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Author/s:

Parker, C

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“Chapter 4: From Responsive Regulation to Ecological Compliance:
Meta-regulation and the Existential Challenge of Corporate Compliance”

Prof Christine Parker

Melbourne Law School, The University of Melbourne, Australia

Abstract:

This chapter revisits the significance of responsive regulation for theories of compliance. It shows how responsive regulation’s theory of compliance recognises both multiple motivations for compliance and plural actors who help negotiate and construct compliance. It argues that responsive regulation theory implies responsive compliance and that this can help build possibilities for deliberative democratic responsibility and accountability of both businesses and regulators. This is the idea that Parker previously labelled the meta-regulation of the “open corporation”. This chapter concludes that since business activity, and indeed human development, now face the existential challenge of socio ecological disruption and collapse in which profit oriented commercial activity is a significant driver, theories of compliance need to expand to concern themselves with how whole markets and industries can be made responsive to both social and ecological embeddedness. Regulatory compliance scholars need to pay attention to how networks of interacting business, government and civil society and social movement actors can influence business activity profoundly enough to shift the very nature of “business as usual”. The chapter therefore proposes the need for “ecological compliance” as a development of Ayres and Braithwaite’s analysis of compliance.

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1. Introduction

The study of business compliance with social, environmental and economic regulation is inherently paradoxical. Business organisations in capitalist societies¹ are legally constituted as for-profit entities. Yet regulation is aimed at making commercial entities responsible and accountable to non-commercial public interest goals. On the one hand, the very idea of “regulation” implies that external authorities must force business firms to comply via the threat of harsh sanctions. On the other hand, the word “compliance” implies that business firms can and must be trusted to operate responsibly within parameters of social justice, ecological sustainability and economic fairness. “Compliance” only occurs where businesses organise and govern themselves internally in such a way as to ensure that workers are treated well, the environment is not harmed, the limits of fair competition are not breached and a host of other social, environmental and economic responsibilities that might harm their profits, at least in the short term (Parker 2002).

This paradox of regulation and compliance is reflected in regulatory compliance scholarship and practice. As Ayres and Braithwaite put it,

[T]here is a long history of barren disputation within regulatory agencies, and more recently among scholars of regulation, between those who think that corporations will comply with the law only when confronted with tough sanctions and those who believe that gentle persuasion works in securing business compliance with the law. (Ayres and Braithwaite 1992:20)

Ian Ayres and John Braithwaite’s (1992) *Responsive Regulation* proposed a principled way to transcend this stand-off. Since the publication of *Responsive Regulation*, business regulation has proliferated (even despite apparent neoliberal commitment to deregulation; see Braithwaite 2008: viii). Yet despite the many public interest benefits achieved, the challenge of ensuring that commercial activity operates within social, ecological and economic boundaries remains overwhelming. Haines and Parker (2018; Parker & Haines 2018) have called this the challenge of “ecological regulation”. This chapter proposes the need for “ecological compliance” as a development of Ayres and Braithwaite’s analysis of compliance.

¹ For the purposes of this short chapter, I include a variety of capitalisms in this generalisation including the state-capitalism of China, the oligarchic capitalism of many countries in the former soviet bloc, liberal market economies and so on, thus meaning that most of the world is now capitalist of one variety or another. But note that these different capitalisms feature different styles of regulation of business entities. See Hall and Soskice 2001; and for application to regulatory capitalism, Levi-Faur 2006.

The second section of this chapter summarises responsive regulation's theory of compliance, focusing on the famous responsive regulation pyramid of enforcement and compliance.

The third section argues that responsive regulation necessarily requires an expanded concept of "responsive compliance", in which both business firms and regulators are responsive to deliberative democratic accountability through the involvement of plural business, state and civil society actors in responsive regulation to activate and enforce compliance with public interest goals. Parker (2002) referred to this as the meta-regulation of the "open corporation".

The fourth section shows that business activity, and indeed human development, now face the existential challenge of socio ecological disruption and collapse in which profit oriented commercial activity is a significant driver. In this context "ecological regulation" and thus "ecological compliance" are necessary developments on responsive regulation. Theories of compliance must expand to concern themselves with how whole markets and industries can be regulated and made responsible to public interest goals by networks of interacting business, government and crucially, civil society and social movement actors. Regulatory compliance scholars need to pay attention to how these networks can influence business activity profoundly enough to shift the very nature of "business as usual".

2. Responsive regulation's theory of compliance

2.1 Responsive Regulation

Ayres and Braithwaite's *Responsive Regulation* (1992) both describes and prescribes how regulatory enforcement action best promotes compliance in practice. It proposes that in order to be effective, efficient and legitimate, regulatory policy should take neither a solely deterrent nor solely cooperative approach:

The basic idea of responsive regulation is that government should be responsive to the conduct of those they seek to regulate in deciding whether a more or less interventionist response is needed. In particular, law enforcers should be responsive to how effectively citizens or corporations are regulating themselves before deciding whether to escalate intervention. (Braithwaite 2002:29)

Broadly speaking, theories that seek to explain regulatory compliance can be divided into three categories (Nielsen & Parker 2012; Winter & May 2001): those that see people as motivated by economic *calculative motivations*, the fear of detection of violations and application of

sanctions (Simpson 2002:22-44); *social motivations*, the desire to earn the respect and approval of significant others (Gunningham et al 2003; Rees 1997); and *normative motivations*, the sense of moral duty to comply and agreement with the legitimacy of particular regulation (which can include evaluations of both the substantive and procedural justice of regulation) (Tyler 2006).

Ayres & Braithwaite (1992:30-35) shows that different people have different motivations for complying (or not complying) with the law at different times, and that the same person (or firm) can have multiple, potentially conflicting, motivations for compliance at the same time. Responsive regulation therefore proposes a normative theory about the way these plural motivations for compliance interact with one another and respond to plural deterrent and cooperative regulatory enforcement strategies. It does this by proposing that enforcement strategies should be arranged in a hierarchy or ‘regulatory pyramid’ with more cooperative strategies deployed at the base of the pyramid and progressively more punitive approaches utilised only if, and when, cooperative strategies fail (see Figure 1). To make sure that they start as many ‘positive spirals’ of reactions and counter-reactions as possible, regulators should generally start enforcement from a presumption of being cooperative. Regulatees showing the will and ability to repair any harms they have caused and to reform themselves to come into compliance should be rewarded with less harsh enforcement (Ayres & Braithwaite 1992:19). If regulatees fail to cooperate in response to offers of cooperation, the regulator should go on to ‘somewhat punitive’ action ‘only reluctantly and only when dialogue fails, and then escalate to even more punitive approaches only when the more modest forms of punishment fail’ (Braithwaite 2002:30). When they become willing to cooperate, the regulator should, according to Ayres and Braithwaite, be able to forgive a history of wrongdoing (Ayres & Braithwaite 1992:33) and de-escalate down the pyramid to less harsh enforcement.²

² For a more detailed analysis and empirical test of this theory, see Nielsen & Parker 2009. This part of this paper is based on this analysis.

2.2 The Responsive Regulation Pyramid

Responsive regulation theory claims that this pyramid of enforcement activates different (potentially contradictory) motivations so that they interact to support compliance, and discourage resistance, game-playing and abuse in two main ways:

First, the application of the pyramid of enforcement strategies makes it beneficial for rationally calculating regulatees to be virtuous (Braithwaite 2002:33). It is more rational for those who are motivated by calculations as to what is to their own benefit to ‘voluntarily’ comply than it is to resist and not comply where the regulator will otherwise escalate up the enforcement pyramid. The claim here is that the fact that people and firms have ‘multiple selves’ (Ayres & Braithwaite 1992:30-35) means that once they agree to negotiate with a regulator (albeit for self-interested reasons), their better self can be brought to the fore through social and normative appeals.

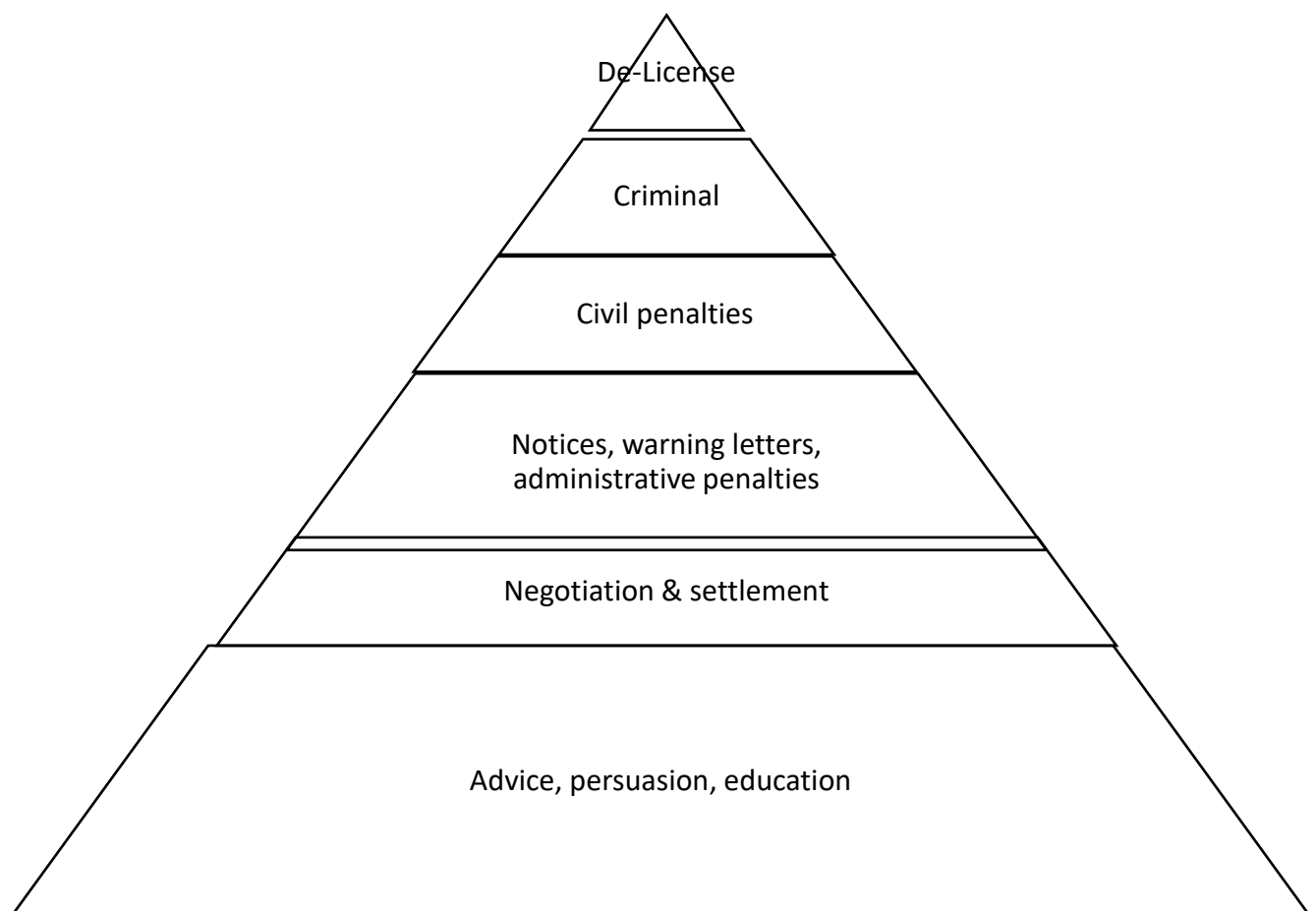
Second, the pyramid makes the use of deterrence (which appeals to rational actor motivations) further up the pyramid normatively justified so that it does not break down people’s moral commitment to comply with the law: ‘[B]y resorting to more dominating, less respectful forms of social control only when more dialogic forms have been tried first, coercive control comes to be seen as more legitimate’ (Braithwaite 2002:33).

The pyramid of enforcement strategies is the most well-known aspect of *Responsive Regulation*. It is intuitively attractive because it translates the challenge of regulating for the public interest onto a human, interpersonal relationship scale in which cooperation or at least accommodation between business and regulators is possible much of the time. In this sense, the motivating rationale of *Responsive Regulation* is not just more responsive regulators, but also more responsive regulatees. As Valerie Braithwaite (2009) has argued, regulation is a relationship in which the regulatee can display more or less committed or dismissive and

defiant ‘motivational postures’ towards regulators. The challenge for responsive regulators is to deal with wrongdoing while nurturing consent and commitment. To put it another way, responsive regulation implies “responsive compliance”.

Yet the pyramid is only one chapter of the *Responsive Regulation* book. The significance of the responsive regulation theory of compliance goes beyond what it says about how dyadic encounters between enforcement officials and regulatees can best promote compliance. As the next section shows, responsive regulation also presumes a context of plural participation in regulation where other market, state and civil society stakeholders (beyond the regulator and regulatee) are recruited to the process of responsive regulation and responsive compliance.

Figure 1: Responsive Regulation Pyramid (based on Ayres & Braithwaite 1992)



3. Meta-regulation: “responsive compliance” in deliberative democracy

3.1 Plural Participation in Constructing Compliance

Responsive Regulation sits in a tradition of qualitative social science research in regulatory studies which points out that compliance and non-compliance are not objective stable phenomena based on rules set out by official agencies and then implemented or breached by businesses and individuals. Rather it is the interaction of plural actors and influences that constructs how regulation is implemented, what compliance means in practice, and, ultimately, whether business activity can itself be made responsive and accountable in deliberative democracy (Braithwaite 2008). The very meaning of compliance (and non-compliance) in each particular circumstance is interpreted, negotiated and co-constructed by plural actors, including official government regulators (through monitoring and enforcement action: Hutter 1997), multiple individuals and units within each business firm (Gray & Silbey 2011; Heimer 2013), and a host of third party business and civil society actors. These can include supply chain partners for each business (who might require certain accreditations in order to contract), rating agencies, banks, insurers, auditors and accreditation agencies (who may assess businesses on various social and environmental responsibility and compliance indicators), public interest groups, social movements (who might campaign on specific issues) (Rodriguez-Garavito 2017) and individual citizens, (Parker & Nielsen 2011: 6-8). It has been suggested that these business and civil society third parties can construct second and third “faces” to the regulatory pyramid (see Gunningham and Grabosky 1998: 398; Grabosky 2013). But for Ayres and Braithwaite (1992: 54-100) it was the participation of civil society groups in responsive regulation negotiations between enforcement agencies and businesses in individual cases and a broader context of vibrant deliberative democracy were crucial to hold both regulators and businesses democratically accountable and ensure the achievement of public interest goals.

For many commentators, the negotiation of compliance between government, industry, third party, and civil society actors is however an opportunity for corruption and capture. Tombs and Whyte (2013) argue that the negotiation of enforcement and compliance via responsive regulation pyramids will tend to depoliticise substantive conflict between the conduct of business and the demands of public interest regulation. The focus of much interpretive compliance research is on revealing and uncovering the politics of compliance, that is, the power relations that result in one set of actors' understandings of compliance being socially constructed as more legitimate than others (see eg Edelman 2016; Shamir & Weiss 2012). *Responsive Regulation*, by contrast, seeks to transcend these politics by seeing the process of negotiation and construction of compliance as both instrumentally valuable and normatively desirable in achieving what I label here "responsive compliance".

3.2 Instrumental Value of Plural Participation in Responsive Compliance

Considering first the instrumental value of plural, negotiated processes of constructing compliance. Responsive regulation theory points out that official regulators do not necessarily have the capacity to effectively activate regulatees' plural motivations for compliance on their own. There is likely to be a higher rate of business compliance with the law when a plurality of actors (public and private) utilise their plural resources and relationships with regulatees to activate the plurality of motivations for compliance than when regulatory agencies rely on official powers alone. Different stakeholders will have different types of relationships with regulatees, different sources of influence over regulatees and therefore the ability to activate a range of different motivations that regulatees might have for complying with legal regulation. For example an official fair work regulator may not have sufficient power and influence to persuade a celebrity chef who runs a chain of restaurants to prioritise putting in place accounting systems ensure all staff are paid fairly, and they may not have the staff to and authority to audit all the books in detail. But third parties such as employees and labour unions

may be able to blow the whistle on wage theft and appeal to banks, institutional investors, media outlets and customers to withdraw support until the chef ensures proper systems are put in place in all restaurants in the chain. This can have a moralising and socialising impact on a whole industry far beyond what the regulator could achieve in inspections. Similarly, regulators might not be able to levy a heavy enough fine to deter a large and profitable firm from price fixing behaviour but they can ensure media publicity that names and shames the company and then expect industry peers, rating agencies, consumer groups and other stakeholders to levy informal financial and reputational sanctions that motivate compliance (Van Erp 2011).

This plural responsive regulation has been extended by Gunningham into the concept of ‘smart regulation’ in which markets, civil society and other institutions and resources can be harnessed or “enrolled” (Black 2003) by government agencies to act as surrogate regulators using a range of regulatory instruments to achieve public interest goals more effectively, legitimately and efficiently. Smart regulation conceptualised this as another ‘face’ to the pyramid (Gunningham & Grabosky 1998: 398; see also Gunningham, Kagan & Thornton (2003) extending to the idea of a social, economic and legal licenses to operate). Even where regular inspection by a government agency may not be a possibility, ‘social stakeholders’, such as neighbours, activist organisations, and the general public, may fill the void, bringing complaints or acting to shame recalcitrant business into compliance. ‘Economic stakeholders’, including shareholders and institutional investors, banks, insurance agencies and customers, may also demand compliance with public interest goals (see also Nielsen & Parker 2008). If enough influential social and economic stakeholders all expect compliance, regulatees will come to see compliance as appropriate and desirable for its own sake, without calculating about reasons for compliance (Nielsen & Parker 2008).

3.3 Democratic Desirability of Plural Participation in Responsive Compliance

Responsive Regulation sees plurally negotiated compliance as not merely a pragmatic necessity, but also a normatively desirable opportunity for the democratic accountability and legitimacy of regulatory activity and the sustainable achievement of public interest goals through compliance. *Responsive Regulation* is clear that deliberative, participatory democracy should permeate both the making and the implementation of law and regulation. Ayres and Braithwaite (1992:18) explicitly state that the theory is intended to be a normative one based on civic republican theory. That is it is built on an ideal of societies with strong states, strong markets and strong civil society, in which there are many opportunities for all those affected to participate in deliberative mechanisms and all (public and private) exercises of power are contestable by plural actors (see Pettit 1997; see also J. Braithwaite 2008; V. Braithwaite 2009). A whole chapter of *Responsive Regulation* (Ayres & Braithwaite 1992:54-100) demonstrates both formally in economic theory, and substantively as a matter of political theory, that “tripartism” of market, state and civil society is necessary for democratic accountability in regulation. That is, public interest group participation in the dialogue of responsive regulation is necessary to hold both regulators and businesses accountable for their negotiation of the exercise of regulatory and compliance discretion in each particular case.

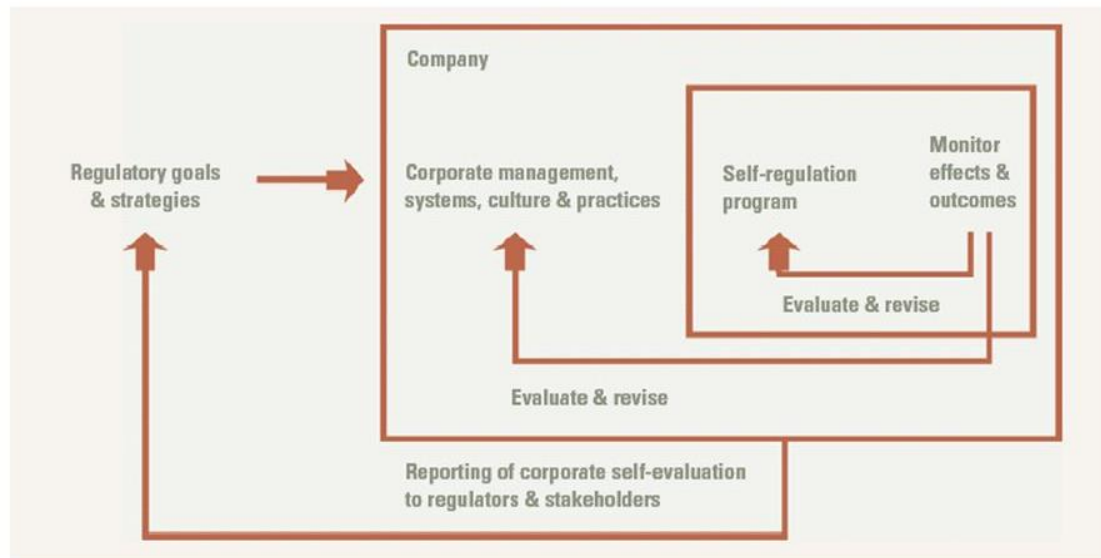
3.4 Meta-regulation and the Failure of Responsive Compliance

Parker’s *The Open Corporation* (2002) looked at responsive regulation from the other side of the equation, the experience and capacities of large business firms who should be subject to accountability and responsibility via regulation. That is, what does responsive compliance require? *The Open Corporation* demonstrated (on the basis of original field work and meta-review of compliance literature) that it is necessary to make businesses permeable to both state and civil society influence in a democratic society through requiring internal compliance systems, leveraging the agency of corporate insiders (e.g. environmental managers, inhouse lawyers and compliance professionals) who institutionalize social and environmental values

inside the company, making it more responsive to stakeholders who contest corporate decisions and actions. Parker argued that this was only possible where there is meta-regulation by the state of the company's internal responsibility systems to ensure accountability, responsibility and reflexive action in the "open corporation".

According to Parker the "open corporation" is a marriage between management and democracy and law – formal government regulation, democratic and stakeholder action, and internal corporate self-regulation all interact through an iterated dynamic of corporate engagement with social and, environmental and legal responsibility. Typically, this takes place through the phases of: (1) the commitment to respond via self-regulation; (2) the acquisition of specialised skills and knowledge for self-regulation; and (3) the institutionalization of purpose in self-regulation. Each of the three phases represents a decision point at which external influences can transform corporate practice and decision-making; but continuing interaction with external stakeholders and regulators at the next decision point is necessary to ensure an appropriate management response. Ultimately, external stakeholders and regulators must prompt self-critique and continuous improvement through accountability and meta-evaluation, which keep the cycle of engagement moving forwards (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Meta-Regulation (from Parker 2002, p278)



Both responsive regulation and Parker’s meta-regulation of the open corporation were predicated on the need for strong governments and strong public interest oriented civil society. Both theories also assume markets and businesses with the capacity to do the right thing and who can be forced to do the right thing with a judicious combination of sticks, carrots and, crucially, corporate capital punishment (or de-licensing). Yet these elements are often lacking in the way “responsive regulation” and “meta-regulation” are adopted in either scholarly literature or regulatory practice.

They are frequently narrowed down by conceptions of what is required by either the rule of law (see Yeung 2004, Westerman 2013) or to avoid interfering “too much” in markets (see Haines & Parker 2018). Meta-regulation is often discussed in a way that is narrowed back down to a dyadic relationship between a single regulator and regulatee with no democratic participation and no vision of the overall embeddedness of business activity in social democracy (contrast Braithwaite 2008; Parker 2002). It becomes merely meta-governance of risk management in which the government regulator places responsibility on the regulated enterprises themselves (usually large organizations) to submit their plans to the regulator for approval, with the regulator’s role being to “risk-manage” the risk management of those

individual enterprises (see Gilad 2010; Coglianese & Lazer 2003 for overviews of different uses of the term). The application of responsive regulation and responsive compliance in scholarship and practice have often failed to sufficiently highlight the need to bring both business activity (and also regulatory activity) inside democratic accountability and social and environmental responsibility. Instead regulation has often become a means of legitimating further commodification and without sufficient responsibility (Shamir & Weiss 2012). The final section turns to the existential challenge of social and ecological systems and introduce the notions of ecological regulation and ecological compliance as developments on responsive regulation and responsive compliance.

4. Ecological regulation and ecological compliance

4.1 Failure of Business Regulation and Compliance in the Anthropocene

The challenge of ensuring corporate compliance with public interest oriented business regulation is increasingly urgent in light of the existential social, environmental and economic threats facing the inhabitants of planet Earth. The “planetary boundaries” concept is one conceptualisation of how human activity is dangerously disrupting the way earth systems operate (eg Steffen et al 2015). According to this model, climate disruption is not the only looming ecological disaster. Other dire threats to the social, political and economic conditions of human life include biodiversity loss, the disruption of the global nitrogen and phosphorous cycles, and the accumulation of plastics and other novel human-made materials in places where they never previously existed (especially the ocean). Ecological disruption will also further cement pre-existing global social and economic inequalities (Gough 2017), not to mention other species.

The production of both ecological crisis and social inequality is to a large degree tied to the way in which capitalism and business activity is organised and governed (see Raworth 2017; Sjaafjell and Taylor 2019). They are driven by commercial activities for which one of the important drivers is financial profit-oriented business firm activity. These firms and their major share-owners, directors and senior managers have profited enormously from these extractive and destructive activities. They will be the first to be able to afford protection from the ravages of climate change and the like. Meanwhile those who have benefitted least from economic growth – those in the global south and the precariat in western industrialised countries -- are already the first to suffer the burdens. Hence the argument of some that instead of calling the current geologically disrupted era the “Anthropocene”, it should be called the “Capitalocene” (see Haraway 2015). This is a problem of how whole markets operate to create and perpetuate over production and over consumption, a “consumptogenic” system (see Parker & Johnson 2019 following Dixon & Banwell 2012) .

As Levi-Faur (2017:289) observes in his theory of regulatory capitalism, “regulation made, nurtured and constrained the capitalist system” through the creation and enforcement of concepts such as private property, companies, stock markets, competition law, and insurance. Law and regulation thus helped create the Anthropocene. Haines and Parker have therefore posed the challenge of “ecological regulation”, that is the regulatory challenge of re-embedding business activity inside socio ecological systems (Haines & Parker 2018; Parker & Haines 2018). We see this as an expansion and development from the social embeddedness recognised by responsive regulation to the need for regulatory governance of all human activity (including business activity) to operate within *ecological* limits while also still responding to social and economic tensions and crises.

If ecological regulation is necessary then so too is ecological compliance, that is the capacity for business entities to open out their own governance not just to social and legal

responsibilities but also to comprehend our human embeddedness within ecological systems. This challenges the very frontiers of capitalism, that is what can be allowed to count as “business as usual” and what must become no longer thinkable as legitimate commercial activity. It also challenges current conceptions of regulation by law, requiring a much greater prominence to ensuring the protection, enhancement and regeneration of socio ecological systems and non-capitalist economic activity. What then does the challenge of ecological compliance mean for regulatory compliance scholarship and practice?

4.2 Studying Ecological Compliance

The challenge of ecological compliance extends beyond treating regulatory compliance as a series of individual business firm or business person decisions in relation to particular rules, regulators or regulatory encounters to an ecology of regulatory space across whole markets (Scott 2001), hence “ecological compliance”.

Much of the regulatory compliance literature asks the question: When is regulation effective at achieving compliance with a particular rule or, more broadly, public interest outcome? This implies that the question is about how regulatory interventions influence otherwise stable firms and markets at particular points in time. Compliance studies often start with a particular rule or instrument that a particular governmental regulatory agency or self-regulatory body seeks to have implemented, monitored and enforced. This approach has produced many valuable results. However it can also encourage a narrow focus on technique, procedures and dyadic relationships at the expense of broader ranging inquiries into the overall politics of markets and governance. Ecological compliance studies would ask how different issues interact and how unsustainable production and consumption are created and legitimated despite our best attempts to regulate and reign them in.

An ecological compliance approach suggests that compliance scholars and practitioners should critically examine business activity more holistically, that is ecologically, in terms of a set of changing relations inside the firm, between the firm's activities, the market (broadly conceived as customers, competitors, supply chain partners, service providers and so on) and civil society in which public and private standards are continually being created, adjusted, solidified, or destroyed. The developing area of regulatory studies of hybrid public and private governance interactions or "regulatory networks" in transnational business regulation is a useful resource for this task (see Abbott & Snidal 2009; Bartley 2018; Braithwaite & Drahos 2000; Cashore et al. 2011; Eberlein et al. 2014; Perez 2011; Rodriguez-Garavito 2017). Regulatory network analysis recognises that the important regulatory question is not whether some issue, such as whether hens should be kept in conventional cages, is or is not regulated. The question is how is it governed, by whom, and to what effect? Regulatory network analysis draws attention to the way that the regulatory governance of any particular area at any particular time is the result of ongoing interactions (contests, conflicts, alliances, modelling and mimicry) by multiple actors (government, industry and civil society) at multiple levels (local, national and global) each seeking to exercise power legitimately and effectively (Scott 2001). It is important to understand the dynamics of regulatory governance networks because markets and regulation (by which we mean business-government-NGO regulatory interactions) continually constitute one another. In my own recent work on food system governance in relation to the factory farming of animals, I use this methodological approach to understand how the dynamics of regulation and compliance influence what products are available, how they are produced and sold, with what impact on humans (workers, local communities), animals and ecologies (see eg Parker et al 2017; Parker & Johnson 2019).

"Ecological compliance" is also ecological in the sense that it must be concerned with responsiveness to not just regulators and traditional civil society actors, but also social and

ecological actors and regardless of legal jurisdiction and national boundaries. How does business interact with the “core” economy that is households in which the vulnerable are cared for, children nurtured and educated, the gift economy, volunteer and activist work (Gough 2017)? And how does business activity interact with the forests, oceans, waterways, the atmosphere? Is the need for embeddedness, respect and reciprocity recognized and responded to with integrity? Although responsively rational regulation demonstrates that plural voices can in fact impact on regulating capitalism and normatively proposes responsive procedures for these voices, we are only just beginning to develop ways – in scholarship and policy – to pay attention to ecology itself and to the most basic forms of human interdependence on one another within ecologies. Haines and Parker (2018) analysed ways in which social movements are seeking to progress this agenda in one direction through the naming and shaming of fossil fuel corporations who have contributed the most to global warming (the “carbon majors”) and to name their behaviour as totally unacceptable “ecocide”. We argue that this might have an impact on overall compliance by changing the very baseline for what counts as acceptable business conduct by reference to its interaction with the global climate (an ecological actor). Other researchers are seeking to reconceptualise and validate conceptions of commercial activity that take their meaning and purpose from how they sit within basic social relationships (Morgan & Kuch 2015), and that might also change the overall ecological compliance of a market. These are important developments that deserve more attention.

5. Conclusion

Compliance scholarship and practice often gets narrowed down to measuring and demonstrating sufficient compliance with particular rules and regulations. In this chapter I have suggested that the spirit of responsive regulation should be expanded to ecological compliance in which the main concern is the overall dynamic of the degree to which regulation

and governance systems are able to continually and dynamically embed business activity inside social and ecological systems. This is not just deliberative democracy (as in Braithwaite's vision of responsive regulation) but also ecological democracy, as befits the social and ecological crisis of the Anthropocene.

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