NEGOTIATING FAIRNESS: A FEMINIST POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF FAIR TRADE AND ORGANIC COFFEE PRODUCTION IN MINAS GERAIS, BRAZIL

By

Rebecca Mari Meuninck

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Anthropology–Doctor of Philosophy

2017

ABSTRACT

NEGOTIATING FAIRNESS: A FEMINIST POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF FAIR TRADE AND ORGANIC COFFEE PRODUCTION IN MINAS GERAIS, BRAZIL

By

Rebecca Mari Meuninck

This dissertation uses a feminist political ecology approach to explore the "fairness" of Fair Trade certification. I do this by examining the gendered social, economic, and environmental impacts of Fair Trade at COOPFAM, a Fair Trade and organic certified coffee cooperative in Minas Gerais, Brazil. Fair Trade is a third-party certification system that attempts to address social and economic inequalities facing small-scale coffee farmers, through floor prices and social development premiums. In return, it requires equitable labor practices, adherence to environmental standards, and freedom of association and democratic decision-making within cooperatives. Fair Trade has grown over the past two decades, due to the liberalization of global coffee markets, and an evolution of consumers' desires which favor more socially and environmentally just coffees. In light of this growth, it is critical to ask, how "fair" is Fair Trade, is it equally fair for all farmers, and how do farmers perceive "fairness"?

I use multi-sited ethnographic techniques to explore the "fairness" of Fair Trade; I followed the "thing" (coffee), and "the discourse" (the negotiation of fairness) along COOPFAM's international supply chain (Marcus 1995). I conducted interviews with and participant observation among Brazilian Fair Trade farmers and cooperative administrators, as well as foreign coffee buyers, Fair Trade activists, and certifiers. I then analyze the power dynamics in the Fair Trade system at the local level in homes, at the meso level at the cooperative, and at the macro level with their international partners.

I argue that Fair Trade is advantageous for COOPFAM and her farmers, because of the assets they leveraged to overcome the common barriers that have stymied other cooperatives and farmers from obtaining Fair Trade and organic certification. Through Fair Trade, COOPFAM farmers enjoy access to international markets and networks of actors in the supply chain that connect the cooperative with social and economic programs. Moreover, Fair Trade provides an economic safety net for the farmers and the cooperative to experiment with novel production practices, technologies, and emerging certification systems. However, through an examination of COOPFAM's experimentation with new certification systems, the challenges of applying global standards to coffee production surface. Standards, first created to meet the needs of farmers in one locale and the desires of consumers in foreign lands, do not always translate well to other cultures and modes of production. Farmers and cooperatives negotiate these standards with buyers and certifiers, but they are on unequal footing.

By examining Fair Trade through a gendered lens, we can see that the system is fairer for some farmers than it is for others. Poorer farmers, those who live far away from the cooperative, unmarried women, and widows are not as well served by the cooperative and may struggle to produce enough high-quality coffee to support their families. My exploration of farmers' livelihood strategies shows that Fair Trade coffee production alone is not sufficient to sustain farming families. Rather, COOPFAM's success and the sustainability of Fair Trade as a production system are reliant on farming families' diversity of livelihood strategies and continual innovation to improve coffee quality.

This dissertation is dedicated to extraordinary farming families of COOPFAM
who welcomed me into their homes, shared with me their love of the land,
and demonstrated their dedication to their craft

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am immensely grateful for the guidance and support I received from my dissertation committee. My advisor, Laurie Medina, always challenged me to dig deeper into my analysis, and supported my return to work after completing my fieldwork. Anne Ferguson has mentored me academically and professionally for many years through my work with her at the Center for Gender in Global Context. You have both been with me since the beginning and I am so thankful for that. To Lucero Radonic and Paulette Stenzel, thank you for your willingness to jump into this process toward the end and see this dissertation come to fruition. Respectively, you have pushed me to improve my feminist analysis and better situate my research within the literature on Fair Trade. My dissertation also bares the intellectual marks of former committee members, no longer at Michigan State University, William Derman, Antoinette WinklerPrins, and Daniel Jaffee, who all helped me shape my research objectives before I began my fieldwork.

My dissertation was made possible by generous funding from many sources, including: U.S. Dept. of Education Foreign Language Area Studies Fellowships; a Tinker Field Research Grant; a MSU International Studies and Programs Pre-dissertation Research Grant; Gender, Justice, and Environmental Change Dissertation Fellowship; Cal Rapson UAW Fellowships; and a U.S. Dept. of Education Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Award.

There would be no dissertation without the support and collaboration of my friends at COOPFAM. You shared your stories about farming and Fair Trade with me and I hope I can do justice by them. I am eternally grateful for your partnership and I look forward to continuing to work with you to make the Fair Trade system fairer for farming families like yours.

I received a tremendous amount of help in completing this dissertation. Ana Lúcia Oliviera did an excellent job in transcribing my interviews, while Jeremy Caves helped me

traverse the muddy and often treacherous roads from coffee farm to coffee farm. Rafaella Aquino and Ernesto Serenini, and Lucrecia, Bruno, and Joyce Souza welcomed me into Poço Fundo and made it my home. Adrianne Daggett created a beautiful map of the cities across Sul de Minas where COOPFAM farmers live. The writing of this dissertation was fueled by the baristas at Mighty Good and RoosRoast who served me countless cups of Fair Trade coffee.

My friends and colleagues have fostered an intellectually stimulating and supportive environment for me. I am especially grateful for my graduate school writing group partners including Anna Jefferson, Rowenn Kalman, Tazin Karim, Fredy Rodriquez-Mejia, and Heather Yocum. My colleagues at the Ecology Center have supported my dissertation work and provided me the time and space to finish. You are an extraordinary group of activists. Special recognition is due for my best friends Alexis Blizman and Hillary Greenwood for a tremendous amount of emotional support, working alongside me, and providing so many lovely distractions.

To the children in my life, Sierra Caves and Roman Wing, it is a joy and a privilege to help raise both of you. Sierra you came with us to Brazil and became, quite possibly, the most popular little girl in Poço Fundo. You are so fearless! Roman, your curiosity and love for languages and other cultures makes me think that you might just be the next Ph.D. in this family. And of course, there is Diesel, thank you for all of the walks!

To my partner and muse, Colin Wing, you have always believed that I would finish this journey, even when I had doubts. Without your support, laughter, and encouragement this would not have been possible. Finally, my parents, Jill and Jim Meuninck, you truly believe that I can do anything in the world. Your confidence in me is humbling. You taught me how to be a citizen of the world and a scholar of humanity. Thank you for teaching me to love and appreciate other cultures, other languages, and the natural world.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter One: Introduction

I. Introduction

It's hot in Houston as I walk up to the George R. Brown Convention Center. I'm hit with a blast of cool air as I enter the glass doors of the center. I'm here for the 2011 Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA) convention. It's the first time in a year and a half that I'll get to see anyone from Poço Fundo. The SCAA meeting sprawls out over a huge convention center, where thousands of coffee buyers, roasters, importers, exporters, farmers, and every other conceivable profession within the specialty coffee industry are attending lectures, peddling their wares, and meeting to make business deals. But I'm there to see just two people, in particular, Renato Pereira da Silva and Marcelo de Paiva Gonçalves. Renato and Marcelo both play important roles in the story of Fair Trade in Poço Fundo. I met them both in 2009 when Renato was the part-time agronomist working with the Cooperativa dos Agricultores Familiares de Poço Fundo e Região (COOPFAM), and Marcelo was a young farmer and the internal organic auditor for the cooperative. Both men had studied agronomy in Sul de Minas region of Minas Gerais, Brazil and are passionate about Fair Trade and organic farming.

A year and a half has passed, and there have been some significant changes at COOPFAM. Renato is no longer with COOPFAM but instead is working with another cooperative just getting established in Fair Trade and organic production. Marcelo is the new president of COOPFAM since the cooperative's November 2009 election. The former president, Luis Adauto Oliveira, has left the cooperative. At the SCAAs I will catch up on what has transpired at the cooperative over the last eighteen months and learn even more about the numerous actors that the cooperative works with in the Fair Trade system.

Fair Trade is a transnational advocacy network[1] full of different actors with a myriad of perceptions, ideals, motivations, and priorities concerning Fair Trade. In the case of COOPFAM, many different actors play a role in shaping their transnational advocacy network. These include students and Fair Trade activists from the United States and Europe, coffee buyers and roasters from at least four continents, farming families, cooperative staff and administrators, certification organizations and their auditors, non-governmental organizations (NGO), transnational corporations, governmental ministries, banks, importers and exporters, and scholars from all over the world.

Just walking around the SCAAs with Marcelo is a tour of this network. We meet with coffee buyers and importers, both large and small. We sip Fair Trade wine with Fair Trade USA staff, Ben Corey-Moran from Thanksgiving Coffee, and staff from Root Capital, a non-profit social investment fund that helps to provide pre-financing to cooperatives like COOPFAM. Then there's the team from Café Femenino and the International Women's Coffee Association with their particular focus on empowering women coffee farmers. Finally, there is an ever-expanding group of Brazilian Fair Trade cooperative presidents, which has grown over the course of my involvement with COOPFAM. All of these groups and many more shape the meaning and impact of Fair Trade for farming families in Poço Fundo, Minas Gerais.

Over the course of the three-day event, I accompanied Marcelo on many of his business meetings acting as an English/Portuguese interpreter for him and his clients. One of those meetings was with Dustin Johnson from Organic Products Trading Company (OPTCO) and Connie Kolosvary from their sister organization Café Femenino. I had met Dustin and Connie back in Poço Fundo in 2009 on their first ever visit to COOPFAM. Our conversation started off

[1] I draw on Keck and Sikkink's (1998) definition of Transnational Advocacy Networks as networks of activists, in multiple countries that share certain principles or motivations to advocate together across borders.

with Dustin saying that OPTCO was interested in buying two shipping containers and possibly a third of dual certified Fair Trade and organic coffee this year. Marcelo confirmed that they could sell them up to three containers that year and they could write up the contract right away. Dustin asked for Marcelo to let him know immediately if there were going to be any problems or delays with the shipment since last year's container arrived late. Marcelo apologized and said it was late because their export certification had accidentally lapsed in 2010 after a full turnover of the cooperative's administration and staff. He assured Dustin that it was now taken care of and their certification was all set until 2014.

At that point, our conversation turned to COOPFAM's challenges in meeting the production requirements of the Café Femenino program. Connie began to detail all of the problems they encountered over the past year and a half. These included the cooperative not properly separating the Café Femenino coffee from the other coffee; the premiums not reaching the women promptly; the fact that the current women's group at COOPFAM was not clearly defined as a Café Femenino group; and numerous other communications problems between the cooperative and Café Femenino. For Connie, the last straw was in late 2009 when the cooperative sent two identical samples of coffee to OPTCO and Café Femenino. This confirmed her suspicions that the coffee was not being separated and was not 100% produced by women farmers at COOPFAM. Marcelo sheepishly apologized for all of the problems. He asked Connie a few clarifying questions about the program, and admitted not knowing that much about it. He said he would have to reach out and talk to the women farmers themselves to see if there was interest in trying to participate again. Connie expressed her frustration that they had already gone over all of this with the cooperative. I reminded her that the cooperative now was under an

entirely new set of administrators and that Marcelo, as the new president, was not aware of all of the conversations that had occurred with his predecessor Adauto[2].

Marcelo assured Connie and Dustin that the cooperative was very committed to women's development and empowerment. Connie asked if there were enough women in the cooperative who might participate under their standards. Marcelo and I chatted a bit and thought that there might be five or six women who already produced their own coffee, and would likely be interested in the program and could produce about 100 sacks (60kg/sack) of coffee. In passing, I mentioned that some of these women were unmarried or widowed and that the Café Femenino premium would be especially helpful for them. Dustin confirmed that 100 sacks would be enough to participate, while Connie commented that they would only have single women and widows enrolled in the program. I chose not to translate her comment back to Marcelo. Instead, I responded to Connie that there were, in fact, a few married women at COOPFAM who produced small lots of coffee on their own. I stressed that this was a tough job for any one person to accomplish in the Brazilian context given the tremendous amount of work done both on the farm and the drying patios to produce high quality, dual certified coffee. The rather tense conversation ended on an amicable note with Marcelo confirming that he would reach out to the women in the cooperative to gauge interest in participating in the program again. Connie suggested that they could put together a list of the Café Femenino standards in photo form to share with the women to explain the program. Marcelo thanked Connie and Dustin for their time and a second chance to work with them through the Café Femenino program.

Marcelo's interaction with the representatives from Café Femenino is a snapshot of some of the power dynamics at play in the global Fair Trade coffee supply chain. Farmer-administrators like Marcelo have to negotiate the terms of their cooperatives' contracts with

[2] Luis Adauto Oliviera was the president of COOPFAM from 2002-2009.

coffee buyers on uneven grounds. That is, the buyers and certifiers in the Fair Trade supply chain set the standards that the farmers and cooperatives must meet. Through these interactions, the different actors in the supply chain negotiate the "fairness" of the Fair Trade system. Certifications, like the Café Femenino program introduced above, can provide farmers and cooperative with new opportunities but those opportunities do not always fit well with the culture, production practices, and life ways of coffee farmers in Brazil.

When I was in Brazil in 2009, I visited Marcelo and his family to learn more about their farm and their commitment to Fair Trade principles. The Gonçalves's family and their farm are typical at COOPFAM. Marcelo is unmarried, so he continues to live with his parents. Marcelo's father, Messias, explained that his family had been farming coffee for four generations. Messias's great grandfather used to work on a large local *fazenda* (plantation), where he eventually saved up enough money to buy the land. As one generation replaced the other, the parcels of land passed down from father to son became smaller and smaller, resulting in the small land holdings he and his sons have today. Messias explained that his father's side of the family was Portuguese and his mother's side had French and possibly African heritage.

Marcelo has three brothers and a sister. Like many families at COOPFAM, some of the Gonçalves siblings produce coffee, and some have pursued careers outside of agricultural production. Marcelo's two brothers who are also coffee farmers, Marcílio and Marco, are both married and each has two children. Their two other siblings both lived and worked abroad in Ireland, and then moved back to other parts of Brazil. During my time in the field, I would come to know many families within COOPFAM specifically and in the city of Poço Fundo generally who had relatives migrate to other countries or regions of Brazil for work.

Regarding their coffee production, the Gonçalves brothers own slightly smaller than average amount of land under coffee production at COOPFAM. Each of the three coffee-farming brothers works 2.4 hectares of coffee. According COOPFAM's 2011 production database, the average amount of land in coffee production is 3.4 hectares, and the average size of all land holdings is eight hectares. The small size of farms at COOPFAM is in stark contrast to some of the largest coffee plantations in the world, owned by Ipanema Coffees, just a thirty-minute drive north of Poço Fundo.

The Gonçalves family's commitment to sustainability and producing high-quality coffee is exemplary of farmers at COOPFAM. To produce high-quality coffee in large quantities, the Gonçalves's invest a tremendous amount of labor adding organic inputs into the soil and meticulously caring for their coffee plants and cherries throughout the production process. Marcelo took us around his farm showing us *mamona* or castor bean plants that he uses as a green fertilizer to fix nitrogen in the soil. He showed us a colony of ants who nurture a white fungus that helps to break down organic material for the coffee plants to provide many of the forty-six nutrients and micronutrients the plants need to thrive.

Eventually, we came across Marcílio and his wife Flavia harvesting coffee together in their coffee field. Flavia's brother joined the couple. He swaps labor with his in laws during the harvest, a labor practice on which many farmers at COOPFAM rely. The trio was using a device called a *derriçadeira de café* that has little vibrating fingers that knock ripe coffee cherries off the branches to fall onto the tarp spread below each row of coffee bushes. That day they harvested fifteen sacks of cherries, which will yield approximately two 60 kg sacks of green coffee beans. They will continue to harvest for about four months then will spend seven months applying fertilizer, removing weeds and caring for the coffee plants. During the harvest, all seven

of the Gonçalves's work 12-hour days, six days a week out in the coffee fields and on the *terreiros* or coffee drying patios. They explained that they do not have the luxury to take month long vacations like people do in the city. They hire no outside workers and only rely on the labor swap with Flavia's brother.

COOPFAM and its farmer-members were pioneers regarding Fair Trade certification in Brazil. They were the first Fair Trade certified cooperative in Brazil, the first to produce dual organic and Fair Trade certified coffee, and the first Brazilian Fair Trade cooperative to become a licensed Fair Trade exporter. That pioneering spirit continues today through their experimentation with emerging certification systems and production practices. These factors made COOPFAM an ideal place to study how farmers and cooperatives leverage Fair Trade to improve their livelihoods. Fair Trade has provided the farmers at COOPFAM with a structure within which to experiment with new production paradigms that may bring in additional financial or social benefits for the farmers. In many ways, the Fair Trade system is working well for farmers at COOPFAM, something that is not necessarily common in the literature on Fair Trade production. This success and the farmers and cooperative's experimentation with new systems made it an ideal cooperative to study the continual negotiation of Fair Trade and other certification systems standards and practices. The lives of the farmers at COOPFAM are very different from many of the actors along the Fair Trade supply and value chains. As a result, their perceptions of the fairness of the Fair Trade differ as well. Farmers at COOPFAM literally negotiate the terms of their coffee contracts and figuratively negotiate the terms of their relationships and the meaning of fairness with Fair Trade supply chain actors like certifiers and

coffee buyers. These negotiations are a frictional space[3] where farmers, buyers, certifiers and others try to reach a consensus where all parties can live with the terms, even if they are not the best possible scenarios for each party. For Marcelo and his family, Fair Trade provides a mechanism for them to produce coffee in a sustainable way that aligns with their values of environmental stewardship, gives them market access, and additional income for their coffee production.

II. Research Questions and Approach

I draw my research questions from an examination of the rhetoric about the aims of the Fair Trade paradigm and the challenges and tensions cited by Fair Trade activists and scholars studying the impact of Fair Trade certification and production. I put these bodies of literature and advocacy into conversation with initial pre-dissertation research at COOPFAM, which indicated that farmers at this cooperative had a more favorable view of Fair Trade and its benefits than cited elsewhere.

A. Research Questions

In this dissertation, I address, how "fair" farmers at COOPFAM think Fair Trade is. Fairness is arguably a subjective measure by which to judge a system. For this dissertation, a fair system is one that has measurable positive social, economic, or environmental benefits. Regardless of gender, race, age, marital status, or ability, these impacts should be equitably shared. These benefits must also outweigh potential negative aspects of the system such as additional labor burdens to meet the standards. It also allows for constructive discourse and

[3] The concept of "friction" here refers to Tsing's (2005) approach to exploring global connection and the contested construction of universal concepts, by exploring "friction," or "the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference" (4).

democratic change of the systems by all actors in it. Finally, the actors engaged in the system must perceive it as fair.

It is important to explore how "fair" Fair Trade is because of its continued market growth, and the primacy of Fair Trade certified coffee in the minds of consumers, as well as the expansion of Fair Trade certification to new commodities and products. Fair Trade International's 2015-16 annual report highlights some of the financial impacts of Fair Trade including 7.3 billion Euros of total global sales of Fair Trade certified products, produced by approximately 1.6 million farmers and workers (FLO 2016). Coffee continues to be the most well know Fair Trade certified product, and sales of Fair Trade coffee grew by eighteen percent in 2015. Moreover, dual Fair Trade and organic certifications continue to be the dominant paradigm for fifty-nine percent of Fair Trade coffee farmers worldwide (FLO 2016). It is likely that Fair Trade and similar certification systems will continue to be critical market access and price stabilization tools for many farmers if conventional global trade systems continue to eschew regulation, price fixing, and production quotas. These factors illustrate the continuing importance of systems such as Fair Trade to examine their impacts on certified producers.

The following research questions inform my analysis of how “fair” farmers at COOPFAM think Fair Trade is. What economic, social and environmental impacts of Fair Trade do farmers at COOPFAM identify? How are conceptions of “fairness” constructed and contested by both men and women at the home, farm, and cooperative levels? What changes, if any, would they like to see to make Fair Trade more equitable? What are the gendered social and economic impacts of Fair Trade coffee production at the household, farm, and cooperative levels? How well do the gender-based principles of Fair Trade organizations translate to the social reality of coffee farmers? Do women and men exert differential control over resources and labor

arrangements, and has control over labor and resources changed since the cooperative became Fair Trade-certified? And finally, might potentially different gendered impacts of Fair Trade differentially affect men and women's discourses of "fairness" and perceptions of Fair Trade?

To examine the "fairness" of Fair Trade, I used a feminist political ecology approach to study the power dynamics at play at the local, national, and international levels in the Fair Trade and organic coffee systems. Drawing on feminist political ecology, I assume that gendered difference likely exists regarding farmers' perceptions of Fair Trade and their access to the benefits offered through the production of Fair Trade coffee. I explore whether concepts of "fairness," and perceptions of Fair Trade differ between women and men farmers and if farmers try to reach a consensus about the meaning of fairness within homes or at the cooperative level. I examine the degree to which, farmers' discourses of fairness and Fair Trade differ from those expressed by Fair Trade activists, certification organizations, and the roasters and corporations that purchase Fair Trade coffee. I explore these questions to see if divergent meanings of "fairness" provide the necessary flexibility to keep the Fair Trade system together and enable it to function in different geographic and social contexts.

B. Approaches

To address these research questions I draw on two approaches, feminist political ecology and multi-sited ethnography, that lend themselves well to studying international systems such as Fair Trade. By combining feminist political ecology with a multi-sited ethnographic approach, I was able to study Fair Trade as a transnational environmental and social movement. While political ecology focuses on how international institutions affect local environmental change, it is not often the case that these institutions are themselves an object of study. By incorporating

multi-sited research among US-based activists, coffee buyers, and certification organizations, I garnered a more holistic perspective on the influences these groups have on farmers' lives and the Fair Trade system.

Feminist Political Ecology

Feminist political ecology offers a theoretical framework to address questions about the historical, economic, environmental, and political factors that led to the need for institutions such as Fair Trade. In Chapter Three of this dissertation, I examine the history of coffee production in Brazil, and the evolution of how labor was deployed to produce coffee. I put this into context with an exploration of state interventions in the Brazilian and global coffee markets, and the political, economic, and environmental events that led up to the most recent coffee crisis in the early 2000s. A time when the market price for coffee plummeted, and coffee producers increasingly sought out alternative markets, such as Fair Trade, for their coffee. Furthermore, I explore the local historical context, which led to the formation of COOPFAM, the farmers' pursuit of third-party certification, and their commitment to sustainable agricultural practices.

This study also addresses the gendered social, economic and environmental impacts of Fair Trade at the home, farm, and cooperative levels. Feminist political ecologists have demonstrated that men and women are differentially affected by environmental change, and environmental degradation more negatively affects women than men (Jackson 1993; Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 1996; Schroder 1999). Given these assumptions, I examine farming families livelihood strategies, participation in democratic structures, and division of labor on the farms through a gendered lens. Feminist political ecology scholarship highlights the importance of scale at a more intimate level, such as the home (Christie 2008); and the

interconnections of intimate scales to others like national or international scales (Elmhirst 2011; Nightingale 2011; Truelove 2011). I pay close attention to livelihoods at an intimate level by exploring women's work in producing food, caring for family, and community and how this work relates to the international Fair Trade system.

Political ecologists define the 'environment' in varying ways, from describing a particular biophysical space or phenomenon or element to describing humans interactions with and management of the plants, animals, and geological features they live in and around (Paulson, Gezon, Watts 2004; Peluso and Watts 2001; Robbins 2004). Building on the assumption that the biophysical environment matters, I explored farmers' management of the ecosystems in and around their farms. Furthermore, I looked at how the environmental exigencies of Fair Trade and organic coffee production were understood and ultimately met by farming families.

Moreover, the feminist political ecology approach led me to look at how power dynamics at the local, national, and international level affects the lives of both men and women coffee farmers. For example, at the international level how do global market forces such as commodity prices, or currency values affect the amount of money that farming families earn for their coffee. At the national level, how has the entry of newly Fair Trade certified cooperatives impacted the market for established Fair Trade cooperatives' coffee, and how have large corporations like Walmart's entry into Fair Trade expanded and changed both the market for and production of Fair Trade coffee in Brazil. At the local level, farmers' positions within the cooperative hierarchy and their gender affect their access to cooperative decision-making mechanisms. At the family level, a coffee buyer's attention to gender equity may bring up tensions between men and women about farming practices or how they make household decisions. I use a feminist political ecology

approach to investigate the multiple levels of power at play within farmers' homes, the cooperatives, and Fair Trade certification organizations.

Multi-sited Ethnographic Research

A multi-sited ethnographic approach provides useful techniques to study globalization through ethnography. Marcus (1995) focuses on multi-sited research, and states, "multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography" (105). He provides several techniques to construct a multi-sited ethnography. I use two of these tactics for my dissertation research: "follow the thing" and "follow the metaphor" (Marcus 1995). I first "follow the thing" – Brazilian Fair Trade coffee — from Fair Trade certified farms and cooperatives in Minas Gerais, Brazil to various US-based coffee buyers including importers, roasters, and retailers. In addition to "following" the coffee, I "follow the metaphor" by following discourses of the fairness of Fair Trade from activist groups to national coalitions and conferences of Fair Trade activists and actors in the specialty coffee supply chain. I also "follow" the discourse of Fair Trade between scholarly conversations on the tensions and challenges in the Fair Trade system to contentious discourses between small-scale coffee roasting companies, Fair Trade activists, Fair Trade certification organizations, corporations entering the Fair Trade system, and farmers. By "following" the coffee and the discourses of Fair Trade, I have constructed a multi-sited ethnography of Fair Trade to explore the gendered discourses of "fairness" and impacts of Fair Trade on Brazilian farmers and cooperatives, and US Fair Trade activists, businesses, and certification organizations.

III. Synopsis of the Dissertation Chapters

This dissertation studies the "fairness" Fair Trade by examining the power dynamics at play at the local, national, and international levels in the Fair Trade and organic coffee systems and their resultant impacts on small-scale coffee farmers at COOPFAM. It is organized as follows: In Chapter Two, I explore the Fair Trade supply and value chains and the literature regarding the tensions between various actors within these networks. I also explore the literature on the gendered and environmental impacts of Fair Trade.

In Chapter Three, I take the reader to the coffee lands of Brazil to examine the history of coffee production there. I then summarize the evolution of state-sponsored production paradigms starting with slavery in the late eighteenth century, then the move to the *colonato* system and sharecropping after slavery's abolition, and finally the move to wage labor and increasing smallholder production in the 1960s. From the national level, we move down to an agro-environmental history of Poço Fundo where COOPFAM is located. In this chapter, I show the set of historical, environmental, and social factors that set COOPFAM up for successful participation in the Fair Trade system.

We stay on the farm in Poço Fundo for Chapter Four. This chapter lays out the multiple livelihood strategies farming families engage in to sustain themselves and their families at the cooperative. This chapter also delves into the gendered division of labor for these Fair Trade farmers and takes a critical look at the additional work necessary to produce coffee that meets Fair Trade and organic coffee quality and sustainability criteria. In this chapter, I lay out the tremendous amount of labor that is necessary to produce a cup of high quality, dual-certified coffee and how farming families at COOPFAM have set up a gendered division of labor to ensure their coffee meets the quality and environmental exigencies of the export market.

Chapter Five moves from the farm and home up to the cooperative itself. I explore how COOPFAM accessed Fair Trade certification by using various assets to overcome certain barriers to entering the system. These barriers are discussed extensively in the academic literature on Fair Trade. The chapter details many of the benefits that farmers have been able to access either as a direct result of Fair Trade participation or as a consequence of the increased access to networks opened up by Fair Trade and organic systems. In this chapter, I explore how farmers use the stability and market access provided by Fair Trade to experiment with different production practices, employ technological innovations, and explore niche certification to improve their coffee production continually.

In Chapter Six, I focus on economic factors, including global economic factors that impact how much money the farmers earn for their coffee. This chapter takes a global perspective to examine how transnational factors such as commodity prices, currency values, and a changing international Fair Trade system impact the price that farmers earn for their coffee. This chapter shows that the price that farmers bring home for their Fair Trade certified coffee is still very linked to global market forces. While Fair Trade provides a floor price under which the price of coffee cannot fall, the system does not create a price ceiling. Given the right circumstances, farmers like those at COOPFAM can earn far more for their coffee than the base price offered through Fair Trade.

There are several other sub-themes in this dissertation, including gender and the environment. Gender comes up in Chapter Four regarding looking at the gendered division of labor on farms. Gender also comes up when I discuss participation in the cooperative and the need for farmers' participation to access and maintain Fair Trade certification. Gendered tensions are also considered in Chapter Five when I discuss the Café Femenino program and the tensions

that arise between Café Femenino, the cooperative and the women's group. The environment is a major part of Chapter Three when I discuss the ecological and agricultural history of Brazilian coffee production generally and in the municipality of Poço Fundo specifically. The environment also is a fundamental factor in Chapter Five because of the various environmental standards that farmers have to meet to obtain and maintain Fair Trade and organic certification.

IV. Contributions to the Literature

This dissertation contributes to the growing body of literature on Fair Trade and other third-party certification systems in several ways. First, it offers an in-depth look at a cooperative and farmers who are largely happy with what participation in the Fair Trade system has offered them. Much of the literature on Fair Trade is highly critical of the impacts the system can have on farmers and workers. While I too take a critical analysis of Fair Trade by exploring power dynamics in the system via a feminist political ecology approach, I also endeavor to highlight the aspects of Fair Trade that benefit the farmers, or the farmers put to work for their benefit. This case study at COOPFAM shows that Fair Trade can work well for some farmers in some places and under certain circumstances. I explore those specific conditions that make Fair Trade successful at COOPFAM. This dissertation also contributes an exploration of the economic impacts of Fair Trade at a time when the commodity market for coffee reached historic highs. This is a very different context to explore Fair Trade's impacts than some of the early literature on Fair Trade that examined its effects during or right after the coffee crisis in the early 2000s. As such, this dissertation shows that the global economic system is still a strong factor in what price Fair Trade coffee farmers earn for their coffee. This study also offers an in-depth analysis of the labor needed to produce relatively large quantities or relatively high-quality coffee and the

higher quality premiums farmers can earn on top of the Fair Trade base price. I highlight the professionalization of coffee production and the farmers' pride in their production of a quality product that meets their religious values of environmental stewardship.

This dissertation shows that Fair Trade can be more beneficial for some farmers in some places, and less so for others. At COOPFAM their success in the Fair Trade system is based on a whole suite of factors including cultural, historical and economic factors. Those farmers, who are the most vulnerable, including single or widowed women, poorer farmers or those with less land, are less able to leverage all of the benefits offered to married farmers, or those who have more economic resources to invest in their coffee production and more land to cultivate larger quantities of coffee.

Perhaps one of the most interesting contributions to the literature is the discussion of how Fair Trade farmers and COOPFAM the cooperative have been able to leverage the safety net that Fair Trade provides to experiment with new production practices, technological innovations, and emerging niche certifications. By doing this they simultaneously earn more money for their coffee and hone the professionalization of their coffee production.

Regarding emerging certifications or labels for coffee production, COOPFAM's experience with the Café Femenino program — described at length in Chapter Five — provides a case study of the challenges inherent in applying global standards in different cultural contexts. Café Femenino is a program that aims to empower women and valorize their work in coffee production. However, its strict standards could jeopardize farming families ability to produce high quality, dual-certified organic and Fair Trade coffee at COOPFAM because of the gendered division of labor that farmers employ to meet production demands. The Café Femenino example

shows that a set of standards that may work well in one cultural context, may not translate well to another culture with different labor paradigms, and methods of coffee production.

Chapter Two: History of the Fair Trade System, Standards and Supply Chain

I. The Fair Trade and Specialty Coffee Supply Chain

In order to examine the "fairness" of Fair Trade, it is first critical to understand the relationships between different actors in the Fair Trade supply and value chains. A supply chain is a network of businesses and other organizations that are involved in bringing a product, in this case, coffee, from producer to consumer. A value chain includes the parts of the supply chain that are specifically focused on adding value, economic, moral or otherwise, to a product. This value can be added by any number of actors along the supply chain, from the producers investing in measures to improve quality to the retailers investing in packaging and marketing materials to draw consumer desire for the product. In this chapter, I will discuss the different actors in COOPFAM's supply and value chains. Then I will move to explore the literature on the Fair Trade as a social movement, including its history and an examination of the tensions between different supply and value chain actors in the system. I will end with an exploration of the literature on the environmental impacts of Fair Trade and feminist perspectives on Fair Trade and other ethical trading systems.

As discussed in Chapter One, the SCAA Event brings together many of the actors in the specialty coffee supply chain generally and the organic and Fair Trade coffee chains specifically. For farmers and cooperative administrators like Marcelo, the few days he spends at the SCAAs each year offer up opportunities to attend lectures on coffee market trends, to visit booths of businesses selling products to improve coffee quality, and to taste coffee produced by farmers from across the world to compare it to his own. Over the course of the three-day event, Marcelo came into contact with many different actors in the Fair Trade and specialty coffee supply

chains. One of the most important aspects of the SCAA event is the networking farmers do with various supply chain and value chain actors. Marcelo networked with established business partners and new potential buyers for their coffee, as well as certifiers who keep him apprised of changes to Fair Trade standards or new opportunities, and NGOs that provide services to small farmers like pre-financing or technical assistance with quality production. While many of these actors come and visit the cooperative from time to time, this yearly convention is a golden opportunity to get business done.

Marcelo can wear a lot of hats for the cooperative at this event because of his position and experience in the cooperative. COOPFAM was and remains the only Fair Trade coffee cooperative in Brazil that is both a cooperative and a certified exporter of Fair Trade coffee. The fact that the cooperative can export their coffee directly, and other cooperatives' coffee for that matter, allows them to shorten the Fair Trade supply chain for their farmers by one link. Like most Fair Trade cooperative presidents, Marcelo meets directly with coffee buyers. These coffee buyers fall into a number of different categories including, large corporations such as Green Mountain Coffee Roasters, coffee importers such as Organic Products Trading Company or Royal Coffee, and artesian coffee roasters including Thanksgiving Coffee or Casa Brazil. In the case of the smaller roasters, they deal with COOPFAM directly to taste and select the coffee they want, but they then have to work through importers in their home countries to bring the Brazilian coffee into the country. In effect, the precise supply chain differs for each type of coffee buyer. For example, in the most direct trading scenario, the chain begins with the farmers, then cooperative/exporter (in COOPFAM's case), then on to a buyer who is also an importer and roaster, and finally to the end consumer. However, many times this chain will include additional links since many roasters are not importers themselves, or they may sell to another business like

a restaurant, store, or institution before the coffee reaches the end consumer. At times, this variability in the Fair Trade coffee supply chain makes it look similar to the conventional coffee supply chain in terms of complexity and number of actors involved.

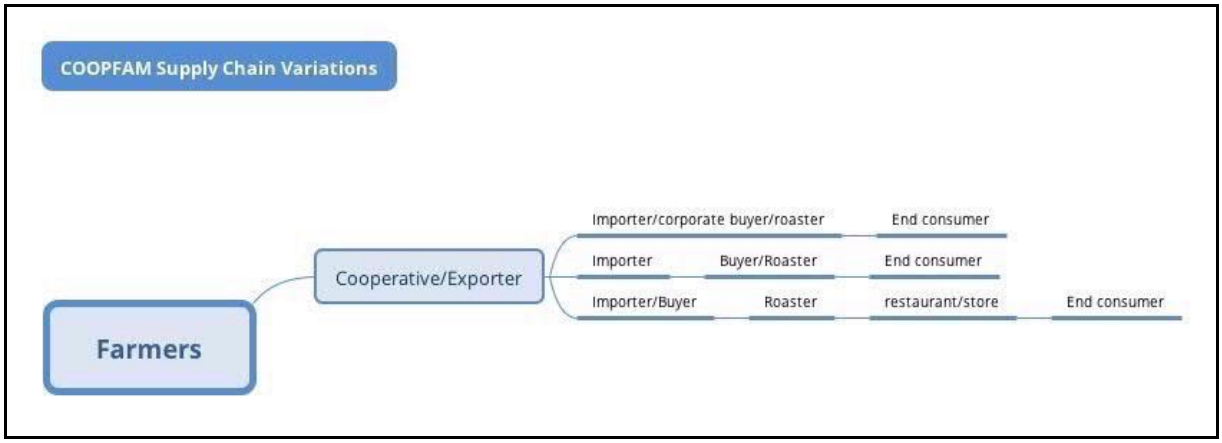

Figure 1: Fair Trade supply chain variations for COOPFAM farmers.
Image created by the author.

Organizations that provide pre-financing for coffee farmers are a critical link in COOPFAM's Fair Trade coffee value chain. At the SCAAs Marcelo and I chatted with staff from Root Capital, an NGO devoted to providing loans to small-scale farmers for rural development efforts. Making capital available to pre-finance coffee production is a fundamental tenet of Fair Trade. Some coffee buyers can provide pre-financing directly to cooperatives, while others partner with organizations like Root Capital to do so.

Several other key sets of organizations in the specialty coffee value chain are the certifying bodies and their partner NGOs. This constellation of groups works with coffee cooperatives to support technical assistance and educational programs for staff and farmers. They do this often by leveraging partnerships with socially conscious coffee companies to provide additional resources to the cooperatives and farmers. These programs are geared toward

improving the quality of the coffee or the social and environmental conditions involved in coffee production. In this way, they are a key player in the value chain of specialty coffee production. In addition to assisting the farmers and cooperatives, some of these organizations serve as the bodies that set the standards for certifications such as Fair Trade and even conduct the audits of the certified cooperatives and farms.

The three most important Fair Trade-specific organizations for COOPFAM are Fair Trade USA (formerly TransFair USA) and Fair Trade Labelling Organizations International (FLO), and FLOCERT.[4] These organizations are all non-governmental entities. Unlike some organic certifications, no governmental bodies regulate Fair Trade certification. FLO was created in 1997 when various Fair Trade movements across North America and Europe came together to form a unifying body to harmonize Fair Trade standards and certify production. FLO also provided services to producers and in 2003 FLOCERT was created to separate the standard setting arm of Fair Trade from the certification arm, which verifies that producers meet standards through independent audits. FLOCERT is charged with maintaining the credibility of Fair Trade through this independent verification process across the entire Fair Trade supply chain (FLOCERT 2016a).

After the separation of FLOCERT from FLO, FLO focused primarily on building up the set of benefits offered to smallholders and workers as a result of their participation in the Fair Trade system. FLO offers programs to improve the quality of Fair Trade products, improve the business capacity of Fair Trade cooperatives, and to address environmental and social issues including adapting to climate change and addressing gender equity.

[4] There are additional Fair Trade organizations and certifications available including Fair For Life, the World Fair Trade Organization, and the Small Producers Symbol. These organizations and certifications were beyond the scope of this dissertation given the fact that COOPFAM members do not participate in these alternative Fair Trade systems. For the purposes of this dissertation, discussion of the Fair Trade system refers to actions taken by and standards set by FLO, FLOCERT, and Fair Trade USA.

Fair Trade USA is a third-party certifier of Fair Trade products in the United States. Much like FLO, Fair Trade USA provides a Fair Trade trademark, or label, for products that meet their standards. The organization also works with farmers and cooperatives to support social development programs, improve the quality of Fair Trade products, and to grow the Fair Trade market through education and marketing. Some of the programs offered at COOPFAM by Fair Trade USA are detailed in Chapter Five.

Not all actors in the Fair Trade supply and value chains are regularly present at the SCAAs. These include Fair Trade activists, direct consumers of Fair Trade coffee, and governmental bodies that support small-scale farmers and alternative agriculture (discussed in Chapter Five). Activists, however, come into contact with COOPFAM farmers when they visit the cooperative to learn more about Fair Trade coffee production and its impacts first hand. In fact, it was a Fair Trade student activist who provided me with my introduction to COOPFAM through contacts in the US-based Fair Trade student advocacy networks. Activists like these, take the experiences they have in the field and share them with their peers. They have often worked as allies for Fair Trade producers by advocating for changes in the Fair Trade system that farmers identified as needed, such as higher floor prices[5] and producer representation on Fair Trade decision-making bodies.

Farmers at COOPFAM interact with this supply chain in various ways and have points of contact with many, but not all of the actors in it. As illustrated by the example of meetings that transpire at events like the SCAAs, those farmers that also act as administrators for the cooperative have the most access to supply chain partners. However, back in Brazil farmers receive visitors from small and large coffee roasters, importers, auditors from Fair Trade and

[5] Floor prices are the minimum price per pound of coffee that Fair Trade certified cooperatives receive from coffee buyers. Over the course of this study, the fair trade floor price for Arabica Naturals went from $1.20/lb. to $1.35/lb. in 2011. Moreover, the organic differential was increased from 20 cents/lb. to 30 cents/lb. in 2011.

organic certification organizations. They also interact with representatives from Fair Trade organizations that come to launch programs that offer technical assistance, or to meet with farmers to gather stories about Fair Trade's impact to share with their customers. This rich interaction with various supply chain partners is not common for conventional coffee farmers in neighboring cooperatives. In much of the literature on Fair Trade coffee production the role of "coyotes" or middlemen who buy coffee from farmers and then sell it to exporters is discussed (Cycon 2008; Doane 2010; Jaffee 2007; Raynolds 2002). However, the small-scale conventional farmers I encountered in Brazil were often a part of one or more cooperatives. In Brazil, farmers can join more than one cooperative. These farmers will sell their coffee to whichever cooperative offers them the best price or other benefits. One benefit that some farmers at COOPFAM cited for joining more than one cooperative is that they can get paid on the spot for coffee sold through a conventional cooperative, whereas they might have to wait for payment until COOPFAM sells their coffee in the Fair Trade market.

A. Organic Certification and Café Femenino Certification

Some farmers at COOPFAM are certified under other third and second party certification systems. Two of those that are explored in this dissertation are organic certification and Café Femenino. The farmers at COOPFAM must negotiate the complex supply chains of Fair Trade, as described above and adhere to additional standards laid out under organic and Café Femenino certification.

Organic certification is a system that emerged, much like Fair Trade did, out of social and environmental movements. Organic agriculture is defined as " …a production system that sustains the health of soils, ecosystems and people. It relies on ecological processes, biodiversity

and cycles adapted to local conditions, rather than the use of inputs with adverse effects (IFOAM 2017).” Organic certification, like Fair Trade, has a number of environmental standards. Difference between the environmental standards of organic certification and Fair Trade certification are further discussed in Chapter Four.

Today, there are numerous organic certifications that are run by and regulated by various governmental bodies. COOPFAM farmers hold a number of different organic certifications, including: Associação de Agricultura Orgânica (AAO) for the Brazilian market, US Department of Agriculture (USDA) for the United States, European Union Agricultural Standard (EUROPA) for the European market, and Japanese Agricultural Standard (JAS) for markets in Asia.

Café Femenino, on the other hand, is a second party certification system that was created by the founders and owners of Organic Products Trading Company (OPTCO), Gayleen and Garth Smith. They developed the program to address gender inequities facing women farmers in the coffee lands.

The program was developed with women coffee farmers at one cooperative in Peru to help these women market and sell their own coffee separately from the men in the cooperative. The women in Peru requested this program because they were producing their own coffee but their husbands took it to the cooperative to sell and then controlled the money earned for the coffee. The women wanted their own certification program so they could control their own production and revenue. The Café Femenino program “certifies” and sells 100% women-grown, dual-certified organic and Fair Trade coffee. They now work with women in cooperatives from eight different countries (OPTCO 2017).

Café Femenino sees their work as a social mission, not just another certification program or label. The social mission and resultant second party certification systems, is built on the

premise that many women inside the cultures of Central and South America "… are responsible for the majority of the coffee production, the entire household, the family garden, livestock and the children" (ibid 2017). However, at the same time these women do not have the power to make economic decisions for themselves or their children (ibid 2017). Café Femenino claims to have created an economic system for women coffee producers that is "separate but together with the men," and that women are producing coffee, "just as she has always produced coffee, but now she is recognized for the work she does. She is no longer invisible" (ibid 2017).

II. Fair Trade as a Transnational Social Movement

The SCAAs provide a glimpse of the complex supply and value chain actors that influence farmers' perceptions of the Fair Trade system. Through Fair Trade, farmers enter a complex transnational advocacy network of consumers, certification organizations, activists, and businesses, all with different motivations and goals for participation in Fair Trade. Transnational advocacy networks, such as Fair Trade, include diverse groups of international actors working on a particular issue. Although these networks work toward common goals, they must also be understood as political spaces where actors negotiate the meaning of their enterprise (Keck and Sikkink 1998). These networks create links among international actors, such as farmers, businesses, and activists that increase farmers' access to international systems.

Fair Trade farmers and organizations negotiate the concept of "fairness" through Fair Trade discourse. Participants may use the same word — fair — but it may mean very different things. Tsing (2005) provides an approach to exploring global connection and the contested construction of universals, by encouraging the exploration of "friction," or "the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference" (4). While Keck

and Sikkink (1998) suggest that shared ways of framing an issue must be hammered out to make transnational collaborations possible, Tsing (2005) argues that such frames may not be so completely shared. Since the frames are not necessarily universally shared, the transnational advocacy network of Fair Trade exists in a state of dialog where the meaning and purpose of Fair Trade are consistently changing and potentially divergent for actors in various spatial, cultural, and ideological locales in the Fair Trade network. As such, I look at the transnational Fair Trade network as a "sticky engagement" (Tsing 2005:6), where the creation universals, like the concept of fairness, are contested by various actors in the network. In the case of farmers at COOPFAM, they *dar um jeito,* or find a way to work around tensions in the global network, or even work around global standards to make Fair Trade work for them.

Fair Trade has also been characterized as an economic social movement (Moberg 2005; Wilkinson 2006). Yet Fair Trade as a social movement has a contradictory existence. According to Peter Leigh Taylor (2005), certified Fair Trade coffee is in the difficult space of existing in the dominant world market but not being "of" this market. By this he means, Fair Trade aims to change the market by using it, but because it still exists within the market, it is vulnerable to market forces. Jaffee (2007) offers three different ways actors in the Fair Trade network view Fair Trade's relationship to the market; as a "market-braking" force, a "market-reform" mechanism, or a "market-access" tool. Tensions and disagreements occur between people and organizations that hold these three different ideas about the relationship between the market and Fair Trade. Fair Trade as an alternative development paradigm is consistent with free market objectives to promote trade-based rather than aid-based development strategies. However, scholars and activists are skeptical of Fair Trade's ability to leverage the free market to bring

about economic development for small-scale farmers (Bacon 2005; Bacon et al. 2008a; Bacon et al. 2008b; Jaffee 2007; Lyon 2008; Oxfam 2002; Talbot 2004).

A. History of Fair Trade

Through third-party certification and labeling, Fair Trade attempts to address social and economic inequalities facing millions of farmers as a result of governments' limited ability to regulate markets, subsidize agriculture, and provide social services. Fair Trade's standards are based on principles of sustainability and focus on improving the economic livelihoods of small-scale producers, their social and often cultural well-being, and protecting the local environment and natural resources. Fair Trade attempts to address social and economic inequalities through market-based mechanisms rather than governmental regulatory mechanisms. Fair Trade provides farmers with a minimum price-per-pound for coffee, as well as premiums for social development such as education and healthcare, and access to credit. In return, it requires equitable labor practices, such as equal pay and recognition for women, freedom of association and democratic decision-making within cooperatives, and adherence to environmental standards (FTF 2004).

Fair Trade, began as a solidarity-based movement between producers in the developing world and consumers in developed countries, and is now a growing market-based movement. Fair Trade's solidarity-based roots date back to the period just after World War II when faith-based Alternative Trade Organizations (ATOs) began marketing handicrafts from war-ravaged European communities. By the 1960s, these direct-marketing operations sold crafts and a few food commodities such as coffee, tea, and cocoa to conscience-motivated consumers in dedicated "World Shops." These ATOs were founded on principles of direct trade, solidarity, social justice,

and equity within commercial relations, which became the framework for the Fair Trade movement (Raynolds and Long 2007).

Fair Trade began its mainstreaming process in the late 1980s by moving to a standardized process of certification (Raynolds and Long 2007). In 1988, a Dutch development organization, Solidaridad, created a new label for coffee that could be used by any brand, the Max Havelaar label. This move increased the market for fairly traded coffee. The Max Havelaar label certified that coffee producers had received a premium price for their coffee and that this constituted a "fair return" (Jaffee 2007). The creation of the Max Havelaar label marks a significant split in the Fair Trade movement between the arts and crafts side and agricultural products side of Fair Trade. Today a highly standardized system of certification and audits exists primarily on the agricultural side of Fair Trade, whereas arts and crafts production practices are far less standardized. Moreover, coffee begins to emerge as the showcase crop for Fair Trade certification at this time.

Coffee Crisis and the Growth of Fair Trade

The growth of Fair Trade coffee certification came as a response to the liberalization of the world coffee market after the Cold War. During the Cold War, coffee producing and consuming countries negotiated the International Coffee Agreement (ICA) to regulate the international coffee market and protect farmers from price fluctuations through production quotas and price floors. In 1989, following the end of the Cold War, the United States (US), the world's largest coffee consumer, withdrew from the ICA and it collapsed. The ICA's collapse occurred in conjunction with environmental conditions that led to global overproduction of coffee (Talbot 2004). In 2002, the world market price of coffee hit record lows. With a free

coffee market, prices declined to levels at which small farmers could not sustain themselves (Oxfam 2002; Talbot 2004). To address the coffee crisis, farmers and activists began to turn to market-based systems, such as Fair Trade, to counter the low market price of coffee.

B. Fair Trade Standards and Principles

In 2009, Fair Trade Labeling Organizations International (FLO) and the World Fair Trade Organization (WFTO) created "A Charter of Fair Trade Principles," to provide a concise description of the main principles of the Fair Trade system. The Charter lists five core principles; market access for marginalized producers; sustainable and equitable trading relationships; capacity building and empowerment; consumer awareness raising and advocacy; and, Fair Trade as a "social contract." (WFTO and FLO 2009)

These principles were designed to provide economic and social benefits for producers; they are broad enough to apply to both the producers of agricultural products that obtain Fair Trade certification through FLO and artists and craftspeople that produce goods that are sold under these principles by organizations that are a part of the WFTO.

To benefit from these Fair Trade principles, small-scale coffee farmers must gain Fair Trade certification from FLOCERT. Farmers' production methods and their organization must meet a set of Fair Trade standards to become certified. There are four chapters to FLO standards for coffee production: 1. General Requirements such as certification and that members be small producers; 2. Trade Standards such as standards for traceability and the use of the Fairtrade trademark; 3. Production Standards such as environmental management and labor conditions; and 4. Business and Development Standards such as democratic participation and transparency.

The first chapter of FLO's Fair Trade standards: General Requirements provides their definition of what qualifies as a small producer since, in the case of coffee, certification is only available for small producer organizations. To meet this standard, the majority of members of the cooperative must be smallholders who run their farm primarily through their own family's labor. While they can hire workers occasionally, they cannot rely on them all of the time.

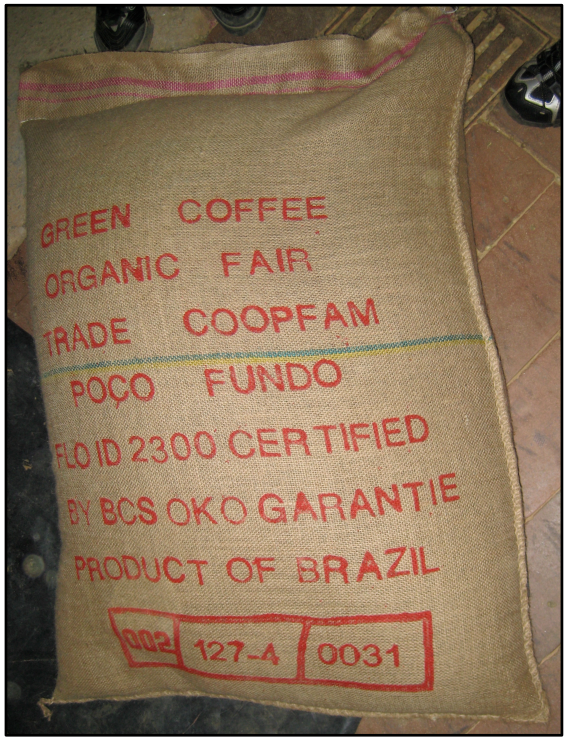

Figure 2: COOPFAM coffee labeled as Fair Trade and organic. **Photo by the author.**

The second chapter defines the Trade Standards that producer organizations must adhere to, including standards for traceability, sourcing, contracts, and the use of the Fairtrade trademark. Regarding traceability, cooperatives must carefully track their supply of coffee coming in. They can only sell their members' coffee as Fair Trade. Moreover, products from non-members must be kept physically separate from members' products at all times. The

organization must also maintain records of the Fair Trade products sold, provide documentation to the buyer, and clearly mark the product as Fair Trade (FLO 2011a).

The third chapter focuses on Production Standards. These standards are composed of the management of production practices, environmental protection standards, and labor conditions. These are often the standards that are used in the marketing of Fair Trade products because they require that the products were produced under fair labor condition and in an environmentally sustainable way. Concerning environmental sustainability, these standards focus on minimizing the use of agrochemicals and the exclusion of certain prohibited chemicals; proper and safe waste management; no use of genetically modified organisms (GMOs); appropriate maintenance of water resources and soil fertility; and controlling for soil erosion. In addition to the environmental production standards, the labor standards in this third chapter include prohibitions on child labor and discrimination based on many criteria including but not limited to race, ethnicity, gender, and health status. Members must also have the freedom of association into democratically organized associations.

The final chapter is devoted to Business and Development Standards, including development potential, democracy, participation and transparency, and non-discrimination standards. Organizations must plan for and document activities that build the capacity of the business, members, environment, or community. This plan is called the organization’s Fairtrade Development Plan, which is approved by the organization's general assembly. The organization must create an organizational structure that gives members access to democratic decision-making processes. Similar to the production standards, the organization must not discriminate against any particular group or individual.

Meeting all of the FLO standards can be difficult for small producer organizations, which can create significant barriers to entry into the Fair Trade system. I describe these obstacles and the assets COOPFAM was able to leverage to overcome them in Chapter Five of this dissertation.

C. Limitations of Fair Trade as an Economic Social Movement

Farmers face a number of obstacles to participation in Fair Trade, including growing competition in a saturated market, and a floor price that has only been marginally adjusted for inflation and rising costs of living several times since its inception. While the worldwide demand for Fair Trade coffee is growing, there is market saturation due to the growth in the global supply of Fair Trade coffee outstripping global demand. As a result, cooperatives must be able to identify buyers that are willing to purchase their cooperative's Fair Trade coffee (Levi and Linton 2003; Murray, Reynolds and Taylor 2003; Smith 2010). Fair Trade's success depends on market growth since more coffee is certified than can be sold at the premium price (Levi and Linton 2003; Jaffee 2007). Some actors in the Fair Trade system have encouraged corporations to offer Fair Trade products to grow Fair Trade's market share. The entrance of corporations has increased consumption of Fair Trade coffee in the US. In light of its market growth and popular appeal, Fair Trade has become a mainstream concept. The sections below explore the tensions encountered by farmers at COOPFAM and compare them to experiences, detailed in the literature on Fair Trade that farmers in other areas have had.

Fair Trade Market Growth, Standardization, and Institutionalization

As awareness of Fair Trade's benefits has grown, more farmers seek to enter this niche market. To accommodate more farmers and increase the market for Fair Trade coffee, the certification system has become more standardized and institutionalized (Renard 2005). Fair Trade has also been criticized for giving too much power to certification organizations and not enough to farmers (Taylor 2005). Fair Trade has moved from a 'self-regulated' and 'self-certified' system that established its own norms and criteria and controlled the processes of inspection, to a highly institutionalized system of certification. The success of market niches such as Fair Trade, in terms of growth in size and volume, and consequent complexity has led to an institutionalization of the certification system through bureaucratic institutions (Renard 2005). As a result, certifiers now manage access to the Fair Trade market, making them a powerful entity in the Fair Trade network. Many producers believe that Fair Trade's regulatory organization, Fair Trade Labeling Organization (FLO), is guided more by commercial factors than the interests of small-scale farmers, and acts more in opposition to them than in support of them (Jaffee 2007; Renard 2005). FLO has proposed to increase sales by decreasing the Fair Trade floor price paid to producers, and by differentiating this price by country (Renard 2005). Moreover, to support an increasingly bureaucratic certification system, farmer cooperatives now pay US $3000 for Fair Trade certification, a cost that was initially born by consumers (Jaffee 2007; Renard 2005).

COOPFAM has certainly felt increased competition, as more cooperatives in Brazil have become Fair Trade certified. However, their strong relationships with loyal coffee buyers and

their production of high quality and dual organic and Fair Trade certified coffee differentiates them from some of the newly certified Fair Trade cooperatives in Brazil. As of 2012, COOPFAM was one of two Brazilian cooperatives producing dual-certified Fair Trade and organic coffee.

Corporate Participation in Fair Trade

Some actors in the Fair Trade system have encouraged corporate participation to increase Fair Trade's market share. Corporations and advocates can use Fair Trade as a tool to support sustainability (Stenzel 2012; Stenzel 2013a). For corporations, Fair Trade's focus on social, environmental, and economic sustainability makes it mesh well with progressive businesses' focus on the same principles in the Triple Bottom Line (Stenzel 2012; Stenzel 2013a). Farmers and activists have challenged corporate involvement and the institutionalization of Fair Trade fearing they may compromise Fair Trade's social justice potential or divert it from its initial aim to foster solidarity-based partnerships (Jaffee 2007; Renard 2005). The institutionalization of Fair Trade has been critiqued for giving too much power to certification organizations (Jaffee 2007; Renard 2005). Moreover, certifiers', specifically TransFair USA's (now Fair Trade USA), courting of large corporations has drawn critique from scholars and resistance from Fair Traders (Cycon 2008; Jaffee 2007).

In April 2000, Starbucks agreed to purchase Fair Trade coffee because of consumer pressure. This was seen as a significant victory for the Fair Trade movement, and activists hoped other mainstream specialty roasters and even conventional roasters would follow suit.

Starbucks's entry into Fair Trade as well as other multinational corporations' participation in Fair Trade has brought to the forefront activists' and scholars' discussions of whether Fair Trade is, or should be a market niche or a movement to transform the dominant neoliberal market paradigm.

Activists and researchers have suggested that Fair Trade USA and FLO are too focused on marketing Fair Trade and have neglected the needs of Fair Trade producers. FLO has been criticized for not inviting more participation from producers in their decision-making process. As described above, in 2004, FLO divided into two organizations FLO and FLOCERT in response to criticisms that it was both the certifying body and marketing mechanism for Fair Trade, and to avoid potential conflicts of interest.

Jaffee (2007) characterized Fair Trade's acceptance of multinational corporations participation in Fair Trade as a dance with the devil. Some activists have questioned corporations' motivation to purchase Fair Trade coffee, and commitment to the principles of the Fair Trade movement. Some of those criticisms come because of corporations' token purchases of Fair Trade in comparison to their total market volume. For example, only three percent of Starbucks coffee in 2005 was Fair Trade certified. Before Starbucks' entry into Fair Trade, there was a shared understanding among TransFair USA, roasters, and activists that companies must purchase at least five percent of their products under Fair Trade terms. Roasters who sell only Fair Trade-certified coffee were livid with what they saw as a double standard for multinational corporations. Since then Starbucks has increased their percentage of Fair Trade certified coffee. In 2011, Starbucks reported that eight percent of their coffee was now Fair Trade certified

(Starbucks 2017). Activists and scholars have suggested that these corporations will unjustly benefit from association with the Fair Trade label, which may carry over to their non-Fair Trade certified products. Others worry that multinationals will attempt to water down the Fair Trade standards.

COOPFAM and Corporations

COOPFAM has had a combination of positive and negative experiences with transnational corporations in the Fair Trade system. Cooperative administrators and farmers have a love-hate relationship with some of their corporate clients. The farmers and cooperative appreciate the significant buying power that large corporations such as Green Mountain Coffee Roasters and Bom Dia have. These corporations have the capacity to purchase much greater quantities of coffee from the cooperative than smaller roasters. The coffee they buy still has to meet high-quality standards, but they do not necessarily pay the very high prices per pound of coffee for the ultra-premium lots of coffee[6] that some farmers produce. Adauto, the president of COOPFAM in 2009, lamented that Café Bom Dia, who was roasting their coffee for sales at Walmart, did not pay very much for their coffee. They had learned that Sara Lee would be taking over the roasting for Walmart and the cooperative worried that this huge corporation would pay even less than Café Bom Dia. Much of the coffee purchased by these large buyers goes into blends and espresso. As such, the farmers and cooperative separate out the best of the best coffee to capture extra quality premiums from smaller gourmet roasters.

[6] In Chapter Six, I discuss the quality premiums that the farmers earn for their coffee on top of the Fair Trade and organic premiums.

Large corporations also offer social and economic development programs for the cooperative and farmers. For example, Walmart joined Fair Trade certifiers like Fair Trade USA, and the Banco do Brazil to support the development of the *rebeneficio* (coffee processing plant) COOPFAM built in 2008 and to finance the revolving loan program for drying patios with Fair Trade USA. However, sometimes these investments promised by large corporations do not come to fruition. For example, in 2009 construction on the new cooperative school, partially supported as a social development project by Café Bom Dia, ceased when Bom Dia stopped funding the project. In Chapter Five, I further discuss the programs that coffee buyers support for farmers at COOPFAM.

Producer Knowledge of Fair Trade Principles

Research conducted in Mexico (Doane 2010; Jaffee 2007) and Guatemala (Lyon 2006) on Fair Trade-certified farmers shows that many are not familiar with the concept of Fair Trade, or what social and economic benefits it is supposed to offer them. Most farmers, excluding cooperative administrators, do not know what Fair Trade is or what it should offer them (Doane 2010). Smith (2010) explains that the capacity building aspects of Fair Trade are not evenly distributed among cooperative members, and those that take on leadership positions are better positioned to benefit from Fair Trade networks of vendors, activists, and experts. This dynamic leads to cooperative leadership having better opinions of Fair Trade and stronger commitments to the system.

My research suggests many farmers at COOPFAM have dynamic perspectives on Fair Trade's meaning and impacts on their lives. Farmers there speak frankly about the adverse impacts of agro-toxicants, particularly pesticides, on the health of the farm and their families.

They have expressed concern about their neighbors' use of agro-toxics contaminating their land and crops through pesticide drift and runoff. They see the advantages of the cooperative's social programs such as the courses offered to members and their children, their medical and dental programs, and the new *rebeneficio* built to process and select coffee for quality. These highly tangible benefits of Fair Trade may explain why these farmers seem to have a good grasp of the benefits the system is supposed to offer them. The cooperative's leadership is well versed in the rhetoric of Fair Trade. The cooperative's previous and current presidents have traveled several times to the United States to attend Fair Trade and specialty coffee conferences. This dynamic leadership may account for the cooperative members' fluency with the principles of Fair Trade.

Dean Cycon, a 100% Fair Trade coffee roaster and Fair Trade advocate, has suggested that the Fair Trade minimum price is overemphasized to the detriment of focusing on other more qualitative advantages of Fair Trade (Cycon 2008). These qualitative benefits include support for democratically organized cooperatives, empowerment of women, access to pre-harvest credit, social development premiums, and direct and sustained marketing relationships between cooperatives and roasters (ibid 2008). To fully understand how sustainable Fair Trade is for farming families it is vital to account for not only the economic but also the social and environmental impacts of Fair Trade certification and production. In Chapter Five, I delve into the non-economic benefits for COOPFAM farmers that are related to their participation in Fair Trade.

Certifying Coffee Plantations and the Split Between Fair Trade USA and FLO

In 2011, Fair Trade USA drew heavy criticism from small-scale farmers, FLO, Fair Trade coffee buyers, and activists for opening up Fair Trade coffee certification to plantations. FLO

and Fair Trade USA jointly announced the split. FLO quickly began work to form Fair Trade North America to have an alternative Fair Trade trademark that still represented FLO's values of only certifying coffee produced by small-scale farmers.

Fair Trade producer organizations from around the world denounced Fair Trade USA's decision to certify coffee plantations. The CAN Alliance of Fair Trade producer organizations across Latin America, Asia, and Africa released a joint statement regarding their disappointment with the move. In their official statement about Fair Trade USA's decision to certify plantations the Network of Asian Producers (NAP), Coordinadora Latino Americana y del Caribe de Pequeños Productores de Comercio Justo (CLAC) and Fairtrade Africa stated that they were "…very disappointed to learn that Fair Trade USA has resolved to leave the Fairtrade Labelling system (FLO), all the more so as they have not been consulted prior to this decision. They are also disappointed to see that Fair Trade USA has chosen to define its own orientations rather than forming part of the global vision, key principles and shared strategy endorsed by all members of Fairtrade International. The Producer Networks cannot support this unilateral action on the part of Fair Trade USA, which goes against their aspirations and interests" (CAN 2011).

Moreover, coffee roasters expressed their outrage with the decision. Equal Exchange said that Fair Trade USA had "…slowly but steadily chipped away at our principles and values, only recently taking the final steps in building their strategy. They have taken the name Fair Trade USA, then proceeded to leave the international Fair Trade System (FLO International/Fair Trade International), lower standards, eliminate farmers from their governance model, and invite large-scale plantations into coffee and all other commodities" (Equal Exchange 2017).

However, some Fair Trade coffee buyers, such as Green Mountain Coffee Roasters (GMCR), were supportive of the decision and intended to purchase coffee from the first Fair

Trade certified coffee plantations in Brazil and Columbia. At the 2013 SCAA Event, GMCR spoke to a group of twelve Brazilian Fair Trade cooperative administrators about their decision. GMCR agreed with Fair Trade USA that coffee plantation workers should have access to some of the same benefits and protections that small-scale coffee farmers enjoyed because of the Fair Trade system. The Brazilian Fair Trade cooperative administrators looked for reassurance from GMCR that there would still be a market for their own coffee, but the tension between the trading partners was palpable. FLO tried separately to reassure the small-scale farmers about their commitment at the 2013 SCAA event by hosting a series of meet the buyer events with roasters committed to only purchasing Fair Trade coffee from small producers. FLO also set up an alternative Fair Trade North America booth, a short distance away from Fair Trade USA's booth, to promote their new US-focused trademark and support Fair Trade farmers at the event. This split, its potential impact on Brazilian Fair Trade farmers, and their anxieties about competing with Fair Trade plantations is further discussed in Chapter Six.

III. Environmental Impacts of Fair Trade

Fair Trade is just one of many third-party certifications systems for coffee — including organic, shade-grown, bird-friendly, and Rainforest Alliance — that focus on the environmental impacts of coffee production. However, Fair Trade certification is arguably more holistic than the other environment-focused systems above and includes all three pillars of sustainability: economic, social, and environmental.

Research on Fair Trade has discussed the link between Fair Trade's environmental principles and the ecological and labor problems encountered by farmers adhering to more strict environmental standards. Jaffee (2007) and Moberg (2005) cite the need for increased manual

labor to compensate for extra weeding due to Fair Trade and organic certifications' limits on certain agrochemicals, such as synthetic herbicides. Fair Trade banana farmers' attempts to mechanically rather than chemically remove weeds also led to outbreaks of weeds and pests (Moberg 2005). The need for additional labor to uphold environmental standards meant that the farmers in Jaffee's (2007) study had to hire additional workers to assist in weeding and other farm activities. This reduced the proportion of Fair Trade's price surplus that the farmers could use on other farm and household needs. This research suggests that the environmental sustainability could be in contention with the social and economic sustainability of Fair Trade. In Chapter Four, I explore the impact of Fair Trade's environmental standards on farmers' agricultural practices, labor, and thinking about the natural world.

Several scholars studying coffee production generally, and Fair Trade coffee specifically, have included an analysis of farmers' different livelihood strategies. Scholars have suggested that even with organic or Fair Trade certification small-scale farmers cannot sustain their families on their earnings from coffee production alone (Bacon et al. 2008b; Jaffee 2007; Lyon 2008; Mutersbaugh 1999)

Mutersbaugh (1999) writes about the various strategies and projects that coffee farmers in Oaxaca, Mexico use to sustain their families. In addition to growing and producing coffee, these farmers sustain themselves by growing some of their food and by trying to implement various income-producing activities through their coffee cooperative. For example, the cooperative has established projects including a milking herd, honey production, furniture making, a wood-fired bread-making oven, hog production, and weaving. Furthermore, men in the cooperative often engage in short-term migration, usually four- to eight-week stints, to work on other farms and

supplement the families' income (Mutersbaugh 1999). These farmers use multiple livelihood strategies because no one method is sufficient to meet their family's cash needs.

Jaffee (2007) also writes about the various livelihood strategies Fair Trade and organic certified farmers implement. Fair Trade and organic certification for their farms is but one strategy. During the coffee crisis farmers increasingly turned to producing more of their own staples (maize, beans, and other vegetables) in their *milpas*[7] because the market price of coffee was so low. Fair Trade and organic certified farmers did not abandon their *milpas* although they were earning more for their coffee. Instead they worked less in their *milpas* and hired day laborers or *mozos* to work in the *milpas* and in the coffee fields. Many coffee farmers in the Oaxacan villages where Jaffee conducted his study resorted to short and long-term migration to send remittances home. Because of the coffee crisis, almost 45% of one of the villages in his study had migrated to find work in Oaxaca City, elsewhere in Mexico, or in the United States (Jaffee 2007). What is particularly interesting is that Fair Trade and organic certified farmers actually had almost twice as many family members migrating out of the area, than conventional farming families. Parents sending their children to school and the upfront costs associated with migration explain why this additional migration was made possible by funds earned through Fair Trade and organic production. Fair Trade and organic farmers have used some of their additional earnings to diversify their livelihood options by sending family members away to work and send remittances home. While other family members leave to gain an education and seek professional employment outside of the village.

In addition to migration, Jaffee (2007) and Mutersbaugh (1999) highlight the necessity of self-provisioning for coffee farming families. At COOPFAM all of the farmers I interviewed

[7] *Milpas* are a traditional type of farming field found throughout Mexico and Central America for the production of maize and other subsistence crops.

produced the majority of their own food. Moreover, some mentioned producing other products such as dairy products, vegetables, and tobacco to sell. In Chapter Four, I explore the multiple livelihood strategies farming families at COOPFAM employ to meet their families' needs. Furthermore, I examine what proportions of time farmers devote to subsistence and cash-earning activities, and how these livelihood strategies contribute to the families' overall income and food security.

IV. Making Feminist Sense of Fair Trade

The growing body of literature examining the socioeconomic effects of participation in Fair Trade is still lacking in attention to the gendered dimensions of Fair Trade. The literature on gender and ethical trade, in general, focuses on women participating in large-scale agriculture and their role as temporary hired workers (Barrientos et al. 2003; Prieto-Carron 2006; Smith and Dolan 2006), not as integral parts of family farms organized into producer cooperatives. However, there are some notable exceptions. Mutersbaugh's (1999) research on an organically certified coffee cooperative in Mexico has shown a strongly gendered division of labor in small-scale coffee-producing communities, with women contributing eighty percent of coffee production labor. Within the community where Mutersbaugh (1999) conducted his research women's participation in cooperative activities was crucial. For eight years cooperative projects that men instituted failed because women refused to participate in the projects, or resisted taking on additional work traditionally done by men so that men's labor could be freed for the cooperative's projects. Only when the cooperative began working with the women on their bakery project did they have access to the decision-making mechanisms of the cooperative and began supporting the organization's other activities (Mutersbaugh 1999).

Anthropologist, Sarah Lyon (2008) summarized the small body of existing literature on gender and Fair Trade and offered some of her observations of gender dynamics in a Fair Trade certified coffee cooperative in Guatemala. She argues that Fair Trade has failed to meet its principle to promote gender equity. She explains that patriarchal relations prevent women from participating actively in the cooperative and its assemblies. Women do not seek out leadership roles because these roles conflict with their responsibilities in the home. Lyon (2008) explains that while materials produced by the Fair Trade Labeling Organizations International (FLO) highlight non-farm income activities for women, these endeavors typically received little support from the cooperative or external sources.

A recent edited volume on Fair Trade adds to the small but growing body of scholarship on the gendered impacts of Fair Trade certification (Lyon and Moberg 2010). The impacts of Fair Trade on women differ by product and country in this volume. For example, in St. Lucia women and men banana farmers have equally been able to take advantage of the benefits of the Fair Trade market (Moberg 2010). However, in Guatemala and Kenya entrenched patriarchies stand in the way of extending the benefits of Fair Trade to women producers. Lyon writes about women struggling to find assistance for their weaving projects while their husbands and other male relatives producing coffee are the priority of the local cooperative, Fair Trade buyers, certifiers and non-governmental organizations (Lyon 2010). Coffee production itself is not a practical or acceptable activity for some women, so they have sought alternative income earning activities such as weaving. Similarly, Dolan (2010) argues that the gendered inequities she observed among Kenyan small-scale tea producers are more the result of local patriarchies than the impact of transnational commodity chains.

Studies on the intersections of gender, the environment, and development demonstrate many gendered problems with development programs organized in a top-down manner and imposed on agricultural communities. For example, women may be forced to take on additional environmental stewardship responsibilities when environmental conditions are imposed upon communities by development programs (Jackson 1993). Development models that draw on Women-in-Development and Ecofeminist approaches often view women as 'natural' environmental stewards, and have mobilized them as environmental managers as a result (Jackson 1993; Schroeder 1999). This essentialist ideology may lead to additional unpaid labor burdens on women. Women's involvement in community or environmental management projects may be more illustrative of the subordination of women, than of their affinity for community or the environment.

Feminists have suggested that women may have less access and control over resources and labor arrangements than men (see Jackson 1993; Rocheleau et al. 1996; Schroeder 1999). Since gender equity is one of the key principles of Fair Trade, the lack of attention to this dimension needs to be remedied. Brazil's large-scale coffee farms have many hired farmworkers, including groups of workers often segregated by gender (Stolke 1988). However, the coffee produced by COOPFAM farmers is almost exclusively tended to and harvested by family members.

We must consider the unbalanced gendered division of labor prevalent in many agricultural communities because studies have shown that additional work burdens are born by Fair Trade and organic coffee and banana producers as a result of the movements' environmental principles. In addition to environmental stewardship, Fair Trade and organic coffee production require farmers to spend additional labor on selecting high-quality coffee. Mexican coffee

farming families rely heavily on women's labor during the coffee harvest (Mutersbaugh 1999). In this case, additional workloads associated with Fair Trade's quality control requirements also fall on women's shoulders (ibid 1999). Concerning Fair Trade production, additional labor burdens both follow established gendered labor patterns and transform them. Any changes to the gendered division of labor among Fair Trade coffee producers are likely to vary from country to country, and culture to culture. In Chapter Four, I explore how participation in Fair Trade impacts men and women's labor on coffee farms in Poço Fundo, Minas Gerais.

A. Gender and Ethical Trade Paradigms

While literature examining Fair Trade's gendered dimensions is only beginning to emerge, scholars have focused more attention on gender and other ethical codes of conduct and trade paradigms. In the 1990s ethical trade models and codes of conduct requiring safe and equitable working conditions and environmental protections proliferated. Many of these codes were implemented through European supermarket chains to protect workers in the African Horticultural sector. Some transnational corporations have obligated or suggested their suppliers adhere to corporate codes of conduct to clean up or protect their social and environmental images.

These bodies of literature show several trends regarding ethical codes' gendered impacts. In general, existing codes of conduct do not serve the needs of women workers well. Women make up the bulk of informal workers in African horticultural sector, and in other geographical areas as well. Women are not protected well by existing codes of conduct because of their concentration in temporary, seasonal, and flexible labor arrangements, and due to structural factors such as gender and sexual discrimination in many countries. Because of their temporary,

seasonal, and flexible status women often lack access to maternity leave, face addition occupational health and safety issues, are paid low wages, and have high rates of job insecurity. Many codes focus on permanent, full-time workers that are more likely to be men. Finally, many women are not aware of existing codes of conduct or do not know or understand what the codes provide for them (Barrientos et al. 2003; Prieto-Carron 2006; Smith and Dolan 2006).

Women also endure sexual and other harassment, discriminatory practices such as different pay scales for men and women, and little opportunity for advancement (Barrientos et al. 2003; Prieto-Carron 2006; Smith and Dolan 2006). These acts are not as a result of codes of conduct, but they also have not been well addressed by these codes.

B. Gender, Resource Allocation, and Empowerment

Studies of Fair Trade producers show that they earn some additional financial benefits from participation in Fair Trade. The question remains on how households distribute these benefits. For example, do women and men stand on equal grounds when negotiating financial decisions in the home and on the farm? In practice, do women and men, and girls and boys have equal access to the social benefits of Fair Trade such as improved healthcare and education?

Fair Trade's principles provide an opportunity to empower women farmers, including all women in farming communities. To address the potential of Fair Trade to empower women it is important to explore the level of access and participation women enjoy in cooperative processes and decision-making, including access and involvement in cooperative leadership. Women's participation in the cooperative assemblies at COOPFAM is much lower than men's. Several women are active in the Women's group of COOPFAM and also often speak out and participate in meetings, but they seem to be the exception rather than the rule. In Chapter Five, I explore

why these women choose to participate while other women often do not engage actively in the cooperative meetings.

How or whether Fair Trade's gender equity principles affect women's decision-making power in their homes or the cooperative also remains unexplored. Fair Trade's gender equity principles challenge traditional gender relations within households and within the cooperative and as a result tensions between men and women occur. I also examine the differential impact that Fair Trade has on men and women in diverse life stages and marital statuses. I examine these sets of tensions and impacts in Chapters Four and Five of this dissertation.

Chapter Three. Setting and Methodology

I. Introduction

A political ecology approach to examining the "fairness" of Fair Trade at COOPFAM necessitates an exploration of the geographical and historical context in which coffee production grew and flourished in Brazil. By beginning with a brief history of coffee production in Brazil and state intervention in this industry, I set the framework for understanding coffee production and its relationship to State actors in Brazil and market factors at the international level. I then focus on the geography of the Sul de Minas region of Minas Gerais State where this study's cooperative, COOPFAM, is located. From there I will give a brief history of the city of Poço Fundo and a history of the establishment of COOPFAM. Finally, I will outline the methodology I employed to study the social, economic and environmental impacts of Fair Trade coffee production at COOPFAM.

II. Environmental History of Coffee Production in Brazil

Coffee was brought to the Paraíba Valley of Brazil in the late eighteenth century. By the middle of the nineteenth century, three states produced the majority of Brazilian coffee: Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. Coffee was one of Brazil's most lucrative export commodities and a major source of foreign currency well into the 1960s (Welch 1999). Foreign exchange earned from coffee was used to import equipment and technology to develop Brazil's nascent industries in the nineteenth century. Coffee's prosperity led to the development of Southeastern Brazil's industrial base. Throughout history, Brazilian coffee producers have exploited the environment and their labor force. Coffee production resulted in major

deforestation and environmental degradation in Southeastern Brazil in the nineteenth century (Branstrom 2000; Stein 1957; Stolcke 1988).

A. Coffee, Slaves, Sharecroppers, and *Colonos*

The nineteenth century was crucial in the development of the Brazilian coffee industry. In that century three states produced the majority of Brazilian coffee: Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais (Lima 1981; Stein 1957; Stolcke 1988). The coffee industry was a major contributor to the industrialization of Southeastern Brazil. Rio de Janeiro and Santos—São Paulo's neighboring port city—were key ports for the international coffee trade. Today they are important centers of industry, commerce, and the import and export of agricultural and industrial products.

In the early to mid-nineteenth century, Southeastern Brazil's coffee industry was growing, while Brazil's sugar industry in the Northeast entered into decline. Southeastern coffee planters were able to buy excess slaves from the Northeastern sugar plantations as well as newly imported African slaves (Stein 1957). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the abolition movement in Brazil was gaining strength. Coffee planters in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais opposed abolition, fearing slavery's end would deprive them of their labor force. Planters in São Paulo and Minas Gerais took different approaches to the provisioning of coffee labor after Brazil abolished slavery in 1888.

São Paulo

The Brazilian State has often intervened on behalf of coffee farmers. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Paulista government subsidized large-scale European

immigration (or the *colonato* system) to control the coffee planters' labor costs in the state of São Paulo. The majority of the *colonos* came from Italy (Roseberry 1995). Before the *colonato* system, Paulista planters relied on sharecropping, where tenant farmers provided landowners with a percentage of the crops they grew. The *colonato* system was less expensive for planters but more exploitative of workers than the sharecropping system (Stolcke 1988). *Colonos* were resident workers on the plantations. Entire families provided farm labor for the coffee plantations. Plantation owners preferred *colonos* with large families to reduce their labor costs. They looked for immigrant families with three or more members who could work in the coffee fields. Plantations provided the *colonos* with housing and food in return for their labor in the coffee fields (Stolke 1988).

By the 1860s São Paulo planters had introduced the mixed task and piece rate systems to pay *colonos*. *Colonos* were encouraged to plant food crops in the rows or spaces between the coffee trees they tended to supplement their subsistence needs. *Colonos* were rarely able to earn enough under the *colonato* system to secure their own plot of land, whereas sharecroppers fared a bit better economically (Stolcke 1988).

The explosive growth in the production of coffee under the *colonato* system led to overproduction. In the early part of the twentieth century, the Brazilian government instituted valorization schemes to sustain high coffee prices artificially. The government bought excess coffee and warehoused it or dumped it into the ocean. This artificial bolstering of prices created incentives for more domestic and international coffee production, leading to subsequent problems with excess production and low coffee prices (Stolcke 1988). São Paulo planters were able to survive these economic slumps by a variety of methods to reduce labor costs under the *colonato* system. They could reduce the labor force by replacing *colonos* with wage laborers,

hiring more single men on a temporary basis and paying them less, and by having *colonos* self-provision with subsistence crops when coffee prices were low (Stolcke 1988). All these strategies benefited planters at the expense of *colono* families.

Minas Gerais

Mineiros began cultivating coffee in the Zona de Mata in the nineteenth century like their neighbors in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo states. Three important factors explain the growth in production and exports of coffee in Minas Gerais: the availability of land appropriate for coffee production, an abundance of labor caused by the decline of mining in the state, and high coffee prices (Lima 1981).

The decline of the gold economy in the central region of Minas Gerais brought many free Brazilians and slaves into the Zona de Mata (Lima 1981). Like planters in São Paulo, Mineiros were dependent on slave labor and opposed abolition. In the 1878 Agricultural Congress, Mineiros opposed an immigration scheme like São Paulo's. As a result, sharecropping was the dominant labor system in Minas Gerais after slavery's abolition (Stolcke 1995).

The Zona da Mata lacked previously uncultivated land[8] at the end of the nineteenth century. Moreover, a series of physical and financial obstacles obstructed the expansion of coffee in the Zona da Mata (Lima 1981). The topography of the Zona da Mata was incompatible with agricultural equipment, and the northern and central regions of the state were too arid for coffee production. Coffee planters in Minas Gerais lacked sufficient capital to invest in the expansion of coffee, additional labor, or coffee production technology. These three factors limited the growth of the Mineiro coffee industry in the nineteenth century.

[8] Land uncultivated by Europeans at least; Warren Dean's (1995) environmental history of the Brazilian Atlantic forest suggests that native Brazilians inhabited and cultivated Brazil's rain and temperate forests centuries before the Portuguese arrived in Brazil.

Despite the decline in coffee production in the nineteenth century, Minas Gerais now produces more coffee than any other state in Brazil (Barros 2016). There are three regions in Minas Gerais that produce the most coffee due to excellent climatic and geographical conditions for growing Arabic coffee. Those regions are the Southwest, the central-west, and the Southeast of Minas Gerais (Barros 2016). Below, I describe the geography and climate of the Southwestern region, or Sul de Minas, where COOPFAM is located.

B. Modernization of Agriculture

An abundance of land and cheap labor and the relatively high costs of agricultural inputs delayed Brazil's agricultural modernization project. The *colonato* system was strong into the 1960s until the 1963 Rural Labor Statute was passed. Stolcke (1988) shows that the majority of coffee in São Paulo began to be produced using salaried labor when workers demanded the labor rights stipulated in the 1963 Rural Labor Statute.

In the 1950s, Brazilian subsidies for farm machinery and fertilizers, price guarantees, and technical assistance led to the partial mechanization of crops such as rice, wheat, and sugar cane. São Paulo planters, however, were reluctant to implement new technical methods of coffee cultivation until the 1960s. According to Stolcke only "after the *colonato* had become extinct, did the introduction of technical innovations accelerate" (1988:87).

In the 1950s, São Paulo planters lost the option of bringing more land into production, while their neglect of coffee trees had led to poor yields, mediocre quality coffee, and soil erosion (Stolcke 1988; Welch 1999). The Agronomic Institute of Campinas had demonstrated that, with the introduction of high-yielding coffee varieties, regular use of chemical fertilizers, closer spacing of coffee trees, control of soil erosion through contour farming, and partial

mechanization, yields on old coffee land could be akin to those achieved on newly cleared land (Stolcke 1988). From mid-1962 to the end of 1967 the government instituted a program to uproot millions of unproductive coffee trees (Welch 1999). A coffee export levy financed the program but was begrudged by coffee planters. They protested the levy and negotiated a settlement that eliminated the 1964 contribution quota and raised the domestic price of coffee by twenty-five percent (Welch 1999). Concurrently, international demand for coffee rose, and prices increased.

C. Coffee Production and State Intervention

Brazilian coffee production has a long history of State interventions in the market to regulate labor, price, and supply of coffee discussed above. In addition to interventions to control the price and availability of labor in Brazilian coffee production, the State also intervened in the market to stabilize the price of coffee. In the early 1900s, an expansion of coffee production led to an oversupply of coffee and a fall in global coffee prices. Brazil, at that time, was the world's largest producer of coffee. As such, Brazil's 70% market share of coffee exports was large enough that interventions made by the Brazilian government could unilaterally influence prices. In 1906, the state government in São Paulo instated the first "coffee valorization" plan, where the state purchased eight million bags of coffee to keep them off of the market and keep prices high. This amounted to nearly a third of world coffee production and more than half of Brazil's production (Talbot 2004). These purchases stabilized prices globally, as this coffee was then slowly sold over the next ten years.

The cyclical nature of coffee production and market fluctuations continued throughout the twentieth century. In the wake of World War Two, the Inter-American Coffee Agreement came about as a result of Latin America being cut off from European markets. The Inter-

American Coffee Agreement set import quotas for the US Market from 1940-45. It was lifted after the war ended, which led to rising coffee prices that set records by 1954 and resulted in the over planting of coffee in many areas. Coffee producers began meeting after 1954 to discuss ways to stop price decline. There were various unsuccessful attempts to regulate the market until 1962 when the US convened a conference in New York because of fears that unstable coffee markets would increase the threat that communism would spread in Latin America (Talbot 2004). US anxiety about the spread of communism across Latin America was growing at that time in the wake of the Cuban Revolution. Furthermore, US President Kennedy was interested in price stabilization efforts. As a result, the New York conference led to the International Coffee Agreement (ICA) between producing and consuming countries. The ICA also established production quotas to balance supply and demand.

The Coffee Crisis and the Rise of Fair Trade Coffee

The ICA governed the price and supply of coffee from 1962 until 1989, as a mechanism partially set up to stem the spread of communism in Latin America. The end of the Cold War hastened the demise of the ICA. In 1989, the United States (US), the world's largest coffee consumer, withdrew from the ICA and it collapsed. This liberalized the market for coffee and producing countries were forced to sell coffee at the New York Commodity Price (C-Price).

Like all commodity prices, the C-Price for coffee rises and falls due to supply and demand. Weather patterns have often had severe impacts on the C-Price of coffee. Soon after the dismantling of the ICA, a killer frost hit the coffee fields of São Paulo, Brazil wiping out much of the crop. Without the market regulatory power of the ICA, a temporary spike in the C-price of coffee occurred. Farmers responded to the higher prices by planting more coffee. However,

coffee is a slow growing crop, and the first harvest is approximately five years after new coffee plants are planted. At the same time a new giant in coffee production, Vietnam, began to enter the market in the late 1990s. The combined over planting in existing coffee growing regions and Vietnam's rise in the market led to gross over production and historic lows in coffee prices in 2002 (Talbot 2004).

This period is now commonly referred to as the Coffee Crisis. Under this new free-market paradigm, prices declined to levels at which small farmers could not sustain themselves (Oxfam 2002; Talbot 2004). The origin stories of the Fair Trade movement typically point to the Coffee Crisis as the sea change moment where market-based movements began to grow to address the Coffee Crisis and the plight of poor coffee farmers. Indeed, at this time market-based movements and second and third party certification systems began to grow in popularity and were proposed as a simple solution to poverty in agricultural communities.

III. Description of Research Site

A. Geography and Coffee Production in Sul de Minas, Minas Gerais

Brazil leads the world in coffee production but has only recently entered specialty niches such as Fair Trade. Minas Gerais produces 50.8% of Brazilian coffee, and 53% of this production occurs in the Sul de Minas (Silveira et al. 2006). Minas Gerais is a mountainous state in Southeast Brazil. The state is almost entirely inside the area known as the Brazilian Highlands. Mountain ranges in Minas Gerais include the Serra da Mantiqueira, Serra do Espinhaço, Serra da Canasta, Serra do Cipó, and Serra dos Aimorés. Although the state is quite mountainous, there are considerable differences in the geography and climate in different areas of the state.

The Serra do Espinhaço runs from Minas Gerais up to northern Bahia and is where most of the mineral wealth is concentrated in Minas Gerais. The English translation of the state's name, "General Mines," comes from the abundance of mineral wealth that was extracted from the state, particularly during the eighteenth century often called the *Século de Ouro* (Golden Century) (Levine 1999). Once the *Século de Ouro* ended, many people in the mining regions either migrated or turned to subsistence agriculture (Furtado 1968).

The southeastern part of the state is called the Zona da Mata, which refers to the Mata Atlântica. This area was where coffee production occurred in Minas Gerais in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Much of the Mata Atlântica in this area of the state was cleared to produce coffee (Lima 1981).

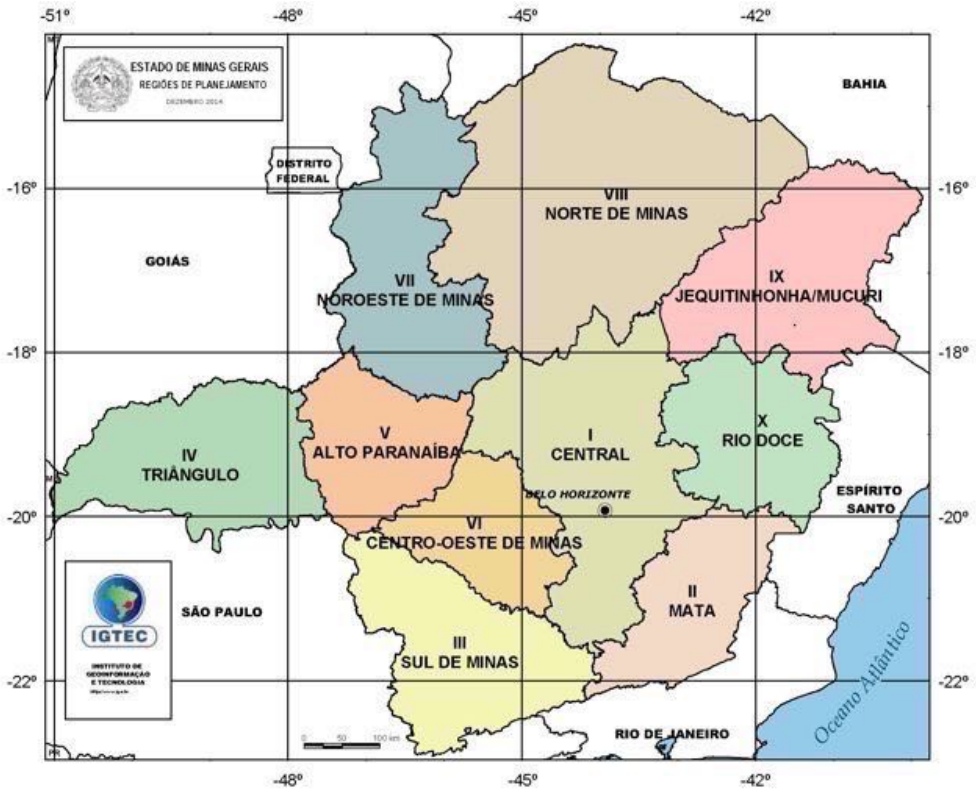

Figure 3: Map of Meso Regions of Minas Gerais, Brazil.
Map Source: Government of Minas Gerais (Governo de Minas Gerais 2017).

The Serra da Mantiqueira range creates the borders between Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro. These mountains separate the coastal plain of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo from the central highlands of Minas Gerais. COOPFAM is located north of the Serra da Mantiqueira range in the Sul de Minas region of Minas Gerais. Minas Gerais is a state highly dependent on agriculture. Coffee production and dairy production are the main agricultural activities in Sul de Minas. Sul de Minas is ideal for growing high-quality coffee because of the fertile *terra rosa* soils there and because the area is in the *Tierra Templada* altitudinal zone between approximately 750 to 1,800 meters in elevation. However, modified polar air can cause severe frosts that can inflict extensive damage to coffee crops in Sul de Minas and neighboring São Paulo. These occasional frosts are a contributing factor in many drastic rises and eventual declines in the world market price of coffee due to Brazil's global importance as a coffee-producing nation.

According to data collected by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística in 2007, the population of Minas Gerais was 45.7% White (*Branca*), 9.7% Black (*Preta*), 44.2%, Mixed-White and Black (*Parda*), and 0.4% Asian or Indigenous (*Amerela* or *Indígena*) (IBGE 2008). This is relatively similar to the racial breakdown of Southeast Brazil in general, which is 58.4% White (*Branca*), 8.4% Black (*Preta*), and 32.4% Mixed-White and Black (*Parda*), and 0.9% Asian or Indigenous (*Amerela* or *Indígena*) (IBGE 2008).

B. Poço Fundo History and Geography

I conducted my fieldwork primarily with members of the COOPFAM cooperative located in the city of Poço Fundo, MG. In 2006 I visited Poço Fundo for the first time. I caught a bus from Alfenas about thirty miles away. The landscape surrounding Alfenas is low lying and

riverine, with long finger-lakes, and great swaths of swaying sugar cane plantations. About twenty minutes out of Alfenas the landscape starts to change as foothills rise up and you can spy coffee bushes. The former Mata Atlântica has largely been denuded of native plants and coffee dominates the landscape. Mile after mile after mile of coffee plantations sprawl out. It is still "low lying" here compared to the coffee growing regions I had come to know in Nicaragua and Costa Rica. There are few shade trees on these plantations. The farms are relatively flat, and the coffee is grown in full sunlight, ideal for quick harvesting, sometimes mechanically, with large coffee harvesting machinery. The nutrient rich *terra rosa* soils peek out between the coffee bushes and along the roadsides. Eventually, the hills become a bit steeper, and the coffee persists.

The landscape changes around the city of Machado as the coffee farms become smaller. Many are delineated by rows of banana plants, bamboo, or sugar cane. Small pink, blue, and green cement homes, bordered by kitchen gardens, begin to dot the landscape. The bus ride from Alfenas to Poço Fundo is a study in Brazilian agricultural production as great coffee plantations rise out of seas of sugar cane. Between Alfenas and Machado lies Café Ipanema, one of the largest coffee plantations in the world. The small-scale farms of Poço Fundo stand in stark contrast to the enormous scale of production at Café Ipanema.

From Machado, it is only about a half an hour until the bus pulls through the entrance gates to the city of Poço Fundo. As I walk toward COOPFAM from the bus station, I see the very steep hills that lead up into the central part of the town, in a few short years I will become very familiar with those hills.

Captain Francisco de Assis, Coronel José Dias de Gouvêa, and other farmers founded Poço Fundo, originally named Gimirim, in April 1870. The Portuguese King granted Gouvêa his

local landholdings. These men wanted to establish a city close to their *fazendas* (plantations). The farmers lived far from urban centers and desired the amenities provided by a city, especially proximity to religious services. Slaves and farmers cut down the native forest to erect the first chapel in the *bairro* (neighborhood) of São Benedito in December 1870. In four years one hundred homes had sprung up from where there had only been virgin forest previously (Noronha 2003).

Tobacco was the first major commercial enterprise and the most important crop in Poço Fundo for many decades. Tobacco's significance is reflected in the city's crest of arms and flag that prominently feature a tobacco leaf. In 1953, the mayor decided to change the name of the town to Poço Fundo, which was the name of a famous type of Brazilian tobacco grown there (Noronha 2003). While Poço Fundenses still grow tobacco, it has been surpassed by coffee production as the most significant economic activity in the municipality. Farmers in Poço Fundo produced 8,765 tons of coffee in 2006 (IGBE 2017).

Poço Fundo, along with its neighboring districts of Machado and Campestre, is said to produce some of the best quality coffee in Brazil (Silveira et al. 2006). The municipality of Poço Fundo is 464 km^2. Varying altitudes between 800 and 1300 meters are excellent for growing Arabica coffee. Poço Fundo's population in 2007 was 15,350 (IBGE 2008). In 2000 44.5% of Poço Fundenses lived in the rural parts of the district. Agriculture is the most important economic activity in the municipality, 62% of the population is engaged in some agricultural activity (IBGE 2009). Of the 1698 farms in the district, 81% were considered to be family farms, which generated 55.3% of the value of agricultural production there (Silveira et al. 2006).

C. COOPFAM History

COOPFAM's roots date back to 1984 when a group of farmers in the local *sindicato* (union) in Poço Fundo began exploring alternative forms of agriculture. Small-scale farmers in the area did not feel well represented by the union, which they felt was created to serve political purposes and focused mainly on agricultural wageworkers, not small farmers. In 1984, the farmers explain that it was a local priest, Agnaldo Perugini, who got them interested in alternative agriculture. Father Perugini was a part of the Comissão Pastoral da Terra (CPT) movement. He spoke to the farmers about stewardship and alternative agriculture, linking Christian values with environmental sustainability.

The CPT, an organization within the Catholic Church in Brazil, was associated with the new union movement in rural Brazil during the country's democratic transition between 1979-1989. The new union movement had strong support from the progressive sector of the Catholic Church and was a radical movement of largely poor small-scale farmers. It was the most important Church entity to emerge out of this pastoral movement (Houtzager 2000). The CPT was conceived as a way to support small-scale farmers, like those who later formed COOPFAM, in economic and political struggles.

In 1991, a small group of farmers worked with Father Perugini and organized the Associação dos Pequenos Produtores de Poço Fundo e Região. They had no market for their coffee and few members. In 1993, members of the Associação began pooling their resources to buy inputs, such as fertilizer, collectively. The following year they started a rotating fund to purchase inputs. In 1995, the organization furthered its commitment to alternative agriculture when it began working with Sepucaí a local non-governmental organization (NGO) that provided help and guidance on organic and biodynamic farming. The Associação and later COOPFAM

(the cooperative) worked with Sepucaí until 2007. It was during this time that the Associação began to seek organic and Fair Trade certification.

COOPFAM and its associations began participating in the Fair Trade movement in 1998 when the Associação dos Pequenos Produtores de Poço Fundo e Região (Association) worked with Max Havelaar[9] to become Fair Trade certified. Unfortunately, the Association did not have an international market for their Fair Trade coffee for several years. In 2002, the Association became the first in Brazil to receive Fair Trade certification from the main certifying body at the time Fair Trade Labelling Organization (FLO). After obtaining FLO certification, the cooperative was finally able to reach buyers interested in their Fair Trade certified coffee and gain access to this new market. In 1997, the association received organic certification through the Associação de Agricultura Orgânica (AAO). Today COOPFAM farmers continue to produce Fair Trade coffee under FLO certification. Their organic coffee is certified by AAO for the Brazilian market, US Department of Agriculture (USDA) for the United States, and European Union Agricultural Standard (EUROPA) for the European market, and Japanese Agricultural Standard (JAS) for markets in Asia. COOPFAM exports Fair Trade and organic coffee to North America, Europe, and Japan. In 2009, COOPFAM was the largest exporter of Fair Trade and organic coffee in Brazil, exporting twenty containers of Fair Trade and organic dual-certified coffee. During this period Cooperavitae was the only other Brazilian coffee cooperative exporting dual-certified Fair Trade and organic coffee. In 2009, Cooperavitae exported three shipping containers of dual-certified coffee.

COOPFAM is one of the most established Brazilian Fair Trade cooperatives. COOPFAM had 205 member families in 2006, approximately 250 member families in 2009, and 307 member

[9] Max Havelaar was a label created in 1988 by the Dutch development organization Solidaridad to certify that coffee producers had received a premium price for their coffee.

families in 2011. The average size of a COOPFAM farm was seven hectares in 2009 (COOPFAM 2009), and eight hectares in 2011. Sixty percent of COOPFAM farmers have organic certification (TransFair USA 2009). In 2007, the cooperative sold 12,300 bags (60kg/bag) of coffee (COOPFAM 2009). While in the 2008-09 season, it sold 20,000 bags of coffee due to a bumper crop. The cooperative expected about half that production in the 2009-10 cycle due to a rainy harvest season and naturally lower coffee yield after the previous year's high yield.

COOPFAM is rooted in social justice, and environmental movements, beginning with the CPT in the mid-1980s and today is situated firmly in the organic and Fair Trade movements. The religious rhetoric from the CPT movement is still present in many farmers' descriptions of why sustainable production is desirable. Farmers speak passionately about being stewards of the earth. The cooperative administrators — who are all farmers themselves — share this commitment to social and environmental issues. Education levels vary among the farmers and administrators, but two of the cooperative's recent presidents both had post-secondary degrees. Luis Adauto Oliveira (President from 2003-2009), studied in the Seminary before returning to Poço Fundo to grow coffee; and Marcelo de Paiva Gonçalves (President from 2009-2011), studied agronomy at the Centro Superior de Ensino e Pesquisa de Machado.

Today, COOPFAM is made up of exclusively small-scale coffee farmers who live in Sul de Minas region of Minas Gerais in or near the cities of Poço Fundo, Machado, Andradas, Campestre, Ouro Fino, Cambuí, Paraguaçu, Santa Rita do Sapucaí, São João da Mata, Silvanópolis, Natércia, Nepomuce, and Inconfidentes. Each cooperative member is also a member of an agricultural association in the city where they live; the largest association in the cooperative is in Poço Fundo.

COOPFAM has an advantage over other cooperatives entrenched in conventional markets and production practices because it was formed to access markets like Fair Trade, organic, and other specialty markets. All of the farmers in COOPFAM have farms that are at or below the maximum size permitted by FLO. Farmers interested in joining COOPFAM must join one of the associations affiliated with the cooperative and participate actively, including going to meetings for six months. Moreover, they must meet the social, environmental standards required for Fair Trade certification. In 2009, the cooperative president, Luis Adauto Oliviera, spoke about being hesitant to have more Fair Trade-only certified farmers join because 2008-2009 was the first fiscal year that COOPFAM could not sell all of its high-quality, but conventional, Fair Trade coffee. However, the cooperative was eagerly promoting organic production because the demand for dual Fair Trade and organic certified coffee was still greater than their supply.

D. Snapshot of COOPFAM Family Farmers

COOPFAM is a cooperative that has approximately 300 member families; the numbers vary from year to year as farmers join or withdraw from the cooperative. In COOPFAM's 2011 census they listed 307 members, 105 of those held organic certification while 202 of them were Fair Trade conventional. Of the families interviewed for this study, twenty-four were married couples with children. Other research participants included a widow and widower, one married couple without children, three unmarried men, and one unmarried woman.

COOPFAM families live in or near the cities of Poço Fundo, Machado, Andradas, Campestre, Ouro Fino, Cambuí, Paraguaçu, Santa Rita do Sapucaí, São João da Mata, Silvanópolis, Natércia, Nepomuce, and Inconfidentes in the Sul de Minas region of Minas

Gerais. Some of these cities are over three hours drive from Poço Fundo where the cooperative is located.

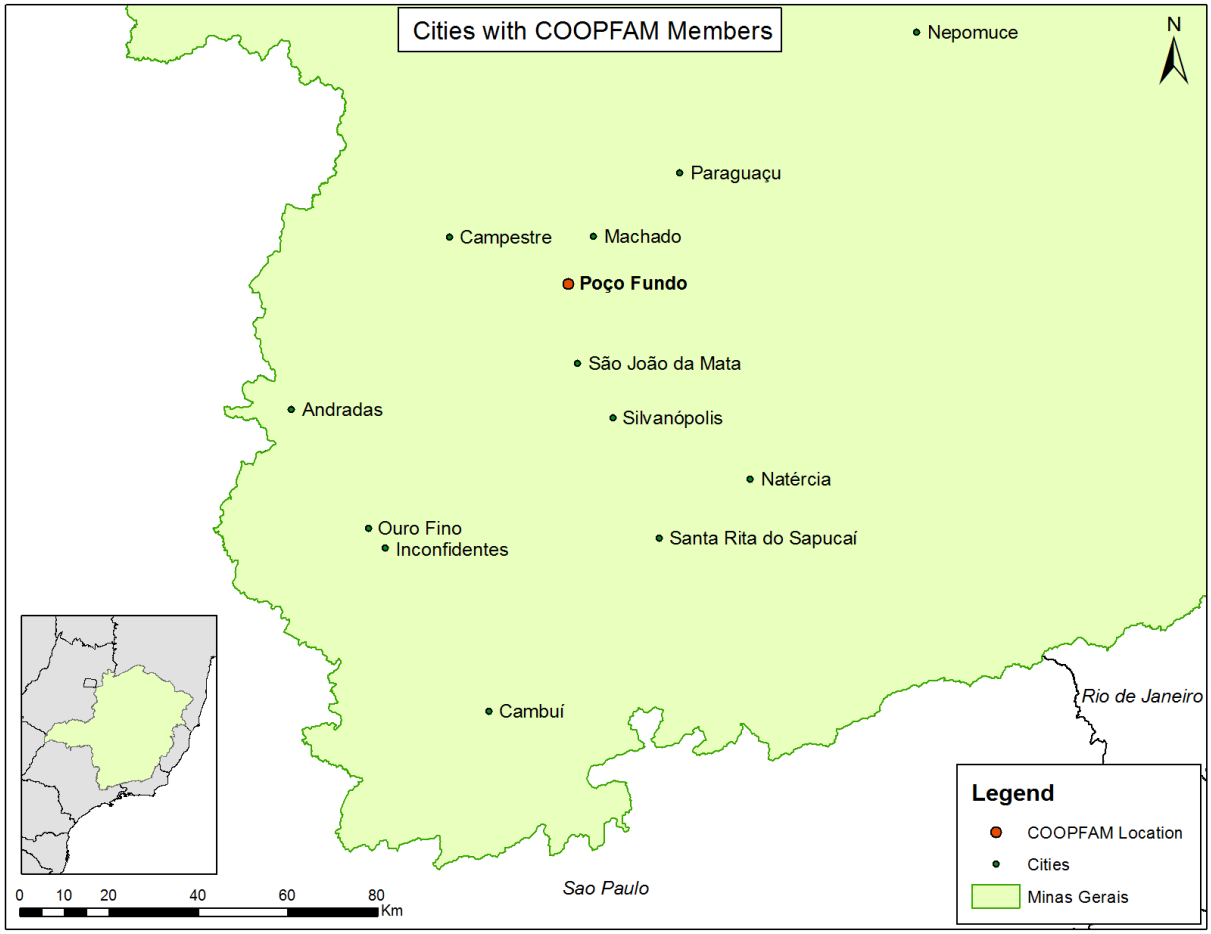

Figure 4: Map of cities in Sul de Minas, Minas Gerais with COOPFAM members.
Map credit: Adrianne Daggett.

The average size of a COOPFAM farm is eight hectares, and the average area under coffee production is 3.4 hectares. This is somewhat larger than Fair Trade and organic farms in Mexico and several Central American countries. In Mexico, Jaffee (2007) reported that farmers had about 4.4 hectares of land, 2.5 ha of which was in coffee production. In El Salvador, farms in

Méndez's (2008) study were under collective land management and coffee plots were between 0.7-3.5 ha. While in Nicaragua, Westphal (2008) reported coffee holdings of three *manzanas* or approximately two hectares.

In addition to coffee production, many farmers at COOPFAM have some land in pasture, subsistence crops, or natural reserve. The map below is an example of land use map for a COOPFAM farming family. Areas shown include two coffee fields *Talhão Adensado* (1.71 ha), and *Talhão Jatoba* (2.56 ha), 1.79 ha of pasture (*pasto*), the location of a natural spring (*nascente*), and two areas of forest reserve (*reserva*) totaling 5.90 ha. I provide production information about the amount of coffee harvested and other subsistence activities on COOPFAM farms in Chapter Four.

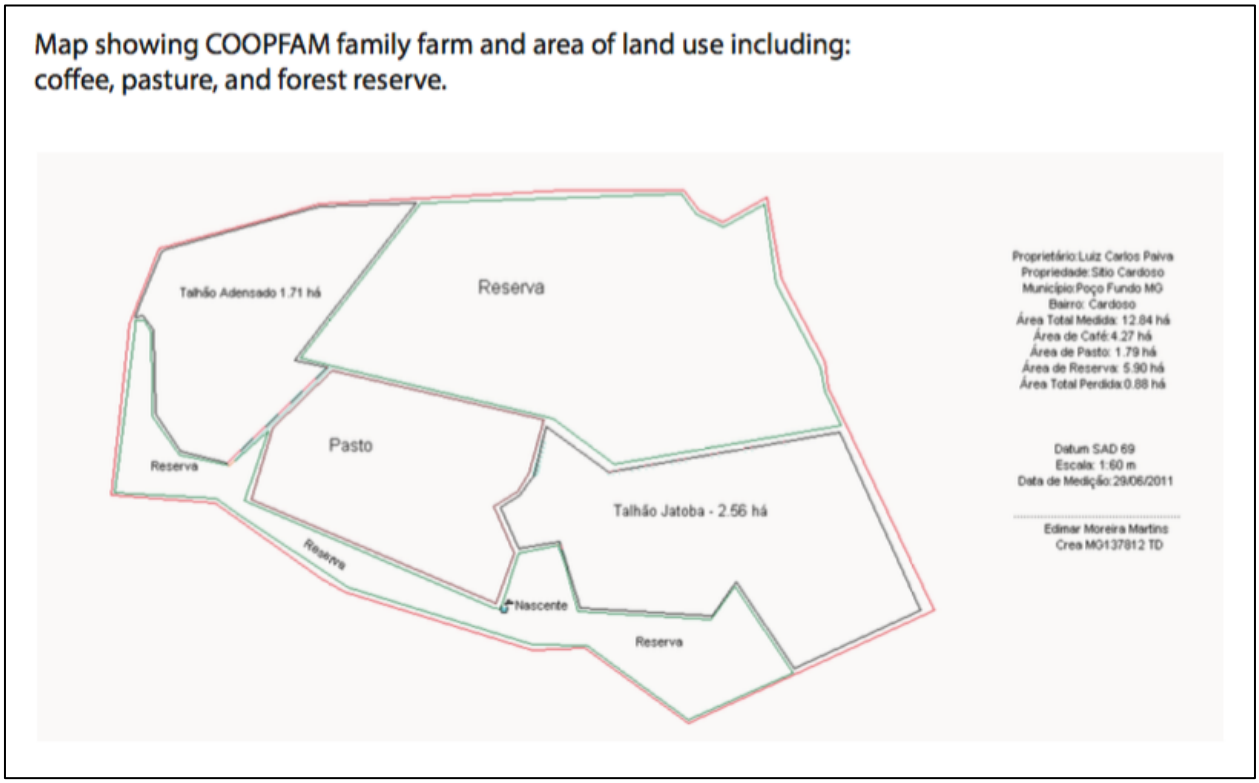

Figure 5: Map of a COOPFAM family farm.
Map Credit: Edimar Moreira Martins.

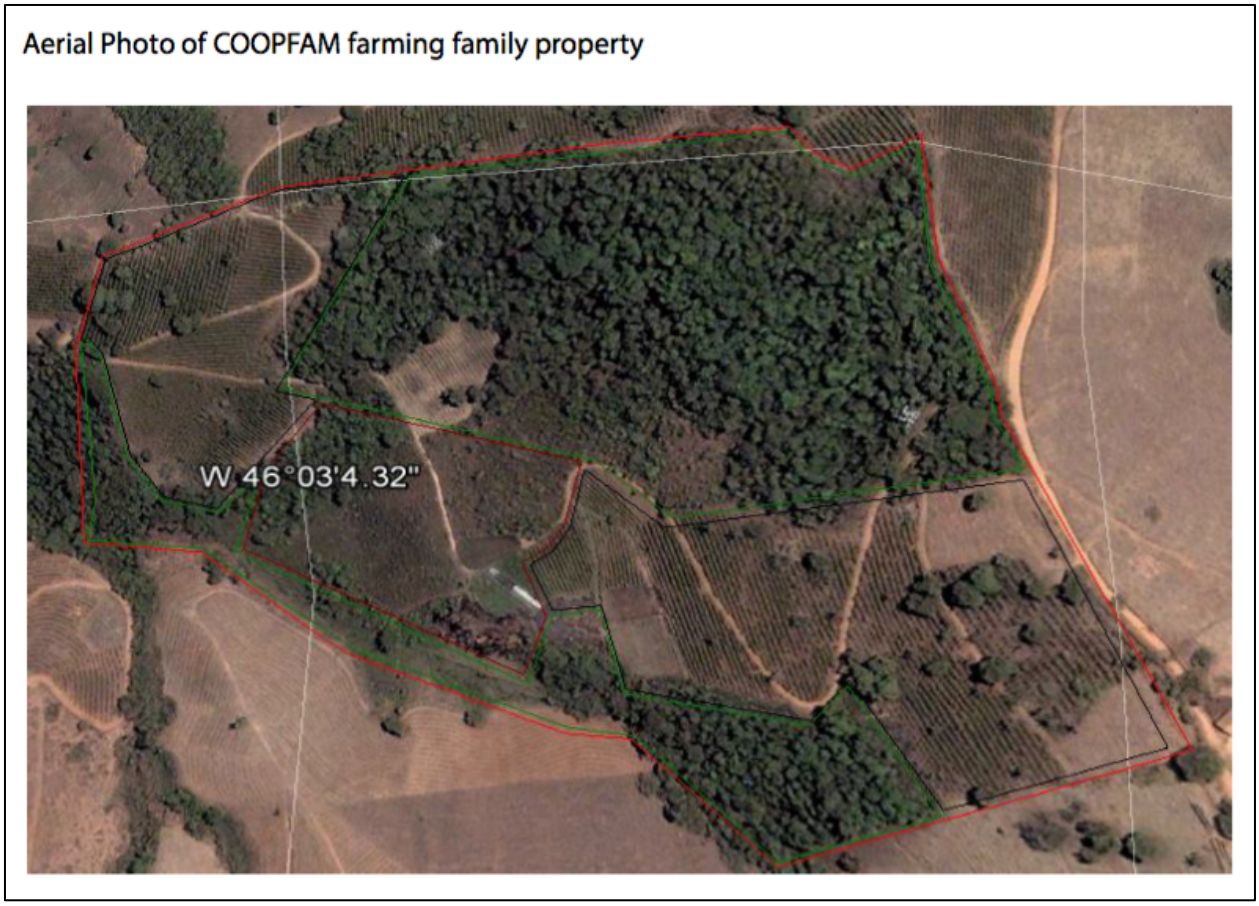

Figure 6: Aerial photo of a COOPFAM family farm.
Photo Credit: Edimar Moreira Martins.

E. Organizational Structure of COOPFAM

Nucleus

The nucleus is the smallest form of organization within the cooperative. There are 14 nuclei under COOPFAM. The farmers join a nucleus in the *bairro* where they live. The members of the nucleus meet monthly. Each nucleus delegates at least one person to attend various cooperative and association meetings on a monthly basis. For those nuclei outside of Poço Fundo, it is not practical for them to travel to Poço Fundo regularly for cooperative functions.

Association

Originally the members of COOPFAM formed an association in Poço Fundo. Today, there are five associations within the cooperative. Each association represents a group of cooperative members that live in a particular municipality, and each association has at least one representative on the board of directors for the cooperative. The number of board members from a particular association is related to the proportion of cooperative members in an association. In 2009, there were over 180 associates in Poço Fundo, at least 36 in Campestre, five in Andradas, five in Ouro Fino, and five in Inconfidentes. Poço Fundo has nine representatives, and it is the largest association. Campestre has two representatives, and the others each have one representative (Andradas, Inconfidentes, Ouro Fino).

Cooperative

Under Brazilian law, the members of the original Association in Poço Fundo had to form a cooperative to sell their coffee. They formed COOPFAM in 2004, to continue selling coffee since producer associations cannot engage in the commercialization of their products in Brazil.

F. Organic and Fair Trade Coffee Production in Sul de Minas

Wilkinson and Mascarenhas (2007) suggest that, in Brazil, Fair Trade was not a component of the social movements, producer organizations, civil society groups and government policies that were directed at small farmers in the 1990s. However, they suggest that in less than a decade the discourse of Fair Trade was incorporated into the official policy discourse of the former President Luis Ignacio da Silva, various ministries, and public agencies.

Moreover, popular movements and non-governmental organizations in Brazil have adopted Fair Trade discourse.

In 2008, TransFair USA (now Fair Trade USA) listed six Fair Trade cooperatives. The Associação dos Pequenos Produtores de Poço Fundo e Região, the founding association in the cooperative COOPFAM, was the first Brazilian coffee association to receive Fair Trade certification in 1998 from Max Havelaar and later in 2002 by Fair Trade Labeling Organization (FLO). The next cooperatives to become Fair Trade certified were Santana da Vargem in 2003, Coocafé in 2005, and Coorpol, Coopervitae, and PRONOVA all in 2006 (TransFair USA 2009). In 2011, this number had grown to nineteen Fair Trade certified coffee cooperatives and associations in Brazil (FLOCERT 2011), fourteen of which were located in Minas Gerais. Today, FLOCERT lists thirteen coffee cooperatives and seventeen associations with Fair Trade certification (FLOCERT 2016).

Geography and the size of coffee farms play a role in determining whether a farm is eligible for Fair Trade certification. Brazil's large-scale plantations were not eligible for Fair Trade certification until 2011 when Fair Trade USA initiated a pilot program to certify plantations. Although Fair Trade standards were designed to benefit small-scale farmers, the system under FLOCERT, also allows for plantations of some products such as tea to receive Fair Trade certification. Coffee producers and activists were successful in pressuring certifying organizations not to allow Fair Trade certification of coffee plantations until Fair Trade USA broke away from FLO in 2011. Brazil's mega-plantations are a concern for small farmers and activists fighting to reserve Fair Trade certification for small-scale farmers in democratically organized producer cooperatives. Furthermore, some in the specialty coffee industry criticized Fair Trade organizations for not certifying medium to large estate grown coffee. Since these

estates are not organized into producer cooperatives, they cannot receive Fair Trade certification under Fair Trade Labeling Certification (FLOCERT). In 2011, Fair Trade USA (formerly TransFair USA) began a pilot program to certify coffee plantations, with the first two pilot plantations located in Brazil and Colombia. I describe the tensions around this change to certify plantations later in Chapter Six of this dissertation.

The Sul de Minas is also the locus of Brazilian organic coffee production. In 1992 the first Brazilian coffee farms received organic certification in the Sul de Minas, Minas Gerais (Souza, Saes, and Dolnokoff 2005). Although Brazil produces the most coffee in the world — roughly 30% of the world's coffee — the entire specialty coffee industry accounts for only 6%, and organic production accounts for less than 0.5% of total production (Souza, Saes, and Dolnokoff 2005). In the 1990s several coffee quality contests such as the *Cup of Excellence* and *Illy Award* began in Brazil. These contests brought attention to the specialty coffee industry and provided growers with incentives to improve the quality of their coffee.

In 1992 a farmer from Machado – Poço Fundo's nearest neighboring town — exported 250 bags of organic coffee to Japan. Soon after, organic coffee producers began winning coffee quality awards. In 1999 a different farmer from Machado won second place in the prestigious *Cup of Excellence* competition, and in 2001 another organic coffee grower from the Sul de Minas won the *Cup of Excellence*. His coffee sold for over US $700 a sack (60 kg/sack) at a time when the conventional price of coffee sold for US $35 a sack. In 2008, the first Fair Trade coffee quality competition was held in Minas Gerais. Several farmers from COOPFAM won quality awards, including first place, which went to the cooperative president at the time Luis Adauto Oliviera. The competition was co-sponsored by TransFair USA (now Fair Trade USA), Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio às Micro e Pequenas Empresas (SEBRAE), and Café Bom Dia.

During the coffee crisis, when market prices bottomed out in the late 1990s and early 2000s, farmers in the Sul de Minas saw organic coffee production as a way to earn more for their coffee (Souza, Saes, and Dolnokoff 2005). Fair Trade offered them a financial safety net while transitioning from conventional to organic coffee production by providing a set floor price per pound of coffee sold. Having a set price is important to farmers transitioning to organic because they may initially have low yields in the first years. With this kind of help and an eye to the future, farmers in Fair Trade certified cooperatives such as COOPFAM are increasingly transitioning to organic production. Once farmers achieve organic certification, the higher Fair Trade premium price they receive improves farmers' economic stability.

The type of small-scale coffee farmers participating in Fair Trade fills a relatively unstudied niche in the vast amount literature on agricultural production and agricultural movements in Brazil. While many of these farmers own land, they have never been part of the powerful land-owning class in Brazil; nor are they the workers found on the coffee plantations of São Paulo, or part of the Movimento Sem Terra (MST), or other landless people's movements in Brazil.

IV. Methodology

A. Methods

I employed common anthropological methods including participant observation and semi-structured interviews to collect the data for this study. Since this is a multi-sited ethnography, I collected data among supply and value chain actors in both Brazil and the United States. A description of the types of methods used among these various agents follows below. Data for this study was collected and analyzed with the approval of Michigan State University's

institutional review board (IRB) under two different approvals # 06-469 for data collected from Brazilian coffee farmers and administrators, and # 06-264D for research conducted with Fair Trade coffee buyer, certifiers, and activists. Research participants were given the option for their names to appear in the final work or to elect confidentiality, in those cases where a research participate elected confidentiality I have used a pseudonym.

Brazilian Research Sites

I conducted my fieldwork with two Fair Trade certified cooperatives in Sul de Minas, Minas Gerais. My work was primarily done at COOPFAM with supplemental interviews carried out at another cooperative in the region, Coopervitae. I spent seven months conducting my dissertation research in Minas Gerais, Brazil in 2009 and two months conducting my pre-dissertation research there in 2006, and a two-week follow-up visit in 2012.

I used multiple methods to collect data on the impacts of Fair Trade and organic coffee production on the lives of small farming families. My methods included: semi-structured interviews, informal interviews, participant observation, as well as collection and analysis of textual, photographic and video-graphic material

I conducted semi-structured interviews with 36 farmers at COOPFAM and four farmers at Coopervitae. I also interviewed the presidents of these cooperatives, three at COOPFAM and one at Coopervitae. At COOPFAM I conducted semi-structured interviews with a member of the fiscal council, two administrative directors of the cooperative, three presidents of associations within the cooperative, the agrotechnical advisor for the cooperative, and the cooperative's internal organic auditor. I also interviewed one of the two women on the association’s board of

directors, as well as the president of the women's group in the cooperative, and several of the group's members.

In open-ended interviews with cooperative administrators, I questioned them on why the cooperative selected systems such as Fair Trade and organic. I asked them to reflect on the rationales they had for and against certification, the certification processes and standards they had to meet, and changes to the cooperative due to Fair Trade certification. To understand the changing dynamics in the Fair Trade system, I asked them how Fair Trade certification has evolved over time; if the entrance of newly certified cooperatives has affected the market for existing cooperatives' coffee; and if concepts of "fairness" differ between members of established and newly certified cooperatives. To examine the power dynamics between the cooperative, farmers, and outsiders such as certification organizations and coffee buyers, I asked administrators about their roles in the decision-making processes of the cooperatives and the Fair Trade system. I also asked them about their experiences with certification auditors, and how they negotiate contracts with purchasers.

Farmer interviews and participant observation with COOPFAM members occurred with farmers from the municipalities of Poço Fundo, São João da Mata, Inconfidentes, Natércia, and Andradas. Participant observation also occurred with farmers from the municipality of Campestre. Participant observation and interviews with farmers and administrators from Coopervitae happened in Nova Resende. Participant observation was conducted in farmers' homes, on their farms, in the cooperative offices, or during cooperative meetings, lectures, classes and special programs. Interviews with farmers were organized around several themes including access to Fair Trade and its impacts on farmers' lives; gender and labor issues in Fair

Trade and organic coffee production; gender and power in the cooperative; and farmers livelihood strategies.

US Research Sites

In addition to my field sites in Brazil, I conducted research in multiple locations in the United States. In 2010 and 2013, I conducted follow-up research at the Specialty Coffee Association of America Events (SCAA) and conducted participant observation at these three-day events. I acted as an interpreter for each of COOPFAM's presidents in their business meetings with coffee buyers and certifiers at the SCAAs. I also conducted several interviews with coffee buyers of COOPFAM's coffee in the United States.

From 2010-2015, I served on the board of a Fair Trade non-profit organization in Chelsea, MI. During that period I engaged in a campaign to work with businesses, institutions and the city of Chelsea to adopt policies to become a Fair Trade Town. As a result of that campaign, Chelsea was the first Fair Trade Town in Michigan as designated by Fair Trade USA. This engagement in Fair Trade advocacy served as an important form of praxis to foster positive impacts of Fair Trade through educational efforts in the US.

Access to Fair Trade and Impacts on Farmers' Lives

I asked who decided to participate in Fair Trade and why to gain insight into farmers' rationales about taking part in the Fair Trade system. I asked farmers to tell me more about their lives, to explain what it is like to be a small-scale coffee farmer. I also asked them to explain, in their words, what Fair Trade and organic certification and production entail. I inquired about the obstacles they faced in becoming certified and what they would change about the Fair Trade and

organic systems. These questions focused a better an understanding about the processes farmers undergo to gain access to Fair Trade and organic certification. I also asked about their experiences meeting with international actors including Fair Trade and organic auditors, international coffee buyers, and Fair Trade activists, to examine farmers' interactions with other actors in the Fair Trade and organic coffee commodity chains. Moreover, to understand how these systems have impacted farmers' lives, I asked if and how participation in Fair Trade changed their lives socially and economically.

Farmers' Livelihood Strategies

The farmers at COOPFAM do not solely rely on coffee production to support their families. As mentioned previously, dairy and tobacco production are also important sources of income in the mountainous areas of Sul de Minas. I asked farmers to discuss what crops they grow and animals they raise for their family's consumption and barter or sale locally. Finally, to understand the balance of on farm and off farm labor, I asked whether or not any of the family members engage in wage work locally or out of town, and if so what part of the family's income comes from wages or remittances from family members living outside of the area.

Gender and Labor in Fair Trade and Organic Coffee Production

Using participant observation and informant interviews, I explored the gendered division of labor. I asked men and women farmers about the types of activities they do during different seasons on the farm in coffee production, in the home and in taking care of their families, in other farming or livestock responsibilities, and in other types of labor such as wage labor.

In addition to asking about the types of work women and men do on the farm, and in the home throughout the year, I asked focused questions about the environmental stewardship work required by Fair Trade and organic certification. This line of inquiry led to additional questions in the field regarding the extra work and specialized care needed to meet the quality exigencies of the Fair Trade and organic coffee market.

Gender and Power in the Cooperative

At the farm and cooperative levels, I explored perceptions about the "fairness" of Fair Trade through informant interviews and participant observation. I attended many different types of meetings at the cooperative including cooperative monthly assemblies, sub-group meetings—such as COOPFAM's women's group, and other formal and informal cooperative activities and events such as visits from Fair Trade and organic certifiers and lectures from experts on organic and biodynamic agriculture. At these assemblies, meeting, and events I examined women and men's positions within the hierarchy of the cooperative and observed how and when women and men participate in meetings and whether their concerns and suggestions are given equal consideration. In interviews with farmers, I asked about their suggestions, concerns, and complaints about, as well as praise for Fair Trade.

I conducted informal interviews and participant observation with various coffee buyers, teachers at the local cooperative school, and a manager at Café Bom Dia, to better understand the relationships and power dynamics at play in the cooperative's supply chain. I also conducted participant observation while I interpreted for foreign coffee buyers and farmers on their visits to the cooperative and farmers' homes. I also spoke and met with several Brazilian agronomy professors, TransFair USA employees, and several farmers, agronomists, and managers at a

conventional coffee cooperative in the Sul de Minas region, Cooxupé. I accompanied internal and external organic auditors on their visits to farms and joined other technical advisors who visited the cooperative and farms to observe their interactions with farmers and cooperative administrators. Moreover, I interviewed several external auditors while at the cooperative including an organic auditor and a representative of FLO.

Finally, I collected archival material including articles from local newspapers, website coverage of the cooperative's activities, locally published books, maps, and other printed or online material. I used this material to further flesh out the oral history I collected from farmers about the cooperative and the municipality of Poço Fundo. I examined materials about COOPFAM in between field visits to stay abreast of cooperative activities and to craft additional lines of inquiry for subsequent conversations with farmers, cooperative administrators, Fair Trade certifying bodies and coffee buyers.

Data Analysis

I recorded all of my interviews with farmers, cooperative administrators, coffee buyers, certifiers, and Fair Trade activists with their permission. The interviews were transcribed and left in their original language, Portuguese or English, for analysis. I coded and analyzed the interviews and my fieldnotes using ATLAS.ti, following this I pulled over relevant data sets for each chapter for secondary analysis in either Scrivener or Excel. I pulled quantifiable data on livelihood practices into Excel for additional analysis and graphic representation of the data. I translated quotes originally in Portuguese into English for this dissertation.

Chapter Four: *Café que Bebe*: Gender, Livelihoods, and Producing a Cup of Quality Coffee

I. Introduction.

In this chapter, I explore why farmers at COOPFAM seem to be faring better economically than Fair Trade-organic coffee producers in other parts of Latin America. Several factors, including diverse livelihood strategies and the farmers' production of relatively large quantities of high-quality coffee, account for the economic stability that many farmers at COOPFAM enjoy. Farmers at COOPFAM produce a much greater amount of coffee per hectare than Fair Trade and organic coffee farmers in Mexico and Central America. Dual certified COOPFAM farmers report that they typically produce twenty to twenty-five sacks (sixty kilograms per sack) of green coffee beans per hectare. Given that the average landholding in coffee for a COOPFAM farming family is 3.4 hectares, these families each typically produce 4,080 kg-5,100 kg 5,100 kg of coffee per year. In Nicaragua, small-scale coffee farmers were producing an average of 528.85 kg of green beans a year (Bacon 2010). Farmers at COOPFAM can produce large amounts of quality coffee because of the amount of labor and inputs they apply in their fields. In addition to their farms' higher productivity per hectare, farmers at COOPFAM produce very high-quality coffee, which earns them a price premium above the Fair Trade-organic floor price.

Farmers at COOPFAM engage in a number of livelihood strategies in addition to producing coffee for international Fair Trade markets. In this chapter I explore the different income earning and non-monetary livelihood strategies that farming families engage in to sustain their families and examine which members of the family participate in each of these activities. I pay special attention to the gendered division of labor on farms and within homes. Livelihood

strategies range from in-home domestic work to income earned via off-farm activities. Moreover, I discuss how the quality and environmental standards of the export market and Fair Trade and organic certifications have increased the amount of work needed for coffee production. As well as, exploring the role different technologies play in both reducing the hours of labor necessary to produce quality coffee and increasing the ability of the cooperative to segregate and select the highest quality coffee for the export market.

II. Coffee Farmers' Livelihood Strategies

"I thought earnings from coffee, particularly certified coffees, would be enough to put children through school, would be enough to put food on the table all year long, and provide farmers with a reasonable quality of life. But what I learned was that's not true; that certified coffees are helping, there's no doubt in my mind, they are helping, but the fact is that coffee by itself is just not enough for small-scale farmers."

- Rick Peyser, Green Mountain Coffee Roasters, Inc. in "After the Harvest," 2011

In April 2011, the documentary film "After the Harvest" debuted at the Specialty Coffee Association of America Expo in Houston, TX. "After the Harvest" was a project supported by various NGO partners and Green Mountain Coffee Roasters, Inc., the largest buyer of Fair Trade certified coffee in the world. The film sheds light on the problem of food insecurity and hunger in the coffee lands and the fact that farming families in many parts of the world face lean months despite the price premiums some farmers earn from selling certified coffees. A growing body of literature has documented either chronic or seasonal food insecurity, and hunger among small-scale coffee producers selling certified coffees (Bacon et al. 2008a; Bacon et al. 2008b; Jaffee 2007, Méndez et al. 2010; Putnam 2013).

The literature on certified coffee production and food insecurity as well as popular accounts such as "After the Harvest" problematize Fair Trade's promotion as a certification system that allows small-scale coffee farmers to earn a sustainable amount of money for their coffee production. Fair Trade is promoted as a simple solution to address poverty among small farmers. However, coffee production is rarely profitable enough for small-scale farmers to rely on for 100% of their livelihoods. Small-scale farming families with a greater diversity of livelihood strategies are likely to fare better than their counterparts relying solely or primarily on coffee production.

Coffee farmers producing certified coffees in many parts of the world rely on diverse livelihood strategies to support their families (Barham et al. 2010; Jaffee 2007; Méndez et al. 2010; Mutersbaugh 1999). It is critical to farmers' survival that they produce food in addition to cash crops such as coffee. Even with organic or Fair Trade certification, small-scale farmers cannot sustain their families on their earnings from coffee production alone (Barham et al. 2011; Jaffee 2007; Méndez et al. 2010; Mutersbaugh 1999). In the literature on Fair Trade and organic coffee production, farmers' livelihood strategies range from subsistence agriculture, horticultural and livestock production for local markets, as well as the production of crafts and artisanal goods, agricultural and non-agricultural wage labor, and remittances from family members in other parts of their home country or the United States (Barham et al. 2010; Jaffee 2007; Lyon 2010; Méndez et al. 2010; Mutersbaugh 1999).

In addition to growing and producing coffee, farmers at one cooperative in Oaxaca, Mexico sustain themselves by growing some of their food, and trying to implement various income-producing activities through their coffee cooperative. Income earning projects included a

milking herd, honey production, furniture making, a wood-fired bread-making oven, hog production, and weaving (Mutersbaugh 1999).

Like their counterparts studied elsewhere, farmers at COOPFAM rely on subsistence production, and often on other income-earning activities to supplement their income earned from coffee production. All of the farmers interviewed at COOPFAM said that they earned enough from coffee production to purchase the food their families need. However, the majority of farmers produce most of the food that their families consume, so the amount of food that needs to be purchased is relatively small.

The explorations of Fair Trade and organic coffee production often exclude the large amount of domestic work done in the home and community to sustain families and communities. As a result, the existing studies do not account for a tremendous amount of invisible labor done primarily by women in coffee farming communities. Martha Ward (1999) explains how many types of work that women do is invisible. The four types of "invisible" work that Ward discusses are: informal sector work, reproductive work, the work of status enhancement, and work as morale, caring, repairing and integration. Since these types of work are invisible, or are not given recognition, women may face discrimination, and their worth is not collectively and publicly accounted for. Feminist political economist, Marilyn Waring has written extensively on women's labor and the missed opportunities to truly account for the economic productivity we would realize "if women counted" (Waring 1999; 2003). Drawing on the work of feminist scholars such as Ward and Waring, my exploration of livelihood strategies among farming families in COOPFAM includes invisible domestic labor, largely done by women, including cooking and food processing, housekeeping, child and elder care, as well as community and relationship building activities. These activities are crucial to account for when considering the sustainability

of certified coffee production and the gendered division of labor that goes into sustaining small-scale coffee production.

The number one income generating activity for the farmers at COOPFAM is the production of high-quality, Fair Trade, and sometimes organic certified coffee. I begin my discussion of the farming families' livelihood strategies, in the next section, by exploring the human resources and capital necessary for farmers to produce specialty coffee, or *café que bebe*.

III. *Bebida Boa*: Labor, Technology and the Production of a Quality Cup of Coffee

A. Environmental and Quality Standards and Labor

"… [It] doesn't matter if my coffee is organic if I am not careful, if it has defects and *não beber* [doesn't drink, isn't of quality] when they put it in the cup."

- Sebastião Oliviera Silva

Producing a cup of high-quality, dual certified, specialty coffee requires a significant amount of human resources, access to large quantities of agricultural inputs, and adequate coffee production technologies. Coffee farmers whose coffee is not up to the quality exigencies of the specialty coffee market cannot access export markets and obtain the price premiums associated with Fair Trade and organic certification. Farmers at COOPFAM employ considerable human resources, utilize purchased and self-produced agricultural inputs, and have access to technologies such as coffee sorting machinery through the cooperative.

The environmental and quality standards of Fair Trade and organic coffee production, and selling coffee for export, in general, have changed the amount, style, manner, and type of labor that men and women do on the farm, on the drying patio, and within the cooperative. Both women and men have to do more work to produce export quality coffee. In many parts of the

world, coffee farmers do not have access to sufficient capital to invest in their farms or adequate labor to work the land to produce large quantities of high-quality coffee. Moreover, farmers need access to training programs to learn techniques that can help them improve the quality of their coffee.

Both Jaffee (2007) and Moberg (2005) discuss the link between Fair Trade's environmental principles and the ecological and labor problems encountered by farmers adhering to more stringent environmental standards. Farmers employ additional manual labor to weed in around their crops due to Fair Trade and organic certifications' limits on synthetic herbicides (Jaffee 2007; Moberg 2005). Changes in production techniques can have adverse effects. In St. Lucia, Fair Trade banana farmers' attempts to remove weeds mechanically instead of chemically, led to outbreaks of weeds and pests when weed-whackers spread an invasive weed in the banana groves (Moberg 2010). Fair Trade and organic coffee farmers in Mexico had to hire wage laborers to assist them with weeding and working in their *milpas* (fields) to produce food and other coffee activities so that they could uphold the certification systems' environmental standards (Jaffee 2007). The environmental standards of Fair Trade and organic production may put the economic sustainability of these certification systems into jeopardy for some farming families due to the additional labor burdens on farmers.

In this section, I explore how the environmental and quality standards necessary to sell organic and Fair Trade certified coffee demand additional labor from both women and men coffee farmers. Farming families also employ appropriate technology and seek out technical assistance to help them meet the quality and environmental exigencies of the organic and Fair Trade market.

B. Gender and Division Labor in Coffee Production and the Agricultural Cycle

Coffee production is a labor-intensive, year-round activity for the coffee farmers at COOPFAM. Most coffee farming families employ a gendered division of labor to handle coffee production, other agricultural activities, and domestic activities. Of the 31 families interviewed in this study, 24 families were married couples with children; there were one widow and one widower, three single men and one single woman; and one married couple without children. All four of the single adults have parcels of land that they cultivate for coffee production, and all four of them live with their parents.

Planting, Weeding, and Fertilizing

Coffee, like many other crops, requires several steps to bring a bean to fruition. When farmers wish to plant new coffee bushes they do so during the rainy season, in Poço Fundo, from December to March. Coffee farmers also cut or till under weeds frequently during the rainy season, and at least quarterly throughout the rest of the year. To ensure that their coffee plants are healthy and productive, farmers fertilize their coffee groves throughout the year.

Table 1: Coffee production tasks and gendered division of labor.

Task	Time frame	Traditional Responsibility
Plant coffee	December - March	Men
Fertilize coffee	Seven months	Men
Weed coffee	4-5 times a year	Men
Harvest coffee	May - August	Both
Dry coffee	May - October	Women
Hull coffee	July - October	Done by machine, men transport
Bring coffee to *rebeneficio*	Post harvest	Men
Receive payment	December - April	

Men typically make the decisions in the family on whether or not to plant new coffee bushes. Men are largely responsible for planting new coffee bushes, pruning existing plants, as well as fertilizing, and weeding in the groves. Fertilizing the soil in the coffee groves and weeding both take more time than in the past because of Fair Trade and organic certification's environmental standards. Under these two certification systems, farmers cannot use herbicides so weeds must be removed by hand or mechanically. Men weed or till between their coffee rows 3-5 times per year depending on rainfall to keep the weeds from stealing nutrients and water from the coffee. Manually or mechanically, weeding takes longer than the application of herbicides, and is more physically demanding work.

Ensuring that the soil where organic certified coffee plants are grown has the proper amount of nutrients is very demanding. The certified organic farmers actively fertilize their coffee groves with compost, the husks of dried coffee cherries, manure, castor seeds (*mamona*), leguminous plants, and permitted organic fertilizers and minerals. Marcelo de Paiva Gonçalves, the president of the cooperative from 2009-2011, explained that Ana Primavesi, Brazilian soil scientist, and organic agriculture expert, suggests that coffee needs approximately 80 tons of organic matter per hectare per year for proper fertilization. Marcelo explains that it takes him eight days to bag, move, and spread the compost he uses on his 2.4 hectares. He says he is fertilizing or weeding his coffee groves five to six days a week, for seven months, and then harvesting six days a week for four months. Some of the inputs for the coffee are from the farm and essentially free, but others must be purchased — such as certain types of fertilizers, or minerals to amend the soil. The cooperative works with outside companies to sell some fertilizers that are appropriate for organic and Fair Trade certified coffee.

Figure 7: Dried coffee cherry hulls. **Photo by author.**

Figure 8: Chicken manure for fertilizer. **Photo by author.**

Figure 9: Dried coffee cherry hulls for fertilizer. **Photo by author.**

The Harvest

"What I like is funny. If I tell you, you're going to think it's funny, but I'm saying this sincerely. Harvest time, it's the time that I like the most, because I get plenty of exercise on the drying patio and it keeps my head occupied, and I don't get sick of it because it breaks the routine."

- Rosângela de Souza Paiva

Coffee is harvested over a period of four months from mid-May to mid-September. Harvest is a labor-intensive time for both men and women. Men and women begin harvesting coffee cherries together, but soon women must turn their attention to drying the coffee cherries on their *terreiros* (drying patios). Families spend 12 hours a day, six to seven days a week,

working in the coffee fields harvesting coffee cherries and drying the cherries on the *terreiros* during the harvest season.

The gendered division of labor during the coffee harvest varies from country to country. For example, according women in the Michiza cooperative in Chiapas, Mexico, "the men would say they do most of the harvesting, but it is really the women who work the hardest in the harvest" (Jaffee 2007:117). For Michiza members, women are responsible for hand selecting the best coffee and drying it on the home patio (ibid 2007). On the other hand, in Guatemala, coffee harvesting and drying is considered to be men's work (Lyon 2011). Harvesting and drying coffee at COOPFAM are tasks with a strong gendered division of labor, and both activities take more time for men and women because of the quality demands of the export market.

Most farmers at COOPFAM engage in some level of selective harvesting of their coffee. However, farmers' definitions and implementation of a selective harvest vary from farm to farm. Some farmers selectively harvest by picking coffee only from certain rows, others go by bush by bush, and still others only select the ripe cherries on a particular coffee bush.

Figure 10: Vâmia Lúcia P. Silva selectively harvesting ripe coffee cherries. **Photo by author.**

Farmers explained to me that they used to simply harvest all of the cherries all at once by stripping all the beans from each branch. By harvesting all the cherries at once green, ripe, and fermented cherries were all harvested together. One producer explained to me that they used even to pick up the coffee that falls onto the ground on its own. "…[The] coffee that falls to the ground is sorted, this doesn't *bebe* [drink], then you have to sell it as conventional, only those that are on the bush make a *bebida boa* [good drink]." Today, if that coffee is picked up they sort it out and then sell it on the domestic market, thus it is not mixed in with the coffee they are preparing for export.

Figure 11: Leonardo Carvalho winnowing coffee cherries to remove leaves, rocks, and sticks. Photo by author.

Many farmers take extra time to do some level of selective harvesting because they earn more money for higher quality coffee. Some harvest certain rows that are full of ripe cherries,

others decide bush by bush, and still others only harvest the ripest berries from any one bush and return later when the other cherries to mature to harvest them. It is unclear how much additional labor is necessary for this selective harvest, partially because of technology like a motorized *derriçadeira de café*, a device with little plastic "hands" at the end, which vibrates and cause ripe cherries to fall from the bush and be collected in tarps carefully spread below the bushes. Not all farmers have access to these machines, but they save time for those that do. The *derriçadeira de café* costs R$1,500 for the engine and rod and another R$800 for the vibrating hands attachment for coffee harvesting.

Figure 12: Marcelo de Paiva's Gonçalves mother and sister-in-law helping him dry his coffee on their terreiro. **Photo by author.**

During the harvest, women spend many hours on their drying patios to ensure their coffee dries evenly, quickly, and does not ferment. Ninety percent of Arabica coffee is dried in the cherry form in Brazil (ICO 2017), a process called natural processing. Farmers explain that it takes 20-60 days of drying on the *terreiro* for coffee to reach optimal dryness level of 12% moisture content. Coffee on the patio requires much attention to ensure that it does not dry unevenly or ferment.

At COOPFAM, women work more hours per day and more days per year to turn the cherries on their drying patios in order to meet export-quality standards. After harvesting, the coffee cherries are taken and spread out on *terreiros* to dry. Many, but not all, farmers have cement drying patios. COOPFAM has partnered with Fair Trade USA on a rotating loan program for farmers to build cement patios. Farmers are lent money by the cooperative to build the patios and when they repay the loan the cooperative then lends that money to a new group of farmers. Women turn the coffee as often as every hour so that it dries evenly. Turning the coffee start early at 7:00 am and they pile it up around 4:00 pm every day. In the evenings the coffee cherries are swept together in long rows on the *terreiro* to retain the heat absorbed by the sun during the day so that it can continue to dry overnight. After about eight days, the coffee has shed some moisture and is piled up in large piles in the evening and covered with a tarp to keep in the heat overnight and protect it from getting moist from dew overnight.

Figure 13: Coffee cherries drying in a row on Ozório José dos Santos's terreiro. **Photo by author.**

Figure 14: Nearly dry coffee cherries piled under a tarp to conserve heat overnight and protect them from rain. **Photo by author.**

During the harvest, women farmers like Rosângela spend many hours on the drying patio. Rosângela has to balance all of her regular domestic, gardening, bee keeping, and care-taking activities with this additional workload on the drying patio for several months in the winter. She explains her challenging schedule during the coffee harvest and how she tries to balance the extra hours spent on the drying patio with her normal routine.

"…[W]hen we have coffee on the drying patio I still have to do all this and mix the coffee. I sort the coffee, mix the coffee, clean the bathroom, mix the coffee, my work doesn't stop and I can't put things in their place, nothing gets in its place when we have coffee on the drying patio, because I'm accustomed to having a clean house. I make lunch and leave everything all set out and wash clothes, and then I stop. I stop washing clothes and mix the coffee, after this and start washing the clothes, and I stop again and mix the coffee, and then I have to stop washing clothes because they are not ready to finish before making lunch, then I stop making lunch and go to mix the coffee. I leave the coffee to finish making lunch. I finish lunch and before eating it I mix the coffee, then I go back and have lunch, then I go wash the clothes. I starting washing the clothes, stop washing clothes and go mix the coffee and then it goes on much longer. I joke with Luis Carlos that I don't know if I'm mixing the coffee or throwing water on the coffee."

Women's time on the drying patio mixing the coffee is absolutely critical to producing high-quality coffee. In the past, many farmers left their coffee in the field after it was harvested, either in bags or in-between the rows of coffee. However, this lowers the quality of the coffee because cherries can ferment, sometimes within a few hours. Farmers would later spread their coffee out at their leisure to dry; many dried it though on dirt patios near their homes before investments were made to build cement drying patios. The decision to have women take on additional coffee drying responsibility is linked to their historical role in turning coffee on the drying patios and the fact that the patios are adjacent to the home, a feminized space on the farm. On the other hand, men have traditionally planted new coffee, applied fertilizer, and removed weeds around the coffee groves. The coffee groves are seen as a more masculine space, except during the harvest when women historically spent more time assisting in picking coffee than they do today.

At COOPFAM farming families have benefitted from coffee education programs that instructed producers how to properly dry their coffee. Classes like this are one of the benefits

offered by the cooperative and one of many activities the cooperative supports to help farmers improve the quality of their coffee. The cooperative encourages women to attend these specific trainings because they have traditionally been the ones who tend coffee on the drying patios in the region. Rosângela explains that before the classes they did not pay as close attention to the drying process as they do now. In the past, women said they would turn the coffee, using hoes, rakes, and brooms about three times a day. However, now they turn the coffee six to ten times a day to ensure more even drying and to prevent fermentation. These training programs have been especially important to valorizing women's work on the drying patios and to the women's own professionalization as coffee farmers.

"We knew that we had to mix the coffee, we'd mix it twice and that was good, the coffee could rest there on the farm until the next morning. And then everything was new when we learned how to make *café que bebe*. We have already gone to the courses and participated. If I didn't go, Luis Carlos would go, sometimes I went on my own and I would bring back the new developments, until it was time to do another course on quality. We have talked about this with the women [from the women's group], and I thought that we really needed to innovate with new things to help us."

Today, farmers bring their freshly harvested coffee cherries back to the *terreiro* each evening. Women have historically been in charge of the coffee on the *terreiro* at COOPFAM. The farmers explained that this was historically women's work because women typically work in the home and can more easily care for the coffee on the *terreiro,* which are co-located next to the home. Coffee fields are not usually adjacent to the home and *terreiro*; the farmers explained that this makes it more practical for women to tend to coffee during the drying process at COOPFAM. Rosângela explained that they work to keep the coffee on the drying patio organized because different lots are in different phases of dryness. She separates the lots with pieces of wood to keep them separate. Rosângela claimed that men thought this was fine but "

…we women are more demanding. We don't mix it all together. Look there [gesturing to the *terreiro*] you can see that this coffee is almost ready. And here there's new cherries."

The increased daily time commitment needed to dry coffee to meet higher quality standards means that women spend very little time picking coffee after the first days or weeks of the harvest. They explain that they soon stop harvesting coffee in order to spend a significant amount of time on the *terreiro* each day. Women in the cooperative's women's group cancel their monthly meetings each year for a few months at harvest time. Women explained that when they are pregnant or have very young children, their coffee quality suffers unless a relative is available to help them. Without help they are not able to spend an adequate amount of time on the *terreiro.*

Depending on the weather, the drying process for one batch of coffee requires anywhere from 20-60 days. Environmental factors like heavy rains can also complicate and elongate the drying process. During the 2009 harvest farmers explained that excess rain was increasing the time needed to dry the coffee and also affecting coffee quality. Some farmers took their coffee to large drying machines to finish the drying process. José Antonio Ribeiro explained how too much rain on the drying patio degraded the quality of his coffee, which did not "drink."

"…I couldn't sell all of my coffee as *bebida boa* [good drink] because last year it rained too much and we had coffee that didn't *bebeu* [drink], it wasn't *bebendo* [drinking], its value falls a lot and I don't have a way to say I'm not going to earn anything for this because it didn't *bebeu* [drink], this that didn't bebeu [drink] was the normal price…"

- José Antonio Ribeiro

Once the coffee is dry, a hulling machine removes the dried fruit. There are hulling machines in most *bairros* and some farmers have access to mobile hullers that are brought to the

farm on trucks. The hulls of the dried coffee cherries are collected and put on the coffee grove to compost and provide necessary organic matter for the coffee plants.

After the coffee is cleaned via the hulling machines it is typically men who bring the green coffee beans to the cooperative. As such, they are the ones who often receive payment for the coffee. In interviews with farming families, men and women often said they made decisions on how to spend their income earned from coffee production together. However, when asked more specifically about which decisions are made by men and which are made by women, men tended to decide what should be spent for on the farm expenses and women decided what to spend on in home expenses.

Husbands are also more likely than their wives to be listed on COOPFAM's member registrar. However, there are some exceptions where both spouses are listed separately. In total, there are only 23 women listed as active COOPFAM members out of 307 active members in the 2011 census. However, being listed as a member did not necessarily mean that a woman might not vote and have a leadership role in the cooperative. In fact, the two women who were elected to the boards of the association in Poço Fundo, and the one woman elected to the cooperative's board were all unlisted on the membership roster.

C. Sharecropping, Hiring Labor, and Family Labor Swaps

A minority of the farmers in the cooperative hire labors to help with coffee production. Most of this hiring is done during the harvest. Some more wealthy farmers like Adauto and Cida and Valdir and Paula[10] have laborers working for them regularly. Since Paula has arthritis and they have no kids, they hire workers to help Valdir on the farm. Adauto explained that he needed

[10] Paula and Valdir's farm, and their interactions with coffee buyers, are discussed further in the following chapter.

to hire help because of his administrative duties when he was the president of the cooperative from 2003-09.

Many families practice labor swaps with each other during the harvest. Siblings, in-laws, parents and other family members trade labor on each other's farms for a few days. I witnessed this quite often during the harvest. Marcelo, the president of the cooperative from 2009-11, is unmarried so his mother helps him on the *terreiro*, as do his two brothers' wives. Moreover, Marcelo and his two brothers trade days of labor on each other's land.

A few farmers work as sharecroppers or have sharecroppers work their land. This is the case for Maria Raquel Contim. Raquel is one of the few never married women farmers. She cannot work all of her land on her own, so she sharecrops some of the land her father left her to a man who grows coffee on it. At the end of the year, she receives some of the coffee he harvests. Raquel has several brothers who also inherited land from her late father. One brother, is married and lives with his own family, grows coffee, but is not a part of the cooperative. Raquel's other brother lives with her and her ailing mother who has diabetes. Raquel struggles to manage both her coffee production and care for her ailing mother. Although Raquel and her brother live together in their mother's home and are both unmarried, the two siblings do not work in each other's fields. Coffee farming is Raquel's second career. She had lived and worked in the city of Andradas before but returned to the farm to take care of her mother and work the land after her father's death. Raquel performs work on the farm that is traditionally seen as men's work, and then manages the *terreiro* in addition to all her domestic responsibilities.

D. Technology

Appropriately scaled technology plays an important role on many farms. Because coffee production is extremely labor intensive, certain technologies can save farmers time, increase the quantity of coffee they produce, and even improve the quality of the coffee they bring to market. As mentioned above, some small-scale farmers use a hand held coffee harvesting device called a *derriçadeira de café* that looks like two plastic hands connected to a two cycle engine and a rod. This machine vibrates and knocks the ripe coffee berries from the bushes. The same device can be used with a weed-whacker head to remove weeds. This device is quite expensive R$1500 for the rod and engine, and R$800 for the vibrating hands part. Due to the high price, some families share the device between parents and children, siblings, or other family members.

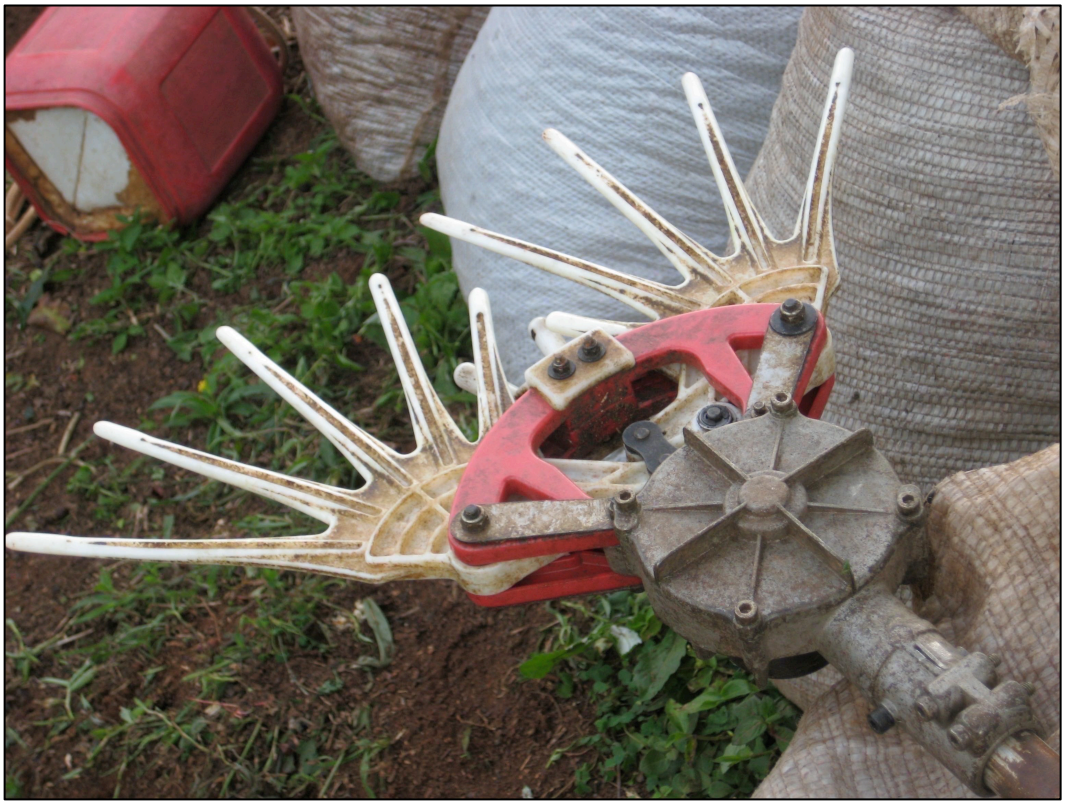

Figure 15: Derriçadeira de café, device used to harvest ripe coffee cherries. **Photo by author.**

Farmers can increase the quantity of coffee they produce and improve the quality of coffee by making sure that the soil has sufficient nutrients for healthy plant growth and disease resistance. Some farmers use tractors or trucks to haul inputs such as organic-certified fertilizers, coffee cherry hulls, manure, compost and other organic matter to fertilize their coffee. Trucks and tractors are also used to haul freshly harvested coffee to the *terreiros*, and finally to the *beneficios* (primary processing facilities), and *rebeneficios* (secondary processing facilities) for processing.

At the *beneficios*, the fruit and hulls of dried cherries are removed from the coffee beans. Some *beneficios* also have large coffee drying machines used to remove any excess moisture before hulling. *Beneficios* are either in fixed locations or farmers in a particular area will rent or borrow a mobile hulling machine. Some farmers, like Carlos Henrique and his brother Flavio, invested in building their own *beneficios* and earn extra income by selling the service to farmers in their neighborhood. Tractors, trucks, and *beneficios* are investments that require access to capital and/or loans. According to various scholars, this access to technology (and the necessary capital to buy it) is not common among farmers in Mexico and Central America. Farmers at COOPFAM have access to more credit and more capital to make these investments than farmers elsewhere. This is partially due to state-run loan programs such as Funcafé (Fundo de Defesa da Economia Cafeeira) and Pronaf (Programa Nacional de Fortalecimento da Agricultura Familiar) that Brazil offers to low or middle-income farmers, and also due to the fact that some of the farmers at COOPFAM earn enough income to buy the instruments with cash or by using credit cards.

The cooperative itself utilizes various technologies to improve the quality of the coffee, and select the highest quality beans to be sold. The cooperative contracts with nearby

agrotechnical institutes to test farmers' soil quality. They also are experimenting with a device called a Brix meter that can measure the sugar content in the cherries to find out what the optimal conditions are for high-quality coffee. Differentiating and selecting the highest quality beans is done by a series of machines in the cooperative's *rebeneficio.* These large machines are used to mechanically sort the coffee by size, weight, and even color. The machines in the *rebeneficio* use vibrating tables and screens, forced air, and even an optical scanner to sort and select for the best beans. After the beans are segregated by quality, samples are taken and roasted in the onsite cupping lab. The cooperative has a part time Quality Grader, or Q-Grader, who has been trained to differentiate the flavors in the coffee and detect if there are defects in the coffee. Individual farmers are compensated according to how much their own lots sell for. Some farmers have super high-quality coffee that brings in very high premiums and has even won quality awards.

At the time of this study, the cooperative was building a coffee roasting and grinding facility. The coffee roaster they intend to use is emissions and smoke-free and energy efficient. They also invested in two different machines to bag the processed coffee: a regular vacuum pack machine, and a special one that injects a small amount to nitrogen into the bag to remove any oxygen, thereby reducing oxidation and the breakdown of coffee quality.

E. Technical Assistance

COOPFAM puts a lot of focus and energy into continually improving the quality of their coffee. In 2009, the cooperative had an agronomist who worked part time – Renato. Renato is trained in organic and biodynamic production and has worked with COOPFAM since 2007. Cooxupé, a conventional cooperative not far from COOPFAM, focuses technical assistance almost entirely on diagnosing plagues and prescribing chemical inputs to address the problems.

COOPFAM, on the other hand, concentrates on a preventative approach by looking at the health and quality of the plant, soil and coffee cherry. Renato helped individual farmers address problems in their fields and coordinates the yearly soil testing for the organic farmers. Unfortunately, the cooperative only had funding to pay Renato for two days of work per week. Marcelo de Paiva Gonçalves, a farmer and the cooperative's president from 2009-2011, was also trained in agronomy. He has done some of the internal auditing for organic compliance within the cooperative along with Renato. Renato and Marcelo both focus on proper nutrition and care for the coffee plants to increase productivity and ward off pests. These two men were fully committed to fostering organic production at COOPFAM.

Figure 16: Soil samples labeled and ready to be shipped for analysis. **Photo by author.**

F. Quality Grading and Coffee Cupping

The Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA) sets the quality standards that COOPFAM looks to for their export quality coffee. Under the SCAA quality standards, green coffee beans must have certain physical attributes such as being a large enough size, uniform shape (i.e., not broken or misshapen), and free of blemishes such as insect holes, black spots, mildew, etc. It is paramount for farmers to produce high-quality coffee so that it can be sold on the export market. High-quality coffee beans are typically larger than a #16 screen. To examine the quality 300 grams of green beans are measured out, in that sample there cannot be more than five full defects and there cannot be any primary defects (see Table 2). Also, the moisture content of the coffee must be between 9-13% (Mutua 2000). The coffee must also have at least one distinctive attribute in its flavor, aroma, body or acidity, which is determined through the coffee cupping process.

Table 2: List of primary defects in green coffee beans. **Source: Mutua 2000.**

Primary Defect	**Number of occurrences equal to one full defect.**
Full Black	1
Full Sour	1
Pod/Cherry	1
Large Stones	2
Medium Stones	5
Large Sticks	2
Medium Sticks	5

Table 3: List of secondary defects in green coffee beans. **Source: Mutua 2000.**

Secondary Defects	**Number of occurrences equal to one full defect**
Parchment	2-3
Hull/Husk	2-3
Broken/Chipped	5
Insect Damage	2-5
Partial Black	2-3
Partial Sour	2-3
Floater	5
Shell	5
Small Stones	1
Small sticks	1
Water Damage	2-5

Another realm of technical assistance that the cooperative invests in is their cupping laboratory. Coffee cupping is a process where green coffee is roasted, ground and brewed to specific standards and then trained professionals called Q-graders taste the coffee to detect its flavors and if it has any defects. To determine the body, flavor, aroma, and acidity of the coffee COOPFAM employs a Q-Grader, who cups the coffee to taste it and categorize it. This process is reminiscent of wine tasting in that there are specific materials, practices, and rituals that go into properly ascertaining the attributes of coffee. The cooperative can then talk to coffee buyers about the various flavor profiles of any lot of coffee to meet the buyers' needs and preferences. Specialty coffee buyers make up the majority of buyers for COOPFAM's export quality coffee, they each look for particular characteristics to meet the quality standards and flavor profiles that their own consumers demand. There are myriad possibilities of flavors for coffee, coffee buyers

and Q-Graders use tools like the Specialty Coffee Association of America's Coffee Taster's Flavor Wheel to categorize the flavors they detect in the coffee.

Figure 17: Coffee cupping laboratory at COOPFAM. **Photo by author.**

Figure 18: The author tasting coffee in COOPFAM's cupping laboratory. Photo by Jeremy Caves.

Commitment to Environmental Principles

Most farmers, administrators, and staff at COOPFAM are very committed to the environmental principles of Fair Trade and organic coffee production. Protection of the environment and human health were the most often cited reasons for and benefits of participating in Fair Trade or organic production. During my research period, approximately 50% of COOPFAM's farmers had at least a portion of their coffee under organic certification. COOPFAM's history with the Comissão Pastoral da Terra (CPT) movement may account for some of the collective environmental ethos among the farmers. The CPT movement laid the groundwork for an environmentally conscious group of farmers to organize and seek out new ways of production and new markets that reward sustainable production. COOPFAM was formed from a social justice movement much like many Fair Trade cooperatives in Mexico and Central America.

Many of the original or long-term members of the cooperative share an ideology about sustainability that is firmly rooted in their Catholic faith. Many farmers today speak passionately about their stewardship of the earth being intimately linked to their Christianity. They explain that as Christians they are charged with being stewards of the Earth. Farmers explain that their faith guides them to protect the soil, water, plants, and animals. It also strengthens their commitment to avoid using agrotoxicants, which harm life, especially human health. Many of the farmers also used to grow tobacco but moved away from it when they saw it as a crop that was harmful to health and thus unethical to continue producing.

This environmental ideology is pervasive, especially among the organic farmers. The economic benefits of organic production are not so high when one considers the costs of labor and other inputs. As such, organic farmers often cite non-economic motives for organic farming.

Unlike Fair Trade certified farmers in Mexico and Central America who are essentially de-facto organic (Bacon 2005; Jaffee 2007; Lyon 2010), the use of synthetic chemical fertilizers and pesticides in coffee production is quite prevalent in Brazil generally and in Poço Fundo specifically. So farmers must make a significant shift in their agricultural processes if they decide to transition from conventional production to Fair Trade or organic production.

Farmers also speak passionately about the human health benefits of Fair Trade and organic production. Many talk about how comforting it is not to worry about their kids being poisoned in the fields if they play there or eat coffee cherries or other fruit off the trees in their coffee groves. They explain that other parents do not have this security, and they must worry about their children being harmed by agrotoxicants.

"… you know that you can take your kids to the field and everything is natural, we don't mess with any agrotoxicants, it's good, it is a great comfort, it's really good."

- Vâmia Lúcia P. Silva

Farmers speak frankly about the elevated levels of cancer and other chronic conditions in the countryside, as well as high levels of pesticide poisoning among their neighbors. Pesticides have poisoned some farmers. One COOPFAM farmer, Wilsom de Freitas Marcílio[11], from the town of Inconfidentes, lost his hearing as a result of acute pesticide poisoning. Although he is one of the newer members of the cooperative and lives more that a two-hour drive from COOPFAM, he believes that producing coffee under stringent environmental standards is worth the effort. He and his two brothers were in transition to organic production when I met them in 2009. When asked what he thought about Fair Trade production Wilsom responded:

[11] Wilsom and his two brothers' farms and interactions with the cooperative are further discussed in Chapter Six.

"I think it is a good thing because it is improving things in every way. Those who drink the coffee are drinking pure coffee without poisons, and for us, it provides benefits, if only by not using poisons. Who does that help? For our health, by our nature, we are not good for ourselves."
- Wilsom de Freitas Marcílio.

Some of the farmers, particularly the organic certified ones, have reserves of forest on their land to protect their local watershed. Others plant more trees in their coffee fields for shade and to provide foliage for compost. Farmers intercrop with nitrogen fixing plants and grew castor bean plants to provide potassium. Still, much of the coffee production is done in full sun, which is less ecologically advantageous than shade grown coffee, which supports biodiversity and curbs climate change. On the other hand, most of the land around Poço Fundo has been deforested for over a century due to coffee and tobacco production. Conventional agricultural production systems, (tobacco, cattle, and sugar cane) in the area are even less environmentally friendly than coffee production.

Coffee grown in full sunlight in climates like Poço Fundo's results in higher coffee production yields. Dual organic and Fair Trade certified farmers at COOPFAM produced around 25 sacks (60kg/sack) of coffee per hectare, or an equivalent yield of 1,500 kg/ha. While shade-grown coffee is more environmentally friendly, it is also much less productive. Shade-grown coffee is common on many Fair Trade certified farms in other parts of Latin America (Jaffee 2007; Lyon 2011; Martínez-Torres 2008; Méndez 2008; Westphal 2008). Jaffee (2007), for example, reported production of shade-grown, organic and Fair Trade coffee in Mexico to yield 213 kg/ha; while Martínez-Torres (2008) found organic and shade-grown productivity across six regions in Chiapas, Mexico to be approximately 443 kg/ha. However, this difference in yield is also partially attributable to other production practices such as applying compost and other natural fertilizers to coffee bushes. I explain these processes below.

Figure 19: Luis Adauto Oliviera spreading newly harvested coffee on his terreiro.
Photo by author.

When I asked farmers at COOPFAM about the pests or plagues that impact their coffee the most, farmers tend to say that they have very few problems with insects or other pests. They name and call out some examples of different types of common problems like rust and coffee borers but say these are rare enough not to cause much damage. Several farmers explain that this is because healthy plants have a natural resistance to insects, fungus, and other plagues. Marcelo says that conventional fertilizer relies on three nutrients, while natural fertilizers provide the over forty nutrients and micronutrients that the coffee needs for optimal health.

***Figure 20: Ripe coffee cherries on the bush*. Photo by author.**

Organic and Fair Trade certified farmers at COOPFAM manage to hold onto high yields of quality coffee by using large amounts of organic material and allowed fertilizers on their fields. Some Fair Trade-only farmers were at first worried about a drop in yields in the transition to organic agriculture. However, the organic farmers I spoke with keep their yields high and perhaps, more importantly, consistent year-to-year by having their soil analyzed yearly to see what nutrients their coffee needed and by working tons of organic material, minerals, and organically certified fertilizers into the earth.

Differences and Similarities Between the Standards

While there are cooperatives that allow for some members to be Fair Trade and others not, this is not the case at COOPFAM. Complying with all of the Fair Trade standards and principles are a requirement for their membership at COOPFAM. Organic production is

encouraged, but it is voluntary. Approximately half of the farming families at COOPFAM have some organic coffee production. The majority of these farmers have some plots that are certified organic and others that are only Fair Trade certified.

Both Fair Trade certification and organic certification have environmental standards to which the farmers must adhere. While the organic standards are stricter than the Fair Trade standard, there is considerable overlap between the two standards. For example, in both Fair Trade and organic standards farmers must keep records of how they manage their coffee on the farm and *terreiro*, and they must track the chain of custody for their coffee while it is in their possession. They also cannot use prohibited agrochemicals on their coffee or any other crops in parallel production, they cannot use GMOs, they must manage their waste properly, and they must care for the soil and water resources on their farms. Farmers at COOPFAM are careful to manage their waste by separating food waste, recyclables, and non-recyclable waste. For example, farmers use household scraps of vegetable matter to feed their chickens or compost them for their kitchen gardens or coffee fields.

Under organic certification's more stringent environmental standards, farmers have further restrictions on the types of agricultural inputs that they can use on their coffee. Furthermore, they cannot have parallel production of organic and conventional coffee soon after their transition period to organic certification. The transition period for organic certification is three years, while Fair Trade certification has no such transition period. During the organic transition period, coffee farmers cannot sell the coffee under transition as organic. Organic farmers must plant barrier crops such as bananas or fruit trees between their organic plots and their neighbor's conventional plots. This is done to stop pesticide drift from contaminating the organic coffee. While not a requirement in Brazil, organic coffee farmers are strongly

encouraged to plant shade trees on their farms. They also have to control for erosion by planting cover crops or ensuring their coffee trees are properly terraced on hillsides. Finally, farmers are also required to preserve a certain amount of protected natural areas on their property if they have them and also to build up protected areas and not grow crops within a barrier zone around springs, streams, waterfalls and other bodies of water.

While Fair Trade certification is somewhat more lenient on environmental requirements, it is stricter regarding social equity and adherence to democratic principles. For example, Fair Trade has standards relevant to on-farm labor and democratic participation in the cooperative. Regarding Fair Trade's labor requirements, farmers must not use child labor, they must not discriminate when they hire laborers, and they must not employ laborers a majority of the time. When farmers hire laborers, they must compensate women and men equally for their labor. Finally, the farmers are required to participate in cooperative decision making through the various meetings, assemblies and democratic processes that the cooperative makes available to them.

It is important to note that regardless of the work that the farmers do to meet the Fair Trade and organic standards, they will not be able to sell their coffee at the price premiums offered by these certification systems if they do not meet basic export quality standards. The farmers at COOPFAM are keenly aware of the fact that quality matters. They know that the coffee they produce that does not meet the export quality standards must be sold on the domestic market for significantly less money, regardless of the resources expended to meet the environmental and social exigencies of Fair Trade and organic certification. Coffee that is very high-quality brings in a larger price per pound of coffee than the certified premium prices. While this can greatly supersede the certification prices, it is considered additive because buyers of

COOPFAM's coffee deliberately seek out coffee with one or more certifications. In effect, high-quality coffee increases the amount earned per pound, but to benefit from the services provided by COOPFAM, the farmers must at least be Fair Trade certified.

To ensure their coffee is high-quality, the farmers selectively harvest their coffee choosing only the ripe cherries. They ensure that the plants have adequate nutrients to thrive and fight off pests. Moreover, they are careful in the natural drying process to follow best practices on the drying patios to ensure that the coffee dries evenly and does not ferment. The optimal moisture level of green coffee is 12%. When the harvest season is particularly wet, farmers may opt to dry their coffee cherries in large drum dryers. While this process is less desirable that natural processing, it can make a difference when the weather would otherwise jeopardize the coffee on the drying patio. Some factors impact quality that farmers may have less control over, such as the altitude of production. Arabica coffee grown at higher altitudes has more sugar content as measured by a Brix meter and is generally higher quality. If farmers do not work for quality very little of their coffee harvest will be able to be sold on the Fair Trade market. Also, the cooperative is working to add value to this coffee by roasting and packaging it onsite. This vertical integration will likely provide more money for the lots of coffee that don't meet the export market quality exigencies.

Coffee quality varies considerably among farmers, but it is not necessarily due to a farmer's lack of understanding about the best practices in coffee production. Instead it is related to structural factors, often outside of the farmer's control. For example, not all farmers have access to high altitude plots whose cool temperatures cause coffee cherries to concentrate their sugar content. Some farmers lack sufficient financial resources to procure the best organic inputs, or are not able to leverage enough human resources to devote a significant amount of

time to all of the labor intensive activities on the farm including fertilization, selective harvest, and drying the coffee on the *terreiros*. This is especially true for elderly or ill farmers without adult children to help with on farm labor, and women farmers who are unmarried or widowed.

While achieving very high-quality coffee can provide farmers with the highest premiums for their coffee (as explained in Chapter Six), Fair Trade certification provides farmers with consistent access to export markets and numerous non-economic benefits (as discussed in Chapter Five) that otherwise they would not have. Furthermore, it is important to recall that Fair Trade certification also provides a floor price for coffee when the volatile commodity price of coffee falls to unsustainable levels. Moreover, there is a growing market for dual Fair Trade and organic certified coffee, so the cooperative has been encouraging organic certification. While there have been times when COOPFAM's export quality Fair Trade-only certified coffee does not sell right away, they have never had a problem selling all of their dual organic/Fair Trade certified coffee during the research period.

IV. Food Production, Local Markets, and other Livelihood Strategies

"The whole specialty coffee industry is focused on quality. And I think companies need to step back and take a look at the basis of quality. Farmers that are growing specialty coffee, particularly small-scale farmers, will invest in quality only after they are able to feed their own families. They're not going to feed their coffee plants before they feed their families."
- Rick Peyser, Green Mountain Coffee Roasters, Inc. in "After the Harvest" 2011.

While farmers at COOPFAM can earn a relatively high price for their coffee, they still supplement their earnings from coffee production with multiple livelihood strategies. The daily lives of farming families combine hard work in the coffee fields and on the drying patios with equally demanding schedules caring for livestock, horticultural production, and caring for family

and the community. The mix of livelihood strategies and the number of activities undertaken differs for each family. However, food production for home use and sale, domestic care, and paid labor are common livelihood strategies.

A. Daily Life

Luis Carlos de Paiva and Rosângela de Souza Paiva were two key informants at COOPFAM. They were both involved with the cooperative and association from its inception. In 2009, Luis Carlos was on the fiscal council of the cooperative and Rosângela was the founder and president of the cooperative's women's group. In 2010, Rosângela was elected as the first women on the board of directors for the cooperative.

They have three children and live in a modest home in the *bairro* of Cardoso, on land owned by Luis Carlos's father. Luis Carlos's father is elderly now and does not farm, but he used to grow tobacco, corn, and beans. Luis Carlos and Rosângela grow coffee on 4.5 hectares of his father's 30 hectares of land.

Like most of the COOPFAM farmers, Luis Carlos and Rosângela employ a variety of livelihood strategies to support their family. While coffee production is their main income earning activity, it is not the only product they sell. One hundred percent of their coffee is certified organic. Luis Carlos explains why he decided to join the association and produce organic coffee.

"I decided because of my philosophy with respect to nature, to work with a product that doesn't harm your health, and also not to endanger those who consume that product, not to have residues of agro-toxics. So the philosophy is that I don't want that for me and I don't want it for others, so these were the strongest motivations to enter this work of organic production, and also religious philosophy our group always was about religious philosophy, we are people that go to church."

- Luis Carlos de Paiva

In addition to coffee production, they grow 80% of their food, and the only staples they buy are rice and pasta. They have dairy cows, and Rosângela makes cheese from their milk. They grow their own vegetables, fruit, beans, and corn. They also raise pigs and chickens for home consumption.

The couple sells coffee, tomatoes, and beans locally and in the organic market in the city of Pouso Allegre. They keep bees to make and sell honey and propolis at the market and from their home. The bees are very important to Luis Carlos. As a farmer and ecologist, he understands the important role the bees have on his farm. However, his connection to them is deeper than that. They are not pets, but they are certainly what Donna Haraway refers to as companion species (Haraway 2008), providing that mutually beneficial connection to and concern for another species. Something is happening in the beehives around Poço Fundo. Luis Carlos and others who keep bees have been losing significant portions of their hives. Walking down to one of the fields where he grows coffee Luis Carlos recounted his sadness and frustration at losing his bees. I could see the pain in his face and hear the worry in his voice when he talked about the loss of some of his bees. He worries that pesticides, climate change, or disease might be destroying the local beehives. By 2012, Luis Carlos and Rosângela's honey production was greatly reduced, and they had lost 30% of their beehive population.

Coffee farmers and bees have a symbiotic relationship. Farmers plant the coffee bushes, which the bees pollinate. Coffee that is pollinated by bees has a higher pollination rate than coffee that is pollinated by the wind or self-pollinated (Klein et al. 2003). Coffee farmers benefit from the labor of the bees through higher quantities of fruit on their coffee bushes.

Like many women farmers at COOPFAM, Rosângela bears the primary responsibility for the majority of the domestic tasks in the home. Rosângela wakes up each morning around 5:00

am and makes breakfast for the family before getting her three children, Fernanda, Franciele and Luis Paulo up for school that day.

Rosângela prepares lunch early in the day for Luis Carlos to take out into the field and then a second lunch for when her kids come home from school at noon. We had lunch several times at Rosângela's house. Unlike an "American" lunch that I might make such as a sandwich, salad or leftovers from dinner, Rosângela cooks an entire meal from scratch three times a day. Lunch and dinner at Rosângela's and in other women's homes are usually composed of the compensatory rice and beans, stewed chicken that they raised, a salad of onions, tomatoes, and lettuce from their garden, homemade bread, a cooked vegetable or pasta, and homemade sweets or cake for dessert.

After she has made all the lunches for the family and cleaned up, she does the laundry and ironing and picks up around the house. With these domestic tasks complete, she takes care of their chickens and pigs and spends some time out working in their kitchen garden. Rosângela collects the honey from their hives and takes orders for honey and *propolis* over the phone from friends, neighbors, and customers throughout the day. They have a honey extractor out in their shed that spins the combs to extract the honey. In all, tending the garden, taking care of the pigs and chickens, and extracting honey takes her two to three hours.

She often goes to visit her children's school and neighbors during the day too, because as she says, "here it's a community and you have to work on this too." Rosângela also does whatever is necessary that day on the farm; sometimes it is picking beans, or taking the cows out to pasture. At the end of the day, she makes dinner for the family. In the evening she often has meetings at the cooperative or for the cooperative's women's group that she leads, then church

activities, or her driving classes. She ends her workday around 9:00 pm, after dinner and dishes are done, and all of the meetings end for the day.

Figure 21: Honey and coffee for sale in Poço Fundo from Luis Carlos and Rosângela's farm. **Photo by author.**

B. Food Security and Selling Other Products

Families within COOPFAM are food secure, meaning that they have consistent access to "sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (FAO 1996). Families procure food by purchasing it from local markets and supermarket, through trade or barter, and by growing, raising and processing it themselves. Almost all of the families interviewed produce a significant amount of their own food ranging from 60-95% and only buy some things like flour, salt, sugar, oil, and rice. All the farmers I met

grow staple food products including beans, corn, and manioc, and a few grew rice. Farmers also cultivate a diverse amount of fruits and vegetables (see Table 4). Regarding animal husbandry, most farms raise chickens, pigs, cattle and dairy cows, some keep bees and have fishponds. Most farming families process food and medicinal products (see Table 5). Growing and producing these foods and medicinal items takes a considerable amount of time for both women and men.

Table 4: Types of food produced for family consumption.

Staple foods	Fruits	Vegetables	Animals	Other	Processed items
Beans, corn, manioc (three varieties), rice.	Oranges, limes, bananas (four varieties), papaya, passion fruit, plums, *cidra* (citrus), *pitanga* (Surinam cherry), *acerola* (Barbados cherry), melons	Tomatoes, lettuce, collard greens, okra, squash, pumpkin, potatoes, sweet potatoes, beets, carrots, *chu chu* (chayote), avocados, onions, garlic, olives, cabbage, *jiló* (Scarlet eggplant)	Cattle, dairy cows, pigs, chickens, bees, fish	Peanuts, popcorn, sugar cane, loofah	Yogurt, cheese, bread, cakes, sweets, *pão de queijo* (cheese bread), rapadura (dried sugar cane juice), *cachaça* (fermented sugarcane liquor), honey, propolis (medicinal resin from bee hives)

Some families sell products other than coffee in Poço Fundo or neighboring cities. For example, Luis Carlos and Rosângela, in addition to producing honey and *propolis,* grow organic produce like tomatoes, watermelons, and lettuce. They sell these products both from their home and at the organic fair in Pouso Allegre. Many families sell roasted and ground coffee locally. Several farmers also sell milk or eggs locally. Before the cooperative built their own roasting facility, the farmers took their coffee that did not meet export quality standards to the

agrotechnical institute in Machado to have it roasted and ground. A small number of farmers still grow, process, and sell tobacco, which used to be the main crop grown around Poço Fundo.

Table 5: Crops Sold Domestically and Internationally.

Cash crops sold	Horticultural products sold	Animal products sold	Processed items sold
Coffee (export market, domestic market, local market), tobacco (domestic market, local market)	Tomatoes, melons, lettuce, bananas (organic market in Pouso Allegre)	Eggs, milk, honey, *propolis* (local market)	*Rapadura* (brown sugar in cake form)

Women tend to care for the small livestock like chicken and pigs, while men care for dairy cows and cattle. Women also care for kitchen gardens. Both men and women harvested horticultural products from their farms for sustenance. Men harvest the sugar cane and process *rapadura*. Women make processed food products like sweets, cakes, and cheeses, which they sometimes sell or trade with other families.

Figure 22: Pigs cared for by COOPFAM farmers for family consumption. **Photo by author.**

Figure 23: Laying hens at COOPFAM farm. **Photo by author.**

C. Work in the Home

In the home, women's domestic activities contribute significantly to the emotional and financial well-being of the family. To save money, many women process food in the home, including dairy items such as yogurts and cheese, baking and bread making, cooking and other food processing and preserving. Women also tend to do their homes housekeeping, something that is frequently done by *empregadas*, or domestic workers, by their counterparts in Brazilian towns and cities. Women are the primary caregivers for children and sometimes for elderly and disabled adults as well.

Figure 24: Religious festival out in the roça. **Photo by author.**

Women in the countryside do an incredible amount of work in and around the home. They are responsible for taking care of children and elder relatives, cooking from scratch not using processed food like some in the city, cleaning, and laundry (mostly done by hand). Women

also care for the kitchen garden, preserving food, and small animals like chicken and pigs. They are responsible for turning the coffee on the terreiro, as well as cooking and preparing for religious festivals and other events. Cooking goes way beyond simply making dinner and includes regularly making bread, *pão de queijo*, cheese, yogurt, candies, cakes, and other sweets. Unlike women in the city, most women farmers do not have hired domestic help for cooking, cleaning, and childcare.

D. Working Outside the Home and Farm

In other studies of small-scale coffee farmers producing certified coffees, it is commonplace for some members of the family to work outside of the home and farm (Barham et al. 2010; Jaffee 2007; Méndez et al. 2010). At COOPFAM, many households have family members working outside of the farm. These include families that have adult children who are working away from home and farmers (men and women) whom themselves seek work outside the farm to earn extra income. In addition, to off-farm labor, many families have a child attending college. Farmers have mixed feelings about their children continuing to farm. They feel that farming is good for them but a difficult way to make a living. Most families are happy that some of their children are pursuing careers in other sectors and that their earnings from coffee production can support their children's career aspirations.

Farmers who work outside of the home tend to do so because they cannot earn enough income through coffee production or other on-farm activities, or because they have a professional interest in another career. Farming families who need to work outside of the farm for financial reasons tend to have an unmet financial need because of a lack of access to sufficient land to grow coffee on. For example, Leonardo Carvalho engages in several off-farm

income-earning activities to meet his family's cash needs. He works for the cooperative doing maintenance, and in the *rebeneficio*, and also works on other farms during the harvest, or occasionally does some construction work. His farm is so small that he has to do extra work to sustain his family. In addition to Leonardo's work off the farm, his wife Helenice has occasionally worked as an *empregada* (domestic worker) for other families. Several other women have worked from time to time as *empregadas* to make ends meet.

A number of farming families have adult children who work outside of the farm. For example, at the time of my research two of the secretaries at the cooperative and association were the daughters of farmers in the cooperative. Poliane, the association's secretary in 2009, was working for the association while studying agronomy at the local university. She hopes to work as an agronomist for the cooperative or other organization when she graduates.

V. Conclusion

The multiple livelihood strategies which farming families at COOPFAM engage in help them achieve a level of income and food security not reported elsewhere in the literature on Fair Trade coffee farmers. There are some conditions that lead to this level of security for COOPFAM farmers. These include producing a significant proportion of their food, selling other agricultural products and non-export quality coffee locally. In addition to this, the farmers earn a high price per pound of coffee because of the labor and resources expended to ensure that the coffee is very high-quality. This attention to cultivating high-quality coffee, in addition to other outside economic factors, leads to a high price per pound of coffee as will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

Chapter Five: How "Fair" is Fair Trade? Accessing Fair Trade's Social Impacts

I. Introduction: The Promise of Fair Trade

Fair Trade is promoted as a third-party certification system that small-scale farmers can participate in to receive certain benefits such as a minimum floor price for their products, social development premiums that they can use for various social programs in their community, pre-financing from purchasers, and access to a democratically organized structure.

To obtain the benefits promised by the Fair Trade system producers must meet the certifications' standards and overcome many barriers to entry into the system. First, I discuss the general principles and standards of Fair Trade, and then the barriers producers encounter when trying to obtain certification. This chapter identifies and explores the common barriers faced in accessing Fair Trade and organic certification. I then move to discuss what assets COOPFAM employed to overcome those obstacles, and then finally what, primarily non-economic, benefits the cooperative and farmers now enjoy as a result of Fair Trade and organic certification. Moreover, I discuss a number of social and economic programs, not directly attributable to Fair Trade, which the cooperative and farmers might not have been able to leverage without Fair Trade certification.

This chapter focuses primarily on the non-monetary impacts of Fair Trade, while Chapter Six covers the economic impacts of certification and the relationship between Fair Trade certification and global market factors such as currency fluctuations and commodity prices.

II. Barriers to Accessing Fair Trade Certification

There are many obstacles that farmers and cooperatives have to overcome to obtain Fair Trade and organic certification. These barriers broadly fit into three categories; capacity related barriers, barriers related to democratic decision-making, and barriers encountered in meeting Fair Trade standards.

A. Capacity Barriers

Some of the first barriers farmers face in accessing the Fair Trade and organic certification systems are related to education levels and literacy. Cooperatives and farmers must both have a high degree of capacity concerning education and business acumen to access the Fair Trade system and successfully participate in it. Fair Trade and organic certifications both require careful and regular record keeping about agricultural activities on the farm and in the cooperative. Farmers with low levels of education or literacy may find this record keeping difficult, intimidating, or impossible. Farmers are supposed to note their production practices, such as the inputs and the quantities and frequencies in which they were applied, and keep this information for Fair Trade and organic auditors when they visit their farms.

Administrators for a certified cooperative have even more demanding administrative tasks such as overseeing budgets, contracts, and running the cooperative as an international business. While some Fair Trade and organic cooperatives have professional administrators, others rely on the work and leadership of democratically elected farmer-administrators and a limited support staff. These administrators need to navigate the sophisticated international trade system and complex supply chain discussed in Chapter Two. Moreover, business conducted along this supply chain is most often done in a language other than the farmers' first language.

B. Democratic Decision Making

The Fair Trade system requires participation in the cooperative and democratic decision making processes. This necessitates that farmers buy into the system and commit to democratic principles including a high level of involvement in the democratic process. Farmers have to make time to go to meetings to learn about cooperative business, programs, and to make decisions collectively. This time commitment is difficult for some farmers. Women find it particularly challenging to participate because they often have child care responsibilities in addition to work on the farm and the home, and often lack access to transportation to and from meetings.

Cooperative leadership has to be able to provide members with a variety of educational opportunities and services. This requires a time commitment from them and other farmers who travel to attend workshops, lectures, and other activities. For these programs to be successful, farmers must have a high level of receptivity to what is essentially extra, unpaid work. In addition to training, farmers are expected to participate in monthly meetings at the nucleus level and annual general assemblies. Women are additionally encouraged to join the women's group for their monthly meetings. Moreover, farmer-administrators also have regular directors' and subcommittee meetings they must attend to coordinate the business of the cooperative.

C. Meeting the Standards

One of the common complaints about certification was the multitude of certifications and their various standards. Farmers found it difficult to keep track of the ever-changing organic standards and consistently spoke about wanting one uniform organic standard, rather than four different sets of rules for the USA, EU, Japanese, and Brazilian organic certifications. Some

farmers seek out ways to work through or get around some rules. For example, some farmers avoided the organic rule about not having parallel production of organic and conventional coffee by placing the organic coffee in one spouse's name and the conventional in the other's name. Different systems have different standards and allow for different inputs or types of land management. Even within one certification system, like organic, there are various national and regional certifications such as USDA (United States), JAS (Japan), and EUROPA (European Union), each with slightly different requirements and prohibitions. For example, farmers at COOPFAM would talk about how one treatment for a pest was allowable under one program but not the others, this was confusing, and the farmers never seemed to receive a satisfying answer as to why there was a discrepancy.

Farmers also complained about the top-down nature of certification systems. They felt that these systems did not necessarily work well in every case. Both farmers and local agronomists at COOPFAM thought the transition time for organic was too long under US, EU, and Japanese certifications because these systems did not take into account how quickly decomposition works in the Brazilian climate, and that the growing season is year-round. This is in contrast to a shorter season as it is in Northern climates where organic certifications were pioneered. However, the farmers have little recourse to change the rules of these systems, especially since they are international standards, which have to apply across a wide variety of climates and landscapes.

Another set of barriers encountered by farmers wishing to participate in organic and Fair Trade production are the requirements regarding agrochemicals. Many Brazilian coffee farmers are accustomed to using agrochemical inputs because of a long history of their use in the area and because governmental policies in Brazilian have promoted and subsidized their use. Farmers

entering into Fair Trade or organic have to take on an entirely different approach to farming, and they may not have access to the appropriate technical assistance needed to transition to organic, pesticide-free, or biodynamic agriculture. Simply stopping the use of agrochemicals without a proper system of natural pest control and proper fertilization of the soil would cause a drastic decline in productivity. Farmers benefit from having their soil analyzed and other technical expertise in deciding which nutrients they need for optimal production, and which remedies will help control diseases and other pests.

At COOPFAM, as in many organic or Fair Trade certified farms, more labor is needed to compensate for the lack of use of herbicides and conventional fertilizers. As discussed in Chapter Four, organic farmers have to add a tremendous amount of organic inputs, including compost, manure, coffee cherry hulls and other amendments, to their soil to ensure proper plant nutrition for robust production and disease resistance. While the organic farmers I spoke to lauded the productivity and health of their organic plants, they also talked about how much hard work went into applying these organic inputs. In addition to organic fertilizers, farmers also expend more labor in weeding out or tilling under weeds in their coffee groves because they do not use herbicides. Farmers at COOPFAM consistently said that they did not have very many problems with pests because of their general health of their plants and the abundance of nutrients including micronutrients in their soil because of the organic inputs, which helped their plants build resistance to common diseases that farmers were dealing with in neighboring areas.

Several other environmental barriers exist for farmers looking to transition to organic production including the creation of buffer zones around organic plots, and care of buffers around springs and rivers. Under Brazilian law, there must be buffer zones around certain bodies of water. Organic certifications also require buffers around organic plots to stop pesticide drift

from depositing agrochemicals onto organic plants. Farmers at COOPFAM tended to use rows of banana trees or sugar cane as buffers between their organic plots and the conventional plots owned by their neighbors. These buffers also serve as windbreaks on the farms to help with soil conservation by reducing erosion. Organic farming also requires other soil conservation such as terracing to reduce erosion. Farmers have to make soil conservation plans and implement them over time. While better for the environment and the health of the plants in general, these soil conservation techniques require investments of time, continuing education, financial resources, and labor to implement them.

To meet the Fair Trade standards, cooperatives like COOPFAM must have the capacity to run and coordinate the activities of a democratically organized cooperative and a successful international business. With the support of their small staff, the farmer-administrators at COOPFAM have been able to grow the business of the cooperative and facilitate the entry of additional cooperative members. Employees and administrators have been able to identify and obtain various financial, environmental, educational, and development opportunities for the cooperative and its members. These opportunities are described later in this chapter. The next section discusses many of the assets that COOPFAM was able to leverage to gain access to Fair Trade and organic systems despite the many barriers that stood between them and certification.

III. Access to Fair Trade

The existing literature on barriers to cooperatives wanting to enter the Fair Trade market has focused on issues of quality in conjunction with the rise in the market for specialty coffees (Jaffee 2007; Martinez 2002; Roseberry 1996; Smith 2010). Fair Trade producers have had to improve the quality of their coffee as more cooperatives entered into the Fair Trade market and

competition for market share increased. Some farmers and cooperatives have found Fair Trade's quality standards to be a barrier to participating in the Fair Trade system. Over time, the Fair Trade and specialty coffee markets have come to resemble each other. Fair Trade advocates and producers have significantly increased their focus on quality coffee production. Specialty coffee companies have increasingly sought out third-party certification and other programs to offer more environmentally friendly and socially just coffee. These specialty roasters are looking to capitalize on consumer demand for sustainable coffee (Smith 2010).

In addition to increasing quality standards for Fair Trade coffee, there is a growing expectation that Fair Trade coffee producers obtain dual Fair Trade and organic certification (Jaffee 2007; Wilkinson and Mascarenhas 2007). Dual certification puts additional financial and labor burdens on farmers. Farmers and cooperatives must pay for both the Fair Trade and organic certification costs. Many cooperatives participate in several national or regional organic certification programs; including USDA, EU, and JAS organic certification. Several scholars have expressed that organic or Fair Trade production requires additional labor from farmers to meet environmental standards (Jaffee 2007; Moberg 2005).

IV. Assets

A. History

COOPFAM was able to leverage a broad range of assets to overcome the obstacles that stood between them and organic and Fair Trade certification. COOPFAM's history is illustrative of the some of the factors that helped them access these certification systems. As discussed in Chapter Three, in 1984 a small group of farmers organized themselves into an agricultural association because the local agricultural union did not meet their needs as small-scale farmers.

According to several of the founding members of the association — the Associação dos Pequenos Produtores de Poço Fundo e Região (Associação) — this group was concerned about the environment because of their interactions with the Comissão Pastoral da Terra (CPT) a social movement led by the Catholic church. The founders of the Associação worked closely with a local priest, Father Agnaldo Perugini, to learn about environmental stewardship. These early interactions laid the foundation for an association grounded in environmentalism and social justice principles. Many of the farming families view their environmental commitment as a part of their Christianity. The religious rhetoric from the CPT movement is still present in many farmers' descriptions of why sustainable production is desirable. Farmers speak passionately about being stewards of the earth. The cooperative administrators — who are all farmers themselves — share this commitment to social and environmental issues. The cooperative's former president (2003 to 2009), Luis Adauto Oliveira, first studied in the Seminary before returning to Poço Fundo to grow coffee.

In the mid-1990s the Associação began working with Sepucaí, a local NGO focused on environmental sustainability. Sepucaí offered technical assistance to the farmers and encouraged their participation in organic and biodynamic agriculture. The Associação and later COOPFAM were formed to access markets like Fair Trade, organic, and other specialty markets and did so without the handicap of being entrenched in the conventional market for a long time before seeking alternatives. In 1997, the Associação received Associação de Agricultura Orgânica (AAO) certification. Today farmers at COOPFAM produce Fair Trade coffee under FLO certification, and organic coffee under AAO, USDA, EUROPA, and JAS. The cooperative's environmental and social justice roots served to attract other like-minded members. In this way, COOPFAM built on a core group of individuals who shared the same values.

COOPFAM and its associations have participated in the Fair Trade movement since 1998, when the Associação worked with Max Havelaar to become Fair Trade certified, however, they did not become FLO certified until 2002. COOPFAM was the first Brazilian coffee cooperative to receive Fair Trade certification. COOPFAM's size and the size of the individual farms were other assets in obtaining certifications. All of the farmers in COOPFAM have farms that are at or below the maximum size permitted by FLO, with the average farm size being six hectares (Wilkinson and Mascarenhas 2007). Farmers interested in joining COOPFAM must join one of the associations affiliated with the cooperative and participate actively, including going to meetings, for six months prior to membership. Moreover, they must meet the social and environmental standards required for Fair Trade certification. This initiation period ensures that new members share the same core values as the rest of the cooperative.

B. Education

Another asset farmers at COOPFAM have is the level of education of the farmer-administrators who run the cooperative. Two of the cooperative's recent past-presidents both completed post-secondary degrees - Luis Adauto Oliveira (president 2002-2009) attended the Seminary, and Marcelo de Paiva Gonçalves (president 2009-2011) completed a bachelor degree in agronomy. Education levels attained by other individual farmers vary with some completing only a few years of elementary school and other with college degrees.

Regardless of the farmers' education levels, the record keeping needed for Fair Trade and organic certifications was not a barrier for the farmers I interviewed. Farmers are accustomed to keeping a record of their farming activities. When questioned about the requirements of Fair

Trade certification, many farmers mentioned they keep daily records of their activities in the coffee grove, and the inputs they use on their coffee plants.

COOPFAM was able to leverage the assets discussed above to obtain Fair Trade certification. In the next section I discuss how the cooperative's commitment to capacity development has allowed them to maintain their certifications, increase the number of members in the cooperative, improve the quality of their members' coffee, and maintain relatively high prices and strong demand for their members' coffee.

C. Capacity and Social Development

One of the factors contributing to COOPFAM's success in obtaining and maintaining third-party certifications is their commitment to building capacity within the cooperative at all levels. The cooperative invests in the education and training of their staff, the farmers, and their children. The cooperative is committed to fostering leadership among the farming families and has taken advantage of many social development and leadership development programs offered by NGOs, certifiers, and the government.

The farmers themselves with a small team of paid administrative staff run COOPFAM. They include a president, three secretaries, several men employed full-time maintaining and running the *rebeneficio*, and up to two agrotechnical advisors. Other paid staff members include a full time accountant, a part-time Q-Grader, and part-time temporary positions when additional manual labor is needed. This team runs all of the business at the cooperative. COOPFAM's farmer-administrators and staff have an impressive capacity for running both a democratically structured organization and an international business. Cooperative administrators and employees negotiate contracts with many different companies on four continents (South America, North

America, Europe, and Asia). They also coordinate all exportation requirements for the coffee because COOPFAM is a Fair Trade certified exporter.

The cooperative activities undertaken by the staff include: contracts, negotiation and communication with buyers, and exporting the coffee. In addition, staff members supervise the construction of the roasting and grinding facility, do the general upkeep and maintenance of the cooperative, warehouse, computer lab, house, and meeting space. Cooperative staff and administrators coordinate the cooperative's meetings, computer classes, and handle financial business like paying the farmers, and providing them with access to pre-financing. Moreover, they administer the Fair Trade and Café Femenino premiums. The cooperative runs a *rebeneficio* (processing mill) with state-of-the-art equipment to sort and select the best quality coffee beans and recently opened a new facility with the capacity to roast and grind their coffee for the domestic market. The financial benefits of these two facilities are discussed in Chapter Six.

Cooperative leadership is focused on the environmental impacts of production, social development and benefits to the farming families and the broader community. The cooperative provides continuing education programs for farmers to learn new techniques for improving the quality of their coffee and protecting the environment around their farms. These educational programs foster the economic sustainability of individual families and the market opportunities for cooperative itself. Cooperative staff and administrators are always looking for new opportunities including new markets, technologies, innovative techniques, and certification systems.

D. Training and Development

COOPFAM organizes many training workshops and lectures for its members throughout the year. Some of these programs are on the farms and hands-on to provide instruction on new techniques or other best practices, others are held in the cooperative's meeting room where scholars or other experts come in to talk about improving coffee quality or complying with organic standards. Outside organizations like Fair Trade USA, support some programs such as one where a consultant helped the certified organic farmers improve their farming practices. Other workshops focused on teaching women the best techniques to dry the coffee on patios to enhance their coffee's quality.

One example of a training organized in partnership with other non-governmental or governmental organizations was a yearlong leadership development program that about twenty farming families participated in. This group, while still primarily composed of male farmers, had more women involved in it because they were explicitly encouraged to come by the woman, Andrea Salerno Cassiá, who ran the program and they were welcome to bring their children with them. The program was a partnership between the cooperative, Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio às Micro e Pequenas Empresas (SEBRAE), and supported by funds from Fair Trade USA. Andrea worked for SEBRAE and ran monthly programs on leadership development with farmers.

The cooperative also organizes a variety of outreach efforts. In one such effort, they contracted with a nurse who met with groups in the different nuclei to talk about women's health, stress reduction, and other health concerns. Funding for these types of programs comes from a variety of sources. In some cases, funding these programs created tension between certain farmers or groups within the cooperative and the cooperative administration when farmers felt that there was a lack of transparency on the sources of financing for various programs. The

health care outreach program is one example where tensions between the cooperative's women's group and the cooperative's administration came to a head. At one of the women's group meetings, a nurse named Andrea was brought in to talk with the women about an upcoming program on women's health that the cooperative would be providing for them. Andrea was under the impression that the funding for this program was coming from funds provided by Café Femenino. Rosângela later at her home confided in me that she was not happy with this because the women in the group had not agreed to have Andrea be the person to present to them, rather they had a specific physician in mind for the session. When Rosângela approached Adauto and the cooperative administration, Adauto clarified that a grant from Taylor's of Harrogate, and not Café Femenino, would finance the nurse's presentation. While this clarified this particular situation, it also highlights the ongoing lack of trust and miscommunication between the women's group and the cooperative administration.

Many educational programs offered by the cooperative focused explicitly on coffee growing practices to improve the quality of the coffee or to train the farmers on sustainable production processes. This commitment to environmental quality improvement was a founding principle of the cooperative, which in its early days worked very closely with a sustainable agriculture NGO, Sepucaí. The cooperative would occasionally bring in experts to talk about the links between agriculture and the environment. One renowned visitor, Ana Primavesi, was described by the cooperative's agrotechnical staff as one of Brazil's premier soil scientists and leader in the movement toward organic and biodynamic agriculture in the country. Dr. Primavesi spoke to a room packed full of cooperative members and lectured for over two hours to the captivated crowd. Other instances of training came from experts in organic agriculture who presented to the farmers and also visited some of the organic farms to see their production and

offer suggestions for improvement. These educational programs in tangent with the cooperative's investment in appropriate agrotechnical assistance from agronomists with trained in organic and other sustainable production techniques helped the farmers overcome the obstacles they faced in transitioning to organic farming, and in meeting organic's and Fair Trade's environmental standards.

E. Engagement

There is a group of 20-30 farmers who regularly participate in the meetings and events the cooperative holds, including special lectures and important meetings to improve production practices. A much larger number of farmers attend the annual assemblies and special events that the cooperative organizes, but for cooperative members who live far away from Poço Fundo (more than two hours away in the case of those in Andradas and Inconfidentes), attending regular meetings is difficult. One or two leaders from those distant nuclei typically attend meetings and bring the information back to their groups. Ozório José dos Santos and Maria Raquel Contim (Raquel) represented one of these nuclei, the Andradas nucleus.

Raquel and Ozório live with their families near the city of Andradas, which is approximately a two-hour drive from Poço Fundo. Raquel, one of the few never married women farmers in the cooperative, lives with her mother and an unmarried adult brother who was also a part of the cooperative. Raquel, her brother, Ozório and one other farmer made up the nucleus in Andradas. Ozório and his wife lived and farmed together, and he was the president of their nucleus. They made an effort, as often as possible, to travel to Poço Fundo for cooperative activities and educational opportunities. I first met them when a researcher named Rosana Vieira Ramos came back to the cooperative to present her dissertation research on the cooperative. The

cooperative often welcomed many foreign and domestic researchers who have worked with them to return and present their study's findings to the farmers. Raquel and Ozório, although they lived far away, attempted to take advantage of the programs the cooperative offered and spoke to me about the importance of belonging to the cooperative and in particular their commitment to organic coffee production. COOPFAM offered them educational resources on organic production techniques that they otherwise would not have been able to access.

In general, women were less likely to participate in cooperative meetings than men. However, a few women are emerging as leaders in the cooperative-community. In late 2009, the cooperative elected Rosângela de Paiva to be the first women to the cooperative board of directors. Previously two women had served on the Poço Fundo association's board Vâmia Lúcia P. Silva and Rosana Silva Pereira. There are only a few women who regularly attend cooperative meetings. Women explain that sometimes they do not attend because their husbands represent them, or that they would like to attend but find it difficult to do so when they have children to care for, or if they do not have access into transportation to town where the meetings are held. Rosângela de Paiva described why women in Poço Fundo don't participate as much as men as compared to some of the women she met years earlier at an organic fair in Rio de Janeiro, "the women who are the poorest really were the ones who did the most work on their own because they had to, they had to, to survive. Women in this area around Poço Fundo, they have a little bit more, they have a little bit more economic security and cushion and they sort of just cross their hands and let the decision making be done by the men." Rosângela went on to explain that those women who did participate in cooperative activities tended to be leaders in some other facet of their community like their church. In conversations with other women one of the things mentioned for their absence from participation was that they lacked the courage to seek

leadership roles in the cooperative. For example, Paula told me that it was not that the women were not capable of being leaders it was that they did not have the courage to do so. She felt that the women in the cooperative needed more leadership training, that classes on cooking and painting were fine, but not what they needed to develop as business women.

Women's Participation and Growing Tensions Within the Cooperative

A small group of women within COOPFAM have organized a women's group to address issues of importance to them and build the women's capacity within the cooperative. Rosângela de Paiva is the leader of the Mulheres Organizadas Buscando Independência (MOBI) women's group; she has served as the director of the group from its inception in 1997. After the birth of her first child, the group became inactive until 2006 when Rosângela and other women reinitiated the group. When I first visited COOPFAM in July 2006, the MOBI group held their third meeting since the group was rekindled. The women's group had between 15-20 active participants. The group primarily focuses on developing projects for the women where they could have more financial independence in their families. In 2009, the group was developing ideas for new programs to pitch to representatives from Café Femenino, a coffee buyer focused on purchasing 100% women-produced coffee that had started purchasing coffee from the cooperative the year before.

The MOBI group and Café Femenino program brought to the surface certain tensions between the cooperative administration and subgroups within the cooperative. Café Femenino is a second party certification system run by the founders and owners of Organic Products Trading Company (OPTCO). Café Femenino "certifies" and sells 100% women-grown, organic and Fair Trade coffee from eight different countries (OPTCO 2017). OPTCO and Café Femenino are both

run and were started by Gayleen and Garth Smith; after fifteen years of working with coffee cooperatives, Gayleen was approached by some of the women farmers in a cooperative in Peru. The Peruvian women were producing their own coffee but their husbands controlled the money earned for the coffee. The women in the cooperative asked Gayleen to help them market their own coffee separately from the men in the cooperative so that they could control their own production and revenue. Today, Café Femenino describes their program as a social mission, not just another mark or certification program. The introduction to the handbook Café Femenino provides coffee cooperatives this information about their program "…women however are responsible for the majority of the coffee production, the entire household, the family garden, livestock and the children. Inside the culture of Central and South America, many women coffee producers do not have a value equal to that of the man as human beings. The woman does not have the ability to make economic decisions for herself or her children." It is under this premise that Café Femenino conducts their programs. They describe that they have created an economic system for women coffee producers that is "separate but together with the men," and that women are producing coffee, "just as she has always produced coffee, but now she is recognized for the work she does. She is no longer invisible." However, this premise does not actually fit the dominant coffee-production paradigm of small-scale family farmers at COOPFAM.

As discussed in Chapter Four, farming practices are highly gendered activities with women and men doing different tasks throughout the production process. Indeed, those single or widowed farmers without partners typically have to rely on hired labor or other family members to assist in coffee production in order to meet all of the environmental and quality exigencies of Fair Trade and organic coffee production. Café Femenino requires that their coffee be 100%

produced by women, a production system that is highly impractical at best for COOPFAM families.

In 2009, COOPFAM was one of the cooperatives certified by Café Femenino and the only one in Brazil. Women farmers participating in the Café Femenino program receive a US$0.02/lb. premium for their coffee in addition to opportunities to apply for grants for social development and capacity building grants. In return, the women farmers and the cooperative must adhere to a number of standards. Only women producing dual Fair Trade and organic certified coffee are eligible to participate. Coffee sold to Café Femenino must be 100% produced and harvested by women. If a man and woman work a farm jointly, her coffee has to be kept separate and marked throughout the process. The coffee must meet high-quality standards as well. The US$0.02/lb. premium is either paid directly to the women coffee growers or given to the cooperative's Café Femenino group. The women must form a Café Femenino group and democratically decide how they will use this premium. The premium is to be used solely at their discretion and is not for general use by the cooperative. The Café Femenino group will decide how to use the premium as a group or individually. The women must both be active participants in the Fair Trade cooperative and hold regular meetings of the women's group. The cooperative must work to integrate women into the leadership of the cooperative. Moreover, the Café Femenino mark is to be used exclusively by OPTCO and Café Femenino. Women must also be on or added to any land title that exists for the property in the family. The women and the cooperative must choose someone to interface with the staff of Café Femenino. In the case of COOPFAM, the cooperative had selected Andréa Maira da Silva, the cooperative's head secretary, to be the liaison to Café Femenino.

Café Femenino Tensions

In the spring of 2009, COOPFAM was preparing for a visit from representatives of Café Femenino and OPTCO for the first time. Women in the MOBI group were very excited about their visit and had been preparing for a party to welcome the Café Femenino staff. The leader of the women's group Rosângela de Souza Paiva spoke enthusiastically at the MOBI meetings and in private conversations with me about several projects and leadership proposals that they wanted to unveil for the Café Femenino visit. For several years the women in the MOBI group had been organizing to build a commercial kitchen where they could produce and sell candies and other confections to earn more money. The women had also started talking about wanting to have more women involved in the leadership of the cooperative. While two women had at the time served on the local association's board of directors, a woman had not yet been elected to the cooperative board in 2009. Rosângela began to suggest that the MOBI group should consider running a whole slate of women for all of the leadership positions of the cooperative that fall. While Rosângela admitted that there certainly would be some machistas who would oppose having women lead the cooperative she believed there would ultimately be enough support for some women to be elected.

The proposals for the commercial kitchen and for running an all-female slate for the cooperative board were not met with enthusiasm by the cooperative president, Luis Adauto Oliviera, or the staff at the cooperative. Several days before the Café Femenino visit, Rosângela pitched the idea of running a slate of women for the cooperative board to Adauto and Andréa the head secretary at the cooperative at the time. They immediately dismissed the idea and said that the cooperative needed to focus on electing the best people to the positions, those individuals who had the experience to run the cooperative. Rosângela argued with them in the break room of

the cooperative, challenging the notion that women are not well qualified to run the cooperative. Later that day I was assisting Adauto by translating an email he received from Café Femenino when he told Renato Pereira da Silva, the cooperative's agronomist and Vanessa de Paula Araújo, another cooperative secretary about his conversation with Rosângela about having only women run the cooperative. They joked that if Rosângela were president, the women would put all of the cooperative's money into running the women's commercial kitchen to make confections.

In preparation for the Café Femenino visit, the women at the May MOBI meeting coordinated what food and refreshments to prepare and planned to give the Café Femenino staff a gift in appreciation of the program. They were eager to show off their confectionary skills to demonstrate that their commercial kitchen concept would be viable. There was more excitement about this visit than any other coffee buyer's visit. The women in the MOBI group left the meeting full of anticipation and excitement to meet the people who created a coffee certification program that recognized and rewarded women's work directly.

In late May 2009, Dustin Johnson and Connie Kolosvary came to visit COOPFAM. Dustin worked directly with OPTCO Organic Products Trading Company, which is an importer of coffee, organic coffee, and Connie is the director of Café Femenino. During Connie and Dustin's visit, it quickly became apparent that there were many communication problems between the cooperative's staff, Café Femenino, and MOBI, the women's group. The first indication of communication problems happened during lunch the first day of their visit while I interpreted for Connie and Dustin. Connie and Dustin asked a few questions about the work that the group did with Café Femenino generally and the women's group in particular. They asked if Andréa, the cooperative's head secretary was the coordinator of the women's group. Andréa said

that she was and that she did the coordinating for the group. The problem with this assertion was that the women in the MOBI group did not consider Andréa to be the coordinator of the group, she attended the meetings, but she was not a MOBI member or farmer herself.

During the lunch, Dustin and Connie asked about women's work and if it was valued on the farms. The farmers and the cooperative's staff there explained that women's work was valued and talked specifically about the important role that women play in the natural processing of coffee that they do at COOPFAM. They explained that women's work is valued because they are the ones who turn the coffee on the drying patios to ensure that it dries evenly and does not ferment. They recognize the importance of this work because without it the coffee quality would be jeopardized. Toward the end of the conversation, Dustin probed deeper to see if women's work in coffee was valued prior to when they learned about the importance of proper drying techniques, or did this appreciation for their work come after the farmers realized the economic value of drying coffee properly. Unfortunately, lunch was wrapping up at that point, and that question was left unanswered.

After the lunch, Connie and Dustin the staff and farmers returned to the cooperative to meet with other farmers there. Leonardo (Leo) Portillo joined the group at that point. Leo worked for Fair Trade USA as their Consulting Local Project Associate in Brazil. He often accompanied Fair Trade coffee buyers on their visits to cooperatives to aid in language interpretation between the English speaking buyers and Portuguese speaking farmers.

In the meeting of the cooperative board members, Adauto asked Dustin and Connie to introduce themselves and their businesses. Dustin explained what his position was with OPTCO. He explained that OPTCO buys organic and Fair Trade coffee and that he is their producer relations' representative. He explained that his role was to be in regular communication with all

the producer groups to find out what is going on with them and make certain there are no problems during the harvest. Connie explained that her role within Café Femenino was to work directly with the women's groups on various capacity building projects and to foster women's empowerment within the cooperatives. Connie explained that in many of the other Café Femenino cooperatives there is much more overt oppression of women, including high rates of domestic violence than she understood was common at COOPFAM. She also explained that women in certain countries like Peru, do the majority of the coffee-farming work, but the men take the coffee to the market and control the revenue without sharing it with the women. She explained that the way that the farmers at COOPFAM spoke about family farming was different from the experiences of women farmers elsewhere. The different gendered division of labor at COOPFAM, as compared to Café Femenino programs in other countries, would eventually prove to be incompatibility with Café Femenino's 100% women-produced coffee standard. The production system needed to produce high quantities of export quality and dual Fair Trade and organic certified coffee at COOPFAM, relies on a highly gendered division of labor.

One of the objectives of the Café Femenino visit was to learn more about the cooperative's women's group and to explain the Café Femenino program and its standards to the cooperative leaders and the women participating in the program. For example, Café Femenino coffee must be both Fair Trade and organic certified and produced exclusively by women. To their credit, Adauto and the cooperative leadership tried to explain the production system at COOPFAM and how critical the gendered division of labor was to producing high-quality coffee. They explained that while women initially directly harvested ripe coffee cherries they soon had to direct their attention to the drying patios to ensure that the coffee did not ferment during the natural drying process. Leo from Fair Trade USA explained the difference between

the natural processing done at COOPFAM and how that was very different from the washed or semi-washed coffee processing that Dustin and Connie were familiar with from their work with coffee farmers in Mexico, Central America and other countries in South America. They explained that it was very tough for any one person, man or woman, to produce their own lots of coffee without help from their spouse, adult children, other relatives or paid laborers. Adauto kept trying to explain that all of the organic farming families had women producers who worked in coffee production and that, because of the specific production system there, they considered them to be the cooperative's Café Femenino producers.

Another point of contention was the Café Femenino standard that required the formation of a women's group for Café Femenino producers. These groups are supposed to be comprised of women producing their own dual certified organic and Fair Trade coffee. The MOBI group made the claim that they were the rightful group to use the funds distributed by Café Femenino. Connie's visit with the MOBI emboldened the women. They soon began to demand that the Café Femenino premium was rightfully theirs to use. On multiple occasions, they asked Adauto to transfer these funds into an account that they had set up for the women's group. The women wanted to run some educational and health programs with the money. One problem the MOBI group had with the Café Femenino standards was that only women with dual certified organic and Fair Trade coffee were supposed to be members of a Café Femenino group. The leaders of the MOBI group objected to this because some of their long-time members were only producing Fair Trade coffee and not dual certified coffee. They did not want to exclude these women.

Connie and Dustin met many different COOPFAM families, visited numerous farms and dined in the homes of several families during their three-day visit to COOPFAM. The MOBI group organized a celebration with food and refreshments, they presented their plans for using

Café Femenino funds, and they thanked Connie and Dustin and presented them with handmade souvenirs to take home and remind them of the women of COOPFAM.

Over the course of their visit, Adauto's persona was different with the representatives from Café Femenino than his normal behavior with the farmers or even with us. He was more reserved and quiet than normal, while still friendly, he tempered his typically sharp wit. He was more cautious with newer buyers of the cooperative's coffee. In this particular situation, possibly more than any other I witnessed in my work with COOPFAM, the power was certainly in the hands of the Café Femenino staff. Adauto clearly knew that OPTCO and Café Femenino could just decide not to buy the cooperative's coffee. Over dinner the last night of Connie and Dustin's visit, Adauto expressed his level of frustration with the complexities of the Café Femenino system, and the challenge it would pose to restructure their production system to sell a relatively small amount of coffee. He said that he now better understood the requirements of the Café Femenino system but did not know if it would be worth it for the women or the cooperative to sell one container of coffee under this mark. He postulated that maybe it would be worth it for two containers. He remarked that he probably could sell all of the cooperative's coffee to Royal Coffee but that he knew it was important to diversify their sales.

Dustin then explained that they did not have the market yet for more Brazilian Café Femenino coffee because they did not have the story to tell about the Brazilian women. He remarked, that was one of the purposes of this visit. He said that it is just based on the market and that when they have more people that wanted to buy the Café Femenino brand of coffee from Brazil, then they could buy more containers.

The Café Femenino visit highlighted the power dynamics between coffee buyers, the cooperatives, and the farmers themselves. Adauto, as the cooperative president, lobbied the staff

at Café Femenino to consider a different production system than they were accustomed to and challenged them to see that such a system could empower women farmers. Adauto, Rosângela and others at the cooperative tried to describe the nature of the division of labor on the farms and how at least two people were needed because of the simultaneous need to harvest coffee and begin the time consuming drying process on the patios. Connie and Dustin visited farms and saw men picking the coffee and women turning it on the patios. While they saw this division of labor and heard from many farmers how women's work on the patio was crucial to coffee quality, they stressed that the standards are what they are, and that the women and cooperative did not have to produce coffee for Café Femenino. It was always their choice.

I argue that, while it might have been their choice to participate, the inflexibility of the standards created an impossible choice for the MOBI women. They were eager to pursue economic development and saw Café Femenino as a tool to do so. However, they realized that Café Femenino's standards around 100% women-produced coffee could have negative impacts on families earnings from coffee production, despite the $0.02/lb. Café Femenino premium. Women farmers would have to add on a tremendous amount of work to apply fertilizer to their coffee plants and remove weeds — work that is typically done by men in families with at least two able bodied partners. Moreover, they would have to forgo critical time on the drying patios during the harvest, to work in the fields picking their own coffee cherries. This would likely jeopardize the quality of the women's own coffee, and possibly all of the farmers' coffee. Since the quality premiums that farmers receive for their high-quality coffee are higher than the Café Femenino premium most farmers could not see the clear benefits of participating under the program's existing standards. As such, the farmers and cooperative continued to try and negotiate the standard by explaining their production processes, and how an adjustment in the

Café Femenino standard, would actually make the program fairer and more worthwhile to the women and their families.

Furthermore, because Café Femenino was driven by consumer desires for dual-certified coffee, the program excluded women who were not organic producers. These women did not have the power or resources (human or financial) to invest in organic production. Not only were women in conventional farming families excluded from receiving the $0.02/lb. price premium for their coffee, they were also excluded from participation in the Café Femenino women's group. This meant that some of the cooperatives most economically vulnerable women might not have access to services provided via the Café Femenino premium funds.

Rosângela, the president of the MOBI women's group, expressed concern about excluding women whose families did not produce organic coffee. A number of these women are in the existing women's group. And a newly formed Café Femenino group would be in competition with MOBI. MOBI was developed in 1997 by the women-farmers of COOPFAM for all women and focused on all women's economic independence. Rosângela worried about the repercussions of excluding some women, especially those who had committed to their own empowerment work for many years. The Café Femenino program's standards regarding group membership would serve to exclude women seeking empowerment in this case, rather than bring it to them as promoted in their marketing materials.

The Café Femenino visit also brought to the forefront tensions between the cooperative administration and the women's group. As the vignette regarding the delay in transferring the Café Femenino funds from the cooperative to the women's group illustrated, women farmers felt they should have more control over the resources provided by the Café Femenino program. They also felt that the cooperative administrators, all of whom were men, should not make the

decisions on how the women's group should use Café Femenino funds. This impasse precipitated a lack of trust that continues to grow between the leaders of the women's group and the cooperative's administrators.

COOPFAM's tensions with the Café Femenino standards eventually led to Café Femenino's determination that the production system at COOPFAM was incompatible with their program. The cooperative was not distinguishing which coffee was being produced exclusively by women and which was not; they were offering all of their dual certified organic and Fair Trade coffee as Café Femenino so determining who should actually be in the Café Femenino women's group was impossible. In 2012, the cooperative lost their Café Femenino certification because they did not rectify this problem. Café Femenino stopped buying their coffee after the cooperative sent two identical samples to OPTCO, both with OPTCO and Café Femenino labels on them. As discussed in Chapter One, in 2011, the new cooperative president at the time Marcelo de Paiva Gonçalves met again with Connie and Dustin at the SCAA Event in Houston, TX about the Café Femenino program. He listened carefully, apologized for the earlier problems and admitted that there were a few women, mostly unmarried women or widows, who produced coffee entirely on their own at COOPFAM and that they might be interested in participating but that ultimately it would be their decision and not the cooperative's. To date, COOPFAM has not sold any more of their dual certified coffee to the Café Femenino program.

The negotiations between Café Femenino and COOPFAM are a visible example of the challenges both certifiers and producers encounter when a certification system scales up. The more that relationships between coffee buyers and coffee producers are negotiated through a set of global standards, the more that they lose the flexibility to respond directly to the nuanced needs of farmers and cooperatives. On the other hand, these standards do make certain sets of

expectations clear for both farmers and buyers. This can provide a more level playing field for farmers to negotiate with buyers. This is more likely to occur when the farmers and the buyers have a long term relationship and there is some flexibility in the standards to account for differences in farmers' cultures and production practices.

V. Benefits of Fair Trade and Organic Certification

Once farmers and cooperatives overcome the barriers to entry into Fair Trade, there is a wealth of benefits that they may be able to access. Some of these benefits are directly provided by Fair Trade such as access to programs financed through the use of the Fair Trade premium and programs run by Fair Trade organizations that are only available to certified cooperatives. Other benefits available to Fair Trade producers and cooperatives are not necessarily a direct benefit of Fair Trade certification. Instead, these indirect benefits are due to programs offered by socially and environmentally responsible coffee buyers and other stakeholders, or programs that cooperatives can access because of the training and capacity they have developed through participation in Fair Trade.

While the economic advantages of the Fair Trade floor price are often discussed in the literature on Fair Trade, other benefits are also very important to cooperative members. In 2009, Adauto Oliviera, then the president of the cooperative said this when speaking about the economic and non-economic benefits of Fair Trade.

"This is important to add because the idea of Fair Trade is not only that you put a price premium on top of the price of the product. Really the impact happens in the life of the producer independent of the premium. His participation in the market is what bares fruit. He has to promote new situations of movement and growth independent of the use of those resources. So this has to be very clear as well, it's not only getting money that signifies growth. Development and knowledge have to be applied, and the way that they are applied makes the difference.

Because you see communities that receive a premium, but nothing ever changes in the lives of the producers. What is important is to raise consciousness independent of the money provided by the premium. This is what transforms and makes for a better quality of life and social environment. It's not the money in and of itself."

- Luis Adauto Oliviera, cooperative president 2002-2009

A. Programs Financed through Fair Trade Premium

One of the benefits of Fair Trade certification is the US $0.10/lb. social development premium cooperatives receive and can reinvest into their members and community. COOPFAM has used the social development premium to invest in education for farmers and their children, healthcare, agricultural technology, and business development.

At times, the cooperative leverages the funds of the social development premium to work with local businesses to secure discounts for farming families. For example, COOPFAM farmers can visit certain private doctors, dentists, and orthodontists and receive discounts for their services. While health care is free in Brazil under a single payer system, many people elect to pay for private services in order to be seen more quickly or to receive what they believe to be superior care and access to services with private practitioners.

In a similar vein, public education is provided by the state in Brazil, but many middle-class families elect to pay for private education for their children. Farming families at COOPFAM can take advantage of discounts offered to them at the private cooperative school Centro Educacional Cooperar (CEC). In addition to the discounts subsidized by the social development premium and partnership with the CEC, COOPFAM youth have the opportunity to receive a limited number of scholarships offered by Fair Trade coffee buying companies, as discussed in the following section.

COOPFAM also invested in educational programming for farmers and their children. The cooperative invested in building a computer lab adjacent to their assembly space in town. In the

lab, groups of children and adults can learn how to use computers. The cooperative also offers cultural programs like guitar and drawing lessons. Moreover, they have used the social development premium to sponsor cultural events in the community like the local samba school, which performs during Carnival and other holidays.

As mentioned above, capacity building is vital to accessing Fair Trade certification and maintaining the quality and environmental standards necessary to sell certified coffee. COOPFAM offers numerous agricultural training opportunities for their members. Many of these focus on ways to improve coffee quality in order to earn more money per pound of coffee sold. Other trainings focus on organic and other agricultural production techniques.

Investing in technological resources to maintain and improve quality and to maintain organic certification are also important ways COOPFAM uses their Fair Trade social development premium. COOPFAM partners with Fair Trade certifiers to provide soil testing for their farmers, where the soil is sampled, and tests are run to analyze nutrient content. After analysis, the cooperative's agrotechnical advisors work with farmers to help them improve their soil health through different techniques and make suggestions on organic materials that can be used to amend the soil. In addition to soil health, the cooperative has undertaken a mapping project at the behest of their organic certifiers. The cooperative's agrotechnical advisors are mapping the organic farms using GPS and sharing this information with the organic certifiers. See Figure 5, in Chapter Three for an example map of a COOPFAM farm created by COOPFAM's agronomist Edimar Moreira Martins.

B. Programs Available to Cooperatives Through Certification Organizations

Fair Trade certifying organizations finance additional programs for farmers, including coffee quality improvement programs. These types of programs are a win-win scenario for the cooperative and the certifier. The cooperative gets to produce more quality coffee and earn a quality premium for its production, while the Fair Trade certifiers promote the quality improvements of certified coffee and tell the story of how they are investing in the quality infrastructure of the cooperatives with which they work.

Fair Trade USA has a major role in identifying and leveraging resources from third party partners to help certified farmers and cooperatives. Fair Trade USA hired a Brazilian, Leonardo (Leo) Portillo to work as their Consulting Local Project Associate in Brazil to work in close collaboration with Fair Trade certified cooperatives and help them with interactions with Fair Trade buyers and assist them in improving the quality of their coffee. Leo accompanies many different coffee buyers on their visits to COOPFAM. Often he assists in translating for the cooperative and the buyers because of his native fluency in Portuguese and proficiency in English. This investment by Fair Trade USA has been particularly significant because many coffee buyers do not speak any Portuguese.

At COOPFAM, their drying patio revolving loan program is one example where Fair Trade USA enrolled Fair Trade buyers and governmental agencies in a program to improve the quality of Fair Trade coffee. Representatives from Fair Trade USA regularly visited COOPFAM to check in on the cooperative and the projects they supported. Café Bom Dia, Fair Trade USA, and USAID financed the revolving loan program. In a visit to Café Bom Dia, their representative, Alex Donizeti do Rosário, spoke about their partnerships with Fair Trade certifiers and other organizations to provide funding for quality infrastructure. He explained that

Bom Dia put in more than fifty percent of the capital for the project and also provides technical assistance. Through this program, ten families received a loan to build themselves a cement drying patio. By drying their coffee on a cement patio, they would increase the coffee quality and in theory earn more money per pound of coffee. After a period of time, the farmer is expected to pay back the loan so the cooperative can then extend a new loan to a new family for them to build their own drying patio.

C. Benefits Provided by Coffee Buyers

COOPFAM frequently receives visits from their roasters, importers, and other coffee buyers. Most of these visitors are from abroad, including the United States, Europe, and Japan. Cooperative administrators, staff, and many farmers are accustomed to these visits. Farmers frequently welcome coffee buyers into their homes to talk about their farms, families, and lives. The cooperative tends to take these visitors to a select set of model farmer, in close proximity to the cooperative headquarters to show off the success of their programs. This gives buyers a false perception since they do not visit the poorest farmers, or those living far away from the cooperative. It is these poor and distant farmers who would benefit most from buyers' and certifiers' attention. However, those who do not typically host buyers may still encounter them at the cooperative's office.

Quite a few coffee buyers visit COOPFAM each year. During my fieldwork coffee buyers, including Organic Products Trading Company (OPTCO), Café Femenino, Thanksgiving Coffee, Urth Coffee, Casa Brasil, Taylors of Harrogate, and Sant'Eustachio Il Caffe, visited the cooperative. In addition to buying coffee at the Fair Trade price, a number of these coffee buyers support social programs at the cooperative and in the city of Poço Fundo.

COOPFAM has traded with some of its partners for many years including Royal Coffee, Casa Brasil, and Sant'Eustachio Il Caffe. The cooperative puts a considerable amount of effort in seeking out, developing and maintaining close relationships with various coffee buyers. COOPFAM's cordial long-term relationships with buyers have facilitated their growth and success in the Fair Trade market. These long-term relationships are one of the principles of Fair Trade. Many coffee buyers come to COOPFAM each year to visit the cooperative and the farmers. These buyers are taken on tours of the *rebeneficio* and the roasting and packaging facility being built, then taken out to farmers' homes and fields to witness the coffee production. Translators are typically necessary for these buyers since none of the farmers are proficient in English, although some have a working understanding of Spanish or Italian. Sometimes buyers bring their own translators like Hannah from Taylors of Harrogate, others rely on Fair Trade USA representatives like Leo Portillo when available, and still, others ask the cooperative to find translators or try to get by with Spanish.

During my fieldwork, I often served as a translator for the cooperative when buyers came to visit, and then later back in the United States at the 2011 and 2013 Specialty Coffee Association of America Events (SCAA). This mutually beneficial relationship allowed the cooperative to have free translation during business meetings and gave me an intimate view of the power dynamics occurring in business transactions between the cooperative and coffee buyers.

There is a familiar routine when coffee buyers come to COOPFAM; cooperative staff or administrators are on hand to welcome the buyers and give them the requisite tour of the facilities. Hannah Eatough's — a green coffee buyer from Taylors of Harrogate — visit began in this way. A Brazilian woman who had worked in London with Hannah and the woman's

husband accompanied Hannah. I joined the group as they toured the rebeneficio and the roasting and grinding facility that was being built. At the time of Hannah's visit, the building construction was completed, and the machinery was beginning to come in. Adauto, explained that the cooperative planned to install a state of the art roasting machine that would not have any emissions, smoke or odor. In addition to this, they would install and use two different types of packaging machines; a typical one that vacuum packs the coffee, and one that injects nitrogen into the bag that displaces oxygen and thereby stops the oxidation process, preserving the quality and shelf life of the coffee. When the facility is finally completed, Adauto explained the cooperative hoped to be able to sell the first dual Fair Trade and organic certified coffee in Brazil.

Cooperative administrators often told buyers that they intended to hire family members of the cooperative to run and work in the facility upon completion. On that day, Adauto explained they were running to catch up and finish the facility, because they were able to get some additional loan and grant funding from Banco do Brasil. As a result, they were shooting to inaugurate the new facility in October 2009 instead of in 2011 or 2012.

Taylors of Harrogate is based out of London, England and is one of COOPFAM's long-term buyers. They purchase Fair Trade conventional coffee, and in 2009 they wanted to buy an additional container of coffee from COOPFAM. Like many coffee buyers that COOPFAM sells to, Taylors works with the cooperative on a social program. Taylors is particularly interested in occupational health and safety. They funded a program at COOPFAM where twenty families would receive health and safety training and equipment. In the first year of the program COOPFAM selected thirteen families to receive the training and equipment, another seven would be enrolled the second year. The cooperative hired a health and safety specialist to run the

training program. Taylors completed a social audit of the cooperative in 2007 with the ethical trading initiative and gave US $3,000 to COOPFAM for the program.

When buyers visit the cooperative, the staff or administrators usually take them to visit a few farms. On this particular occasion, we went into the *roça* (countryside) to visit Ana Paula Mendes (Paula) and Valdir José de Oliviera because they were one of the families participating in the health and safety program funded by Taylors. Paula and Valdir are one of the few families that have employees. They have two paid workers on their farm, partially because Paula has rheumatoid arthritis, which limits the types of work she can do and also because they do not have any children who can help on the farm. The couple has one of most beautiful homes of all the cooperative members. They built it a few years earlier with the aid of their extended family. The house sits on a hillside with a breathtaking view of the scenic valley below and mountains beyond.

Hannah was visiting Paula and Valdir to present them with their health and safety kit. We all stood together on their patio. Renato explained that they had to work to change the culture of the farmers because people were accustomed to working in their fields without closed toed shoes and men without their shirts on. I had walked through many a farm with farmers and their families donning *Havianas* (flip flops). Although during the harvest or other labor-intensive activities most farmers wore boots. Renato went on to explain that changing behavior was proving to be a slow process, and the cooperative was taking three steps to make these changes. They were working to motivate the families about the importance of the program, reaching out to the workers on the farms, and asking the leaders of the nuclei to indicate a family they thought might participate in the program. Some farmers were resistant and did not want to participate. They resisted certain changes more than others. For example, some farmers did not want to wear

gloves because they wanted to feel the coffee when they were harvesting it. So the cooperative took that feedback and purchased gloves with a thinner, stickier surface so the farmers could still feel the coffee cherries.

Each family in the program received a kit from the cooperative and could purchase others if they so desired. The package contained a pair of gloves, a sun hat, boots with rubber soles and leather uppers, a first aid kit, sound blocking earphones, and masks. They were also going to receive field toilets very soon. Upon learning about the field toilets, Hannah became very excited and told us how the cooperative administrators thought she was crazy when she initially explained that they needed to provide field toilets to be in compliance with Brazilian labor laws. Renato broke into laughter and said they must have thought that this little blond from England was very silly. His high-pitched laughter rang out as he exclaimed "A toilet in the middle of the field!"

For Hannah, a toilet in the middle of the field represents a significant advancement in health and safety standards, yet for the farmers Renato alluded to, the toilet is out of place in the field. Their farms are closer to nature in the farmers' minds. They are not like factories or offices where one would expect to find toilets. The farmers' resistance to aspects of the program, like the toilets or the gloves discussed above, shows their negotiations of what standards must they adhere to, like toilets in the field, and which ones can they renegotiate, like thinner and stickier gloves for harvesting coffee cherries.

While the program Taylors of Harrogate supported focused on occupational health and safety, different coffee buyers supported many other programs for the cooperative members and the community. For example, Casa Brasil pays for several students to attend the cooperative school in town. Thanksgiving Coffee has sponsored and judged a Fair Trade coffee competition

in Brazil. While Walmart and Café Bom Dia were building a new building for the cooperative school. However, this project ran into problems and construction stopped in 2009.

Another buyer-supported program the cooperative participates in is the Minas Olympica program for at-risk kids. Minas Olympica is an extracurricular program youth in Poço Fundo can participate in before or after school. It is supported a combination of government and private funds; including support from COOPFAM and one of their buyers, Sant'Eustachio Il Caffe based in Rome, Italy.

I visited the Minas Olympica program one day with Karina, one of its directors. Karina picked me up at 8:00 am, and we drive across town to the Poliesportive (Poli), a big gymnasium. On the way, Karina saw two students who were enrolled in the program. She stopped the car to ask them if they were planning to come that morning. One boy said yes straight away, and the other agreed to come once Karina explained that today would be lots of fun because it was physical activity day. The Minas Olympica program offers various activities for the students each day, ranging from physical activities days like the day I visited, to math and language studies.

Upon arriving at the Poli, Karina set out to greet each student with a handshake and a kiss on the cheek, a customary greeting. Karina then introduced me to Pricilla, the education intern, the two physical education teachers there, and the custodian. When we finished making introductions, Karina called the students, and we all gathered in a big circle and held hands. Karina explained to the kids that I was an American here to study coffee production and that they needed to be on their best behavior so I would return home and tell everyone how good the kids in Poço Fundo were. We wrapped up the circle activity with the kids reciting a pledge and a prayer together.

The youth in the Minas Olympica program primarily come from disadvantaged backgrounds. On the day I visited, three little girls there were living at the orphanage in town, and others Karina, explained were victims of abuse or neglect. There were twenty-one students the morning of my visit, but a total of 105 students enrolled between the morning and afternoon sessions. The sessions are open to younger students in the morning and older students in the afternoon.

Activities that day comprised various games, including a "don't forget the lyrics" game, spelling game, and even a coffee sack race, where the students used coffee sacks to hop across the gym and back. In addition to the physical activity and academic programs, the students in the program are fed a snack before the session ends, and they head to school. The day I visited we had a French bread sandwich with ground beef and fruit juice drink. Before I left Pricilla took me into the classroom at the back of the Poli where they run their academic programs. The kids had desks and books there and timetables and other resources on the walls.

Support for programs like Minas Olympica helps COOPFAM gain social capital in Poço Fundo. The cooperative is often able to leverage more funding for a program than they could offer on their own by partnering with a coffee buyer — in this case, Sant'Eustachio Il Caffe.

D. Programs Accessed due to Increased Capacity, Training, and Investment

Government

COOPFAM has been able to leverage support from the Brazilian State as a direct result of their participation in Fair Trade and because of increased organizational capacity from the farmer-administrators' increased capabilities and business acumen. The cooperative's administrators were able to identify financing, training and other governmental programs for

their members in many areas. Since the farmers at COOPFAM meet the Brazilian government's definition of family farms, they could participate in the PRONAF (Programa Nacional de Fortalecimento da Agricultura Familiar) program. PRONAF defines a family farm as one where the majority of the family's income comes directly from agriculture. PRONAF provides low-interest loans for small family farmers in Brazil to sell their agricultural products, in the case of COOPFAM to local schools. Farmers at COOPFAM are able to earn supplemental income through this program to sell bananas and other fruit to the schools in the area.

Quality

Training and infrastructure are perhaps the most important investments COOPFAM takes advantage of from participating in Fair Trade. Training and infrastructure improvements contribute to the production of higher quality coffee. Different stakeholders in COOPFAM's supply chain share this commitment to coffee quality. It is in the direct interest of the farmers and the cooperative to produce high-quality coffee so that they can continue to consistently sell their coffee at a premium above the Fair Trade and organic certified floor price. And it is in the interest of the coffee buyers to be able to offer their customers a premium product and justify the price premium they receive for their finished product. Finally, it is in the interest of Fair Trade and organic certifiers to hold on to their market share, expand their niche to include coffee consumers interested in gourmet coffee, and also to counter critiques that Fair Trade coffee is low quality.

Farmers at COOPFAM understand the importance of quality coffee and all those interviewed in this study took special care of their coffee in one or more ways to ensure the

quality of their product. Many farmers participate in trainings hosted by the cooperative to learn production practices and techniques to improve coffee quality.

As discussed in Chapter Four, many factors including altitude, climatic factors, soil quality, and production practices influence coffee quality. Farmers affect the quality of their soil and thus their plant health by following best practices for production. Many of the training workshops offered by the cooperative and supported by other partners, focus on plant health via soil health. Farmers told me how they learned that coffee plants need both macro and micro nutrients and approximately eighty tons of compost and other natural fertilizers per hectare, per year to protect the plants from pests and to have large yields of coffee. The soil around Poço Fundo, where the majority of COOPFAM farmers live is highly nutrient dense *terra rosa* soil. Still, farmers learned from soil scientists, like Ana Primavesi and other agricultural experts on how they could maintain this natural soil health and improve it. The cooperative also utilized technology like soil analysis to determine what nutrients a farmer should add to the soil. Moreover, the cooperative was also experimenting with a Brix meter, which is a sugar-testing device to determine the sugar content in the cherries. This was important to test which production practices and other parameters led to higher sugar content in the coffee cherry since sugar content is a key indicator of coffee quality.

Coffee quality is built and developed on the plant and is vulnerable as soon as the coffee is harvested. There are risks of losing coffee quality from the moment the cherry is picked. Actions after coffee cherries are picked can frequently degrade their inherent quality. Farmers received training on various strategies of selective harvesting to improve quality. Before these trainings, most farmers would harvest all the cherries at once regardless of their level of ripeness. Many farmers now use one or more methods of selective harvesting. As discussed in Chapter

Four, the most selective method utilized is hand picking only the ripest cherries on each bush and leaving the others on the bush. The next most selective methods are to harvest mechanically (using a *derriçadeira de café*) or by hand, only those bushes that are at peak ripeness. The final selective harvesting method is to harvest those rows or plots on the farm that are the ripest, and then return at another time to harvest other sections.

After selecting the cherries, the farmers start the critical drying process. In Brazil farmers typically use natural processing as opposed to washed or semi-washed processing. As discussed in Chapter Four, in natural processing, coffee is taken to drying patios with the fruit of the coffee cherry intact. From there, the coffee is spread out on the patio to dry in the cherry. Because it is in the cherry, it is important to keep moisture levels down so that the fruit does not ferment and start to diminish the quality of the coffee. COOPFAM and partners like certifiers and buyers have invested in trainings on how to best dry coffee on the patios. As described in Chapter Four, women typically are responsible for drying the coffee on the patio throughout the harvest season. They turn the coffee on an hourly basis from around seven in the morning and at about 4:00 pm pile it in rows and mounds to retain heat at night depending on where in the drying process it is. Farmers have learned that the coffee is ready when its moisture level in the cherry is at 12%.

Investing in drying infrastructure is another key benefit COOPFAM has gained from participating in Fair Trade. As discussed above, they have engaged in partnership with buyers and certifiers to finance a revolving loan program for drying patios. Another investment in drying infrastructure is large metal dryers, which help speed up the drying process. They are especially useful when the harvest time is very rainy. Rain at harvest time can extend the process and potentially jeopardize the quality of the coffee if fermentation occurs or mold or mildew develops.

The cooperative has worked in partnership with certifiers and buyers and has been able to leverage government loans to invest in the processing mill (*rebeneficio*) where the dry and hulled coffee is sorted and selected by a series of machines. The *rebeneficio* holds a series of machines that use air, vibration, and even a very high tech optical scanner. Using these machines the cooperative can sort lots of coffee to remove defects, and sort by size, color, and weight to group the highest quality coffee together and further differentiate it in order to earn a price premium for the best coffee.

Following this selection, small samples of coffee from different lots are set aside and later roasted and brewed for the cupping lab where the cooperative's trained Q-Grader tastes the coffee and notes its quality and characteristics. The cupping lab was also a place where buyers could test the quality of the coffee they were interested in purchasing. The cooperative use of the cupping laboratory and *rebeneficio* are discussed at length in Chapter Six.

VI. Conclusion

All of these investments and benefits of Fair Trade contribute to COOPFAM's economic stability and the high price per pound of coffee the farmers earn. COOPFAM farmers have been able to take advantage of these many benefits because farmers themselves and the cooperative leaders had the educational background, capacity, and commitment to Fair Trade principles to access the certification system. They used these assets to overcome the many obstacles to entering the Fair Trade system that stymies other cooperatives and keep them from enjoying these same benefits. The premium COOPFAM farmers earn for their coffee and other economic factors associated with Fair Trade will be discussed in the following chapter.

Table 6: COOPFAM programs and funding sources.

Fair Trade Premium/negotiation with local businesses	**Buyers**	**Fair Trade USA/FLO**	**Government**
Health care discounts - Doctors - Dentists - Orthodontists	Minas Olympica program for at risk youth	Drying patios revolving loan program	SEBRAE cooperativism program
Women's health education	Occupational health and safety training and equipment	Cupping lab	PRONAF (Programa Nacional de Fortalecimento da Agricultura Familiar) - loans for small producers and a program to sell produce and food to local schools
CEC (private school) discounts	CEC scholarships	Quality competitions	Funcafé (Fundo de Defesa da Economia Cafeeira) - loans for small or medium coffee producers
Vialão classes	Café Femenino		
Computer classes			
Agricultural education - Production techniques - Quality improvement - Organic production			
Soil testing (Partners: Certifiers)			
GPS (required by organic certifiers)			
<——————————— *Rebeneficio* - processing plant ———————————————> Funded by: Fair Trade premium, buyer support, certifier grant, government loan			
<——————————— Roasting and grinding facility———————————————> Funded by: Fair Trade premium, buyer support, certifier grant, government loan			
	<———— New CEC building————> Funded by: Certifier and buyers		

Chapter Six: The Price of Black Gold: Market Movements and What They Mean for Small Farmers.

I. Introduction

In May 2009, I traveled with Renato to the town of Inconfidentes where seven coffee farming families had recently become a part of COOPFAM. Inconfidentes is over a two-hour drive away from Poço Fundo, and the experiences of the farmers there differed from those living closer to the cooperative in many ways. I met and interviewed farmers from four of the seven families in the cooperative, three of who are brothers José Donizete Marcílio, Wilsom de Freitas Marcílio, and Antonio Claret Marcílio, as well as the president of the local association Maria Sonia Pasete.

The three Marcílio brothers' experiences with coffee production under the Fair Trade system are illustrative of the essential economic benefits of the Fair Trade system and the economic anxieties that are still present for farmers despite the certification system. Moving to the Fair Trade system benefits farmers like the Marcílio brothers because it helps to protect them from some of the price swings inherent in the free market for coffee. On the other hand, the brothers still face economic obstacles such as long waiting periods to get paid for their coffee and new pressures to produce higher quality coffee. The brothers lament the lack of strong state intervention in the coffee market and the lack of subsidies formerly available to aid in purchasing fertilizer and other agricultural inputs. They recognize the need for a new paradigm, such as Fair Trade and organic coffee production that will allow them to sustain their families as coffee farmers.

These farmers, like their compatriots in Poço Fundo and other areas, combine coffee production with other livelihood strategies such as subsistence food production and dairy

production. The three Marcílio brothers have lived on and farmed their land their whole lives, like their father before them. They shared thirty hectares of land, and about twenty of those are used in coffee production.

Like many farmers at COOPFAM, the brothers each have their coffee production but help each other during labor intensive times such as the harvest. The Marcílio brothers and Dona Sonia explain that they had trouble with the quality of their coffee because in their region it is quite cold and rainy, which causes the coffee cherries to ripen unevenly. They explain that their lives as coffee producers are difficult. The farmers just joined the cooperative in 2007, so the 2008 harvest was the first time that they sold their coffee through COOPFAM.

"It's difficult, difficult, very bad there's no money to spare, not to buy a car, not to get a tractor, it was terribly hard and now it's getting even more difficult. We'll see if it will get better, ah twenty years ago it was enough to remain, but now it's just enough to eat, only for expenses, just enough to maintain you can't really buy anything."

One of the brothers decided not to plant any new coffee plants ever again. He did not have any more space, and it was not worth it because he would be planting it only to pay people to help him because the money though coffee production was so little. Instead he plans to cut back on his production, increase the proportion that is organic, and focus on increasing the quality rather than quantity of his coffee to earn more per pound of coffee.

The two younger brothers, Wilsom and Antonio, had not yet received payment from the cooperative for last year's coffee. It still had not been sold to a buyer or left the cooperative for export. On the other hand, Donizete's coffee had sold, and he earned R$300.00/bag (60 kg). As a result, Wilsom and Antonio resorted to selling some of their coffee locally on the spot. They received R$200.00-R$240/bag for the coffee they sold on the spot. This kind of behavior is

somewhat common for Fair Trade farmers and can cause problems for cooperatives. When the C-price of coffee is very high farmers will opt to sell their coffee on the spot in order to get paid immediately, even though they would earn more per pound if they had sold through the cooperative. In some cases, this led to cooperatives being unable to meet their contract obligations with roasters when their farmers sell their coffee outside of the cooperative, and the cooperative's supply is diminished (Cycon 2008; Harris 2005; Renard 2008). This has not been the case for COOPFAM, which has not had any trouble meeting their contract obligations with roasters and other buyers.

The brothers' experience also illustrates that Fair Trade does not benefit all farmers equally, even those in the same cooperative. Farmers often earn less for the coffee they sell on the spot than they would earn if they were financially able to wait for payment at a later time. This is particularly problematic for the poorest farmers who most need additional income for their coffee but who also cannot afford to wait for a payment. Moreover, the distance from the cooperative poses a number of challenges for the Marcílio brothers, including high transportation costs, challenges with communication, and limits to the various benefits available to those farmers living closer to Poço Fundo. Farmers like the brothers in Inconfidentes or Maria Raquel Contim in Andradas live over two hours drive from Poço Fundo. As a result, high transportation costs cut into their income and they do not have the same level of access to services available near the cooperative. Furthermore, farmers in these more distant cities are members of smaller associations that receive less gross social premium funds due to their smaller size, and have fewer representatives on the cooperative's board of directors.

Like nearly all the farmers interviewed, the brothers did appreciate the more stable prices they earned through Fair Trade and organic production as compared to selling on the

conventional market. The brothers and Dona Sonia debated the precise amount of variation in income (somewhere between 30%-70%) from year to year.

II. Economic impacts

If Fair Trade is to be a solution to economic inequalities, it is important to understand the extent to which it can make the market more equitable for the 1.6 million farmers and workers involved in Fair Trade worldwide (FLO 2016). Anthropologists and other social scientists have begun to explore the socioeconomic and environmental effects of Fair Trade on small-scale farmers worldwide. Fair Trade is just one of the most recent market interventions aimed at keeping coffee prices high and stable for farmers. Before third-party certification systems arose in the 1990s governments served to intervene in the market for price stability in Brazil and on the global stage. The literature on the economic effects of Fair Trade certification for coffee farmers demonstrates that the system has had positive economic impacts for small farmers, especially during the Coffee Crisis in the early 2000s. However, Fair Trade has not proved itself to be a panacea for the economic challenges that continue to face small-scale coffee farmers.

Jaffee's (2007) research comparing the social, economic, and environmental impacts of Fair Trade versus conventional coffee production found that Fair Trade certified farmers fared only slightly better economically than their conventional counterparts. The Fair Trade farmers earned more money for their coffee but remained in debt. Bacon (2005) and Lyon (2006) also reported that Fair Trade certified coffee farmers in Nicaragua and Guatemala, respectively, earned more for their coffee than their conventional coffee-growing counterparts. However, Bacon (2005) reported that the Nicaraguan Fair Trade certified coffee farmers were making barely enough, or in some cases not enough money to cover their production costs. Moreover,

long waiting periods between when Fair Trade coffee is harvested and when farmers are paid by the cooperative have been cited as drawbacks to participation in cooperatives; whereas local middlemen pay farmers on the spot for their coffee (Harris 2005; Jaffee 2007; Renard 2008). When farmers sell their coffee to middlemen rather than fulfilling their obligation to the cooperative, cooperatives may be unable to fulfill their existing contracts. It has been suggested that this situation occurs more frequently when the market price of coffee is close to the Fair Trade premium price (Harris 2005; Cycon 2008; Renard 2008). Moreover, farmers often do not receive 100% of the Fair Trade price premium, which is a common misconception among Fair Trade consumers. Instead, the premium is paid to the cooperative, which then distributes money to cooperative members according to the volume of export-quality coffee they provided (Bacon 2005; Jaffee 2007).

My research took place in a different period from 2006-2013 when coffee prices had risen considerably. In 2008, coffee prices had reached their highest level in more than a decade after a period of increasing agricultural commodity prices that began in 2006 (FAO 2009). While coffee prices leveled out for a few years, in May 2011, the C-Price of coffee had hit a 34-year high, trading as high as US $3.09/lb. (FTRN 2013; Investing.com 2017). The C-Price of coffee during my research fluctuated from a low of approximately $0.97/lb. to just over $3.09/lb. This price range is significantly higher than the C-Price of coffee during the coffee crisis. Due to their participation in Fair Trade, the farmers always receive at least the floor price of coffee sold as Fair Trade and a $0.20 price premium above the C-Price when it rises above the Fair Trade floor price.

My research indicates that farmers at COOPFAM are pleased with the economic benefits provided by Fair Trade. The relatively high C-Price of coffee leading to a higher floor price for

coffee certainly may have played a role in their satisfaction. COOPFAM has consistently been able to sell all of their export-quality coffee at the Fair Trade premium price. However, not all the coffee produced at the cooperative meets the high standards necessary for export. The coffee that cannot be exported is sold for a significantly lower price within Brazil.

Some farmers at COOPFAM expressed discontent with their earnings in 2008 and 2009 because some of the money they received for their coffee was pre-financed. While this is typically viewed as a positive benefit of Fair Trade, the strengthening of the dollar at that time as compared to the Brazilian Real meant that the farmers could have earned more Reais per sack of coffee if they would have sold it later rather than accepting the pre-financing when the value of the dollar was lower.

A. Fair Trade Minimum Price and Premium

Fair Trade is often lauded for offering producers a price premium for their products to help account for volatility in the free market. In the case of Fair Trade coffee, this includes floor prices established for Fair Trade certified and dual certified Fair Trade and organic coffee. Over the course of time, the floor price has increased. However, these increases have been criticized as being too infrequent and not substantial enough.

In March of 2011, FLO increased the Fair Trade premium to address farmers and activists critiques that the price was too low. The effort also was an attempt to incentivize participation in organic production at a time when the C-Price of coffee was soaring to historic highs. Before the shift, the floor price for washed Arabic coffee went from $1.25/lb. to $1.40/lb. also, from $1.20/lb. to $1.35/lb. for Arabica Naturals (like those produced at COOPFAM).

Moreover, the organic differential increased from 20 cents/lb. to 30 cents/lb., and the Fairtrade Social Development Premium increased from 10 cents/lb. to 20 cents/lb. (FLO 2011b).

Before Fair Trade and organic certification farmers at COOPFAM earned much less for their coffee. Luis Carlos explained that he used to earn US$80.00/60kg sack of coffee before Fair Trade, but in 2009 earned more in the range of US$200.00/sack for dual certified organic and Fair Trade coffee. The price that COOPFAM farmers received for their coffee varied considerably over the course of the research period due to the quality of coffee they produced and global economic factors like fluctuating commodity markets and the changing value of the dollar. In 2009, Luis Adauto Oliviera, COOPFAM's president at the time, said that farmers selling their coffee from the 2008 and 2009 harvests earned between $R500,00 - $R550,00 per 60kg sack of dual organic and Fair Trade certified coffee. They earned $R300,00 - $R330,00 per 60kg sack of Fair Trade certified coffee, and $R220,00 - R$230,00 per 60kg sack of residual coffee sold domestically that did not meet the minimum export quality standards. The much lower domestic prices, illustrate that investments in quality are essential to gain access to the higher prices provided by Fair Trade and organic coffee markets.

A 2007 study done at COOPFAM and a neighboring cooperative in Poço Fundo found that organic and Fair Trade coffee production provided farmers with 48% higher price premiums per 60 kg bag than conventional coffee (Nordlund and Egelyng 2008). One of the common critiques of more environmentally sustainable practices in coffee is that yield declines without traditional inputs and as such farmers earn less for their coffee. The 2007 study found that average production of organic and Fair Trade certified coffee was 25 bags per hectare versus 30 bags per hectare for conventional production. However, Fair Trade and organic producers still

had 23% more income for their coffee from the 2006 harvest because of the price differential (Nordlund and Egelyng 2008).

In the 2008 harvest, Luis Adauto Oliviera explained that the cooperative had 38 shipping containers of export quality coffee to sell. 2008 was a bumper crop year for coffee at COOPFAM with production amounts of around 20,000 sacks, or approximately 1,200,000 kilograms of export quality green coffee beans. The cooperative sells 100% of their export quality coffee as Fair Trade certified, About 20-30% of total production does not meet export quality standards and is sold for a lower price on the domestic market. Of the 38 shipping containers of coffee from the 2008 harvest, 22 containers or 58% were Fair Trade certified, and 16 containers or 42% were dual organic, and Fair Trade certified.

Companies that buy COOPFAM's Fair Trade and organic coffee often pay a quality premium on top of the standard Fair Trade and organic premiums. In 2009, many companies that purchased COOPFAM coffee (from the 2008 and 2009 harvests) paid upwards of $2.00/lb., well above the minimum price for Fair Trade and organic coffee at the time. Some studies have indicated that quality premiums for coffee may be more valuable, at least regarding the price per pound of coffee, than the premiums from different certifications like organic and Fair Trade (Giovanucci 2007; Liu 2008; OECD 2003).

In 2008, the cooperative failed to sell all its export quality coffee at the Fair Trade premium price due to especially high production and slightly sluggish sales. The cooperative held onto this coffee rather than selling it at a rate below the Fair Trade premium price, something other cooperatives have done in similar situations. Luis Adauto Oliviera, upon his returned from the Specialty Coffee Association of America Expo in Atlanta in the spring of

2009, expressed dismay at other cooperatives that decided to sell their coffee below the Fair Trade price.

B. Investing in Quality

You've got to spend money to make money. That old cliché rings true in the case of COOPFAM. In 2007, COOPFAM purchased an old Danone yogurt facility at the edge of town. They repurposed the offices for the cooperative administration and break room, and renovated the old milk warehouse into a new secondary processing mill, or *rebeneficio*, for their coffee. A combination of funds from the cooperative's social development premium, grants from Fair Trade certifiers like Fair Trade USA, and loans from Banco do Brazil, and funds from Walmart supported this investment. The *rebeneficio* would soon house six machines dedicated to the selection and segregation of high-quality coffee beans.

Coffee production and processing at COOPFAM is science-based and technologically intensive. As discussed in Chapter Five, the cooperative invests in training and technology to ensure the inherent coffee quality of the coffee beans on the bush, and protect them from degradation on the drying patio. In this next phase, the cooperative's capital investment in the machines in the *rebeneficio* ensures that all of those efforts pay off by sorting out impurities and segregating inferior coffee beans from superior ones.

My first visit to the *rebeneficio* in 2009 started after enjoying a tiny cup of extra hot and extra sweet coffee with the cooperative's secretaries as we waited for the Luis Adauto, to arrive. Cooperative business often starts on the late side since the leaders of

the organization are also full-time farmers who rise early to first tend to their families, farms, and livestock before heading into town. On this day, we headed to the *rebeneficio* around a quarter to 9:00 am.

The remodeled old milk warehouse holds six massive machines to process and sort the coffee by quality. When a farmer has a sufficient amount of dried and hulled coffee beans, they take it to this warehouse, the cooperative's *rebeneficio*. Farmers segregate their own organic versus conventional coffee on their farms and their drying patios called *terreiros.* Many farmers also separate the coffee they produce that comes from different areas of their farm since quality can be improved or hindered by factors such as altitude, soil quality or rainfall. The farmers direct the staff of the rebeneficio to process one lot of coffee at a time. If they are processing organic coffee they have to run one 60kg bag of coffee through the machines to clean them, this bag of coffee then must be sold as Fair Trade only and not organic. Next all of the bags of coffee in a particular lot are poured into a hopper, powered by pneumatic pressure, which feeds the green beans into the first of the six sorting machines.

The first machine uses forced air to sift out the impurities like dirt, rocks, leaves and sticks out of the lots of coffee beans. From there the now clean lot of coffee moves to the second machine that uses vibration to separate the coffee beans by screen size and then shake them out the proper shoots labeled by size. For coffee, size does matter. The largest beans, those between screen sizes 16-18 are export-quality. Those below screen size 15 will be separated out and used for sale within Brazil. From here the particular lot of coffee is split in two, one with the larger export quality beans for the international specialty coffee market, and the other with the smaller beans for the domestic market.

The larger export quality beans continue their journey through the *rebeneficio*. The third machine in the *rebeneficio* sorts the coffee beans by weight. Weighing the beans helps to sort out those beans that are broken or too light because they are not mature enough. The beans that still meet the quality standards are sent on to the final, and most high-tech sorting machine. The fourth machine uses a fiber optic eye and ultraviolet spectroscopy to "see" the color and chemical composition of the coffee. This machine separates the beans by various qualities. Bad beans that have quality defects such as mildew, spots, or are black are sorted out, and the best beans are set aside to fetch a higher price. Our tour guide, and the *rebeneficio*'s manager, Marcel mentioned that certain companies like Fox Coffee only take the very best quality coffee. So they can separate out this superior coffee into micro-lots for their most discerning clients.

The segregated coffee of any one lot, or a micro-lot, is then poured into a big hopper to be weighed by the fifth machine and poured into perfect 60kg coffee sacks. A sample from each export quality lot is taken and placed in a small metal container so that coffee can be tasted by the cooperative's Q-Grader and by buyers that visit the cooperative. The next step for the 60kg bags of coffee is much lower tech than the previous ones. Each sack of coffee is sewn shut with a vintage sewing machine from 1976. Electricity powers all the machines in the rebeneficio and the tubes that transport the coffee are pneumatic. Large "lungs" are used as exhausts, and a big compressor in the back of the rebeneficio is the last machine that keeps the whole process moving along.

The walls of the cupping lab are lined with metal cans full of export-quality coffee samples. The cupping lab is where science meets art in the determination of coffee quality. Much like wine tasting, coffee cupping is a ritual where technique, natural

ability, and experience pay off. Maikel Garrone Nery is COOPFAM's coffee Q-Grader. He completed training to learn how to properly roast, grind, and brew small batches of coffee to "cup" and categorize by color, smell, and taste. Coffee beans from one of the many sample cans are roasted just prior to cupping since oxidation causes the coffee beans to lose their peak freshness once they are roasted. Accurate cupping requires a light roast and a rough grind. The coffee grounds are placed into small cups on the table. Filtered water is boiled and poured over the coffee, and the grounds sink to the bottom of the cup. After about ten minutes Maikel removes the foam from each cup and uses a spoon to slurp the coffee. Slurping aerates the coffee to maximize its attributes. The coffee then is swished around in the mouth and over the tongue, and then spit out into the spittoon.

My first time cupping coffee was during this visit in early 2009, and it is not something that you can be bashful about. You must aerate the coffee to taste its flavor variations, so slurping is necessary. While I could taste strong notes such as chocolate or wine, experts like Maikel and many coffee buyers who visit the cooperative can detect more subtle flavors and have the background knowledge to know whether a flavor is desirable or if it is indicative of a defect like fermentation. No machine can measure this level of detail. It is the human resource investment that the cooperative makes that differentiates their coffee down to this fine level — an investment that pays off for COOPFAM when farmers sell their lots of superior coffee above the Fair Trade and organic floor price. Some farmers at COOPFAM have even received awards for their coffee quality. Since the cooperative can segregate coffee by quality, micro-lots of

exceptionally good coffee fetch a much higher price than a typical lot of export quality coffee.

C. Pre-financing

In the literature on Fair Trade coffee production access to pre-finance for coffee production is often cited as one of the most significant benefits for participating farmers. Under the principles of Fair Trade coffee buyers are required to offer pre-financing to the farmers and cooperatives. However, at times the cooperative either does not request pre-financing or buyers do not provide it to them. Third party organizations like Root Capital help small coffee buyers keep up their obligation to provide pre-financing by working with them to provide loans. At COOPFAM one of the buyers, who uses Root Capital's services is Thanksgiving Coffee. In 2009, the then president of COOPFAM, Adauto Oliviera, told Ben Corey-Moran from Thanksgiving Coffee that pre-financing was the biggest challenge they were facing that season. Adauto further explained that some buyers were more flexible than others. For example, Adauto could negotiate with some buyers for things like pre-financing, like Taylors of Harrogate who offered to pre-finance several containers worth of coffee each year, while other buyers, even very large ones like Dunkin Donuts would not offer pre-financing. The price they offered was their bottom line, and there was no negotiating.

Pre-financing has been characterized as a benefit of Fair Trade that does not have any obvious drawbacks for farmers or cooperatives. However, that is a simplistic explanation that does not consider that pre-financed resources can be impacted by outside factors like global economic changes over time, like currency values or commodity prices. In 2008, at the beginning of the pre-finance period, the value of the US Dollar was low. By the spring of 2009,

the value of the dollar had risen significantly, and those farmers that had been paid for their coffee through pre-financing earned much less than their peers who waited for payment, once their earnings in dollars were converted to Brazilian Reais. So although the farmers might have both earned US$2.00/lb. of coffee those farmers paid later earned more Reais/lb. because of the currency fluctuation over this time period. Farmers found this hard to understand because of the global economic factors that were impacting the amount of money they took home. Moreover, commodity prices often have an inverse relationship with the value of the dollar, for example, when the dollar is high the value of commodities, such as coffee fall (Kowalski 2016). This can be problematic for the farmers if they sell coffee at a time when the C-Price is high, but then the dollar plummets by the time they receive their payment.

D. The C-Price of Coffee

Another global economic factor that impacts how much money farmers earn per pound of coffee is the global commodity price or C-Price of coffee. The Fair Trade system provides a floor for coffee prices but not a ceiling. Instead, Fair Trade certified farmers are supposed to earn $0.20/lb. above the C-Price whenever the C-Price is higher than the Fair Trade floor price.

Despite floor prices and above C-Price premiums, market volatility still impacts Fair Trade certified farmers, and their cooperatives in several ways. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, sometimes farmers, like the Marcelío brothers, will opt to sell some of their coffee on the spot when the C-Price is high. They do this to get paid immediately for their coffee rather than waiting for payment to come through the cooperative after their coffee is sold to a buyer. So while the price they ultimately receive may be lower, the shorter time to wait for payment may be worth the decreased price. While this is not always a threat to the Fair Trade system, it can

impact cooperatives if their supplies of quality coffee fall below the amount that their buyers demand.

In 2009, the cooperative did not have any trouble meeting their contracts. The 2008 harvest was a bumper crop, which meant that the cooperative had several containers of conventional Fair Trade coffee that had not yet been sold. The cooperative actively encouraged farmers to get their organic certification at that time because the market for dual certified coffee was stronger that the conventional Fair Trade market. In Brazil, the market for dual certified organic and Fair Trade coffee was particularly strong because in 2009 there were only two cooperatives with dual certification, COOPFAM and Coopervitae. Beyond problems with pre-financing, I discovered throughout my research period that other remuneration difficulties occurred. Many farmers disclosed their frustrations with the cooperative. Many of their complaints were tied to financial issues. Many farmers felt they had to wait a long time to get paid for their coffee. This happens because the cooperative does not have enough liquid cash to pay everyone on the spot. This lack of liquidity causes hardships for the farmers and makes many angry. I spoke with farmers who waited many months and a few who waited almost a year for full payment. This dissatisfaction prodded some farmers to organize against the cooperative president. Moreover, a group of farmers were not happy with the way the Fair Trade premium was spent. They felt more money should be going into social programs rather than infrastructure programs like improving the *rebeneficio* and roasting and grinding facility. Several farmers mentioned to me that they felt there was some favoritism in whose coffee was sold first and for the best price. One example concerned a Japanese firm who bought only the president's brother's coffee, which angered other farmers. Still, others complained their receipts were wrong and felt they were still owed more money for their coffee than they received.

E. Growing Competition in the Brazilian Market

In 2008, TransFair USA listed six coffee cooperatives in Brazil with Fair Trade certification. Four of these – COOPFAM, Coopervitae, Coorpol, and Santana da Vargem – were located in Sul de Minas. The other two were Coocafé, which has producers in both Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo, and PRONOVA in Espírito Santo. COOPFAM was the first to receive Fair Trade certification in 1997, followed by Santana da Vargem in 2003, Coocafé in 2005, and Coorpol, Coopervitae, and PRONOVA all in 2006 (TransFair USA 2009). Today, there are ten coffee cooperatives and sixteen associations certified with FLO (FLOCERT 2017). Moreover, there are now two Fair Trade cooperatives in Poço Fundo, COOPFAM and COOCAMINAS. This number of Fair Trade certified coffee cooperatives is in the mid-range for Latin America. With the largest number of FLO certified coffee cooperatives in Peru (130) and smallest number in Ecuador (1). See Table 7.

Table 7: Number of Fair Trade coffee producer organizations in Latin America.
Source: FLOCERT 2017

Country	Number of Fair Trade Certified Coffee Producer Organizations
Brazil	26
Bolivia	9
Columbia	82
Costa Rica	10
Ecuador	1
El Salvador	2
Guatemala	16
Honduras	32
Mexico	41
Nicaragua	30
Peru	130

In September of 2011, Fair Trade USA and FLO jointly announced that Fair Trade USA was resigning its membership in FLO in December of that year. The split came about because of Fair Trade USA's decision to start certifying coffee plantations as Fair Trade certified, something with which FLO did not agree. Since Fair Trade USA has the Fair Trade trademark used in the United States on certified Fair Trade products, FLO quickly moved to form Fair Trade North America to have an alternative Fair Trade trademark that still represented FLO's values of only certifying coffee produced by small-scale farmers. The first pilot coffee plantations to receive certification from Fair Trade USA are located in Brazil and Columbia. At the 2013 Specialty Coffee Association of America Event, Green Mountain Coffee Roasters confirmed to a small group of representatives from Brazilian Fair Trade certified cooperatives, that they would begin purchasing Fair Trade coffee from these pilot plantations but would not yet market it as Fair Trade certified. Farmers at this meeting expressed fear and a great deal of uncertainty about this decision, especially since one of the pilot plantations would be in Minas Gerais, Brazil, a state where many Fair Trade certified cooperatives, including COOPFAM, are located. The cooperative members said that they felt powerless in the Fair Trade network because they feared that the Fair Trade bodies, and their buyers, would eventually allow coffee plantations to fully participate, and thus diminish small farmers' market share. In addition to the potential market loss, the Brazilian farmers are especially worried that consumers will begin to make the assumption that all Brazilian Fair Trade coffee was produced on plantations and would choose not to purchase Fair Trade coffee from Brazil if they did not support the certification of

plantations. Today, market and farm-level implications of this split and certification remain unclear.

To buffer the farmers and cooperative from growing competition, COOPFAM has diversified its business operations. Although there are many more producer organizations certified now, COOPFAM is still the only Fair Trade certified cooperative in Brazil that is also a coffee trader and exporter. The cooperative administrators and staff run all of the export operations, and those additional savings remains in the cooperative rather than being paid to an outside exporter. In 2010, COOPFAM further diversified their businesses by opening up their roasting and packaging facility to roast, package and sell coffee within Brazil. In addition to local sales, COOPFAM's locally roasted *Café Familiar* was served at the 2014 World Cup, and was purchased by the Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome for consumption within their building in 2015.

Chapter Seven: Summary and Conclusion

I. Summary and Conclusion

In this dissertation, I examined a series of research questions related to the fairness of the Fair Trade system. Since fair is a subjective term, I defined a fair system in the introduction of this dissertation as one that has measurable positive social, economic, or environmental benefits for farmers. Furthermore, these impacts should be equitably shared regardless of factors such as gender, race, age, marital status, or ability. These positive impacts must also outweigh potential negative aspects of the system such as additional labor burdens to meet the standards. A fair system also allows for constructive discourse and democratic change of the systems by all actors in it. Finally, all of the actors engaged with the system must perceive it as fair.

To address how "fair" farmers at COOPFAM think Fair Trade is, I explored the economic, social and environmental benefits that farmers at COOPFAM identify. I looked at how conceptions of "fairness" were constructed and contested by both men and women in the home, on the farm, and at the cooperative levels. And, what changes, if any, would they like to see to make Fair Trade more equitable. I analyzed the gendered social and economic impacts of Fair Trade coffee production at the household, farm, and cooperative levels. I explored how well the gender-based principles of Fair Trade organizations translate to the social reality of coffee farmers. And I examined whether or not women and men exert differential control over resources and labor arrangements, and whether control over labor and resources has changed since the cooperative became Fair Trade-certified. I conducted the gendered analysis to see whether or not the identified gendered impacts of Fair Trade differentially affect men and women's discourses of "fairness" and perceptions of Fair Trade.

It was necessary to take a nuanced look at the various pros and cons of the Fair Trade system, to analyze its fairness. Much of the existing social science literature on the Fair Trade system is highly critical of its impacts. While some of those same critiques are relevant for the farmers and cooperative generally at COOPFAM, there are also significant benefits that the farmers themselves identify about participating in these systems. These advantages, while sometimes identified in the literature on Fair Trade, can become lost in the meta-analysis of the Fair Trade system. Here, I attempt to put the benefits of the system into context with the critiques levied by academics, activists, and farmers themselves.

It is also important to reiterate that the production system at COOPFAM is quite different from other Fair Trade production systems in the literature. Farmers at COOPFAM produce much more coffee per hectare of land than their peers in other Latin American Fair Trade coffee cooperatives. This has largely to do with the fact that the coffee in Brazil is grown in full sunlight, rather than shade-grown. Moreover, the farmers at COOPFAM engage in a very active form of organic and Fair Trade production where they add tons of natural fertilizers to their groves to enhance production. This is in contrast to many Fair Trade and organic coffee systems where coffee production is de facto organic because input such as pesticides and fertilizers are simply not used in the coffee groves. In addition to higher yields, farm size in coffee production is somewhat bigger for COOPFAM farmers than other Fair Trade certified farmers noted in the literature. Finally, the processing system employed in Brazil in general and COOPFAM specifically is natural or dry processing; where coffee is dried in its cherry. This process only works well in drier climates with large amounts of sun during the harvest. It also requires a tremendous amount of work on the coffee drying patios to ensure that the cherries do not ferment. This system is very different from the wet or washed processing that is common in

Mexico and Central America. In this system, the outside four layers of the coffee cherry are removed and washed off the beans. They are still dried on patios but because much of the moisture is removed with the fruit, the beans dry much faster.

The speciation of coffee by quality, production methods, and moral value has been a dominant paradigm in the coffee market for several decades. Twenty years ago, Roseberry (1996) wrote of the *Rise of Yuppie Coffee and the Reimagination of Class in the United States*, since then the consumer demands of coffee drinkers have continued to become more and more differentiated through increasing use of certification systems, differentiation by points of origin, production and processing methods, and quality standards. As discussed in Chapter Five, meeting only one of the three standards presented here — Fair Trade, organic or quality — is not sufficient for the farmers to gain the degree of market access they need to sustain their families through coffee production. To address my research question on how "fair" Fair Trade coffee is, it was necessary to look not only at the Fair Trade standards but also to examine the growing quality exigencies of the export market. My research illustrates the challenge of teasing apart the standards and requirements of each of these three production paradigms and ranking their importance for farmers. Farmers gain access to the market and the non-economic benefits of Fair Trade and organic production through certification, but they cannot sell their coffee at the Fair Trade price unless it is high enough quality for the export market.

The increasing focus on producing very high-quality coffee with one or more certifications to meet consumer demands has had gendered impacts regarding farming family labor. Farmers generally must spend more time and resources to tend to their coffee on the farm, the drying patio, and in the *rebeneficio* to meet quality and environmental standards. In farming families with at least one able-bodied adult man and woman this increased labor has gender-

specific impacts on both partners. For men, more labor is expended to care for the soil, fertilize the coffee plants, manage weeds without the use of herbicides, and selectively harvest the coffee. For women, in this family dynamic, their time working in the fields during the harvest is curtailed due to the work needed on the *terreiro* to properly dry the coffee by turning it on an hourly basis each day, over the three to four months of the harvest cycle. These women undertake this additional work, along with their other regular domestic, food production and care taking activities. For farmers and families that do not fit a traditional family structure, the increased workload is borne by a man or woman farmer alone. Or he or she must employ outside workers to complete all the required tasks to produce high-quality, certified coffee. If it is not possible to do all of the work needed for high-quality coffee production the farmer's portion of coffee that can be sold on the export market is diminished. This increased workload can make it especially challenging for poorer farmers, particularly single women or widows, to reap the economic benefits offered by the Fair Trade, organic and specialty coffee systems. Making these systems much less fair for families, without several able-bodied adults who can share in the increased work load.

The quality exigencies of the market can also increase the costs of production for the cooperative and farmers. For example, there are increased demands on the cooperative to provide quality training, and on farmers to continuously hone their production methods and practices. Moreover, there are financial expenses borne by farmers associated with buying organic inputs to nourish the plants, and costs incurred by the cooperative to provide high-tech sorting machinery and skilled coffee Q-Graders in the *rebeneficio*. On the other hand, many of the farmers see these activities as an investment; they appreciate the training and the increasing professionalization of

their craft. They also enjoy the higher prices they earn for their coffee because of the price premium for high-quality coffee.

The professionalization of coffee production at COOPFAM has occurred in within the cooperative offices, on the farms and on the *terreiros*. This professionalization of production is gendered across these spaces, with most of the benefits of professionalization going to men in the cooperative. At COOPFAM most of the cooperative administrators and association directors are men. During the research period, only three women were board members (two for the association in Poço Fundo, and one on the cooperative board) involved with the professional business operations of the cooperative, as a Fair Trade coffee selling, roasting, and exporting entity. Due to the division on labor on farms, men typically work with the cooperative's agronomists or other technicians who help them improve their production system. As such, the professionalization of coffee production on the farms has largely benefitted men. There is an exception to this though on the *terreiro*, which at COOPFAM, is a feminine sphere. The cooperative has invested a large amount of resources on training farmers how to tend to coffee on their drying patios. The training programs that they hold are targeted to the women of COOPFAM because they are usually the ones to tend to the coffee on the *terreiros.* Unfortunately, this means that most women at COOPFAM only have one realm within coffee production where they can become professionalized. The cooperative and those organizations who support the professionalization of Fair Trade farming should redouble their efforts to ensure that these valuable sets of skills are offered to women and that women's participation is both encouraged and enabled by offering transportation and childcare to women at COOPFAM so that they can participate.

Myriad outside factors inform the effects of certification systems such as Fair Trade and organic. These defining factors include the historical contexts, which shaped the local

agricultural landscape, global economic factors like currency values and commodity markets, and the shared values of environmental stewardship and democracy that the founders of COOPFAM instilled into the cooperative's organizational culture. The farmers at COOPFAM are proud of the work they do to protect the environment and provide a quality product. This pride increases their satisfaction with their work and increases their likelihood to keep investing in quality and environmental protection.

Another aspect of fairness that this dissertation explores includes the numerous power dynamics in play at the local, national, and international levels in the Fair Trade and organic coffee systems. Actions at each of these levels impact the lives small-scale coffee farmers at COOPFAM. Due to my use of a feminist political ecology approach, I found it necessary to explore the historical, political, economic, and environmental context that shape the daily lives of farming families.

In Chapters Three and Six, I examined how global coffee markets have been managed to influence both the price and supply of coffee and increase demand through marketing efforts. Fair Trade and organic coffee production could be characterized as the next generation of global coffee valorization schemes that combines both the price setting aspect formerly controlled by the State, and marketing efforts often led by businesses. As described in Chapter Three, Brazil has a very long history of intervening in the market to influence the price of coffee. This history begins with the use of slaves to produce coffee in the late eighteenth century and evolution to the *colonato* system and sharecropping after slavery's abolition, and finally the move to wage labor and increasing smallholder production in the 1960s. In addition to supporting various labor schemes, Brazil on its own or in partnership with other nations has engaged in various valorization schemes to control the supply of coffee on the market and set prices for the

commodity. Traditional valorization schemes on the global level also influenced the price of coffee on until 1989, when the International Coffee Agreement collapsed. Since then, coffee producers and their advocates have sought out alternative paradigm such as Fair Trade to set minimum prices for coffee and create a differentiated market for coffee produced on small-scale farms.

As Fair Trade continues to evolve and new initiatives develop it will be critical to explore how these new developments impact Fair Trade producers at COOPFAM. For example, at the time of this study it was unclear what effects Fair Trade USA's certification of coffee plantations at Fair Trade would have in the marketplace for Brazilian Fair Trade coffee. As discussed in Chapters Two and Six, Fair Trade coffee producers all over the world, perhaps especially those in Brazil had numerous anxieties about this new certification paradigm. Farmer and cooperative administrators at COOPFAM and their peers in other Brazilian Fair Trade cooperatives worry that their regular buyers like Green Mountain Coffee Roasters would begin to buy more and more Fair Trade coffee from the pilot plantations and the smaller Brazilian producers would lose market share. They are also concerned that consumers in the US will hear about the Brazilian Fair Trade certified plantations and begin to associate all Brazilian Fair Trade coffee with the plantations. They thought that this could lead to consumers deciding to purchase Fair Trade coffee from other countries if they disagreed with the certification of plantations. However, one possible silver lining for these farmers is FLO's efforts to establish an alternative Fair Trade trademark, Fair Trade North America. Future studies at COOPFAM or other Brazilian Fair Trade coffee cooperatives should explore the effects of these changes on the small-scale farmers as well as the impacts on the farmworkers on the newly certified cooperatives.

My research at COOPFAM shows that Fair Trade and organic certification offer farmers a better price than the commodity price their coffee would fetch on the free market. While farmers earn more for their certified coffee, Chapter Four shows us that coffee production alone is still not enough to sustain farming families. However, farmers at COOPFAM have a level of income and food security not reported elsewhere in the literature on Fair Trade coffee growers. To achieve this security, families engage in diverse livelihood strategies including producing food for their own consumption, growing agricultural products including non-export quality coffee for the local market, and coupling coffee production with off-farm paid labor. Moreover, farmers at COOPFAM earn a high price per pound of coffee due intelligent investments in labor and resources expended to produce large quantities of very high-quality coffee. These efforts ensure the livelihood of COOPFAM families.

In comparison, the farmers at COOPFAM generally earn more than their Fair Trade-certified peers in other countries. This relates to the fact that COOPFAM farmers produce much more coffee per hectare of land, than their peers in other Latin American countries. Furthermore, they earn quality premiums for their coffee on a regular basis that far exceed the Fair Trade and organic premiums on their own. However, Fair Trade is not equally fair for all farmers at COOPFAM. Farmers like the Marcílio brothers discussed in Chapter Six, who live far away from the cooperative headquarters, are not able to take advantage of many of the local benefits COOPFAM offers to farmers who live near Poço Fundo. These farmers do not interact with other actors in the supply chain as frequently, as such their ideas and needs are not expressed directly to coffee buyers or certifiers when they visit. Another factor that makes Fair Trade less fair is related to farmers' marital status. Farmers who are single or widowed have a harder time producing large quantities of high-quality coffee. This applies in particular to single women and

widows. Moreover, women at COOPFAM, regardless of marital status, have a triple burden of work. This includes coffee production, subsistence production, and unremunerated care for family, home, and community.

In this dissertation, I identify the assets that COOPFAM leveraged to gain access to the Fair Trade and organic systems. The literature on these systems shows that there are numerous barriers to participation that farmers and cooperatives must first overcome to access the benefits. COOPFAM had to overcome obstacles to certification that broadly fit into three categories: capacity related barriers; barriers related to democratic decision-making; and barriers encountered in meeting Fair Trade standards. The assets they employed include the cooperative's origin via the Comissão Pastoral da Terra movement, and working with nongovernmental and governmental entities to strengthen the organization. In addition, the farmers' shared values of environmental stewardship provided the cultural foundation upon which the cooperative was built. Farmers' willingness to learn organic production practices stemmed from their love for agriculture and the environment, all of which helped push them to invest in these practices even though they are more labor intensive than conventional production.

In addition to the gendered division of labor on the coffee farms and in the homes, there are gendered differences in who gets to make certain types of decisions in the home, on the farm and in the cooperative. Women are less likely than men to participate in cooperative activities like meetings and trainings. There is a small group of women, many of who participate in the MOBI group, who are an exception to this and do often participate in cooperative activities. Many women explain that they cannot attend these meetings because they lack transportation or childcare. As such, men in the cooperative take part in more of the official democratic decision making at these cooperative functions. In addition to their presence at these official meeting men

also generally have more contact with cooperative administrators because they deliver the coffee to the cooperative after it is processed. They also typically list the male farmers on the cooperative member register when a married couple joins, however there are exceptions to this rule. This also does not mean that women who are not listed on the registrar cannot vote or hold leadership positions within the cooperative, since the cooperative and association in Poço Fundo's last three female board members were not listed on this registrar. Farming families suggest that they make financial decisions together in most cases, but when probed more deeply men tend to make decisions on how to spend resources on the farm while women make more decisions about how resources should be spent within the home. All of these factors suggest that women have less access to decision making mechanisms regarding the cooperative and coffee production activities on the farm at COOPFAM.

In the end, the farmers, cooperative and surrounding community have been able to take advantage of many social and economic benefits as a direct result of Fair Trade participation; or as a consequence of the increased access to networks opened up by the Fair Trade and organic systems. These benefits ranged from increased educational opportunities for farmers and their children, medical and dental programs that reduced costs for farmers, and investments on farms such as revolving loans to build drying patios to improve coffee quality.

My research also highlights some of the financial benefits to participation in these systems. Some of these benefits are discussed in the literature and are also identified in this dissertation. These include the minimum floor price for Fair Trade coffee and organic premium, the social development premium, and pre-financing from purchasers. However, additional economic benefits, not often discussed in the literature, are very apparent at COOPFAM. These include price premiums associated with the high-quality standards that are necessary to gain

market access. These quality premiums are encouraged and subsidized through training programs supported by cooperatives, Fair Trade organizations, non-governmental organizations, and even governmental bodies. COOPFAM sought out and provided continuing education for farmers. This openness to intellectual and technical improvement in coffee production has paid off. Moreover, COOPFAM and individual farmers made wise investments in technology. They leveraged their limited resources and successfully secured funds from diverse and unique funding agencies including coffee buyers, banks, and Fair Trade certification organizations. They wisely invested this capital in intensive projects such as the roasting and packaging facility. Finally, investment in human resources such as a Q-Grader (Quality Grader) for the cooperative and agronomists on staff to help farmers meet the requisite environmental and quality standards secures their strength in a marketplace with ever higher quality standards and complicated environmental rules.

My analysis shows that one of the most important aspects of Fair Trade is that it provides farmers and COOPFAM an economic safety net within which they can experiment with emerging production systems, technological innovations, and new certifications. This experimentation allows them to test out new systems to see if they will garner more economic security. It also allows them to safely fail in some of their experiments without jeopardizing their livelihoods.

One example that did fail was the Café Femenino program. It illustrates a central tension that occurs when certification systems scale up to apply global standards to producers with very different production systems and cultures. I argue that certification systems that are set up in a very specific context are difficult to apply broadly. In doing so they may miss the mark, in this case, they excluded some of the most vulnerable women in the cooperative.

The economic benefits of higher prices can be both tempered or expanded by global economic factors such as commodity prices, currency values, and a changing global Fair Trade system. Farmers face increasing competition from a growing number of Brazilian Fair Trade cooperatives as well as increasing Fair Trade participation in other countries. In addition to this, there is a large amount of anxiety among Fair Trade farmers in Brazil as a result of the recent certification of Brazilian coffee plantations. All of these factors impact the fairness of Fair Trade for the farmers and remain largely outside of their control. However, being the first Fair Trade certified coffee cooperative in Brazil and one of the only ones there with organic certification is a profound advantage for COOPFAM.

This analysis of Fair Trade and organic coffee's impact is significant because it is unlikely that Brazil or various actors on the global stage will move to a large amount of intervention in the coffee market anytime soon. Systems such as Fair Trade can buffet against many free market forces that have decimated agricultural commodity prices and left farming families vulnerable. However, this dissertation also demonstrates that these systems work best when they are implemented in concert with governmental programs that provide a social safety net, such as universal healthcare and education, and rural development programs that provide resources to farmers and access to internal markets. In addition to this, it is clear that commodity production alone is rarely enough to sustain families. To sustain themselves, small-scale farmers must turn to additional livelihood strategies while continuously working to improve the quality of their product.

The complexity of the Fair Trade system may, in the end, be what allows it to work for farmers in the long term. It is not a panacea that by itself can lift farmers out of poverty. Instead, it is one part of a complex production system that allows small-scale farmers to access global

coffee markets and leverage social resources offered by other actors in the Fair Trade supply chain. In the case of COOPFAM, Fair Trade coffee production is one of the fairest options available to them. However, it is not equally beneficial to all farmers or members of their families. It is my hope that by highlighting both the benefits and challenges of the system that actors all along the Fair Trade supply chain can learn what works well for farmers like those at COOPFAM, and what should still be improved to make Fair Trade truly fair.

II. How To Make Fair Trade Fairer?

I argue that Fair Trade has been a successful system for farming families at COOPFAM. However, there are also changes that can be made to the system to make it fairer. In Chapter Six, I discussed some of the global market factors like fluctuating commodity prices and currency values that impact the take home income of Fair Trade farmers. While Fair Trade provides a buffer against the most volatile market swings, these predictable and unpredictable swings do in fact still affect farmers. A constellation of sustainable development paradigms, including micro-finance, and complementary certifications such as organic, used in conjunction with Fair Trade, can supplement its positive impacts on farmers (Stenzel 2013b). To take this recommendation further, micro-finance organizations working with Fair Trade cooperatives could help protect farmers from market fluctuations or currency swings by providing insurance for the farmers they provide loans to. Coffee buyers could also work with farmers to provide this insurance and perhaps share in any losses that farmers now absorb. In this way, the market risk that remains in the Fair Trade system is shared across the supply chain, instead of being borne by the farmers who have the smallest margins in their incomes.

Some activists and scholars have suggested that further differentiation or levels of Fair Trade might be beneficial, particularly for informed consumers who could select Fair Trade or something stronger like "Fair Trade Gold" (Jaffee 2007:254). However, we must critically evaluate how different levels of Fair Trade address consumers' desires and the needs of farmers. Others have suggested that newly emerging Fair Trade certifications like Fair For All and Small Producers Symbol, and sister programs like Direct Trade might be less institutionalized and more beneficial for farmers (Stenzel 2013a). For the farmers at COOPFAM, the proliferation of standards is a double-edged sword. Take organic standards for example. COOPFAM farmers have organic certification under Brazilian, North American, European, and Japanese standards. The farmers often complained about the challenges of keeping these standards straight and the fact that the transition times for the standards created in more temperate climates of North America, Europe, and Japan did not take into account the faster rates of decomposition in the sub-tropical regions of Brazil where coffee is grown. Rather than more differentiation, the farmers at COOPFAM thought that more harmonization of the organic standards, in this case, would help them.

In conjunction with harmonization, having a greater degree of flexibility within standards would better serve farmers in different cultures and using different production systems. This is especially true for newer certification systems. Emerging certification systems could exist in a pilot phase for a period while their administrators discover how cultural differences affect production practices, and how these might be different from those of producers they are more familiar with. Through a participatory process, farmers, cooperatives, and certifiers could work on a set of standards that work in the local context. Of course, some cornerstone standards should remain the same across different locales, but others could have a degree of flexibility. In the case

of Café Femenino, the women at COOPFAM and the Café Femenino staff might have been able to negotiate a set of standards that would have truly empowered the women. This might have included adjustments to the 100% women-produced standard that focused more on women being empowered to make 100% of the decisions on how their coffee should be cultivated and processed, and less on the physical labor of applying inputs and picking coffee. In effect, this change would give women more power over their labor instead of adding an unsustainable amount of work to their daily lives.

Furthermore, those setting Fair Trade and related standards should carefully review how their standards affect the most vulnerable farmers. Vulnerable farmers like unmarried women, widows, the ill, and elderly, would benefit from additional assistance from various actors in the Fair Trade system. Fair Trade certifiers could run programs or provide additional financial resources earmarked for different vulnerable populations within cooperatives. However, these farmers are sometimes invisible to coffee buyers or certification representative (excluding auditors) when they visit cooperatives. In the case of COOPFAM, farmers who were doing well, who had model farms, were often those asked to host foreign visitors. Some of the poorer farmers at COOPFAM complained that they never received foreign visitors and these visitors needed to see poorer farmers as well as wealthier ones. At least in the case of COOPFAM, the cooperative should refrain from only taking buyers and certification representatives to showcase farms. It is critical to talk with the most vulnerable farmers to learn how to make Fair Trade work better for them. Until we do this, the system will remain fairer for some farmers and not as fair for others.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

After the Harvest: Fighting Hunger in the Coffeelands. 2011. Directed by Kimmel, B. Portland, OR. Available at: http://aftertheharvestorg.blogspot.com/p/watch.html.

Bacon, C. 2005. Confronting the Coffee Crisis: Can Fair Trade, Organic, and Specialty Coffee Reduce Small-Scale Farmer Vulnerability in Northern Nicaragua? *World Development* 33 (3):497-511.

Bacon C. M., et al., (eds). 2008a. *Confronting the Coffee Crisis: Fair Trade, Sustainable Livelihoods, and Ecosystems in Mexico and Central America*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Bacon C. M., et al., 2008b. "Are sustainable coffee certifications enough to secure farmer livelihoods? The millennium development goals and Nicaragua's Fair Trade cooperatives." *Globalizations* 5 (2):259-274.

Bacon, C. M. 2010. Who decides what is fair in fair trade? The agri-environmental governance of standards, access, and price. *Journal of Peasant Studies,* 37:111-147.

Barham, B.L., Callenes, M., Gitter, S., Lewis, J. and Weber, J., 2011. Fair trade/organic coffee, rural livelihoods, and the "agrarian question": Southern Mexican coffee families in transition. *World Development*, 39(1):134-145.

Barrientos, S., C. Dolan, and A. Tallontire. 2003. A Gendered Value Chain Approach to Codes of Conduct in African Horticulture. *World Development* 31:1511-1526.

Barros, S. 2016. Brazil: Coffee Annual. *Global Agricultural Information Network Report.* United States Department of Agriculture Foreign Agricultural Service.

Brannstrom, C. 2000. Coffee Labor Regimes and Deforestation on a Brazilian Frontier, 1915-1965. *Economic Geography* 76:326-346.

CAN Alliance of Fair Trade Producer Networks (CAN), 2011. *CAN Official Statement* [Online]. Catholic Relief Services. Available: http://coffeelands.crs.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/CAN-statement.pdf [Accessed April 21, 2017].

Coffee Research Institute. 2017. *Flavor Characteristics Due to Coffee Processing* [Online]. Coffee Research Institute. Available: http://www.coffeeresearch.org/agriculture/flavor.htm [Accessed April 21, 2017].

COOPFAM 2009. *COOPFAM*. [Online] http://www.coopfam.agr.br/ Poço Fundo, Brazil. [Accessed January 20, 2009]

Cycon, D. 2008. Presentation at 2008 Michigan State University Fair Trade Bash. East Lansing, MI. April 8, 2008.

Christie, M. E. 2008. *Kitchenspace: Women, Fiestas, and Everyday Life in Central Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Dean, W. 1995. *With broadax and firebrand: the destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic forest.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Doane, M. 2010. "Relationship Coffees: Structure and Agency in the Fair Trade System." in *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies*. Edited by S. Lyon and M. Moberg, pp. 229-257. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Elmhirst, R. 2011. Migrant pathways to resource access in Lampung's political forest: Gender, citizenship and creative conjugality. *Geoforum*. 42, 173-183

Equal Exchange. 2017. *Fair Trade* [Online]. Available: http://equalexchange.coop/fair-trade [Accessed April 22, 2017].

Fair Trade Federation (FTF). 2004. *2003 Report on Fair Trade Trends in the US, Canada & the Pacific Rim.* Washington D.C.: Fair Trade Federation.

Fair Trade Labeling Organization International (FLO). 2007. *Annual Report 2006-07. Shaping Global Partnerships.* [Online] Available: https://www.fairtrade.net/fileadmin/user_upload/content/Final_FLO_AR_2007_03.pdf [Accessed March 17, 2017].

Fair Trade Labeling Organization International (FLO). 2011a. *Fair Trade Standard for Small Producer Organizations*. [Online] Bonn, Germany. Available: https://www.fairtrade.net/fileadmin/user_upload/content/2009/standards/documents/generic-standards/SPO_EN.pdf [Accessed February 7, 2017].

Fair Trade Labeling Organization International (FLO). 2011b. *New Premium, Minimum Price and Trade Standards in Coffee* [Online]. Bonn, Germany. Available: https://www.fairtrade.net/new/latest-news/single-view/article/new-premium-minimum-price-and-trade-standards-in-coffee.html [Accessed March 15, 2017].

Fair Trade Labeling Organization International (FLO). *Driving Sales, Deepening Impact: Annual Report 2015-2016.* [Online] Bonn, Germany. Available: https://annualreport15-16.fairtrade.net/en/ [Accessed April 1, 2017].

Fair Trade Resource Network (FTRN), 2013. *Fair Trade Minimum Price for Coffee Again Benefiting Farmers* [Online]. Available: http://www.fairtraderesource.org/2013/10/31/fair-trade-minimum-price-for-coffee-again-benefitting-farmers/ [Accessed March 18, 2017].

FLOCERT. 2011. Fairtrade Customer Search. Bonn, Germany: FLOCERT. Available: http://www.flocert.net/fairtrade-services/fairtrade-certification/fairtrade-customer-search/ [Accessed January 30, 2011].

FLOCERT. 2016. *Our roots and role in Fairtrade* [Online]. Bonn, Germany: FLOCERT. Available: http://www.flocert.net/about-us/our-role-in-the-fairtrade-system/ [Accessed December 9, 2016].

FLOCERT. 2017. Fairtrade Customer Search. [Online] Bonn, Germany: FLOCERT. Available: http://www.flocert.net/fairtrade-services/fairtrade-certification/fairtrade-customer-search/ [Accessed January 13, 2017].

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). 1996. *World Food Summit Plan of Action.* [Online] Rome, Italy. Available: http://www.fao.org/wfs/index_en.htm

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). 2009. *The State of Agricultural Commodity Markets 2009*. Rome, Italy.

Furtado, C. 1963. *The economic growth of Brazil, a survey from colonial to modern times.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Giovannucci, D. 2008. *The North American Organic Coffee Industry Survey Report — 2008.* Available from the Organic Trade Association.

Governo de Minas Gerais. 2017. *Geographica*. [Online] Available: http://www.mg.gov.br/conheca-minas/geografia [Accessed March 31, 2017].

Haraway, D. J., 2008. *When species meet*. Vol. 224. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Harris, B. 2005. "The Crisis Continues: Fair Trade and the New Face of the Coffee Crisis." Presented at 2005 Fair Trade Futures Conference, Chicago Illinois. October 2, 2005.

IFOAM. 2017. *Definition of Organic Agriculture* [Online]. Available: http://www.ifoam.bio/en/organic-landmarks/definition-organic-agriculture [Accessed April 21, 2017].

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE). 2008. *Síntese de Indicadores Sociais: Uma Análise das Condições de Vida da População Brasileira*. [Online] Available: http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/condicaodevida/indicadoresminimos/sinteseindicsociais2008/indic_sociais2008.pdf. [Accessed February 11, 2009].

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE). 2009. *Cidades*, [Online] Available: http://www.ibge.gov.br. [Accessed on January 20, 2009].

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE). 2017. *Censo Agropecuário – 2006. Cidades, Minas Gerais, Poço Fundo*. [Online] Available: http://cod.ibge.gov.br/6BG7 [Accessed on April 9, 2017].

International Coffee Organization (ICO). 2017. *Procesamiento de Campo*. [Online]. Available http://www.ico.org/ES/field_processing.asp. [Accessed March 15, 2017].

Investing.com. 2017. US Coffee C Futures Historical Data. [Online] Fusion Media Limited. Available: https://www.investing.com/commodities/us-coffee-c-historical-data [Accessed January 15, 2017].

Jackson, C. 1993. Doing What Comes Naturally? Women and Environment in Development. *World Development* 21:1947-1963.

Jaffee, D. 2007 *Brewing Justice: Fair Trade Coffee Sustainability, and Survival*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Keck, M., and K. Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Boarders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Klein, A., I. Steffan-Dewenter and T. Tscharntke. 2003. Bee Pollination and Fruit Set of Coffea arabica and C. canephora (Rubiaceae). *American Journal of Botany* 90 (1): 153-157.

Kowalski, C. 2016. *How the Dollar Impacts Commodity Prices* [Online]. The Balance. Available: https://www.thebalance.com/how-the-dollar-impacts-commodity-prices-809294 [Accessed March 18, 2017].

Levi, M., and A. Linton. 2003. Fair Trade: A Cup at a Time? *Politics and Society* 31 (3):407-432.

Levine, R. 1999. *The History of Brazil*. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press.

Lima, J. H. 1981. *Café e Indústria em Minas Gerais, 1870-1920*. Petrópolis: Vozes.

Liu, P. (ed). 2008. *Value-adding standards in the North -American food market. Trade opportunities in certified products for developing countries.* FAO. Rome. Available at http://www.fao.org/docrep/010/a1585e/a1585e00.htm

Lyon, S. 2006. Evaluating fair trade consumption: politics, defetishization and producer participation. *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 30:452-464.

Lyon, S. 2008. We Want to be Equal to Them: Fair-trade Coffee Certification and Gender Equity within Organizations. *Human Organization* 67:258-268.

Lyon, S. 2011. *Coffee and Community: Maya Farmers and Fair-Trade Markets.* Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado.

Lyon, S. and M. Moberg, eds. 2010 *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Marcus, G. E. 1995. Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:95-117.

Martínez, M. E. 2002. Poverty Alleviation Through Participation in Fair Trade Coffee Networks: The Case of the Tzotzilotic Tzobolotic Coffee Coop. Chiapas, Mexico: *Desarrollo Alternativo, A. C.*

Martínez- Torres, M. E. 2008. "The Benefits and Sustainability of Organic Farming by Peasant Coffee Farmers in Chiapas, Mexico," in *Confronting the Coffee Crisis: Fair Trade, Sustainable Livelihoods, and Ecosystems in Mexico and Central America*. Edited by Bacon, C. M., et al., pp. 99-126. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Méndez , V. E. 2008, "Farmers' Livelihoods and Biodiversity Conservation in a Coffee Landscape of El Salvador," in *Confronting the Coffee Crisis: Fair Trade, Sustainable Livelihoods, and Ecosystems in Mexico and Central America*. Edited by Bacon, C. M., et al., pp. 207-236. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Méndez, V. E., Bacon, C. M., Olson, M., Morris, K. S. & Shattuck, A. 2010. Agrobiodiversity and Shade Coffee Smallholder Livelihoods: A Review and Synthesis of Ten Years of Research in Central America. *The Professional Geographer,* 62(3)**:**357-376.

Moberg, M. 2005. Fair Trade and Eastern Caribbean Banana Farmers: Rhetoric and Reality in the Anti-Globalization Movement. *Human Organization* 64 (1):4-15.

Moberg, M. 2010. "A New World? Neoliberalism and Fair Trade Farming in the Eastern Caribbean." in *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies*. Edited by S. Lyon and M. Moberg, pp. 47-71. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Murray, D,. L. Raynolds, and P.L. Taylor. 2003. One Cup at a Time: Poverty Alleviation and Fair Trade Coffee in Latin America: Fair Trade Research Group, Colorado State University.

Mutersbaugh, T. 1999. Bread or Chainsaws? Paths to Mobilizing Household Labor for Cooperative Rural Development in a Oaxacan Village (Mexico). *Economic Geography* 75:43-58.

Mutua, J. 2000. *Post Harvest Handling and Processing of Coffee in African Countries*. Rome, Italy.

Nightingale, A. 2011. Bounding difference: intersectionality and the material production of gender, caste, class and environment in Nepal. *Geoforum*. 42:153-162.

Nordlund, E. D. and H Egelyng. 2008. Perceived Constraints and Opportunities for Brazilian Smallholders Going Organic: a case of coffee in the state of Minas Gerais. In: *Cultivating the Future Based on Science*, 2:462-465.

Noronha, S. F. 2003. *História e Estórias de Poço Fundo*, Poço Fundo, Brazil: Studio JPF.

Organic Products Trading Company (OPTCO). 2017. *Café Femenino* [Online]. Organic Products Trading Company. Available: http://www.optco.com/cafe_femenino.htm [Accessed March 16, 2017].

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 2003. *Organic agriculture: sustainability, markets and policies.* CABI Publishing.

Oxfam International. 2002. *Mugged: Poverty in your coffee cup*. London: Oxfam International.

Paulson, S., L. L. Gezon, and M. Watts. 2004. "Politics, Ecologies, Genealogies," in *Political Ecology across Spaces, Scales, and Social Groups*. Edited by S. Paulson and L. L. Gezon, pp. 17-37. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Peluso, N. L., and M. Watts. Editors. 2001. *Violent Environments*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Prieto-Carron, M. 2006. "Central American Banana Production: Women Workers and Chiquita's Ethical Sourcing from Plantations," in *Ethical Sourcing in the Global Food System*. Edited by S. Barrientos and C. Dolan, pp. 97-114. London: Earthscan.

Putnam, H. 2013. *The Political Ecology of Food Insecurity in Smallholder Coffee Cooperatives in Northern Nicaragua.* PhD, University of Kansas.

Raynolds, L. T. 2002. Consumer/Producer Links in Fair Trade Coffee Networks. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 42:404–424.

Raynolds, L., and M. Long. 2007. Fair/Alternative Trade: Historical and Empirical Dimensions. In *Fair Trade: The Challenges of Transforming Globalization*, edited by L. Raynolds, D. Murphy and J. Wilkinson. New York: Routledge.

Renard, M.C., 2005. Quality certification, regulation and power in fair trade. *Journal of rural studies*, *21*(4), pp.419-431.

Renard, M. C. 2008. “Coffee Fair Trade and CAFE Practices in Chiapas.” Presented at Michigan State University Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies Charla Series. East Lansing, MI. October 1, 2008.

Robbins, P. 2004. "The Critical Tools," in *Political Ecology*, pp. 41-70. London: Blackwell.

Rocheleau, D., B. Thomas-Slayter, and E. Wangari. 1996. "Gender and Environment: A

Feminist Political Ecology Perspective," in *Feminist Political Ecology: Global Issues and Local Experiences*. Edited by D. Rocheleau, B. Thomas-Slayter, and E. Wangari. New York: Routledge.

Roseberry, W. 1995. "Introduction," in *Coffee, Society, and Power in Latin America*. Edited by W. Roseberry, L. Gudmundson, and M. S. Kutschbach, pp. 1-37. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Roseberry, W. 1996. The Rise of Yuppie Coffees and the Reimagination of Class in the United States. *American Anthropologist* 98 (4):762-775.

Schroeder, R. 1999. *Shady Practices: Agroforestry and Gender Politics in the Gambia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Silveira, M. A. d., D. Caron, P. E. M. Marques, and A. T. V. Iamamoto. 2006. "Análise da Multifuncionalidade e desenvolvimento territorial em áreas de cafeicultura familiar no Sul de Minas Gerais," in *Ponencia VII Congreso Latinoamericano de Sociología Rural*.

Smith, J. 2010. Fair Trade and the Specialty Coffee Market: Growing Alliances, Shifting Rivalries. In *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies*, edited by S. Lyon and M. Moberg. New York: New York University Press.

Smith, S., and C. Dolan. 2006. "Ethical Trade: What Does it Mean for Women Workers in African Horticulture?," in *Ethical Sourcing in the Global Food System*. Edited by S. Barrientos and C. Dolan, pp. 79-95. Sterling, VA: Earthscan.

Souza, M. C. M., M. S. M. Saes, and F. Dolnokoff. 2005. "Organization of the Organic Coffee Industry in the "Sul de Minas" Region, Brazil," in *O V Conferência Internacional do Programa de Estudos dos Negócios Agrolimentares*. Ribeirão Preto, São Paulo.

Starbucks. 2017. *Goal and Progress: Coffee Purchasing* [Online]. Available: https://www.starbucks.com/responsibility/global-report/ethical-sourcing/coffee-purchasing [Accessed April 2, 2017].

Stein, S. 1957. *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1900*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Stenzel, P. 2012. The Pursuit of Equilibrium as the Eagle Meets the Condor: Supporting Sustainable Development Through Fair Trade. *American Business Law Journal*, 49:557-642.

Stenzel, P. 2013a. Mainstreaming Fair Trade and Resulting Turmoil: Where Should the Movement Go from Here? *William and Mary Environmental Law and Policy Review,* 37: 617-673.

Stenzel, P. 2013b. Connecting the Dots: Synergies among Grassroots Tools for Authentic Sustainable Development. *Fordham Environmental Law Review*, *25*:393-457.

Stolcke, V. 1988. *Coffee Planters, Workers and Wives: Class Conflict and Gender Relations on São Paulo Plantations, 1850-1980*. New York: St. Martins Press.

Stolcke, V. 1995. "The Labors of Coffee in Latin America: The Hidden Charm of Family Labor and Self-Provisioning," in *Coffee, Society, and Power in Latin America*. Edited by W. Roseberry, L. Gudmundson, and M. S. Kutschbach, pp. 65-93. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Talbot, J. 2004. *Grounds for Agreement: Political Economy of the Coffee Commodity Chain*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Taylor, P. L. 2005. In the market but not of it: Fair Trade coffee and Forest Stewardship Council certification as market-based social change. *World Development* 33 (1):129-147.

TransFair USA. 2009. *Producer Profiles.* Available: http://www.transfairusa.org/content/certification/profiles.php. [Accessed January 20, 2009].

Truelove, Y. 2011. (Re-)conceptualizing water inequality in Delhi, India through a Feminist Political Ecology framework. *Geoforum*. 42:143-152.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt 2005. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ward, M. C. 1999. *A World Full of Women*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Waring, M. 1999. *Counting for Nothing: What Men Value and what Women are Worth.* Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Waring, M. 2003. Counting for something! Recognizing women's contribution to the global economy through alternative accounting systems. *Gender & Development,* 11(1):35-43.

Welch, C. 1999. *The Seed Was Planted: The São Paulo Roots of Brazil's Rural Labor Movement, 1924-1964*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Westphal, S. M. 2008. "Coffee Agroforestry in the Aftermath of Modernization: Diversified Production and Livelihood Strategies in Post-Reform Nicaragua," in *Confronting the Coffee Crisis: Fair Trade, Sustainable Livelihoods, and Ecosystems in Mexico and Central America*. Edited by Bacon, C. M., et al., pp. 179-206. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Wilkinson, J. 2006. *Fair Trade Moves Centre Stage*. Rio de Janeiro: The Edelstein Center for Social Research.

Wilkinson, J., and G. Mascarenhas. 2007. "The Making of the Fair Trade Movement in the South. The Brazilian Case," in *Fair Trade: The challenges of Transforming Globalization*. Edited by L. T. Raynolds, D. Murray, and J. Wilkinson, pp. 157-179. New York: Routledge.

World Fair Trade Organization and Fair Trade Labeling Organization (WFTO and FLO). 2009. Fair Trade Charter of Principles. Available online: http://fairtrade-advocacy.org/images/Charter_of_Fair_Trade_principles_EN_v1.2.pdf