

Examining Gaps in Justice and Well Being for Fair Trade Women across Industries

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Received: 15 December 2013 Accepted: 4 January 2014 Published: 15 January 2014

Abstract

Trade industry holds the premise that producer capabilities and opportunities are enhanced through FT participation. However, undifferentiated FT standards and gender-based limitations on engagement impact how much justice is realized by producers. Problem: Undifferentiated Fair Trade standards and gender-based limitations on engagement negatively impact how justice is realized by producers. Solution: Democratize Fair Trade for greater social-economic justice and sustainability by using public reasoning to growing collaboration and transparency between Fair Trade consumers, institutions, producers and government.

Index terms—

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Abstract-Short Description: The \$6.8 billion Fair Trade industry holds the premise that producer capabilities and opportunities are enhanced through FT participation. However, undifferentiated FT standards and gender-based limitations on engagement impact how much justice is realized by producers.

Problem: Undifferentiated Fair Trade standards and genderbased limitations on engagement negatively impact how justice is realized by producers.

Solution: Democratize Fair Trade for greater social-economic justice and sustainability by using public reasoning to growing collaboration and transparency between Fair Trade consumers, institutions, producers and government.

1 I.

Intro -Summary air Trade brings economic justice to disadvantaged producers by incorporating higher wages, environmental protection and education into the cost of production. The Fair Trade industry is valued at \$6.8 billion with 10% annual growth (WFTO, 2012). It impacts millions of people, 30% of whom are women (WFTO, 2013). Fair Trade guidelines, developed by European and US institutions, are applied to all production with the expectation that capabilities and opportunities are equally enhanced. Yet they are not. This paper examines through comparative study how undifferentiated Fair Trade standards and gender-based limitations on engagement negatively impact how justice is realized by producers. The author suggests that by democratizing Fair Trade through regular public reasoning sessions targeting both genders, greater collaboration and reciprocity can be realized resulting in expanded capabilities and opportunities, economic resilience and an improved quality of life. Looking at this as a case study of development policy in general, an argument can be made that by building gender specific public reasoning into early and ongoing project design and development, a more just and sustainable outcome can be achieved.

2 II.

3 Background/Problems

Thousands of Fair Trade women producers are the least studied and known of Fair Trade. Not always visible from their place within the family home and often not present in leadership roles, women are easily overlooked. Though Fair Trade guidelines include an Author: SIT Graduate Institute. e-mail: Tamara.stenn@sit.edu equal opportunity clause for both men and women, women do not experience this equally. Fair Trade acts as a catalyst in exposing gender inequality. In addition the Fair Trade experience changes for women in different industries for example, handicrafts and agriculture. Two studies conducted by the author in Bolivia, in 2010 and 2012, capture this difference.

The primary focus of Fair Trade institutions is to improve the lives of the most disadvantaged people in developing countries through market access (Nicholls & Opal, 2006). Fair Trade studies largely find that Fair Trade increases income and economic stability for producers, creates access to credit, organic certification and export markets and brings benefits from diversification, structural improvements and market control (Nelson & Pound, 2009). Lives are improved through economic growth. However, economic growth is just one aspect of one's well-being. An individual's advantage, or happiness is also important. Economic gains do not necessarily create happiness. Amartya Sen writes that an individual's advantage is judged by the person's, "capability to do things he or she has reason to value" (2009, p. 231).

Happiness is understood as a feeling of self-satisfaction both personally and within one's community, which include one's ability to achieve different combinations of functionings that can be compared and judged against each other in terms of what one had "reason to value" (Sen, 2009). In order for Fair Trade institutions to improve lives, participants' functionings as well as their economic advantage need to be considered. Bolivian women participating in Fair Trade identified six functions that are important to them and affect their well-being. These are: Education, family/management, social, self/gender economic, fair trade, and health/environment (Stenn, , 2012).

The Bolivian women studied are of Aymara and Quechua descent and self-identify as being "original people" the term Bolivians use to indicate a weak or lack of European bloodlines within the family. Calling oneself an original person means that the individual feels connected to Incas and other people originally living in the region prior to the Spanish conquest. The women's reference to their cultural identity as being *originales* (originals) is an important distinction because it creates a unique experience and world view which is different from that found in popular feminist theory. For example from the *originales* perspective, gender role differentiation, rather than equality, is seen as necessary in creating a balanced whole. Women are seen as more nurturing and naturally fit for home and childcare work, while men are seen as being strong, less tied to the home and better suited for outside labor and travel (Huanacuni, 2013). However a narrow adherence to original beliefs can create obstacles for women in today's changing times (Copa & Petermann, 2013; Lilja, 2000).

The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) measures the extent to which women and men actively participate in economic and political life and take part in decision-making. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) found that countries with a higher GEM also had a higher Human Development Index (HDI). This suggests that gender empowerment is linked to greater achievements in human development. Bolivia had a 2010 GEM of .50 placing it in the bottom quartile of world rankings (UNDP, 2011). This study examines the dynamic of original culture norms and women's empowerment as specified in Fair Trade guidelines.

III.

4 Method of Study

Ethnographic study which focuses on the meanings and concerns of people in their everyday lives including people's social and interactional processes and activities captured the authentic experience of women Fair Trade producers. This type of study is performed over time and is supplemented with additional resources collected in the field such as literature, government reports, data, and artifacts. An ethnographic approach captures the original experience in the context of its own reality and reduces researcher bias. Ethnographic research methods used in the 2010 and 2012 studies cited here included the talking stick, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), thick description, language studies, and observation (First Peoples, 2011; Chambers, 1997; Emerson et al, 1995).

Language is important in ethnographic study. I knew and worked with many of Bolivia's original people first meeting them as a Peace Corps volunteer in 1996. The women studied spoke Quechua and Aymara as first languages, and Spanish as a second language. There is complexity in Quechua and Aymara such as two forms of the pronoun, "we." There is a "we" (*kanchis*) that includes everyone and a "we" (*kayku*) that includes everyone except the person being addressed. Women Fair Trade coffee producers spoke of their exclusion, *kayku*, from Fair Trade meetings while knitters spoke of the inclusiveness, *kanchis*, of their meetings (Stenn 2010, 2012). These are important distinctions which will be explored later in this paper.

My study of *tejedoras* (women knitters) took place in 2010 during women's mandatory weekly Fair Trade knitting meetings with home visits and home stays in the many neighborhoods of El Alto, La Paz and Arani, Cochabamba. Sixty-six women from eight different Fair Trade knitting groups participated. In addition, knitting group leaders gave in in-depth personal interviews and spoke of their organizations' histories.

100 My study of cafeteleras (women coffee farmers) took place in 2012 at educational workshops and organizational
101 meetings. Three of the 30 member groups of FECAFEB were included in this study along with Cafe Pachamama,
102 a direct trade women's coffee project organized through Spanish NGO Caritas and follows Fair Trade guidelines
103 but is not yet certified. In all 33 producers participated in this study with 79 percent being women. The
104 men in the study either worked with the women or were representing a woman who could not attend the
105 meeting. Women agreed to let the men participate but it was made clear that the focus of the meeting was on
106 the women's experience. Additional information was provided from the 2010 Fifth Annual Meeting of Women
107 Coffee Farmers in Caranavi where 90 participants including FECAFEB members, associations, cooperatives,
108 and affiliates contributed to two days of events, discussions, presentations, information, diagnosis, questions and
109 comments revolving around women and Fair Trade coffee.

110 IV.

111 5 Findings

112 The two different groups of Bolivian Fair Trade producers studied were from the same socio-economic, cultural
113 background (Andean highlands) but working in different industries; handicrafts and agriculture. Fair Trade
114 handicrafts are part of an older, slow-growing sector which make up just 10 percent of the almost \$6 billion
115 global Fair Trade market (Eversole, 2006). Coffee is a much larger, newer market experiencing 20 percent annual
116 growth for several years (Arnould & Platstina, 2011). Research showed that Fair Trade coffee farming improved
117 the quality of life for families providing children with better access to education and healthcare, communities
118 with better infrastructure through improved roads and bridges, and farmers with technical training and support
119 (Arnould & Platstina, 2011). However no gender distinctions had been made in prior studies and most subjects
120 studied were men. The following is information on each sector, handicrafts and agriculture, with an emphasis
121 on the effect that Fair Trade is having on women. Later in this paper, study results are compared to Fair Trade
122 guidelines to determine how undifferentiated Fair Trade standards and gender-based limitations on engagement
123 negatively impacted how justice was realized by producers.

124 V.

125 6 Handicrafts -Knitting

126 In the 1990s micro-enterprise development projects enabled new economies to be realized in the countryside
127 while preserving rural culture, language and traditions (Eversole, 2006). Some evolved to become Fair Trade
128 organizations. Similar to the Mothers' Clubs model used by the International Federation of Red Cross and
129 Crescent Societies (IFRC) and other development and aid organizations, Fair Trade handicraft production was
130 regionally focused, provided peer support, took place in community groups of 20-30 people, and relied on voluntary
131 participation solicited by word of mouth (IFRC, 2012). Women participated in Fair Trade handicrafts such as
132 knitting by invitation from a friend, neighbor or family member. There is no fee to become affiliated with a Fair
133 Trade knitting organization, there is just a commitment to learn, work together, and produce high quality goods.
134 By the 2010 study, rural knitters had moved to El Alto, a large urban sector of La Paz city, returning to their
135 rural communities just a few times a year for festivals, planting and harvesting (Stenn).

136 Though they preferred to live in the countryside, the need for wages and services such as schools and health
137 centers brought the knitters to the cities (Lazar, 2008).

138 The average Fair Trade knitting group is 15 to 20 years old, has 50 to 250 members 99 percent of whom are
139 women, and is headed by a single woman leader who is democratically re-elected to her post annually. Most
140 knitting group leaders are in their 50s and know each other through the Bartolina Sisa National Confederation
141 of Bolivian Rural Women (FNMCB-BS) leadership development workshops they attended in the 1980s. Group
142 leaders are highly competitive and rarely work together. However, they maintain loose contacts with each other
143 through a vast professional network of development agents and supporters. Leaders share common life themes
144 of living non-traditional lives by choosing to be single or divorced in order to pursue more independent work
145 and leadership roles; identifying as original, speaking native languages, and coming from humble beginnings; and
146 acting as bridges by communicating with foreign customers via cell phones and the internet and organizing work
147 within local, indigenous communities .

148 "With my husband, I could not work," explained Marina Claros, leader of the Alma de los Andes knitting
149 group. "I could not study, I could not leave the house. I waited until my children were older, and then filed for
150 a divorce and left the house" .

151 A Fair Trade knitter is taught export quality knitting skills, given yarn, and an order. It is expected she
152 participate in two-hour long weekly meetings and complete work properly and on time. In exchange, she is paid
153 a per piece amount that is often higher than minimum wage, invited to a snack of tea and bread, permitted to
154 bring her children to weekly meetings, and taught about women's rights, health, empowerment, child development,
155 time management, and other topics by voluntary visiting nurses, lawyers, doctors, administrators, social workers
156 and foreign visitors . Since earnings are based on production, the faster one knits and more time they have for
157 knitting, the more they earn. Skilled knitters with enough time can earn up to \$100 a week, completing an adult
158 sweater every three to four days. Most though, earn about \$40 to \$60 a week knitting a bit more slowly and
159 having less time for knitting . Minimum wage jobs are difficult to find in Bolivia since only legally registered

7 FAIR TRADE EXPERIENCES

160 businesses are required to follow wage laws and most Bolivian businesses are not legally registered, forming a
161 large informal economy.

162 Fair Trade businesses however are registered. Bolivian minimum wage in 2010 was \$97 a month reflecting a 35
163 hour work week for women. This represents an hourly wage of \$0.69. The average woman knitter earned about
164 \$1.14 per hour. Today the knitters earn about the same but the Bolivian minimum wage has more than doubled
165 to \$1.54 an hour so it seems the price of knitting a Fair Trade Bolivian sweater is slated to raise too. Though
166 fair Trade guidelines are the same worldwide, individual country dynamics over time impact the way they are
167 realized.

168 Knitting is not steady work. Orders are sporadic and there is much competition between Bolivia's handful
169 of export quality knitting groups. Most knitting takes place in the winter months, May through August, when
170 the harvest is complete and spring planting has not yet begun. This also corresponded to seasonal production
171 demands from European and US customers who place orders in April and May for their fall, winter and holiday
172 knitwear sales with August and September ship dates.

173 Though this is not formally tracked by any of the knitting groups and there is much variance. Knitters in
174 general agree that average annual earnings per knitter can range from \$300 -\$500 per year. The average annual
175 (non knitting) earnings of a knitting family varies greatly but in general is about \$1,800 a year, similar to that
176 of the Fair Trade coffee farmers . Fair Trade knitting income makes up about 22% of the total family earnings.
177 Income is supplemented by additional work in the informal sector in the form of washing clothes, gardening,
178 cleaning, cooking, child care and through the production of the family's own food on their rural highland farms.

179 When not knitting, artisans farm their family land, visiting on weekends and during school holidays. They
180 consume most of what they grow and sell surplus production in local markets. Being urban based, they now
181 supplement their knitting income by providing services in the cities such as washing clothes, housecleaning or
182 gardening for wealthier Bolivians, or preparing and selling food as informal street vendors . As with all Fair Trade,
183 organizations are required to provide equal opportunity for all genders. Men do sometimes join a handicraft group
184 but usually work in a different area such as inventory control, administration or weaving. The organizations are
185 largely women-run and women-centric . (Calvo, 2005). The MAPA team trained (male) farmers to better care
186 for and manage their coffee and marketed the Bolivian coffee to outside buyers, introducing farmers to Fair Trade
187 and helping to form the 8,491 member Federation of Cafetaleros of Bolivia (FECAFEBEB), the country's large
188 \$16 billion-a-year Fair Trade coffee cooperative (Choquehuanca, 2012).

189 Through improved farming methods, farm families who once were paid just \$.10 a pound for their raw coffee
190 beans now earned \$.39 a pound in the common market and \$1.10 a pound in the export markets with Fair Trade
191 and organic certifications (Stenn, 2012). The average farm family had a husband, wife and five children. Families
192 joined a Fair Trade coffee organization by cultivating at least one hectare of coffee (2.47 acres). Most Yungas
193 farmers already owned 10 to 15 hectares of land which they received from the government's 1970 and 1990 land
194 reforms. For those who did not own land yet, a hectare of land with road access could be purchased for \$1,000.
195 This was more than what a family earned in six months however financing, guaranteed by coffee production and
196 cooperative membership, could be found via credit cooperatives and lending programs which offered a 15 percent
197 annual interest rate (Stenn, 2012). The average Fair Trade coffee producer grew 10 acres of coffee, harvesting 154
198 pounds of dried, green beans per acre valued wholesale at \$1,700 (Stenn, 2012). Average perfarm family costs
199 associated with the harvest included \$243 for additional labor, \$350 for Fair Trade commissions and membership
200 fees (up to 25 percent of the total harvest), and \$30 for transportation (Fig. ??). This left the farm family with
201 \$1,077 earned over a threemonth period of time representing 56 percent of their average annual income of \$1,919
202 (Stenn, 2012, FECAFEB, 2011). In Caranavi, the coffee capitol of the Yungas, women and men over the age of
203 50 rarely participated in Fair Trade, preferring to relay on familiar farming methods of the past. However, the
204 people of Caranavi were young.

205 Eighty-three percent of its population was under the age of 60 with almost 40 percent of its population under
206 the age of 19 (FECAFEB, 2011).

207 Figure ?? : (Stenn, 2012) VII.

208 7 Fair Trade experiences

209 Both male and female Fair Trade coffee farmers took pride in how they worked alongside each other, the men
210 being the organizers and the women the homemakers, together in the original tradition, making a complete
211 unit. Traditionally decisions were made jointly by the man and woman in the home and communicated to the
212 community via the male. However women Fair Trade coffee growers reported not knowing enough about things
213 to be able to make decisions since they were unable to attend educational workshops and presentations due to
214 their home duties. Because of this, they were not given the opportunity to engage in decision making about coffee
215 production in the home. Women Fair Trade coffee growers reported feeling inferior and left out (Stenn, 2012).
216 In contrast the female Fair Trade knitters did not work with males at all and were in full control of decision
217 making surrounding their production -deciding themselves when, how and what to produce. Many were from
218 non-traditional households with an absent spouse who traveled for months as a migrant worker leaving them
219 home alone. Others were Volume XIV Issue VI Version I 2 (H)

220 widows. These women struggled with their difficult role of being "mother-father" to their children and
221 community . Their knitting work was seen as a respite from this and as a way to earn money and skills to

222 help them in their new roles. Their Fair Trade connection empowered and supported them in these new roles.
223 However, while Fair Trade guidelines valuing women's independence and their pursuit of opportunity helped
224 many knitters, it created strife for the women coffee farmers who functioned in conservative households were
225 isolated from the education and empowerment Fair Trade brought producers (Stenn, 2012).

226 Fair Trade guidelines require that there be no gender bias. Never-the-less gender bias existed as one moved
227 around different Fair Trade industries. Bolivia's Fair Trade coffee training workshops are co-ed with women as
228 equally welcome to participate as men, however workshops are dominated by men who have time to leave their
229 farms for meetings hours away, while women stay home and care for the children. The few women who were at
230 the workshops were reluctant to speak describing themselves as "timid" and preferring to give space for the men
231 to speak. They felt men were more organized and could talk about the topic better (Stenn, 2012). These women
232 were young, single, teens, daughters of coffee growers, and reflecting the median age of the local population, 15 to
233 19 (Velasquez, Vargas, Terrazas, 2011). In contrast, knitting meetings were set up to accommodate women. They
234 were held near-by at a convenient time when older children were home from school and could watch the younger
235 children and dinner did not need to be prepared yet. The knitting meeting had very few male participants not
236 just because of its timing, during the workday when many men were out at jobs, but because it did not involve
237 a skill many men had or were interested in learning. However, this lack of inclusion of men in knitting, created
238 feelings of mistrust and jealousy amongst conservative communities leaving women challenged and criticized for
239 working on their own outside the home.

240 Women coffee growers called *cafeteleras* were secondary beneficiaries and participants in coffee development,
241 gaining greater household earnings through coffee sales but rarely realizing these sales themselves. Women
242 participated in agricultural labor and received some training on coffee care, harvest and processing, but were not
243 recognized in any part of the MAPA project nor given memberships to Fair Trade coffee associations. Because
244 of this, women were not used to nor expected to be organizing, assuming leadership roles or developing and
245 speaking their own opinions. Membership was assumed through husbands, who were required to attend regular
246 meetings and play active roles in decision-making, production and organizational development.

247 Despite valuing their work alongside the men, some *cafeteleras* wanted to have a direct say in decisions as well.
248 They felt this would provide balance and add to the strength of the organization. In 2006, a Women's Committee
249 was formed by the wives and daughters of the Federation of Bolivian Coffee Exporters (FECAFEB) to strengthen
250 women's participation in coffee production. FECAFEB is Bolivia's principle Fair Trade coffee exporter. The
251 women's committee held elections, annual regional meetings and built a network of 36 local women's organizations
252 though with scant results (FECAFEB, 2011). They did not have funding or male support for their efforts.
253 Meetings continued to be held at inaccessible times and places and decisions made without women's direct input.
254 In 2010 FECAFEB's Women's Committee drew up a resolution that demanded women's full participation in all
255 parts of FECAFEB, including individual memberships, equal representation on the board, participation in the
256 general assembly, transparency, access to financial data and the commitment of the new FECAFEB directorate
257 to support the Women's Committee (Copa & Petermann, 2010). This was adopted by the FECAFEB directors.
258 However, when I arrived at the FECAFEB offices in 2012 with a scheduled appointment to talk specifically about
259 women and coffee, I was greeted by five male directors who assured me that women and men worked together in
260 coffee production and benefitted equally from the activity though they failed to include the Women's Committee
261 located across the hall, in our meeting. When I later spoke with the Women's Committee, they did not agree
262 with the male directors' claims of equal benefits (Stenn, 2012).

263 8 VIII.

264 9 Fair Trade as Justice

265 As strife and contradiction arise from Fair Trade gender challenges, taking a larger view of Fair Trade as justice
266 becomes important. Since happiness, according to Sen, is realized by one being able to engage in the things
267 they value, their advantage, and Bolivian women from two different Fair Trade industries identified the following
268 functions as forming their advantage: education, family/management, social, self/gender economic, fair trade,
269 and health/environment, one must look closely how they are realized in Fair Trade (2009). All Fair Trade
270 institutions such as the Fair Trade Federation, World Fair Trade Organization (WFTO) and Fair Trade USA
271 provide similar guidelines to grow economic and social justice amongst the world's most impoverished.

272 Fair Trade guidelines ensure that producers receive fair and timely payment for their products; goods
273 are produced in an environmentally safe and culturally appropriate way; producers are given the skills and
274 opportunity to direct their own development; and proper labor practices are followed including non discrimination,
275 gender equality and the Volume XIV Issue VI Version I Global Journal of Human Social Science prohibition of
276 child or slave labor (WFTO, 2014, FTF 2014, FTUSA 2014). Handicraft producers with more varied production
277 methods pledge to adhere to these guidelines while coffee producers who have more systemized production apply
278 for a certification and pay for the ongoing monitoring of their compliance with these same guidelines. The
279 challenge is that though Fair Trade guidelines were created with the intention of growing justice, they were
280 developed without the consent and input from the very people they were supposed to be benefitting and lacked a
281 feedback mechanism. So while universal Fair Trade guidelines were helpful in many ways, they were not achieving
282 all they had set out to do.

283 10 IX.

284 11 A Comparative Analysis

285 Taking a comparative approach to better understand the economic gains and valued functions that Fair Trade
286 does and does not help women to achieve enables one to think about justice in new ways. A comparative approach,
287 explains Sen, looks at a variety of methods which shared a common interest in order to see the differences in
288 which people's lives may be influenced by institutions and peoples' own behavior and social interactions (Sen, 2009).

289 The benefit of a comparative approach is to make comparative judgments about the relative justice or injustice
290 of particular outcomes.

291 However, identifying perfect justice is neither necessary nor sufficient for making comparative judgments
292 about the relative justice or injustice of particular proposals. Women's Fair Trade experiences explored in a
293 comparative manner, exposing the flaws and benefits that Fair Trade brings without proposing or disputing
294 that Fair Trade is perfect justice. Figure 2 The economic effects of Fair Trade, though the main focus of
295 institutions and most researched in other studies, is not as positively significant as other functions such as
296 education, family/management and social. Almost three-quarters of the women working in coffee, a larger and
297 more established Fair Trade industry than knitting, recognize Fair Trade's positive economic returns though just
298 half of the Fair Trade knitters feel the same. Many of the other functions such as family and self, benefit from
299 the income created through Fair Trade though functions have other meanings for women as well. One of the
300 overarching similarities that women in both knitting and coffee production faced is conflict within their gender
301 roles. At the same time that women's leadership and rights are recognized by both the Bolivian constitution and
302 Fair Trade institutions, women feel restricted in realizing their full Fair Trade participation by home and child
303 care responsibilities. One knitter refers to this as the "double burden" of being a Fair Trade knitter, mother and
304 homemaker).

305 Sen's work on gender and cooperative conflicts illuminates ways in which Fair Trade influences women's
306 realization of justice and the way in which this is affected not just by institutional guidelines but by the political
307 environment of each country where Fair trade is realized as well. For example, Bolivia has a high level of female
308 deprivation. Maternal mortality in Bolivia is one of the highest in the world with 887 per 100,000 in the rural
309 areas (UNICEF, 2013). Women also suffer from greater mal-nutrition and anemia than men (UNICEF, 2013). In
310 addition women are uneducated and highly discriminated against socially. According to the Human Development
311 Report on Gender, "Bolivia treats men better than women." The report explains, "men receive more and better
312 education than women, receive increased and better health assistance than women, and have the possibility to
313 generate greater income while working less?if we consider that women, as opposed to men, also have?the almost
314 exclusive responsibility for domestic work." (PNUD, 2003). Until recently, women were denied education, being
315 required to stay at home and help with household chores rather than go to school. "Your husband will read,
316 write, work and care for you. What do you need to know that for?" mothers would tell their daughters (Stenn,
317 1998). In 2001, illiteracy in rural areas was 38 percent for women while it was just 14 percent for men (Instituto
318 Nacional de Estadística, 2001). Bolivia's new constitution now requires that girls and boys both go to school
319 and social programs award financial benefits to families whose children have perfect school attendance. Never-
320 the-less, decades of non-education and discrimination resulted in high female deprivation in Bolivia. The lack of
321 education leaves women with a lack of job opportunities as well.

322 Deprived groups may be habituated to inequality, unaware of possibilities of social change, be hopeless
323 about fulfillment and be resigned to fate (Sen, 1987). Bolivia's women often sighed, threw up their arms,
324 looked skyward and declared that something would happen, "si Dios quiere" (if God wants it). I worked with
325 Bolivian women in Fair Trade 13 years before the new constitution was passed granting women legal rights and
326 recognition. Certified Fair Trade's emphasis on gender equity, and non-certified Fair Trade's emphasis on women-
327 run organizations, gained national context in Bolivian as women's leadership, education, health and well-being
328 become important. The women engaged in Fair Trade activities whether knitting or coffee production, are more
329 aligned with Bolivia's new reforms and are better off economically than those not affiliated with Fair trade. The
330 functions the Fair Trade women value; education, management, self and gender, than their counterparts who are
331 affected solely by Bolivia's reforms and do not have the extra support of a Fair Trade institution. The two pillars
332 of government and Fair Trade institutions worked together to support the women producers. Fair Trade does
333 not happen alone, culture and governance have a direct effect in how it is experienced.

334 Fair Trade brings women new opportunities and ways of approaching work that did not previously exist.
335 Despite radical reforms, redistribution of wealth and growth in democracy, Bolivia is still the poorest country
336 in South America. Sen explains that poverty is the lack of one's capability to function. Reducing poverty is
337 related to positive freedom, which comes from a person's capability to do things they have reason to value.
338 "What's important to people," explained Sen, "is to be able to do and be" (Steele, 2001). Understanding
339 women's deprivation and taking a comparative approach to their Fair Trade experience enables women's needs
340 and freedoms to be more visible. Knitters are more autonomous in their work than coffee farmers. Knitters move
341 freely about their environments, attending weekly meetings with other women, creating their own products and
342 earning their own income directly from the sale of these products. There is a positive correlation between their
343 work and its immediate benefit.

344 Knitting also brings personal responsibility. The women have to self-direct their own production and find time

345 for it amongst other responsibilities. Unlike coffee farming which is done together, knitting is done alone. Coffee
346 farmers have a stronger, more complex Fair Trade infrastructure with many dependencies. Coffee farming can
347 not be done alone and earnings are shared.

348 A cooperative conflict, explains Sen, is a type of disagreement that actually helps to move a group along
349 with its task or activities. Bolivia's producers have identities such as being a woman, mother, family member,
350 community citizen and Fair Trade group member. One's individuality co-exists with a variety of such identities
351 and one's understanding of interests, well-being, obligations, objectives, and behavior is affected by the various
352 and sometimes conflicting influences of these diverse identities ??Sen, 1987). Some identities exert such a strong
353 influence that it is difficult for one to determine their own individual welfare. For example, Bolivian women are
354 expected to identify strongly with their identity as a mother. Women speak positively of the, "sacrifice of the
355 mother for her children," and see a woman sacrificing herself for the good of her family as "valiant" . Sacrifices
356 are made in terms of health where the most nutritious food is served to the children and husband first, and
357 economically where women worked for the "good of the children" and money earned is first spent on children's
358 needs . Women often speak of their own well-being in relation to that of their children. This causes much of
359 women's own needs to go unmet or become invisible. However multiple identities within an individual exist.
360 Though a woman may traditionally identify strongly with being a mother, her other identifies are still there and
361 are not resistant to social development ??Sen, 1987). For example, Fair Trade with its specific focus on gender
362 equity speaks to women's gender identity freeing her to focus on that aspect of herself and enabling her to desire
363 to participate more in decision making and leadership.

364 However there can be conflict with one's different identities as well. The inequality in intra-family divisions
365 where women see themselves as sacrifices, creates deep negative impacts on their well-being and survival.

366 Inequalities are perpetuated by women encouraging their daughters to be humble and selfsacrificing, just as
367 they had been encouraged by their mothers. The well-being of a person can be seen in terms of one's functioning
368 and capabilities. Functionings are what one is able to do and capabilities are what one has the capacity to do,
369 but may not be doing (Sen, 2009). For example realized functionings with an unrealized capability may be to
370 be well-nourished, read, write, communicate and but not be able to take part in community decisions. Though a
371 person may report a satisfactory level of well-being, it may not actually be present. For example a woman may
372 report being wellnourished, but upon further scrutiny it is found that the family is well nourished but the woman
373 is not. Because she identifies herself through the family, she associates their well being with her own. Although
374 opportunities may arise for one to shift one's identity, one may not choose to do so. An example of this is seen in
375 the cafetelaras' resistance to assuming leadership roles, discussed below. The functionings and the capability to
376 function have to be evaluated. "There is a need," explained Sen, "to go beyond the primitive feelings that a person
377 may have on these matters, based perhaps on unquestioning acceptance of certain traditional priorities" (1987,
378 p. 8). While Fair Trade creates new places for women's participation, not everyone finds it easy or desirable
379 to participate. "I don't have time to go to meetings and learn be a representative," said one cafetelera. "I'm
380 scared, afraid," stated another, "I am not secure in my words" (Stenn, 2012). Twenty-percent of participants
381 spoke negatively of the pressure they feel to participate more fully in Fair Trade as they experienced resistance
382 from family members and themselves to take on a different identity. However, many other women embrace these
383 new leadership opportunities and reached out to other women to bring them along.

384 It is possible to distinguish between a person's well-being and agency, argued Sen. A person might have
385 various goals and objectives other than the pursuit of their own well-being. For example, one's agency may
386 be to create greater opportunities for one's children. The agency aspect is influenced by a person's, "sense of
387 obligation and perception of legitimate behavior" ??Sen, 1987, p. 9). Politics and education can influence a
388 person's agency aspect but it can also have a strong social-cultural relevance of its own. One's agency aspect
389 should not be confused with one's well being or be seen as evidence that a person is incapable of determining
390 their own well-being. The coffee growers who felt more conflict in their gender identity and tension between being
391 a mother and being an active community member, found their well-being compromised. However, they easily
392 embraced the agency aspect of Fair Trade with 70 percent of the positive education comments referencing Fair
393 Trade's educational opportunities.

394 12 X.

395 13 Solution

396 Fair Trade institutions set the standards and image of Fair Trade. They provide their seals of approval educating
397 both producers and consumers about what Fair Trade is and means. They provide the oversight, accountability
398 and different ways in which to meet the demands and needs of an ever changing world and a growing consumer
399 market. The Fair Trade industry holds the premise that producer capabilities and opportunities are enhanced
400 through Fair Trade participation, leading to greater socio-economic justice for producers. This message is
401 conveyed to consumers equally across diverse industries and producer countries. However, as seen in the Bolivia
402 case study, undifferentiated Fair Trade standards and gender-based limitations on engagement impact how much
403 justice is realized by producers. The political economy of a country also impacts the degree of justice a producer
404 can realize. Fair Trade guidelines' incongruences at first may appear conflictive, confusing or inadequate. Upon
405 further scrutiny they are building greater justice than neoliberal alternatives which offer minimum producer and

406 environmental protections, though Fair Trade's justice can be further enhanced. Undifferentiated Fair Trade
407 standards and gender-based limitations on engagement negatively impact how justice is realized by producers.
408 As stated earlier, Fair Trade guidelines were set up by institutions with limited or no producer input and no
409 system of checks and balances.

410 Producers from all Fair Trade industries expressed the desire to have more accountability from Fair Trade
411 retailers that Fair Trade standards are being followed throughout the entire supply chain, especially at the retail
412 level, and that there is more transparency in the distribution process of Fair Trade goods including pricing at
413 all distribution points right to the consumer (FECAFEB, 2011. Handicraft producers would also like to have
414 more interaction with consumers, knowing who purchased the product they spent so many hours creating (Stenn,
415 2012). Consumers too have expressed interest in having a more direct relationship with producers (Stenn. 2012).

416 Fair Trade can be democratized for greater social-economic justice and sustainability by using public reasoning
417 to grow collaboration and transparency between Fair Trade consumers, institutions, producers and government.
418 Public reasoning is an open discussion that all participate in. It brings about greater justice by enabling
419 inequalities to be known and discussed resulting in shared solutions and greater understanding, or continued
420 debate. Public reasoning gives voices to those who are not commonly heard and creates a sphere of equality
421 where ideas freely flow (Sen, 2009). The ability of issues of contention to be discussed in an open arena enables
422 ideas to be shared, different views and sides to be seen, new perspectives to be heard, and creates a place for
423 discussion, debate, and, in time, understanding (Sen, 2009).

424 An open discussion that all participate in brings about greater justice by enabling inequalities to be known
425 and discussed resulting in shared solutions and greater understanding, or continued debate. Open democratic
426 discussion gives voices to those who are not commonly heard and creates a sphere of equality Volume XIV Issue
427 VI Version I where ideas can freely flow and grows democracy (Sen, 2009). Democracy, suggests Sen, can be best
428 understood as "government by discussion" (2009, p. 324). There is disagreement in Fair Trade over women's
429 roles, leadership, opportunity, market access, and self determination. A functioning democracy ensures all citizen
430 voices can be heard with respect at all levels, especially up to the top level, and one in which tolerance and public
431 reasoning takes place (Sen, 2009).

432 Public reasoning is the ability of issues of contention to be discussed in an open arena. It enables ideas to be
433 shared, different views and sides to be seen, new perspectives to be heard, and creates a place for discussion, debate
434 and, in time, understanding. Participatory governments, such as democracy, are rooted in public reasoning. Fair
435 Trade institutions can benefit by engaging in public reasoning to form stronger relationships with producer
436 groups and together plan the steps needed to help to grow capabilities and opportunities across industries and
437 governments to grow and strengthen justice.

438 Engaging in plural grounding allows a tolerance of contradictions to take place, a diversity of approaches to be
439 realized and the movement towards greater justice to emerge. As large steps are taken, for example, by including
440 coffee estates in Fair Trade certification, new spaces are opened for further expansion as well, as in the emergence
441 of the Small Farmers Symbol (SPP). This enables Fair Trade to move forward down many different paths driven
442 by a diverse array of missions geared towards achieving greater sustainability and justice, with each arriving in
443 its own time and way. ^{1 2 3}

¹Examining Gaps in Justice and Well Being for Fair Trade Women across Industries

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Figure 1: Coffee

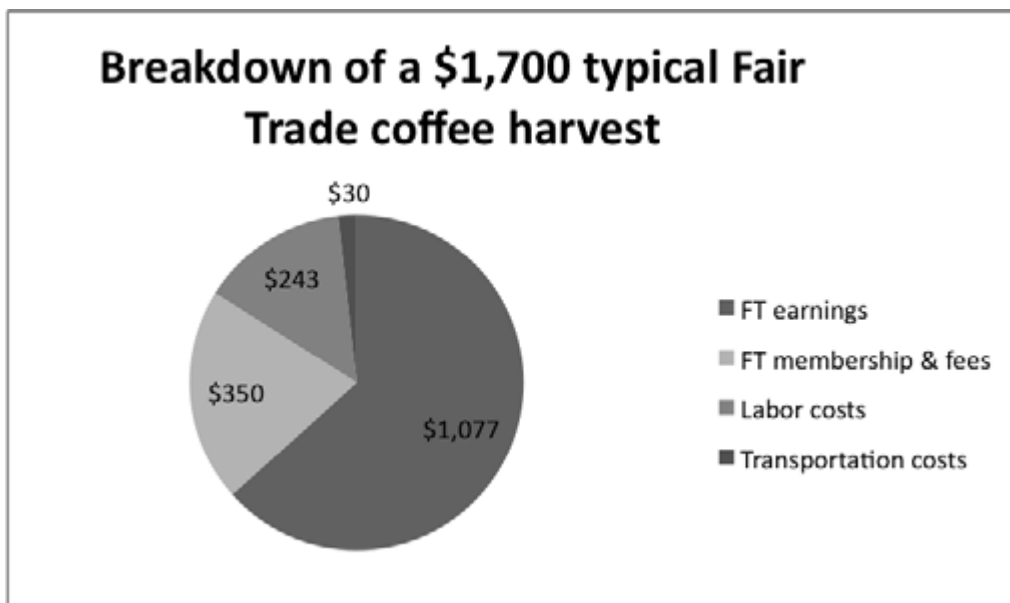
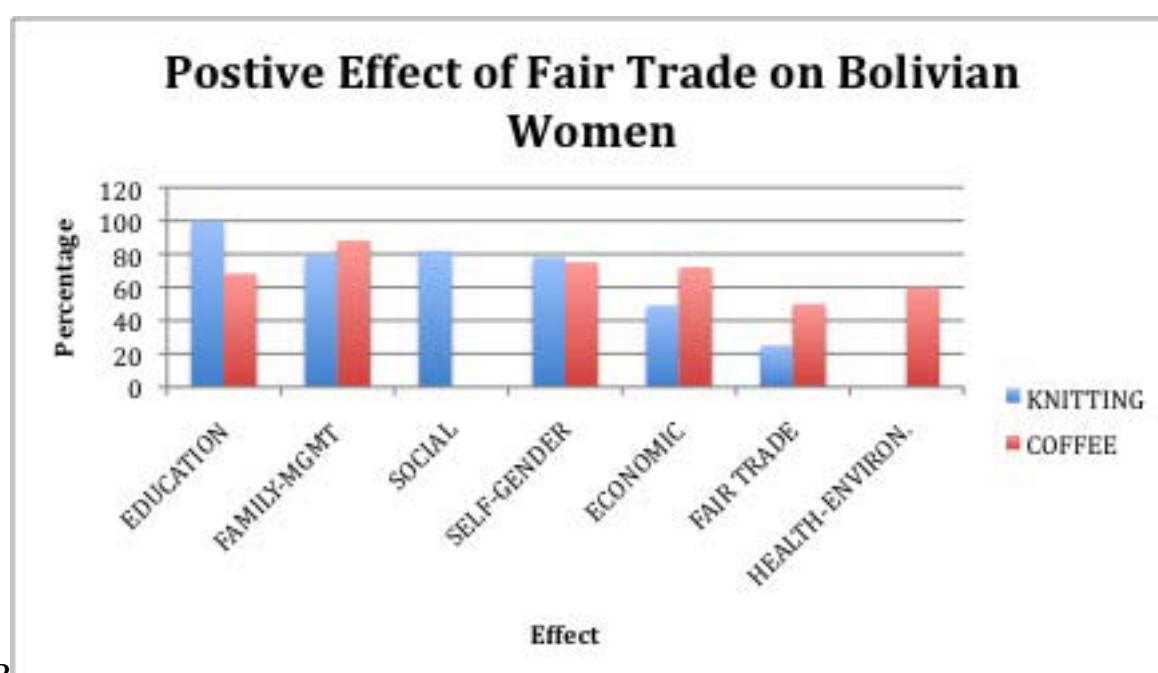


Figure 2:



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Figure 3: Figure 2 :

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