

36.164

# The ethics of consumption

The citizen, the market and the law

**EurSafe 2013**  
**Uppsala, Sweden**  
**11-14 September 2013**

**edited by:**  
**Helena Röcklinsberg**  
**Per Sandin**



*Wageningen Academic*  
*P u b l i s h e r s*

**ISBN: 978-90-8686-231-3**  
**e-ISBN: 978-90-8686-784-4**  
**DOI: 10.3921/978-90-8686-784-4**

**First published, 2013**

**© Wageningen Academic Publishers**  
**The Netherlands, 2013**

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned. Nothing from this publication may be translated, reproduced, stored in a computerised system or published in any **form or in any manner, including electronic, mechanical, reprographic** or photographic, without prior written permission from the publisher, Wageningen Academic Publishers, P.O. Box 220, 6700 AE Wageningen, the Netherlands,  
[www.WageningenAcademic.com](http://www.WageningenAcademic.com)  
[copyright@WageningenAcademic.com](mailto:copyright@WageningenAcademic.com)

The individual contributions in this publication and any liabilities arising from them remain the responsibility of the authors.

The publisher is not responsible for possible damages, which could be a result of content derived from this publication.

# Table of contents

Acknowledgements 7

Preface 17

## Keynote contributions

Economization of animals: the case of marketization of halal foods  
*M. Miele* 21

The virtue of simplicity  
*P. Cafaro and J. Gambrel* 24

Placing and scaling ethical choices: ethical consumption and ethical public procurement  
*D. Kleine* 29

Intellectual property rights and food security: the role of external relations  
*S. Hongladarom* 31

## Section 1. Market and policy

Impacts of sustainability labels on consumers' purchasing decisions for fish  
*D. Buergelt, I.B. Christoph-Schulz, P. Salamon and D. Weible* 39

Food for good: social movement organizations making sustainable markets for 'good food'  
*G. Kallio* 46

Who owns hazard? The role of ownership in the GM social experiment  
*Z. Robaey* 51

Category management in Swedish food retail: challenges in ethical sourcing  
*J.P. Rotter, P.-E. Airike and C. Mark-Herbert* 54

Consumer perspectives on ethics in garment consumption: perceptions of purchases and disposal  
*J. Jönsson, T. Wätthammar and C. Mark-Herbert* 59

The international regulation of the food market: precedents and challenges  
*D.S. Calley* 64

Precaution or prudent vigilance as guiding the path to global food security?  
*M. Kaiser* 71

Certification for sustainable biofuels  
*A.J.K. Pols* 77

Employing the capability approach in assigning individual responsibility for sustainable development <i>L. Voigt-Kleschin</i>	83
Crop protection in horticulture: how to rescue growers from punishment for shortfall of control agents? <i>J.S. Buurma and V. Beekman</i>	89
'Oil versus fish' in northern Norway: perspectives of the market, the law, and the citizen <i>A. Blanchard</i>	94
Food consumerism in today's China: towards a more experience-oriented economy? <i>S. Andersen Øyen</i>	100
<b>Section 2. Labelling and market forces</b>	
The relevance of sustainability for the consumer in a food context: a segmentation analysis <i>F. Vanhonacker, E.J. Van Loo, X. Gellynck and W. Verbeke</i>	107
'Unnecessary suffering' as a concept in animal welfare legislation and standards <i>F. Lundmark, C. Berg and H. Röcklinsberg</i>	114
Animal welfare labelling: is the market the right governance structure to meet people's moral concerns? <i>F. Pirscher</i>	120
Why pure procedural justice doesn't remove the individual responsibility to make right economic judgments <i>A. el-Wakil</i>	126
<b>Section 3. Legal issues in food production and consumption</b>	
The gullible consumer in EU food law <i>W.W. Huizing Edinger</i>	135
Ethics and consumerism: legal promotion of ethical consumption? <i>F. Dias Simões</i>	141
Local foods, food quality and agricultural soil consumption: new challenges for the European Union <i>S. Montaldo</i>	147

## Section 4. Citizenship and consumers

The choice that disappeared: on the complexity of being a political consumer <i>M. Gjerris and H. Saxe</i>	154
Green food consumption: whose responsibility? <i>S. Meisch</i>	160
Shaping the context and content of food choices <i>K. Grill</i>	166
The consumer does not exist: overcoming the citizen/consumer paradox by shifting focus <i>S. Aerts</i>	172
Consumer citizenship: a self-contradictory concept? <i>A. Kallhoff</i>	177
The impossibility of an ethical consumer <i>J. Karlsson</i>	183
Getting the message across: the importance of information in Fair Trade marketing <i>R. Schleenbecker and U. Hamm</i>	189
Closer to nature: the ethics of 'green' representations in animal product marketing <i>S. Borkfelt, S. Kondrup and M. Gjerris</i>	195
Towards a broader understanding of citizenship in policy debate on food advertising to children <i>C.L. Mah, B. Cook, S. Hoang and E. Taylor</i>	201

## Section 5. Animal husbandry and innovative meat production

Comfort, health and production: Portuguese dairy farmers talk about animal welfare <i>S. Silva, M. Magalhães-Sant'Ana, J. Borlido Santos and I.A.S. Olsson</i>	209
Farmers' views on the impact of breeding traits on profitability, animal welfare and environment <i>A. Wallenbeck, T. Ahlman, L. Rydhmer and H. Röcklinsberg</i>	215
The welfare of dairy cattle: perspectives of industry stakeholders <i>B.A. Ventura, M.A.G. von Keyserlingk and D.M. Weary</i>	221
Gnawing doubt: eating animals and the promise of cultured meat <i>L. Ursin</i>	225
Innovation and recognition of food and farming styles <i>M. Korthals</i>	230
Large scale insect rearing and animal welfare <i>D.M. De Goede, J. Erens, E. Kapsomenou and M. Peters</i>	236

## **Section 6. Animal philosophy**

- Beneath the surface: killing of fish as a moral problem 245  
*B. Bovenkerk and F.L.B. Meijboom*
- In awe of fish? Exploring animal ethics for non-cuddly species 251  
*C.P.G. Driessen*
- Fish welfare, environment and food security: a pragmatist virtue ethics approach 257  
*R. Anthony, M. Gjerris and H. Röcklinsberg*
- Animal welfare, consumer behaviour, and public policy 263  
*J.L. Harfeld*
- The 'secret' of killing animals 268  
*M. Huth*
- More than harm: a critical analysis of the harm principle in Regan's thinking 273  
*K. Keerus, M. Gjerris and H. Röcklinsberg*
- Dignity of creature: beyond suffering and further 279  
*S. Camenzind*
- The moral status of animals: a relational approach 284  
*B.K. Myskja*
- Meat and the benefits of ambivalence 290  
*C.N. van der Weele*

## **Section 7. Sustainable aquaculture**

- AquAdvantage or disadvantage: social and legal pros and cons of genetically modified fish 299  
*E. Issatt*
- Comparing the ethics of capture fisheries and aquaculture 305  
*M.E. Lam*
- Whose sustainability counts? Engaging with debates on the sustainability of Bangladeshi shrimp 313  
*S. Bremer, A.S. Haugen and M. Kaiser*

## **Section 8. Food philosophy**

Personalised nutrition and social justice: ethical considerations within four future scenarios from the perspective of Nussbaum's capabilities approach 321  
*K. Nordström and J. Goossens*

Individual animal welfare and the collective dimension of sustainability: the role of animal welfare in developments towards sustainable food production and consumption 328  
*F.L.B. Meijboom*

Ethics of authenticity of food: analogies from biodiversity protection 333  
*H. Siipi*

## **Section 9. Technology, society and ethics**

Justifying pro-poor innovation in the life sciences: a brief overview of the ethical landscape 341  
*C. Timmermann*

Scaling values: a perspective from philosophy of technology 347  
*A.H. Kiran*

The knowledge society as pleonasm: towards mobilisation of social intelligence in the agricultural and food domain 353  
*V. Beekman and H. Dagevos*

## **Section 10. Animal welfare**

Ethical concerns beyond the border: how European animal welfare policies reach Brazil 361  
*C. Maciel and B. Bock*

Reasoning rejection of factory farming: the importance of aesthetic and eudaimonistic arguments 366  
*L. Voget-Kleschin and M. Langanke*

Hunting for food in environmental ethics 371  
*G. van Wieren*

Tail docking in the EU: a case of routine violation of an EU Directive 374  
*H. Lerner and B. Algers*

The reintegration of animals and slaughter into discourses of meat eating 379  
*J. Gutjahr*

Does the society perceive its own responsibility for modern pig production? 386  
*D. Weible, I.B. Christoph-Schulz and P. Salamon*

## Section 11. Food in the public sphere

- Public sector food procurement in UK local authorities: ethics and sustainability  
*M. Stein* 395
- The scientifically motivated regulation of food: a discursive analysis of the EU health claims regulation on omega-3 fatty acids  
*M. Döring and S. Stirn* 399
- Obesity and costs of low energy density foods: a case for state against consumer responsibility  
*V. Sodano and F. Verneau* 405
- Can healthy eating at school be considered a human right?  
*B.E. Mikkelsen* 412
- Potential of transformative consumer learning for governance for animal welfare by public catering?  
*M. Mikkola and A. Morley* 417
- School meals: bridging the gap between citizen expectations, procurement skills and legislation  
*N. Lindström and H. Röcklinsberg* 423

## Section 12. Community and culture

- Contextualising food policy to the citizen: religions as a paradigm  
*D.M. Bruce* 431
- The ethics of consuming: community, agency, and participation in global food systems  
*D. Beck, M. Ivanovic, S. Noll and I. Werkheiser* 437

## Section 13. Teaching veterinarians

- Vethics: professional ethics for veterinary officers  
*H. Grimm and K.L. Weich* 451
- Assessment of effects of ethics teaching to 1<sup>st</sup> year veterinary students by using the ethical reasoning tool  
*T. Dich, T. Hansen and P. Sandoe* 457

## Section 14. Poster session

- Who is a 'consumer' on food law: some reflections on the notion of consumer and the EU food law  
*A. Arroyo Aparicio* 465



Food safety and ethical responsibility in a globalized world – the role of private standards <i>C. Carlsson</i>	471
Societal conformity of conventional and diversifying pork production systems in five European countries <i>K.H. de Greef</i>	476
The legal clash between public health, environmental protection and the free market of GMOs: the Cartagena protocol and the WTO agreements <i>L. Escajedo San Epifanio</i>	482
Mediterranean diet and sustainable food habits: the case of Neapolitan children <i>M.T. Gorgitano and V. Sodano</i>	487
Knowledge synthesis and dissemination in organic research in Sweden: integrating ethics <i>S. Gunnarsson, P. Fredriksson, R. Hoffmann, B. Johansson, A. Mie, U. Nilsson, E. Rööf, E. Salomon, C. Sundberg, K. Ullvén, A. Wallenbeck, C. Winqvist and M. Wivstad</i>	494
Water consumption in rural areas: limits of the ethics of water use – study case of Kurdistan Region, Iraq <i>R. Harun, F.H. Arion and I.C. Muresan</i>	499
Success and failure of transnational certification regimes <i>J.-C. Janssen</i>	504
Sustainability index for beef production in Denmark and Sweden: preliminary results <i>A. Munk, E. Søndergaard, T. Kristensen, L. Mogensen, N.I. Nielsen, M. Trinderup, R.S. Petersen and H.B. Bligaard</i>	510
Stress-free slaughter of outdoor cattle <i>K.J. Schiffer, S.K. Retz, M. von Wenzlawowicz and O. Hensel</i>	516
Meating agriculture <i>E. Schmid</i>	522
Statistics on crimes committed to animals and changes in the animal welfare control in Sweden <i>B. Staaf Larsson, L.J. Keeling and E. Hjerpe</i>	528
<b>Author index</b>	<b>535</b>

## Consumer citizenship: a self-contradictory concept?

A. Kallhoff

University of Vienna, Department of Philosophy, NIG, A 0306, Universitätsstraße 7, 1010 Vienna, Austria;  
angela.kallhoff@univie.ac.at

### Abstract

The concept of consumer citizenship relates to two discourses in contemporary political philosophy. In particular, the concept of citizenship is currently in three central traditions in political philosophy: the traditions of political liberalism, of civic republicanism and of deliberative democracy. Yet, against each of these backgrounds, consumer citizenship looks like a degraded form of citizenship. Because of this result of the *first section*, I shall take a different stance on consumer citizenship. This concept is in one line with recently explored 'qualified concepts of citizenship', i.e. 'ecological citizenship'. *Section two* discusses the implications of this approach to consumer citizenship. A *third section* first states that as a result of the first two approaches, consumer citizenship looks like a self-contradictory concept. Yet, a more thorough look at the tensions in that concept contributes to another interpretation: Consumer citizenship highlights tensions of the concept of citizenship more generally. In particular, consumer citizenship provides an antipode to the concept of consumer sovereignty.

**Keywords:** citizenship, consumer citizenship, qualified citizenship, public goods

### Introduction

Citizenship has, of course, been a key concept in political philosophy since Aristotle's *Politics*. According to Aristotle, a citizen is a person who participates in political life in a distinct way: 'But the citizen whom we are seeking to define is a citizen in the strictest sense (...) and his special characteristic is that he shares in the administration of justice, and in offices' (Pol. III.1, 1275a 22-24). In particular, in Aristotle's *Politics* the definition of citizenship is tied both to the constitution, which hammers out the distinct capacities of the state, and to the competences of persons who participate in political life. Aristotle thinks that only those persons deserve the title of a 'citizen', who gets actively involved in executive power and legislation; moreover, a citizen should possess virtues, foremost the virtue of justice (Pol. III.4, 1276 b 20-34).

Since Aristotle's *Politics*, the concept of a citizen has been scrutinized from various perspectives. Until today, there is not one single approach to citizenship. Instead, there is a debate about how 'citizenship' shall best be categorized. This debate is related to the 'big programs' in current political philosophy: political liberalism, civic republicanism, and deliberative democracy.<sup>12</sup> In the first section, I shall give a short sketch of each of these approaches to citizenship. Yet, more recently, the debate on citizenship has also been stimulated by – what might be called – qualified conceptions of citizenship. 'Cyber citizenship', 'green citizenship', and 'economic citizenship' are now discussed as concepts which express citizenship duties and citizenship rights in specified areas of social life. The second section is dedicated to introducing that debate. Both sections suffice to set the stage for the discussion of consumer citizenship. The third section discusses the implications for 'consumer citizenship'.

<sup>12</sup> Communitarians would be a further group, including for example the positions of Michael Walzer, Charles Taylor, Will Kymlicka. Yet, from the beginning, the identification of that group of thinkers as 'communitarians' suffers from several shortfalls – some even question whether or not they belong into one camp. What holds this group together is the assumption, that political communities and values which constitute those communities have priority over individual conceptions of the good – at least so regarding political society.

## Citizenship in political philosophy

In the western tradition of philosophy, citizenship has been tied to the notion of rights. Since Marshall's (1964) contribution to the development of rights, three groups of rights have been distinguished. These are rights of the first generation: civil rights and political rights; and rights of the second generation: socio-economic rights, comprising i.e. a right to education, to welfare and to culture. *Political liberals* are particularly interested in defending the rights of persons as citizens. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this approach to citizenship was re-established by John Rawls. In *Political liberalism* (1996), Rawls interprets citizens as free and equal persons. In particular, citizens regard each other as free in that they regard themselves as 'self-authenticating sources of valid claims.' That is, they regard themselves as being entitled to make claims on their institutions so as to advance their conceptions of the good [...] (Rawls, 1996: 32). In particular, each citizen should be guaranteed an adequate system of basic rights which is compatible with the same set of rights of each citizen.<sup>13</sup> In short, in political liberalism citizenship is characterized by normative claims of persons against the state and against each other. These normative claims are rights which guard persons from unfair restrictions.

Different from that approach, civic republicans underscore the 'common good' of a citizenry (Pettit, 1997; Sunstein, 1988; Viroli, 1995). Authors in that camp interpret citizens as free persons, too. Yet, freedom has a different meaning. A citizen is as free as his nation state, the republic. Moreover, the freedom of the republic needs to be defended continuously. In order to achieve this goal, two characteristics of the republic citizen are pivotal: The republic citizen is virtuous, and the republic citizen puts the common good at the center of her concern. As an approach to political philosophy, republicanism has a long tradition. Recent authors in the field of civic republicanism try to re-establish republicanism in a specified way. They wish to portray a republicanism which stresses the common good in processes of legitimation of political power; and they wish to see a republicanism which includes civic virtues.

A third important group in discussing citizenship is deliberative democracy. In that perspective, citizens are distinguished as persons who unfold political power in the public sphere. Following Jürgen Habermas (1998), the public sphere is a realm which is constituted by exchange of arguments on items of common interest. In particular, it is a 'metatopical realm' (Taylor, 2004), which has some specific characteristics: It is an open realm to which each citizen is invited; it is a realm of deliberation, that means that through various media, persons exchange their rational arguments on issues of common interest; and it is important for generating political power which controls the governments and their institutions.<sup>14</sup> Before commenting on these alternatives, I shall proceed with qualified concepts of citizenship.

### Qualified concepts of citizenship

Different from the 'big programs', recent authors have contributed to specified concepts of citizenship. The underlying hypothesis is that in our days, societies are highly differentiated. In particular, there are many specified spheres of society which follow their own rules. In order to defend basic rights in those spheres, and in order to defend institutions which pay tribute to 'equity' and to 'justice', political philosophy needs to discuss those qualified conceptions of citizenship too. Yet, due to the diversity of the sub-spheres of society, it is difficult to recall a common theme in those approaches. Instead, scholars who work on qualified concepts of citizenship appear to share some common concerns rather than a singular methodological approach to citizenship. In particular, two points have been emphasized. In introducing

<sup>13</sup> For the precise outline of the first principle of justice, see Rawls (1996: 5).

<sup>14</sup> This summary of current debates on citizenship gives only a short sketch of key positions. There are further interesting approaches to citizenship, e.g. by Faulks (2000). For a discussion of citizenship competences, see also Kallhoff (2013).

qualified concepts of citizenship, scholars wish to articulate a critique of recent developments in society. Moreover, they wish to get away from the big programs and instead favor a dialogue about concrete drawbacks and nuisances of existing institutions. I shall give two examples for underpinning these claims.

In discussing 'green citizenship' or 'ecological citizenship', authors wish to say that it is now the time to address the duties and freedoms of citizens anew. Some authors argue that political institutions need to react to global ecological problems. Therefore, we need a post-global concept of citizenship which takes ecological duties seriously (Dobson, 2003; Hailwood, 2005). Kwame Anthony Appiah has recently (2007) defended a concept of 'cosmopolitan citizenship'. The claim that it is reasonable to interpret citizens as 'citizens of the world' is – of course – not new. Yet, authors now defend the more radical claim that 'global citizenship' is no longer a choice, but rather a fact. Political philosophy needs to react to this. Another group of authors works on rights and duties of citizens as related to the economic sphere.<sup>15</sup> Citizenship here means that the rights of persons in the economic sphere, i.e. the right to work, the right to participate in the gains in the economic sector, should be discussed anew.<sup>16</sup>

## **Consumer citizenship**

I am now in a situation to introduce consumer citizenship into current debates on citizenship. In particular, I shall proceed in *two steps*. I shall *first* give an interpretation of 'consumer citizenship' against the background that has been elaborated so far. I shall discuss if 'consumer citizenship' can be conceived of as either a qualified concept of citizenship or as related to the big programs in political philosophy. *Secondly*, I shall discuss the consequences of that interpretation. Against the background of political philosophy, one might argue that consumer citizenship is a self-contradictory concept. Yet, I shall demonstrate that it appears to have a function different from that: it contributes to highlighting tensions between spheres of citizenship more generally.

### ***Consumer citizenship against the background of political philosophy***

In order to introduce consumer citizenship into the debates of political philosophy, I shall start with the qualified concepts of citizenship. A qualified concept of citizenship has three characteristics (section two): It relates the concept of a political person to a specified sphere of society; it articulates a critique of recent developments in society; and it focuses on concrete drawbacks and nuisances of existing political institutions.

As a consequence, in order to discuss consumer citizenship, we need to focus on the sphere of consumption. Persons are participants in the economic sphere. In particular, as consumers, they choose items according to their needs and desires; and they buy items for money. In times of service economies, it is not only shoes and cars which persons buy. Instead, we buy services of various types; we pay for education, for health-care, and for insurances. The sphere of society, which consumer citizenship addresses, is one side of the market sphere.

For articulating critique and for defending related normative claims, it is helpful to start with 'injustice'. Despite the fact that this is a broad notion and moreover a key notion in political philosophy, some rather obvious things come to my mind. It is unfair that some items are particularly cheap, others are costly. It is not fair that consumption is tied to economic means, means which are distributed very arbitrarily in this world. Too many things are now traded in the market sphere; some items simply should not be

<sup>15</sup> There is not a good concept available here, perhaps economic citizenship. Corporate citizenship has received another meaning: it denominates the commitment of the private sector to support civil society in communal projects.

<sup>16</sup> This claim has been defended in Ulrich (2001).

## Section 4

marketized, and so forth.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, scholars also criticize that the market sphere is not free at all. Instead, governments impose ever new regulation on that sphere. As a consequence, consumers are no longer free to choose.<sup>18</sup>

In order to give an adequate interpretation of consumer citizenship, a third aspect needs to be underscored. This aspect draws on the traditions of political philosophy (section one). Citizens are persons whose rights and duties are defined by political institutions, not by individual wishes or desires. Moreover, citizenship has always *two sides*. On the one hand, citizens are endowed with *rights*. Even though the interpretation of that side varies, political philosophers underscore that citizens have a right to be protected from unfair practices – practices of governments as well as of fellow citizens. This aspect is particularly clear in the writings of John Stuart Mill. Following his no-harm principle, there is no right whatsoever to infringe on actions of persons in an arbitrary and harmful way. Put the other way round, persons are free as long as their actions do not harm another fellow person (Mill, 2003: 94).

On the other hand, citizens have *duties*. Citizens are responsible for actions which effect fellow citizens. In civic republicanism, they are particularly responsible for contributing to the common good. Yet, in political liberalism the duties of citizens are also highlighted. In Rawls's contribution to political liberalism, citizens are held responsible for supporting the common good as well. He says: 'The third respect in which citizens are viewed as free is that they are viewed as capable of taking responsibility for their ends and this affects how their various claims are assessed' (Rawls, 1996: 33).

I shall now pull the strands of thought together. In my view, it is not particularly helpful to give a definition of consumer citizenship at this point. Instead, I wish to highlight three characteristics of that notion from the perspective of political philosophy:

1. Consumer citizenship is a notion which highlights a 'fair share' of persons in the sphere of consumption.
2. Consumer citizenship stresses the (limited) freedoms of persons in participating in the market sphere as consumers.
3. Consumer citizenship emphasizes the duties of persons as responsible actors in the sphere of consumption.

So far, I have elaborated some normative implications of the concept of citizenship against the background of current debates in political philosophy. I shall now turn to a discussion of these aspects. In particular, I shall ask: Is consumer citizenship a self-contradictory concept?

### **Consumer citizenship as a self-contradictory concept?**

At first glance, all three normative claims about consumer citizenship are plausible. Different from a person, a citizen is a member of the political community. She has rights and duties – both regarding fellow-citizens and regarding the government. Yet, a more thorough discussion demonstrates that the claims pull into different directions. The first claim (1) is in one line with arguments for social justice. Even though there is a broad debate on how social justice should be defined, authors in that field are all interested in defining a 'fair share' of persons. Yet, it also needs to be noted, that contemporary contributions conceive of social justice as a corrective to the market sphere. The first normative claim, instead, sounds like claiming a comprehensive regulation of the market sphere – at least regarding a minimum share.

<sup>17</sup> This echoes one critique which has been elaborated in Kallhoff (2011).

<sup>18</sup> This perspective has frequently been articulated by scholars who underwrite what might be called the Chicago school of economics. See Friedman (2002).

The second claim (2) introduces freedoms of consumers. Actually, this is what most persons will regard as critical to interpreting consumption in normative contexts. No person should be limited in choosing goods according to her preferences. This is the market dogma which even those persons, who underwrite social justice, do not wish to give up. This claim is encapsulated in the notion of consumer sovereignty. It says that persons should be free to choose consumption goods according to their preferences. Yet, this freedom is not an unlimited freedom. One perspective for highlighting the limitation of that view results from a theory of public goods. Markets are not suitable for providing public goods. Instead, public goods need to be supported by means of public finance. This says that there are limitations of the consumers' freedoms. A normative theory, instead, needs to discuss justifications for the adequate set of limitations.

In this respect, (1) could serve as a reasonable constraint. Even though persons should be free to choose their consumption goods, social justice is a normative constraint. This may result in a variety of policies. It could mean to defend a sphere of non-marketized goods. Public goods are suited much better for guaranteeing an equal share to each citizen. Therefore, it would be right not to privatize public goods.<sup>19</sup> Another approach might defend a limitation of the market sphere in terms of keeping it separate from, i.e. spheres of life which should not follow market laws.<sup>20</sup> In short, claims of justice could serve as a constraint of consumer freedoms.

But what about the third claim (3)? It states that consumer citizenship emphasizes the duties of persons as responsible actors in the sphere of consumption. Is this notion coherent with the interpretation of consumer citizenship as highlighting the limited rights of citizens to profit from the market sphere as consumers? Actually, the debate on consumer responsibility is far more radical than the debate about a fair share of goods. Many now claim that it is not the market, but the consumer who could achieve a turn-around in the economic sphere. Since the whole system of the market depends on consumer choices, a shift of preferences and responsible behavior would be a very powerful mechanism in order to change market structures. In particular, consumers could demand information about the economic value creation chain; the consumer could claim that firms reveal the ecological footprints of their products; consumers could claim that a firm pays respect to human rights, etc. Yet, these powers do not have to be claimed; instead, the consumers already have these powers. All that a concept of consumer citizenship could add is a perspective which highlights another point: Persons are not only individuals; but as citizens they are part of a political community which nowadays also includes a cosmopolitan community. In this context, responsibility is not perfectly voluntary. Instead, the responsibility of citizens is part of its membership in the community of citizens worldwide. True, this community is a community of fate – not a chosen one. But, it is up to each citizen to contribute to transforming that community of fate into a political community.<sup>21</sup>

To summarize my argument, I do not think that consumer citizenship is a self-contradictory concept. True, it mirrors a characteristic trait of each concept of citizenship: Citizenship is not a monolithic notion; instead, it comprises elements which pull into various directions. It is part of the challenge to discuss citizenship: one has to explain the right balance between elements such as freedom, duties, and

<sup>19</sup> For a thorough discussion of the underlying distinctions, see Kallhoff (2011).

<sup>20</sup> This is one of the claims which Habermas encapsulates in his critique of the 'colonization of life-spheres' (see Habermas, 1987: chap. VI.2). In a way, it also relates to Michael Walzer's arguments for 'complex equality' in his *Spheres of justice*; see Walzer (1983: 19-20). In Walzer's view, equality is not an isolated notion. Instead, spheres of justice can be distinguished regarding both the goods on which they focus and principles of fair distribution respectively. Complex equality says that an undue overlap of principles between the spheres should be avoided.

<sup>21</sup> This is a central claim of the approach to citizenship by Van Gunsteren (1998).

rights.<sup>22</sup> More importantly, as a normative concept, consumer citizenship is a systematic antipode to consumer sovereignty.

## References

- Appiah, K.A. (2007). *Cosmopolitanism. ethics in a world of strangers*. Penguin Books, London, UK.
- Aristotle (1921). *Politics*. In: Ross, W.D. (ed.) Transl. by Benjamin Jowett. Clarendon Press, Oxford, UK.
- Dobson, A. (2003). *Citizenship and the environment*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- Faulks, K. (2000). *Citizenship*. Routledge, London and New York, UK and USA.
- Friedman, M. (2002) [1962]. *Capitalism and Freedom*. 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary ed. with a new pref., University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, USA and UK.
- Habermas, J. (1987). *The theory of communicative action*. Vol. 2. *Life-world and system. A critique of functionalist reason*. Transl. by Thomas McCarthy. Beacon Press, Boston, MA, USA.
- Habermas, J. (1998). Three normative models of democracy. In: Habermas, J. (ed.) *The inclusion of the other. Studies in Political Theory*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, USA, p. 239-252.
- Hailwood, S. (2005). Environmental citizenship as reasonable citizenship. In: Dobson, A. and Valencia Sáiz, A. (eds.) *Citizenship, environment, economy*. Routledge, London, UK, p. 39-54.
- Held, D. (1996). *Models of democracy*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, USA.
- Kallhoff, A. (2011). *Why democracy needs public goods*. Lexington, A division of Rowman and Littlefield publ., Lanham, MA, USA.
- Kallhoff, A. (2013). *Politische Philosophie des Bürgers*. Verlag Böhlau, Wien, Köln, Weimar, Germany, 216 pp.
- Marshall, T.H. (1964). *Class, citizenship, and social development*. Garden City, Doubleday & Company, New York, NY, USA.
- Mill, J.S. (2003). On liberty. In: Warnock, M. (ed.) *Utilitarianism and on liberty*. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA, USA.
- Pettit, P. (1997). *Republicanism. A theory of freedom and government*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- Ralws, J. (1996). *Political liberalism*. With a new introduction and the 'reply to Habermas'. Columbia University Press, New York, NY, USA.
- Sunstein, C.R. (1988). Beyond the republican revival. *The Yale Law Journal* 97: 1539-1590.
- Taylor, Ch. (2004). *Modern social imaginaries*. Duke University Press, London, UK.
- Ulrich, P. (2001). *Integrative Wirtschaftsethik. Grundlagen einer lebensdienlichen Ökonomie*. 3. rev. Aufl. Haupt, Bern, Switzerland.
- Van Gunsteren, H. R. (1998). *A theory of citizenship. Organizing plurality in contemporary democracies*. Westview Press, Boulder, CO, USA.
- Viroli, M. (1995). *For love of country. An essay on patriotism and nationalism*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, UK.
- Walzer, M. (1983). *Spheres of justice. A defense of pluralism and equality*. Basis Books, New York, NY, USA.

---

<sup>22</sup> This is one key insight in the political philosophy of citizenship of Kallhoff (2013).