



Scottish
Fair Trade
Forum

A HANDBOOK FOR FAIR TRADE CAMPAIGNERS

“ I always wondered why somebody
doesn't do something about that.
Then I realised I was somebody. ”

A handbook for Fair Trade campaigners

Written by the Scottish Fair Trade Forum

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Fair Trade
Forum**

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Glossary of frequently used acronyms

BAFTS – British Association for Fair Trade Shops

FTO – Fair Trade Organisation – an organisation involved with the commercial side of Fair Trade (e.g. a retailer or importer) that is entirely dedicated to Fair Trade products

MNC – multinational corporation

RA – Rainforest Alliance

WFTO – World Fair Trade Organization

WTO – World Trade Organization

Scottish Fair Trade Forum

Welcome to this handbook for Fair Trade campaigners, written by the Scottish Fair Trade Forum. The Forum is a Glasgow-based organisation that raises awareness about Fair Trade in Scotland. The Forum co-ordinated the national campaign to achieve 'Fair Trade Nation' status, which Scotland was awarded in 2013.

Introduction to Fair Trade

What is Fair Trade?

Fair Trade is a way of doing business that aims to build an equal and respectful relationship between producers in developing countries and consumers. Producers give consumers a product they need, and consumers in return give them a fair price; this creates a mutually beneficial relationship. This is a way of doing business that aims to remove the inequality and power imbalance that can be a common feature of the conventional global trading system.

Objectives and practices

Fair Trade is a set of business practices voluntarily adopted by the producers and buyers of goods, which are designed to advance various economic, social and environmental objectives, as per the diagram below.



The business practices that help meet these objectives can include:

- Higher than conventional market prices, through minimum prices and sometimes above-market premiums in addition.
- An extra premium payment to producers for community development projects, with the producers deciding how to spend this.
- Adherence to the policies of the International Labour Organization, especially those concerning child and forced labour and the right to collective bargaining.
- Direct trade relationships and long-term contracts between importers and producer groups - cutting out the 'middle-men'.
- Sourcing from small-holder farmer or artisan co-operatives.
- The provision of affordable credit.
- Protection of the environment.
- Raising awareness amongst consumers.
- External monitoring, auditing, and certification of these practices by independent third parties.

Fair Trade in the context of trade justice

Fair Trade exists within the much broader movement for trade justice. Many individuals, organisations and governments around the world are concerned with securing justice for everyone involved with the global trading system. The trade justice movement looks at a wide variety of issues, including:

- reforming the rules and institutions that govern global trade
- challenging the power and monopoly of supermarkets and multinational companies
- ensuring that companies pay income tax in the countries where they operate
- ensuring a fair deal for farmers and workers globally, including in developed countries.

Fair Trade is one response to the problem of trade injustice. It deals with a very specific part of the trade justice movement: building an alternative trading channel that allows producers from developing countries to sell their products for a fairer price and on fairer trading terms. Fair Trade is not an attempt to solve all the problems relating to global trade injustice, nor is it an attempt to provide a comprehensive solution to global poverty. However, it is affected by a lot of the issues relating to the broader trade justice movement, and it is therefore crucial that

Fair Trade campaigners keep sight of the issues it raises. Some examples of this will be discussed later in the handbook.

History of Fair Trade

The origins of the Fair Trade movement go back as far as the 18th and 19th centuries. There were various attempts made to introduce measures that protected the rights and well-being of producers, such as the formation of societies in the USA which boycotted goods made by slaves. The issue of worker rights was also becoming a matter for intellectual and academic debate, with a book by Dutch author, Multatuli, published in 1859, containing a character called Max Havelaar who stands up for the rights of Indonesian commodity workers.

The Fair Trade movement in its more modern form started shortly after the World War II, when charities and religious groups in the US and Europe sold goods, mostly handicrafts, from developing countries.

The movement then began to gather pace in the 1960s with the slogan “Trade not Aid” adopted in 1968 by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. In 1969, the first ‘worldshop’ was opened in the Netherlands, selling exclusively Fair Trade goods. There were more than 1,000 worldshops in Europe by the mid-1980s. The movement was known as ‘alternative trade’ until this time, but came to be known as ‘Fair Trade’ from 1985 onwards.

Non-governmental organisations were also formed in the 1960s and 70s in Africa, Asia and Latin America, with the objective of providing advice, assistance and support to disadvantaged producers in those countries.

In the 1980s, those involved with the Fair Trade movement started to look towards expanding beyond handicrafts into agricultural commodities. Coffee was the first Fair Trade commodity. The collapse of the International Coffee Agreement in 1989, which led to coffee prices plunging globally and thus significantly reduced income to farmers, led to a lot of interest in Fair Trade coffee and so it sold very well. This was then followed by tea, dried fruits, cocoa, sugar, fruit juices, rice, spices and nuts.

In 1988, the Dutch organisation Max Havelaar created the first Fair Trade product certification system. The UK’s first Fair Trade certification system, the Fairtrade Mark, was created shortly afterwards, and the first Fairtrade-certified product became available in shops in 1994: Green & Black’s ‘Maya Gold’ chocolate bar.



Since then, Fair Trade has become hugely successful and products are now widely available in shops and supermarkets throughout the UK. Many of the big global food brands now have at least one Fair Trade product. In 2015, around £1.6 billion worth of Fair Trade goods were sold in the UK.

There are currently more than 1.65 million farmers and workers involved in Fair Trade, in more than 74 developing countries.

A history of Fair Trade in Scotland

In 1979, an organisation called Campaign Coffee Scotland (CCS) was formed by a group of people who had recently returned from volunteering work in Tanzania. They wanted to do something to help the coffee growers they'd met, and so they started to import instant coffee powder from them and sell it on at a higher price than normal coffee. CCS had a strong campaign and advocacy message, producing educational materials and selling by direct mail. In late 1984 the group began distributing coffee commercially through GreenCity Wholefoods co-operative in Glasgow. Around this time, the first specialist Fair Trade shops were established, including the One World Shop in Edinburgh and the Coach House in Balmore.



In 1987, the collaboration between CCS and GreenCity led to the launching of the Equal Exchange brand of food and drink products, distributed by co-operative wholesalers throughout the UK. Sales grew so rapidly that Equal Exchange was launched as a co-operative business in its own right in 1989.

Equal Exchange then went on to help found the brand Cafédirect in 1991. Equal Exchange was one of four founding partners in this venture; the others were Oxfam, Traidcraft and Twin Trading. Cafédirect is still a well-known Fair Trade brand for tea, coffee and cocoa, with their products widely available in supermarkets and catering outlets, and Equal Exchange remains a thriving brand importing a range of food and drink products, and is still based in Edinburgh.

The towns of Aberfeldy (Perth and Kinross) and Strathaven (South Lanarkshire), were the first to be awarded the status of 'Fairtrade Town' in 2001. The growing number of Fairtrade Towns in Wales and Scotland led campaigners there to establish the idea of becoming a Fair Trade Nation. Wales achieved this status of 'Fair Trade Nation' in 2008, the first ever country to do so, and Scotland became the second country by achieving the award in 2013.

Certification schemes

Different types of goods

Before looking at the different certification schemes used for Fair Trade products, we first need to consider the two categories of goods that exist:

1. *Commodity goods* - goods derived directly from natural sources which are used by the consumer in their natural state, e.g. coffee, rice, gold.
2. *Manufactured goods* – goods that have undergone processing and alterations to transform them from their natural commodity state into a finished item. For example, a T-shirt starts life as cotton, a raw commodity being picked in the field. Thereafter it is altered (the cotton is spun, dyed, woven, stitched and embroidered to make a T-shirt), and so it becomes a manufactured good.

Therefore, for a manufactured good, the Fair Trade movement is concerned with two elements of the process: the well-being of those producing the commodity, and the well-being of those working on the subsequent parts of the production process, often undertaken in factories.

Commodity and manufactured products involve different processes and therefore require separate approaches by the Fair Trade movement. Each type of good is therefore traditionally covered by a different Fair Trade certification scheme.

It is important here to note an element of both the commodity and manufacturing production process that has not really been dealt with by the Fair Trade movement yet: that of the conditions of workers involved with the transportation of Fair Trade goods. This could include workers on ships bringing goods to Europe and those providing local transportation in the country of production. Some Fair Trade organisations are actively trying to address this but, for the moment, this is an area where Fair Trade falls short.

Certification schemes

A key issue within the Fair Trade movement has been that of certification. If you expect consumers to pay extra for goods because of the benefits for their producers, consumers need some sort of verification of the truth of these claims. In the early days of Fair Trade, this verification came through trust; goods were sold in ‘worldshops’ and charity shops, and customers trusted the reputations of these organisations to tell the truth about how their products were sourced.

However, as Fair Trade products started to become available through mainstream and commercial shops, something extra was needed to prove that those particular products lived up to the claims they made. Therefore the idea of a Fair Trade certification scheme was born. Here follows a summary of the two main certification schemes.

Fairtrade Mark



This is the ‘logo’ of the most widely recognised Fair Trade certification scheme. It was the first Fair Trade certification scheme to be used in the UK.

This logo is now so common in shops that to many people, Fair Trade *is* this blue and green logo. However, this logo, called the ‘Fairtrade Mark’, is a certification scheme. It has adopted the same name as the whole movement, which is why the confusion has arisen.

Therefore, ‘Fairtrade’ written as a single word is a trademark which refers only to this particular certification scheme and products that have been certified. ‘Fair Trade’ written as two words refers to the whole movement, in which there are a number of certification schemes and approaches.

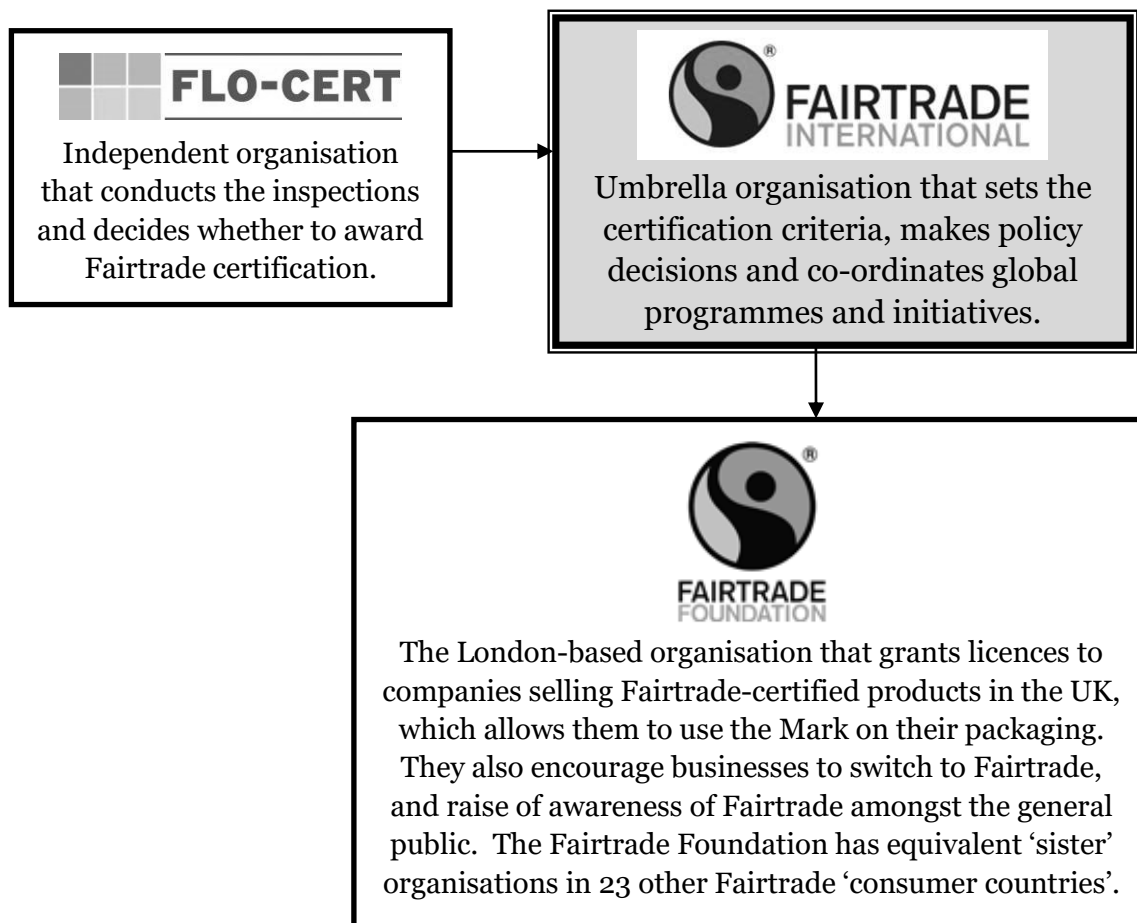
Fairtrade certification is almost exclusively concerned with commodity goods. However, it is beginning to move into certifying manufactured goods; the first manufactured products to be eligible for Fairtrade certification were footballs. With the Fairtrade Textile Standard (introduced in 2016), textiles became the second product. Prior to the Textile Standard, the Fairtrade Mark on clothes meant that only the cotton was certified as Fairtrade, and not the manufacturing process. The Fairtrade Textile Standard means that all workers involved in making the clothes e.g. everyone involved in farming the cotton (or other responsible fibres), as well as the weavers, spinners, pattern cutters etc have been paid and treated fairly.

How it works

An organisation called FLO-CERT assesses applications and decides whether to award producer groups the certification. The Fairtrade Foundation, an organisation based in London, then grants companies a licence to use the Fairtrade Mark on these products when sold in the UK. The Fairtrade Foundation has ‘sister’ organisations in many countries around the world, each of which has the authority to award the Fairtrade Mark to qualifying products sold in that country.

Together, all these organisations which award the Fairtrade Mark are part of an umbrella organisation called ‘Fairtrade International’. This umbrella organisation

was created in 1997, at which point all the different individual certification processes were aligned to use the same standards for their products.



The Fairtrade Mark is awarded to individual products, rather than organisations, that meet its criteria. Growing coffee beans is different to growing, say, bananas. For this reason, Fairtrade International has a different set of criteria that needs to be met for each type of product. Each set of criteria is very long and requires a substantial amount of research, which of course takes time. Therefore, it's not yet possible to achieve Fairtrade accreditation for some products, because the criteria simply haven't been written yet. However, the list of products is growing all the time.

How much of a product needs to be Fairtrade to get certification?

For single ingredient products such as coffee, bananas and flowers, 100% of the ingredients will come from Fairtrade certified farms. However, there are other products, such as biscuits, ice cream and chocolate, in which the ingredients are a mixture of Fairtrade ingredients from developing countries and ingredients sourced more locally from UK or European farmers. These are known as 'composite products'.

For a composite product to be eligible for Fairtrade certification, Fairtrade International stipulates that at least 20% of the content must be Fairtrade certified. If

a Fairtrade certified ingredient is available, it must be used, regardless of what percentage it makes up in the final product. This is to encourage the use of as many Fairtrade products as possible and means that even ingredients added in small quantities have to be Fairtrade, e.g. herbs, spices and vanilla. If a product contains more than 50% liquid and/or dairy, then the liquid and/or dairy components are removed from the calculation.¹

A milk chocolate bar is an example of a composite product as it will contain cocoa beans, sugar and milk amongst other ingredients. It's not possible to get Fair Trade milk because it doesn't need to be sourced from a developing country. However, cocoa is always sourced from developing countries, and sugar usually is too. Therefore, to get Fairtrade certification for the whole chocolate bar, 100% of the cocoa and sugar must be Fairtrade (but not the milk) and when combined, the Fairtrade ingredients (the cocoa and the sugar) would have to amount to at least 20% of the total contents.

Funding

Most of the funding for the Fairtrade Foundation and Fairtrade International comes from two sources: the fees that organisations pay in order to receive Fairtrade accreditation, and charitable grants from institutions such as the EU.

In the early days of the Fairtrade Mark, it was free for producer organisations to become certified because the organisation was funded entirely through charitable grants and fees from commercial organisations. This worked well at a time when there were very few Fairtrade products available. However as the amount of products began to increase sharply, they could no longer cover these costs. In order to achieve certification, Fairtrade International has to pay researchers to develop the criteria, and then FLO-CERT inspectors will need to visit the producers, go through all the paperwork, and work with the producers on any weak aspects of their application. Fairtrade International also needs to undertake policy, research and governance work, as well as back-office duties such as record-keeping, staff training, communications, event organisation, and it also needs to do a lot of campaigning and public education work around global trade. All this costs money and there is a limit to the money that can be obtained from commercial organisations and charitable grants.

Therefore, the decision was taken in 2004 to charge a fee to producers applying for Fairtrade certification, on the grounds that having the Fairtrade Mark on their

¹ Full details on product composition requirements can be found in Fairtrade International's Trader Standards: <http://www.fairtrade.net/standards/our-standards/trade-standard.html>

product would lead to extra sales because of the popularity of Fairtrade amongst consumers. As you would expect, this decision has created some controversy.

Some claim that this has excluded some farmers from applying for Fairtrade certification because they simply can't afford the fees. In particular, there is a worry that it's the most marginalised farmers, without access to international assistance, who suffer the most from this decision.

However, Fairtrade International states that they have generally received positive feedback from producers because it has improved the quality and timeliness of the certification process. They state that many producer groups receive help paying the fee from their charitable or commercial partners, and that they've also set up a fund to which they can apply for help with up to 75% of the fees.

FLO-CERT lists the fees charged to producer groups on their website. In 2016, the minimum cost of obtaining certification was €1,466, with a fee of €1,199 for annual renewal, with costs increasing for larger organisations up to €3,557 for initial certification and €2,839 for annual renewal. These fees include the certification of one Fairtrade product; they need to pay an annual fee of €184 for each additional product being certified.

Requirements

The certification requirements are very long but here is a very brief summary of the types of criteria contained (if you want to read the full list for a particular product, you can find links to research articles at the back of this handbook).

- Payment of a set minimum price, below which prices can never fall no matter what happens to global prices for that commodity.
- An additional 'premium' payment is built into the price. The producers' workers' union or farmers' co-operative will decide how this payment is spent – it can either be spent on community development projects or improvements to their farms which have a wider social/environmental benefit.
- Workers or farmers should be organised into democratic committees, unions or co-operatives, depending on what is more appropriate for their individual situation.
- Working conditions must be clean and safe, and workers must have access to the appropriate equipment and training necessary for their roles.

- Workers' rights must be upheld, with written employment documentation given to workers and clear policies and procedures for issues such as holiday pay, sick pay, maternity leave, equal rights for women, etc.
- Protection of the environment.

WFTO Guarantee System and label



The World Fair Trade Organization (WFTO), formerly the International Federation of Alternative Trade (IFAT), launched its own Fair Trade certification in 2004. That's a key difference to the Fairtrade Mark – the Fairtrade Mark is awarded to qualifying *products*, but WFTO certification is awarded to qualifying *organisations*.

It therefore looks for very different things. Rather than requiring a checklist of activities to have been undertaken, WFTO accreditation focuses on the ethos and practices of the organisation as a whole. Organisations must demonstrate that WFTO's "Fair Trade Standard" – a set of 10 Fair Trade principles combined with International Labour Organization Conventions - is at the heart of how they do business. The 10 Principles of Fair Trade are:

1. Creating opportunities for economically disadvantaged producers
2. Transparency and accountability
3. Fair trading practices
4. Payment of a fair price
5. Ensuring no child labour and forced labour
6. Commitment to non-discrimination, gender equity and freedom of association
7. Ensuring good working conditions
8. Providing capacity building
9. Promoting Fair Trade
10. Respect for the environment

In 2011, WFTO looked at how the Standard was being implemented and monitored. The review highlighted demand for a more trustworthy, clear and affordable way of working so that the certification scheme remained accessible to small producer

organisations. As a result, WFTO introduced its Guarantee System which is a more participatory approach, encouraging organisations to take more responsibility for ensuring compliance with the Fair Trade Standard. The new system therefore includes a self-assessment component, WFTO peer and external assessor audits as well as an online reporting portal which anyone can use to report non-compliance.

Background

WFTO certification is generally seen as requiring higher standards than Fairtrade certification, because organisations have to show that their entire business, and not just an individual product, is built around the WFTO Standard. This also means that it's seen as having a wider scope and impact than Fairtrade certification because not only are all the organisation's products Fair Trade, but the company will be applying these principles to their dealings with other parties in the supply chain, including their UK-based staff.

Traditionally, WFTO certification was used by organisations selling manufactured products, which aren't eligible for Fairtrade certification. This was mostly craft products in the early days of the WFTO mark. Organisations selling a range of different products are now WFTO-certified, including some commodity organisations that have double certification (such as Equal Exchange UK): their food products are individually Fairtrade-certified, and the organisation is WFTO-certified in addition. In 2016, WFTO introduced its own Product Label. WFTO-certified organisations can use this on their products to show customers that the company is a member of WFTO and so the product's whole supply chain has been checked against the WFTO Fair Trade Standard.

How it works

For Fairtrade certification, organisers are given a comprehensive list of specific criteria which they are expected to reach. The criteria is based on Fairtrade International's Standards which take into account social, economic and environmental factors. WFTO certification works in a similar manner but the criteria is specifically related to the 10 Fair Trade Principles and International Labour Organization conventions (and as described above, is called the "Fair Trade Standard"). However, a key difference to keep in mind is that with WFTO, organisations must fulfil these criteria about everything they do, rather than just one individual product line. The self-assessment requirement of the Guarantee System also encourages stronger internal accountability.

WFTO is funded mostly through the membership fees paid by organisations which they certify, with the European office also receiving funding from the EU. The WFTO fees have not proved as controversial as the Fairtrade fees charged to producers, both because the fees are lower, and because WFTO is less well-known

and therefore perhaps subject to less scrutiny. In 2016, the WFTO fees for producer groups were between €400 and €2,600.

Network organisations



BAFTS (The British Association for Fair Trade Shops and Suppliers) is a network of Fair Trade shops in the UK. Shops and suppliers who sell at least 70% Fair Trade goods are eligible to join. Specialist Fair Trade shops will often sell products that have no Fair Trade certification. Getting BAFTS accreditation for the whole shop is therefore one way of giving consumers confidence that these products are indeed Fair Trade, because BAFTS will have looked into the shops' suppliers before allowing them to join.

All members are monitored and assessed annually, and the organisation is funded through the fees paid by member organisations.

Non-certified products

Many Fair Trade products do not have any certification at all. There are a number of possible reasons for this:

- the organisation is too small or new to afford or be ready for certification
- the organisation trades on reputation or trust instead
- no certification scheme yet covers the product in question (as discussed in the section about the Fairtrade mark).

Of course, if a product/company is claiming to be Fair Trade but has no certification, there is always the possibility that this is a false claim. Therefore, in this situation, it is very important to do a bit of research into the company. Try and find out more about the company's history and ethos, and see if they've been endorsed by any reputable organisations.

One Scottish example of this is a company called Just Trading Scotland (JTS), based in Paisley, selling a variety of products including rice, lentils, coconut milk, sauces and chutneys. They are a relatively small company and their suppliers are normally small and/or relatively recently established, and Fair Trade certification isn't yet commercially viable for them. However, the Scottish Fair Trade Forum works very closely in partnership with JTS and has met some of their suppliers, and can therefore vouch for their credentials.

“Fairly traded” products

There’s another category of products which are called ‘fairly traded’. This is usually applied to products where significant effort has been made to ensure that the producers have been treated fairly, but it doesn’t quite fulfil all the standards usually associated with Fair Trade. For example, a factory with good working conditions and levels of pay might have been used, but no Fair Trade premium has been built into the price.

Recently there have been exciting developments with fairly traded electronic products. It’s now possible to buy a fairly traded smartphone through an organisation called Fairphone, and a mouse for a PC through a company called Nager IT. Both these companies acknowledge that their products are not “fully fair” yet, but they’re both making significant efforts to continually improve the fairness of all aspects of the manufacturing and trading of their product. There aren’t currently fully Fair Trade versions of these products, so it’s crucial that we support these companies in their quest.



Again, when a company claims that something is “fairly traded”, there is no independent verification of this and so you should try and find out more. But do bear in mind that this is a term sometimes used for really innovative projects that break new ground in the world of Fair Trade, such as the electronic products mentioned, and so they really need and deserve our support.

When certification systems fail

Every now and then, there’s a media story or TV documentary that shows a Fair Trade producer organisation in which Fair Trade standards are being breached.

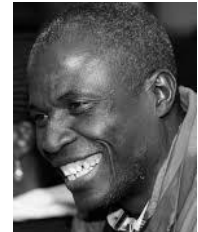
Unfortunately, no system can be 100% perfect. For example, most people in the UK would say that our minimum wage legislation is enforced very well. However, there are still occasional media stories about companies that breach minimum wage rules. This does not mean that the minimum wage as a concept is flawed and these incidents don’t generally lead to calls to withdraw this law; it simply means that humans aren’t perfect and that there will always be some people who break the rules. It’s exactly the same with Fair Trade. We will never be able to eliminate all breaches of the rules, but what we can do is make it as difficult as possible for people to do this through continually improving monitoring and enforcement systems. Isolated incidents of people breaking Fair Trade rules certainly do not mean that we shouldn’t bother with Fair Trade altogether. These occasional incidents should be viewed in the context of a movement which is bringing benefits to thousands of farmers and workers.

Producer case study

So what does all this actually mean for Fair Trade producers? Here's a case study about a producer that the Scottish Fair Trade Forum has worked with.

Howard Msukwa

Howard is a rice farmer whose goods are sold in the UK through Just Trading Scotland, a company based in Paisley. He lives in Karonga, which is the northern-most district of Malawi, close to the Tanzanian border. Howard has visited Scotland at least four times, on visits arranged by Just Trading Scotland (JTS) and the Scottish Fair Trade Forum, to talk to communities about his rice and Fair Trade.



Howard is married with two grown-up children of his own. His brother and sister-in-law died of AIDS so he has adopted their three teenage children as well. Primary education is free in Malawi but secondary education isn't. Howard was very fortunate to have a benefactor pay for him to attend secondary education in Zambia when he was growing up. Howard says that for those living in rural Malawi who haven't gone onto higher education, there simply isn't any choice for them but to become farmers. They need to grow food for themselves and their families, and they hope to be able to grow a little extra to sell to the market. Therefore there are many tens of thousands of reluctant entrepreneurs in rural Malawi; forced into becoming farmers by the lack of free education and economic opportunity, and therefore in real need of training and support to ensure their farms run efficiently and that they can access markets.

Farmers' co-operatives provide this much needed support network. Howard is a member of his local co-operative called KASFA, Kaporo Smallholder Farmers' Association, which allows its farmer members to pool their resources for investment in equipment, training and seeds, and also gives them more power over the terms of trade by allowing them to engage in collective bargaining. Howard volunteers as the Chairman of KASFA. KASFA in turn is a member of NASFAM – the National Association of Smallholder Farmers of Malawi – which helps its member co-operatives with training, accessing new markets, and international negotiations.

The rice produced by Howard and his fellow farmers at KASFA is called 'Kilombero rice.' It doesn't currently have any Fair Trade certification because it is still too new and small an enterprise to afford the fees. This therefore restricts the distribution because commercial outlets generally won't sell products claiming to be Fair Trade unless there's independent verification of this. Therefore the rice is currently sold essentially on the trust that supporters place in Just Trading Scotland as an organisation, and is currently sold in some Co-op food stores, Fair Trade shops, churches and community organisations. They aspire to become Fairtrade-

certified soon however, and NASFAM is working with both KASFA and JTS to this end.

Howard has experienced a real change in circumstance since KASFA started exporting rice to JTS on Fair Trade terms. He is able to pay for his three adopted children to attend secondary school. He has been able to buy a plough and oxen which takes some of the strain out of the farming work and also helps to increase his farm's efficiency; many of his fellow farmers still work their land using nothing but rudimentary hand-held tools. His farm has diverse crops and better yields thanks to the training and support he's received, meaning the family doesn't have to worry about food security; they have plenty now to be able to sustain the family and sell the surplus to the market for cash. Howard has also been able to upgrade his home. Their house was previously made of mud, which is very common in rural Malawi. However, he has been able to build a house with brick walls, a corrugated iron roof, cement floors and solar panels for electricity.

Howard is also very proud of the work that KASFA has done in the local community, as a result of the Fair Trade premium they receive through sales of Kilombero rice. AIDS has left many children orphaned in Malawi and they've used the money to send several orphans in the local area to secondary school, and to support local orphanages by providing basic items such as clothing.

Howard sells some of his rice to the local domestic market in Malawi, but JTS is currently his only international trading contract. It's this export contract which has proved so important to the KASFA farmers. NASFAM is currently in talks to try and export the rice to other European countries, and JTS recently received a grant from the Scottish Government to help KASFA further improve their farms' efficiency and yields.

Howard's hope is that by sending children to secondary school, with some hopefully going onto higher education as well, a new generation will emerge who have more economic opportunities available to them. They won't be forced into becoming farmers; they will be able to get wage employment or diversify their entrepreneurial activities into more profitable areas.

Delving Deeper

As with any complex issue, there are people who agree with Fair Trade, but equally there are people who don't. In this next section, we'll summarise some of the criticisms made about Fair Trade, and show you why we believe them to be unjustified. You may not agree with us on all of them and that's absolutely fine – discussion and dialogue about these issues helps the Fair Trade movement to continually improve and evolve, so we encourage debate. What's really important is that campaigners are informed about these issues so that they can contribute to these debates and speak to community members about them when asked.

The issues presented here are complex. They're the sort of issues that academics write lots of research papers about and that are always evolving. So below we're giving you only a summary of issues to consider, but we encourage you to do your own additional reading into any topics that interest you. There are some websites and articles listed at the back of this handbook to point you in the right direction.

Global trading system and free trade

As mentioned earlier, Fair Trade is part of a wider movement to push for change to global trading rules. So what exactly is the problem with global trade?

Global trade is largely based on the principle of 'free trade'. This was a theory devised by a British economist called Adam Smith in the eighteenth century.

Some countries are seen to be better at producing particular goods than other countries, meaning they can be produced more cheaply, quickly or efficiently. Free trade is based around the idea that rather than producing a variety of goods with a varying degree of efficiency, countries should specialise in producing and exporting the goods that they're most efficient at, and then import other goods from other countries. This eliminates inefficiency and makes the best use of overall resources.

Agricultural problem

While this principle described above might seem to make good logical sense, its downside is that it creates a situation known as the 'agricultural problem.'

More industrialised countries have the technology and infrastructure to specialise in producing higher-value 'luxury' items. Developing countries often don't have the infrastructure to be able to produce such high-end manufactured products, and so agriculture is the main staple export in many countries such as this.

If countries stick to specialising in the goods they're most efficient at producing, the theory is that everyone's total income will increase because resources aren't wasted. So when people get richer, what type of products are they likely to spend more money on?

If people already have enough food to survive, they don't need to buy any extra. They might like to buy some better quality food, but it's unlikely that people's spending on food would increase by all that much. It's much more likely that people will spend more on luxury manufactured items, such as electronic products, as they become richer.

So the countries that specialise in producing these luxury products benefit from continual increased demand as people get richer. However, countries that specialise in agriculture experience no increase in the demand for their goods, and become poorer compared to the other countries.

Adding to this problem is the fact that food prices fall as farmers become more efficient at producing food. For example, when farmers use improved equipment or fertiliser, their yields will increase and so there will be more food available on the market. When the volume of a particular product increases, prices go down because it's not so in demand anymore. This in turn means that people will buy more of the product because it's cheaper.

However, again with food, there's a limit to how much people will buy because we only really need enough to ensure we don't go hungry. Therefore demand stays the same, but farmers' incomes drop and they become poorer, because they have to sell their crops for a reduced price. This affects farmers in all countries, including richer countries. However for farmers in developing countries which specialise in agriculture, they become poorer both in real terms and in comparison to people in more industrialised countries.

Subsidies

In richer countries, governments worry about this situation because they recognise that this will affect a lot of people's finances: farmers' livelihoods, businesses that trade with farms, and the wider economy in general. Countries also tend to try and safeguard their own domestic supply of food, rather than relying on imports, in case of any situations which would cut off supplies from food abroad, such as a war.

Richer governments therefore try to overcome the agricultural problem by offering their farmers financial subsidies to keep their farms running. These payments top up the farmers' income, so that they can still maintain their farms and livelihoods even if the farms themselves operate at a loss. In the EU, these

subsidies are granted to farmers under a scheme known as the Common Agricultural Policy, under which large farms benefit the most.

Therefore to some farmers, it doesn't always matter whether their food is needed or bought at all, because they still get paid through the government subsidy. In fact, this often encourages farmers in richer countries to produce more food than the local markets require.

So what happens to all the extra food they produce? It's better to receive a little bit of money for the extra food than simply to throw it away, so farmers often sell the food off very cheaply to other markets. Often these markets are in developing countries, where very cheap produce is in high demand. This practice is often referred to as 'dumping'.

Farmers can afford to sell the food off very cheaply, because they're getting paid by the government anyway. In fact the produce is often sold at a price less than what it cost to produce. The problem this creates is that local farmers in that country simply can't compete. Their government can't afford to subsidise them to produce food, so they are stuck with the normal costs of production and therefore need to charge a higher price for their produce than their subsidised foreign counterparts.

So consumers in those countries understandably buy the cheaper foreign produce, and the local farmers lose out. As explained in the producer case study, for a lot of people in developing countries, and particularly those living in rural areas, there simply aren't any job opportunities and everyone has to become a farmer to survive. So when farmers can't sell their produce because they've been undercut by subsidised farmers in rich countries, they can be left destitute.

How can developing countries stop this happening? It would be very difficult for them to ban foreign imports altogether. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) is the global organisation that oversees international trade and its practices, and its objective is to make trade as free as possible. Therefore, banning imports altogether would be seen as non-compliance with WTO advice. This would significantly weaken developing countries' ties with other nations which could see their own exports denied access to foreign markets. It would also restrict their access to loans and grants through the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Banning imports therefore isn't a viable option if countries are to maintain good external relations, and so they can seek to impose some other measures instead:

- *Tariffs*
A tariff is a tax charged on all foreign goods being imported into a country. When tariffs are imposed, consumers have to pay more for foreign goods because the price will include the cost of the tariff. This increases the likelihood of consumers buying from local producers, who don't need to charge for this.
- *Quotas*
Countries can set quotas for the amount of foreign goods to be imported. This means that there would be only a limited supply of a particular product allowed into the country, thus reducing the amount of competition for local farmers.

So these all seem like sensible measures. As we've seen, it's developing countries that rely heavily on agriculture that suffer the most, because people there lack opportunities to find other employment. It's still a problem in richer countries of course, but it rarely leads to farmers being left destitute because there is much more opportunity for them to access education and other wage employment, and because those countries usually have a welfare system that kicks in when people lose their incomes.

But the problem is that rich countries pressurise developing countries into decreasing or removing their tariffs and quotas, so that they can continue to export their products there. In return for removing tariffs and quotas, rich countries offer aid money and/or preferential access to their own markets. However even if this meant that a developing country could export goods to a richer country without having to pay tariffs, this once again leaves them vulnerable to the problem of 'dumping', meaning that they will almost certainly end up worse off out of this arrangement. But governments of developing countries are in a very weak position to fight against this because they can't afford to lose valuable political and economic ties.

World Trade Organization



We find it difficult to argue that the World Trade Organization (WTO) isn't biased in favour of richer and more powerful countries. The reality is that richer countries can afford to conduct lots of research, employ the top experts, and have lots of representatives at relevant meetings and conferences where the WTO's policies are decided. They therefore have access to better information and have much more influence to get the policies pushed through which will benefit them.

The WTO and free trade advocates also continue to claim that free trade is the best way for countries to move out of poverty. They will often use countries such as Taiwan and South Korea as examples; these countries experienced huge economic growth in the twentieth century by liberalising their trade. However, many academics point out that these countries built a lot of protective measures into their trade as it was growing, so these can't be claimed as victories for free trade. And while Asian 'sweatshops' are much maligned in popular discourse, many claim that they have at least provided employment and a measure of prosperity to Asian countries, which is why Asia has developed faster than Africa. But with all we know about the horrendous conditions and poverty wages in some sweatshops, can we seriously hold this up as an example of the benefits of free trade?

Summary

There's a fundamental problem with saying that free trade is better than Fair Trade: free trade simply doesn't exist. While rich countries continue to subsidise their own farmers and push for global rules and practices that benefit their own producers, trade will never be free. Unless rich countries are prepared to stop doing this, something else (such as Fair Trade) needs to be done to try and help producers in developing countries.

And what if rich countries did decide to make trade truly free? Developing countries reliant on agriculture would still suffer from the agricultural problem. Until their technology and infrastructure developed to the point where they could also diversify into the service industry and the production of high-end manufactured products, they would remain the casualties of global trade.

For that reason, we believe there should always be some measures built into global trade that ensure a level playing field and that protect those who struggle to compete. The minimum wage in the UK is just such a measure; a very small intervention into the free market designed to protect workers. Few people complain about the minimum wage interfering with free trade because people generally realise why it's so important. So we think an equivalent small measure would always be needed in the global context as well, and we think that Fair Trade fits this bill quite nicely.

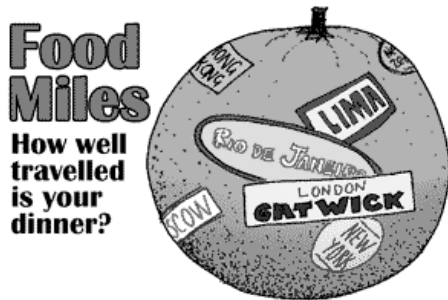
Environmental concerns

Fair Trade products by definition come from far-away countries. Carbon will be emitted as part of the products' journey to the UK, contributing to global warming. So does that mean that Fair Trade is bad for the environment?

Some products, such as coffee and cocoa, simply can't be grown in the UK, and so they would need to be imported from another continent anyway. If this is already happening, why not at least make it Fair Trade? Anyway, let's look at this food miles issue in more depth.

(We realise that not everyone believes in climate change, and that not everyone agrees that human activities contribute to it. However, 95% of climate scientists do believe in man-made climate change, so we're trusting the scientists on this one.)

Food miles



There is a lot of public attention on 'food miles' at the moment, but they're actually much less of a problem than we're often led to believe.

Different researchers come up with different figures, but most think that food miles account for around 10% of the carbon emissions from the food production lifecycle. So a massive 90% of carbon emissions come from other processes, and yet all the attention goes on food miles.

Indeed, this 10% that comes from transportation is made up of lots of other journeys that consumers may be overlooking. It's not as simple as transporting the goods from a field in, say, Africa to the UK. Packaging needs to be shipped to the depot where the food is processed, the food needs to be delivered to the shop, the consumer needs to travel to the shop to buy the food, and any waste needs to be driven away to landfill or recycling. So within this 10%, the proportion of carbon emitted through the journey from the field to the UK, which is the journey that most people are concerned about, is even smaller still.

So where do the remaining 90% of emissions come from? The vast majority come from the processes used to grow crops. Many crops grown in industrialised countries use energy-intensive farming methods, such as artificial irrigation, lighting and heating, which all require a huge amount of energy to operate. The problem is particularly exacerbated when growing crops out of season, because so much extra energy is needed to create the right growing conditions. For example, studies have shown that even when the extra food miles are accounted for, the carbon footprint of tomatoes imported from Spain is lower than that of UK tomatoes

that have been grown in heated greenhouses. Even growing food in season, without the need for artificial heat and light, can be problematic if the food is then kept chilled to be sold later in the year. For example, UK apples are often harvested in September and kept chilled to be sold throughout the year. One study found that by August, when the apples have been kept chilled for eleven months, so many emissions would have been produced by this chilling process that apples shipped from New Zealand would have a lower carbon footprint.

Crops in industrialised countries are also generally grown with the use of a lot of machinery, such as tractors and combine harvesters. These are usually powered by fossil fuels and therefore produce a lot of carbon emissions. And, of course, a lot of carbon would have been emitted in the process of manufacturing these machines themselves.

Contrast this with Fair Trade production techniques. Thanks to the much warmer climates in Fair Trade producer countries, no artificial heat or light is required. Most farmers rely on natural rain patterns and plan their planting and harvesting accordingly. Food is shipped straight to the importing country; it isn't kept chilled to be sold at a later date. Fair Trade farmers have very little, if any, money to invest in machinery and other equipment. Many of them use manual labour and hand-held tools to work the land. This eliminates a significant amount of the carbon emissions that are produced from food grown in industrialised countries, and particularly food grown out of season. This more than compensates for the emissions produced from the product's transportation to the UK.



Cafédirect, who produce Fair Trade tea, coffee, and cocoa, conducted an audit of the carbon footprint of one of their hot drinks, right from growing the crop in the field, through to the consumer disposing of waste after finishing their drink. The emissions produced through production, shipping and processing are so low, that a whopping 72% of carbon emissions actually comes from consumers boiling their kettle! This calculation is for drinks without milk; the meat and dairy industries are so energy intensive that if you add any milk to your drink, you've probably just doubled its carbon footprint at the very least.

Compare this to hot drinks produced by companies that aren't as environmentally conscious as Cafédirect. Well the first battle is finding the data in the first place, because few mainstream companies are as transparent about their carbon footprint as Cafédirect. But from the data that does exist, it seems that boiling the kettle would usually account for 25-50% of a drink's carbon emissions, showing just how environmentally friendly Cafédirect's production processes are, and also showing that boiling the kettle is an energy-intensive process, and so you should be careful not to boil more water than you need.

What is Fair Trade doing to reduce its impact on the environment further?

While all this may explain why transportation isn't the main environmental problem that needs to be tackled when looking at production, transport does nevertheless produce carbon emissions and so it contributes to global warming. Therefore, steps do of course need to be taken to reduce emissions.

FTOs generally do a lot more to reduce their emissions than their commercial counterparts. It's estimated that at least 95% of all Fair Trade products are shipped by sea, rather than flown by air freight. Some FTOs also invest in carbon-offset schemes, and many work with farmers to encourage organic production techniques.

Because of FTOs' socially-oriented missions they will usually take steps to reduce the carbon footprint of their offices as well, for example by using energy from renewable sources, by encouraging staff to cycle or use public transport to get to work, and by encouraging recycling in their offices. Many FTOs also have clear environmental policies and statements available to the public, and some produce carbon audits as well – therefore ensuring that they're transparent about the steps they're taking and where they need to improve.

Therefore, of course, there is an environmental impact caused by Fair Trade. But we believe that this is much less of an impact than that caused by the commercial counterparts of FTOs.

So to summarise, if you want to reduce the carbon footprint of your food, here are the best options for doing so, in order of preference:

1. grow your own food
2. buy food that's in season and that's been grown locally, preferably with minimal packaging
3. buy food that's been imported from another country where it's been grown in season, using energy-efficient processes, and from a company that has a strong commitment to reducing its environmental impact.

Many Fair Trade companies fit into this third category so if you're buying a product that's out of season or can't be grown locally, you could do far worse than buying Fair Trade. We therefore don't believe that environmental concerns are a valid reason for not supporting Fair Trade.

Rainforest Alliance



There are a lot of ethical labels out there on products, and this understandably causes confusion amongst consumers. Many consumers think that

Rainforest Alliance (RA) signifies that a product is Fair Trade, and that it is also the label that ensures the greatest environmental protection. Let's look at both those issues.

Is it Fair Trade?

Fair Trade is about changing the terms of trade. RA focuses on how farms are managed. Therefore, they have very different objectives; Fair Trade aims for fundamental changes within the trading system that will create more equal relationships with producers, whereas RA aims for environmental and social improvements within the existing trade structure. Fair Trade has a significant focus on working with small-holder farmers, whereas RA works mostly with larger estates and plantations.

As we can see below, the treatment of workers and communities only accounts for three of the ten principles which RA seeks to address (principles 5, 6 and 7):

- | |
|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Social and environmental management system2. Ecosystem conservation3. Wildlife protection4. Water conservation5. Fair treatment and good working conditions for workers6. Occupational health and safety7. Community relations8. Integrated crop management9. Soil management and conservation10. Integrated waste management |
|---|

There is nothing in these standards that necessarily aims for the empowerment of farmers and workers. For example, there's no requirement that workers have the right to join unions or that farmers can join co-operatives; these associations would usually give them much more say over the terms of their work and trade.

So RA should ensure a better deal for producers than conventional trade, but it has nowhere near the same welfare standards as Fair Trade.

Is it the best label for environmental protection?

Because WFTO certification does not prescribe the exact measures that must be taken to protect the environment, this section will address this question from the point of view of Fairtrade certification only.

RA contains seven standards which are concerned purely with the environment. Fairtrade addresses five of these standards, so it still does a lot to protect the environment.

However, there are still two standards missing (water and soil conservation) – and this is often where organic certification steps in instead. A lot of Fair Trade products are also organic. This isn't compulsory, but is often done as part of the farms' commitment to environmental protection, which is very much part of the ethos of the Fair Trade movement. There are multiple organic certification schemes, but most of them cover these two missing standards.

Therefore if you buy a Fair Trade product which is also organic, the same environmental issues will have been addressed as for Rainforest Alliance products. However Fair Trade will have gone even further, by addressing many more social and economic issues as well.

We also believe that Fair Trade goes further for the environment in the long-term: communities and countries living in poverty cannot afford to invest in green technology. Lifting them out of poverty, through initiatives such as Fair Trade, means that they can introduce schemes to decrease their emissions. Short-term environmental protection measures, such as those contained in the Rainforest Alliance standards, are of course very important, but we believe that long-term economic development is more important in the protection of the environment.



One of the key issues to consider with RA is that companies are allowed to use the logo on their single ingredient products when only 30% of the contents are RA-certified². This is in stark contrast to the Fairtrade Mark, for example, which can only be used on single ingredient products that contain 100% certified ingredients³. If RA products contain less than 90% RA-certified content, they do need to put a qualifying statement to this effect on their packaging (and they also need to aim towards having 100% certified contents in the future). However this could nevertheless be misleading for consumers who, upon seeing the RA logo on their jar of coffee, may well believe that *all* the coffee grounds in the jar were produced in conditions which live up to the RA standards.

² Requirements and Guidelines for use of the Rainforest Alliance Trademarks, July 2016: <http://www.rainforest-alliance.org/business/sites/default/files/uploads/4/rainforest-alliance-marks-guide.pdf>

³ There are different labelling rules for 'composite products' (products that contain more than one ingredient). See the "Introduction to Fair Trade" section of this handbook for more details.

Non-food products

We believe that this information provides strong environmental justification for Fair Trade food. But what about non-food products, such as clothing, footballs and craft items? Is there an environmental justification for buying these products from abroad, when they could be made closer to home, thus reducing the carbon footprint?

Many of the raw materials used for these items will come from abroad even if they're manufactured in the UK. For example, a lot of clothes are made from cotton, which can only be grown in warm climates. Greece, Turkey and Spain are the nearest countries that produce cotton, but the overwhelming majority is grown in other continents. Therefore there will nearly always be international mileage associated with the production and transportation of clothing, wherever it is manufactured.



This mileage can be reduced by minimising the number of journeys in a product's lifecycle – for example by processing and manufacturing cotton into garments either at source where it's grown, or in the country where the clothes will be sold. The reality of global trade is that jobs such as stitching garments are usually outsourced to countries where labour is cheaper, so manufacturing items here in the UK isn't an option for many brands. People Tree, a Fair Trade clothing specialist, sources all its cotton from India which is then processed and made into clothing in either India or nearby Bangladesh, before being shipped to the UK (in contrast to some other clothing brands, who will use cotton from one country, send the cotton to be spun in a second country, dyed in a third, cut and sewn in a fourth country, etc.) This therefore keeps the carbon footprint as low as possible, while taking into account the fact that cotton can't be grown in the UK, and that the market leads companies towards manufacturing in countries with cheaper labour.

This is similar for a lot of other raw materials, such as rubber, minerals, and precious metals, which are usually sourced from abroad (and indeed sometimes only available from abroad) and therefore will incur mileage even if the products are manufactured in the UK. Manufacturing them abroad in the same country in which the commodity is sourced, in Fair Trade conditions, therefore does not usually add to the mileage involved, and it keeps labour costs lower (meaning consumers are happier) while creating sustainable livelihoods in countries where they're desperately needed.

Also similar to food, while some materials used for these products could be sourced in the UK, it may well be less energy-intensive for them to be grown in Fair Trade producing countries with favourable climates, and therefore better for the environment overall in spite of the carbon produced from the journey to the UK.

Effects of climate change on producers

The Forum regularly invites Fair Trade producers to visit Scotland and talk to communities about their work. Every producer we meet talks about the significant effect that climate change has on their work and/or their communities. Rice farmers from Malawi have told us that they simply can't predict the rains anymore – sometimes it doesn't rain at all when it's supposed to, and other times it rains too much and washes their crops away. Craft producers from Indonesia have told us that their communities struggle to produce rice (the main staple food in Indonesia) and are now increasingly reliant on more expensive imports, because of unpredictable rain patterns. And there are countless other similar stories from other Fair Trade organisations.

Few farmers in Fair Trade producer countries have access to artificial irrigation systems and must rely on natural rain patterns to cultivate their crops. Unpredictable rains can therefore cause a season's worth of crops to be ruined, which is devastating to farmers whose livelihoods depend on them. And because these countries often lack infrastructure and support from their governments, their coastal cities struggle much more to repair and rebuild after floods and storms caused by extreme weather events, which most scientists believe are becoming more common because of climate change.

The environment is therefore not a side-issue in debates about global poverty. Climate change is causing poverty and hampering efforts for people to build sustainable livelihoods. And it's particularly unfair for developing countries, because it is the industrialised countries that have produced most of the emissions that have caused global warming; and yet developing countries are the most vulnerable to its effects. Environmental protection must therefore play a central role in efforts to combat global poverty.

Fair Trade vs. local produce

Scottish farmers and Fair Trade farmers are very rarely in competition. Most Fair Trade produce simply can't be grown in Europe because of the climate. This includes tea, coffee, banana and cocoa beans.

There are a few products that are available either from Fair Trade or local farmers, with some examples including honey, cut flowers and sugar. All these items can be grown in the UK and Europe, yet we tend to import high volumes of these products from abroad. The main reason for this is that the UK cannot produce enough of these products to meet consumer demand. It's estimated that the UK only produces enough honey to meet one third of our demand. Consumers also want these

products year-round. With flowers in particular, this obviously poses a problem in the colder months, and imports are the only way to meet these demands.

Therefore, local and Fair Trade farmers still aren't really in competition on these products because there's enough demand to require production in both locations and at different times of the year.

Plantations

Within the context of developing countries, generally speaking there are two types of farm:

1. *Small-holder farms* – a relatively small plot of land usually next to a family home, where a mixture of subsistence and cash crops are grown. The majority of the farming work is undertaken by the family, but they may occasionally hire in workers at busier times of the year.
2. *Plantations/estates* – a large plot of land created specifically for growing cash crops in bulk. Plantations are often owned by companies, some of which are foreign, and farm workers are hired in. It's cheaper to grow crops in this way, firstly because of the economies of scale gained through growing in bulk, and secondly because plantations/estates are deliberately created in advantageous areas (e.g. with the right amount of sunlight and rain, and near to roads which therefore reduces transportation costs).

It's not always the way, but typically plantations are likely to sell to foreign markets, whereas small-holders farms are more likely to sell to local domestic markets. There are several reasons for this:

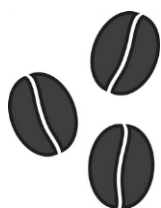
- the lower cost of plantation production means it's cheaper for importers to buy the product, particularly when considering the bulk orders that they place, and they're also guaranteed a larger and steadier supply from plantations
- plantation management companies are more likely to have foreign connections and the resources to deal with the administrative requirements and fees of exporting goods internationally
- plantations are likely to have been created in locations with good access and transport networks, making international transportation much easier, whereas small-holder farmers are based wherever people live which can include remote and rural locations without transport links.

When Fair Trade first entered the agricultural commodity market, it was specifically designed for small-holder farmers only. The system was supposed to help them

overcome some of these disadvantages that they faced compared to plantations, and give them access to more lucrative international markets.

However, Fairtrade International now works with plantations for some commodities, leading to criticism that small-holder farmers are being undermined by the movement that was designed to help them. So why has Fairtrade International allowed this change in policy?

Coffee and tea provide good case studies to illustrate what's happened. Coffee was the first agricultural commodity that the Fair Trade movement entered into. The majority of the world's coffee was already grown by small-holder farmers, so it was the perfect place to start. There were a huge number of challenges to overcome, and European trade and development organisations (such as Twin in the UK) partnered with the farmers in the 1980s to help overcome these challenges and build up the supply chain. It took fifteen years, but it proved so successful that the supply of Fair Trade coffee started to exceed demand in the alternative trading system, and so farmers sought to expand distribution to commercial outlets. To this day, 100% of Fairtrade coffee sold in the UK comes from small-holder farmers.



Fair Trade Organisations (FTOs) in the 1990s wanted to capitalise on this interest and demand by making other Fair Trade products available. However, they faced problems when expanding into tea, not least because the majority of tea is grown on plantations/estates in the countries where Fair Trade operates. The reason for this is simply the colonial history of India, Sri Lanka and Kenya; colonial rulers in these countries created plantations in previous centuries to meet global demand for tea, and these have remained until the present day. (China is of course the other big tea-producing country, but Fair Trade is quite small there.)

Therefore, given that there were so few small-holder tea farmers, this (in addition to all the other challenges faced in building up a new supply chain) meant that FTOs would face a long wait before they could supply the public with Fair Trade tea. Not wanting to lose the momentum that had been created, Transfair Germany decided to start awarding Fairtrade certification to tea plantations which met some of the criteria, such as paying the Fairtrade minimum price and ensuring safer working conditions for staff. A few other national Fairtrade labelling initiatives followed suit. Then in 1997 all national certifying bodies changed their policy to allow tea plantations to gain Fairtrade certification, when they all merged into the new international Fairtrade Labelling Organisation (now known as Fairtrade International). If it was going to take a decade or two to build up the small-holder tea supply chain, why not bring the benefits of Fairtrade to plantation workers in the meantime?



But there was never an opportunity to reverse this decision. Fairtrade took off and became hugely successful. Withdrawing plantation produce, and going back to

‘start again’ with small-holders was simply out of the question when so much public support had been built up. Efforts were instead poured into getting more and more companies to switch to Fairtrade plantation tea, and diversifying Fairtrade into other commodities. Therefore the outcome of this decision is that to this day, almost all the Fairtrade tea available in the UK comes from plantations. Cafédirect and Equal Exchange are two of just a handful of brands that sell tea that comes entirely from small-holder farmers.



These brands continue to try building the small-holder supply chain (and others such as Traidcraft and the Co-op are also trying to do this), but they’re now facing an even bigger task; Fairtrade tea technically already exists and they’re having to compete against it. The majority of commercial companies and consumers who buy and sell Fairtrade tea don’t know about the issue of plantations undermining small-holder farmers (and possibly wouldn’t be too worried even if they did), so why would they support the expensive and time-consuming process of helping to bring small-holder Fairtrade tea to the market? And in shops where Cafédirect tea sits on the shelf next to supermarket own-brand Fairtrade tea, how many people buy Cafédirect when it’s more expensive? The average consumer doesn’t know about this issue and thinks they’re doing the right thing by buying *any* Fairtrade tea; they don’t know that they can inadvertently be taking desperately-needed market opportunities away from small-holder farmers, by buying the supermarket own-brand tea.

However, in spite of this issue, shouldn’t Fair Trade be doing something to help improve pay and conditions for plantation workers? They’re usually worse off than small-holder farmers, who at least own some land, so something of course needs to be done. But is Fair Trade the right system to help tackle the problem?

Academic studies into Fairtrade tea plantations certainly aren’t comprehensive, but the research that does exist points to a number of issues that sit uncomfortably with the ethos of Fair Trade:

- Workers can be legally bonded to the land in a feudal system.
- Tea-pickers live on the plantation and are usually dependent on the owners for jobs, housing, sanitation, water, roads, etc., meaning they don’t have control over their livelihoods.

- One researcher found that tea-pickers sometimes don't know what happens to the leaves after they're picked or how much they will sell for. She also found little evidence of any training or up-skilling for workers. All of this is at odds with the goal of empowering workers and helping them to improve their positions.
- Workers sometimes suspect that management uses the Fairtrade premium money to comply with requirements they should be paying for anyway, such as health and safety measures. Even if this isn't true, this power imbalance and lack of trust suggests that Fairtrade is not helping to change the terms of trade and create equal relationships with workers.

Some academics have pointed out that Indian legislation actually requires higher worker welfare standards than Fairtrade, so they claim that nothing has changed on Indian tea plantations that have been granted Fairtrade certification, save for the creation of a committee that decides how to spend the Fairtrade premium. If selling Indian Fairtrade tea hasn't led to any real improvement in workers' lives, then it doesn't seem that they need Fairtrade. This means there have been missed opportunities for those who *do* need Fairtrade: small-holder tea farmers, and tea plantation workers from other countries where the local laws don't demand welfare standards as high as in India.

As noted, there is a lack of comprehensive research into this issue, and so there will undoubtedly be plantations where Fairtrade certification has made a real difference. However 'plantation Fairtrade' by its very nature doesn't go as far as Fair Trade as it was originally envisaged; it doesn't empower workers in the same way because employees can never have the same autonomy as business owners (although they can potentially benefit from more security), and it doesn't create new market opportunities for farmers who are excluded from global trading opportunities.

So perhaps Fairtrade wasn't the right system to step in and help plantation workers. The situations of small-holder farmers and plantation workers are very different, and perhaps another scheme or label could have been developed to provide a more tailored response in plantations, and to ensure that small-holder farmers weren't affected by these efforts. But the decision to move into plantations was taken with the best of intentions and, of course, it's easy to be wise after the event; few predicted that Fairtrade would take off and be so successful, meaning that there's never been an opportunity to go back and 'fix' the problem by working on the small-holder supply chain.

So the real question is: what do we do now to try and improve market access, and pay and working conditions, for as many small-holder farmers and plantation workers as possible?

If plantations were pushed out of Fairtrade again, what would happen to the plantation workers whose livelihoods it has improved, and who now depend on Fairtrade contracts? And what would happen to public understanding and support for Fair Trade? Given that few consumers are aware of this issue, it's quite possible they'd assume that the whole Fair Trade model was flawed and simply stop buying Fair Trade products altogether.

Therefore, we wouldn't suggest that eliminating plantations from Fairtrade is a viable solution. However, there's no right answer to any of this. If you want to do something practical about this issue, possible actions include buying from Fair Trade organisations that are supplied by small-holders only, asking Fairtrade International not to allow plantations into any further commodities, and asking companies that supply plantation Fairtrade produce to go above and beyond the criteria set out to help their workers.

Commercialisation

As discussed in the history of Fair Trade, the movement has been transformed over the past decade or so from a niche and development-focused activity, to a commercialised business model. Several multinational companies (MNCs) now have Fairtrade-certified products, including Nestle's KitKats, Mars' Maltesers and Starbucks' coffee.

These companies have entered into the Fairtrade market because they recognise that there is brand loyalty and profit to be made from consumers who want to buy ethical products. Their motive is therefore very different from FTOs such as Cafédirect, Traidcraft and Equal Exchange, whose main motivation is to improve their farmers' market opportunities and livelihoods.

However, whatever the motivation of a company getting into Fair Trade, it increases the volume of products bought on Fair Trade terms, and is therefore beneficial to producers overseas. Right?

It's not quite that simple unfortunately. The evidence suggests that there are different outcomes for producers depending on the motivation of the company to which they sell their Fair Trade produce. While commercial companies will often seek to fulfil the minimum criteria necessary to secure Fairtrade certification, FTOs will routinely go far above and beyond these minimum criteria. For example they will usually pay farmers/workers much more than they're required to, offer more favourable business terms, and they will also work alongside the producers to help them develop their products.

Buying from a specialist FTO therefore has a bigger impact on the producers who made that product. But buying a Fairtrade product from a commercial company still

means that pay and conditions for the producers meet the high standards required by Fairtrade certification, doesn't it? Unfortunately, this is subject to dispute for some companies involved with Fairtrade.

Some academics claim there's evidence to show that Fairtrade International has given leniency to some commercial companies, around some of the standards that usually need to be met for Fairtrade certification. If you want to find out more about these claims, you can look at the research articles listed at the end of this handbook. There are two sides to every story, and Fairtrade International and the companies involved in these claims would no doubt make robust defences. But some of these claims come from credible researchers and so they need to be taken seriously.

If these claims are even partially true, why has Fairtrade International allowed this to happen? In all probability, because they feel this still gives a better outcome for the farmers. Allowing the rules to be flexed means that some very large companies have been incentivised to enter into the Fairtrade market, and bring some benefits of Fairtrade to the huge number of farmers and workers who supply them. It might mean that there is less of an impact on farmers/workers, because not all the Fairtrade standards are being met, but it might instead mean that a much higher number of producers are getting at least some benefits.

That's certainly a strong argument. Whether you agree with this or not will depend firstly on whether you think it's more important to achieve depth or volume of Fair Trade impact, and secondly whether you think we should encourage MNCs to incorporate fairer practices into their systems, or rather challenge their systems altogether. There are lots of people within the Fair Trade movement on both sides of this debate.

It's also important here to consider the practicalities of both approaches. Many people involved in Fair Trade would surely love to see a global trading system which is completely transformed and which always prioritises people above profit. But is it realistic to aim for this? Should we set our sights a little lower, and instead aim for a trading system which largely maintains the same rules and balance of power, but which aims to make small but significant improvements to workers' pay and welfare?

The latter is definitely more achievable, which is another valid argument in favour of commercialised Fairtrade. The counter-argument would be that this is a missed opportunity to at least try to create real structural change; commercialised Fairtrade is a short-term solution which will never address the power imbalances which lie at the heart of the problem. Indeed, it even allows powerful multinational companies to become even more powerful from their increased sales, due to the popularity of Fairtrade.

There's no right answer to any of these questions; it depends entirely on your individual values, and you can be a dedicated and effective Fair Trade campaigner no matter what your view on the issue of commercialised Fairtrade.

If you're one of the campaigners who isn't happy about the commercialisation of Fair Trade, here are a few suggested actions you can take:

- Buy from, and promote, the specialist FTOs. Also buy from specialist Fair Trade shops wherever possible, who ensure that the 100% FTOs have a market. These products are more expensive than commercial Fairtrade, but now you know the reason why.
- Write to Fairtrade International to express your concerns about claims that they're allowing companies leniency with some standards.
- Write to commercial companies that sell Fairtrade, such as Nestlé and Cadbury, to tell them they should be doing more for farmers and switching more of their brand lines to Fair Trade.
- Raise awareness about the broader Fair Trade movement, and other certification schemes such as WFTO. Some of the companies going the extra mile for their producers don't have Fairtrade certification, so people might not know they're still Fair Trade
- Educate people about the trading system more generally. If fewer people bought from multinational companies and fewer people shopped in supermarkets, they wouldn't have as much power to bend the rules.

Campaigning

Fair Trade has been so successful thanks to campaigners spreading the word about it. Thousands of people across the country have for many years been carrying out simple activities in their communities: speaking to local businesses and organisations, contacting big multinational companies and supermarkets and asking them to support Fair Trade, and putting on events for their local community to find out about Fair Trade products. These simple activities have collectively been so effective that it's created an entire movement.



This goes to show that no matter how big you feel the challenge is, you *can* do something about the injustices you see. And by joining together and co-ordinating this action between campaigners, we can make these activities even more effective.

What is campaigning?

Campaigning is when you try to achieve change through a series of co-ordinated activities. This includes directly asking decision-makers to change their policy/practice, and also raising awareness and educating other members of the public about the change that you'd like to see.

There are a huge range of activities that people can undertake when campaigning. You'll no doubt have seen, or even taken part in, protests and public marches for various causes. But less visible activities, such as emailing organisations and distributing information on social media, are also examples of effective campaigning. So it takes many forms, which means that there's always an activity you can get involved in that will be appropriate to your cause and that you'll feel comfortable with.

None of this requires expert knowledge of Fair Trade or trade justice. Anyone with belief in a cause can be a campaigner.

Fair Trade and trade justice campaigning

Campaigning has always been an integral part of the Fair Trade movement. Consumers need to be aware of the conditions that many producers work in, in order to understand the benefits of paying a little extra for a Fair Trade product. In the early days of Fair Trade, it was mostly the people and organisations involved in the alternative trading system who campaigned for the movement, e.g. churches, worldshops, and FTOs.

In 2000, the town of Garstang in Lancashire, England, declared itself the world's first 'Fairtrade Town'. This was the culmination of a campaign that had begun in the town in 1994, led by the local Oxfam campaigning group. They decided to hold a public meeting in 2000 to bring together all the key community representatives and organisations in the town, where it was decided the town would give itself this name, to signify its commitment to using Fair Trade products wherever possible.



This was a significant milestone in the Fair Trade campaigning movement, because this is the moment that communities also became involved in raising awareness. There are now more than 600 Fairtrade Towns across the UK. Communities are awarded the status if they can show the Fairtrade Foundation that there's lots of support locally

for Fair Trade. By ensuring that campaigning was taking place in towns and villages throughout the UK, rather than just at a national level, many feel that the Fairtrade Town movement has been instrumental in making Fair Trade so successful.

There are also community campaigning networks that cover wider aspects of the trade justice movement. People and Planet is an organisation that encourages students to campaign for 'sweatshop free' policies in their universities and colleges, as well as leading campaigns against MNCs that treat workers unfairly. Labour Behind the Label and War on Want both lead campaigns against sweatshops used in the fashion industry. UK trade unions often campaign for workers' rights in other countries. Global Witness campaigns against exploitation in the natural resource extraction industry. And the list goes on.

Getting started

First you need to do a bit of planning. Start by asking yourself the following question:

What it is that you want to achieve?

You might want to get more people locally buying Fair Trade, you might be aiming for a local college to start serving Fair Trade in its cafés, or you might want a local shop to expand its Fair Trade range. There are lots of different goals you could aim for.

Once you've identified your goal, ask yourself the following questions to get your plan together:

- Who is your target audience?
- Is there any information you need about your target audience to help you plan?
- How can your target audience be reached?
- What messages do you think the target audience will respond to, including both the content and the format of the messages?
- What information do you need about Fair Trade/trade justice to start your activity?
- What resources do you need to get your message across and start your activity?
- How will you know if your activity was successful?

Campaigning in a team

If there are people in your community interested in campaigning with you, ideally you would get together and campaign as a team. Different people will have different skills that they can bring, so working in a team means that you will be able to pool all your skills. It also means that you'll have more time between you to get activities organised, and of course it's usually more fun and sociable to campaign as a group!



If you get a team together, decide how you'll communicate. You could do this via email, a Facebook group or face-to-face meetings. Or a combination of these methods of course.

Ideally each person will have a specific role in organising the activity (e.g. one person in charge of getting materials together, one person in charge of communications, etc.). It's helpful if one person agrees to take overall charge of the task. This doesn't mean them doing all the work themselves – it simply means they'll need to keep track of all the work.

If you find your team is small or the numbers dwindle at all, there are two techniques that some groups find helpful:

- Make your meetings regular – commit to meeting on a scheduled day each month so that people know to keep this date free.
- Make your meetings sociable – meet in cafés, go to events together, watch films, etc. People will be more likely to come along regularly if the meetings are fun.

You'll need to strike a balance in your group between formality and informality – holding formal meetings and having formal roles is great for getting things done, but keeping things informal where possible means the meetings will be more fun and encourage people to get involved.

Campaigning by yourself

It might be the case that you don't know anyone else locally who wants to campaign, or you might simply have decided you'd prefer to campaign alone. You can still be a very effective campaigner by yourself. There are some ideas later in the manual for activities that don't need a team.

Suggested target audiences

This could include:

- Your local community
 - Ask yourself if you need to be more specific than this – for example, are you trying to get the message across to a particular age group?
- Council
- Shops
- Nearby office buildings
- Newspapers and radio stations
- Schools, colleges and universities
- Your local politicians, i.e. Councillors, MSPs, MPs
- Other community or campaign groups.

Try and suss out your target audience

Put yourself into his/her shoes. What do they care about? How are they likely to react to your campaigning activity? A few hints:

- businesses are interested in increasing their sales, increasing the loyalty of their customers, and enhancing their reputation
- your council will be interested in activities that bring the community together and celebrate the local area
- politicians will be interested in campaigns that have widespread public support and that can enhance their reputation
- consumers are interested in quality and value for money
- many groups or people and organisations are increasingly interested in environmental impacts.

Ideas for campaigning activities



Printed materials

You could distribute information to local community members in a number of formats, including posters, leaflets and petitions.

Quite a few of the organisations involved with Fair Trade and trade justice can provide you with leaflets and other materials to hand out to people. For example, the Fairtrade Foundation has an online shop where you can order free leaflets.

Here are a few tips if you're making your own leaflets or written materials:

- make them *eye-catching* – use pictures/designs and snappy taglines
- ensure they're easy to read – don't use too much text, particularly for posters where people have limited time to read the contents
- include details of how people can find out more.

You could also distribute directories of local shops/organisations that sell or use Fair Trade items. This in itself is a good way of getting shops to stock Fair Trade as they can get free publicity from you in return.

Online activities

You can use the internet to ask companies about their practices and policies, and encourage them to make their trade fairer. For example, you can email a clothing company and ask them what they're doing to ensure that their factory workers overseas are being treated well.

You can also start an online petition to a company. There are various websites that allow you to create your own petitions, with one of the most popular being change.org. You can also add your name to the many petitions run by campaigning organisations.

Online communications are also a cheap and effective way of raising awareness amongst your network and local community. You could distribute information through social media, mailing lists, information websites, blogs and through stories/letters to the media.

Information stalls

There may be events, festivals or fairs locally where you could run an information stall. You could hand out leaflets, ask people to sign a petition, and talk to them about Fair Trade. Event organisers often allow community groups with a charitable nature to have stalls for free, and others might charge you a small fee to cover their costs.

Press release



These are a good way of getting media coverage, either about Fair Trade/trade justice in general, or more specifically about your campaigning activities or local developments. A press release is a written story which is sent to the press. Journalists often copy and paste large chunks of press when writing a story – so they make it very easy for journalists to write stories, which increases the likelihood of getting press coverage.

There are template press releases on the internet that you can use. Try and ensure that your press release is news-worthy, rather than repeating information which is already in the public domain. For example, you could write about an upcoming event, a local organisation that's just agreed to use Fair Trade, new Fair Trade products that have become available locally, or about new figures/statistics that have been released about Fair Trade. Don't forget to include a snappy headline that journalists can use, contact information if they have further questions, and ideally a photograph as well.

Media stunt

A media stunt is a visual event where something out of the ordinary happens, meaning you're likely to attract attention. This could include dressing up in costumes that illustrate your cause and standing in a very prominent place, human chains, unfurling a huge banner, and flash mobs. Keep an eye on what other campaigning organisations are doing for ideas.

Make a video

This could be a good way of making your campaign stand out from others. You could make a video about Fair Trade in your town or about a particular issue that you want to explore. You can then put it on YouTube, Facebook or your blog/website.



Film screening

If you find a film that's relevant to an issue you're campaigning on, film screenings are really good ways of bringing these issues to life and getting other people to care about them too. If you're a student at college/university or you're a member of an organisation that has a set meeting place, it should often be quite easy (and hopefully free) to get a venue and equipment to play a DVD.

Organising a film screening for the public is trickier not just because you'll need to find a suitable venue, which can sometimes cost quite a bit of money, but also because you'll need to make sure you've got the right licence for showing films in public. It's certainly worth trying though if you think it would be effective – some cinemas agree to show films on request if they think local campaigners will help them get a good turnout, so this would be one way of avoiding the costs.

You could also organise a Q&A or a panel/audience discussion after the film, if there are people locally who would have some views to share on the topic.

Food and drink tasting

You could put on an event for people to sample Fair Trade food, which could include chocolate, tea, coffee and wine. If you have the facilities, you could also cook some dishes using Fair Trade ingredients for people to try. Just Trading Scotland sells curry sauces and rice, so you could even have a curry night.

Craftivism



There's a relatively new 'craftivist' movement at the moment, whereby campaigners make craft items in place of printed materials. So instead of making a poster, why not hang us a nice bit of embroidered fabric with your message on instead, to make sure your campaign gets noticed! As well as standing out and being innovative, it's also a very non-threatening way of getting your message across. And you can even use Fair Trade thread and materials to make your crafted message.

Visit www.craftivist-collective.com for more information. It doesn't matter if you've never done any embroidery or made crafts before; the website has ideas that are very easy and don't require any experience.

Talking to your local Councillors, MSP and MP

It might be appropriate to talk to your local politicians for specific requests. For example, if you think your local council should be doing more to promote ethical purchasing to local community organisations, contact your Councillors and tell them.

For any issues that would be dealt with by the Scottish Parliament, you can contact your MSP, and for any other national and international issues, you can talk to your MP.

The website of your local council will be able to tell you who your Councillors are and how to contact them. To find your MP and MSP, you can visit www.theyworkforyou.com.

You could ask them to attend any campaigning events that you're running, and also ask them to promote your campaign on their website and social media pages. This can be very helpful for a campaign as they may have a lot of social media followers, and they may also have useful press contacts. Therefore wherever possible, it's often beneficial to work in partnership with politicians in a positive way.

Joining with other local groups

See if there are already other local groups that have something in common with your campaign, and consider joining with them to promote your causes through shared activities. For example, a local environmental group might be interested in running activities to promote the environmental benefits of Fair Trade.

Leading a campaign on your own?

Many of the activities listed above can be done easily without a team:

- creating social media pages and websites to distribute information
- creating or signing up to petitions
- emailing organisations and asking them to change their policies/practices
- speaking to politicians
- craftivism
- press releases to the local media.

Making sure your campaign is effective

Background research

If you're writing stories, leaflets or social media posts, or if you're talking to people and organisations about Fair Trade, it can be very helpful to quote some facts.

Try to get your facts from reputable sources. This could include websites and publications of the Scottish Fair Trade Forum, WFTO, the Fairtrade Foundation, academic research, government, local authorities and reputable newspapers.

Avoid using information from websites such as Wikipedia, where the reliability of the authors isn't assured.

You could also undertake your own research, and the ‘Freedom of Information Act’ is a very useful tool for doing this. This is a law giving you the right to access any information held by public authorities. So, for example, you could use the Freedom of Information Act to request details from your local authority about how many Fair Trade products they use. You could then use this information to show people how well your local authority is doing and to ask them to keep up the good work, or you could use the information to try and get them to do more.

Working within the law

Fair Trade is about treating people with respect and fairness, so you should ensure that your campaigning activities follow these principles too. You must ensure that your campaigning activities are lawful and that they won’t cause distress or harm to anyone or to any property.

Funding

There are lots of activities you can undertake that won’t cost you a penny, e.g. talking to organisations, setting up free websites and social media feeds, speaking to the local media, etc.

If you want to put on some events which will cost money, there are some ways you can raise some funds:

- *Ask for donations in kind* – this is where organisations donate resources rather than money. You may be able to run an entire event using donations in kind. For example, the local Council could give you free use of a venue, and a local shop could give you free tasters of Fair Trade products for people to try.
- *Public fundraising* – you could ask for donations from attendees of an event you put on. Fundraising for campaigning is unlikely to raise significant amounts of money, as people generally prefer to donate to more direct causes. However people are generally willing to contribute if they’ve got something free in return. For example if you put on a free chocolate tasting by using donations in kind, attendees are usually willing to donate a little money in return.
- *Ask local organisations for support* – there’s no harm in asking local shops and organisations if they could donate money to help with your events. It’s always helpful if you can tell them what you’d use the money for, and what you anticipate the benefits to be. Organisations that have donated funds to other groups include: the Co-op, Scotmid, local community development trusts, Community Councils, and local authorities.

- *Apply for grant funding* – there are also charitable organisations who could give you funds. The Scottish Fair Trade Forum often operates a grant scheme for small amounts of money, with details on the website. For larger amounts of money, the following website can help you identify grants that you could apply for: www.biglotteryfund.org.uk/scotland/funding.

If you go for options 2 - 4, you need to be organised with your finances to show that you're using the money appropriately. Somebody in the group needs to keep a record of your accounts, and you're often required to set up a group bank account as a condition of receiving a grant.

Where to go for further information

Useful websites

Fair Trade

Scottish Fair Trade Forum – www.sftf.org.uk
World Fair Trade Organization – www.wfto.com
Fairtrade Foundation - www.fairtrade.org.uk
Fairtrade International – www.fairtrade.net
FLO-CERT – www.flo-cert.net

Trade justice and other campaigning organisations

Trade Justice Movement – www.tjm.org.uk
Labour Behind the Label - www.labourbehindthelabel.org
War on Want – www.waronwant.org
Oxfam – www.oxfam.org.uk
Global Witness – www.globalwitness.org
People and Planet – www.peopleandplanet.org

Some of the major UK Fair Trade Organisations

Cafédirect - www.cafedirect.co.uk
Divine - www.divinechocolate.com
Equal Exchange - www.equalexchange.co.uk
Just Trading Scotland - <http://www.jts.co.uk/>
Liberation - www.chooseliberation.com
People Tree - www.peopletree.co.uk
Traidcraft – www.traidcraft.co.uk
Zaytoun - www.zaytoun.org

Articles and websites for further information on topics covered

Free trade

'Unfair Trade,' Marc Sidwell, Adam Smith Institute, 2008 - <https://www.adamsmith.org/blog/international/unfair-trade>

Plantations

‘Can a Plantation be Fair? Paradoxes and Possibilities in Fair Trade Darjeeling Tea Certification’, Sarah Besky, 2008

Equal Exchange USA’s blog – www.smallfarmersbigchange.coop

‘Fairness and ethicality in their place: the regional dynamics of fair trade and ethical sourcing agendas in the plantation districts of South India’, Jeff Neilson and Bill Pritchard, 2010

‘Fair Trade Certification: The Case of Tea Plantation Workers in India’, Rie Makita, 2012

‘Reading Tea Leaves: The Impact of Mainstreaming Fair Trade’, Lindsey Bornhafft Moore, 2010

Commercialisation

‘Corporate co-optation of organic and fair trade standards’, Daniel Jaffee and Philip Howard, 2009

‘“Radical mainstreaming” of fairtrade: the case of The Day Chocolate Company’, Bob Doherty and Sophi Tranchell, 2007

‘Solidarity™: Student Activism, Affective Labor, and the Fair Trade Campaign in the United States’, Bradley Wilson and Joe Curnow, 2013

‘Weak Coffee: Certification and Co-Optation in the Fair Trade Movement’, Daniel Jaffee, 2012

‘Where now for fair trade?’, Bob Doherty, Iain Andrews Davies and Sophie Tranchell, 2013

Campaigning

Craftivist Collective – www.craftivist-collective.com