

Is it Fair? Do We Care?

A Report on the Perceptions, Availability, and Ethics of Fair Trade in Kelowna



This report was produced by members of Cultural Studies 341 / English 341, Globalization, Literature, and Culture, a course taught at UBC's Okanagan campus during 2014/15 Term 1.

Edited with an introduction by the Instructor of the course, David Jefferess.



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Contents:

Introduction David Jefferess	2
Chapter One – Some of the Pros and Cons of Fair Trade Isaac Balson and Farrah-Lee Ludwig	10
Chapter Two – Coffee Shop Consumer Survey Mallory Herzog, Misa Shimizu, and Lyndsay Stevens	13
Chapter Three – Grocery Store Survey Liam Moran, Colby Ormiston, and Justin Sawatzky	17
Chapter Four – Interviews with Coffee Shop Managers Andrea Eichberger, E.J. Dulay, and Hong Joo Park	22
Chapter Five – Interviews with Grocery Store Managers Alexandra Barberis and Braelyn Shione	25
Chapter Six – Fair Trade Marketing at Some Kelowna Stores Rebecca Desjarlais, Manami Miyako, and Jean-Paul Savoie	28
Chapter Seven – The Marketing of Fair Trade Coffee and Tea Kerry Galan, Siona Koker, and Lisa Marples	33
Bibliography	36
Appendix A – Coffee Shop Survey	38
Appendix B – Coffee Shop Survey Responses	40
Appendix C – Grocery Store Survey	45
Appendix D – Grocery Store Survey Responses	48
Appendix E – Consent Forms	54
Appendix F – Interview Questions	59

Introduction

David Jefferess

This report examines perceptions of fair trade labeling and the availability of fair trade certified products in Kelowna. It is the culmination of a whole-class team-based project in a third-year Cultural Studies and English course that focused on theories of cultural globalization, including debates about whether globalization constitutes the creation of a homogenous global culture and discussions of projects that work towards a more just “alter-globalization.” While we did not focus on fair trade as a social movement or alternate economic model in the course, we did read Sally Blundell’s *The No-Nonsense Guide to Fair Trade* (2013), and our project was informed by the other cultural, historical, and theoretical readings of the course, including Bruce Robbins article “The Sweatshop Sublime” (2002) which examines anti-sweatshop consciousness-raising in North America, the film *Peep! Live* (2010), which satirizes how the media makes a spectacle of poverty and hardship, focusing specifically on farmer suicides in India, and Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash’s (1998) discussion of grassroots social movements.

A key theme of the course was global relationships: **how are we connected to other people in other places of the world?** In our discussions of the CBC *Fifth Estate* episode, “Made in Bangladesh”, for instance, we contemplated the way our daily-lives are shaped by the labour of other people. The lives of garment industry workers and the conditions of their labour are largely invisible to us, as is the way their experience is shaped by *our* demand for ever-changing wardrobes at “affordable” prices. The documentary examined the April 2013 collapse of a garment factory in Bangladesh that produced clothing for Canadian retailers, including the Joe Fresh line of the Loblaw Company Limited. While the investigative report primarily focused on the culpability of the Bangladeshi government, the Bangladeshi garment industry, and North American corporations, it also prodded us to discuss our own complicity in a deeply unequal global economic order.

For our major project, we wanted to think more about how *we*, situated here in Kelowna, are part of this globalized world, specifically in terms of what we buy. Fair trade certified food products provide an example of a prominent, and accessible, social movement that aims to foster just economic relationships, build awareness of global relationships between producers and consumers, and foreground ethics in consumer choice. We depend upon and enjoy a range of food products that have their origins in the global South, but just a few the products are age generally available as fair trade, namely coffee, tea, and chocolate. With this in mind, we sought to respond to the question: **Are the food products that we buy certified as fair trade, is fair trade important, and do “we” – people in Kelowna – care?**

Research Methods

Students were organized into groups of three, and each took up a topic relating to the issue of fair trade. Each topic allowed students to develop skills in one of four research methods:

- A) *Review of Scholarly Research.* Some groups reviewed scholarly research on fair trade, focusing on detailing the benefits and limitations of fair trade certification programs and fair trade labels.
- B) *Discourse Analysis.* Some groups critically analyzed how stores and corporations market fair trade goods.
- C) *Consumer Surveys.* Groups conducted surveys at coffee shops, grocery stores, and on the UBC Okanagan campus, seeking to gather information about purchasing habits and perceptions of fair trade.
- D) *Interviews of Store Managers.* Groups conducted short interviews with the managers of coffee shops and grocery stores to gather information about what fair trade certified food products are available in Kelowna, the perceptions of these businesses about consumer demand for fair trade products, and the importance of ethics. The chapters including information from these interviews were reviewed by the interview participants prior to publication, and the interview participants provided consent, in writing, including making requests for anonymity.

Eleven groups presented their findings at the end of the term, and seven groups share their findings in this Report, confined to just 1500 words for each chapter. As a single assignment among many in one course, this project is limited in terms of the breadth of its examples and its depth of analysis. Yet, the various research approaches provide a wide scope, allowing the Report to touch on a great many of the key issues of fair trade. At the same time, the assignment was designed to provide students opportunities to develop research skills as a key learning outcome; in the case of the design and analysis of data gained through surveys and interviews, for most students this project provided their first opportunity to conduct such research, and this may be reflected in the way the data has been assessed. While students did well to provide a range of stores or products to compare, ultimately we studied just a few select examples. So, the students who undertook interviews, interviewed managers from just three distinct stores, and so this research does not reflect a comprehensive study of all of the coffee shops or grocery stores in Kelowna. Similarly, students who conducted consumer surveys were directed to survey customers at three distinct stores, in each case collecting at least 15 completed surveys, for a total of 45 surveys, to make the analysis of the data easier. These groups further reflect on some of the limitations of their survey samples in the openings to their chapters. It should be noted, as well, that as a class we did not identify a set of specific stores or products to analyze, and so each group identified their own examples (e.g. coffee shops).

As a result, much more research could be undertaken to provide a more comprehensive analysis of what sorts of fair trade products are available in Kelowna, consumer perceptions and demand for fair trade certified products, and the relative benefits and limitations of fair trade as a mode of ensuring decent wages and labour conditions. Yet, we hope this Report provides a useful introduction to the topic, and we believe that it does raise some important issues about how fair trade is perceived and marketed.

Fair Trade: Some Context

There is a wide and growing critical literature on fair trade certification practices, and we include some of this material in our Bibliography at the end of the report. While on the

surface, fair trade certification practices seem to be unquestionably good, as, ostensibly, they guarantee that farmers and workers in the global South get a fair wage for their labour, decent working conditions, and that this labour is undertaken in an ecologically sustainable way, the value of fair trade is debated.

For some, the ideal of fair trade, as a mode of solidarity between Northern consumers and Southern producers allowing people in the North to acknowledge ethical relationships with those who produce the food they eat is being superseded by a highly corporatized niche market of “ethical branding.” There are now a great many different labels and certification organizations, all with different standards, and so there is no consensus on just what fair trade does, or should, mean. Related to this are the debates about whether the fair trade labels can even be trusted. The BBC documentary, *Chocolate: The Bitter Truth* (2010), and Órla Ryan’s *Chocolate Nations* (2011), for instance, argue that even certified fair trade chocolate products can not ensure that the most egregious problems of exploitation and violence in the cocoa industry have been alleviated. Further, there are those that argue that fair trade, even in its most idealized form, entrenches a neo-colonial capitalist structure that maintains the impoverishment of producers (Hussey and Curnow 2013); these farmers and workers are dependent, quite literally, on the tastes of Northern consumers. As well, fair trade often relies upon a rhetoric of charity, in which Northern consumers understand their consumption of coffee, chocolate, or sugar as “helping” poor people in the Global South. As the authors of Chapter Six note, a small proportion of the products of David’s Tea are certified as fair trade, yet “the Fair Trade Collection”, a package of the store’s fair trade teas, includes the slogan: “Teas that Give Back.”

Sally Blundell narrates the history of the fair trade movement in Europe and North America as beginning with direct trade with artisans and farmers for handcrafts and produce. This developed into large chain stores, such as Ten Thousand Villages, that continue to be committed to building relationships with small artisan cooperatives, and relying on “the conscience of rich-world consumers” (Blundell 2013, 33). With the purchase of handcrafted pottery and jewelry, picture frames produced from tightly wound newspapers, or placemats and serviettes made from recycled saris, comes a card providing information on the cooperative that produced the item and a claim to how the workers were compensated fairly, and even empowered. There has been criticism that a retailer like *Ten Thousand Villages* ultimately reinforces exoticized images of noble simple people or is confined to ostensibly luxury items that require people in the global South to become dependent on the disposable income of the affluent of North America. Yet, similar products—also produced in the “developing world”—are available from a wide range of retailers in the Kelowna area, from big box stores to smaller stores specializing in exotic housewares; when purchases from these stores are made, the relation between producer and consumer is not visible at all, and hence the conditions of labour for the production of those goods seem not to be important.

The fair trade movement transcended the small specialty store to the larger retail market with the development of certification organizations focused on food products. There have been similar projects to certify, as ethical, sweatshop-free clothing or non-conflict diamonds, but “fair trade” primarily refers to food products, and our analysis focuses on certified fair trade foods. Blundell traces the development of the European and North

American fair trade certification programs. In general, the original aim of these organizations was to foster more direct trade relationships with producers, emphasizing the sustainability of smallholder farms that practice biodiversity, as opposed to large corporate plantations that typically affirm a monocrop culture with significant ecological costs, including deforestation, pollution, and the destruction of biodiversity.

In Kelowna, we can find products with logos from a variety of certification bodies, including Fairtrade, Fair for Life, and Fair Trade USA. The most prominent is the Fairtrade logo of the Fairtrade Labelling Organizations (FLO). The FLO provides certification for specific products that meet their requirements for being considered Fairtrade, including that farmers and artisans are organized in cooperatives and collectives, receive a fair (floor) price for their produce that covers the cost of production and a fair wage, receive prepayment to help reduce indebtedness, have decent working conditions, and follow environmentally sustainable practices (Blundell 2013, 41-2). The FLO also provides premiums to cooperatives that are typically used for community initiatives. Fair for Life is similar, and requires that their standards be met along the entire trade chain, including producers, manufacturers and traders.¹

As Blundell admits, fair trade prices are not transformational for the lives of farmers and workers or for communities in the Global South, but they are better than market prices, especially for coffee, cocoa, and cotton (75). With the proliferation of fair trade and other ethical and environmental standards, there are multiple interpretations of fair trade. The entrance of large corporations into the “fair trade market” has had significant effects, including the mainstreaming of fair trade but also the modification of some of the core principles of fair trade. Fair Trade USA’s Fair Trade for All initiative and logo, for instance, now certifies products produced on plantations, which marks a significant departure from fair trade’s emphasis on small-scale and collective models of production (Blundell 123).

For the purposes of this report, unless we are analyzing a specific certification organization, we refer simply to “fair trade”, which implies certification of some kind, but not any particularly certification organization or logo. This has the benefit of analyzing the idea of fair trade in Kelowna in the widest possible terms, but it also means that we cannot develop a baseline for what fair trade constitutes. For instance, as the authors of Chapter Four detail, the coffee shop managers they interviewed attested to the ethical or fair sourcing of their coffee, but the coffees they identified are not certified as fair trade.

Key Findings

While the authors of each individual chapter provide specific claims about their topic, in some cases seeking mainly to describe their observations and in others to provide a more critical assessment of what the idea of fair trade means and how it is used by stores and companies, the key findings of the Report can be summarized in terms of four primary themes:

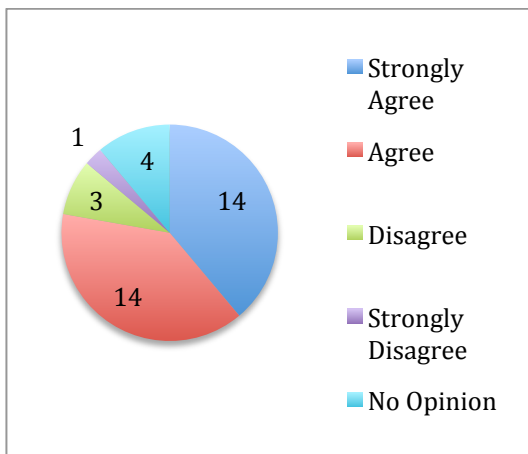
¹http://www.fairforlife.org/pmws/indexDOM.php?client_id=fairforlife&page_id=program

1. *Consumers have little access to fair trade certified products in Kelowna.*

We could identify only one store in Kelowna that exclusively sells fair trade certified items (as well as select locally produced handcrafts); Globally Fair sells Ten Thousand Villages products, which primarily include housewares and fashion accessories, as well as a limited range of food products, including olive oil, coffee, and chocolate. While The Body Shop actively markets its products as ethically sourced, the authors of Chapter Six raise some important concerns about the transparency and validity of these claims. We identified just one grocery store, Choices Markets, that emphasizes in its advertising and store organization fair trade products, although it primarily markets itself in terms of natural products and health. While other grocery stores do stock fair trade items, these are often included with organic or “natural” products, and are seldom prominently displayed or valued specifically for being fair trade certified. Similarly, while the managers of the coffee shops that we analyzed all claim to source their coffee ethically, none of them make fair trade certification a visible identifier in their advertising or in their lists of drinks. In our survey of grocery store customers, two thirds of participants characterized sale items, organic items, and local items as all receiving more prominence in store displays than fair trade, suggesting that fair trade products are not a significant feature in Kelowna grocery stores.

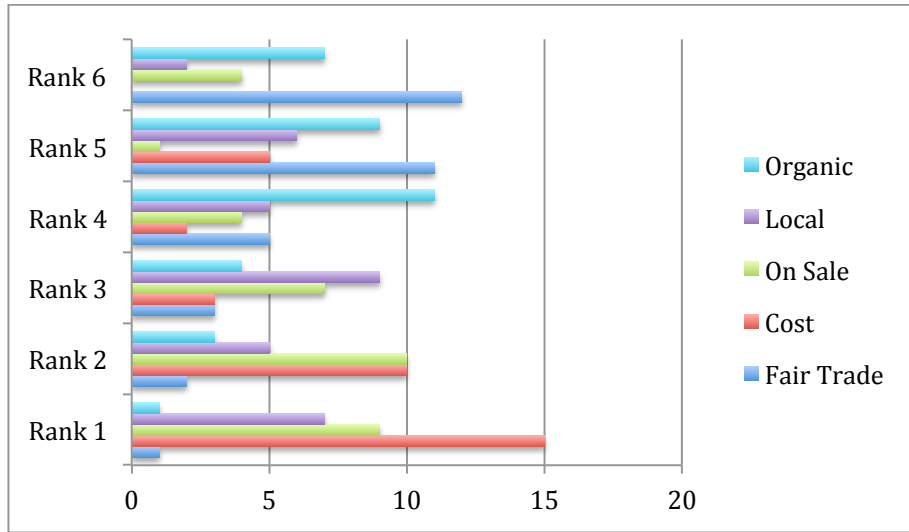
2. *Consumers recognize the ethics of fair trade, but there is little demand for fair trade goods*

Most of the grocery store and coffee shop managers that we interviewed claimed that there is little demand for fair trade products by their customers, and that they adapt their offerings based on “what sells”. Our survey of customers at grocery stores corroborates this impression (Appendix D).² While these customers overwhelmingly identified purchasing fair trade as ethically better, two-thirds of customers ranked fair trade as their last or second last priority in determining whether to buy a product, relative to other factors, including the brand, the cost, and whether the product is on sale, organic, or local.



It is morally or ethically better to buy fair trade than non-fair trade products

² Thanks to Taeghan Johnston for compiling the overall data from these surveys.



Priority for Select Characteristics of Food Products.

3. The health and well-being of producers is not as important as our health and well-being as consumers.

As the data in the chart identifying priorities in purchase decisions above shows, whether or not a product is organic is not a primary concern of most consumers in the three grocery stores where we conducted surveys. Indeed, the response in both the coffee shop survey and the grocery store survey consistently showed that customer interest, preference, and purchasing habits for fair trade and organics were quite similar (See Appendix B and D). As the authors note in the openings to Chapters Two and Three, however, the nature of the survey may have attracted people who have an interest in or awareness of fair trade, and had the title and emphasis of the survey been on organics, our results may have been different. Significantly, in the chart showing grocery store consumer priorities, “local” products seem much more a priority for many consumers. The independent coffee store managers we interviewed emphasized how their coffee beans are roasted locally and they source other food products locally. Similarly, at the time of this publication, the primary advertising campaign for Save-on Foods was encapsulated by the slogan “Talk about Local” and Save-on stores have sections dedicated to locally produced foods. This idea of the local is often constructed in terms of ethics, yet, much of the fruit produced in the Okanagan, for instance, makes it to the grocery store shelves thanks to the labour of migrant workers, who often work long hours without overtime pay, have limited freedom of movement, and often substandard housing.³

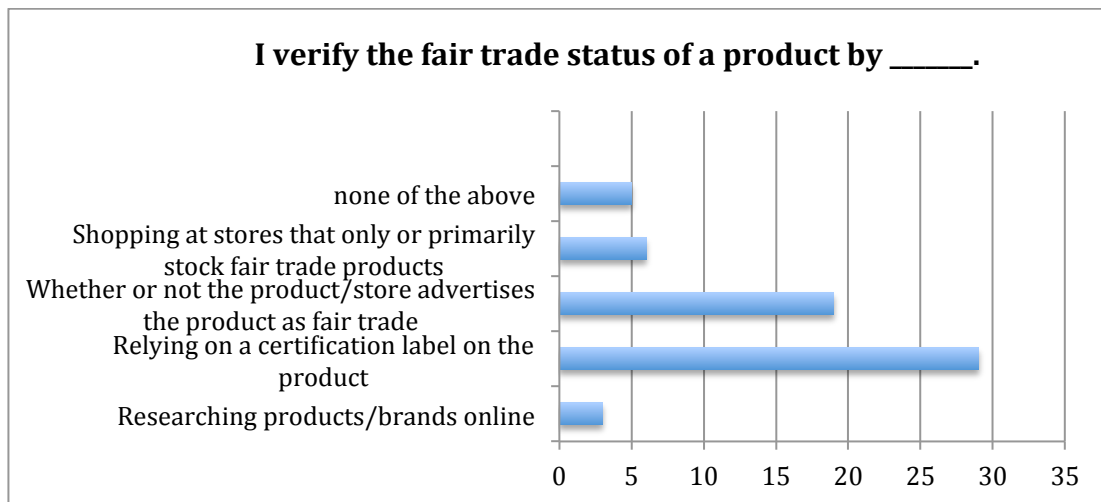
In contrast to the responses to the survey, our critical analysis of how stores display and advertise their products, and our interviews with grocery store and coffee shop managers suggest that organics, and more generally ideas of “health” and “naturalness” are much more important than fair trade. Indeed, in the survey, two thirds of grocery store customers characterized fair trade as the least prominent form of display in stores, behind sale items, local items, and organic items. We can see this in most grocery stores, as the

³ For more information, see the website for Radical Action with Migrants in Agriculture (RAMA). <http://ramaokanagan.org/>

produce sections typically have large and clearly signed organic sections. Similarly, stores like Save-on Foods include a section of shelves in each aisle designated as “Natural Foods,” which includes fair trade certified items. The emphasis on health and natural foods—and organics especially—seems to reflect consumer interest and a trend in food marketing that focuses on *our* health and well-being. As the authors of Chapter Six argue, typically fair trade items are marketed more for the fact that they are also organic or seemingly healthy options than they are for the ethics of their production. The troubling irony, of course, is that many of the products that we consume for our own health and well-being are produced in labour and environmental conditions that are detrimental to the health and well-being of other people. If fair trade seeks to value the health and well-being of farmers and workers in other places in the world, why are fair trade products not more common, and why is fair trade not more prominent in the layout and displays of stores?

4. *Fair trade is often more about feeling good than it is about just relationships.*

In response to our survey questions about why people choose fair trade products, if they do, many did identify the importance of valuing the lives of farmers and workers and seeking to ensure that these people are able to live decent lives; to varying degrees, people identified that they purchased fair trade goods in the interest of justice (see Appendices B and D). Quite a few people also identified that they buy fair trade certified products because it makes them feel good, it looks good, or it is perceived as the right thing to do. At the same time, more than 25% of customers either Strongly Agreed or Agreed with the statement “All fair trade labels and certifications mean the same thing”, and nearly half of participants in the survey answered that they didn’t know if that statement was true or not. This suggests a general lack of knowledge about fair trade, as the various certification bodies have some significant differences in how they define fair trade. When asked how they verify that products are fair trade, the overwhelming majority identified trusting a fair trade logo or in-store/product claims.



As many critics of fair trade have argued, increasingly fair trade as a “brand” has displaced the practice of product packaging or advertising identifying the relationships between

producers and consumers. As a result, rather than educating consumers, the fair trade logo, to some degree, becomes a status symbol for consumers, reflecting their “ethics”.

On the one hand, this seems like an unfair criticism, as the very purpose of certification organizations is to provide consumers assurances that wages, safety conditions, and ecological practices are of benefit to farmers and workers. Yet, there is a clear division developing between small-scale businesses who develop significant relationships with cooperatives in the Global South, in a partnership model, and other corporations that seem to be more interested in tapping into a niche market of ethically conscious consumers. For instance, if one goes to the websites for Camino or Divine chocolate (or indeed reads the inside of the Camino or Divine chocolate wrappers before discarding them), one can learn about the specific economic model of these business and to some degree who produces the cocoa, where, and how. In contrast, Cadbury has a just few fair trade certified chocolate bars, including—primarily—the Dairy Milk milk chocolate bar in Canada. Yet Cadbury’s Canadian “Snackworks” website does not even acknowledge that the Dairy Milk milk chocolate bar is fair trade certified, never mind provide any means of learning more about how, where, and by whom the cocoa for these bars is produced.⁴ Similarly, the primary website for this transnational corporation simply identifies some bars as containing certified fair trade cocoa, providing no details about their fair trade practices.⁵ The FLO logo on select Dairy Milk products suggests that the cocoa in those bars was produced by farmers belonging to Fairtrade certified collectives, when, in fact, it is more likely that Cadbury simply purchases a small amount of Fairtrade certified cocoa that is used in chocolate production along with other cocoa. This lack of clarity about just how much Fairtrade certified cocoa they purchase and how it is used can be contrasted with the company’s charity-focused Bicycle Factory marketing campaign, in which consumers could “build” bicycles for youth in Ghana, one of the primary cocoa producing countries in the world.⁶ Cadbury seems much more concerned with the appearance of being ethical and “helping” people in Ghana rather than reforming their cocoa purchasing practices.

In a few of our chapters, concerns are raised about how fair trade, when it is visible, becomes more about an assertion of moral distinction and benevolence than it is about more equitable relations of production and consumption.

Acknowledgement

We would like to express our appreciation to the store managers who provided us the opportunity to conduct the consumer surveys and the store managers who shared with us their time and insights for the interviews. The project benefited greatly from the openness and engagement of these store managers.

⁴ <http://www.snackworks.ca/en/products/Cadbury.aspx> Accessed 28 December 2014.

⁵ <https://www.cadbury.co.uk/> Accessed 28 December 2014

⁶ <http://www.thebicyclefactory.ca/index.html> Accessed 28 December 2014.

Chapter One

Some of the Pros and Cons of Fair Trade

Isaac Balson
Farrah-Lee Ludwig

In recent years fair trade as a global social justice movement has enjoyed measurable success, and the market for fair trade goods continues to grow. Nonetheless, many critics have found flaws within the way fair trade is practiced and marketed. This chapter outlines some of the key benefits and limitations of the fair trade system.

The Case for Fair Trade

As identified in the Introduction, the fair trade labels that we might find on goods sold in Kelowna stores may vary, in terms of what sort of fair trade practices they actually represent. Nonetheless, one of the major reasons for adopting fair trade as a basis for ethical consumerism is that it is designed to directly benefit farmers and other producers in the global South individually as well as benefiting whole communities. April Linton writes in *Fair Trade from the Ground Up* (2012) that in a survey given to Guatemalan coffee growers who have entered into agreements with a fair trade label, “every farmer surveyed said that he or she had personally benefited. And the most frequently mentioned advantages were training to enhance quality and the transition to organic production as well as access to credit via the cooperative” (48). Ideally, fair trade certification offers producers of coffee, for instance, a stable or predictable price for their crop, increased health care under certification requirements, as well as extra income for individuals. For instance, a key benefit for producers is that fair trade cooperatives—in the Guatemalan example that Linton uses—receive a premium, and these funds are then used to promote the growth of infrastructure in the community. The top expenditures in these areas were reported as: training and coffee infrastructure, giving credit to members, education (including scholarships for member’s children), improved roads, and the purchase of lands (Linton 2012, 44). By adopting the fair trade system in producer countries the benefits, at least in the short term, seem worthy of the cause.

For Fairtrade International, one of the requirements for certification for small producer organizations is the utilization of a participatory and democratic process of governance.⁷ This ensures a level of self-determination for small unions and the individuals who provide the work in producing fair trade goods. Hudson, Hudson, and Fridell (2013) write that “[m]any of the cooperatives form the base of an institutionalized space for democratic politics ...that extend into other political fights” (177). Certain producer regions traditionally do not have the possibility of representing themselves on the global markets and in this regard “fair trade coffee can and does function to support efforts at

⁷ <http://www.fairtrade.net/small-producer-standards.html> Accessed 30 November 2014.

empowerment and organization in the service of worker-led projects of equality and self-determination” (177). The democratic benefits of fair trade extend to the global North as the label and information provided in fair trade marketing “uses some of the most quotidian commodities as a springboard for interrogating the injustices of capitalist production and exchange” (177). In other words, consumers can become more aware of just how products are produced and sold, potentially leading to greater demands for justice more broadly. As such, fair trade creates a venue for democratic talks that allow for self-empowerment and more visible representation of the producers in the global economy.

Fair trade certification places a significant emphasis on developing infrastructure for ecological sustainability in producer nations. Valiente-Riedl (2013) argues that “ecological sustainability models, including international regulatory initiatives and sustainability certifications [as in the fair trade certification], are motivated primarily by ecological concerns, even while these are increasingly understood as also fundamental to industry survival” (15). By requiring producers to adhere to strict ecological guidelines, the wholistic approach of fair trade recognizes the value of the environment and the way long-term economic benefits are tied to environmental sustainability. As a case study, Laura T. Reynolds (2012) points out that “Fair Trade has promoted the certification of flower plantations to address critical environmental concerns related to heavy agrochemical use” (494) and outlines the benefit of adopting the fair trade label at least in Ecuador when she writes “FLO’s [Fair Trade Labeling organizations] standards go substantially beyond Ecuador’s environmental laws and industry norms in a number of areas” (505).

Some Limitations of Fair Trade

Critics of fair trade contend that while fair trade may help communities develop and maintain new infrastructure, education and other social programs it does little overall to increase the standards of living for the producer under a capitalist paradigm (Lyon and Moberg 2014, 7). It guards against extreme poverty, but it does not lift farmers or their families out of poverty, as the label seems to suggest (Jaffee 2007, 237). Because fair trade is a project that has originated in the global North, and focuses on the consumer in Europe and North America, in particular, the fair trade movement further entrenches farmers in a system of export-oriented cultivation—however environmentally sustainable—that discourages diversity of crops and ingenuity among farmers because it still operates under free market logic (Sylla 2014 125). The primary fair trade products in Kelowna stores, including coffee and chocolate, are simply fair trade versions of products that are mass produced in countries of the global South for consumers in the global North. Furthermore, certification standards of fair trade, methods used in the production of fair trade products, and the very idea of fair trade are borne out of the global North and are as such imposed on the global South (Byrne 2006, 191-2). Critics argue that by keeping fair trade farmers or producers locked into the fair trade system they will have no capacity to broaden the scope of their production or time to work on innovative products. Simply put fair trade imposes Northern consumer demands and ideas of production on the South, and maintains a system with predictable products that discourages farmers from developing

new or indigenous ideas that could also be marketable and profitable in more local markets.

It is also important to acknowledge the majority of fair trade certified products come from Central and South America. For instance, coffee producers from a few countries in Latin America and from Mexico enjoy the majority of the economic success of fair trade certification (Sylla 2014, 129). Similarly, one of the most prominent brands of fair trade chocolate available in Kelowna is Camino, part of the La Siemba cooperative, which primarily works with farmers in South and Central America; in contrast, the majority of the world's cocoa is produced in Ghana, Indonesia, and Côte d'Ivoire.⁸ It is not easy to obtain fair trade certification, and there are expenses related to certification. This leaves many of the poorest developing countries without opportunities to take part. Furthermore coffee and bananas are the most exported fair trade certified products. As Sylla describes, coffee is the most sold fair trade product at 47 per cent, followed by bananas at 18.8 per cent. In other words, coffee and bananas account for two-thirds of export revenue generated by fair trade. Latin America accounts for 263 out of the 317 fair trade coffee certifications granted in 2009 (130). What is problematic here is that these parts of Latin America and Mexico are not among the poorest countries in the world. Mexico's GDP (gross domestic product) is actually higher than the whole of sub-Saharan Africa (131). The fair trade movement claims it is at the service of the poor, and while it does help many poor farmers, it typically does not help the poorest. Countries located in Africa, in particular, are unable to compete in the fair trade market, as many have difficulties related to the certification process. There has to be a certain level of community organization, infrastructure and income to become certified, that many of these poorer countries lack.

Besides having difficulties with the fair trade certification process, export production even of fair trade agricultural produce often reflects a relation of dependence, where the primary exports, and hence income, for many countries is dependent upon consumer demand in the global North (Sylla 2014 132). Sylla points out that "Ethiopia and Burundi are among the countries most dependent on coffee in the world" (132), yet Ethiopia was only issued three fair trade coffee certifications in 2009, and Burundi is not yet included in the fair trade system. The Latin American countries, where the certifications are much more common, have much more diversified economies (135). They also have much easier access, in terms of transportation, to the large North American market.

For the fair trade movement to have a greater impact in the poorest countries, greater access to the capabilities to become certified need to be fostered in Africa. As well, fair trade, itself, needs to diversify, moving beyond agricultural produce. In Africa if mining or petroleum products became fair trade certified, or in Asia textile products and clothing the benefits of fair trade could be more broadly experienced (Sylla 2014, 136). This of course would still all be dependent on consumer choices to buy fair trade certified products, which are typically more expensive. Obviously there is still room for growth and improvement in the practice of fair trade.

⁸ <http://www.icco.org/about-cocoa/growing-cocoa.html> Accessed 30 November 2014

Chapter Two

Coffee Shop Consumer Survey

Mallory Herzog
Misa Shimizu
Lyndsay Stevens

The purpose of this study was to survey coffee shop patrons about their buying habits relating to fair trade coffee. In order to gain a wide range of participants with different views we visited an independent coffee shop, Pulp Fiction, a shop that is part of a local chain, Bean Scene, and a shop that is part of a major multi-national corporation, Starbucks. We visited all of the shops on a Saturday morning at the beginning of November 2014, and all of the shops were in the downtown area of Kelowna. The survey was only given out to people who were exiting each shop to try to ensure that participants were coffee-drinkers and would be familiar with the products each store carried. The survey included multiple-choice questions, ranking questions, circle all answers that are applicable, and open ended questions. The questions focused on consumer purchasing habits, attitudes towards fair trade, and knowledge of the shop's products (See Appendix A). Complete survey results are included in Appendix B. Overall there were forty-seven participants ranging in age from below eighteen to over sixty. Twenty-six of the participants were female, seventeen were male, and four chose not to answer that specific question. Although we attempted to achieve a broad sample by visiting three distinct coffee shops, the results of the survey are limited by the relatively small size of the survey and the fact that participants volunteered to undertake the survey after first learning of its focus. It is possible that the focus on fair trade attracted some participants and dissuaded others, and so the results may disproportionately reflect the opinions of consumers who have an interest in fair trade. Nonetheless, our findings provide some insight into consumer perceptions of the accessibility of fair trade coffee and the ethics of the consumption of coffee

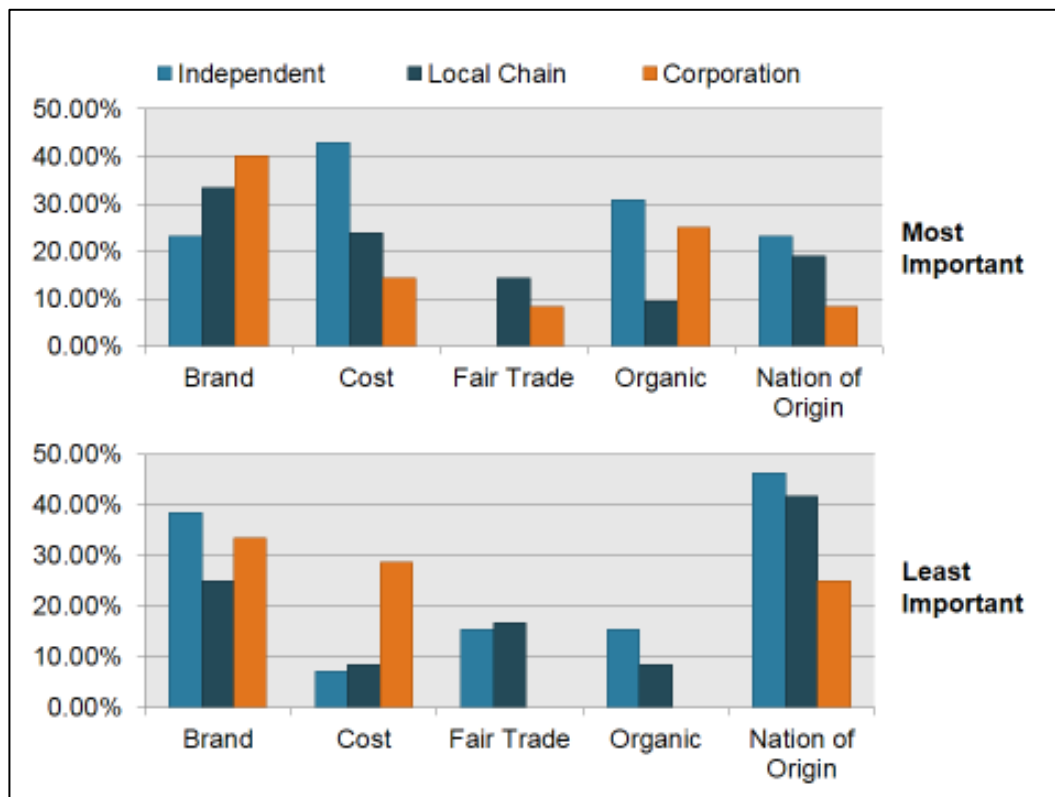
Fair trade certification is not a significant factor for most consumers

All participants were asked to rank the order of importance of a range of criteria that may inform what coffees they choose to purchase, including: the brand, cost, whether it is certified as fair trade (i.e. it has a fair trade label), whether it is organic, and the nation of origin. Many participants wrote on their survey that their primary criteria for selecting coffee is taste, an option we did not provide. Every coffee shop was also analyzed separately for this question to observe whether there was a variance in responses between participants at the three different coffee shops.

We assumed that consumers that go to independent shops would be more concerned with and aware of fair trade and the nation of origin of their products compared to the consumers who went to the larger corporation. The opposite was actually found. Not one participant at the independent coffee shop ranked fair trade as being the most important

Is it Fair? Do We Care?

criteria that influenced their buying habits, whereas it was a main concern for some consumers at the corporate shop, and no one surveyed at that shop ranked fair trade certification as least important. The country of origin was also less of an issue for many participants at the independent location compared to the corporation. After further investigation, it was found that this could be due to the independent and local chain coffee shops placing more of an emphasis on the importance of offering coffee that is roasted locally, rather than emphasizing the importance of fair trade certification. Information on whether the products at the smaller locations were fair trade was also harder to obtain, from simple observation. We found that only the shop that was part of a bigger corporation identified clearly which coffees were “ethically sourced”, though even this is not the same as fair trade certification. An example of a focus on local support is seen on Pulp Fiction’s website where they mention that they support local business but do not identify their products as being fair trade.⁹ On the Starbucks Canada website, there is an ethical sourcing tab that explains specifically their ethical policy and support for farmers in each of the categories of their products including coffee, tea, food and cacao.¹⁰ On the Starbucks packaging, they also have a logo that indicates that the product is ethically sourced.

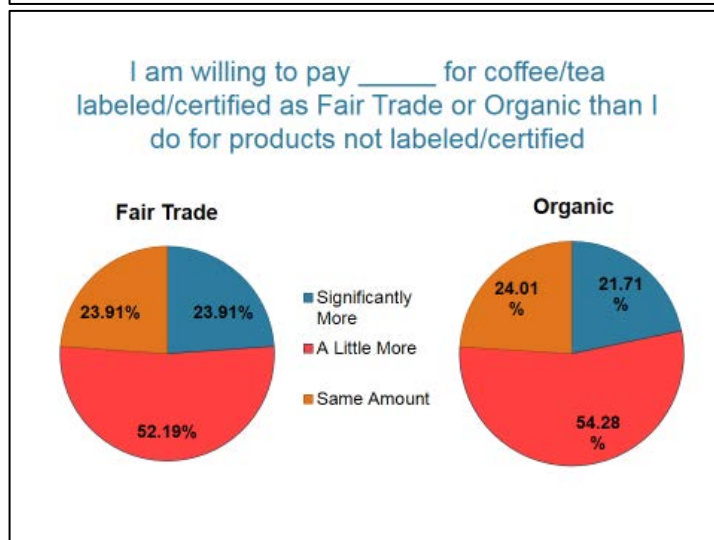
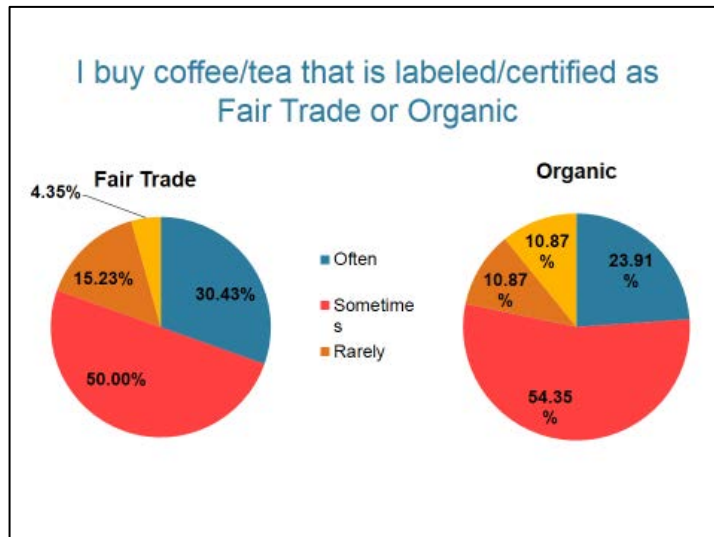


⁹ <http://pulpfictioncoffeehouse.com/menu/> Accessed 28 December 2014

¹⁰ <http://www.starbucks.ca/responsibility/sourcing> Accessed 28 December 2014

Fair Trade is as Important to Coffee-Drinkers as Organic Certification

A few of the questions gave participants the opportunity to state how often they engage in purchasing fair trade products as compared to coffee that is advertised as organic, and whether they are willing to pay more for fair trade or organic coffee and tea. The results for fair trade and organic were similar. More than half of participants claim to purchase fair trade or organic coffees and teas “sometimes,” but about one-third claim to buy fair trade always as compared to one quarter of participants who responded that they buy organic always. Approximately 75% of participants responded that they are willing to pay a little or significantly more for fair trade and organic coffees and teas. These results show a significant interest in fair trade, That contrasts with the perceptions of coffee shop managers, as presented in Chapter Four. The results also show that fair trade is as important as organic, which contrasts with our overall findings that organic products are much more visible in the food and drink market in Kelowna. Interestingly, when asked whether they were aware of whether or not the store they had just exited sold fair trade certified products, more than 60% of participants reported that they did not know.



We also asked a number of open-ended questions to learn more about how people perceive fair trade. For instance, we asked: “If you buy Fair Trade products sometimes or often, what are the main reasons you buy Fair Trade?” Participants tended to focus on issues of ethics: fair trade is important because it “comes from an ethical and moral place,” or because it is “more fair for farmers and laborers.” Others agreed that fair trade is more “fair” but they “don’t consciously choose fair trade.” We were also interested in whether consumers trust the fair trade labels on coffee and tea products. Many participants commented that they cannot be assured that the labour conditions are just, but can only hope or believe that fair trade practices are being upheld.

Participants with Experience in Global South Countries

A particular question of interest was related to the participant’s relation to the global South, which we defined in the survey question as Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, the primary regions that produce coffee. The survey responses indicated that none of the participants were born and raised in a country in the global South, 4% have lived for an extended period in a country in the global South, 24% have visited a country in the global South, and 71% have had no personal experience in a country in the global South. We assumed that people who have had some experience with the global South would be more aware of and more likely to have an interest in, or a commitment to, fair trade compared to the people who reported having no experience. We found, however, that there was a spectrum of awareness of fair trade among people who reported having experience with the global South. At the independent coffee shop location, for example, a person who had lived in the global South reported rarely buying organic products but bought fair trade often; a participant who had both lived in and visited a country in the global South sometimes bought organic but rarely bought fair trade; and another person who had visited the global South reported to sometimes buy both fair trade and organic coffee. We saw no pattern amongst participants that had experience with the global South that was different from the rest of the sample.

Kelowna citizens who agreed to participate in our study seemed to know some things about fair trade. Many reported that they buy fair trade and are willing to pay either the same price or a little more for fair trade and organic products. However, other factors that influence buying habits such as cost and taste seem to come before the importance individuals place on having fair trade and organic products. Although our study was a good first step towards discovering the buying habits of individuals in relation to fair trade and organic coffee and tea products in Kelowna, a much larger study, surveying customers at shops in a variety of areas in the city might provide more useful results.

Chapter Three

Grocery Store Consumer Survey

Liam Moran
Colby Ormiston
Justin Sawatzky

The purpose of this study was to survey the perceptions and purchasing habits of grocery store customers, in relation to fair trade products. We conducted the survey in November 2014 at three different grocery stores in the city, Save-on Foods, Urban Fare and Nature's Fare, and collected 15 surveys from customers at each establishment. We chose these three particular stores in order to attempt to encompass a variety of grocery store demographics. We characterize Save-on Foods as major mainstream chain, Urban Fare as a more upscale grocer store, catering to "foodies", and Nature's Fare as store that emphasizes natural products and organics. We chose three distinct stores, who market themselves towards different customers, because we wanted to examine the impact this had on perceptions of fair trade by customers at the three stores. The surveys were undertaken in each store with customers while they shopped in November 2014. Our survey was comprised of twenty questions aimed at gaining a comprehensive understanding of the participants' knowledge of Fair Trade products (See Appendix C). People volunteered to participate in our survey after learning of its topic. As well, each store provided us space to conduct the survey around a table that featured fair trade products. These factors may have attracted customers with an interest in, or knowledge of, fair trade. Although we had more than 45 customers participate, we found that not all survey were completed.

The Introduction to this Report includes some discussion of the overall responses to the survey, and specifically customer perceptions of fair trade, and a comparison of how grocery store customers value fair trade in comparison to organic. In this chapter, our main focus is to provide a comparative analysis of customer perceptions at the three stores. At each store, at least 60% of participants defined themselves as regular shoppers at that store.

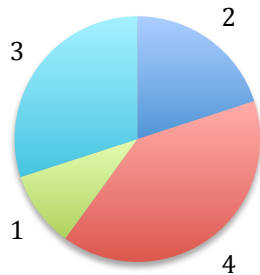
Before reviewing the data, we developed a hypothesis influenced by our personal impressions of each store. We predicted that Nature's Fare customers would have more knowledge about fair trade, since it had the most fair trade products stocked and appeals explicitly to a health conscious consumer. As a major chain, we predicted that Save-on Foods customers would have the least knowledge and interest in fair trade; although it is important to note that Save-on Foods stocks many of the same fair trade products that are found at Nature's Fare. Urban Fare is a smaller store, and has only one location in Kelowna; it seems to market itself as a more of a holistic alternative to the large-scale grocery chains. Surprisingly, Urban Fare carried the least amount of fair trade products out of the three.

Is it Fair? Do We Care?

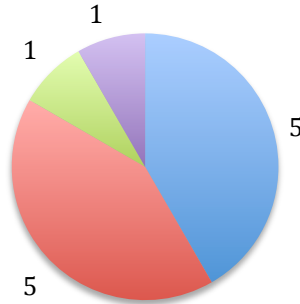
We asked customers to respond to the statement: “It is morally or ethically better to buy fair trade than non-fair trade.” We wanted to gauge an initial customer perception of fair trade products. At least 66% of participants at all three grocery stores circled agree or strongly agree for this statement, with only four people spanning across all the stores stating that they disagreed or strongly disagreed.

Question: It is morally or ethically better to buy fair trade than non-fair trade.

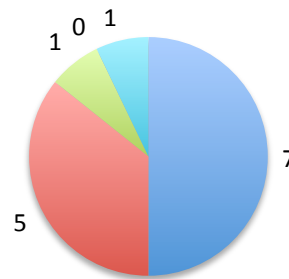
Nature’s Fare:



Urban Fare:



Save-on Foods:



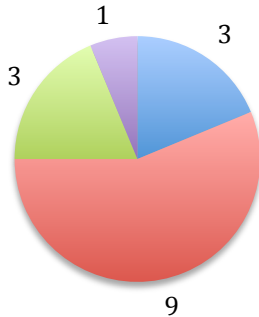
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree No Opinion

It is evident that customers, regardless of the grocery store they choose to shop at, hold some sort of belief in the morality and ethics of fair trade products. Save-on Foods had the highest rate of participants who strongly agreed with the statement, and Nature’s Fare had the lowest rate of agreement. These responses contradicted our assumptions about customer perceptions of fair trade, based on store. We also posed questions about customer shopping habits. For instance, we asked: “When deciding between two similar products, I choose the one labeled/certified Fair Trade.” To our surprise, the ratio of customers who always or sometimes buy fair trade was a significant majority. Only three participants responded that they never choose fair trade products over non-fair trade. Despite all three stores having different approaches to the marketing of their products, customers still valued fair trade products

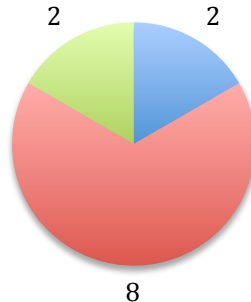
Is it Fair? Do We Care?

Question: "When deciding between two similar products, I choose the one labeled/certified Fair Trade"

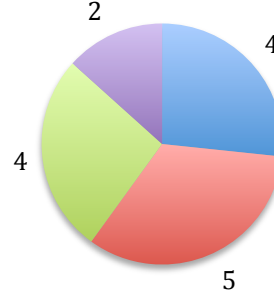
Nature's Fare:



Urban Fare:



Save-on Foods:

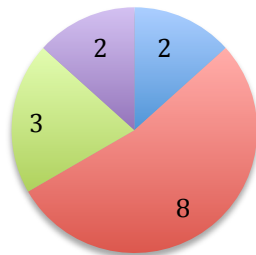


Always Sometimes Rarely Never

We also asked customers about their perceptions of the availability of fair trade products in Kelowna.

Question: Is it easy to find Fair Trade products at Kelowna grocery stores?

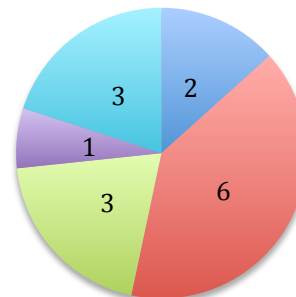
Nature's Fare:



Urban Fare:



Save-on Foods:



Blue: Yes, Most grocery stores have well marked fair trade products
Red: Only if you know which stores to go to, as only some grocery stores stock fair trade products
Green: Yes, but only for very few products
Purple: I have not noticed or only rarely notice products labeled as fair trade

Most participants believed that it was easy to find the fair trade products they wanted, but only if they knew which specific grocery store to shop at. We found that Nature's Fare had

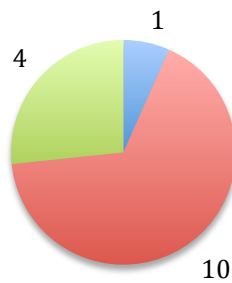
Is it Fair? Do We Care?

the majority of people who believed this, while the other two stores were more equally divided. This could possibly speak to how a lack of advertising of fair trade products in Save-on and Urban Fare has resulted in customers not knowing where they are.

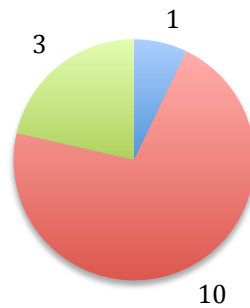
The factor that we believe to most likely have the largest influence on whether people will purchase fair trade products is price. To test this idea we asked customers if they were willing to pay more for products labeled or certified as fair trade than for products not labeled/certified as Fair Trade. We predicted that the pricing of fair trade items might have more of an impact on their purchase than the customer's moral or ethical values.

Question: I am willing to pay _____ for products labeled or certified as Fair Trade than I do for products not labeled/certified as Fair Trade.

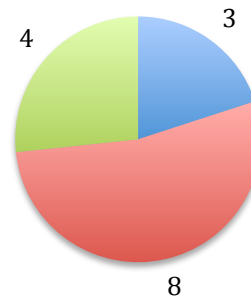
Nature's Fare:



Urban Fare:



Save-on Foods:



Significantly More Blue A Little Big More The Same Amount

The overwhelming majority of people at all three stores responded by saying that they are willing to spend a little bit more on fair trade products than non-fair trade products. However, we must understand that there could be a discrepancy between how customers perceive “a little bit more.” This is especially evident when evaluating the pricing of the same product at each store. For example, the fair trade certified coffee product Kicking Horse Coffee was sold at a different price at all three stores. The cheapest price was found at Save-on Foods and the most expensive at Nature's Fare.

Ultimately, despite the differences among the three stores, we found similar perceptions among customers about fair trade and its value. Again, the fact that our survey was conducted alongside a table featuring fair trade products may have attracted customers who support fair trade. Indeed, we had a number of people ask us if we were selling anything. As the easy marketing opportunity gave the survey the appearance of a sales pitch, we questioned the role that this table played in the answers from participants. For instance, we found it a bit conspicuous that people tended to pick fair trade products that were on the display table when answering the question, “If you buy fair Trade products sometimes or often, what products do you buy?” Although this could have been because

the stores displayed the most popular products, we still questioned how the results would differ if participants did not have fair trade products in front of them.

In future research, it would be beneficial to conduct the survey with a larger sample size, at more stores, and without the overt link to the fair trade products available in the stores. We concluded that frequent shoppers put value on fair trade products regardless of where they shop, as long as the price is reasonable. The fair trade concept is evidently a valued ideal, yet the tendency for customers to buy the product is subject to a number of different factors, such as price, advertising, and customer demographic. Therefore, frequent shoppers at grocery stores, despite which store they shop at, may believe that fair trade is morally better, yet ultimately still value their dollar more than anything.

Chapter Four

Interviews with Coffee Shop Managers

Andrea Eichberger

E.J. Dulay

Hong Joo Park

The purpose of this study was to study perceptions of fair trade, from the perspective of coffee shop managers. In November 2014, we interviewed one coffee shop owner and two coffee shop managers, at three locally owned coffee shops in Kelowna: Pulp Fiction downtown, The Green Bean on UBC's Okanagan campus, and a third store, which opted to remain anonymous, and which we call Coffee Shop 3 in this chapter. We asked a series of questions on availability of, and demand for, fair trade coffee at each particular shop, the store manager's knowledge of fair trade, and whether or not the number of fair trade products have increased or decreased over the past several years. None of the people interviewed characterized themselves as having significant knowledge of fair trade certification practices, with one characterizing their knowledge as 1 on a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being very knowledgeable, one identifying their knowledge as 2 on the scale, and one as 3 on that scale. In each of our conversations, there was some discussion of the various understandings of what constitutes "fair trade" or "ethically sourced" coffees and teas. It should be noted that our research is somewhat limited. We only interviewed managers at locally owned stores that are independent or part of local chains, rather than shops that are franchises of major chains, such as Starbucks or Tim Horton's

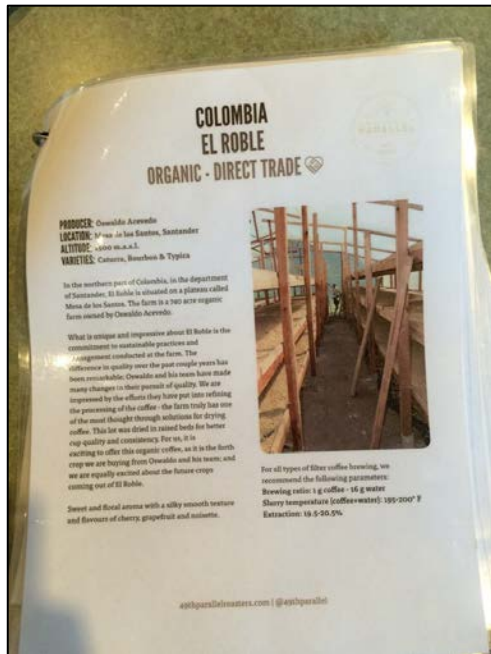
Each of the managers asserted that fair trade or "fairly traded" products are available at their shops. The Pulp Fiction manager stated that they go "beyond Fairtrade" by "dealing directly with the farmers" and offer Forty Ninth Parallel and Pioneer Coffee in their store. Neither of these brands are certified as fair trade. On their website, Forty Ninth Parallel claims that they have a direct relationship with their farmers. This type of sourcing is called direct trade. The manager at Pulp Fiction showed us a binder which provides information about the coffee bean farmers they are directly involved with. Direct trade is distinct from fair trade, and has emerged as a result of conflicting views of fair trade practices. Direct trade eliminates the third party that is involved in fair trade and allows the coffee roaster to directly communicate with the grower.¹¹ Forty Ninth Parallel believes that their direct trade practice produces better quality coffee and a living wage for farmers when compared to fair trade practices because they "pay a special premium that is above Fair Trade price standard".¹²

Both Pulp Fiction and The Green Bean offer Pioneer Coffee, a Kelowna-based roaster. Both the owner of Pulp Fiction and the manager of The Green Bean say that their Pioneer products are fair trade, but the Pioneer Coffee website makes no reference to fair trade

¹¹ <http://www.ethicalcoffee.net/direct.html> Accessed 28 December 2014

¹² <http://www.49thparallelroasters.com/pages/about-us> Accessed 28 December 2014

certification or does not provide any information regarding its ethical policies for sourcing coffee beans.¹³



A page from the binder at Pulp Fiction. The profile of one of the organic farmers Forty Ninth Parallel are involved with directly. (Photo: EJ Dulay)

The manager of Coffee Shop 3 stated that sometimes they may have coffee that is fair trade certified, UTZ certified, or with some other ethical certification; it is solely dependent on what their bean broker provides for them. From what can be observed, none of the coffee products at these three shops are certified as fair trade, but in each case the managers claim that their coffee products are purchased “fairly.”

One theme that arose in our research was a concern for ecological factors. Pulp Fiction carries tea from Metropolitan Tea out of Toronto. Metropolitan Tea is a member of the Ethical Tea Partnership.¹⁴ Similarly the manager of Coffee Shop 3 mentioned that they carry UTZ certified products. The UTZ certification is similar to fair trade practices, but focuses more on sustainability from an ecological perspective rather than an economic perspective while ensuring reasonable housing, healthcare and education.¹⁵ Coffee Shop 3 also said that they focus more on organic rather than fair trade. From the choices of suppliers that Pulp Fiction and Coffee Shop 3 make, it is evident that the coffee shops we interviewed are mindful of ecological factors when it comes to choosing their products.

Another key idea that appeared in our research was that customer demand dictates the number of fair trade products carried in store. When The Green Bean manager was asked

¹³ <http://www.pioneergourmetcoffee.com/> Accessed 28 December 2014. The search terms “fair trade” and “fairtrade” yield no results, using the website’s search option.

¹⁴ <http://www.metrotea.com/content/MetroTea/CustomPages/sustainability.htm> Accessed 28 December 2014. See also: <http://www.ethicalteapartnership.org/>

¹⁵ <https://www.utzcertified.org/> Accessed 28 December 2014.

if they anticipate carrying more or less fair trade items in the future, they replied that it would essentially depend on whether or not there is a demand from customers. When Coffee Shop 3 was asked the same question, the manager replied that the number of fair trade goods will likely stay the same because there is not a big demand by their customers for fair trade. This manager also noted that formal certification can lead to increased costs, especially for consumers.

All of the interviewees noted that they do not actively advertise their coffee and tea products as fair trade, or ethically sourced; one definition of ethically sourced products are products harvested, or manufactured, in “safe facilities by workers who are treated well and paid fair wages to work legal hours. It also implies that the supplier is respecting the environment during the production” process.¹⁶ The manager of Coffee Shop 3 believes their bean broker buys “fairly from small farms” which is something that the manager feels does not need to be labelled. The manager of The Green Bean also stated that if the full-time manager had an opportunity to bring in a fair trade item, they would not hesitate. Pulp Fiction, however, had compiled a binder filled with select Forty Ninth Parallel farmers they are involved with. The binder is not openly advertised but it is available upon request. Since these coffee shops do not actively or openly advertise their products as fair trade certified or ethically sourced, we can deduce that fair trade is not a priority for these stores, and that unlike some other stores (see Chapter Six), they see no value in using fair trade as a marketing tool.

The birth of the fair trade initiative was a grassroots, not-for-profit effort with the simple goal of the global North supporting those in the global South by purchasing their goods (Blundell 2013, 25). Blundell states “[in] the early years of [fair] trade it was all about the cause” (45). Because of increasing competition among retailers, and the dilemma of supply and demand, fair trade organizations realized they would need to work in partnership with the producer groups to help them sell in this newly competitive market (Blundell 47). At this point, partnership with the producers was what set fair trade apart from conventional trade (Blundell 47). Fair trade goods used to have information about the producers of the product available to the consumer, as a means of lessening the gap between the global North and South (Blundell 40). This desire to acknowledge the connection between the producer of coffee beans and the consumer of coffee is not as evident today, with the exception of Pulp Fiction’s binder which contained information about the coffee bean farmers.

¹⁶ <https://sanctusmundo.com/products/ethical-sourcing> Accessed 28 December 2014.

Chapter Five

Interviews with Grocery Store Managers

Alexandra Barberis

Braelyn Shione

To understand perceptions of fair trade in Kelowna, we conducted interviews with three grocery store managers in order to provide insight into the importance grocery stores place on fair trade. In order to make our findings relevant to Kelowna and the Okanagan area, we interviewed the grocery store managers of Choices Markets, Costco Wholesale and a third store, that is part of a chain that has a few stores in the Okanagan region, which we will call Store 3, as the manager requested anonymity. We selected these three stores because they each have somewhat different customer bases and distinct marketing models.

At Choice's Markets, we interviewed store manager Patrick Clancy on the importance of fair trade. Based on this interview, Choices places significant emphasis on, and support for, fair trade. Choices Markets not only deals with multiple fair trade regulating bodies that enforce the qualifications of fair trade items, but stocks numerous fair trade items ranging from the most common products—bananas, chocolate, and coffee—to many products that are not available at other stores in the area, such as papayas, blueberries, oats, and even soccer balls and basketballs. Choice's Markets even goes so far as to dedicate an entire week each year to highlighting fair trade items. To elaborate on the importance of fair trade to Choice's Markets, Clancy illustrates how fair trade, and the ethics of sourcing foods, has become integrated into the core values of the company: "it is a big part of who we are and what we do, and as a company moving forward... We've won an award four years in a row for being the number one fair traded company in Canada". While acknowledging the ethical attributes of fair trade, and being a proponent for fair trade himself, Clancy attributes Choice's emphasis on fair trade to its customers and customer demand: "Our customer is very highly educated. They probably have done most of their research already....or we've educated them in that sense". Significantly, while Choice's seeks to meet consumer demand by carrying fair trade certified goods, it also seeks to educate the consumer on fair trade, hence creating further demand.

During our interview with Costco Wholesale Kelowna's store manager Mike Rizzo, we discovered that that store also has a commitment to fair trade or ethical sourcing more broadly, but Costco's bulk shopping model makes it somewhat difficult to commit to stocking fair trade certified items. Rizzo explained that Costco is committed to not only purchasing fair trade items, but providing further support to sustainable businesses: "Costco likes to go into these countries and not only source product, but help the local growers build sustainable farms and businesses" said Rizzo. An example of such ventures

include fish farms in Chile. Yet, like the other managers, Rizzo detailed how the consumer still dictates the products they source: “The customers, they basically tell us with their wallets if they like the products. They buy it - we keep it. If they don’t buy it, we find something else.” Rizzo cited the significant consumer demand for health foods which explains Costco’s much more visible emphasis on stocking natural and organic products: “The biggest specific request that we get from consumers is with regards to the health or the holistic requests for organic or gluten-free. Those are all the rage right now.” Further, Rizzo explained that cost and brand recognition are more important for consumers than the ethical practices of companies or how products are produced: “Fair trade stuff is generally very good quality, but also quite a high price. People who don’t know any better or who aren’t specifically looking for fair trade - they’re probably going to buy Starbucks just because of the brand recognition.” Additionally, Rizzo explained that Costco has specific requirements for the products it carries. Due to Costco’s nature as a bulk foods grocery store, there is a minimum order a vendor must meet in order to be eligible for sale within Costco. Many fair trade vendors fail to meet the minimum quantity requirements simply because they are smaller businesses. Because of the scale of its orders, Rizzo says, “it’s even harder for Costco to specifically target a lot of them, but I think [the buyers] still have [fair trade] in mind.”¹⁷

At Store 3, there were few fair trade items present, including only one brand of coffee and a few chocolate bars. In contrast, products that are locally grown or organically produced are much more prevalent and visible. To explain this, the manager we interviewed emphasized the importance the store places on organic items: “our produce has a whole display of everything organic. We have a strong, strong, sense of it. Like I say, fair trade, the only thing I’ve heard requested for fair trade is that particular brand of coffee”. To further explain why the store does not stock many fair trade items, the manager suggested that customers are “probably just not in the know about it.” In contrast, the manager expressed to us how the high consumer demand for local and organic products simply trumped the demands for fair trade. We were told that terms like gluten-free and organic hold more weight to the Kelowna consumer as they reflect much larger national trends towards health and natural foods: “If it was like the rage of ‘oh my god it has to be fair trade’ we’d totally support it”. Upon consulting the staff the manager admitted difficulty in identifying fair trade products. Generally, there was little knowledge of fair trade items at Store 3.

Interestingly, all of the store managers we interviewed identified how consumer demand dictates what they carry, and hence this is cited as the reason that organic and other healthy or natural foods have such significance in their stores. Yet, the success Choices Markets has had with fair trade seems also to be the result of their efforts to highlight and market fair trade products, as well as the ethical ideals of the store, hence educating their

¹⁷ A search of Costco’s Canadian website for the search terms “fair trade” and “Fairtrade” identified just eight fair trade items carried by that store, all of which were coffee and tea products. We could not find any further information on Costco’s relationships with its producers in the global South. <http://www.costco.ca/> Accessed 28 December 2014.

Is it Fair? Do We Care?

customers and attracting consumers who are concerned with ethical practices. While we did not undertake a comprehensive price comparison of fair trade items in the three stores, we did note that a fair trade certified coffee product produced in Tanzania was more expensive at Store 3 than it was at Choices Markets. This may be because Choice's is able to offer fair trade items at more reasonable prices because it carries so many fair trade products.

Chapter Six

Fair Trade Marketing at Some Kelowna Stores

Rebecca Desjarlais
Manami Miyako
Jean-Paul Savoie

In this chapter, we compare the marketing rhetoric and imagery for fair trade products offered in boutique stores, grocery stores specializing in natural and organic products, and traditional grocery stores in the Kelowna area. We discuss The Body Shop and David's Tea as boutique stores, Nature's Fare and Choices Market as retailers of natural and organic foods, and Save-on Foods as a mainstream large grocery store. In our research we raise questions about the concreteness of what is presented as fair trade certification in these locations and how fair trade products are presented in relation to organic products.

The Body Shop

The Body Shop is a chain of boutiques, selling their own brand of body care products, with over twenty-five hundred stores in sixty countries. It is owned by L'Oréal, the world's largest cosmetics company, of which Nestlé owns a 23% share.¹⁸ The Body Shop advertises itself as an ethical and activist-driven business by presenting two slogans in their store. At their store in the Orchard Park Mall in Kelowna they have the following slogan underneath their logo: "Protect (the Planet), Defend (Human Rights), Activate (Self-Esteem), Support (Community Fair Trade), Against (Animal Testing)". The other slogan, located on a wall inside their entrance, reads: "Get informed. Get inspired. Get outraged. Get Active." They source fair trade products from over thirty suppliers in twenty countries, including Morocco, Brazil, Russia, Mexico, England, Ethiopia, and India, as demonstrated on a map under the second slogan. They do not have any items with labels of independent fair trade certification organizations, but instead incorporate fair trade ingredients into their products using their own certification program called Community Trade, which sources from fair trade co-operatives, many of which do exclusive business with The Body Shop.¹⁹

¹⁸ Both L'Oréal and Nestlé have been the subjects of controversy for the way in which they source their products, from concerns with the treatment of animals in the development of L'Oréal's cosmetic products to concerns with how Nestlé benefits from the exploitative labour conditions in West African cocoa production and the way Nestlé markets its baby formula in the global South. There are numerous sources for these criticism, but for a good, basic, introduction, see: http://www.theecologist.org/green_green_living/behind_the_label/1008667/behind_the_brand_loreal.html, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/body-shops-popularity-plunges-after-loreal-sale-473599.html>, and <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-18644870>

¹⁹ *Community Fair Trade*. <http://www.thebodyshop.ca/en/values/CommunityFairTrade.aspx> Accessed 11 November 2014

Their website features stories about their fair trade ingredients such as oils, beeswax, honey, wood, and cotton. The story for each ingredient includes information about the geographical location where it is produced, the fair trade co-operative, and how respective fair trade co-operatives give back to their communities. A particular emphasis of these narratives is gender. For instance, the narrative for Argan oil describes the women's co-op that produces the oil.²⁰ The story for Badassu oil makes the claim that the co-op "aims to improve women's rights."²¹ Similarly, the story about their paper products describes how their source in Nepal mostly employs women workers and provides them with equal pay to men.²²

Despite the Body Shop's focus on ethically sourced ingredients, not all of The Body Shop's natural ingredients are fair trade, nor are all of their ingredients natural; indeed, despite the marketing of the store, most of the ingredients in its products are neither. Looking at the list of ingredients of their items, it is clearly labeled that they make wide use of non-renewable petrochemicals, synthetic colours, fragrances, and preservatives. When fair trade botanical-based ingredients are used, it is typically in a small dose, as suggested by the fact that it is typically among the last ingredients listed; ingredient lists are organized by weight, with the ingredient at the beginning of the list comprising the largest single ingredient, and the last ingredient the smallest. Further, there tends to be just one or two fair trade ingredients in each product, among the great many ingredients necessary for the product. The Body Shop's tactic for ethical marketing puts emphasis on having a fair trade "community" opposed to fair trade certification. However, the miniscule amount of fair trade ingredients in The Body Shop's products makes it doubtful that any (or many) of their items could receive fair trade certification from an organization like Fairtrade International (FLO).²³ Thus, their marketing is a clever way to avoid making fulfilling common standards of fair trade certification, while giving the illusion that they are a great supporter of it.

David's Tea

Colourful tin cans ranging from red to yellow to green to purple attract the eyes of the customers at David's Tea, a specialty tea store. David's Tea carries a wide selection of teas, including organic and fair trade teas, but there are big differences in how items are marketed. David's Tea sells tea in bulk from large cans labeled according to what type of tea they are. The colour labels on the large cans correspond to the tea leaves pre-packaged in bags and small tins. David's Tea's website states that they carry over 150 selections of

²⁰ *Argan Oil*. n.d. Web. 11 Nov. 2014 <<http://www.thebodyshop.ca/community-fair-trade/argan.aspx>>

²¹ *Badassu Oil*. n.d. Web. 11 Nov. 2014 <<http://www.thebodyshop.ca/community-fair-trade/babassu.aspx>>

²² *Paper Products*. n.d. Web. 11 Nov. 2014 <<http://www.thebodyshop.ca/community-fair-trade/paper.aspx>>

²³ According to the Fairtrade International explanation of their Fairtrade Mark, for "composite products" "all ingredients that can be sourced as Fairtrade must be Fairtrade." Further, "the percentage of each Fairtrade ingredient must be displayed on the back of the pack. And at least 20% of the content must be Fairtrade certified." <http://www.fairtrade.net/1064.html>

tea, of which 51 are organic²⁴ and 25 are fair trade.²⁵ In store, organic teas are clearly labeled in parentheses and capital letters after the name of the tea on the large cans. In contrast, the fair trade teas are *not* labeled, despite the fact that David's Tea advertises its fair trade collection on their website.²⁶ Only the bags of tea that have been pre-packed are labeled with a small fair trade certified logo on the back of the packages, but the logos are so small that people would have to look carefully for them. This violates the packaging requirement provided by Fair Trade USA for using their logo, as it is clearly mentioned that the icon has to be a certain size and printed on the front of the package.²⁷

It is not just the size and location of the logo that are incorrect, but other guidelines of Fair Trade USA are ignored. When a customer purchases tea from the large tin cans in the store, the printed label does not show the fair trade icon nor is it written anywhere that it is fair trade. For fair trade teas that are not fully fair trade, but have over 20% fair trade content, Fair Trade USA requires that the percentage of fair trade ingredient(s) be indicated, but this is also ignored. Their online store does not provide information for the percentage of the fair trade ingredient(s) either. Although David's Tea's online tab for fair trade, listed under special collections, proudly boasts the line, "like you needed another reason to love our teas...we're proud to say these have been certified by Fair Trade USA"²⁸, they ignore marking restrictions mandated by Fair Trade USA and do not provide information that customers may actually be curious about.

This suggests that the fair trade idea is being used for the intent of marketing their products because they are interested in catering to a niche market, not the actual relationships that fair trade seeks to develop. If the company really wanted to bring people together, why not make all of their tea 100% fair trade to build a relationship between consumers and producers? Their fair trade presence is clearly an example of what Blundell describes as "fair trade lite", since most of the selections are not fair trade (Blundell 11). Hence, fair trade is only a minor priority for David's Teas, but their limited offerings allow them to show themselves as a benevolently good company in its ethical practices.

Nature's Fare, Choices Markets, and Save-On-Foods

The natural and organic retailers we examined, Nature's Fare and Choices Market, are both BC owned and operated chains. Nature's Fare is positioned as a health foods store with a focus on organic products, made apparent in their slogan "Live Well, Live Organic." Choices Markets identifies itself as a grocer with primarily natural and organic products. Their slogan, "Committed to Our Customers, Communities & Planet" underscores their focus on locally produced goods. Save-On-Foods, a standard grocery store, markets itself as having "a wide selection of natural, local and organic foods." Each of these stores has a stated

²⁴ *Organic Teas*. n.d. Web. 16 Dec. 2014 <<http://www.davidstea.com/organic-teas>>

²⁵ *Fair Trade*. n.d. Web. 16 Dec. 2014 <<http://www.davidstea.com/fair-trade>>

²⁶ *Ibid*

²⁷ Fair Trade USA. n.d. <http://fairtradeusa.org/sites/all/files/wysiwyg/filemanager/Fair-Trade-Certified-Label-Use-Guide-2013_Dual-Labels_vers15.pdf> Date of Access: 11 November 2014

²⁸ *Fair Trade*. n.d. <http://www.davidstea.com/fair-trade> Date of access: 16 December 2014

mandate to provide their customers with ethical and green products; however, the products they carry and the way these items are presented in store emphasizes local and organic products rather than products that have been ethically sourced.

The focus of all three grocery stores on natural and organic products shows that they are utilizing green marketing tactics to encourage consumers. Green marketing focuses on presenting products as environmentally safe, natural, and healthy; however, the definition of an 'environmentally safe' product extends to both organics and fair trade practices (Mishra and Sharma 2012, 35). Fair trade items in both Nature's Fair and Choices Market are presented in a way that appeals to the idea of ethical consumption: "a loose term...that encompasses [the] idea that consumers can indeed 'shop for a better world'" (Low and Davenport 2005, 505). Like David's Tea, Nature's Fare, Choices, and Save-On-Foods market and shelve fair trade teas in no distinct way, forcing consumers to rely on fair trade logos for identification, making it difficult to identify products that are fair trade at a glance.

Apart from chocolate, where fair trade certified brands are placed together in *Nature's Fair* and *Choices*, the placement of fair trade certified products reflects a significant contrast with products that are certified as organic. For instance, organic teas have special prominence on the shelf or on aisle stands. In November 2014, Choices Market presented an aisle display for a line of Stash Teas that were packaged and described primarily as an organic product; however, the teas were also fair trade. In Save-On-Foods, fair trade items were clustered in with other natural food options such as gluten free and organic choices. This tactic of clustering is more effective for consumers to "increase the identification of... fair trade as a relevant attribute" (van Herpen, van Nierop, and Sloot 2012, 296) of the products presented. Fair trade products are thus linked with what is "natural" and "healthy" rather than distinguished in terms of the labour practices involved.

In Choices Market's November 2014 newsletter, the grocery store emphasizes the idea of ethical consumption by promoting a specific line of body lotions and hair care products as having a social impact when purchased. The product is described as high quality and that "10% of sales support community empowerment projects in West Africa" ("Everyday") even though the product has a Fair for Life certification; so, rather than marketing the product as fair trade, and hence fostering more just labour practices, the product is advertised as a means of providing aid to people in Africa, a form of charity. The marketing focus of the presentation for this product as well as the Community Trade programme in place at The Body Shop are examples of how retailers recognize the consumer drive for "shopping to change the world" (Low and Davenport 2005, 505) but are generally unclear on the complexities of fair trade (500). As such, rather than marketing fair trade in terms of identifying the relationship between producers and consumers and ensuring that workers and farmers get a fair wage, safe working conditions, and the like, the marketing practices of these stores present buying fair trade as a humanitarian 'good deed.'

Concluding Remarks

Organic and fair trade items tend to be lumped together in retail stores, with a heavier focus on the organic qualities because it demonstrates multiple levels of corporate social

responsibility on the part of the retailer. This is done despite the fact that “lumping organic and fair trade brands together is inappropriate” (van Herpen, van Nierop, and Sloot 2012, 305) and unhelpful, as consumers have different perceptions about organic and fair trade products and reasons for purchasing these products. “[T]he purchase of organic products is primarily driven by the expectation of personal benefit” (Bowes and Croft 2008, 278) whereas the motivation for purchasing fair trade products has become—or at least is often marketed as—altruistic and “to benefit the world’s poor” (279), within a discourse of charity or benevolence. All five stores present their organic and fair trade products together as a way to highlight their corporate responsibility to ethical and healthful alternative food options. There is very little in their marketing or organization to suggest that fair trade provides an alternative and more socially just relationship between consumers and producers, or that fair trade is, in part, about building greater awareness of where our food and other products come from, and how they are produced.

Chapter Seven

The Marketing of Fair Trade Coffee and Tea

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The purpose of this study is to analyze the ways in which fair trade certified brands of coffee and tea are advertised in stores, online, and on their packaging. Our analysis develops out of a literature review, and relies upon first person observation of coffee and tea packaging and online marketing. We argue that although the fair trade movement's original intentions were to create an alternative and ethical model of business, its marketing techniques have shifted to reflect a greater emphasis on branding that focuses on organics, charity, and quality.

Definitions

The following terms are provided in order to contextualize our discourse analysis. First, the term “ethical model of business” refers to the idea that producers should be paid a “stable, minimum price” (Cole and Brown 2014, 52) for their product and should not be exploited in any way by the purchasing company. Second, the products that were analyzed fall under two certification policies: Fairtrade International (FLO) and Fair Trade USA (formerly Transfair USA). FLO and Fair Trade USA differ in their certification policies; one of the major differences is that Fair Trade USA accepts production methods from large-scale plantations (52).

A Brief History of Fair Trade Marketing

According to Davies, Doherty, and Knox (2010), in their case study of Cafédirect, the history of fair trade marketing is divided into three phases: the Solidarity Era, the Market Development Era, and the Mass Market Era. The Solidarity Era consisted of images that displayed agricultural scenery and producers, anecdotal stories, and a substantial narrative which informed consumers about the farmers and labourers who produced the product, and the conditions of production; the purpose of this was to undermine the commodity fetish, and transcend the “distance” between producer and consumer. The Market Development Era marked a change in the fair trade movement's marketing agenda. Fair trade certification—or the logo—became a unique selling point and ethical consumption became increasingly marked by the force of the logo—rather than narratives and images depicting the farmers and workers—to ensure just conditions of labour. Further, greater emphasis was placed on superior product quality. The third and current era, the Mass Market Era, is characterized by mainstream co-optation of fair trade ideals, elevated competition, and a necessity to establish uniqueness through social and environmental concerns. Large corporations are increasingly offering brands and products

marketed as fair trade, gaining this niche consumer market but not altering their overall practices of production.

Analysis of Marketing Strategies

The brands focused on in this analysis include: Kicking Horse Coffee; Starbucks Coffee; Numi Tea; and David's Tea. Our first person observations of the marketing strategies and advertisements of these brands are divided into three categories: store placement; online information; and packaging aesthetics.

In Store

The stores evaluated for this process were Safeway, Save-On-Foods, and Nature's Fare Markets. At Safeway, fair trade coffees and teas are not separated on the shelves from non-fair trade brands. Safeway's choice to disperse their fair trade products throughout the tea and coffee section as a whole suggests that they do not distinguish fair trade products as distinct. This is in line with the goals of most fair trade companies that would prefer not to be considered niche brands (Davies, Doherty, and Knox 2010, 137). Nature's Fare, in contrast, has an area of the aisle that is organized as distinctly fair trade. There are shelving tags that draw further attention to and promote these products. Nature's Fare Markets advertises themselves as an organic grocer, and so fair trade brands of coffee and tea are distinguished as specialty products. Finally, Save-on Foods has a specific section for natural foods, and fair trade options are integrated into this section. By positioning fair trade certified products as 'natural' or 'healthy', Save-on Foods caters to the tendency of consumers to prefer organic and local products (Langen 2011, 419)

Online

None of the websites for the selected brands provided fair trade information prominently on their home pages; in each case, it was necessary to navigate further into the websites in order to learn about the company's fair trade practices. Kicking Horse Coffee, for example, presented the most information, including annual reports, specific terminology emphasizing fair trade, as well as narratives and images highlighting producers. They clearly identify that their coffee is 100% Fair Trade certified. Significantly, Kicking Horse does not use a humanitarian or charitable discourse to explain its practices; rather, it has the slogan "Fair Trade Not Aid."²⁹

In contrast, Starbucks uses vague terminology and concepts in their narratives, and presents an ambiguous commitment to fair trade. While some Starbucks' products are certified fair trade, rather than using the term "fair trade" Starbucks employs the term "ethical sourcing" on their website.³⁰ We feel that this implies a lack of commitment to the fair trade movement, and reflects the example of multinational companies seeking to capitalize on consumer interest in ethical consumerism without significantly altering their

²⁹ <http://www.kickinghorsecoffee.com/en/story/ideas/fairtrade>. Accessed December 5 2014.

³⁰ <http://www.starbucks.ca/responsibility/sourcing> Accessed December 5 2014.

business practices. As Robbins (2013) notes, major corporations have incorporated discourses of ethics without committing comprehensively to fair trade, and “can obtain certification with only minor adjustments in how their business affects workers or the environment” (258).

In the case of Numi Tea, the material on their website provided specific claims about fair trade, yet featured an outdated link to the Transfair USA website. David’s Tea identified a line of fair trade teas, but provides no detailed information about their fair trade practices. Hence, unlike Kicking Horse, which exhibits a detailed and comprehensive commitment to fair trade, these companies appear to use the idea of fair trade so that they can cater to a specific niche market that seeks fair trade labeled products (Robbins 2013, 258).

Packaging

The majority of the brands we studied featured a fair trade certification logo on the front of their packaging in an easily visible area, except for David’s Tea, which placed theirs on the back. Numi Tea and David’s Tea use the Fair Trade USA logo, while Starbucks Coffee and Kicking Horse Coffee use the FLO logo. None of the packaging featured additional fair trade information or narratives about producers, the way Camino and Divine chocolate do, as noted in the Introduction.

Since packaging may influence consumer decisions, the following observations deal with how packaging was displayed in store. Kicking Horse Coffee employs a high-contrast, monochrome, and minimalist aesthetic, which allows the Fairtrade logo to stand out. Additionally, the logo is placed on the lower front of the package, which allows it to be seen even after the bag has been opened. Starbucks places the logo in the top front corner of the package, meaning that when it is folded down, the label is obscured. However, alongside the blend name, Starbucks additionally uses the phrase “Fairtrade Certified.” In doing so, Starbucks prioritizes the concept or idea of Fair Trade over the actual certification, and what sorts of guarantees the certification purports to provide. Numi Tea places their certification logo on the bottom front of their packages. However, this logo is on a removable tab for easy access to the tea bags, and as such is no longer present once this tab is removed. The Fair Trade USA logo on David’s Tea products is smaller in comparison to the other brands we looked at, and is also located on the back of the product. As such, the consumer would have to make a conscious effort to ascertain which teas are fair trade, when viewing them on the shelf in the store.

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Appendix A

Coffee Shop Survey

Study Title: Perceptions of Fair Trade Labeling and Ethical Consumerism in Kelowna

Research Aims:

The aim of this questionnaire is to gather information about what people know about Fair Trade, their perception of the availability of Fair Trade products as well as their purchasing habits.

Please circle the letter for the answer(s) that best represents your opinion, rank items, or answer briefly in the space provided.

1. **I buy coffee/tea that is labeled/certified as Fair Trade:**
A) Often B) Sometimes C) Rarely D) Never
2. **I buy coffee/tea that is labeled/certified as Organic:**
A) Often B) Sometimes C) Rarely D) Never
3. **I am willing to pay _____ for coffee/tea labeled or certified as Fair Trade than I do for products not labeled/certified as Fair Trade.**
A) significantly more B) a little bit more C) the same amount
4. **I am willing to pay _____ for coffee/tea labeled or certified as Organic than I do for products not labeled/certified as Organic.**
A) significantly more B) a little bit more C) the same amount
5. **Please rank (1-6) the following considerations when purchasing coffee or tea:**
____ Brand ____ Cost ____ Fair Trade Label ____ Organic ____ Nation of Origin
6. **This coffee shop stocks _____ Fair Trade labeled/certified products.**
A) a great many B) just a few C) no D) I don't know
7. **Please rank the order of prominence this store gives to these characteristics of coffee/tea. (for instance, advertising, labeling, server recommendations, etc.)**
____ Flavour ____ Fair Trade ____ Organic
8. **I verify the Fair Trade status of coffee/tea buy (circle all that apply):**
A) Researching products and brands online or through other means.
B) Relying upon a recognizable certification label on the product.
C) Whether or not the product or store advertises the product as Fair Trade.
D) Patronizing coffee shops that only or primarily stock Fair Trade products.
E) None of the above.

- 9. It is easy to find Fair Trade products at Kelowna coffee shops?**
A) Yes, most coffee shops have well marked Fair Trade Products.
B) Only if you know which shops to go to, as only some stock Fair Trade products.
C) Yes, but only for very limited drinks.
D) I have not noticed or only rarely notice products labeled as Fair Trade.
- 10. When a product has a Fair Trade certification label, I can be assured that (circle all that apply):**
A) Producers (e.g. farmers, labourers) have received a fair price for their produce and/or labour.
B) That products have been produced in an ecologically sustainable manner.
C) Producers have determined the price for their produce and/or labour.
D) Farmers and labourers are protected by adequate safety and labour standards.
- 11. All fair trade labels and certifications mean the same thing.**
A) Strongly Agree B) Agree C) Disagree D) Strongly disagree E) Don't know
- 12. It is morally or ethically better to buy Fair Trade than non-Fair Trade.**
A) Strongly Agree B) Agree C) Disagree D) Strongly disagree E) no opinion
- 13. If you buy Fair Trade products sometimes or often, what are the main reasons you buy Fair Trade?**

SURVEY RESPONDER PROFILE (OPTIONAL)

- 14. Which age bracket do you fit into?**
Under 18 18-24 25-34 35-44 45-59 60+
- 15. How would you classify your gender?** _____
- 16. The Fair Trade label typically refers to products produced in the Global South (e.g. Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean). How would you characterize your experience in the Global South.**
A) I was born in and grew up in a country in the Global South.
B) I have lived for an extended period in a country in the Global South.
C) I have visited a country in the Global South.
D) I have no personal experience in a country in the Global South.

Appendix B

Coffee Shop Survey Responses

Starbucks

Question #	A	B	C	D	E
1	6/16	8/16	2/16	0/16	
2	4/16	7/16	4/16	1/16	
3	5/11	6/11	5/11		
4	5/16	8/16	3/16		
5					
6	2/16	6/16	0/16	8/16	
7	0/8	5/8	2/8	1/8	
8					
9	0/19	8/19	6/19	0/19	5/19
10	4/16	5/16	1/16	6/16	
11	9/24	5/24	4/24	6/24	
12	0/16	7/16	4/16	5/16	
13	7/16	4/16	1/16	4/16	

5)

Category	1 (Most Important)	2	3	4	5 (Least Important)
Brand	6/13	2/14	1/15	1/12	5/12
Cost	2/13	1/14	6/15	1/12	4/12
Fair Trade	1/13	5/14	4/15	2/12	0/12
Organic	3/13	3/14	3/15	3/12	0/12
Nation of Origin	1/13	3/14	0/15	5/12	3/12

8)

Category	1 (Most Prominent)	2	3 (Least Prominent)
Flavour	11/13	1/12	1/12
Organic	2/13	4/12	6/12

Is it Fair? Do We Care?

Fair Trade	0/13	7/12	5/12
-------------------	------	------	------

Gender

Male	Female	No Answer
4	10	2

Age Group:

U18	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-59	60+	No Answer
3	6	0	2	2	1	3

Relationship with Global South:

A	B	C	D	No Answer
0	0	5	9	1

(One respondent answered “(E) Associated but haven’t been”)

Bean Scene

Question #	A	B	C	D	E
1	5/14	8/14	0/14	1/14	
2	5/16	9/16	1/16	1/16	
3	4/15	7/15	4/15		
4	3/16	8/16	5/16		
5					
6	2/16	3/16	0/16	11/16	
7	½	½			
8					
9	1/20	10/20	3/20	2/20	4/20
10	3/17	6/17	0/17	8/17	
11	9/25	3/25	2/25	5/25	1/25 (Added “I don’t know”)
12	0/16	2/16	8/16	0/16	6/16

Is it Fair? Do We Care?

13	6/16	6/16	0/16	1/16	3/16
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5)

Category	1 (Most Important)	2	3	4	5 (Least Important)
Brand	7/21	3/11	0/10	0/9	3/12
Cost	5/21	2/11	2/10	2/9	1/12
Fair Trade	3/21	1/11	4/10	2/9	2/12
Organic	2/21	4/11	2/10	2/9	1/12
Nation of Origin	4/21	1/11	2/10	2/9	5/12

8)

	1 (Most Prominent)	2	3 (Least Prominent)
Flavour	14/14	1/9	0/11
Organic	1/14	4/9	6/11
Fair Trade	0/14	4/9	5/11

Gender:

Female	Male	No Answer
8/16	5/16	3/16

Age Group:

U18	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-59	60+	No Answer
0	3	8	3	0	0	2

Relationship with Global South:

A	B	C	D	No Answer
0	0	5	9	2

Pulp Fiction

Question #	A	B	C	D	E
1	3/16	7/16	5/16	1/16	
2	2/16	9/16	2/16	3/16	
3	2/15	11/15	2/15	0/15	
4	2/15	9/15	4/15	0/15	

Is it Fair? Do We Care?

5					
6	3/15	2/15	0/15	10/15	
7		5/5			
8					
9	3/20	9/20	2/20	1/20	5/20
10	2/16	3/16	3/16	8/16	
11	8/29	5/29	6/29	10/29	
12	0/15	2/15	5/15	0/15	8/15
13	3/15	7/15	1/15	0/15	4/15

5)

Category	1 (Most Important)	2	3	4	5 (Least Important)
Brand	3/16	2/12	1/9	2/13	5/11
Cost	6/16	1/12	1/9	4/13	1/11
Fair Trade	0/16	6/12	2/9	3/13	2/11
Organic	4/16	1/12	3/9	3/13	2/11
Nation of Origin	3/16	1/12	2/9	1/13	5/11

8)

Category	1 (Most Prominent)	2	3 (Least Prominent)
Flavour	6/9	0/9	3/9
Organic	2/9	3/9	4/9
Fair Trade	1/9	6/9	2/9

Gender:

Male	Female	No Answer
8	8	0

Age Group:

U18	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-59	60+
2	4	2	3	2	3

Relationship with Global South

A	B	C	D	No Answer

0	1	1	13	2
---	---	---	----	---

(One respondent answered both B and C)

13. If you buy Fair Trade products sometimes or often, what are the main reasons you buy Fair Trade? (Responses from All stores)

- like product
- because they taste good
- it's been approved
- right thing to do
- it supports local farmers fairly
- I feel it is more fair to the farmers/labourers
- To know that where my coffee (or other product) is coming from has come from an ethical and moral place where people are treated fairly
- To support the farmers/producers who create their products in an ecological way; to support and reinforce fair trade between producers and retailers
- Don't
- Don't
- Thought it might be fair to producer
- Because it's fair trade
- To support the producers rather than to support the exploitation of them
- Fair wages for farmers and workers/producers
- Because I don't like being mistreated/misrepresented, so nobody else should either!
- Hoping that all answers in question 10 are true
- I don't normally look for fair trade products. However, if I notice labels, I will
- Ecologically sustainable
- I think it is fair, but I don't consciously choose fair trade
- Every worker in the world should be treated well and have the same rights; farmers should receive a fair price for products
- I don't make my own coffee, I buy from coffee shops i.e. tim hortons, starbucks, etc
- I've never gone out of my way to buy fair trade
- I feel I should support the people who would not otherwise be properly paid
- Fair reward for all involved in production
- Because farmers deserve fair compensation for their hard often unrecognized work

Appendix C

Grocery Store Survey

Study Title: Perceptions of Fair Trade Labeling and Ethical Consumerism in Kelowna.

Research Aims:

The aim of this questionnaire is to gather information about what people know about Fair Trade, their perception of the availability of Fair Trade products as well as their purchasing habits.

Please circle the letter for the answer(s) that best represents your opinion, rank items, or answer briefly in the space provided.

1. I buy products that are labeled/certified as Fair Trade:

- A) Often B) Sometimes C) Rarely D) Never

2. I buy products that are labeled/certified as Organic:

- A) Often B) Sometimes C) Rarely D) Never

3. I am willing to pay _____ for products labeled or certified as Fair Trade than I do for products not labeled/certified as Fair Trade.

- A) significantly more B) a little bit more C) the same amount

4. I am willing to pay _____ for products labeled or certified as Organic than I do for products not labeled/certified as Organic.

- A) significantly more B) a little bit more C) the same amount

5. When deciding between two similar products, I choose the one labeled/certified as Fair Trade.

- A) Always B) Sometimes C) Rarely D) Never

6. Please rank (1-6) the following considerations when purchasing a product a grocery store:

___ Brand ___ Cost ___ Fair Trade Label ___ On sale ___ Organic ___ Local

7. **This grocery store stocks _____ Fair Trade labeled/certified products.**

- A) a great many B) just a few C) no D) I don't know

8. **Please rank the order of prominence this store gives to these characteristics of products. (for instance, in the way the aisles and shelves are organized, products are marked, advertising, etc)**

___ Sale Items ___ Fair Trade ___ Local ___ Organic

9. **I verify the Fair Trade status of a product by (circle all that apply):**

- A) Researching products and brands online or through other means.
- B) Relying upon a recognizable certification label on the product.
- C) Whether or not the product or store advertises the product as Fair Trade.
- D) Shopping at stores that only or primarily stock Fair Trade products.
- E) None of the above.

10. **Is it easy to find Fair Trade products at Kelowna grocery stores?**

- A) Yes, most grocery stores have well marked Fair Trade Products.
- B) Only if you know which stores to go to, as only some grocery stores stock Fair Trade products.
- C) Yes, but only for very few products.
- D) I have not noticed or only rarely notice products labeled as Fair Trade.

11. **When a product has a Fair Trade certification label, I can be assured that (circle all that apply):**

- A) Producers (e.g. farmers, labourers) have received a fair price for their produce and/or labour.
- B) That products have been produced in an ecologically sustainable manner.
- C) Producers have determined the price for their produce and/or labour.
- D) Farmers and labourers are protected by adequate safety and labour standards.

12. **All fair trade labels and certifications mean the same thing.**

- A) Strongly Agree B) Agree C) Disagree D) Strongly disagree E) Don't know

13. **It is morally or ethically better to buy Fair Trade than non-Fair Trade.**

- A) Strongly Agree B) Agree C) Disagree D) Strongly disagree E) no opinion

14. **If you buy Fair Trade products sometimes or often, what are the main reasons you buy Fair Trade?**

15. If you buy Fair Trade products sometimes or often, what products do you typically buy?

16. Are there any other products you wish were available as Fair Trade?

SURVEY RESPONDER PROFILE (OPTIONAL)

17. Which age bracket do you fit into?

Under 18 18-24 25-34 35-44 45-59 60+

18. How would you classify your gender? _____

19. The Fair Trade label typically refers to products produced in the Global South (e.g. Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean). How would you characterize your experience in the Global South.

- A) I was born in and grew up in a country in the Global South.
- B) I have lived for an extended period in a country in the Global South.
- C) I have visited a country in the Global South.
- D) I have no personal experience in a country in the Global South.

20. Are you a frequent shopper at this grocery store? _____

21. Would you say you value locally grown products over fair trade products?

- A) Strongly agree
- B) Agree
- C) Neutral
- D) Disagree
- E) Strongly Disagree

Appendix D

Grocery Store Survey Responses

Chart Appendix

1. *I buy products that are labeled/certified Fair Trade.*

	<i>Nature's Fare</i>	<i>Urban Fare</i>	<i>Save-on Foods</i>	<i>total</i>
<i>Often</i>	6/15	4/16	3/15	13/46
<i>Sometimes</i>	6	6	6	18/46
<i>Rarely</i>	1	4	4	9/46
<i>Never</i>	2	2	2	6/46

2. *I buy products that are labeled/certified Organic*

	<i>Nature's Fare</i>	<i>Urban Fare</i>	<i>Save-on Foods</i>	<i>total</i>
<i>Often</i>	6/15	4/16	4/15	14/46
<i>Sometimes</i>	8	6	5	19/46
<i>Rarely</i>	0	4	4	8/46
<i>Never</i>	1	2	2	5/46

3. *I am willing to pay _____ for products labeled or certified as Fair Trade than I do for products not labeled/certified as Fair Trade.*

	<i>Nature's Fare</i>	<i>Urban Fare</i>	<i>Save-on Foods</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Significantly More</i>	1/15	1/14	3/15	5/44
<i>A Little Bit More</i>	10	10	8	28/44
<i>The same amount</i>	4	3	4	11/44

Is it Fair? Do We Care?

4. I am willing to pay ____ for products labeled or certified as Organic than I do for products not labeled/certified as Organic.

	<i>Nature's Fare</i>	<i>Urban Fare</i>	<i>Save-on Foods</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Significantly More</i>	2/15	2/13	3/15	7/43
<i>A Little Bit More</i>	11	8	7	26/43
<i>The same amount</i>	2	3	5	10/43

5. When deciding between two similar products, I choose the one labeled/certified as Fair Trade.

	<i>Nature's Fare</i>	<i>Urban Fare</i>	<i>Save-on Foods</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Always</i>	3/16	2/12	4/15	9/43
<i>Sometimes</i>	9	8	5	22/43
<i>Rarely</i>	3	2	4	9/43
<i>Never</i>	1	0	2	3/43

6. Please rank (1-6) the following considerations when purchasing a product at a grocery store:

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Brand	3	5	9	5	3	10
Cost	15	10	3	2	5	0
Fair Trade	1	2	3	5	11	12
On Sale	9	10	7	4	1	4
Organic	1	3	4	11	9	7
Local	7	5	9	5	6	2

7. This grocery store stocks _____ Fair Trade labeled/certified products.

	<i>Nature's Fare</i>	<i>Urban Fare</i>	<i>Save-on Foods</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>A great many</i>	4/15	3/12	3/15	10/42
<i>Just a few</i>	6	3	8	17/42
<i>No</i>	0	0	0	
<i>I don't know</i>	5	6	4	15/42

8. Please rank the order of prominence this store gives to these characteristics of products. (for instance, in the way the aisles and shelves are organized, products are marked, advertising, etc)

Rank	Sale Items	Fair Trade	Local	Organic
1	19	1	8	5
2	1	4	15	13
3	4	7	9	13
4	9	21	1	2

9. I verify the Fair Trade status of a product by (circle all that apply):

	# of time selected
a. Researching products and brands online or through other means	3
b. Relying upon a recognizable certification label on the product	29
c. whether or not the product or store advertises the product as fair trade	19
d. shopping at stores that only or primarily stock fair trade products	6
e. none of the above	5

10. It is easy to find Fair Trade products at Kelowna grocery stores?

	<i>Nature's Fare</i>	<i>Urban Fare</i>	<i>Save-on Foods</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>A</i>	2/15	2/13	2/12	6/40
<i>B</i>	8	4	6	18/40
<i>C</i>	3	3	3	9/40
<i>D</i>	2	4	1	7/40

- A) Yes, most grocery stores have well marked Fair Trade Products.
- B) Only if you know which stores to go to, as only some grocery stores stock Fair Trade products.
- C) Yes, but only for very few products.
- D) I have not noticed or only rarely notice products labeled as Fair Trade.

11. When a product has a Fair Trade certification label, I can be assured that (circle all that apply):

	<i>Nature's Fare</i>	<i>Urban Fare</i>	<i>Save-on Foods</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>A</i>	11/28	8/14	9/19	28/61
<i>B</i>	6	2	3	11/61
<i>C</i>	4	2	5	11/61
<i>D</i>	7	2	2	11/61

- A) Producers (e.g. farmers, labourers) have received a fair price for their produce and/or labour.
- B) That products have been produced in an ecologically sustainable manner.
- C) Producers have determined the price for their produce and/or labour.
- D) Farmers and labourers are protected by adequate safety and labour standards.

12. All fair trade labels and certifications mean the same thing.

	<i>Nature's Fare</i>	<i>Urban Fare</i>	<i>Save-on Foods</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Strongly Agree</i>	0/15	0/14	1/15	1/44
<i>Agree</i>	4	2	6	12/44
<i>Disagree</i>	3	3	2	8/44
<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	1	2	0	3/44
<i>Don't Know</i>	7	7	6	20/44

13. It is morally or ethically better to buy Fair Trade than non-Fair Trade.

	<i>Nature's Fare</i>	<i>Urban Fare</i>	<i>Save-on Foods</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Strongly Agree</i>	2/10	5/12	7/14	14/36
<i>Agree</i>	4	5	5	14/36
<i>Disagree</i>	1	1	1	3/36
<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	0	1	0	1/36
<i>No Opinion</i>	3	0	1	4/36

14. If you buy Fair Trade products sometimes or often, what are the main reasons you buy Fair Trade?

- because items I would normally purchase are marked fair trade
- I don't typically look out for fair trade products
- To feel better about what I'm spending my money on

Is it Fair? Do We Care?

- Fair work standards and fair pay
- Healthy and moral
- To feel good
- It looks good
- Sustainable living, farmers should not be taken advantage of
- Anti-big business
- I enjoy the product
- To feel good about the products I am buying knowing that they were produced ethically
- They are better for small farms
- Because I am shopping At choices market and they sell F/T bananas
- Because I am aware of the ethical issue surrounding non-fair trade products
- I don't buy it often enough to have a reason
- Because it means I am contributing to the fair treatment of the producers of the products
- Fair wages
- It's the right thing to do
- ethics

15. If you buy Fair Trade products sometimes or often, what products do you typically buy?

- coffee/chocolate
- coffee
- coffee/produce
- coffee
- coffee
- salt spring island coffee/ chocolate/ tea
- coffee
- coffee
- coffee
- coffee
- chocolate, coffee, tea
- coffee
- chocolate
- coffee, chocolate
- coffee
- chocolate
- coffee, tea
- coffee, chocolate
- chocolate, coffee
- chocolate, coffee

16. Are there any other products you wish were available as Fair Trade?

- bananas
- everything applicable
- more fruits and vegetables and bread
- sugars
- batteries
- nuts/chips/fruit
- pineapple
- you see a lot of organic products, but not fair trade as often
- brand name clothing
- I believe that everything should be produced to such ethical standards

SURVEY RESPONDER PROFILE (OPTIONAL)

17. Which age bracket do you fit into?

Under 18	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-59	60+
3	17	8	5	4	5

18. How would you classify your gender? _____

Male: 23 Female: 18

19. The Fair Trade label typically refers to products produced in the Global South (e.g. Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean). How would you characterize your experience in the Global South.

	<i>Nature's Fare</i>	<i>Urban Fare</i>	<i>Save-on Foods</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>A</i>	1/15	0/11	1/14	2/40
<i>B</i>	0	1	1	2/40
<i>C</i>	5	4	5	14/40
<i>D</i>	9	6	7	22/40

- A) I was born in and grew up in a country in the Global South.
- B) I have lived for an extended period in a country in the Global South.
- C) I have visited a country in the Global South.
- D) I have no personal experience in a country in the Global South.

20. Are you a frequent shopper at this grocery store? _____

Appendix E

Consent Forms

Interview Research Consent Form

Project Title: The Availability and Perceptions of Fair Trade Products in the Central Okanagan.

Introduction and Purpose:

My name is [student researcher name]. I am an *undergraduate student* at the University of British Columbia's Okanagan campus, enrolled in Cultural Studies 341 / English 341, taught by David Jefferess, Associate Professor of Critical Studies (250-807-9359; david.jefferess@ubc.ca). I would like to invite you to take part in my research study, which concerns the accessibility and perceptions of Fair Trade products in the Central Okanagan.

Use and Dissemination of Information provided in the Interview:

The information you provide will provide research material that *may* be used in the project. The final project will include a series of chapters reflecting the research of small research groups. In this case, our group seeks to interview merchants to assess the availability of Fair Trade products in [Insert category here: e.g. grocery stores] and to gain the perspectives of merchants on the value of and demand for Fair Trade certified products, and the efficacy of Fair Trade labeling. Our chapter will be submitted to the instructor of the course, Dr. David Jefferess, for evaluation, and *may* be presented in public events and/or made available to the general public online: for instance, as part of an online publication, in the form of a pdf available on the UBC Okanagan campus' Cultural Studies program website.

Study Procedures:

If you choose to participate, you will be asked a few questions related to the issue to the availability and demand for Fair Trade certified products in your business. You are welcome to share ideas or provide information beyond that requested in the questions.

The interview should not take more than 30 to 45 minutes to complete, and the researcher may take notes or audio-record the conversation (with your permission). If you choose to allow the researcher to audio-record the conversation, the recording will only be used by the student researcher and instructor. The student researcher will keep notes/recordings on a password protected personal computer and will transfer this material to the Instructor at the completion of the project and delete/destroy their copies. The Instructor will secure all interview material in a locked desk drawer in his university office and the interview will be deleted/destroyed six months after the end of term, 15 December 2014, as per UBC research ethics regulations.

Potential Risk:

The primary risk to you personally may be if your opinions are construed as those of your employer, or if you perceive that the information you provide may not reflect positively on your employer. Unless you wish for your store and name to be identified, the student research will **not** identify you or provide information that will clearly identify your place of employment. You will have the opportunity to review the final report to ensure to your satisfaction that your anonymity is maintained.

Potential Benefits:

There is no direct benefit to you for taking part in the study. It is hoped, however, that this research will precipitate contribute to public awareness of the complex issues related to Fair Trade.

Confidentiality:

The information and opinions that you share may be presented publicly, either in a public event or in an online publication. If you have any discomfort about sharing this information publicly, you may decline to answer questions, request that the ideas you express be presented confidentially (for instance, without any indication of your identity), or request that the information you provide not be used in the research project. If you are willing to be identified in the research report, or if you are not and want to ensure that the report provides no indication that would likely make your identity known, you will be given the opportunity to view/read the project *before* it is submitted to the course instructor for evaluation, and will be asked to provide consent to the way your ideas or opinions are presented in the project.

Should you reconsider your consent after the completion of the project, you can provide written notice to UBC at any time requesting that the project be removed from public (i.e. online) access. You should understand, however, that once the project is made available online, it may be viewed, copied, or distributed, and the removal of the project from UBC's website cannot ensure that it is no longer available to the public.

Student researchers will keep all interview notes and recordings strictly confidential, and the instructor will secure the material until it can be destroyed, as per UBC research ethics regulations.

Your contact information is requested (phone and/or email) to ensure that the student researcher can contact you to invite you to review the final project before its submission.

Remuneration/Compensation:

You will not be paid for taking part in this study.

Contact for information about the study:

If you have any questions or desire further information with respect to this study, you may contact Dr. David Jefferess (250-807-9359; david.jefferess@ubc.ca)

Contact for concerns about the rights of research subjects:

If you have any concerns about your rights as research subject and/or your experiences while participating in this study, you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 1-877-822-8598 or the UBC Okanagan Research Services Office at 250-807-8832. It is also possible to contact the Research Subject Information Line by email (RSIL@ors.ubc.ca <mailto:RSIL@ors.ubc.ca>).

Consent:

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time.

Your signature indicates that you are 18 years old or older and have read this consent form and have received a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Is it Fair? Do We Care?

Your signature indicates that you consent to participate in this interview and to have the interview audio-recorded.

To be completed at the time of the interview.

Name of Participant (Print Clearly): _____ Date: _____

Signature of Participant (Must be 18 years old or older): X _____

Contact Phone # _____ Email: _____

I request that my identity NOT be disclosed in the presentation of this research: X _____

I am willing to have my name and/or place of employment (please circle) in the report:

X _____

Consent for information provided in interview to be publicly disseminated.

I, _____, have read/viewed the project by [student researcher] and consent / do not consent (Please Circle) to the project being presented in public and online, should the instructor choose this project for public dissemination.

Signature of Participant (Must be 18 years old or older): _____

Date: _____

I, _____, decline the opportunity to read/view the project by [student researcher] and consent to the project being presented in public and online.

Signature of Participant (Must be 18 years old or older): _____

Date: _____

Survey Consent Form

Study Title: The Availability and Perceptions of Fair Trade Products in the Central Okanagan

Study Team: Principal Investigator: David Jefferess, PhD, Department of Critical Studies, University of British Columbia Okanagan campus. Email: david.jefferess@ubc.ca. Phone: 250-807-9359.

Student Researchers: (List names)

Introduction and Purpose: *Why are we doing this study?*

We want to learn more about consumer perceptions of the availability of Fair Trade products, the ethics of the production and consumption of consumer products, and especially food and drink products. The purpose of this survey questionnaire is to gather information about consumer demand for and perceptions of Fair Trade labeling.

Study Procedures: *What happens you agree to complete the questionnaire?*

You will be asked to complete a 10-minute questionnaire. Your participation is entirely voluntary, and should you decide to respond to the questionnaire, you may decide not to complete it or submit it any time, discarding or keeping it. Should you complete it, you will return it to the student. You will not be asked for your name or any information that will identify you individually.

Study Result: *What will happen to the information provided in the questionnaire?*

Student researchers will compile the results of the questionnaires at the various sites where the survey is being conducted, and they will assess this information to make claims about consumer perceptions of Fair Trade. They will communicate this information in a chapter that will be submitted to their Instructor, Dr. David Jefferess, for evaluation as course assignment, and that will be included in an online publication. The publication will be made available on the UBC website in January 2015.

Potential Risks of the Study

We do not think there is anything in this questionnaire that could be harmful to you. Please let a member of the research team know if you have any concerns, and feel free to decide not to complete or return the questionnaire.

Potential Benefits of the Study

We do not think that taking part in this study will benefit you personally; however, the research will be available to the general public and may foster greater awareness or knowledge of Fair Trade and Fair Trade labeling.

Confidentiality:

The questionnaire does not ask for your name or any other information that may identify you.

Payment

We will not pay you or compensate you in any other way for the time you take to complete this questionnaire.

Contact for information about the study:

If you have any questions or desire further information with respect to this study, you may contact Dr. David Jefferess (250-807-9359; david.jefferess@ubc.ca)

Contact for complaints:

If you have any concerns about this study, your treatment by the researchers, or your rights as a research subject you may contact the Research Subject Information Line in the UBC Office of Research Services at 1-877-822-8598 or the UBC Okanagan Research Services Office at 250-807-8832. It is also possible to contact the Research Subject Information Line by email (RSIL@ors.ubc.ca).

Consent:

Taking part in this study is entirely up to you. You have the right to refuse to take part and you can decide not to complete or return the questionnaire. If the questionnaire is submitted, it will be assumed that consent has been given.

Appendix F

Interview Questions

Coffee Shop Interview Questions

1. Does your store carry products certified as Fair Trade? Are you aware that there are different certification organizations?
2. If so...
 - a. What certification organizations? Does your store choose to stock products from some certification organizations and not others?
 - b. What products does your store carry?
3. If not, or if few, what are the reasons for not carrying Fair Trade certified products?
4. Are there any products that you carry that are only available as Fair Trade certified/labeled? If so, which ones.
5. Over the past 5-10 years, has your store increased or decreased the number of Fair Trade products it carries?
6. How do you advertise Fair Trade products in store and in other advertising mediums?
7. How many Fair Trade products have been introduced in your store as a result of customer requests?
8. Based on purchasing statistics and on specific customer requests, how would you characterize customer demand for Fair Trade over time (the past 5-10 years) and in relation to Organic or Local products?
9. Do you anticipate that your store will carry more, the same, or less Fair Trade products in the next 5 years? What are some of the reasons for this?
10. How would you rate your knowledge on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being very minimally knowledgeable and 5 being extremely knowledgeable) on Fairtrade products and practices?

Grocery Store Interview Questions

Interview Questions

1. Does your store carry products certified as Fair Trade?
2. If so...
 - a. What certification organizations? Does your store choose to stock products from some certification organizations and not others?
 - b. What products does your store carry?
2. If not, or if few, what are the reasons for not carrying Fair Trade certified products?
4. Are there any products that you carry that are only available as Fair Trade certified/labeled? If so, which ones?
5. Over the past 5-10 years, has your store increased or decreased the number of Fair Trade products it carries?
6. How do you advertise Fair Trade products in store and in other advertising?
7. How many Fair Trade products have been introduced in your store as a result of customer requests?
8. Based on purchasing statistics and on specific customer requests, how would you characterize customer demand for Fair Trade over time (the past 5-10 years) and in relation to Organic or Local products?
9. Do you anticipate that your store will carry more, the same, or less Fair Trade products in the next 5 years? What are some of the reasons for this?
10. Do you believe that consumers buy with Fair Trade in mind?
11. Is that how you choose which products you will supply then, with consumer demand?
12. How do you choose which items you will carry as fair trade?
13. Do you have any Canadian Fair Trade items?
14. Do you notice a difference in consumers buying Fair Trade items?
15. Is there a difference between people buying the fair trade coffee beans versus the regular coffee beans? Difference in sales?
16. Do you have a rough stat for sales in non-trade items vs regular items?
17. What's your favourite fair trade item?