**References**

Abbott, K. W., & Snidal, D. (2009). The Governance Triangle: Regulatory Standards Institutions and The Shadow of the State. In W. Mattli & N. Woods (Eds.), *The Politics of Global Regulation*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Abbott, K. W., & Snidal, D. (2010). International regulation without international government: Improving IO performance through orchestration. *The Review of International Organizations*, *5*(3), 315–344. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-010-9092-3

Abderrazak, C., & Youssef, A. Ben. (2009). Multiplicity of eco-labels, competition, and the environment. *Journal of Agricultural and Food Industrial Organization*, *7*(2), 1–22. https://doi.org/10.2202/1542-0485.1271>

Atkinson, L., & Rosenthal, S. (2014). Signaling the Green Sell: The Influence of Eco-Label Source, Argument Specificity, and Product Involvement on Consumer Trust. *Journal of Advertising*, *43*(1), 33–45. https://doi.org/10.1080/00913367.2013.834803

Auld, G. (2014). *Constructing Private Governance: The Rise and Evolution of Forest, Coffee, and Fisheries Certification*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Baron, D. P., & Lyon, T. P. (2011). *Environmental Governance*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199584451.003.0007

Bartley, T. (2003). Certifying Forests and Factories: States, Social Movements, and the Rise of Private Regulation in the Apparel and Forest Products Fields. *Politics & Society*, *31*(3), 433–464. https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329203254863

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. https://doi.org/10.1086/518871

Baumgartner, F. R., & Jones, B. D. (2002). Policy Dynamics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Berger, S., & Dore, R. (1996). *National diversity and global capitalism*. Cornell University Press.

Bernstein, S., & Cashore, B. (2007). Can non-state global governance be legitimate? An analytical framework. *Regulation and Governance*, *1*(August), 347–371. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1748-5991.2007.00021.x

Bodansky, D. (1999). The Legitimacy of International Governance: A Coming Challenge for International Environmental Law? *The American Journal of International Law*, *93*(3), 596. https://doi.org/10.2307/2555262

Botzem, S., & Dobusch, L. (2012). Standardization Cycles: A Process Perspective on the Formation and Diffusion of Transnational Standards. *Organization Studies*, *33*(5–6), 737–762. https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840612443626

Bozzi, L., Cashore, B., Levin, K., & McDermott, C. (2012). The Role of Private Voluntary Climate Programs Affecting Forests: Assessing their Direct and Intersecting Effects. In K. Ronit (Ed.), *Business and Climate Policy: The Potentials and Pitfalls of Private Voluntary Programs*. United Nations University Press.

Bradshaw Schulz, K. (2012). New Governance and Industry Culture. *Notre Dame Law Review*, *88*.

Cashore, B. (1997). *Governing Forestry: Environmental Group Influence in British Columbia and the US Pacific Northwest*. University of Toronto.

Cashore, B. (2002). Legitimacy and the Privatization of Environmental Governance: How Non-State Market-Driven (NSMD) Governance Systems Gain Rule-Making Authority. *Governance*, *15*(4), 503–529. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0491.00199

Cashore, B., Auld, G., & Newsom, D. (2004). *Governing Through Markets: Forest Certification and the Emergence of Non-state Authority*. Yale University Press.

Cashore, B., & Howlett, M. (2007). Punctuating Which Equilibrium? Understanding Thermostatic Policy Dynamics In Pacific Northwest Forestry. *American Journal of Political Science*, *51*(3), 532–551.

Cashore, B., & Stone, M. W. (2014). Does California need Delaware? Explaining Indonesian, Chinese, and United States support for legality compliance of internationally traded products. *Regulation & Governance*, *8*(1), 49–73. https://doi.org/10.1111/rego.12053

Darnall, N., Potoski, M., & Prakash, A. (2010). Sponsorship Matters: Assessing Business Participation in Government- and Industry-Sponsored Voluntary Environmental Programs. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *20*(2), 283–307. https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mup014

DeLeon, P., & Rivera, J. E. (2009). *Voluntary Environmental Programs : a Policy Perspective.* Lanham: Lexington Books.

Delmas, M., & Montiel, I. (2008). The Diffusion of Voluntary International Management Standards: Responsible Care, ISO 9000, and ISO 14001 in the Chemical Industry. *Policy Studies Journal*, *36*(1), 65–93. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2007.00254.x

Dingwerth, K., & Pattberg, P. (2009). World Politics and Organizational Fields: The Case of Transnational Sustainability Governance. *European Journal of International Relations*, *15*(4), 707–743. https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066109345056

Djelic, M.-L., & Etchanchu, H. (2017). Contextualizing Corporate Political Responsibilities: Neoliberal CSR in Historical Perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *142*(4), 641–661. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-015-2879-7

Djelic, M.-L., & Quack, S. (2012). Transnational governance through standard setting. In G. Morgan & R. Whitley (Eds.), *Capitalisms and Capitalism in the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 166–189). Oxford University Press.

Domask, J. (2003). From Boycotts to Global Partnerships: NGO’s, the Private Sector and the Struggle to Protect the World’s Forests. In J. Doh & H. Teegen (Eds.), *Globalization and NGOs: Transforming Business, Government, and Society*. Westport, CT: Praeger Press.

Eberlein, B., Abbott, K. W., Black, J., Meidinger, E., & Wood, S. (2014). Transnational business governance interactions: Conceptualization and framework for analysis. *Regulation & Governance*, *8*(1), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1111/rego.12030

Fernholz, K., Howe, J., Bratkovich, S., & Bowyer, J. (2010). *Forest Certification: A Status Report*.

Fischer, C., & Lyon, T. P. (2014). Competing Environmental Labels. *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy*, *23*(3), 692–716. https://doi.org/10.1111/jems.12061

Fischer, C., Lyon, T. P., & Ross, S. M. (2018). A Theory of Multi-Tier Ecolabel Competition. *Journal of the Association of Environmental and Resource Economists*, *forthcoming*.

Fransen, L. (2011). Why Do Private Governance Organizations Not Converge? A Political-Institutional Analysis of Transnational Labor Standards Regulation. *Governance*, *24*(2), 359–387. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0491.2011.01519.x

Grabosky, P. (2013). Beyond *Responsive Regulation* : The expanding role of non-state actors in the regulatory process. *Regulation & Governance*, *7*(1), 114–123. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1748-5991.2012.01147.x

Green-Pedersen, C. (2007). The Dependent Variable Problem within the Study of Welfare State Retrenchment: Defining the Problem and Looking for Solutions. https://doi.org/10.1080/1387698042000222763

Green, J. F. (2013). *Rethinking private authority: Agents and entrepreneurs in global environmental governance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Green, J. F., & Auld, G. (2017). Unbundling the Regime Complex: The Effects of Private Authority. *Transnational Environmental Law*, *6*(2), 259–284. https://doi.org/10.1017/S2047102516000121

Gulbrandsen, L. H. (2004). Overlapping Public and Private Governance: Can Forest Certification Fill the Gaps in the Global Forest Regime? *Global Environmental Politics*, *4*(2), 75–99. https://doi.org/10.1162/152638004323074200

Gulbrandsen, L. H. (2014). Dynamic governance interactions: Evolutionary effects of state responses to non-state certification programs. *Regulation & Governance*, *8*(1), 74–92. https://doi.org/10.1111/rego.12005

Hall, P. A. (1993). Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain. *Comparative Politics*, *25*(3), 275. https://doi.org/10.2307/422246

Hassel, A. (2008). The Evolution of a Global Labor Governance Regime. *Governance*, *21*(2), 231–251. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0491.2008.00397.x

Heyes, A., & Martin, S. (2017). Social Labeling by Competing NGOs: A Model with Multiple Issues and Entry. *Management Science*, *63*(6), 1800–1813. https://doi.org/10.1287/mnsc.2015.2419

Howard-Grenville, J. (2006). Inside the “Black Box”: How Organizational Culture and Subcultures Inform Interpretations and Actions on Environmental Issues. *Organization & Environment*, *19*(1), 46–73. https://doi.org/10.1177/1086026605285739

Howard-Grenville, J., Nash, J., & Coglianese, C. (2008). Constructing the License to Operate: Internal Factors and Their Influence on Corporate Environmental Decisions. *Law & Policy*, *30*(1), 73–107. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9930.2008.00270.x

Howlett, M., & Cashore, B. (2014). Conceptualizing Public Policy. *Comparative Policy Studies : Conceptual and Methodological Challenges*, 17–33. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137314154.0006

Hudson, I., & Hudson, M. (2003). Removing the Veil?: Commodity Fetishism, Fair Trade, and the Environment. *Organization & Environment*, *16*(4), 413–430. https://doi.org/10.1177/1086026603258926

Judge-Lord, D. (2013). Mechanisms of Policy Feedback: Interactions among Regulations and Public Investments in US Farm and Forest Politics. Masters Thesis: Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies

Kollman, K., & Prakash, A. (2001). Green by Choice? Cross-National Variations in Firms’ Responses to EMS-Based Environmental Regimes. *World Politics*, *53*, 399–430.

LeBaron, G. and B. Burgoon (2018). "Explaining Patterns of Labor Protection and Exploitation in the Global Tea Supply Chain: Evidence from India." SPERI-PETGOV workshop paper.

Li, Y., & van ’t Veld, K. (2015). Green, greener, greenest: Eco-label gradation and competition. *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*, *72*(C), 164–176. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeem.2015.05.003

Loconto, A., & Fouilleux, E. (2014). Politics of private regulation: ISEAL and the shaping of transnational sustainability governance. *Regulation & Governance*, *8*(2), 166–185. https://doi.org/10.1111/rego.12028

Lyon, T. P., & Maxwell, J. W. (2008). Corporate Social Responsibility and the Environment: A Theoretical Perspective. *Review of Environmental Economics and Policy*, *2*(2), 240–260. https://doi.org/10.1093/reep/ren004

Maxwell, J. W., Lyon, T. P., & Hackett, S. C. (2000). Self‐Regulation and Social Welfare: The Political Economy of Corporate Environmentalism. *The Journal of Law and Economics*, *43*(2), 583–618. https://doi.org/10.1086/467466

McDermott, C. (2012). Trust, Legitimacy and Power in Forest Certification: A case study of the FSC in British Columbia. *Geoforum*, *43*, 643–644. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2011.11.002

McDermott, C., Cashore, B., & Kanowski, P. (2010). *Global Environmental Forest Policies: An International Comparison*. London: Earthscan.

McDermott, C., Noah, E., & Cashore, B. (2008). Differences That “Matter”? Identifying Analytical Challenges in the Comparison of Forest Certification Standards. *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, *10*(1), 47–70.

Meidinger, E. (2003). Forest Certification as Environmental Law Making by Global Civil Society. In E. Meidinger, C. Elliot, & O. G (Eds.), *Social and Political Dimensions of Forest Certification* (pp. 293–329). Forstbuch: Remegen-Oberwinter.

Meidinger, E. (2006). The Administrative Law of Global Private-Public Regulation: the Case of Forestry. *The European Journal of International Law*, *17*(1), 47–87. https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chi168

Mills, R. W. (2016). The interaction of private and public regulatory governance: The case of association-led voluntary aviation safety programs. *Policy and Society*, *35*(1), 43–55. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polsoc.2015.12.002

Newsom, D., Bahn, V., Cashore, B., Newsom, D., Bahn, V., & Cashore, B. (2006). Does Forest Certification Matter? An Analysis of Operation-level changes required during the SmartWood Certification Process in the United States. *Forest Policy and Economics*, *9*(3), 197–208.

Overdevest, C. (2005). Treadmill Politics, Information Politics, and Public Policy. *Organization & Environment*, *18*(1), 72–90. https://doi.org/10.1177/1086026604270460

Overdevest, C. (2010). Comparing forest certification schemes: the case of ratcheting standards in the forest sector. *Socio-Economic Review*, *8*(1), 47–76. https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwp028

Overdevest, C., & Zeitlin, J. (2014). Assembling an experimentalist regime: Transnational governance interactions in the forest sector. *Regulation & Governance*, *8*(1), 22–48. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1748-5991.2012.01133.x

Pierson, P. (2001). Coping With Permanent Austerity Welfare State Restructuring in Affluent Democracies. In *The New Politics of the Welfare State* (pp. 410–456). https://doi.org/10.1093/0198297564.003.0014

Poret, S. (2016). *Label Battles: Competition among NGOs as Standard Setters* (ALISS No. 2016–01).

Prado, A. M. (2013). Competition Among Self-Regulatory Institutions. *Business & Society*, *52*(4), 686–707. https://doi.org/10.1177/0007650313493990

Prakash, A. (2000). *Greening of the Firm: The Politics of Corporate Environmentalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Prakash, A., & Potoski, M. (2007). Collective Action through Voluntary Environmental Programs: A Club Theory Perspective. *Policy Studies Journal*, *35*(4), 773–792. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2007.00247.x

Rodrik, D., Subramanian, A., & Trebbi, F. (2002). *Institutions Rule: The Primacy of Institutions over Geography and Integration in Economic Development*. Cambridge, MA. https://doi.org/10.3386/w9305

Smith, T. M., & Fischlein, M. (2010). Rival private governance networks: Competing to define the rules of sustainability performance. *Global Environmental Change*, *20*(3), 511–522. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.GLOENVCHA.2010.03.006

Spinazze, M. C., & Kant, S. (1999). Market Potential for Certified Forest (Wood) Products in Ontario, Canada. *The Forestry Chronicle*, *75*(1), 39–48. https://doi.org/10.5558/tfc75039-1

Tigar, J. S. Resolute Forest Products, Inc. et al. v. Greenpeace International et al. (2017).

van der Ven, H. (2015). Correlates of rigorous and credible transnational governance: A cross-sectoral analysis of best practice compliance in eco-labeling. *Regulation & Governance*, *9*(3), 276–293. https://doi.org/10.1111/rego.12092

Vince, J., & Haward, M. (2017). Hybrid governance of aquaculture: Opportunities and challenges. *Journal of Environmental Management*, *201*, 138–144. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvman.2017.06.039

Vogel, D. (1995). *Trading up : consumer and environmental regulation in a global economy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vogel, D. (2008). Private Global Business Regulation. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *11*, 261–282. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.053106.141706

Weimer, D. L. (2006). The Puzzle of Private Rulemaking: Expertise, Flexibility, and Blame Avoidance in U.S. Regulation. *Public Administration Review*, *66*(4), 569–582. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6210.2006.00617.x

Weimer, D. L., & Vining, A. R. (2005). *Policy Analysis: Concepts and Practice* (Vol. 9). https://doi.org/10.2307/3325122