)

- *"The resolution that was referred to in the explanation meant an interpretation of the P&C, not an amendment"* (RSPO, 2010c, p. 7).

- *"Addressing Human Rights as a fundamental component for Sustainability in the Palm Oil sector is the next challenge for RSPO. RSPO has demonstrated that it can effectively address environmental issues. [...] However, these tools and guides respond only to HCV categories 1-3. HCV categories 4-6 must have similar clarity for RSPO companies. Eco-system services (HCV4), basic needs of local people (5) and protecting cultural identity (6) are all HR concerns. [...] These matters should not become a stumbling block as RSPO seeks greater legitimacy as the global arbiter of sector best practice"* (RSPO, 2011f, p. 18)

- With regards to the formula for multi-tiered membership rates: *"Agreed to use the current Roundtable on Sustainabile [sic] Biofuels rates as guidelines. This will be for the interim (internal guidelines)"* (RSPO, 2011a, p. 10).

- *"EB endorses the proposal to use this message on the P&C review: The P&C is still relevant and needed but they can be built on to make them more effective"* (RSPO, 2011d, p. 7)

- *"JKV suggest that RSPO should consider outsourcing grievance handling to a third party. For example, ASI (the RSPO appointed accreditation body) handles grievances for FSC"* (RSPO, 2011d, p. 9).

- *"The Compensation Task Force [...] come out with further proposals and consensus within the group about how they want to deal with compensation: [...] For HCVs 5 & 6 and social parts of HCV 4 the companies would be required to negotiate and come forward with an acceptable proposal for compensation with those communities"* (RSPO, 2012h, p. 7)

- When JV announced that he wished to step down as chair of the Complaints Panel, DW suggested *"[...] adopting the FSC model where the Secretariat selects members of the panel and then the panel members decide who the chair will be"* (RSPO, 2012h, p. 11)

- In discussing the RSS: *"I don't see any different of [sic] this with ICS application"* (RSPO, 2014f, p. 11) |

Theorising	- *"[...] it was important that members get a chance to comment on it as this will encourage ownership of RSPO's vision and mission and strategies"* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 14) - *"the objective of Greenpalm is to change practices on the ground by promoting sustainable palm oil via a cost-effective supply chain option"* (RSPO, 2006d) - *"RSPO's reputation could lose credibility if RSPO fails to monitor where sustainable palm oil is going"* (RSPO, 2007e, p. 14) - *"In the case of branding, new names for RSPO certified sustainable palm oil (CSPO) are being considered. The President suggested that the Criteria Working Group (CWG) reconsider the need for a new name, particularly in light of the existence and acceptance of schemes like the Forest Steward Council (FSC); one consideration could be the use of a number like RSPO100 or an Utz* [sic] *central registry number"* (RSPO, 2007a, p. 3) - *"RSPO should not paint its planter members into a selected class. By adding more and more rules, potential members can be scared off joining RSPO which purpose should actually be to get more and more members"* (RSPO, 2008a, p. 12). - *"The company concerned indicates on its website that it follows RSPO and so its actions risk damaging the credibility of RSPO"* (RSPO, 2009a, p. 26). - *"It was agreed that [...] for the work to succeed, all RSPO members need to commit to GHG reductions and not just growers"* (RSPO, 2010a, p. 11) - *"Having consensus with sustained objection ensures that the minority groups are not disenfranchised. Having a majority decision at the GA and ensuring that people can attend allows us to take a vote and move forward"* (RSPO, 2012b, p. 16) - *"Compliance to standards help increase yields which further means that there is a reduction in pressure for deforestation"* (RSPO, 2012i, p. 6) - *"Cooperatives should be an important mediuma* [sic] *to encourage smallholder organization and a catalyst to generate extra benefits for them"* (RSPO, 2012f, p. 4) - *"An idea could be that the SH fund will focus on initial certification costs which will generate a business case for UTZ and GreenPalm to support the funding mechanism and provide seed funding through trading of CSPO"* (RSPO, 2012f, p. 10) - *"[...] it is important for smallholders to get a good agricultural practices training including fertilizer distribution system since it will effect on their productivity"* (RSPO, 2012f, p. 11) - *"I think the success of the RSPO all this while has been because this balance has been maintained between growers and the NGO seats"* (RSPO, 2012a, p. 7) - *"In my view, one of the reasons why there is a slow uptake of the current CSPO is because there are still certain flaws in the credibility of the current CSPO. In particular in regards to issues of HCV and GHG emission"* (RSPO, 2012a, p. 9) - *"All the complaints put at risks the reputation and trust consumers have in the RSPO and makes it even more difficult for all of us to communicate on the successes of the RSPO"* (RSPO, 2013k, p. 5) - *"Smallholder needs to have additional guidance tool in order to understand the standard"* (RSPO, 2013j, p. 6) - *"The world needs RSPO as it would [be, ed.] anarchic otherwise"* (RSPO, 2014b, p. 4)

	- *"We should be cautious on how to present Next as the perceptions given, wordings and implications given are not clear"* (RSPO, 2015k, p. 3)
Educating	- *"The factsheet should contain guidelines on what happens if an organisation wishes to support the RSPO via the SOI, membership, etc."* (RSPO, 2004d, p. 4) - *"to reach a wider audience, the RSPO needs look into translating several key documents"* (RSPO, 2004b, p. 3) - *"Additional plans to complete the supporting guidance document, provide a version suitable for smallholders as well as to begin the national interpretation process by respective producer countries"* (RSPO, 2005b, p. 2) - *"the new Secretary General could benefit from extra training and orientation. For example, training could be provided in the areas of engagement with government and CEOs of major companies"* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 7) - *"TCH suggested training for improving facilitation skills"* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 7) - *"[...] RSPO could organize criteria implementation workshops for members"* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 13) - *"AMN suggested creating a web-based information portal as a service to members. The information portal could contain information on labor and human resources, procurements, fertilizer, etc."* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 13) - *"making information on sustainable practices for smallholders, etc. available could be more beneficial"* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 13) - *"existing [annual progress] reports should also be sent to them to demonstrate how easy the process is"* (RSPO, 2005c, p. 4) - *"the RSPO CoC should explain what is expected from members, how members comply with the P&C and very importantly, what happens when members do not comply"* (RSPO, 2006c, p. 5) - *"JV suggested hiring a consultative expert and using the CWG as a model. JV also suggested inviting additional people from verification backgrounds [...]"* (RSPO, 2006e, p. 2) - *"All agree to approve support for training of Indonesian Liaison Officer"* (RSPO, 2006a, p. 6) - *"RSPO should facilitate the training of internal auditors and external assessors"* (RSPO, 2007c, p. 9) - *"For the FPIC project, three further FPIC training workshops were proposed for Central Kalimantan in April-May and then for Papua and Sabah in June-August"* (RSPO, 2008d, p. 8) - *"The fund would support the formation of the BTC, comprising Biodiversity experts and other stakeholders, who would advise the RSPO on projects that could meet RSPO needs in this area"* (RSPO, 2008d, p. 9) - *"The Secretariat has developed the framework and criteria for RSPO endorsement of training courses [...] The Secretariat flagged the need for more training to build capacity as more and more audits are scheduled"* (RSPO, 2008c, p. 6-7)

| | - *"The Task Force for Smallholder Certification Support Network can start with the money received from the Dutch government's Sustainable Trade Initiative. The work will involve providing training in chemical handling and FPIC."* (RSPO, 2008a, p. 3)

- *"To improve [...] RT7 including having more interactive elements including workshops to benefit from available membership resources [...]"* (RSPO, 2008e, p. 5)

- *"There are tools on how to begin, how to become a member, how to start trading, how to start buying. The tools are available in a number of languages"* (RSPO, 2010c, p. 3).

- *"RA commented on poor auditing and the need to improve on CBs understanding and interpretation of P&C"* (RSPO, 2009c, p. 2)

- *"The HCV Resource Network and RSPO share a common awareness and a common concern for the lack of HCV assessors in the region and the urgent need for training local experts and building up local institutional capacity"* (RSPO, 2009b, p.)

- *"The development of practicable and useable management guidelines that support the infield application of sustainable biodiversity standards"* (RSPO, 2011b, p. 6)

- *"To produce guidelines for unauthorised occupation of land"* (RSPO, 2011b, p. 7)

- *"To add onto the dashboard and the website the organization chart of the Secretariat on the website and roles of everyone"* (RSPO, 2011a, p. 10-11)

- *"The Secretariat will formulate guidance on seven specific points made by the NPPWG2"* (RSPO, 2011d, p. 7).

"Capacity building is very important to prepare smallholder to be ready for certification audit [...] it is important for smallholders to get a good agricultural practices training including fertilizer distribution system since it will effect on their productivity" (RSPO, 2012f, p. 11)

- *"RSPO updated that HCV reporting format was finalised, published and circulated to HCV assessors, certification bodies and growers through various platforms"* (RSPO, 2012j, p. 6)

- *"AL added that this website should provide clarification on selection criteria of different schemes and governance structure of certification scheme to promote critical thinking."* (RSPO, 2012j, p. 3)

- *"There is now a draft procedural flow chart for the grievance processes that has been developed"* (RSPO, 2012i, p. 6)

- *"Peatland WG has produced a high quality draft manual which can be published soon"* (RSPO, 2012i, p. 7)

- *"On the issue of double accounting related to selling Green Palm oil it is recommended to adopt the definition as agreed on with ISCC that volume out does not exceed volume in, and to have this inserted into the training materials for the CBs and possibly a guidance document for CBs and growers"* (RSPO, 2012h, p. 8-9)

- *"Training is needed for CBs regarding certification process for Independent Smallholder"* (RSPO, 2012g, p. 2)

- *"Transparency with the Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil regulations need to be managed to ensure that it is easy for the Indonesian growers to know once they have complied with one of the standards what they need to do in order to comply with the other standard"* |

(RSPO, 2012b, p. 3)

- *"A 'How to start' web tool has been developed and launched in 5 languages"* (RSPO, 2012b, p. 3)

- *"to ask the RSPO through a due process to develop, by GA9, clear guidance on what expectation it has for the other ordinary members of the RSPO, specifically the financial institutions and the NGOS, both social and the environment, in order for them who also signed the Code of Conduct to understand what the RSPO is expecting from them"* (RSPO, 2012b, p. 30)

- *"[...] in this particular field of the use of chemicals, safety and PPE are we doing enough as RSPO as a whole in sharing knowledge and resources to improve the working conditions of workers in the field"* (RSPO, 2012b, p. 33)

- *"The Palm GHG calculator has been launched. Growers can now use it to calculate the carbon footprint of the palm oil they produce"* (RSPO, 2012a, p. 2)

- *"We launched E-trace. A new contract with UTZ has been negotiated for members who deal in mass balance and segregated"* (RSPO, 2012a, p. 3)

- *"MZ presented on the threat monitoring protocol. The tool is developed to assist managers in understanding the effectiveness of HCV management and monitor operation by field team [...] BHCV WG endorsed the threat monitoring protocol [...] RSPO will publish this tool on the website"* (RSPO, 2013e, p. 6)

- *"The Simplified HCV Toolkit for Smallholders was developed [...] to assist independent smallholders to undertake HCV assessment in their existing cultivation as required by RSPO Criteria 5.2 and the new planting 7.3. This document is designed as a generic guidance for countries without national interpretations and/or country specific guidance for independent smallholders"* (RSPO, 2013f, p. 7)

- *"Smallholder needs to have additional guidance tool in order to understand the standard"* (RSPO, 2013j, p. 6)

- *"Training and outreach on PalmGHG: [...] Combination of physical and electronic training. Upload training materials online"* (RSPO, 2013h, p. 6)

- *"[...] Wetland International has drafted a manual to help companies with the new requirements in the RSPO P&C in relation to greenhouse gas emissions [...]"* (RSPO, 2013m, p. 14)

- *"Training for NGO and representatives from plantation companies on how to apply for the fund and how to manage project and meeting the RSSF reporting requirement"* (RSPO, 2014f, p. 3)

- *"A workshop with CBs is also being planned to ensure that they understand the requirements of C5.6 in relation to the use of PalmGHG or an endorsed equivalent"* (RSPO, 2014c, p. 9)

- Revision on NPP documents: *"Decision: It is also suggested that an e-learning tool (with subtitles for other languages) to help producers be made available to be disseminated for producers"* (RSPO, 2014b, p. 9)

- *"A simplified HCV guidance procedure for smallholders has been completed"* (RSPO, 2014e, p. 2)

- *"SY informed members on the completion of the Management and Monitoring of HCV guidance document developed by HCV-RIWG in Bahasa Indonesia [...] The WG agreed to*

	have the document translated to English" (RSPO, 2014h, p. 3)
	- *"The WG agreed that a flowchart should be developed to show the process of compensation mechanism"* (RSPO, 2014h, p. 7)
	- *"Members agreed that the RSPO should work with HCVRN to develop an HCV toolkit for oil palm sector focusing on management and monitoring of HCV areas"* (RSPO, 2015l, p. 7)
	- *"ERWG is considering organising a one day workshop to discuss about [...] how to give additional incentive for grower members to keep and maintain HCS areas beyond legal requirements"* (RSPO, 2015m, p. 4)
	- *"Smallholder Training Academy will be established to provide relevant knowledge and access for smallholders"* (RSPO, 2015i, p. 3)
	- *"We think there are a few simple solutions, namely that there can be clear guidance in the ACOP process, and clearer definitions to ensure that the information submitted is consistent and comparable"* (RSPO, 2015e, p. 9)
	- *"RSPO has engaged a local consultant with experiences on carbon footprint accounting, based in Ecuador, to conduct two face-to-face trainings on PalmGHG"* (RSPO, 2016b, p. 3)
	- *"The secretariat needs to come put* [sic] *with guidance for the growers on implementation to mitigate the problem of interpretation due to the unclear indicators in the RSPO NEXT document"* (RSPO, 2016b, p. 5)
	- *"Objective: To improve RSPO social auditing through the provision of guidance, the development of tools, protocols, procedures and capacity building"* (RSPO, 2015g, p. 6)
Enabling	- *"[...] proposal for the establishment of a satellite office in Jakarta [...] in view of recent funding opportunities from the Dutch Embassy in Indonesia [...]"* (RSPO, 2004a, p. 4)
	- *"guidelines or guidance be general in nature while details are elaborated through national interpretation processes"* (RSPO, 2005a, p. 5)
	- *"RSPO needs a presence in Jakarta, because there has not been many Indonesian organization's applying for RSPO Membership [...] The satellite office's function is to make links with Indonesian NGOs, producers, etc."* (RSPO, 2005d, p. 8)
	- *"The grievance procedure is meant to provide external stakeholders and RSPO members with a focal point for registering official complaints against RSPO members and for RSPO to have a clear, transparent, efficient and impartial means to address companies"* (RSPO, 2006c, p. 5)
	- *"the objective of Greenpalm is to change practices on the ground by promoting sustainable palm oil via a cost-effective supply chain option"* (RSPO, 2006d, p. 12)
	- *"Johan Verburg (JV) proposed for the Smallholder Task Force (STF) to be included in discussions as an NI group itself"* (RSPO, 2006a, p. 9)
	- *"RSPO establishes a capital fund that will encourage independent smallholders to comply with and be certified against the RSPO Criteria, including through group certifications"* (RSPO, 2007c, p. 9)
	- *"update on RSPO Indonesian Liaison Office (RILO) activities to date, [...] engagement of smallholders, support, and coordination for STF meetings, communication to stakeholders*

and exposure" (RSPO, 2007c)

- "develop interpretation of P&C for Indonesian smallholders by strongly put into consideration the smallholders' needs and their various situations with regard to the implementation of the RSPO P&C" (RSPO, 2007d, p. 4)

- "The fund would support the formation of the BTC, comprising Biodiversity experts and other stakeholders, who would advise the RSPO on projects that could meet RSPO needs in this area" (RSPO, 2008d, p. 9)

- "The Task Force for Smallholder Certification Support Network can start with the money received from the Dutch government's Sustainable Trade Initiative. The work will involve providing training in chemical handling and FPIC" (RSPO, 2008a, p. 3)

- "Following the impasse and difficulties faced by GHG WG1 the meeting agreed for the formation of a high level GHGWG2, to include EB members, and to look at the business case around some of the issues concerning GHG and palm oil production in the first instance rather than the limited scope of recommending changes to the P&C as tasked to WG1" (RSPO, 2009f, p. 6)

- "The Taskforce on Smallholders completed the generic Principles and Criteria for associated smallholders" (RSPO, 2009a, p. 2)

- "It has been proposed by OXFAM that the cost of certification for smallholders be shared as they also need to benefit. An RSPO fund is required to encourage smallholders to become certified" (RSPO, 2009a, p. 8)

- "For the smallholders, through the national interpretation process, through the engagement process, their standard for certification is very much reduced – just compliances with legal requirements, e.g., land title, user rights" (RSPO, 2009a, p. 17)

- "The meeting agreed that financing of SH certifications needs to be addressed and a WG to address assistance for smallholder certification has to be set up following the GA resolution" (RSPO, 2010a, p. 13)

- "The Group certification scheme is also being finalised [...]" (RSPO, 2010a, p. 13)

- "NJ proposes that a Smallholder WG be established [...], EB approves this establishment [...]" (RSPO, 2011d, p. 9-10)

- "Formation of a [...] Compensation Task Force (CTF)" (RSPO, 2011g, p. 4)

- "A smallholder certification and support fund [...] will be created" (RSPO, 2012i, p. 4)

- "A group certification scheme for the supply chain is being developed by the standing committee. The intent is to lower the barriers for small and medium enterprises" (RSPO, 2012i, p. 5)

- "GreenPalm will create a page on their website to enable smallholders to trade Fresh Fruit Bunches produced by independent smallholders" (RSPO, 2012i, p. 6)

- "On infrastructural requirements, DW presented a proposed new organization chart with new staff and new positions that are needed to deal with the growing needs and membership of the RSPO [...]" (RSPO, 2012h, p. 3).

- "Approval/endorsement from EB on: (a) Smallholder Funding Mechanism [...] (b) Proposal on changes in RSPO documents for certification of independent smallholders" (RSPO, 2012h, p. 12-13)

- *"An idea could be that the SH fund will focus on initial certification costs which will generate a business case for UTZ and GreenPalm to support the funding mechanism and provide seed funding through trading of CSPO"* (RSPO, 2012f, p. 10)

- *"The investment in smallholder organizations needs to be followed through as it was always the intention of RSPO to use some of the royalty fees from the trade and certified sustainable palm oil to invest in programs to help smallholder production get certified. This will continue as well as investment in the dispute settlement facility which is now up and running to support people who are involved in land conflicts"* (RSPO, 2012b, p. 3-4)

- *"all RSPO ordinary members who are in the trade of palm oil are required to submit to the Secretariat of the RSPO by GA9 a time-bound plan appropriate to their own category to process, purchase and use 100% CSPO. be it to produce, to trade, to process, purchase and use 100% CSPO. Those who fail to do so will be listed on the RSPO website as non-compliant"* (RSPO, 2012b, p. 30)

- *"We will continue to invest in smallholder organisations. We created the smallholders fund to support initiatives for smallholder certification. We are in the process of setting up governance, guidelines and procedures on how much of RSPO's income goes into the fund and how the fund is used. In the future, we will be investing along the same line in a dispute settlement facility"* (RSPO, 2012a, p. 3)

- *"The Palm GHG calculator has been launched. Growers can now use it to calculate the carbon footprint of the palm oil they produce"* (RSPO, 2012a, p. 2)

- *"The Executive Board has created a smallholder fund to assist smallholder certification. This comprises 10% of income from trade in CSPO plus 50% of any remaining surplus"* (RSPO, 2012a, p. 4)

- *"We launched E-trace. A new contract with UTZ has been negotiated for members who deal in mass balance and segregated"* (RSPO, 2012a, p. 3)

- *"MZ presented on the threat monitoring protocol. The tool is developed to assist managers in understanding the effectiveness of HCV management and monitor operation by field team [...] BHCV WG endorsed the threat monitoring protocol [...] RSPO will publish this tool on the website"* (RSPO, 2013e, p. 6)

- *"The Simplified HCV Toolkit for Smallholders was developed [...] to assist independent smallholders to undertake HCV assessment in their existing cultivation as required by RSPO Criteria 5.2 and the new planting 7.3. This document is designed as a generic guidance for countries without national interpretations and/or country specific guidance for independent smallholders."* (RSPO, 2013f, p. 7)

- *"We need to invest in these mechanisms [smallholder and dispute settlement, ed.] to show impact. [...] We need to evaluate the process and the outcome because we need to keep up to speed with developments in the market [...]"* (RSPO, 2013k, p. 2)

- *[...] the RSPO Smallholder Support Fund is now available and ready to be applied for smallholders. Total funding available currently is estimated about RM5 million"* (RSPO, 2013i, p. 1)

- *"The RSPO is investing in smallholder organisations, helping particularly the independent smallholders to become certified against the RSPO P&C"* (RSPO, 2013k, p. 2)

- *"We are currently funding the Independent Smallholder certification, Solidaridad/POPSI project [...]"* (RSPO, 2013k, p. 3)

- *"JV raised the topic of the formation of a Human rights working group"* (RSPO, 2013a,

	p. 16) - *"[...] there is a need to establish a WG to oversee implementation of C5.6 and C7.8 on measurement of GHG"* (RSPO, 2013g, p. 7) - *"JVK - we need to spend money to support RSPO members and RSPO processes"* (RSPO, 2013d, p. 4) - *"A Complaint form is developed and published on the RSPO website"* (RSPO, 2013d, p. 8) - *"Proposal to SHWG: To use the CSS as a stepwise approach towards full smallholder RSPO certification"* (RSPO, 2014i, p. 5) - *"On a general level, this [RSSF, ed.] can allow smallholders to be ready - in a stepwise manner for certification"* (RSPO, 2014f, p. 12) - *"It is in the interest of smallholders to apply best management practices so they should not be exempted from requirements such as water table management. However, smallholders would need to be given sufficient support to do this"* (RSPO, 2015n, p. 12) - *"Part of the budgeted project costs include [...] spending on agency work and campaigning around the world"* (RSPO, 2015e, p. 5) - *"To widen the scope of the fund. Apart from funding smallholders for certification purposes alone, we also can consider using the fund for other elements, such as HCV assessment, smallholder farmer grants to purchase personal protective equipment/gears like gloves, fertilisers, etc."* (RSPO, 2014j, p. 12) - *"RSPO to extend the fund to Scheme Smallholders"* (RSPO, 2014j, p. 12) - *"I would like to inform that there is a new position in the Secretariat - Director for Special Project. This portfolio will also handle smallholder aspect"* (RSPO, 2015e, p. 6)
Policing	- *"He went on to propose penalties for organizations that are found to not comply with the criteria for sustainable palm oil"* (RSPO, 2004e, p. 4) - *"EB members' reports should be combined into a booklet and distributed to remaining members to encourage reporting"* (RSPO, 2005c, p. 4) - *"RSPO should be careful about policing as there could be concerted efforts to keep a particular organization out of the RSPO"* (RSPO, 2005e, p. 13) - *"The grievance procedure is meant to provide external stakeholders and RSPO members with a focal point for registering official complaints against RSPO members and for RSPO to have a clear, transparent, efficient and impartial means to address companies"* (RSPO, 2006c, p. 5) - *"the RSPO CoC should explain what is expected from members, how members comply with the P&C and very importantly, what happens when members do not comply"* (RSPO, 2006c, p. 5) - *"RSPO is not the palm oil police but if someone complains about our member, RSPO needs to take action"* (RSPO, 2007e, p. 6) - *"Mandatory for executive summaries of audit reports [...] of certified companies to be posted on the RSPO website"* (RSPO, 2007e, p. 12)

- *"RSPO should facilitate the training of internal auditors and external assessors"* (RSPO, 2007c, p. 9)

- *"At GA5 next year, only fully paid members may attend the RT5 and have a right to vote at the GA"* (RSPO, 2007a, p. 3)

- *"The NGOs are expected to keep RSPO sharp while, at the same time, remain constructive"* (RSPO, 2008a, p. 9)

- *"The resolution [...] asks [...] that at the moment one has done his AMDAL, monitoring assessment, HCV assessments, that he makes the documents publicly available as proof that they have been done [...]"* (RSPO, 2008a, p. 11)

- In response to the escalating situation in Tripa related to deforestation, *"[...] RSPO should step in to cool things down by civil action [...]"* (RSPO, 2008a, p. 16)

- *"There was no response to date from any name on the 'Name and Shame' list which has been on the website for just over a week. The SG informed that the next step would be an announcement to the effect that the members have been suspended from the RSPO. The process will be repeated for the next set of long defaulting members. The Chair advised that names on the 'Name & Shame' list be announced at GA6 and in the absence of any further response will be formally delisted as members"* (RSPO, 2009d, p. 3)

- *"Formation of a [...] Compensation Task Force (CTF)"* (RSPO, 2011g, p. 4)

- *"Discussion on Sime Darby Plantations HCV remediation plan [...] The decision was NOT to accept the stage 2 report"* (RSPO, 2011h, p. 2-5)

- *"BHCV suggest RSPO to approve the stage 2 report [submitted by Sime Darby Plantation] with amendments [...]"* (RSPO, 2011i, p. 4)

- *"A letter will be sent to IOI to inform them that: a) All pending IOI certification against the P&C will not be progressed as of 4th April. b) IOI will be requested to provide RSPO with acceptable solutions within 28 days, which preferably has been mutually agreed with the complainants. c) Failing to respond with acceptable solutions within the 28 day period, will cause RSPO to consider further sanctions against IOI. These further sanctions could include suspension of the trade of certified sustainable palm oil"* (RSPO, 2011e, p. 5-6)

- *"To continue with the suspension of pending certification of PT SMART and PT Ivomas Tunggal until such time there is a clear agreement on High Conservation Value compensation for post 2007 land clearing without HCV assessments"* (RSPO, 2011e, p. 5).

- *"Because of lack of clarity about ownership situation of the alleged plantations (Dutapalma, Darmex Agro, other?), Secretariat is asked to investigate further on exact location & review all original complaints to the determine exact nature & area and involvement of any RSPO member or members"* (RSPO, 2011a, p. 8-9)

- *"EB reiterates that it will not forward a resolution to the GA for an extra EB seat for Indonesian Growers as long as GAPKI remains uncooperative in their participation"* (RSPO, 2011a, p. 4)

- *"RS presented on the stage 3 remediation report and the group has a discussion. The report was rejected with recommendations for improvement"* (RSPO, 2012d, p. 5)

- *"The WG decided to proceed to SDP's remediation stage 4 i.e. evaluation of test phase results"* (RSPO, 2012c, p. 4)

- *"all RSPO ordinary members who are in the trade of palm oil are required to submit to the Secretariat of the RSPO by GA9 a time-bound plan appropriate to their own category to*

	process, purchase and use 100% CSPO. be it to produce, to trade, to process, purchase and use 100% CSPO. Those who fail to do so will be listed on the RSPO website as non-compliant" (RSPO, 2012b, p. 30) - *"Action: SDP will submit stage 7 lesson learnt paper to RSPO before the next meeting."* (RSPO, 2013e, p. 3) - *"The actual remediation expenses for Baras Danum and Batang Garing from July 2011 to June 2012 amounted to IDR 325,530,700 (USD 34,300). The Stage 7 report was approved by the BHCV WG"* (RSPO, 2013n, p. 3) - *"A letter will be sent to MPOA to clarify their position and whom they represent within the RSPO. And to point out their obligations as per the RSPO Code of Conduct"* (RSPO, 2014k, p. 3) - *"The proposal is to formally request these companies to submit their ACOP within the next six weeks, failing which appropriate action will be taken. The action could be anything from suspension or termination of membership"* (RSPO, 2014e, p. 14) - *"The secretariat is to draft a Board Resolution to ensure that there is no ambiguity in the rules going forward so any RSPO members violating the spirit of the RSPO could be expelled by condoning the boycott, elimination or denigrating certified sustainable palm oil"* (RSPO, 2015h, p. 4) - *"The Secretariat proposes that sanctions be imposed on non-submitter of NPP, whereby the management unit (without the NPP) will not be able to trade CSPO for a duration of three years from initial certification. Proposed sanction on NPP non-submitters and the procedure for suspension/ termination are approved"* (RSPO, 2015k, p. 4) - *"Endorsement of RSPO Remediation and Compensation Procedures Related to Land Clearance without Prior HCV Assessment (RaCP)"* (RSPO, 2015k, p. 5) - *"[...] FELDA cannot be simply allowed a 3 year "break" [from RSPO]. Felda's request for separate membership for FGV must be decided based on existing RSPO rules/systems that are in place [...]"* (RSPO, 2016g, p. 4)
Deterring	- *"At GA5 next year, only fully paid members may attend the RT5 and have a right to vote at the GA"* (RSPO, 2007a, p. 3) - *"If RSPO does not receive a reply and/or payment, those members will be de-listed and an announcement on this will be posted on the RSPO website"* (RSPO, 2007a, p. 3) - *"There was no response to date from any name on the 'Name and Shame' list which has been on the website for just over a week. The SG informed that the next step would be an announcement to the effect that the members have been suspended from the RSPO. The process will be repeated for the next set of long defaulting members. The Chair advised that names on the 'Name & Shame' list be announced at GA6 and in the absence of any further response will be formally delisted as members"* (RSPO, 2009d, p. 3) - *"JKV added that the RSPO could also consider denying voting rights to members who have not submitted reports for two years"* (RSPO, 2010e, p. 6) - *"A letter will be sent to IOI to inform them that: a) All pending IOI certification against the P&C will not be progressed as of 4th April. b) IOI will be requested to provide RSPO with acceptable solutions within 28 days, which preferably has been mutually agreed with the complainants. c) Failing to respond with acceptable solutions within the 28 day period, will cause RSPO to consider further sanctions against IOI. These further sanctions could*

	include suspension of the trade of certified sustainable palm oil" (RSPO, 2011e, p. 5-6) - *"EB reiterates that it will not forward a resolution to the GA for an extra EB seat for Indonesian Growers as long as GAPKI remains uncooperative in their participation"* (RSPO, 2011a, p. 4) - *"all RSPO ordinary members who are in the trade of palm oil are required to submit to the Secretariat of the RSPO by GA9 a time-bound plan appropriate to their own category to process, purchase and use 100% CSPO. be it to produce, to trade, to process, purchase and use 100% CSPO. Those who fail to do so will be listed on the RSPO website as non-compliant"* (RSPO, 2012b, p. 30) - *"The proposal is to formally request these companies to submit their ACOP within the next six weeks, failing which appropriate action will be taken. The action could be anything from suspension or termination of membership"* (RSPO, 2014e, p. 14) - *"The secretariat is to draft a Board Resolution to ensure that there is no ambiguity in the rules going forward so any RSPO members violating the spirit of the RSPO could be expelled by condoning the boycott, elimination or denigrating certified sustainable palm oil"* (RSPO, 2015h, p. 4) - *"The Secretariat proposes that sanctions be imposed on non-submitter of NPP, whereby the management unit (without the NPP) will not be able to trade CSPO for a duration of three years from initial certification. Proposed sanction on NPP non-submitters and the procedure for suspension/ termination are approved"* (RSPO, 2015k, p. 4)
Valourising and Demonising	- *"If RSPO does not receive a reply and/or payment, those members will be de-listed and an announcement on this will be posted on the RSPO website"* (RSPO, 2007a, p. 3) - *"19 members were delisted, their names on the RSPO website"* (RSPO, 2009a, p. 1). - *"HB – pointed out the need to address present discrepancies in CSPO supply (growers) and demand/uptake (manufacturers). VR – informs of steps taken by WWF to address the problem of CSPO uptake in Europe by "name & shame" survey on percentage of CSPO in yearly uptake of major end-user parties"* (RSPO, 2009b, p. 6-7) - *"The EB meeting agreed that it was important to communicate about grievances to the public through the website [...] the meeting agreed that once the Grievance Panel has established the legitimacy of a grievance it will be published on the RSPO website with a brief general description of the grievance"* (RSPO, 2010g, p. 7) - *"Members who have not submitted progress reports by the deadline will be listed in the book and on the RSPO website"* (RSPO, 2010g, p. 8) - *"The system is working and growing. This is demonstrated by: the growing supply of CSPO; growing use of certified oil, mostly in Europe; first smallholders being certified and; entering Phase II: trade to grow further; consumer trademark introduced in 2011; efforts to expand trade to India, China"* (RSPO, 2010b, p. 7) - *"[...] WWF trying to put together a score card to encourage people to take up CSPO"* (RSPO, 2010c, p. 13) - *"Secretariat to place full case history of all grievances on the RSPO web"* (RSPO, 2011a, p. 9). - *"He also suggested that since it is RT10 already there should be some recognition of the pioneers who were involved in the formation of RSPO such as Unilever, WWF, AAK and*

	Cadbury" (RSPO, 2012h, p. 14) - *"all RSPO ordinary members who are in the trade of palm oil are required to submit to the Secretariat of the RSPO by GA9 a time-bound plan appropriate to their own category to process, purchase and use 100% CSPO. be it to produce, to trade, to process, purchase and use 100% CSPO. Those who fail to do so will be listed on the RSPO website as non-compliant"* (RSPO, 2012b, p. 30) - *"Starting next month - we will have a dashboard on the web recording companies submitted the ACOP"* (RSPO, 2013d, p. 7) - *"AH clarifies that whilst the terminology of what to call this proposed standard/system, it should essentially be a mechanism which can help to identify growers who operating at the top end of the certification requirements or at the bottom end"* (RSPO, 2013d, p. 12) - *"After 6 years of starting the smallholders' scheme, 10% [certified smallholders, ed.] is something to be proud of"* (RSPO, 2014f, p. 2) - *"The BOG endorses RSPO CTF recommendation to publicly disclose list of non-submitters [of HCV liability disclosure, ed.] on RSPO website in multiple languages [...]"* (RSPO, 2015h, p. 3) - *"Action point: To publish list of incomplete and non LUCA submitters on the RSPO website"* (RSPO, 2015o, p. 4)
Mythologising	- *"The principal objective of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) is "to promote the growth and use of sustainable palm oil through co-operation with the supply chain and open dialogue with its stakeholders""* (RSPO, 2005e, p. 15) - *"We think that the RSPO today is different from the RSPO when it started. When we started, there was balance representation because we all signed up to equal responsibility of sharing the burden. Today it seems like most of the burden is on the growers and we feel that we should have a better representation in the Executive Board"* (RSPO, 2012a, p. 7)
Embedding and Routinising	

Appendix K: Observations of Types of Institutional Work

| Period		Creating							Maintaining		
	Advocacy	Defining	Changing normative associations	Constructing normative networks	Mimicry	Theorising	Educating	Enabling	Policing and deterring	Valourising and demonising
P1 (total)	14	19	6	20	12	7	23	17	14	7
P2 (total)	3	6	6	3	5	8	17	25	12	5
P3 (total)	5	8	2	5	1	3	12	6	6	3
P1 (adjusted)	0.18	0.24	0.08	0.26	0.15	0.09	0.29	0.22	0.18	0.09
P2 (adjusted)	0.1	0.19	0.19	0.1	0.16	0.26	0.55	0.81	0.39	0.16
P3 (adjusted)	0.14	0.22	0.06	0.14	0.03	0.08	0.33	0.17	0.17	0.08

Table 1: Observations of Institutional Work in P1, P2, and P3

P1 = Before launch of ISPO and MSPO (2004-30 March 2011)
P2 = After launch of ISPO and before launch of MSPO (31 March 2011*-October 2013)
P3 = After launch of MSPO (November 2013-today)

The adjusted numbers have accounted for the difference in the length of the three periods, as P1 = 78 months, P2 = 31 months, and P3 = 36 months. The adjusted results give us the visual illustration of the data as presented below.
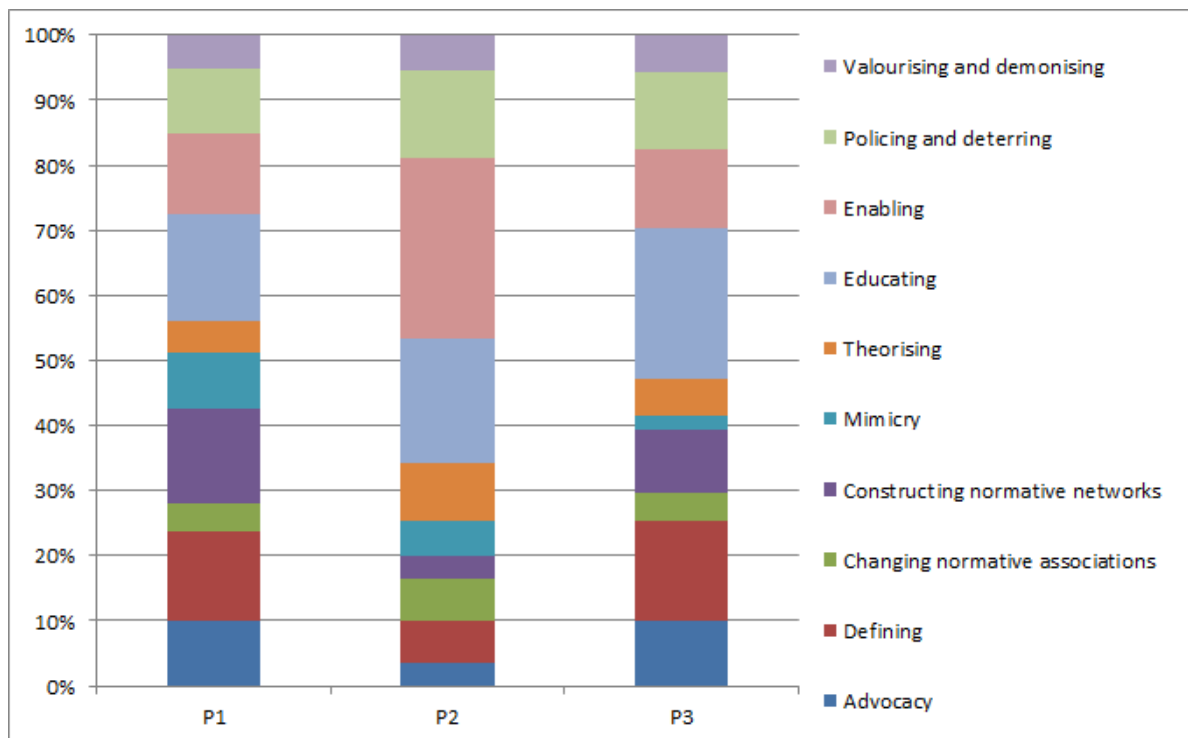
Figure 1: Observations of Institutional Work in P1, P2, and P3

Type of institutional work	Number of observations
Advocacy	**42** of which 14 are from P1, 3 from P2, 5 from P3, and 20 from interviews. 9 in the first five years, 7 in the most recent five years.
Defining	**47** of which 19 are from P1, 6 from P2, 8 from P3, and 14 from interviews. 17 in the first five years, 11 in the most recent five years.
Changing normative associations	**25** of which 6 are from P1, 6 from P2, 2 from P3, and 11 from interviews. 0 in the first five years, 6 in the most recent five years.
Constructing normative networks	**40** of which 20 are from P1, 3 from P2, 5 from P3, and 12 from interviews. 15 in the first five years, 8 in the most recent five years.
Mimicry	**28** of which 12 are from P1, 5 from P2, 1 from P3, and 10 from interviews. 6 in the first five years, 3 in the most recent five years.
Theorising	**46** of which 7 are from P1, 8 from P2, 3 from P3, and 28 from interviews. 5 in the first five years, 11 in the most recent five years.
Educating	**70** of which 23 are from P1, 17 from P2, 12 from P3, and 18 from interviews. 18 in the first five years, 31 in the most recent five years.
Enabling	**65** of which 17 are from P1, 25 from P2, 6 from P3, and 17 from interviews. 11 in the first five years, 29 in the most recent five years.
Policing and deterring	**53** of which 15 are from P1, 12 from P2, 6 from P3, and 20 from interviews. 14 in the first five years, 15 in the most recent five years.
Valourising and demonising	**16** of which 7 are from P1, 5 from P2, 3 from P3, and 1 from interviews. 1 in the first five years, 7 in the most recent five years.

Table 2: Number of Observations of Institutional Work in Different Periods