SUSTAINABILITEA:

SHAPING SUSTAINABILITY IN TANZANIAN TEA PRODUCTION

By

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ABSTRACT

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The use of sustainability standards, such as Ethical Trade, Fairtrade, Organic and Rainforest Alliance, has become a common means for value chain actors to make statements about the values that their products and their networks comply with. Specifically, each written standard codifies values of sustainability that are to govern practices in each chain. For example, the Ethical Tea Partnership works "to make this picture transparent – to monitor living and working conditions on tea estates, with the aim of making sure that the tea you buy from the members of our Partnership has been produced in a socially responsible way" (ETP 2010c). Fairtrade focuses on "transparency, partnership and participation, representative democracy, and equal exchange" (FLO 2010a); while Organic agriculture is based on the principles of "health, ecology, fairness and care" (IFOAM 2010b). Finally, the Rainforest Alliance has created its sustainable agriculture standards based on "economy, ecology and ethics" (Rainforest Alliance 2010a). These four standards systems set out to distinguish themselves, rhetorically and materially, into separate tea value chains based on their visions of sustainability.

This dissertation explores these efforts through a case study of these four sustainability standards in the tea industry in Tanzania. The core objective of this dissertation is to understand how these standards networks are performing visions of sustainability, corporate social

responsibility and gender equity in practice, and whether these performances are 'effective' – in other words, making changes in practices.

Using qualitative methods to collect data between 2008 and 2010, this case study adopts a Global Value Chains (GVC) approach to follow the standards in practice. The merging of GVC governance and performativity analysis has revealed that most value chain actors, particularly blenders, in Ethical, Fairtrade, Organic and Rainforest Alliance certified global value chains are utilizing these standards as market devices to gain competitive advantage for their tea. In this dissertation I distinguish between 'effective' and 'generic' performativity (MacKenzie, Muniesa, and Siu 2007), where effective performances are those where aspects of the original concept (or objective) are reproduced in practice, while generic performances utilize aspects of the original concept, but do not effect change in practice. I suggest that most of the performances of sustainability in the tea sector are 'generic', because they are not reenacting the version of sustainability that is codified in the standard. However, analysis of the performances of the values of sustainability, corporate social responsibility and gender equity reveal that these certification networks are actually capitalizing on deeply embedded performances of responsability, equity and sustainability in the Tanzanian tea industry. Therefore, a multiplicity of 'sustainabilities' is revealed, which put into question the ability of social and environmental standards to effect change in practices. The move towards harmonizing aspects of these standards through involvement in the ISEAL Alliance further confirms that the most salient performance of sustainability in these standards networks is the (in)ability to change.

a Mirko

per il sostegno morale, e la sua pazienza

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ABBREVIATIONS

AdapCC	Adapt to Climate Change project
AfDB	African Development Bank
ASDP	Agricultural Sector Development Programme
ASDS	Agricultural Sector Development
BBT	Brooke Bond Tanzania, Ltd.
BBTC	Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Ltd.
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DALDO	District Agriculture and Livestock Development Officer
DFID	Department for International Development
EATTA	East African Tea Trade Association
EC	European Commission
ETI	Ethical Trading Initiative
ETP	Ethical Tea Partnership
EU	European Union
EUTCO	East Usambara Tea Company Ltd.
FLO	Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FSC	Forest Stewardship Council
FTMP	Fairtrade minimum prices
FTP	Fairtrade premiums
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GL	Greenleaf

GoT   Government of Tanzania

GTZ   Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit

GVC   Global Value Chain

HACCP   Hazard and Critical Control Points

HL   Hired Labor (FLO standard)

IFOAM   International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements

ILO   International Labor Orgnization

ISEAL   International Social & Environmental Accreditation & Labelling Alliance

ISO   International Organization for Standardization

KTDA   Kenya Tea Development Agency Ltd.

NGO   Non-governmental Organization

NSMD   Non-State Market Driven system of governance

MeTL   Mohammed Enterprises Tanzania Ltd.

MKUKUTA   National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty

MNC   Multi-national Corporation

MOU   Memorandum of Understanding

MRL   Maximum Residue Levels

MSC   Marine Stewardship Council

MSU   Michigan State University

MT   Made tea

MTC   Mufindi Tea Company

QAP   Quality Assurance Program

RFA   Rainforest Alliance

RFTF	Rungwe Fair Trade Fund
RSTGA	Rungwe Smallholder Tea Growers Association
SAN	Sustainable Agriculture Network
SDO	Standards Development Organization
SM	Sustainability Margin (FLO standard)
SPO	Small Producer Organization (FLO standard)
STS	Science, Technology and Society
TAML	Tea Association of Malawi
TANCERT	Tanzanian Certification
TASTGA	Tanzania Smallholders Tea Growers Association
TAT	Tea Association of Tanzania
TATEPA	Tanzania Tea Packers Ltd
TBL	Triple Bottom Line
TBT	Tea Board of Tanzania
TOAM	Tanzania Organic Agriculture Movement
TNBC	Tanzania National Business Council
TRIT	Tea Research Institute of Tanzania
TSHTDA	Tanzania Smallholders Tea Development Agency
TTA	Tanzania Tea Authority
TZS	Tanzanian Shillings (US$1 = ~TZS1340 01 Jan 2010)
UK	United Kingdom
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
US	United States of America

UTTL	Unilever Tea Tanzania Ltd.
UTEGA	Usambaras Tea Growers Association
UTZ	UTZ Certified
WATCO	Wakulima Tea Company

CHAPTER ONE: Introducing SustainabiliTea

> *The world's largest tea company, Unilever, which makes PG Tips and Lipton, is currently on a mission to transform the tea industry by making it sustainable, changing the lives of the workers for the better along the way. (Attwood 2007: 1)*

> *It is our ambition to rebalance the power in the supply chain so that tea workers and farmers become price-makers rather than price-takers. (Fairtrade Foundation 2010: i)*

Two-thousand ten might be remembered as the year of tea. While Tea Partiers were acting out a political battle in the United States (US), labeling initiatives were fighting a 'SustainabiliTea' battle in the United Kingdom (UK) tea market. The theme of the 2010 Fairtrade[1] Fortnight (22 February – 7 March) in the UK was 'The Big Swap' and the theme was a call to 'swap your cuppa' (Fairtrade Foundation 2010). This highly publicized campaign had two foci: one was directed at consumers, who were asked to increase their purchases of Fairtrade certified products; the second was to ask the big five tea companies to commit to sourcing 100 percent of their product through the Fairtrade certification system. This second focus was led by Traidecraft's 'Make it Fair' campaign and is explained as follows:

> Ideally we'd like all tea to be Fairtrade, but as the five biggest brands have 72% of the UK's tea market, focusing on those brands is a good place to start. So, that's Tetleys, PG Tips, Typhoo, Twinings, and Yorkshire Tea. We are not accusing these companies of bad practice - in fact all of them have taken steps aimed at ensuring conditions for suppliers improve. This has been a welcome move, but only goes so far. While some of these companies have a Fairtrade tea brand within their business, (for example Twinings have Jackson's of Piccadilly, Tetley have Good Earth and Typhoo have Ridgeway), to date none of the companies has taken the step of converting all their tea to Fairtrade. Now is the time to take the next step. (Traidcraft 2010: 10)

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[1] I differentiate between Fairtrade and fair trade throughout this dissertation. Fairtrade refers to

Four of the five brands noted above – Tetleys, PG Tips (Lipton/Unilever), Twinings and Yorkshire Tea (Taylors of Harrogate) – have adopted Rainforest Alliance (RFA) for 100 percent of their tea going into the Western European market and were founders of the Ethical Tea Partnership (ETP), which abides by the Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI) standards. Typhoo a direct member of ETI and has its own internal Quality Assessment Program (QAP). The Fairtrade brands of Typhoo and Tetleys are also certified organic, while Twinings has an organic line under the Twinings brand. There has been a rather public fight that has ensued in the consumer market between these standards development organizations (SDOs) and their respective allies in the consumer market over which certification system is 'best' for both consumers and producers (Arnold 2010). However, these campaigns attract attention away from what these SDOs are supposedly trying to do. A Unilever employee explained it like this in response to a negative article about the Rainforest Alliance certification:

> FT [Fairtrade] and RA [Rainforest Alliance] have different objectives. Both schemes have their strengths and weaknesses. They're complementary, and both further sustainable development, but in different ways. To say one is better than the other is like saying apples are better than oranges. Unfortunately some people see certification schemes as a zero-sum game- if RA wins then FT loses. This is doing a disservice to both schemes. The reality is that we shouldn't focus on the difference between RA and FT. We should focus on the difference between certified and non-certified goods. If only one consumer buys a non-certified product instead of an RA certified product as a result of this article then that is a loss for sustainable development as a whole. (Trauben 2009)

While Fairtrade and RFA were battling over blenders and consumers, The War on Want took on the retailers, with an appeal to government intervention. In July, 2010 The War on Want published an exposé of the tea industry focusing specifically on the supermarkets, which control 17% of the UK tea market with their own label brands (Fairtrade Foundation 2010) while 80% of tea sales take place in their retail outlets (Morser and Michuki 2010). The purpose of this campaign is explained as follows:

War on Want has revealed the continuing failure of UK retailers to improve the conditions of workers employed by businesses in their supply chains, despite their repeated claims to be addressing the issue. With British supermarkets unwilling to clean up their act, War on Want and other allied organizations are campaigning for the government to set up a Commission for Business, Human Rights and the Environment. It would have the authority to investigate the abuse of workers overseas and allow them to seek redress in the UK when they suffer corporate abuse. (Morser and Michuki 2010)

This public debate is indicative of a movement that has emerged in the past 15 years in the agri-food system. That is, the increasing use of standards and third-party certification as a means to govern trade relationships (Hatanaka and Busch 2008).

Social and environmental standards, such as the ETP, Fairtrade, Organic and RFA standards, are increasingly being used by value chain actors to govern what practices are considered to be sustainable in their value chains. Specifically, each written standard codifies values of sustainability that are to govern practices in each chain. For example, ETP works "to make this picture transparent – to monitor living and working conditions on tea estates, with the aim of making sure that the tea you buy from the members of our Partnership has been produced in a socially responsible way"(ETP 2010c). Fairtrade focuses on "transparency, partnership and participation, representative democracy, and equal exchange" (FLO 2010a); while Organic agriculture is based on the principles of "health, ecology, fairness and care" (IFOAM 2010b). Finally, the RFA has created its sustainable agriculture standards based on "economy, ecology and ethics" (Rainforest Alliance 2010a). These four standards systems set out to distinguish themselves, rhetorically and materially, into separate tea value chains based on their visions of sustainability.

This dissertation explores this debate through a case study of these four sustainability standards in the tea industry in Tanzania. The core objective of this dissertation is to understand how these standards networks are performing visions of sustainability in practice, and whether

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these performances are 'effective' – in other words, making changes in practices. In this chapter I set the stage for the case of 'SustainabiliTea' by explaining the purpose of this project and sketching out the Tanzanian tea sector and its institutional context that is the setting for the study. I close this chapter with an outline of the entire dissertation.

Purpose and research objectives

As the examples presented at the beginning of this chapter illustrate, much of the current debate is over how the choices made by consumers impact producers. A specific project in the sociology of food and agriculture has been to understand how producers and consumers are linked in geographically and socially distanced networks (Goodman 2002; Lockie and Kitto 2000). Some scholars suggest that this can be done by considering the symbolic economy of food and the complex and relational nature of power as it is extended through social networks (Dixon 1999; Freidberg 2004). The body of research focused on Global Value Chains (GVCs) analysis offers a way to do this by following a product from point of inception to point of consumption (Bair 2009; Friedland 1984; Gereffi, Humphrey, and Sturgeon 2005; Hopkins and Wallerstein 1986; Raikes, Jensen, and Ponte 2000). For example, the tea value chain has its roots in the colonial empires of China and then England (Standage 2005). As such, en route from bush to cup, tea traverses numerous geographic and political boundaries. As found in other value chains, this requires a significant level of coordination and 'governance' of transactions (Giovannucci and Ponte 2005; Higgins and Lawrence 2005; Ponte and Gibbon 2005).

The ability to achieve the goals of sustainability and a re-balancing of power along the tea supply chain, as the two epigraphs at the beginning of this chapter set out for their respective projects, may mean a re-configuring of the governance of certified value chains. Governance is ultimately concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action

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(McCarthy 2006; McCarthy and Prudham 2004; Stoker 1998). It has been defined as the "reflexive self-organization of independent actors involved in complex relations of reciprocal interdependence, with such self-organization being based on continuing dialogue and resource-sharing to develop mutually beneficial joint projects and to manage the contradictions and dilemmas inevitably involved in such situations" (Jessop 2002: 1). Governance could thus be described as a network-based system of regulation, ideally functioning through processes of exchange and negotiation, rather than a state-led system of regulation (Carnoy and Castells 2001). Therefore, in order to be able to ascertain if the balance of power is changing, we must be able to identify and understand how these value chains are governed. As such, a GVC approach analyses the role of leading firms in shaping globally integrated production chains which incorporate a network of sourcing firms and places and focuses on power relations embedded in the chains.

Studies in the political economy of food and agriculture have shown that the current post-Fordist agri-food system is characterized by the rapid growth of multi-national corporations (MNCs) that rely on global sourcing (Bonanno, Busch, Friedland et al. 1994; Constance and Bonanno 2000; Friedmann and McMichael 1989). Critics argue that this process allows MNCs to play one country off another in their search for the lowest cost factors of production and often hinders the ability of countries to direct their agricultural policy towards national ends (Busch, Lacy, and Burkhardt 1991; Constance and Bonanno 2000). This global nature of the agri-food system has also seen a complementary rise of supply chain management, where standards are used as strategic tools within a particular supply chain (Busch 2007). These standards are created to standardize products, practices and even people, as well as to differentiate between them

(Busch 2000b; 2007; Hatanaka, Bain, and Busch 2006). This standardized differentiation can result in the emergence of niche markets, e.g., organic tea.

Standards are also attempts to reform existing production practices and trade systems. For example, the development of private standards and labels by supermarkets and their emphasis on 'quality' has brought about significant changes in their methods of sourcing (Hatanaka, Bain, and Busch 2005; Reardon, Barrett, Berdegué et al. 2009; Reardon, Timmer, and Berdegué 2004). Science-based, voluntary, social, and ecological standards are often seen as one possible answer to the call for a socially and ecologically compatible form of globalization whereby donors and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) pursue their role in sustainable development and businesses see competitive advantages such as branding, risk reduction, and increases in supply chain productivity, quality, and innovation (GTZ 2006).

Over the last decade the number of voluntary, general and industry codes and principles has proliferated in the form of multi-stakeholder initiatives (cf. Jenkins 2002; Prakash and Potoski 2006). These initiatives are described as mechanisms whereby NGOs, multilateral and other organizations encourage companies to participate in schemes that set social and environmental standards, monitor compliance, promote social and environmental reporting and auditing, certify good practice, encourage stakeholder dialogue and "social learning" (Utting 2002). These codes vary widely in their governance structures; some are purely industry-run while others involve a wide range of stakeholders. Within development circles, these types of initiatives are referred to as public-private partnerships as they seek to increase the role of private investment in development of the Global South (Franceys and Weitz 2003; Giovannucci and Ponte 2005; Marsden, Flynn, and Harrison 2000; McCarthy and Prudham 2004).

Some researchers argue that some multi-stakeholder initiatives are Non-State Market Driven (NSMD - pronounced nesmoid) systems and offer an alternative form of governance in that they have the ability to enforce their standards positively through certification and negatively through sanctions (Bernstein and Cashore 2007; Cashore, Egan, Auld et al. 2007; Snidal and Abbott 2007). NSMD analysts claim that it is the neoliberal institutional context that explains the states' failure to address serious ecological and social problems (Bartley 2003). Private companies and NGOs therefore seek private avenues (through the global marketplace) to gain authority for achieving these aims (Bernstein and Cashore 2007). These initiatives have been labeled in sociological critiques as a shift, led by MNCs and their supporting organizations, towards deregulating public agri-food system policies and re-regulating them in private arenas (Goodman and Watts 1994). For example, "[t]he MSC [Marine Stewardship Council] is an example of the kind of coalitions and regulatory mechanisms emerging – a new blend of free-market, science-based, environmentalism" (Constance and Bonanno 2000).

The use of standards as a means to promote the values of sustainability, CSR and gender equity[2] within the global agri-food system has been a topic of academic research for a number of years. The social science literature raises critiques based on the inequities that are created, endorsed or overlooked by certification processes (e.g., Bendell 2005; Murray and Raynolds 2000; Raynolds, Murray, and Heller 2007a). For example, a recent survey of 31 companies in the food, beverage and tobacco sectors in the UK, Brazil, the USA, Australia, Switzerland, Malaysia, the Netherlands and France found that "certification efforts often come across as *tokenism*" (Grigg, Cullen, Foxall et al. 2009: 56).

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[2] Throughout this dissertation I use gender equity rather than equality because it invokes not only the concept of equal opportunities and rights, but also notions of justice.

Development theorists seek to understand how these schemes can be used to achieve 'sustainable development' (e.g., Eade and Sayer 2006; Frame 2005; Jenkins 2005). The Fairtrade system has been the most studied from this perspective with research showing that some positive impacts have been achieved (e.g., Bacon 2005; Jaffee 2007; Raynolds and Ngcwangu 2010), while others note the negative aspects of the system (e.g., Bassett 2010; Besky 2008; Dolan 2008; Raynolds 2009; Valkila and Nygren 2009). Finally, the business literature seeks to understand which organizational arrangements can make these CSR efforts more effective in achieving profit maximization, social and environmental goals (e.g., Ellen, Webb, and Mohr 2006; Porter and Kramer 2006; Sen, Bhattacharya, and Korschun 2006).

However, important questions remain that have yet to be answered regarding the potential of these standards to fulfill their promises of sustainable and equitable production practices. For example, the differences between certification networks in commodities other than coffee, the practice of maintaining 'sustainability' certification by different types of producers, and the contextual interpretations of the values that are represented by the standards have not been fully theorized. Moreover, much of the literature looks at impacts of programs that have already been implemented, rather than examining the *process* of implementation. This approach is limited in its ability to recognize the actions that can lead to inequities. A focus on the process can reveal 'sustainability in action' i.e., the tradeoffs, politics, and socio-economic influences on negotiations. This in turn can lead to greater insights into the effectiveness of certification as a means to implement the values codified in the standards.

This dissertation addresses the following research questions that can help to fill this gap: 1) How are the original objectives (i.e., written standards) reflected in the implementation of the desired values (sustainability, CSR, and gender equity)? 2) How do those in each certification network interact with

each other (standards development organizations (SDOs), certifiers, producers, brokers, buyers, blenders, and technical assistance groups), and how do these performances shape both their interactions and their notions of sustainability? and 3) are different standards producing different outcomes for different types of producers?

To answer these questions, I have adopted a case study approach (Law 2008) that examines the performances of these values (sustainability, CSR, and gender equity) in key interactions within each of the four sustainable tea value chains that begin in Tanzania, traverse Kenya and end in either the UK or Germany. The UK and Germany are the two largest tea importing countries in the EU, with 147,600 and 44,800 tons imported, respectively, in 2009 (FAO 2010a). As mentioned above, these chains are represented by the four main sustainability standards: Ethical Tea Partnership, Fairtrade, Organic, and Rainforest Alliance. A research approach that focuses on *performativity* will show how 'materiality, place, and empirical story' are entwined in the making of sustainable products (cf. Barham 2003; Haraway 2001; Law and Urry 2004). To begin this empirical story, I introduce the Tanzanian tea industry as the core site of investigation.

Why Tanzanian tea?

The question that was posed to me the most during the four years that I spent working on and thinking about this dissertation was: "How did you decide to study tea?" Most often it was posed in an incredulous tone, as if to ask why I would want to be studying tea in the first place and moreover, why would a sociologist want to study tea? Most people who study tea are plant biologists or agricultural engineers who are trying to learn about the tea plant and its production system, and trying to improve any number of the different components involved. However, it wasn't that they were unhappy that I was studying tea; it was just that they couldn't quite

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understand how a sociologist could be interested, much less funded, to do a study on such a technical topic. This is what I usually told them:

> It all started on a cold, gray Michigan morning in January – typical for Michigan, very untypical for the tea growing regions of Tanzania. It was the beginning of the second semester in my PhD program at Michigan State University (MSU). I poked my head into Larry's (my advisor) office as I usually did in the morning, often with a mug of tea in my hand. Usually this would start with a bad joke and lead to a discussion about the most interesting standards issue of the day. I had a specific question that morning, however – what should I write about for a paper to be submitted to the Rural Sociological Society conference that summer. The deadline was that week and I had been debating whether or not I should try to submit a paper, given that I had just started the program. Larry handed me the latest version of BusinessWeek and pointed to the article that he had just read entitled "Beyond the Green Corporation" (Engardio, Capell, Carey et al. 2007). "Why don't you write something about CSR?" he said. The article was a brief overview of a number of companies and their adoption of sustainability as a competitive strategy. Unilever was specifically highlighted in the article and I began to dig around on the internet to see what they were up to.
>
> I had begun the program with an interest in East Africa, particularly Tanzania, given my prior professional experience at FAO; therefore I began by looking at what they were doing in agriculture in East Africa. Tea was the answer! A number of their efforts on their tea plantations in Kenya and Tanzania were highlighted on their website, particularly the HIV/AIDS program and their biodiversity program in Tanzania (Unilever 2007a). I drafted a quick abstract about CSR initiatives in Tanzania to be submitted for the conference. As I was conducting research that spring, Unilever announced its collaboration with Rainforest Alliance (Unilever 2007b). As I began to dig around this new development a bit more, I noticed that Rainforest Alliance would be the fourth sustainability standard to enter the Tanzanian tea sector, where the Ethical Tea Partnership, Fairtrade and Organic had already been established for about ten years. I thought to myself, why so many standards in such a small industry? And thus, a dissertation was born.

Pragmatically, I chose tea production in Tanzania based on the increased demand for certified tea in the global market, the importance of the tea industry for Tanzanian rural employment, the relatively small size of the tea sector which made a comparison between the four certified production networks feasible, and the particular nature of the production and processing of the crop itself. These points are elaborated in the next sections.

Tanzania's enabling environment for tea

Tanzania occupies an area of 945,000km^2 and has an estimated population of about 38 million (FAO 2009a). Agriculture is an important aspect of Tanzanian life and this significance is reflected in the policy focus that is explored in this case study. Agriculture provides full time employment to over 70 percent of the population as well as the bulk of the country's food. It is estimated that Tanzania is fully self-sufficient for food production and has the capacity to be a net exporter of cereals when yields are high. Yet, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO), about 43 percent of the population is undernourished placing the country at a higher level of food insecurity than the average for Sub-Saharan Africa which is 33 percent (FAO 2009a). As a whole, agriculture contributes about 45 percent to GDP, brings approximately 66 percent of foreign exchange and provides the majority of raw materials for local industries. Available data indicates that the rural population is poorer than those in urban areas and since agriculture is the main activity among the rural population, it can be used to alleviate poverty and as a vehicle for growth (FAO 2009a).

Despite the high importance of agriculture for the Tanzanian population, government investment in agriculture is only 6.2% of the budget, which is nonetheless an improvement over the 2.9% of a decade ago (TNBC 2009). Despite the low budget, agriculture has been a significant focus of a number of national policy instruments and programs. These included: the Iringa Declaration of "Siasa ni Kilimo – politics is agriculture"; followed by "Kilimo cha Kufa na Kupona – life and death effort to improve agriculture"; The Arusha Declaration which was anchored largely in agricultural transformation; Vision 2025 which has already been in operation for over 10 years with considerable focus on agriculture; the Agricultural Sector Development Programme (ASDP); and the national poverty reduction strategies (MKUKUTA and

MKURABITA) both of which lay considerable emphasis on agricultural transformation. For example, the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (MKUKUTA in Swahili) is the Poverty Reduction Strategy for Tanzania, which focuses on economic growth, centered around agriculture and rural development, and further strengthening of the business environment to boost private sector-led growth and export diversification (World Bank 2009).

The overarching Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS 2001) is the strategic plan that drives the ASDP and envisions an agricultural sector that, by 2025, is modernized, commercial, highly productive and profitable, utilizes natural resources in an overall sustainable manner and acts as an effective basis for inter-sectoral linkages (United Republic of Tanzania 2006). The ASDS thus promotes private sector-driven modernization and commercialization of the whole agricultural sector by guaranteeing easy access to large parcels of land for large-scale investment in agriculture (Mattee and Shem 2006). While legally, all land in Tanzania is public land and remains vested in the President for and on behalf of all Tanzanian citizens, the Tanzania Investment Act of 1997, allows non-citizens to own land for the purpose of investment. An example is the availability of long term leasehold property rights of up to 99 years for foreign companies. This Act also includes allowing the private sector to compete in marketing and processing cash crops in the increasingly liberalized economic environment (TNBC 2009).

The Government of Tanzania (GoT) has also drafted the Revised Wildlife Act (2004), which advocates the expansion of wildlife protected areas including wetlands and recognizes the role of local communities as partners in the conservation of wildlife. These policies have created opportunities for investment in sustainable agricultural interventions that address both environmental and production concerns. However, it is unclear how this policy interfaces with

the ASDP in terms of reconciling land protection and the intensification of agriculture (cf. Mattee and Shem 2006).

Kilimo Kwanza (Agriculture First 2009) was formulated under the auspices of Tanzania National Business Council (TNBC), which was established in 2001. TNBC was established through a Presidential Circular as a forum for public/private dialogue with a view to reaching consensus and mutual understanding on strategic issues relating to efficient management of resources in the promotion of socio-economic development of Tanzania (TNBC 2009). On 3 August 2009 H.E. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, President of Tanzania, officially launched the Kilimo Kwanza initiative – thus transforming what began as a private sector initiative into an official government strategy for development, beginning with a 30 percent increase in expenditure on agriculture. It included a promise of exemption from Value Added Tax (VAT) on processed locally grown tea and coffee and on farm services – land preparation, cultivation, planting and harvesting. A reduction of the cap (ceiling) on cess (a local government tax) to 3 percent from the current 5 percent from 2010/2011 has also been proposed by the Kilimo Kwanza proposal. This has been a particular hurdle for the tea industry and was noted in the World Bank Tea Sector report (cf. Baffes 2003). The GoT has increased subsidies on fertilizer (for food crops) from TZS 7 billion in 2005 to TZS 118 billion in 2009 (United Republic of Tanzania 2009).

The Kilimo Kwanza policy document claims to focus on investment in staple food crops while maintaining good practices for investment in traditional cash crops that farmers are familiar with and have expertise in cultivating (United Republic of Tanzania 2009). For example, tea is only one of two traditional export crops that has doubled its productivity since the socialist period and it has actually fared well during the recent years' drop in global commodity prices, and more importantly the world market price for tea has actually risen during the current

economic crisis (Table 1.1). For the past five to ten years, tea has been in oversupply in the global market. However, recent droughts in India, Sri Lanka and Kenya have lowered the global supply of tea, while global demand has increased. The FAO Tea Composite price, the indicative world price for black tea, reached a high of $3.18 a kilogram in September, 2009 compared to an average price of $2.38 per kilogram in 2008 (FAO 2009b). The composite price averaged out to $2.69 per kilogram for the entire year of 2009 (FAO 2010a).

Table 1.1: Production of traditional export crops

Product (in tons)	1976/77	2003/4	2006/7	2007/8
Cotton	194,694	139,969	130,565	200,662
Coffee	48,689	41,369	51,117	41,764
Cashew nuts	97,645	92,810	88,213	99,107
Made tea (MT)	**17,334**	**30,260**	**34,969**	**32,000**
Sisal	119,077	23,888	30,847	33,000
Tobacco	17,137	17,137	50,784	57,454
Pyrethrum	2,552	2,700	2,046	2,300

Source: (TNBC 2009)

In 2008, FAO predicted that Tanzania will have the greatest annual percentage increase (2%) in black tea exports in East Africa until 2017 (FAO 2008). Tea is a priority crop for Tanzania and the fifth largest export crop after cotton, coffee, cashew nut and tobacco. Total annual production amount to about 32 million kg, about 90 per cent of which is exported earning about $37 million in foreign exchange (TBT 2009). Over 1 million people depend on tea for their livelihoods (e.g., producers, agents, transporters, extension officers). About 20,000 people are employed by the tea sub-sector while 32,000 smallholders and their families depend on tea for commercial income (TBT 2009). It is estimated that the local rural economy benefits by about $15 million. The industry also provides rural social facilities such as dispensaries, day care centers, schools and hospitals as well as local goods and services (Ndunguru 2001).

Tanzania and its tea

Tea (black, green and white) comes from an evergreen bush (*Camellia sinensis*) which thrives at fairly high altitude (1400 – 2500 m) in the humid regions of the tropics and sub tropics. In Africa, tea is produced mainly in East Africa (Table 1.2) with Kenya and Malawi being the largest producers and exporters of tea. Tanzania is usually found after Uganda as the fourth largest producer and exporter of tea. Kenya has recently surpassed Sri Lanka as the number one exporter of black tea in the world. In terms of comparison, Tanzania's 32,100 tons of made tea (MT) per year is around 10% of Kenya's production. The second largest tea auction in the world (after Colombo, Sri Lanka) is located in Mombasa, Kenya and any tea produced in Tanzania that is destined for auction will be sold there weekly throughout the entire year (CTA 2009).

Table 1.2: African tea production (thousand tons)

	2003-05	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009*
Burundi	7.6	7.8	7.7	7.6	7.6	7.6
Kenya	318.7	331.5	313.0	373.2	349.5	318.3
Malawi	45.6	45.0	45.0	48.1	41.6	52.6
Rwanda	15.4	16.5	17.0	20.5	20.0	20.4
South Africa	5.6	4.4	3.4	4.9	3.7	4.0
Tanzania, United Rep	**30.2**	**30.3**	**31.3**	**34.8**	**31.6**	**32.1**
Uganda	37.1	37.7	36.7	44.9	45.7	51.8
Zimbabwe	18.5	14.9	15.7	13.0	8.3	12.1
Others	25.4	22.3	27.5	29.8	29.7	29.9
Total	**504.2**	**510.5**	**497.5**	**576.7**	**537.7**	**528.8**

Source: (FAO 2010a)
* Provisional

Tea was introduced in Tanzania by German Settlers at the Agricultural Research Station at Amani, Tanga between 1902 and 1904.[3] It was grown at Kyimbila in Rungwe District, Mbeya region in 1904. Commercial production began in 1926 and increased considerably after World

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[3] The exact date is not know for certain – the various sources that I have read and spoken to claim either 1902, 1903 and 1904 as the official date.

War II, when the British took over tea plantations. By 1960 Tanzania's tea production reached

3,700 tons of MT. Before independence, tea was produced in estates which were owned by

foreigners and all tea related matters were handled by the then Tanganyika Tea Board.

Smallholder tea farming began during the 1960s – as it was prohibited by law prior to this date.

In 1968, the government initiated a full-fledged smallholder tea development program whereby

the Tea Ordinance Act (Cap 291) was amended and the Tanganyika Tea Board was replaced

with Tanzania Tea Authority (TTA). All aspects of smallholder tea marketing and trade were

turned over to TTA, which assumed a wide array of responsibilities. During restructuring of the

industry, the GoT repealed the tea ordinance that established the TTA by Tea Act No. 3 of 1997

and formed the Tea Board of Tanzania (TBT), the Tea Research Institute of Tanzania (TRIT)

and the Tanzania and the Smallholders Tea Development Agency (TSHTDA) (TBT 2009).

Figure 1.1: Production of tea per hectare by type of producer, 1977-2004
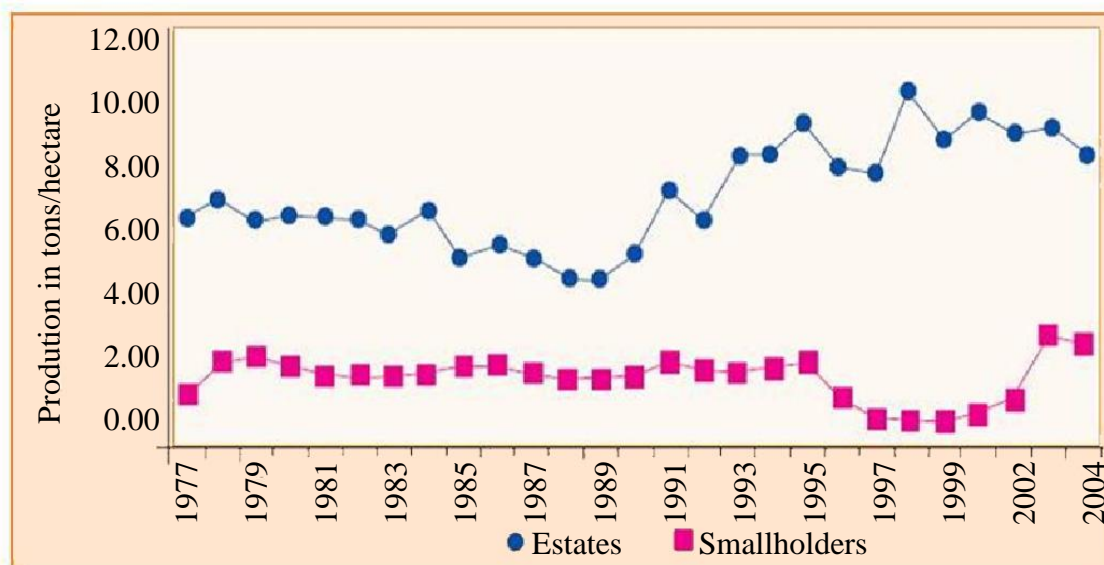
Source: (United Republic of Tanzania 2005)
NB: For interpretation of the references to color in this and all other figures, the reader is referred to the electronic version of this dissertation.

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While the overall policy towards large scale farming in Tanzania has been characterized as ambivalent (FAO 2009a), this is not reflected in the tea sub-sector. Here, there is a history of large scale plantation agriculture and investment by foreign companies. There is also a current move towards greater cooperation by investors with smallholder farmers. Today, the tea sector in Tanzania is fully privatized and the land area (total 22,721 ha) is divided between the estate sector (>200 ha, company-owned) and the outgrower sector (<200 ha, farmer-owned) (Figure 1.1).[4]

The outgrower sector includes medium-scale farmers with average tea holdings of 16 ha and small-scale farmers with an average 0.37 ha (Priest 2010).[5] The smallholder yields, which average 1,028 kg made tea[6] (MT)/ha^{-1}, are far below the estate sector whose production averages 2,354 kg MT/ha^{-1} (Carr 1999; Priest 2010),[7] and are considerably less than the average for their counterparts in Kenya, which in 2001 was 2,075 kg MT/ha^{-1} (Owour, Kavoi, and Siele 2001). The low productivity of the smallholder sector is further evidenced by its small contribution to Tanzania's total tea production, accounting for only 30 percent of the 32,008 tons produced in 2008/2009 (TBT 2009). However, it is estimated that income from tea production accounts for 80 percent of smallholder household earnings (Simbua and Loconto 2010). The largest growing areas are found in the Southern Highlands region of Iringa and Mbeya provinces

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[4] Both medium-scale (>1 ha) farmers and small-scale (<1 ha) farmers are considered by the Tea Board of Tanzania to be part of the smallholder sector.

[5] Three year average (2006-2009).

[6] Made Tea (MT) refers to black tea that has been processed by the cut-tear-curl (CTC) method and has been dried in the processing factory. In other words, processed tea that is ready for consumption.

[7] The figures from 1999 place smallholder production at 800 kg MT/ha and estate production at 3,630 kg MT/ha.

Figure 1.2: Map of tea growing areas in Tanzania
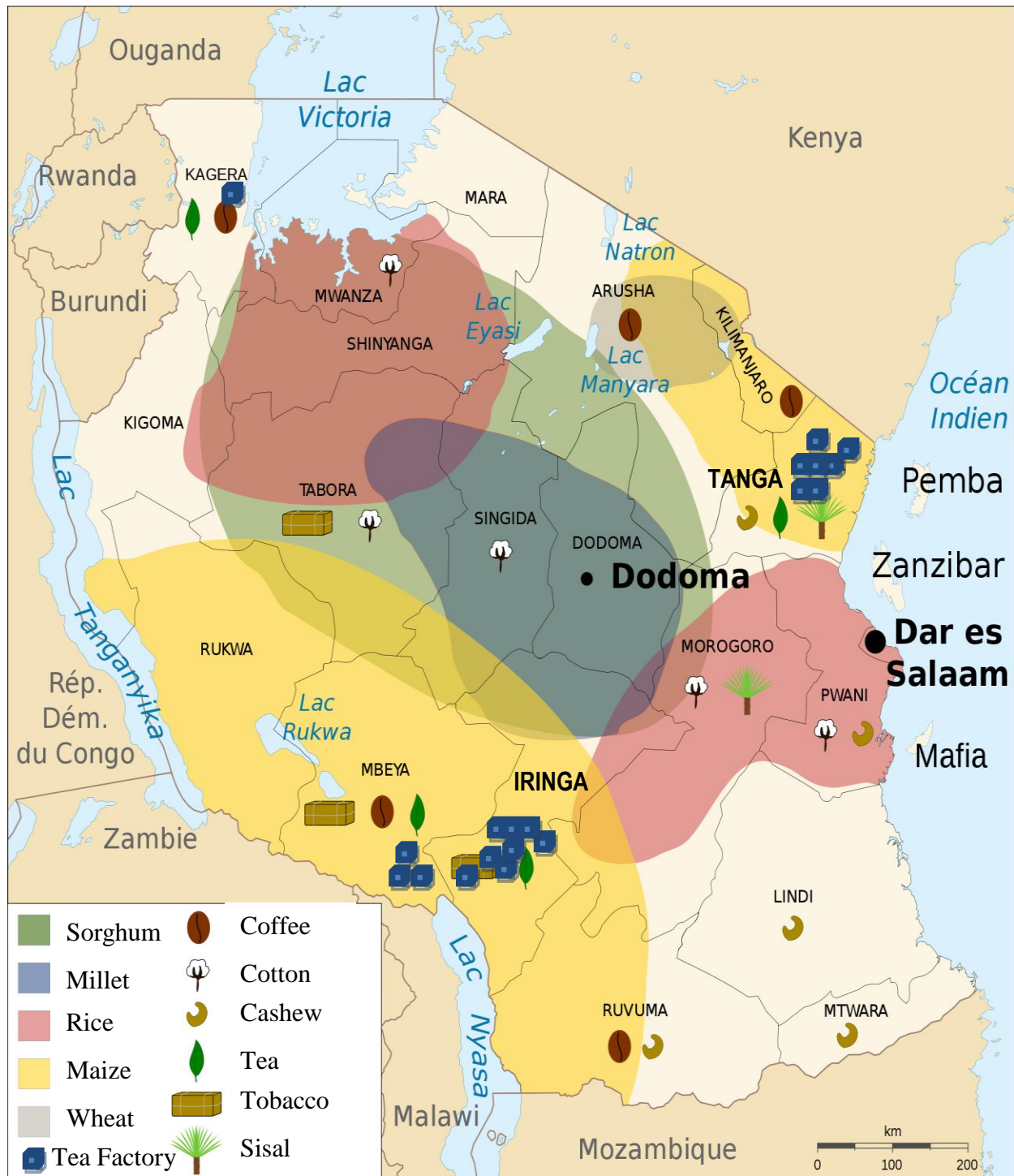
Source: Adapted from (Shakki 2008)
NB: The exact locations of the factories vary slightly from how they are portrayed on this map.

and in the Usambaras of Tanga province (Figure 1.2). In total, the tea sub-sector consists of nineteen made tea processing factories owned by eleven companies and smallholder associations and five licensed blending and packing factories (TBT 2009).

In comparison, Kenya is host to some of the largest privately owned plantations like Unilever, James Finlay, and Eastern Produce Ltd. These privately owned plantations (mostly multinationals) control slightly over 40 percent of Kenya's tea production. The remaining 60 percent of Kenyan production is in the smallholder sector, which consists of 57 factories and is organized through the Kenya Tea Development Agency Ltd. (KTDA). KTDA is the largest single exporter of processed tea and the second largest exporter of black tea in the world (Kinyili 2003). For purposes of comparison, Tanzania has 27,142 outgrowers cultivating 9,884 ha (Priest 2010), while Kenya has about 400,000 smallholders cultivating 83,000 ha (KTDA 2010). The Malawian industry, however, is more similar to the Tanzanian sector in that plantations have a long history and out-sourcing is often practiced where small-scale growers use their own plots to grow tea on contract for plantations. Only the smallest producers farm their land entirely with family labor, and many smallholders employ workers, often on a casual basis. The tea sub-sector is organized through the Tea Association of Malawi (TAML), an association of the 10 major tea growers in the country (CTA 2009).

The history of tea in Tanzania is a story of encouraging smallholder production; however, this national policy encountered a steep decline by 1980s. The government tried to revive the sector in the early 1980s by privatizing and rehabilitating two tea estates which had been nationalized in the 1970s; restructuring the Tea Board; privatizing the six state-owned tea factories; and revamping public research on tea. These policy initiatives have had some successes, but there were many challenges to promoting growth in the sector when the World

Bank tea sub-sector report was conducted in 2003 (Baffes 2003). The successes include the complete privatization of the industry, the revitalization of the local blending and packing sector, and rehabilitation of abandoned tea fields. The challenges included the import and export bans on packed tea and green leaf respectively, the taxation structure which was seen as too complex with excessively high rates, the significant discretionary power of the Tea Board and ministries, and the inadequate infrastructure (Baffes 2003).

However, recent reforms have resolved the tax issue and the discretionary power of the Tea Board, positioning it more in a regulatory and marketing role. Additionally, the trade agreements that have established the East African Economic Community may also contribute to the reduction of tariffs and the bans on tea imports. Moreover, The Tea Act of 1997, which was amended in 2009 into a tea industry act, set a priority for adding value to the green leaf. This encouragement of value addition within Tanzania is further supported by Article 27 of the 1999 Tea Regulation, which states that "all green leaf tea produced in Tanzania shall be processed locally". This commitment has been reinforced with the Kilimo Kwanza initiative, which will strengthen the prohibition of exporting raw materials for processing in other countries. These original commitments and reforms have both contributed to the willingness of some companies to invest further in the industry.

The political system in Tanzania has a history of both nationalising productive infrastructure and government interference in business affairs (Simbua 2006a). As a result, there exists a certain level of cautious awareness by private multinational corporations and local investors who own the majority of the processing infrastructure in the Tanzanian tea industry. One of the responses to this uncertainty has been to involve smallholders as shareholders in these factories. This move was mandatory for the privatized state owned factories whereby the

government reserved 25 per cent of the stakes to smallholders (Simbua 2006a). However, to date, only three factories are currently co-owned by smallholder associations: The Wakulima Tea Company (WATCO), which operates Katumba and Mwakaleli factories in Rungwe, Mbeya province is owned by the Rungwe Smallholder Tea Growers Association (RSTGA, 25%) and Tanzanian Tea Packers (TATEPA, 75%). The Lupembe Factory in Iringa province is owned jointly by Dhow Mercantiles (70%) and Muungano wa Vijiji vya Ushirika (MVYULU, 30%) smallholder association. New Mponde tea factory is jointly owned by the Lushoto Tea Company (50%) and the Usambara Tea Growers Association (UTEGA, 50%). It seems that the involvement of smallholders creates security against public sector interference. In other words, while the majority of shares belong to private or foreign investors, the factories are co-owned by local smallholder farmers whose interests are taken into consideration, which helps to prevent political interference.

For the entirely privately-held factories, the share of the crop from smallholders is another stabilizing factor against political uncertainty. Mufindi Tea Company (MTC) for instance absorbs up to 23 percent of its factory capacity from smallholders. Such commitment and reliance by the factory on smallholders who in turn receive their payment in a timely manner helps to protect the investment against possible state intervention, which could have been a possibility if the benefits to surrounding growers were not obvious. As Unilever (UTTL) absorbs only five percent of the crop from smallholders, this security is not ensured. However, the large-scale job provision in their estates, which provides livelihoods to thousands of families in Mufindi district and the second payments that the company provides to its limited out-growers, earn the company the support of the both the government and surrounding communities (Simbua

2006b). As a result of these strategies, state intervention in tea production has been very limited and tea production is highly encouraged by national policy.

Explanation of the chapters

It is in this context that I situate this study of how various actors along the Tanzanian certified value chains enact their visions of sustainability, CSR, and gender equity. Each of the four value chains that I explore is organized around the values encoded in sustainability standards and thus the vision of each of these SDOs is used rhetorically and materially to govern interactions in the value chains. *Chapter Two* begins this theoretical project by tracing two conceptual frameworks and putting forward a program for understanding how standards are used to perform values in GVCs. The first framework is GVC governance, where I explore how value chains can be better understood as 'webs of relations' where negotiation and power is exerted at numerous nodes within the web. In this context, Foucault's (2007; 2008) notion of governmentality is useful for conceptualizing the way that standards are used to govern values in GVCs. The second framework introduces performativity analysis and provides a lens for analyzing how these negotiations take place by focusing on the enactment of values. I argue that standards are used as socio-technical devices to enact the values of sustainability, CSR and gender equity in the GVCs. The ability to determine if performances are 'generic' or 'effective' (i.e., the ability of a concept to effect change in practice) help us to better understand where the power lies between value chain actors, which is fundamental to understanding if the balance of power is being changed by the use of sustainability standards.

Chapter Three explains how I went about collecting my data and analyzing it. This dissertation draws upon a detailed case study of certified tea value chains that traverse Tanzania, Kenya, Germany and the UK, carried out during May – August 2008 and August 2009 – June

2010. As the purpose of this project is to improve our understanding of how value chains actors enact certain values, a qualitative approach was adopted. To carry out the data collection I used the GVC as a heuristic to guide me as I 'followed the actors' according to the science and technology studies (STS) tradition. I selected key sites of negotiation that illuminate the performativity of the three values that are examined in this dissertation. These sites are the production nexus (grower-factory), the market nexus (factory-blender) and the standards nexus (standards development organization (SDO)/certifier-factory). I combined several methods: field observations, semi-structured interviews, focus groups and document analysis. This approach to sociological research ensures that my case study is both situated (Haraway 2001) and comparable (Blaikie 2000). The analysis of data collected via these methods is presented in chapters four through seven.

In order to understand whether performances are effective, we must first know who we are talking about and how they relate to each other. This is the purpose of *Chapter Four*. Here I outline the traditional value chain and present each of the four certified value chains and their modes of governance. I argue that there is no clear pattern in the relationship between standards networks and governance relations. What we do see are pragmatic strategies to gain market advantage through the inclusion of different actors into 'value-added' chains. Despite claims about the ability to change trading relationships through the certification systems, most of the old networks are still in place. In other words, the certification systems only add additional buyers to global value chains that were already governed by highly relational mechanisms.

Chapter Five addresses the performances of sustainability, which is the overarching theme for this dissertation and provides the context for which the two other values are analyzed. This chapter illustrates that each of the four standards defines sustainability along the lines of

social, economic and environmental criteria, while the enactments of these standards fall under

the umbrella of sustainability of the enterprise with specific focus on sustainability of the tea

plant and the capacity for change and adaptability. The biggest discrepancy between the

enactment of sustainability and those visions encoded into the standards is the pillar of economic

sustainability. While this was the most evident enactment of sustainability in the Tanzanian tea

sector, it receives little to no attention in the written standard.

CSR is a highly contested concept in the tea sector, and is the focus of *Chapter Six*. The

impetus to engage third-party standards as a means to show a public face has been driven by

consumer demand for certified products as well as an industry that is trying to capitalize on a

traditionally responsible, yet unpublicized, past. The focus on the rule of law and the nature of

the legal requirements in Tanzania illustrate that much of what is judged to be CSR by

consuming nations is legally mandated. This also means that the notion of a pragmatic 'triple

bottom line' has emerged in the Tanzanian tea industry as companies try to find innovative ways

to comply with the law and keep a market advantage. The embedded network relationships that

have lasted through the history of Tanzanian tea are being exploited by the four standards

networks as means to included 'preferred suppliers' in the certified value chains. Attempts by the

standards development organizations to force changes in these networks is met with resistance

by the tea industry as a whole. The main performance of CSR is put on for the consumer

audience. In so doing, the tea industry has strategically placed itself ahead of other industries in

quickly adopting a range of sustainability standards that capitalize on their good practices of the

past and have thus utilized them to raise the bar for the industry as a whole.

Chapter Seven provides an analysis of the diverse performances of gender equity in

Tanzanian value chains, and by so doing, it breaks down false dichotomies that are typically

discussed in relation to African agriculture (i.e., commercial vs. subsistence farming, formal vs. informal work, public vs. private space). I cannot claim that any of the main theories that are put forward in the literature are dominantly practiced in the certified Tanzanian tea industry. Instead, we find a multiplicity of performances around the concept of non-discrimination including equal opportunities, gender issues and cultural contexts. Therefore, we return again to one of the core problematics of this dissertation. How are these standards performing against the goals that they have set out for themselves? In the case of gender equity, it would appear that they are again capitalizing on practices that already exist in the tea industry.

In *Chapter Eight* I conclude by arguing that the merging of GVC governance and performativity analysis has revealed the multiplicity of 'sustainabilities' that are enacted in certified value chains. I suggest that most of the performances of 'sustainabilities' in the tea sector are generic, because they are not reenacting the version of sustainability that is codified in the standard. This dissertation shows that most value chain actors, particularly blenders, in Ethical, Fairtrade, Organic and Rainforest Alliance certified global value chains are utilizing these standards as market devices to gain competitive advantage for their tea. Moreover, these standards networks are actually capitalizing on deeply embedded responsible, equitable and sustainable practices in the Tanzanian tea industry. Therefore, this multiplicity of 'sustainabilities' puts into question the ability of social and environmental standards to effect change in practices. The move towards harmonizing aspects of these standards through involvement in the ISEAL Alliance further confirms that the most salient performance of sustainability in these networks is the '(in)ability to change.'

CHAPTER TWO: Performing Global Value Chain Governance

> *[P]erformativity is not an explanatory concept so much as itself part of an intervention, and, in this context, its promise is that in making such an intervention, it will bespeak possibilities without itself becoming a moralism (Bell 2007: 5).*

This chapter puts forth a theoretical framework in an attempt to understand how value chain actors differentiate and identify themselves based on specified values. I do this by tracing two core theoretical and conceptual frameworks and putting forward a program for understanding how standards are used to perform values. The first is a section devoted to global value chains (GVCs), where I pick up the theoretical thread from where the current literature leaves off. That is, if we want to envision GVCs as networks with nodes of negotiation where power is situated in local contexts, then we can get beyond the linear notion of 'drivenness' that has dominated the literature on GVC governance. But in order to do so, we must be able to understand how governance is enacted.

I suggest that this can be accomplished by looking at the role of standards in GVC governance through the lens of Foucault's notion of *governmentality* and by using *performativity* analysis. In the second section of this chapter I trace theories of performativity and illustrate how the metaphor of performance, as it is used in the STS literature, enables analysis of the ways through which these virtual 'values' are enacted in practice. This is important because if we do see GVCs as networks, we must keep in mind one of the foundational tenets of actor-network theory (ANT): networks only stay in place and take on the appearance of 'structural chains' if the relations are enacted and re-enacted by the participants (Law 2008). Thus, the theoretical project of this dissertation is to illustrate how standards are used to perform values within the GVCs that they are said to discipline or govern. I introduce this organizing framework for the analysis of the

case of Tanzanian tea by a preliminary discussion of the role that standards play in performing different visions of a market.

GVC governance

As noted in the introduction, coordinating actions between spatially dispersed value chain actors requires a great deal of governance of those relationships (Higgins and Lawrence 2005). The purpose of this section is to understand how governing power is articulated in a network of actors, as this has remained an important analytical question in GVC research. Gereffi and Korzeniewicz (1994) identified three key dimensions to power relations in GVCs: their input-output structure and geographical coverage, their form of governance, and their institutional framework. The governance structure introduced the key notions of barriers to entry and chain co-ordination to the analytical framework. Governance has been described as a network-based system of regulation, ideally functioning through processes of exchange and negotiation (Carnoy and Castells 2001). As such, the GVC approach analyses the role of leading firms in shaping globally integrated production chains which incorporate a network of sourcing firms and places and focuses on power relations embedded in the chains.

Gereffi et al. (2005) generate five types of GVC governance – hierarchy, captive, relational, modular, and market – which range from high to low levels of power asymmetry.[8] Therefore, there is an aspect of 'drivenness' to chain coordination where a lead firm drives decisions and governs the interactions of participants in the chain. Much of the literature has been dedicated to describing *producer-driven* or *buyer-driven* value chains (2005; Gereffi and Korzeniewicz 1994; Raikes et al. 2000). *Producer-driven* chains are increasingly being structured so that low-profit activities are outsourced upstream to networks of suppliers, bound

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[8] These five types of GVC governance are explained further and applied in Chapter Four.

by contract to produce according to rigorously specified product and process standards (Raikes et al. 2000). Many value chains in the current agri-food system have been shown to be *buyer-driven* with high barriers to entry and high profits located near the consumption end of the chain; characterized by the protection and promotion of brands by intermediate buyers such as processors, supermarket labeled products and retailers (Conroy 2007; Dolan and Humphrey 2000; Fold and Larsen 2008; Konefal, Bain, Mascarenhas et al. 2007; Raikes et al. 2000). Fold and Larsen (2008) critique this concept of buyer-driven as misleading since private consumers have very little power in these chains. Rather, large retail establishments use their market power to effectively govern the production of commodities with the desired attributes. For example, research on the horticulture industry (Dolan and Humphrey 2000) and the footwear industry (Schmitz and Knorringa 2000) provided evidence that global buyers (retailers, marketers, and traders) can and do exert a high degree of control over spatially dispersed value chains even when they do not own production, transport or processing facilities.

Gibbon and Ponte (2005) argue that governance is not merely a form of coordination as there may be many nodes in the chain involved in coordination. Rather, chain governance concerns the ability of certain actors to exhibit a variety of types of power at different points along the chain. This may not manifest itself as direct power over actors in the chain due to an actor's structural position, but rather as an actor's discursive power, or ability to frame the debate (Tallontire 2007). In other words, those stakeholders who are not necessarily party to the exchange may govern value chains and the standards used by them (e.g., Fairtrade and Organic value chains). Thus, the mode of governance and power exerted by buyers or 'functional leadership' in a chain "does not depend only on economic attributes" and "the effectiveness of

definitions of quality and tools for managing quality" but also how this combines with "broader narratives about quality circulating within society more generally" (Ponte and Gibbon 2005: 3).

This has been discussed as a form of cultural or symbolic power in value chains based on embedded and complex social relations. Lockie and Kitto (2000) suggest that the growing influence of retailers in GVCs is not sufficient in itself to justify ignoring the complexity of consumption or the competition between vertically integrated food chains. They point towards a greater need to consider the symbolic economy of food and its role in the complex and relational nature of power in GVCs. In an attempt to increase the focus on the consumption perspective within GVC analysis, Dixon (1999) explored how retailers mobilized 'intangible assets' and capitalized on the 'right to act' as the means to legitimize their 'authority' within GVCs. This allowed food retailers to dominate the terms of the debate by which food systems and food practices became acceptable. For Dixon, power includes not only economic power, but also cultural power.

Freidberg (2004) came to a similar conclusion in her comparison of Anglophone and Francophone green bean value chains where she claims that power is being exerted in new ways through old (formerly colonial) relationships between global North and South. The culture that Freidberg explores, however, refers not to societal taken-for-granted customs, but rather to the norms, practices and social institutions shaping, and shaped by, relations between actors in the commodity network. Thus, the mode of governance and power exerted by buyers or 'functional leadership' in a chain "does not depend only on economic attributes" and "the effectiveness of definitions of quality and tools for managing quality' but also how this combines with 'broader narratives about quality circulating within society more generally" (Ponte and Gibbon 2005: 3). Put differently, the *global* reach of value chains thus depends upon "intricate interweaving of

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situated people, artifacts, codes and living things and the maintenance of particular tapestries of connection across the world. Such processes and patterns of connection are not reducible to a single logic or determinant interest lying somewhere *outside* or *above* the social fray" (Whatmore and Thorne 1997: 212).

Understanding how actors who are external to value chain transactions are increasingly involved in their governance has been a recent trend in GVC research. For example, Bolwig et al. (2008) have developed a framework for integrating gender, environmental and poverty dimensions into GVCs. However, their approach takes each of these dimensions as 'variables' to be measured. Barrientos et al.'s (2003) earlier work has identified the gender economy of GVCs as a way to explore the often neglected employment aspects of value chains. This approach is examined more thoroughly in chapter six of this dissertation. Most recently, Neilson and Pritchard (2009) have refocused attention on the geographic and institutional dimensions of GVCs by shedding light on "how governance and institutions are necessarily co-produced (…) and coexist in an iterative nexus (…) defined by struggle" (2009: 9). While this addition to the literature brings a more nuanced understanding to the 'situatedness' of GVCs negotiations, it still privileges the linear drivenness of GVC governance.

Based on this consideration of a multitude of actors and the horizontal nature of governance relations, there has been a suggestion that these systems should be seen as dual driven. Islam (2008a) claims that he has seen a move towards a "twin-driven commodity chain" (TDCC). This is where lead firms govern the supply network, while environmental groups/movements and third-party certifiers/standards developers govern the regulatory aspects of the network, sometimes working in an overlapping manner. As such governing power within value chains can extend vertically (with respect to the relations along the value chain) and

horizontally (with respect to stakeholders in the supplier country) amongst value chain actors and third-party actors who are not necessarily party to the economic transactions in the value chains but rather involved in adding 'values' to the products and processes (Tallontire, Opondo, Nelson et al. *Forthcoming*). This concept of twin-drivenness, or horizontal governance, is particularly salient in the case of certified Tanzanian tea because the roles played by FLO, ETP, RFA and IFOAM in framing the debates about sustainability, corporate social responsibility and gender equity cannot adequately be captured in the buyer- or producer-driven analytical framework.[9]

In sum, current research on GVC governance is trying to re-conceptualize what have often been depicted as static, linear chains into networks, or webs, of relations consisting of numerous nodes of negotiation and just as many actors who are first, second or third party to the transactions. Given this more tenuous notion of the way that value chain actors are related in their networks, the use of the term governance must also encorporate Foucault's (1977; 2007; 2008) notion of *governmentality* (cf. Gibbon and Ponte 2008).

Of governance and governmentality

Within discussions of governance lie notions of power in the agri-food system. There is particular concern for "where the balance of power between production and consumption lies" (Dixon 1999: 158). Lockie (2002) equates the study of relations between producers, retailers and consumers essentially as the study of power 'produced, transformed and reproduced' through the food system. In the GVC literature power is defined by the control of lead firms over technology and information (Gereffi et al. 2005). Therefore, GVC governance is largely concerned with identifying those actors who possess more, and thus are able to influence and drive interactions up and down the chain. This differs from Foucault's notions of power and governmentality.

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[9] I examine the governance relations of each of these networks in chapter four.

Foucault (1977: 94) observed that "power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of non-egalitarian and mobile relations." Thus, power must be deciphered in "a network of relations, constantly in tension, in activity, rather than a privilege that one might possess" (Foucault 1977: 26). This "power is not exercised simply as an obligation or a prohibition on those who 'do not have it'; it invests them, is transmitted by them and through them; it exerts pressure upon them, just as they themselves, in their struggle against it, resist the grip it has on them". Moreover, Foucault argues that these relations of power are not univocal. Rather, the relations "define innumerable points of confrontation, focuses of instability, each of which has its own risks of conflict, of struggles, and of an at least temporary inversion of the power relations" (Foucault 1977: 27).

This description builds on some other well known interpretations of power. For example, Machiavelli (2005 [1513]) utilized power to explain the maintenance of a network of relations, based on strategies that are either effective or ineffective in reaching the end goal of staying 'in power.' Here judgment had little to do with morality; instead it was based on the efficiency of actors in reaching their goals. Likewise, Foucault's version does not focus on morality, but rather on the 'disciplining' of bodies in a population. Therefore, it is particularly useful to look at the governance of GVCs through the lens of *governmentality,* which covers a range of practices that "constitute, define, organize and instrumentalize the strategies that individuals in their freedom can use in dealing with each other" (Foucault 1997: 300). This allows us to see power as the "outcome of collective actions exercised through networks of associations" (Cheshire and Lawrence 2005: 36). This notion holds together better with the re-conceptualization of the GVCs themselves as networks.

In order to test the empirical validity of this concept, one must better understand how these strategies that Foucault notes take shape in GVCs. As was highlighted in the introduction of this dissertation, a common strategy adopted by both buyers and producers in the agri-food sector is that of utilizing standards, and their systems of conformity assessment, as ways of organizing and governing the processes of production. It is to this increasingly vital role of standards in GVCs that I now turn.

Engaging standards as strategies

Drawing upon the science, technology and society (STS) literature, I explore a number of different theories in this section in an attempt to 'classify' the ways in which we can view standards as socio-technical devices that discipline what Latour (1987) calls *actants* within GVCs. As they are utilized in GVCs, standards act as "rules about what those who adopt them should do" (Brunsson and Jacobsson 2000: 4). Rules are essential to provide social order and to prevent anomie or anarchy (Coleman 1990; Durkheim 1984 [1893]; Parsons 1968 [1937]) and are often codified into formal laws and regulations. Yet most standards used in GVCs are not formal laws or regulations. Standards act more like conventions which 'determine the content and the form of the production and circulation of commodities' (Wilkinson 1997: 317). They can either be 'sets of standardized, codified rules and norms that impose conventions across a range of diverse contexts,' or they 'may emerge from local, personalized, idiosyncratic sets of relations' (Murdoch and Miele 1999). As such, conventions serve as both guides for action as well as collective systems that legitimize these actions through norms and values, standards of uniformity, and rules and institutions to apply and enforce those standards (Gibbon and Ponte 2005; Ponte and Gibbon 2005).

Conventions theory (Levy 2002; Thevenot 2001; Wilkinson 1997) emphasizes the importance of coordination and qualification of both people and things. Here, rules and social categories are not considered prior to action nor are they elaborated from outside the action but emerge within the process of actor (people and things) co-ordination (Haraway 1997; Latour 2005; Law 2004). Thus, returning to the previous discussion about power and its use to establish order, standards can be viewed as socio-technical devices that can classify and establish social and moral order within GVCs (cf. Bowker and Star 1999; Busch 2000a; 2000b; Butler 1990; Ponte 2009). Put differently, "standards are the measures by which products, processes, and producers are judged" (Busch and Bingen 2006: 3), while standardization is the process of making things (and people) uniform (Brunsson and Jacobsson 2000). As such, standards may be considered as anonymous power in that they are the outcomes of interactions that are stabilized, codified, and reused to 'objectively' govern the actions of people and things (Busch and Tanaka 1996; Law 1991).

Previous studies (Bingen and Siyengo 2002; Busch 2000b) illustrate the asymmetrical power relations, interests, and values of different actors engaged in these networks. Moreover, the decisions about what to measure, identify and manage as standards are not merely confined to the nature of the object of interest, but rather reflect various social interests and 'their capacity to mobilize resources in the course of debate and controversy' (Latour 1987: 111). Thus, within the context of GVCs, the implementation of standards is used by value chain actors to judge and discipline the relations between actors and thus to govern them. What is not clearly articulated in this literature is how standards that have been developed to govern social, environmental and ethical actions are able to do so. In other words, how are these values that are supposed to be enforced by compliance with standards, put into action? It is important to understand this

enactment of values so to understand how they are used strategically in the art of governing of social, ethical and environmental GVCs. I propose that this can be done by paying attention to performativity as it has been theorized in the STS literature. The GVC literature has not paid a lot of attention to performativity; however the notion of performativity is not new to sociological theory.

Introducing the notion of performativity

In this section I highlight some of the key theories of 'performances' that provide the basis for the use of performativity analysis in this dissertation. Within the discipline of sociology there may be considered two broad schools of thought about performances. The first draws upon the theoretical traditions of George Herbert Mead (1962 [1934]), and the second derives from that of John Langshaw Austin (2004 [1962]).

Symbolic-interactionism

The first notion of *performativity* suggests a separation between observed action and the knowledge about that action. Mead (1962 [1934]), claims that meaning is created only through interaction (the social act). Symbols, communicated also through language, represent these meanings for specific societies. In other words, actions do not cause other actions but invoke reactions. Thus it becomes a 'conversation of gestures' or a "situation where certain parts of the act, become a stimulus to the other form to adjust itself to those responses; and that adjustment in turn becomes a stimulus to the first form to change his own act and start on a different one" (1962 [1934]: 43). Mead thus attempts to show that the mind and the self are social emergents and that language (or claims-making), in the form of the vocal gesture, provides the mechanism for their emergence.

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Goffman (1974) builds upon Mead's social-interactionism and introduces the 'performance' metaphor to sociology. Here, Goffman suggests that each person in everyday social interaction presents herself and her activity to others, attempts to guide and control the impressions that others form in the course of the interaction, and thus employs specific techniques that sustain her performance. Goffman (1974: 75) claims that 'standard-making routines' can be "performed with ease or clumsiness, awareness or not, guile or good faith" but nonetheless they must be enacted and realized. Sartre's (2003 [1943]) example of the waiter acting in 'bad faith' by acting too eagerly and attentively in carrying out his or her duties serves Goffman's point very well. Sartre shows how the waiter in the café plays with his condition in order to realize it, that is, because he is playing the part of the waiter he gives the impression that he is aware that he is not (merely) a waiter. Sartre claims that he is consciously deceiving himself; as such we observe this 'representation' of a waiter enacted. This line of thought suggests that there is some type of 'reality' behind the performances that we observe.

This vision of performance has been expanded on by Hilgartner (2000) by applying it to organizations. Hilgartner's adopts Goffman's dramaturgical perspective, which "calls attention to the dialectic of self-revelation and concealment through which advisors present themselves (…) it focuses attention not only on the rhetoric and narrative of the performance itself but also on the way performance expresses – and is embedded in – modes of information control" (Hilgartner 2000: 11). Thus, performances are divided into the 'front-stage' where the performance takes place and 'back-stage' where the performance is prepared. It is the ability to effectively conceal the 'back-stage' that allows the 'front-stage' performance to appear seamless. It is in the dramaturgical perspective that we can clearly see the theme of this set of theories – that is that the performance is occurring for an audience and there is something separate and

sometimes different that is going on behind this performance that might be revealed, if an investigator probes effectively.

STS readings of performativity

The second line of thought does not separate the action from the knowledge about it. The word performativity has been traced back to Austin's (2004 [1962]: 163) notion of *illocution,* or 'performative utterance', where "the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action." The classic example is of the wedding vow, where by saying 'I do (take this man to be my lawfully wedded husband)' is not just describing an action, but performing (or doing) it. For example, Hacking (2008) suggested that "science' representations of the world can be understood only in their close entanglement with intervention in that world." In other words, the 'performative idiom' (Pickering 1995) is more attentive to activity than to knowledge alone. Thus, this notion of performativity suggests that "*realities* (including objects and subjects) and *representations* of those realities are being enacted or performed simultaneously" (Law 2008: 635).

The main point that separates Austin's version of performance from Goffman's is that it insists that an 'inward' performance, or backstage, is not necessary for an 'outward' performance to occur. Put differently, the inside is merely a fold of the outside (Deleuze in Bell 2007). It is in the focus on the production of 'subjectivities' in power relations that Vikki Bell (2007) traces the theoretical underpinnings performativity. Butler (1990) argued that the gendered subject is an outward performance sustained without the necessity of any prior or contemporaneous 'inward act'. Rather gender is a continuing series of actions, behaviors, and gestures that occur in relation to present situations, constrained by the particular assemblage of power/knowledge (Butler 1997). Thus, fundamental to the notion of performativity that I have adopted is this "process" of enactment that is necessarily situated (cf. Haraway 2001; Nightingale 2006).

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With regards to the discussion of markets, which is the topic of this dissertation, Michel Callon (1998) provides the foundation for performativity analysis. Callon (1998: 2) first explained the performative character of economics, claiming that, "economics, in the broad sense of the term, performs, shapes and formats the economy, rather than observing how it functions." More specifically, the existence of a market implies the circulation of merchandise, that is, the existence of goods transformed into things that can be passed from hand to hand. This circulation is simultaneously a process of production and qualification that transforms products and in so doing qualifies them in such a way that they are attached to users by entering their world and becoming parts of it (Callon, Méadel, and Rabeharisoa 2002). In other words, it is not external processes of rules selection that make markets, rather, the construction of markets is "through the emergence of the economic actors, which are their participants" (Allaire 2009: 25). Here the focus is not only on the people, but the market devices as well. In other words, social and environmental standards work as *agencements*, which are the collectives of human beings, technical devices, algorithms, and written standards that are embedded in institutions, conventions, personal relationships or groups and thus have the capacity to act and give meaning to action (Callon et al. 2002). It is this "interweaving of 'words' and 'actions' - of representations and interventions - that the concept of 'performativity' is designed to capture" (Muniesa 2007: 5).

Research that builds from Callon's reading of performativity suggests that abstract or 'virtual' representations shape reality (Callon 1998; MacKenzie et al. 2007; Muniesa 2007). That is, performativity analysis studies how imaginaries, or virtues, are brought to life in empirical reality through actions and discourse (Law 2004). It thus suggests that materiality, place, and empirical story are entwined in the enactment of values and virtues (cf. Haraway 2001; Law and

Urry 2004). Using certifications as an example of how standards are enacted, these representations are 'virtual' in that their value is not contained purely in their material substance (e.g., paper certificates, labels), but in the claims on future states of the world that they embody and the governance mechanism needed to verify that claim (e.g., organic participatory guarantee program). Thus the interactions that constitute performances include both those who are performing and those who are evaluating the performances (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006 [1991]).

Yet, what sets this interactionist perspective apart from the symbolic-interactionist reading of performance is the concept of multiplicities. Annemarie Mol (2002: vii, 6) shows that "attending to enactment rather than knowledge has an important effect: what we think of as a single object may appear to be more than one (…) objects come into being – and disappear – with the practices in which they are manipulated. And since the object of manipulation tends to differ from one practice to another, reality multiplies." Law (2008) continues that these multiple performances can be, and often are, non-coherent. It is important to remember that people are always engaged in multiple performances. Boltanski and Thevenot (2006 [1991]) explore this in their observation that while philosophers may construct 'pure' polities, each of us must necessarily live in multiple polities at once.[10] The ability to let oneself be caught up in the nature of the situation or to avoid doing so is "at work whenever persons have to complete the passage between situations arising from different worlds; in a complex society that includes multiple arrangements, this capacity is thus indispensable to the normal conduct of daily life" (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006 [1991]: 234). Therefore, the ability to continuously manage these multiples

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[10] Boltanski and Thevenot have described seven polities or worlds of work to which they claim that people appeal when they justify their actions. These polities are: market, civic, inspirational, domestic, industrial, opinon and environmental.

so to produce coherent performances results in different interpretations of these interactions. This version of performativity thus illustrates what is at stake with this type of analysis: "since the real is relationally enacted in practices, if those practices were to change the real would also be done differently" (Law 2008: 635).

Performing markets through standards

In this dissertation, I have adopted this last version of performativity as the appropriate metaphor for examining the use of standards as governing strategies of values in GVCs. Let me explain. Performativity analysis allows us to look specifically at the strategies by which compliance with standards is disciplined and contained, and the tactics deployed by those engaged in GVCs to negotiate this discipline (cf. Bell 2007; Busch 2000b; Foucault 1977). It is also used to understand what is being valued through practices, such as audits and market contracts, and how these values play out in the process itself (cf. Power 1997). Thus, the performances that we observe in the coordination of GVCs are the actualization of these values in the empirical world – a process of differentiation. Let me explain by using a few examples of multiple performances that have emerged from the enactment of standards in the market economy.

Performing quality. The 'quality' turn in GVCs has been noted by numerous agri-food scholars and points to the need for conventions when price alone cannot evaluate quality (Goodman 2003; Morgan, Marsden, and Murdoch 2006; Murdoch, Marsden, and Banks 2000; Ponte and Gibbon 2005). In this case, economic actors comply with 'quality conventions' that propose different relations of co-ordination in GVCs (Raikes et al. 2000). Within GVCs these can be materialized through 'quality' standards – or standards that are based on authenticity or credence attributes that are not visible to the naked eye (e.g., fair trade, organic, local, cage-free)

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(Barrientos and Dolan 2006). For example, the "13 commandments" for good strawberry growing were used "to reduce the number of varieties grown, to stop the practice of mixing different varieties in the same tray, and to impose some uniformity on methods of packing" (Garcia-Parpet 2007: : 30). In this way the "Strawberries of Sologne" were constructed and protected with a quality label. Campbell and Le Heron (2007) argue that there is an emerging 'economy of quality' for agri-food industries and that the 'meeting place' for negotiation between food companies and consumers is the audit (Power 1997). It is through this mechanism that competing food audit systems seek legitimacy, which means convincing consumers that their products have the most desirable attributes or 'qualities'.

The use of **'**quality' standards allows producers to differentiate their products while simultaneously standardizing how they are produced (Hatanaka et al. 2006). For example, fair trade tea is differentiated from conventional tea because of specific 'qualities' that the product possesses (e.g., fair price for producers, community development) (cf. Callon et al. 2002; Murdoch et al. 2000). Yet all fair trade tea must meet the same standardized fair trade 'qualities' in order to be considered fair trade. For Barham (2002), values-based labels are seen as a moral or ethical social movement that challenges neo-liberal capitalist economic standards. From this perspective, values-based labels help set the standards for market interactions in particular ways, times and places (Bingen 2002). Standards are thus used to perform desired qualities that are then materialized in labels that represent 'quality'- specific products in opposition to 'qualities' that are represented by 'normal' market relations.

Performing inclusion/exclusion. Standards are becoming increasingly important for producers in the Global South, as they are used to determine participation in specific global value chains and shape market access (Daviron and Ponte 2005; Gibbon and Ponte 2005; Giovannucci

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and Ponte 2005; Henson and Reardon 2005). The use of standards to regulate access to markets presents both challenges and opportunities. By setting entry barriers (i.e., certification as a minimum requirement to access or make predictable supplies of the product at the specified standard), many producers and countries are unable to participate in value chains that were once accessible. This is exemplified by the use of Codex Alimentarius standards by the World Trade Organization (WTO) as the baseline food safety standards for international trade (WTO 2005).

Gibbon and Ponte (2005) illustrate how market access by "upstream" African producers is regulated by the buyer-driven supply networks of which they are a part. GVC analysis reveals that the same processes (e.g., use of quality standards) that are integrating some African firms into the global economy because of 'quality certification' are at the same time marginalizing others who are not able to become certified (cf. Ponte 2008). In particular, some companies from developing countries and emerging economies have encountered problems complying with standards because of the prohibitive costs of certification (Trienekens and Zuurbier 2008). However, recent accounts show that if the new standards can be met, these certified value chains offer opportunities for producers to increase value, improve their technologies and products, as well as engage in different forms of cooperation among value chain actors (Jaffee and Masakure 2005; Jaffee and Henson 2004). In this way standards are used to determine who can engage in international trade, in particular value chains and in new institutional processes. In other words, they perform barriers to entry in market relations, thus creating inclusive and exclusive economies.

Performing supply chain management. Up until the mid-1990s, food manufacturers took charge of organizing production, setting product standards and determining prices in producer-driven chains. The focus here was on improving efficiency and improving product uniformity

(Cochoy 2005). However, with the increased presence of buyer-driven chains, standards are used as attempts to reform existing production practices and trade systems, often as strategic tools of supply chain management (Burch and Lawrence 2007; Busch 2007; Weatherspoon and Reardon 2003). The role of supermarkets, with their greater access to information technology, improved inventory control and speeded checkout, is particularly relevant for the increased use of process standards (Brown 1997; Bucklin and Sengupt 1993). Supermarkets were able to effectively implement the social technology of supply chain management, reorganizing food supply chains by making demands on upstream actors for price, quality, and timeliness (Codron, Giraud-Héraud, and Soler 2005; Konefal et al. 2007). Ponte (2009), illustrates this with his study of South African wine where quality conventions applied in the UK translated into specific functional divisions of labor and supply relations. These were underpinned by local configurations of quality conventions facilitating the management of the supply chain by the lead firm (i.e., the retailer).

Retail power in supply chain management was solidified with the emergence of 'own brand labeling' as a means to instill and obtain market benefits from customer loyalty (Konefal et al. 2007). Linked to own brand labeling is the emergence of private standards such as GlobalGAP, which is an association of European supermarket chains (GLOBALGAP 2009). Since 2005 GlobalGAP requires all their suppliers to meet food quality, food safety, environmental, and labor standards as evidenced by certifications by accredited certifiers (Hatanaka et al. 2005). In this way, private food safety and quality standards are used to respond to the regulatory and reputational risks faced by leading firms in supply chains, while simultaneously being employed to facilitate competitive strategies to manage the transaction costs associated with their global supply chains (Henson 2006). These performances can also

have benefits that are broader than logistics. As Marsden et al. (2000: 102) note "by pursuing their intensely competitive interest in market maintenance, the major retailers have also performed a public-interest role in relation to food standards." In sum, performances of efficient supply chain management are made possible by the use of standards to govern supply chain interactions and 'reorganize aspects of the market to better suit its needs' (Busch and Bain 2004: : 322).

Performing Corporate Social Responsibility. Linked to supply chain strategies is the use of ethical and social standards as strategic responses to calls for greater corporate social responsibility (CSR) by agribusinesses (Jenkins 2002; Reardon, Cadron, Busch et al. 2001). CSR is a complementary regime for standards enforcement and has emerged as the development of voluntary codes of conduct, or standards, which apply to all actors in the supply chain. Carter and Jennings (2004) indicated that CSR within the supply chain also encompasses philanthropy, community, workplace diversity, safety, human rights, and environment. Within the food supply chain, CSR issues includes elements such as animal welfare, biotechnology, community, environment, fair trade, health and safety, labor, and procurement (Maloni and Brown 2006).

Supply chain CSR efforts are often used by the actors involved (e.g., shareholders and management) to minimize risk and avoid liability by being perceived to be acting ethically and responsibly throughout the global supply chain (Maloni and Brown 2006). There are obvious competitive advantages to companies, such as branding, risk reduction, and increases in supply chain productivity, quality, and innovation (GTZ 2006; Porter and Kramer 2006). Research has shown that there have also been changes in value chain interaction further upstream. For example, recent studies have found that the adoption of forest certification has, in most cases, led to improved environmental management practices in the industry (Cashore, Gale, Meidinger et

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al. 2006; NGLS 2002). It has also led to improved labor conditions in many cases, ranging from the provision of protective clothing and shielded tools to better training and sanitary conditions (Meidinger 2007). Thus through the adoption of standards and third-party certification, companies appear to be socially responsible. This particular performance, in the context of Tanzania, is explored further in chapter six.

Performing regulation. Standards can also be seen as tools that are used to subject people and things to 'rites of passage' in order to assess their 'goodness' (Busch and Tanaka 1996). Tests and associated standards "create, maintain, and change [the commodity] and monitor, control, and organize the behavior of each of the actors" (Busch and Tanaka 1996: : 23). Therefore, the maintenance of standards itself requires a system of governance (Cashore et al. 2007; Gibbon, Bair, and Ponte 2008; Ponte and Gibbon 2005; Tallontire 2007), which includes: 1) processes for certifying compliance, 2) processes for accrediting the certifiers, and 3) sanctions for violation (Hatanaka et al. 2005; Loconto and Busch 2010). These processes, known as conformity assessment, may be seen as the process of testing the degree to which such standards have been met through a series of audits, conformity procedures and paperwork (Busch, Thiagarajan, Hatanaka et al. 2005; Getz and Shreck 2006; Hatanaka et al. 2005; Porter 1995; Power 1997). Finally, the regulation of food and agricultural production is performed as GVC governance and is illustrated by Tallontire (2007), who shows that private standards initiatives represent a new form of regulation in the agri-food system that is both vertical and horizontal.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

It is important to recognize that not all performances are 'effective'. Effective performances are distinguished from 'generic' performances by the actors' abilities to make a

difference in practice through the abstract representation of a value (MacKenzie 2007). Ponte (2007) illustrates this distinction with a case study from Uganda. In the late 1990s, the EU imposed repeated bans on fish imported from Uganda on the basis of the poor performance of Uganda's regulatory and monitoring system. Only by fixing 'the system' (of regulations and inspections) and performing the ritual of laboratory testing for all consignments for export to the EU did the Ugandan industry regain its status as a 'safe' source of fish. Therefore, Ponte (2007) claims that it was the 'ritual of verification' (cf. Power 1997) of the regulatory structure that was performed, rather than an effective change in the practices of fish production systems that rendered the fish 'safe' for consumption. In this sense the performance of food safety regulation was generic because it did not enact changes in the material practices; rather it merely described them in a generic manner. Thus, generic performativity occurs when an aspect of the original objective is used by actors but this use is not 'effectively' reproducing cohesive outcomes in practice. In other words, effective performance of sustainability means that tea produced according to sustainability standards must differ from tea produced without the sustainability standards. Therefore the difference between effective and generic performativity is not necessarily that one effects change and the other does not, but rather that one is an 'effective' use use of the objectives in performing outcomes and the other is only a generic interpretation of the original concept.

Given this, I can summarize the theoretical project of this dissertation, which is to show how the concept of sustainability, and the two related values of corporate social responsibility and gender equity, is performed in the empirical world. In other words, the intent is to understand how sustainability shapes and is shaped by the actors and standards involved, and how it is maintained through the interactions involved in producing 'sustainable' tea. These

performances can be judged as effective or generic based on the resonance of similar

justifications by various actors up, down and outside of the value chain. In other words, are all

actors enacting visions of sustainability, corporate social responsibility and gender equity that

hold together? Perhaps more importantly, what do we learn about the multiplicities of these

imaginaries by paying attention to how these concepts are enacted in practice?

Conclusions

This chapter has proposed a way to expand the analysis of GVC governance beyond

discussions of linear drivenness, so to be able to better understand the balance of power in those

value chains that are being 'governed' by social and environmental values. What is interesting

about these GVCs is that they are trying to utilize standards as socio-technical devices to enact

their values and effectively govern interactions among value chain actors. This provides us with

material artifacts that can be compared to claims made by actors so to judge the 'effectiveness'

of these enactments.

In this chapter, I suggest that if we adopt Foucault's vision of governmentality, we can

envision GVC governance as a particular way of acting in the world – that is a particular way of

disciplining value chain interactions. In this context, social and environmental standards, such as

ETP, Fairtrade, Organic and Rainforest Alliance, are particular socio-technical devices that are

used to discipline these interactions. The discussion of performativity suggests that actions and

outcomes could be otherwise. In fact, it is often otherwise that values are enacted in the multiple

performances found in value chain interactions. In other words, emphasizing performativity

allows us to highlight the reinforcement and resistance to those values embedded in a given

standard. We can highlight how social and political relations reproduce or how they change in

the process of implementing the standards. This is thus the added value of performativity

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analysis; it avoids the tendency to reify the value chain as a static linear chain of actors (cf. Marx 1956 [1893]). In other words, the value chains 'work' because they are enacted and the 'governance' that they exhibit are artifacts of these enactments (cf. Neilson and Pritchard 2009). As Law (2008: 635) so succinctly put it, "the webs of relations only hold if they are enacted, enacted again, and enacted yet again – which may or may not happen in practice."

In the chapters that follow, I present my findings based on an analysis of the performances of the values of sustainability, corporate social responsibility, and gender equity by different actors in the certified GVCs. First however, I turn to how I have designed my study and gathered the data that I use.

CHAPTER THREE: Methods of Following Tea in Action

The question for us who shadow scientists is not to decide which one of these links is 'social' and which one is 'scientific', the question for us, as well as for those we follow, is only this: 'which of these links will hold and which will break apart?' Our fifth rule of method will thus be the following: we should be as undecided as the various actors we follow as to what technoscience is made of; to do so, every time an inside/outside division is built, we should follow the two sides simultaneously, making up a list, no matter how long and heterogeneous, of all those who do the work. (Latour 1987: 176)

This dissertation draws upon a detailed case study (Law 2008; Yin 1984) of certified tea value chains that traverse Tanzania, Kenya, Germany and the UK, carried out during May – August 2008 and August 2009 – June 2010. I combined several qualitative research methods – field observations, semi-structured interviews, focus groups and document analysis – to understand the performances of sustainability, corporate social responsibility (CSR) and gender equity in certified value chains. Drawing upon feminist epistemology, science and technology studies (STS) and global value chains analysis (GVC) I designed a research project that is both situated (Haraway 2001) and comparable (Blaikie 2000). This chapter explains how my research was designed, how data were collected and analyzed and the limitations of this study.

Research design

Yin (1998) suggests that the basic definition of a case study is the reliance on multiple sources of evidence and Latour (1987) argues that in order to open the 'black box' of science (sustainability in my case), one must follow the actors. This type of research excels at facilitating understanding of complex issues and can extend experience or add strength to what is already known through previous research (Reinharz 1992). Therefore, I have adopted a case study research design of certified tea value chains that originate in Tanzania.

My empirical study is well suited to the choice of this method, as my topic of inquiry (sustainability standards for tea) is a phenomenon that is both historically and currently contextual. That is, the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not clearly evident (Yin 1984). I am particularly interested in gaining an operational construct of the notions of sustainability, CSR, gender equity and the justifications made to support these constructs. The purpose of this research is also to exemplify typical cases of each of the standards in action. Therefore, the use of a case study approach has enabled me to emphasize the contexts and dynamics of the current situation and provide the basis for the application of my theoretical framework outlined in the previous chapter.

Since I am comparing four sustainability standards – Ethical Tea Partnership (ETP), Fairtrade, Organic and Rainforest Alliance (RFA) – my approach is similar to a comparative case study method (Ragin 1987). In the comparative case study, the researcher treats each case as a whole entity, not as a collection of parts. Furthermore, one of the primary strengths of the comparative case study method is its ability to stimulate dialogue between ideas and evidence. Instead of forcing investigators to view causal conditions as mutually exclusive, case-oriented methods provide a basis for examining the ways in which conditions combine in different ways and in different contexts to produce different outcomes. Haraway (2001) claims that since no person or thing is privileged, all knowledge is partial. Knowledge can only be complete when the different perspectives are put together in a manner that works. In other words, "there is no universal truth that can be explained by a superior method" (Haraway 2001: 176). The adoption of a case study allows the knowledge produced through this study to be added to that produced in other studies, thus acting collectively to build knowledge about sustainability standards.

My research is therefore "situated, perspectival, contextualized, and partial" (Bell 1993); it seeks to understand the process of the implementation of a 'socio-technical' device (a sustainability standard) into agricultural production. In this project I have focused on the process as I believe that we can only understand and influence social change (i.e., praxis) if we are involved in the process itself. Moreover, a focus on this process can reveal 'science (or business) in action' i.e., the tradeoffs, politics, and socio-economic influences on negotiations. This in turn can lead to greater insights into the effectiveness of corporate promoted certification schemes as a means to improve smallholder livelihoods. Therefore, adopting a situated knowledge epistemology is actually the best choice for approaching my topic. This feminist epistemology allows me to 'view' the interactions that are creating social practices and knowledge, and it allows me to reveal the politics and power dynamics of these interactions. Adopting this epistemology has also allowed me to develop a feminist methodology that approaches the phenomenon of 'sustainability' in its technical, historical, and cultural context (cf. Collins 1989; Haraway 2001; Harding 1991; hooks 1981; Smith 1992; Stoler 1995).

In practice, I followed the sustainable tea stakeholders *in action* (Latour 1987). In other words, I followed 'sustainable tea' from the farm to the market (Gereffi and Korzeniewicz 1994), while examining carefully the standards, institutions, policies, actors, technologies, environment, and practices found at three nodes (production, market, and standards) in each certification network (Appadurai 1986). Therefore, I have utilized the GVC approach as both a theoretical framework (described in the last chapter) and as a heuristic device to construct my case study and to conceptualize the value chain as my unit of analysis (Friedland 1984). While my case study does not follow the entire sustainable tea value chain for reasons of cost and time, I selected key sites of negotiation (or nodes) that illuminate the performativity of the three values

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that are examined in this dissertation. These sites are the production nexus (grower-factory), the market nexus (factory-blender) and the standards nexus (standards development organization (SDO)/certifier-factory). While GVC analysis and STS emerge from different epistemologies, recent research has shown that rather than static vertical chains, value chains are indeed webs of interaction where negotiations take place between actors (and within institutions) at each node (Gibbon and Ponte 2005; Tallontire 2007). This approach allowed me to expand the applicability of the STS perspective that focuses on following human and non-human interactions (Latour 1987).

Entry into the field

Field work was conducted in two stages, the first period of time was from May – August 2008 and the second was from August 2009 – June 2010.[11] The purpose of my first trip was to make initial contacts with actors in the East African tea industry, to solicit interest in my project and check the feasibility of my project proposal. I spent about two weeks in Kenya and the remainder of the time in Tanzania. Prior to departing, I had made Skype calls to some of the multinational companies and the East African Tea Trade Association, and visited scholars in Denmark who have worked on these issues in Tanzania. I also received contact information from colleagues at the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) where I had worked prior to beginning the PhD program at MSU.

As a result of these initial contacts I traveled to Mombasa, Kenya where I met a number of brokers and buyers who dealt in both Tanzanian and Kenyan tea. I then went to Nairobi where I visited the Kenyan Tea Development Agency (KTDA) offices and then I travelled to Kericho,

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[11] I had already begun to collect documents and statistics about this case beginning in January 2007 in preparation for fieldwork in 2008.

which is in the heart of the tea producing region

Figure 3.1: TRIT Ngwazi research station

in Kenya. During this trip I received a number of

contacts for tea industry actors in Tanzania. It is

important to note that at this stage of my research

I had been considering a comparative project

between Kenya and Tanzania, but this idea was

abandoned given the size of the Kenyan industry.

It was determined that such a large comparative study was not feasible in the time allotted, which

led to the decision to focus only on the Tanzanian tea industry, given the smaller size of its

industry and my familiarity with the country.

When I arrived in Tanzania, I spent this initial phase in Dar es Salaam, where in addition

to taking intensive Kiswahili language classes, I met with tea industry actors who were located in

the city and those who had travelled to the city for the Tea Association of Tanzania (TAT)

meeting. It was through this interaction that I was able to secure my institutional collaboration

with the Tea Research Institute of Tanzania (TRIT), who were quite keen to host my research,

given their recent research on the tea value chain in Tanzania.

In August 2009 I began the document analysis of the standards and annual reports and I

returned to Tanzania in September of 2009, following additional Skype conversations and email

exchanges with a number of research participants and TRIT during the interim period. I

remained in Tanzania until the last week of November, when I went to Kenya. I returned to

Tanzania at the beginning of January 2010 and stayed there until the second week of March

2010. While in Tanzania I was based at the TRIT Ngwazi Research Station (Figure 3.1) in

Mufindi District of Iringa Province. This was in the heart of the tea producing region in the

Southern Highlands. From here I travelled by car to all of the tea producing regions in the Southern Highlands, often staying for an average of three days at each site. I made multiple trips to the factories, estates and smallholders in my study, so to gain observations at different points in time.

In January when I returned to Tanzania from Kenya, I stayed for the month in the Usambara region before returning to the Southern Highlands. I was based out of the TRIT Marikitanda Research Station in Muheza District of Tanga province. From here I visited the factories, estates and smallholders located in both the Eastern Usambaras and Western Usambaras. In February I returned to the Southern Highlands to complete interviews and focus groups. In March I closed up the Tanzanian portion of research in Dar es Salaam. Since Dar es Salaam is the main transportation hub of Tanzania, I passed through the city numerous times during my stay in Tanzania. I utilized my time there to speak with the Tanzanian blenders, ministry officials, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), certifiers, and other actors who are involved in the tea sector. All of this travelling meant that I spent a significant amount of time in the car, which provided me with the unique opportunity of discussing my research and findings with the drivers and other passengers, who were raised in the tea producing regions. Therefore, I was able to receive significant contextual interpretations of my findings. Due to time and distance constraints, I was unable to visit the lake zone during my stay in Tanzania. Therefore my study falls short of covering the entire Tanzanian tea industry.

While I was in Kenya I spent time in Mombasa and in Nairobi. In Mombasa I re-visited the brokers and buyers who deal in Tanzanian tea both through the Auction and through direct sales. I observed the Auctions, visited warehouses and the port of Mombasa. In Nairobi I spoke with Tea Board of Kenya officials and those representatives from the SDOs, certifiers and NGOs

that are based out of Nairobi for their East African operations. In April I was originally planning to conduct interviews in Germany, but I was grounded in the US due to 'Icelandic Ash'. Therefore, in May I traveled to Germany where I visited blenders near Hamburg, Hannover and Bremen. I was also able to interview headquarters staff at the International Forum of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM) in Bonn. Unfortunately my numerous requests to speak with Fairtrade Labeling Organization (FLO) staff were consistently denied and therefore I was unable to speak with anyone from FLO headquarters while I was in Bonn. I did, however, have the opportunity to interview the FLO employees who are located in East Africa. In June, I interviewed actors working at blenders, SDOs, and NGOs in London, Harrogate, and Liverpool in the UK.

Overall my research experience was very positive. Everyone that I approached for an interview or focus group accepted my invitation - barring the FLO headquarters staff. A specific difficulty that I ran into with one smallholder association is explained in more detail in the section below on researcher positionality. One challenge that I did face in this research comes from the standards themselves. From the time that I begin thinking about this project, new versions of all four standards have been released. The consolidated RFA standard was released in 2008, which was merged with the addendum to form one new document in July 2010. The ETP released significant changes in their standard, most notably the addition of environmental criteria, in 2009. The EU Organic standard was adopted in 2007, but put into effect in 2009. The Fairtrade standard was undergoing a review process for its tea standard while I was conducting my research in 2009 and the new standard was released after I had already returned from the field in 2010. Therefore, I have relied upon those standards that were in effect while I was in the field in 2009 and 2010 for the basis of my analysis. In the case of the Fairtrade standard,

significant changes that were made during the tea revision that are important for this study are noted in the analysis.

Data collection and analysis

Patton (1990: 193) argues that qualitative research methods are an appropriate starting point for research "in new fields of study where little work has been done, few definitive hypotheses exist and little is known about the nature of the phenomenon." There has been little research conducted to date on certification networks in the tea sector (cf. Besky 2008; Dolan 2008; 2010; Thompson 2006) and all of these studies focus on the political economy of the Fairtrade system. To date, this is the first study that has taken a comparative approach, from a STS perspective, to the study of standards networks in the tea sector. Therefore, I have taken an exploratory approach to this phenomenon, in an attempt to better understand the way that different values are enacted through engagement with sustainability standards. Maxwell (2005) shows that qualitative research methods allow researchers to explain situations and understand how research participants (including the researcher) interpret these situations. They are particularly useful for understanding how processes lead to outcomes (Blaikie 2000; Maxwell 2005). Put differently, qualitative methods provided the best way to approach my research questions. In this dissertation I used the following methods: 1) document analysis, 2) field observations, 3) semi-structured interviews and 4) focus groups. I explore each of these in turn.

Document analysis

The collection of data in an unobtrusive manner refers to the collection of published statistics and other documentary artifacts (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz et al. 2000). The use of statistics in this dissertation is to complement the other forms of data and consists of local and national level demographic and economic statistics, and market statistics specific to the tea

sector. The purpose here is not to manipulate the statistics to reveal correlations in the data, but rather build on the performative idiom and provide evidence of how some statistics are part of the observed performances. Therefore I have also used advertisements and newspaper articles, books on tea and autobiographies of tea producers to add to the illustration of performances.

The main source of documentary evidence is the standards themselves. Therefore I analyzed the Rainforest Alliance Sustainable Agriculture standard, the EU Regulation (EC) N° 834/2007 and (EC) N° 889/2008 (former: (EEC) N° 2092/91) and IFOAM Basic Norms, the Fairtrade Hired Labor (HL), Small Producer Organization (SPO) and Trade standards, and the Ethical Tea Partnership standard. Actors involved in the certification networks have also communicated their original objectives and justifications in annual reports and on their webpages.

Latour (1987) suggests that the fate of rhetoric in written texts lies in the hands of the readers. Therefore, I conducted a content analysis of this rhetoric to determine how sustainability, CSR, and gender equity are being 'performed' for their audience as well as to understand the justifications being used to define their engagement with the standards networks (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006 [1991]). I analyzed the standards based on the three values in this study: sustainability, CSR and gender equity. This was done by identifying those indicators and criteria of the standards that address these three values. Specific phrases found in the annual reports, webpages and other documented materials were identified and included in the coding process used for interview and focus group data.

Field observation

Observations were made at the different sites of sustainable tea production, e.g., tea estates, smallholder plots, processing factories, warehouses, the Mombasa Tea Auction, blenders,

packers and the offices where standards-setting occurs. Observation is a key method for understanding tacit knowledge and those aspects of tea production which are not easily explained through spoken language (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002). Thus, observation allowed me to see who and what are involved in the processes under investigation and enabled me to better understand the context in which these actions take place. Some of these observations have been documented through photographs. Throughout observation, I kept field notes and wrote memos (Strauss and Corbin 1998) as a means both to record the observations and to mediate my status as an outsider (Thorp 2006). For each factory I visited I wrote up a 'factory sheet' which contained some of the specific details related to hectares on the estates, amounts of made tea produced, etc. The memos were uploaded into the Nvivo8 qualitative analysis software and some were coded for content.

I also had the opportunity to participate in five industry events, where I acted as a participant-observer (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002). These events gave me the opportunity to interact with my research participants outside of the routine of daily work and allowed me to see how their daily work fits into the broader contexts of social and environmental standards in the tea industry. These events were the launch of the Chai Project sponsored by the Wood Family Trust and the Gatsby Charitable Foundation in Dar es Salaam in September, 2009; the TRIT Open Day held in Ngwazi in November, 2009; a close-out workshop of the Adapt to Climate Change (AdapCC) project sponsored by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)[12] and Cafèdirect held in Nairobi in November, 2009; the FAO Intergovernmental Group on Tea meeting held in New Dehli in May 2010; and the ISEAL Alliance Annual Meeting held in London in June 2010.

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[12] Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) is the German Development Agency

Figure 3.2: Categories and numbers of interview
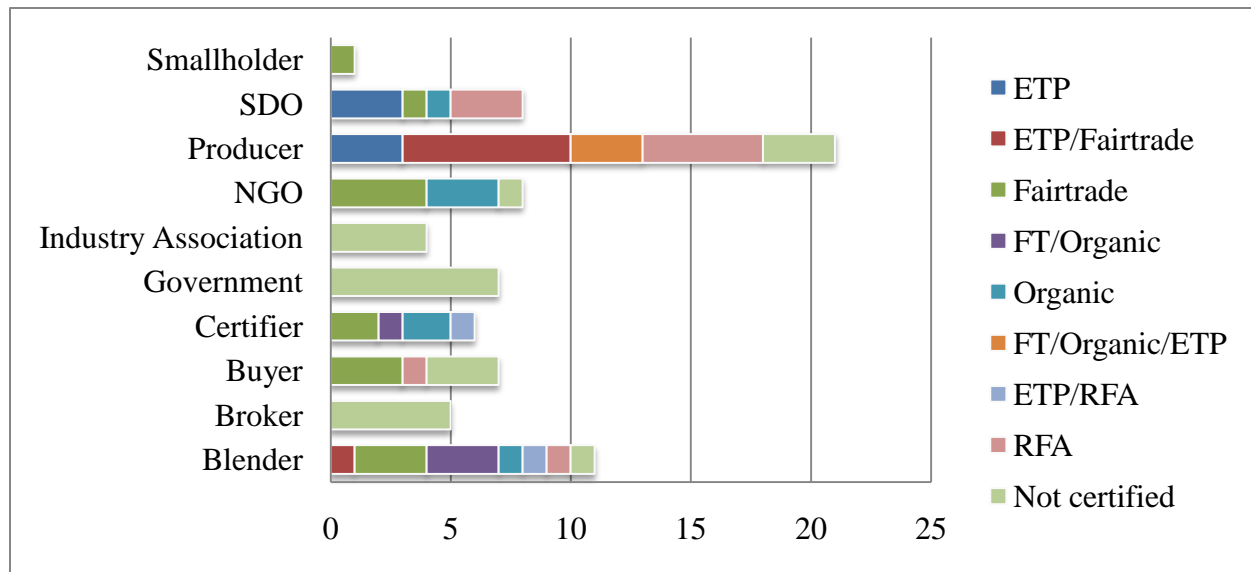
Semi-structured interviews

Purposive sampling (Patton 1990) or theoretical sampling (Strauss and Corbin 1998) was employed to locate 78 expert informants to interview from producers, brokers, blenders, certifiers, SDOs, and government ministries involved in each network under review (Figure 3.2). The intent here was not to produce a random or even representative sample of organizations, but rather to reveal the diversity of the actors in these networks. This diversity should explicate the performances of values in my attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon (Glaser and Strauss 2007 [1967]). Theoretical sampling is thus defined as "data gathering driven by concepts derived from evolving theory and based on the concept of 'making comparisons'" (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 201). The semi-structured nature of the interview format allowed me to use an interview guide (Appendix A), but also to adapt each interview to the responses provided by the interviewee (Rubin and Rubin 2005).

Interviews lasted about one hour and were conducted mostly in English, with a few being conducted in Swahili. Some interviews were conducted in a mix of English and Kiswahili. The language decision was left up to the preference of the respondent. The majority of interviews were digitally recorded and the audio files were uploaded into Nvivo8. Portions of the audio files that provide examples of the main themes of the research were transcribed within the Nvivo8 project file during the coding process. There were a number of instances where the location of the interview was not conducive to voice recording (e.g., factories, restaurants, Skype) or the interviewee preferred not to record the discussion. In those cases, notes were taken and the notes were uploaded into Nvivo8 for coding purposes. These interviews account for 30 of the interviews or 38% of the interview data. Immediately following each interview I created a face-sheet with basic information about each interviewee and initial reactions to the interview (Glaser and Strauss 2007 [1967]). These were used to assist in analysis, but were not coded.

All interviews were conducted on the basis of informed consent, in other words all participants were informed of the nature of the interview, the risks and benefits of being part of the research study, their ability to withdraw from the study at any time and assurance of confidentiality. All participants signed a consent form. Participants from Unilever took part in my study with the specific caveat that they were participating in the study on their own accord and their views do not necessarily represent the official views of Unilever. In this dissertation I utilize the names of specific companies; however I do not identify research participants in a way that can obviously be traced back to them. For this purpose I have not used pseudonyms, but rather I use generic terminology such as: a manager, a certifier, or an employee at an ETP certified company.

Focus groups

Focus groups are useful for understanding the dynamics among respondents and for gaining an understanding of the local community justifications of the values under review. Again, I used theoretical sampling to conduct focus group interviews in the Usambaras and the Southern Highlands of Tanzania. The focus groups were conducted with different types of producers (i.e., estate worker[13], smallholder farmer, and manager), from each of the four certification networks making 21 focus groups, with an average of six people per group, amounting to a total of 123 participants (Figure 3.3). In one exceptional situation, there were more than 20 participants in a smallholder farmer focus group. Smallholders were gathered by the leadership of the smallholder association and while I requested mixed gender and age in the groups, most groups consistently included more men than women. Age differences were evenly balanced. Consent from estate management was received for participation by estate workers and managers during working hours. Estate worker groups were gender and age balanced, but the manager groups consisted mostly of men, which is reflective of the demographic composition of factory management.[14] The group discussions were conducted in Kiswahili, without a translator, with a small number of discussions conducted in English.[15] They were digitally recorded and transcribed by a local research assistant who speaks English, Kiswahili and Kihehe (the local language in southern Iringa Province). The consent process was the same as with the interviews and participant confidentiality is maintained in the same manner throughout this dissertation. Participant remuneration was not offered due to TRIT protocol, except in one exceptional case

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[13] I use the term estate worker generally here to refer to employees at estates and factories.

[14] This point is discussed further in chapter seven.

[15] Please see the section on researcher positionality for the explanation of why there was no translator used.

with a smallholder association where logistically gathering the smallholders required significant time and travel from them.

Figure 3.3: Focus Group types and number of groups
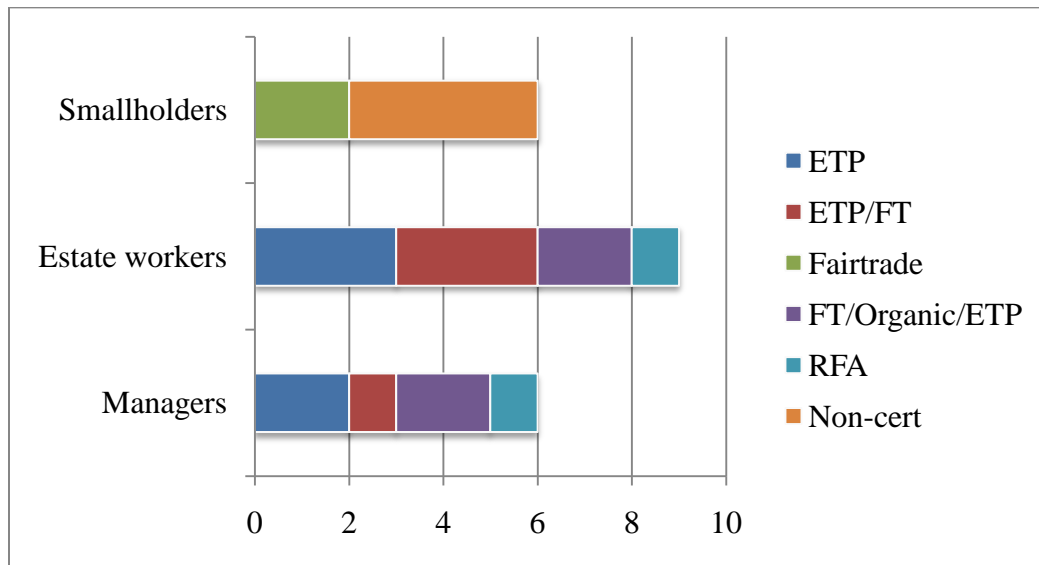
For the focus groups, and some interviews, the consent form (Appendix B) created tension in the beginning of the discussions. While all of my participants willingly gave their consent, many were reluctant at first to sign the form. A number of interviewees said to me "we can talk and you can tape record, but can I not sign the form?" There was hesitation to put name to paper, even if the content of the paper was only detailing their rights as research participants. Explaining the need for these forms, and my accountability to my professor and the university, took an average of fifteen minutes at the beginning of each focus group and about five minutes for each interview. In one extraordinary case, we spent almost one hour discussing the consent form and the cultural reasons why participants did not want to sign it until after the interview. They explained it to me roughly as follows: "In our country, when we go to the bank, we get the money first and then we sign the paper saying that we have received it. We need to do the action first, and then sign the paper." The protocol in Tanzanian research with small farmers is to gain

oral consent only (on a tape recorder if the interview will be recorded). However, many of the employees of the private companies were quite happy to have the consent form and actually asked that I sign a copy that they could keep in their files. Therefore, while the consent form caused considerable delay in some cases, it was necessary in others.

The discussions were animated by focusing on individual and group experiences with the production of certified tea as well as open discussion of the concepts of sustainability, CSR and gender equity. The discussions were led by an interview guide (Appendix C), but were responsive to the participants' comments. Opening "ice-breakers" (Morgan 1997) included personal presentation of themselves, where they are from, what job they do, what crops they grow at home and what their hopes are for their future work. Individual interpretations of sustainability (written or volunteered definitions) were then solicited as there are a variety of words that can be used to explain this notion in Kiswahili (as there also are in English). More often than not, the English word had not been heard of, but the phrase kilimo endelevu (sustainable farming) had. I then read the definition of sustainability that was used by each of the SDOs to explain sustainability and I opened the floor for general discussion as to the degree of their agreement with each interpretation. Here the point was not to reach a group agreement, but to air opinions and to record the points of contestation.

The same types of discussions were prompted for dealing with the responsibility of the corporations to society (on individual and community levels). Specifically I asked the participants to describe the purpose of commerce (biashara) in society and then to specifically identify the stakeholders of the tea company and the responsibilities that the company had to these stakeholders and vice versa. The concept of gender equity was dealt with by asking the participants to reflect on the types of jobs women and men do traditionally. I asked: are these

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women's and men's work, why or why not? How have the new rules for production changed what women and men do? Is the gender equity found in the workplace the same as at home, or are they different?

I also asked the participants to make value judgments about each of the practices associated with the sustainability standards. For example, do you think this makes work better, worse, or the same? Why? I moderated the groups in a way that every person present had an opportunity to respond to the questions at least once. This way I tried to mitigate the power differentials that lead to one or a few people speaking for the entire group (Morgan 1997). This tactic was more successful in those estate worker and smallholder groups where managers or association chairpersons were not present.

Data analysis process

My analysis was a continuous and reflexive process throughout the research period, followed by an intensive period of analysis between July and September 2010. As I conducted interviews, focus groups and observations in the field, the notes and memos that I wrote enabled me to keep track of emerging themes and follow up on them. By using theoretical sampling and the constant comparative method from grounded theory, this dissertation constitutes an iterative research process in the effort to build sociological theory (Glaser and Strauss 2007 [1967]; Strauss and Corbin 1998).

Using Nvivo8 qualitative analysis software, I begin coding and transcribing my audio files while I was in the field, assisted by a local research assistant in Ngwazi. The first phase of inter-coder reliability was tested here, where I worked together with my research assistant to code two focus groups in Kiswahili. We discussed each section that was coded, to determine its fit and also to check my proper understanding of the Kiswahili. We agreed on the codes 90% of

the time and when disagreement occurred we resolved the discrepancy through dialogue. It was during this test that we decided it was best to transcribe in full the Kiswahili tapes, as the quality of the audio was indeed very poor and the assistance of a written transcript facilitated comprehension. A second phase of inter-coder reliability tests were done when I returned from the field by a sociologist familiar with STS approaches. Here the difference in inter-rater agreement was better at six percent and the kappa coefficient was 0.65 (Cohen 1960).

I used both open and axial coding to analyze my audio and documentary data. Open coding was completed first to allow a wide variety of performances to emerge from the data. In other words, the codes emerged from the data itself, thus a pre-conceived coding sheet was not used. Strauss and Corbin (1998: 102) explain the purpose of open coding as follows: "during open coding, data are broken down into discrete parts, closely examined, and compared for similarities and differences. Events, happenings, objects and actions/interactions that are found to be conceptually similar in nature or related in meaning are grouped under more abstract concepts termed 'categories'." Using open coding I organized my data into five broad categories based on the values that I examine in this dissertation: sustainability, corporate social responsibility, gender equity, worlds of goodness and standards, which consist of the original 107 sub-codes. While the three values and the worlds of goodness categories relate directly to my theoretical framework, the codes included in the 'standards' category relate to participants' comments about their interactions with the standards themselves.

Axial coding is the process of relating categories to sub-categories along certain properties (i.e., the characteristics of a category) and dimensions (i.e., the range along which properties vary) (Strauss and Corbin 1998). Put differently, axial coding is the questioning and comparison of data so as to synthesize themes that answer questions such as why or how and

with what outcomes (cf. Maxwell 1998; Maxwell 2005; Strauss and Corbin 1998). Analysis of the data was designed so as to achieve an overview of the phenomenon of these particular forms of sustainable tea (Yin 1984). These themes that emerged from coding are presented in chapters five through seven to illustrate the performances of sustainability, corporate social responsibility and gender equity.

Reliability, validity and limitations

The two main threats to the validity of a qualitative study are research bias and the effect of the researcher on the setting or individuals studied (i.e., reactivity). Maxwell (1998) provides a checklist of criteria for judging the quality of a qualitative research study, based on how well the researcher has attempted to reduce these two threats. The techniques used in this study to control for validity are negative cases, triangulation, feedback, member checks, 'quasi-statistics,' and comparison. Rich data are also evident in this case and are discussed within the context of the generalizability of this study. Reactivity is explored in the following section on researcher positionality.

Searching for discrepant evidence and negative cases is a strategy used in the research process to pay systematic attention to data that could point out flaws in the reasoning or conclusions of the study (Maxwell 1998; Miles and Huberman 1994). This technique fits well with the analytical framework of this study because the attention to multiple performances reveals a wide variety of deviations from the norm. This strategy was facilitated by my reliance on the use of multiple sources of evidence or triangulation of my data. The various sources of evidence provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon. In this case study, multiple sources of evidence have been used: interviewing different types of value chain actors (both managers and workers), conducting focus groups with different types of value chain actors

(managers, employee, small farmers), evidence from documents and observations was also obtained to balance that collected from interview data.

Feedback was sought from a variety of actors throughout the process of conducting this study. This was done by public presentations of preliminary data in Tanzania, in the US and Europe through invited lectures and official conference participation. I also discussed my findings with members of my committee and with my Tanzanian colleagues. This allowed me to receive feedback from those who are familiar with the phenomena and local context of Tanzanian tea as well as those who are strangers to them (Maxwell 1998). I also used member checks, via email correspondence, during different stages of analysis to verify the accuracy of transcripts, to check for discrepancies of cultural interpretation and to further involve the research participants in the analysis (Bygstad and Munkvold 2007; Maxwell 2005).

The use of the Nvivo8 qualitative analysis software made the production of quantitative evidence feasible for this study. However, 'quasi-statistics' were used rather than quantitative tests for validity. Becker (1970, p. 31 cited in Maxwell 1998) coined the term 'quasi-statistics' to refer to numerical results that can easily be derived from qualitative data. Maxwell (1998: 94-95) explains "Quasi-statistics not only allow you to test and support claims that are inherently quantitative, they also enable you to assess the *amount* of evidence in your data that bears on a particular conclusion or threat." I have utilized quasi-statistics in this dissertation to add evidence to the performances of particular values found in the documents I analyzed as well as the coverage of codes in my data. The comparative approach that I have adopted in this study also adds to the validity of my results as multisite studies offer comparisons that can contribute to the interpretability of the case (Maxwell 1998).

Reliability is about demonstrating that operations within the study, such as data collecting procedures, can be repeated with the same results being obtained by another researcher. The goal of reliability is to minimize errors and biases in the case study. Yin (1984) notes that one way to deal with the issue of reliability is to document the procedures followed in the case. In this respect, a case study protocol is recommended as a major tactic for increasing the reliability of case research. In this research, a case study protocol was prepared in advance of going to the field to collect data. I outlined the types of data that were needed to make the individual case studies consistent with each other and systematically went about collecting that information. While it was impossible to collect equal amounts and kinds of data for each certified value chain, I sought instead to find balance between the data collected. During the execution of the study, reliability was also ensured by maintaining a case study database.

Generalizability is a consistent point of contention between quantitative approaches and qualitative approaches to research (Blaikie 2000). However, rather than a simple generalization of results from a single case study to the general population, the validity of qualitative studies can be found in the 'fittingness' (Guba and Lincoln 1981; 1989), 'transferability' (Guba and Lincoln 1989), and 'comparability' (Blaikie 2000). The argument is that case study results can be extended to other cases on the basis of theory development and by using comparable data collection methods and analysis across research sites. This requires that researchers provide detailed or 'thick' descriptions of all study sites, including the original study site (Blaikie 2000). Therefore, researchers conducting studies of social and environmental standards or value chains of other commodities or in other locales, who incorporate similar theoretical and methodological frames, should be able to make comparisons between this study and research sites with their own.

Researcher positionality

Negotiating gender, race and language in the field were performances in and of themselves, which undoubtedly produced 'on stage effects' associated with my interactions with research participants. This performance metaphor "suggests that people may begin to 'act' when they are aware there is an 'audience'" (Stern and Kalof 1996: 65) during the research process. However, I sought to negotiate these effects as best possible by adopting a reflexive approach to my research as well as mediating the way in which I presented myself to my participants – thus also producing 'on stage effects' so to speak. In this way, both my research participants and I engaged in a sort of dance that produced the specific 'performances' that are analyzed in this thesis. Let me explain with two examples.

My initial contact with my research participants was usually through email and often was followed with face to face contact or with a telephone call. It quickly became evident that my name was very misleading to many of my participants in Tanzania and Kenya. More often than not the first reaction that I received from introducing myself in person or on the phone was: "I was expecting a man!" I have interpreted this in two ways. The first has to do with the semantics of the name itself. While in the US Allison is a very common girl's name, it is also common in the UK, but usually spelled like Alison or Alyson. This differentiates it from the common last name of Allison. However, in East Africa, it is not a common girl's name. Moreover, there is a lot of fluidity in the way that things are pronounced and the way that words are spelled when written. There is specifically a lack of agreement between 'r' and 'l' – where they are pronounced the same and are often interchangeable in spelling. Finally, depending upon where you find yourself, the 'h' in Kiswahili is also not always pronounced and therefore is not always

transcribed. However, I have received emails addressed to 'Hallison.' In sum, this translated the feminine 'Allison' quite easily into the masculine 'Harrison'.

Second, there are very few women conducting tea research, particularly international PhD researchers coming to Tanzania by themselves. Therefore, the assumption was that I would be male – despite a cryptic name. As a result, I began to refer to myself according to my middle name – Marie (in emails by adding the title Ms.) and in person – pronouncing it Maria, which was both a very feminine and a very common name. This switching of names put me very much back into the role of a female researcher and made me more accessible to my research participants.

The second example is with language. I conducted my research in the UK, Germany and Kenya in English, but in Tanzania most of my focus groups and a number of interviews were conducted in Kiswahili. I used a research assistant who translated the questions during the first focus group. I abandoned this practice for the following reasons. First, the use of a translator made the time required to complete the discussion closer to two hours, rather than the promised one to one and a half hours. Two hours is far too long to hold the attention of all group participants. This was particularly the case since we were holding discussions during working hours. Permission had been granted by Management to participate in the focus groups, with no penalty, but it was obvious that some employees – particularly the managers – were anxious to return to work. Second, since I was fluent enough in Kiswahili, I could understand the responses and intervened with additional questions so as to better follow up on interesting points made during the discussions. Moreover, at least one participant in each focus group, even the smallholder focus groups, was able to speak English as well as I spoke Kiswahili. These points together suggested that a translator was no longer needed.

Third, there was a political risk that I ran by bringing a translator with me both to smallholder focus groups and to employee focus groups. The translators that are available in the tea production areas of Tanzania are those who are employed by TRIT, local NGOs or agricultural extension officers. Therefore, they are known to the farmers and companies and thus by associating myself with one of these people, I am making a statement about local politics. Bringing in an external translator was both too expensive and not feasible given the focus of my research. I learned this the hard way during my research when I mistakenly was accompanied by a translator from a competing smallholder association. The belief that I was a spy for this competing association was compounded by my ability to speak Kiswahili, thus making the claim that I needed a translator suspect. I was only allowed re-entry to this group by re-aligning myself with TRIT and with a colleague who had been a local extension agent in the area and knew the farmers, and their politics, well.

Fourth, even though I spoke Kiswahili fluently enough to understand and make myself understood I cannot claim to have native fluency. Therefore in the focus groups, I adopted an approach whereby I did not pretend to have native fluency, but rather I asked for assistance in explaining things more simply in Kiswahili. I argue that this reversal of the researcher/expert – interviewee/layperson role by exposing my lack of expertise in Kiswahili changed the power dynamics in the focus groups and allowed the participants to speak more freely and explain their justifications more clearly than they would have done to someone who was a native speaker of Kiswahili.

Haraway (2001) argues that it is positionality (of the body) and particularity (of the situation) that will lead to greater understandings of the role of science in society and will produce less partial knowledge. Therefore, the negotiation of my own positionality and that of

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my research participants are part of the performances and knowledge that are being created in this dissertation. In other words, eliminating the actual influence of the researcher is nearly impossible and not entirely desirable (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002). Thus, as Maxwell (1998) notes, reactivity is generally not as serious a validity threat as many people believe.

Conclusions

As shown in chapter two, performances are multiple and incomplete. Thus any account will be partial and inadequate at describing the whole. Moreover, this dissertation itself is a performance as it engages the reader "in processes of provocation and persuasion" (Bell 2007) and it performs only one version of the certified tea value chains. As such, the core limitation of this study is that these findings are necessarily partial, incomplete and open to contestation. Nonetheless, there is value in this study as it adds one more reading of situated practices to public knowledge. The ability to view many cases together adds to our partial understandings of what is being done in society and the hope is that this added knowledge will somehow be put back into practice.

I now turn to an analysis of each of the value chains. The next chapter serves to expand upon the case study description presented in the introduction and to provide an analysis of the way in which these value chains are governed.

CHAPTER FOUR: Value Chains and Chains of Values

In the early '80s, Lipton used to import a fair amount of Indian tea. Toby had knowledge of India and its tea; he liked the country and its people, so we purchased Indian tea. – Barry Cooper (2008: 201)

Tea is a people business. – Ethical Tea Partnership (Interview August, 2009)

Changes in the global agri-food system have brought increasing pressure on African producers as they are being included in global agri-food value chains (GVCs) in both old and innovative ways. This focus on GVCs has increased support for export driven agriculture, while diversifying the nature of crops cultivated for export (Ochieng 2007). The traditional commodities of coffee, cotton, cocoa, and tea are still being promoted through these systems, while new crops such as horticulture and cut flowers are becoming more popular. With these new crops and the use of a supply chain management approach to global sourcing, some of the value-added practices such as processing and packaging are also moving into the African agricultural landscape (e.g., Harding 2010). Moreover, the shift towards retailer-driven global supply chains for agri-food products (Konefal et al. 2007; Timmer 2009) and the provisions made to protect against technical barriers to trade and ensure food safety in the World Trade Organization agreements have increased attention to the use of standards to regulate quality and production around the world (Loconto and Busch 2010). As a whole, these practices are changing the shape of African agriculture for those who can afford to be included in the process. Who then is included in this process and who is excluded?

Within these broader trends in the global agri-food system, this chapter examines the traditional export commodity of tea. Tea has been grown commercially in Tanzania since the 1930s, first on colonial plantations and second by smallholders beginning in the 1960s. In the

case of tea, the first stage of processing green leaf tea into dried made tea (MT) has traditionally been located close to the fields in Africa. Thus the recent shifts in processing locations are not new to the tea sector. However, the use of supply chain management techniques by large buyers and supermarkets are influencing the tea trade. Specifically, certification for social and environmental standards in tea production has recently received substantial attention in the tea industry as some of the largest international tea buyers (e.g., Lipton and Tetley) are making certified tea mandatory for inclusion in their value chain.

This chapter discusses the governance trends in value-based certification schemes, namely the Ethical Trading Initiative (ETP), Fairtrade, Organic and Rainforest Alliance (RFA). Each of these certification schemes makes claims on specific values that it is instilling in a particular 'value chain'. This chapter specifically analyses the network construction of each certified value chain and answers the questions: 1) which actors are involved in each value chain, 2) which values are claimed as organizing principles of these value chains, and 3) what does this mix of actors and values contribute to our understanding of value chain governance? The remainder of the chapter follows in four sections. The first section introduces the conceptual framework of GVC analysis that is used in this chapter and explains the traditional value chain for Tanzanian tea that is followed by non-certified producers. The following section traces the four value chains that are emerging within the Tanzanian tea sector based on the qualities of certified production. The discussion then analyses, from a global value chains perspective, which actors are included in these values-based value chains, the values they claim to promote, and the governance implications of this involvement. Conclusions are presented in the final portion of this chapter.

Analyzing value chains

Global Value Chains (GVC) analysis proposes that research on value chains follow a product from field to cup (Gereffi et al. 2005). GVC analysis has emerged from research in the 1980s on commodity systems (Bair 2009; Friedland 1984), which are described to consist of the value chain that converts a natural resource into a consumer item and the supplementary activities that support that value chain. A value chain typically has about five stages: production, processing, distribution, retail, and consumption. Recent research has shown, however, that rather than static vertical chains, value chains are indeed webs of interaction, where negotiations take place between actors at each node (Gibbon and Ponte 2005; Tallontire 2007).

Table 4.1: Global value chain governance typologies

Power Asymmetry	Type	Characteristics
Low	Market	Market linkages can persist over time with repeat transactions. Costs of switching to new partners are low for both parties.
Semi-low	Modular	Products made to a customer's specifications (i.e., 'turn-key services') Suppliers take full responsibility for: Competencies surrounding process technology, Use generic machinery that limits transaction-specific investments, Make capital outlays for components and materials on behalf of customers.
Medium	Relational	Complex interactions between buyers and sellers Mutual dependence and high levels of asset specificity. Managed through reputation, or family and ethnic ties. Spatial proximity or Trust and reputation in spatially dispersed networks
Semi-high	Captive	Small suppliers are transactionally dependent on much larger buyers. Suppliers face significant switching costs (i.e., 'captive') High degree of monitoring and control by lead firms.
High	Hierarchy	Vertical integration Managerial control: managers - subordinates or headquarters - subsidiaries.

Adapted from: (Gereffi et al. 2005)

Gereffi et al. (2005) identify five types of GVC governance – hierarchy, captive, relational, modular, and market –ranging from high to low levels of power asymmetry (Table 4.1). These types of governance are differentiated according to: (1) complexity of inter-firm transactions; (2) the degree to which this complexity can be mitigated through codification; and (3) the extent to which suppliers have the necessary capabilities to meet the buyers' requirements (Gereffi et al. 2005). There are three main trends in GVC governance:

- Producer-driven – where MNCs or large integrated industrial enterprises play the central role in controlling the production system. Downstream traders and retailers are coordinated by a large producer, while low-profit activities are also outsourced upstream to networks of suppliers, bound by contract to produce according to rigorously specified product and process standards (Gereffi and Korzeniewicz 1994);

- Buyer-driven – with high barriers to entry and high profits located at the retail end with the protection and promotion of brands (Conroy 2007; Gereffi et al. 2005; Gereffi and Korzeniewicz 1994); or where large retail establishments use their market power to effectively govern the production of commodities with the desired attributes (Fold and Larsen 2008; Law 1991);

- Twin-driven – where lead firms govern the supply network, while environmental groups/movements and third-party certifiers/standards developers govern the regulatory aspects of the network, sometimes both working in an overlapping manner (Islam 2008a).

While these typologies focus on economic power within the organization of value chains, cultural power is also vital to their governance (Dixon 1999; Freidberg 2004), particularly with respect to notions about quality (Gibbon and Ponte 2005; Ponte and Gibbon 2005) and stakeholder preference (Ochieng 2008; Pirsch, Shrut, and Grau 2007). I utilize these notions to

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show how standards and certification are thus used within value chains to facilitate transactions and to discipline the people, processes and products in the chain.

The presentation of the case studies in the following section thus sets out to identify the actors involved at the different stages of value addition between production and packing. The identification of retailers and consumers is not fully explored in this study as time and budget constraints did not allow for a full analysis of this portion of the value chain. Governance relations are also identified and power relations in terms of 'drivenness' are explored. First, I introduce the construction of the traditional value chain for Tanzanian tea.

The traditional tea value chain

There are certain structural differences related to the way by which tea is produced and traded that differentiate it from other traditional export commodities and value chains (Figure 4.1). All factories in Tanzania use the cut-tear-curl (CTC) method of tea processing for teas that will be sold in tea bags. However, two of the Fairtrade and Organic certified factories are also producing orthodox tea, which means that the tea leaves are rolled rather than cut before the oxidization process that produces black tea. The Luponde factory, which is ETP, Fairtrade and Organic certified also produces green tea according to orthodox and CTC methods, and white tea by orthodox methods.

Tea production is labor intensive. It has a year-round harvest where each field is plucked every 7-20 days depending on the season. The green leaf collected from the fields must reach the processing factory in less than 12 hours. This translates into very restricted catchment areas around factories where both estate grown and smallholder grown tea is found (Simbua 2006b). This ties factories and farmers together in close geographic proximity with little option for competitive markets for green leaf. As a result, contract farming schemes, which link

smallholders to processing factories, have long been used. In this system, small-scale farmers have access to inputs, agricultural technology and markets through contracts which require them to produce according to international market requirements (FAO 2009a).

Smallholders receive monthly payments for the delivery of greenleaf, which was at an average of TZS 145 ($0.11)/kg for the Southern Highlands region and TZS 120 ($0.09)/kg in the Usambaras in 2009 (TBT 2009). The 2009 minimum price for purchasing greenleaf tea from outgrowers was TZS 110 ($0.08)/kg. This minimum price is published by the Tea Board of Tanzania and is negotiated at the beginning of every year by the Tea Association of Tanzania, the apex smallholder association and the Tea Board. The higher average prices are the result of individually negotiated prices by the district level smallholder associations and the tea processing factories and more accurately reflect the costs of production. These prices are fixed for the year and only Unilever offers a year-end bonus based on the market prices throughout the year.

A tea-processing factory is considered to be the anchor of the tea value chain in Tanzania: a specialized stage where high capital costs lower the likelihood of competitors joining the chain. Most of the activities upstream (greenleaf production) as well as downstream (marketing and sales) are usually controlled by the decisions made at the tea-processing factory (e.g, to process orthodox or CTC) (Simbua 2006b). Most investors have purchased made tea (MT) processing factories together with the purchase of large-scale estates. In Tanzania, the tea packing companies have also invested upstream through joint investments in MT processing factories and/or estates that provide the majority of the MT that is packed domestically (e.g., Afritea & Coffee Blenders have a joint interest in the Lushoto Tea Company which owns the

New Mponde Factory in the Usumbaras). There are 19 MT processing factories in Tanzania,[16] 18 of which have estates and one of which is sourced solely by smallholder farmers. There are currently three different organizational relationships between tea growers and factories in Tanzania. These relationships are (1) full ownership of growing and processing by a single private company, (2) full ownership of processing by a single investor company and contracted growing by smallholders, and (3) shared ownership between a single investor company and smallholder cooperatives of processing, and contracted smallholder production. These three organizational relationships are present to different extents in the certified value chains and are explored further in chapter six when I discuss CSR.

Figure 4.1 Traditional tea value chain
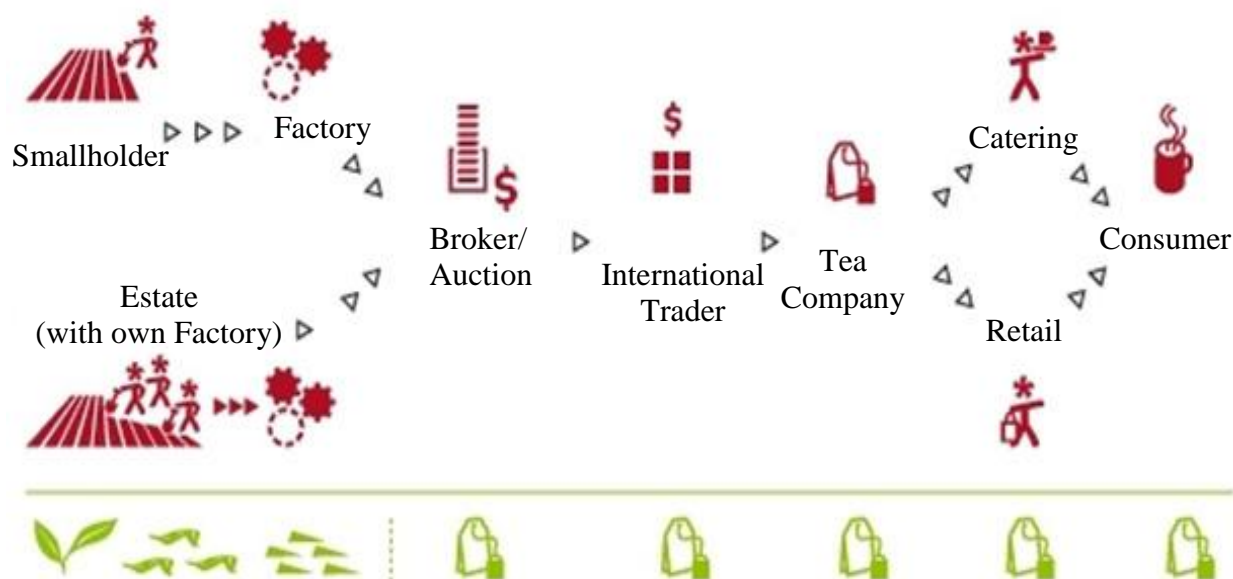
Source: (van Reenen, Panhuysen, and Weiligmann 2010)

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[16] During the time of data collection, three of these factories were not operating: Mwakalele, Chivanjee, and Lupembe. This was due to insufficient leaf, rehabilitation, and legal disputes, respectively.

Table 4.2: Mombasa tea auction prices as of 3 November, 2010

	TO DATE: 2010			TO DATE: 2009		
Kenya	2.82	1.81	2.74	2.72	1.63	2.63
Uganda	1.98	1.34	1.78	1.94	1.35	1.77
Rwanda	2.68	1.98	2.59	2.65	1.87	2.53
Burundi	2.54	1.94	2.46	2.52	1.81	2.40
Zambia	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tanzania	**1.77**	**1.13**	**1.53**	**1.66**	**1.06**	**1.42**
D R of Congo	1.93	-	1.81	1.78	1.18	1.53
Mozambique	1.40	1.09	1.25	1.61	1.19	1.42
Madagascar	2.11	1.68	1.95	1.72	1.44	1.62
Malawi	1.63	1.15	1.26	1.49	1.02	1.11
Zimbabwe	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ethiopia	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	**2.68**	**1.56**	**2.53**	**2.58**	**1.47**	**2.42**

Source: (Africa Tea Brokers Ltd. 2010)

Market prices are fixed at the weekly Mombasa Auction (Kenya), although a majority of

Tanzanian tea is sold outside of the auction through private contracts (Baffes 2003; TBT 2009).

The main destinations for tea from Tanzania are therefore: Kenya (for auction), South Africa,

UK, Pakistan, and Russia (TBT 2010). Tea quality plays a vital role in determining the final

value at auction. Although global market forces may affect the general price levels, it is quality

which distinguishes the value of tea across different factories irrespective of demand and supply

patterns in the market. At the auction, brokers sell tea on behalf of the producers. This tea is

bought by the first set of buyers (a.k.a. blenders or international traders) who purchase lots of 40-

60 packages of tea that have an average weight of 60 kgs. In the auction house, these lots can be

split during the bidding process so to stop competetive bidding on the same lots and keep the

auction running smoothly. The 2009 average auction price for primary and secondary grade teas

from Tanzania was $1.42/kg, exactly $1 less than the total auction average (Table 4.2). Since

roughly four kilograms of greenleaf make one kilogram of MT, the smallholder tea farmers in Tanzania received an average of $0.40/kg MT or 28% of the auction price.[17]

Buyers at the auction blend the single estate teas into what they call a 'standard' and ship this to their international buyer, who put in their orders for tea from specific estates and for tea exhibiting specific quality attributes prior to the weekly auction. This international buyer is considered a tea blender or tea packer. At the auction, I learned that conventional "Tanzanian tea is a *filler* for the standard" (Interview December, 2009). What this means is that each buyer has an order for a specific amount of their standard, where the price has been negotiated and set prior to the auction (or will be sold after the auction depending on how many orders each seller has at auction time). Each standard has a special 'recipe' of different estate teas from the African producing countries. The buyer purchases more expensive and characteristic teas from Kenya and Rwanda, that will give the standard the strength and color that is needed. Then, the buyer will buy 'medium' teas that don't have a distinctive flavor that are cheap and can be blended with the Kenyan and Rwandan teas to make up the total weight of the standard that has been ordered. These medium teas are called 'fillers' and it seems that often this is the role for Tanzanian tea, which helps to understand why the auction prices for Tanzanian tea are so low.

Just six companies account for two thirds of the tea traded at the Mombasa auction. Van der Wal (2008) suggests that this domination by a few companies, and the practice of splitting lots of tea explained above, provides potential for collusion to keep prices low. This concern has also been voiced by the East African Tea Trade Association (EATTA) and the hope is that with the introduction of an electronic auction that would eventually replace the physical auction completely, there could be more competition and higher prices for producers (EATTA 2010).

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[17] This is arrived at by averaging the mean greenleaf prices from the Southern Highlands ($0.11) and the Usambaras ($0.09) = $0.10 x 4 kgs = $0.40.

At this stage the 'standard' blend bought in Mombasa is blended again with tea bought

from auctions in other tea producing regions and is packed for consumption. This packed tea is

then sold to a variety of retailers who sell to consumers. Four corporations dominate the global

tea trade: Unilever (UK/Netherlands), Van Rees (Netherlands), James Finlay (UK) and Tata

Tetley/Stansand (UK) (van der Wal 2008). The result is claimed to be unequal distribution of

monetary value between the consumption and production ends of the conventional value chain:

> As tea passes through packers and retailers, the final two stages of its journey to
> the consumer, they capture a massive 86% of the value added, compared to 7%
> for the producing country. Very little of the profits included in the retail price of a
> box of tea goes to the tea-producing country. Instead, whilst multinational
> corporations reap large rewards, tea workers are condemned to a life of penury. A
> tea picker makes just 1p for each £1.60 box of tea bags sold in a British
> supermarket. (Morser and Michuki 2010)

Additionally, in 2005 the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) noted

that "tea growers are not fully benefiting from the consumer's rising demand for value added

product" (FAO 2005: 9). Thus, the core value embedded in the conventional value chain is that

of a monetary, market value, which is mostly captured by the downstream buyers. This provides

the backdrop for the introduction of different types of values as the governing visions for tea

value chains in Tanzania.

Chains of values

In this section, the four value chains are traced including the different actors who are

involved at the different points of value addition outlined above as well as those intervening in

the broader institutional context of each value chain. In Figures 4.2-4.5, the core industry actors

in each value chain are represented by the green boxes with the rounded corners. The red square

dotted-boxes to the right of the chain strands[18] represent the standards organizations, other non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and industry actors who intervene at that point in the chain. Those listed in the long red square dotted-box that runs up the right side of the figure are those organizations that are intervening at the institutional level in terms of policy support. The red arrows represent direct trading relations between producers and buyers, while the black arrows represent normal trading relations.

Ethical

Ethical trade refers to those initiatives that are based on the Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI) standard. In Tanzanian tea value chains this takes two main forms, first in the form of Typhoo Tea and second through the Ethical Tea Partnership (ETP) which is the form that is most discussed in the industry (Figure 4.2). Both ETP and Typhoo are members of the ETI and run a 'monitoring' program based on the ETI base standard.

Typhoo Tea Limited is a UK based blender that has its blending and packing factories near Liverpool in the UK. It was established in the UK in 1903 and since then has grown to sell their products in over 40 countries including USA, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. Typhoo has a number of diverse and successful brands such as Typhoo speciality tea and fruit infusions, London Fruit & Herb, Ridgways Tea, Heath & Heather, Melrose's Tea, QT Instant Tea, Lift Instant Tea, Brook Bond D Tea, and Fresh Brew Tea. Typhoo is currently part of the India-based Apeejay Surrendra Group.

The Typhoo factory is also linked with Global Tea and Commodities Limited (GTC), which is another UK tea agribusiness that is vertically integrated by owning estates, MT

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[18] I use the term strands to refer to the individual supply relations between sellers and buyers in each of the certified value chains.

Figure 4.2: Ethical value chain

Retail	UK, Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa	
Packing (Blending)	UK Typhoo	UK Tetley, Twinings	ETP
Buying (Blending)	Mombasa Stansand, GTC, LAB, etc.	
Sales	Mombasa Auction	Brokers Warehouses
Processing	**Factory** (Kibena, Luponde, Itona, Katumba, Kagera, Herkulu, Bulwa, Kwamkoro, Mponde, Marvera, Mwakalele, Lugoda, Kibwele, Kilima)	
Growing	Smallholders Estates	ETP Afri-cert

Ethical Tea Partnership (ETP), Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI), Rainforest Alliance, Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International (FLO)

processing factories and blending and packing factories in East Africa under the name of Gold

Crown Foods (Epz) Limited. The Typhoo operations in Liverpool also blend and pack tea for

GTC contracts and as such, blend tea for some of the main supermarket brands in the UK.

Supermarket members of the ETI are ASDA, The Co-Op, Sainsburys, Marks and Spencer,

Safeway, Somerfield, and Tesco. They are applying codes to all their ''own brand'' products

(Barrientos et al. 2003). In the Auction system, GTC acts as the International Trader or first

Buyer for Typhoo. Thus for Tanzanian tea, Typhoo buys directly from the producer factory and

utilizes the traditional value chain.

Typhoo claims to "have a long tradition of working closely with [their] suppliers," which

enabled them to launch the Quality Assurance Programme (QAP) in 1992 (Typhoo 2010: 1).

This was one of the first in-house supplier monitoring programmes in the industry. The way that

the Typhoo QAP works is that Typhoo sends a self-assessment questionnaire to the producers

from which it consistently buys and these producers send back filled in forms. The forms also

ask if the producer is certified against the HACCP, Fairtrade, Rainforest Alliance and UTZ

Certified standards. The quality assurance manager at Typhoo will typically also make a field

visit, but due to budget constraints these field visits are few and far between. Moreover,

certification against these standards typically makes a field monitoring visit unnecessary.

The ETP began in 1997 as the Tea Sourcing Partnership when "a number of large tea

companies made the ground-breaking decision to work together to promoted sustainability in the

sector, rather than competing on ethics" (ETP 2010a: 1). It currently consists of 20 international

tea packers who sell tea in Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. The most

notable are Tetley (Tata Group), Twinings (Associated British Foods), The Republic of Tea,

TAZO, Taylors of Harrogate and Sara Lee. Founding members Unilever and James Finlay pulled

out of the partnership since 2007 in favor of the Rainforest Alliance and Fairtrade standards respectively.

The ETP developed its tea-specific standard from the Ethical Trade Initiative base standard (Blowfield 2004). The ETP looks at five areas: employment (including minimum age and wage levels), education, maternity, health and safety, housing and basic rights. It also added an environmental component in the 2009 version of the standard (ETP 2010c). The purpose of the ETP standard is "to make this picture transparent – to monitor living and working conditions on tea estates, with the aim of making sure that the tea you buy from the members of our Partnership has been produced in a socially responsible way" (ETP 2010c). In the past this has been done by 'monitoring' producers. As such, the UK based tea blenders/packers are members of the ETP and 'monitoring' (or certification audits) of the producing estates and factories are paid by the members. Producers are approached by ETP monitors through the buyers to which they sell their tea. Producers begin with a self-assessment questionnaire about their practices. Non-conformances are then identified and monitored by ETP every three years.

Of the 19 MT processing factories in Tanzania, 13 of the factories with estates and one factory supported solely by smallholder tea were exporting their tea for the international market during the period of data collection. All of these exporting factories in Tanzania have been certified by ETP at some point over the past ten years, many remembering that the last audit occurred in 2007. In theory factories should lose certification if they exceed the maximum level of non-conformances, but in practice this is not often the case (Interview July, 2008). Put differently, the ETP members continue to rely on the traditional value chain to purchase tea from the same producers that they usually do, despite the results of ETPs monitoring efforts.

The original 'monitoring' was completed by Price Waterhouse Cooper (a financial auditing firm), first sending auditors from London and subsequently from Nairobi. However, both ETP and producers reported numerous problems with the audit process and the 2009 revised standard was also accompanied by a new auditor – AfriCert Ltd., a Nairobi based agricultural certification agency that is also accredited for GLOBALGAP and BRC, and is contracted for the Rainforest Alliance audits.

Recent developments show the ETP moving into a "capacity building" role within the tea sector (ETP 2009b). Within this role, ETP plans to assist producers in becoming certified against Rainforest Alliance and UTZ certifications. The focus is thus shifting from monitoring non-compliances to identifying core issues in the industry and working with producers to eliminate them. While there is no clear presence of ETP in Tanzania, the organization claims to be working hard to reduce child labor and sexual harassment in the Kenyan tea sector (ETP 2010a). ETP is beginning to collaborate with the ISEAL Alliance, which is the accreditation body for social and environmental standards development organizations. ISEAL was created in 2002 after four SDOs – FSC, IFOAM, Fairtrade and MSC – came together to discuss the feasibility and benefits of working in closer collaboration. ISEAL has taken on the role of coordinating the peer review of members and represents their common interests in governmental and inter-governmental forums. ISEAL has created a code of good practice for setting social and environmental standards and accredits members against it.

Fairtrade

In the context of Tanzanian tea, Fairtrade refers to the Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International (FLO) standards and certification system which was officially established in 1997 to bring together the already existing fair trade marks in Europe and North America. FLO

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standards are used as the rules that govern Fairtrade value chains and are based on the ideas of

"transparency, partnership and participation, representative democracy, and equal exchange"

(Milberg 2008). Within the Fairtrade system traders and producers must be certified in the tea

value chain. This translates into certification for producers (farms and factories), buyers

(international traders) and blenders/packers. FLO certified traders (the buyers and blenders)

must:

1. pay a price to producers that covers the costs of sustainable production and living;
2. pay a premium that producers can invest in development;
3. partially pay in advance, when producers ask for it; and
4. sign contracts that allow for long-term planning and sustainable production practices.

Producers are evaluated according to specific 'social, economic and environmental development

indicators'. Both estates and smallholders can become certified for tea.[19] This was a

controversial move on the part of FLO. Equal Exchange, an NGO dedicated to fair trade with

small-scale coffee, tea, cocoa, and banana farmers in the developing world, explained it like this:

> A few years ago, in a controversial move, one of the two Fair Trade certifiers
> changed a key requirement when they constructed the Fair Trade model for tea.
> They decided that due to the scarcity of small farmers in the major tea producing
> countries such as India and Sri Lanka, the model would revolve around
> plantations rather than small farms. In addition, a vague "higher than normal"
> price replaced the easily verifiable "minimum price" requirement. The result was
> a certification that has significantly different standards than its coffee counterpart.
> By focusing the Fair Trade model on plantations, small farmers already weak in
> the tea economy, were further marginalized. (Equal Exchange 2010)

This move added a focus on estate-produced value chains, which was not the norm with

other Fairtrade products. With tea plantations, the ultimate aim of the fair trade movement was to

help hired labor and end child labor. This meant devising a contract with the plantation owners to

ensure benefits were given to workers, good labor practices were being maintained, and the extra

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[19] The Fairtrade Tea standard and statistics cover black, green, white and oolong tea, they also include herbal infusions (i.e., camomile, hibiscus, mint), spices and rooibos tea.

benefits were helping social development objectives (Auld 2009). To this end, a 'sustainability margin' was added to the Fairtrade tea premium to encourage factories to participate in the system. The structure of the Fairtrade tea premium varies according to the product (CTC or Orthodox) and the type of producer, Hired Labor company (HL) or Small Producer Organization (SPO). The 'sustainability margin' is a payment of 0.10 $/Kg out of the 0.50 $/Kg that goes to the estate management to support improvements in working conditions as part of ongoing certification and compliance with Fairtrade standards (FLO International 2010b). This sustainability margin is not provided to those factories that are sourcing only from SPO certified farmers as the SPOs are "free to allocate their premium for that purpose if they wish" (FLO 2010c: 9).

This premium is on top of the Fairtrade floor prices that were introduced in 2007. The 2010 revision of the Tea standard raised the minimum price for non-organic CTC tea from $1.40/kg MT for the auction and $1.50/kg MT for direct sales to $1.50/kg MT and $1.60/kg MT respectively (FLO 2010e; 2010f). This means that the average auction price for Tanzanian tea ($1.42/kg MT) was slightly higher than the Fairtrade minimum price for the auction in 2009. However, there are a few caveats. In 2009, most Fairtrade certified tea was sold through direct sales, which means that estates received a minimum of $1.50/kg MT. Since the Fairtrade standard does not mandate a change in the greenleaf price of tea, and the practice in Tanzania is to negotiate the greenleaf price at both national and district levels, the average greenleaf price of $0.10/kg is valid even for the Fairtrade certified producers. If we conduct the same calculation for measuring the percentage of the price that smallholder farmers receive from the price of MT, we find that they are receiving a lower percentage (26%) of the MT price than with the conventional system. Moreover, in Tanzania, the Fairtrade tea sales are only for the primary

Figure 4.3: Fair trade value chain
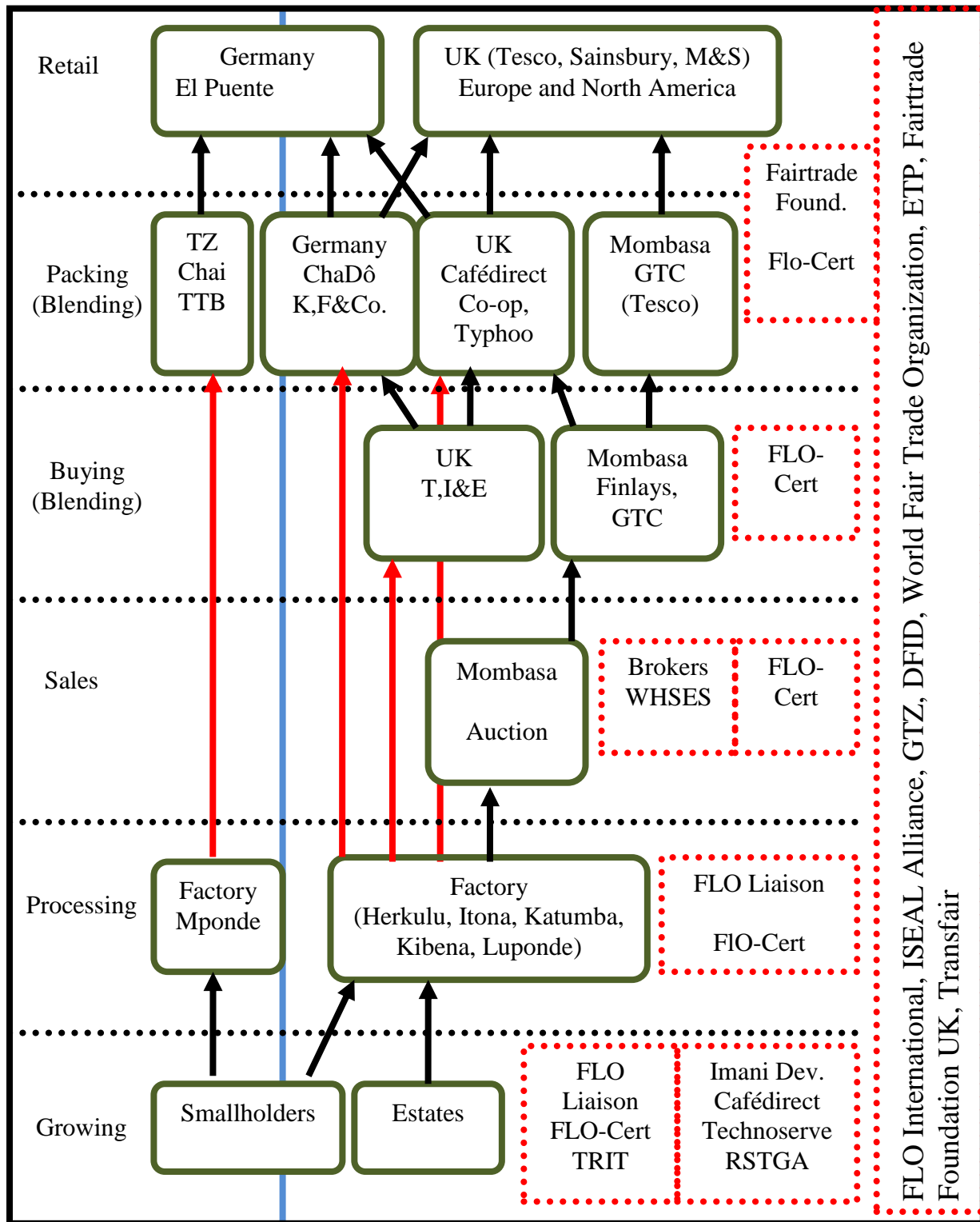
grades – whose mean auction price for 2009 was $1.66/kg MT (Africa Tea Brokers Ltd. 2010).

Because direct contract prices are negotiated based on the Auction prices, in practice this means

that most of the Fairtrade tea bought in 2009 was probably sold by the estate factory at prices

higher than the Fairtrade minimum – translating into even lower percentages of the MT price for

smallholders and higher percentages for the estate factories.

As Figure 4.3 illustrates, the value chains for Fair trade are numerous and there are a

large number of different actors involved at each level. Fair trade certification in Tanzania began

in 1994 with Mufindi Tea Company's (MTC) factories, Luponde and Itona, being the first to

receive fair trade certification through Tradecraft – "because [they] believed in the ethics that fair

trade represented" (Interview 091008). There are currently four factories certified against the

Fairtrade standards. Three of these have estates that are certified via the HL mechanism, while

the fourth sources from a certified SPO. The certified SPO, Rungwe Smallholder Tea Growers

Association (RSTGA), also owns 25% shares in the Wakulima Tea Company (WATCO) that

owns the Katumba and Mwakalele[20] processing factories). There are also two additional groups

that lost their Fairtrade certification in 2008/2009. One was a factory with its own estates and the

other was a smallholder association that supplied tea to the MTC certified factory called Kibena.

Fairtrade certified tea, accounted for 7% of UK's tea sales in 2009 with the top 3 retailers

being Tesco (market share 31%), Asda (17%) and Sainsbury (16%). Supermarket own brand teas

already claim a large share of the shelf space and this is expected to gradually increase in the

coming years with the share of Fairtrade tea growing rapidly in 2010. Sainsbury has announced it

will purchase 6000 tonnes of Fairtrade tea to meet the full requirement for its own brand teas and

smaller retailers like the Co-op and Marks & Spencer have also started offering their Fairtrade

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[20]Mwakalele factory is not included in the graphic because at the time of data collection it was
not operational due to low volumes of greenleaf.

certified own brands with a commitment towards 100% in the future (van Reenen et al. 2010). FLO has also indicated the interest of large supermarket brands in their 2010 Tea revision document where they propose to producers a trade-off of lower premium funds for higher volumes of sales in order to attract the business of larger buyers. However, this reduction in the premium was not approved by the producers as "Stakeholders felt a lower level of Premium could be conceivable in future, if it led to a major increase in Fairtrade sales for producers, meaning that the total Premium received would be higher" (FLO 2010d). Therefore, there is "no change in Premium for now," but FLO claims that "this option will be explored in more detail later this year" (FLO 2010d).

The Fairtrade certification also allows for the continued use of the traditional value chain via their provision for retroactive certification of bought tea. Retroactive certification is defined as when a buyer has bought product from a certified producer or conveyor under ordinary conditions (non-certified), and wants to convert it into a certified product. "In 2008, systematic retro-certification of Fairtrade teas was phased out to overcome a lack of transparency and 'unfairness' associated with the practice and perceived inconsistency with Fairtrade trade rules" (FLO 2010c: 12). Now, retro-certification is allowed by exception only and is determined on a case by case basis by FLO-CERT (the separate certification body accredited by FLO). However, the 2010 revision of the Tea standard proposed to reintroduce retro-certification across the board (FLO 2010c), and this proposal was accepted (FLO 2010d). Thus many of the large multi-nationals and UK supermarkets continue to rely on the auction system for purchasing their tea through their usual channels. However, we do see a number of deviations from this model in the Tanzanian case. Most notable are the cases of Cafédirect and the German market.

Cafédirect purchases tea directly from two FLO certified factories in Tanzania (Kibena and Katumba). Cafédirect has been sourcing from these two factories since 1998 when Kibena was first operational and 2003 when Katumba first gained their Fairtrade certification. These two factories are also shareholders in Cafédirect and are involved in a number of additional 'development' projects in collaboration with Cafédirect. As one of my research participants explained: "our business model definitely goes much beyond the FT minimum!! [...] What I would like to stress however in line with above that this initiative (as a public-private-partnership with GTZ/ Germany) is precisely *not* Fairtrade Value Chain but a specific Cafedirect value chain and understanding of what a responsible and ethical business should do nowadays" (personal communication with research participant, *emphasis* in original).

The case of the German market is quite different from the UK market both in terms of scale and in terms of their relationships to Fairtrade producers. In 2009, Fairtrade tea sales grew by 13 percent from 2008 to 229 tonnes of tea (which represents about one percent of the tea market), 77 percent of which were also certified Organic. These sales provided €136.000 ($195,000) in Fairtrade premiums (TransFair 2010). Critical to this step forward was the many new introductions of Fairtrade certified tea packers: Cha Dô, GEPA, Teekanne, Tee Geschwendner and Rossmann. The German tea industry imports a lot of its tea from India, China and Vietnam. The specific use of Tanzanian tea is to add this tea to its blends and is based purely on the purchase of tea from the two organic certified factories: Herkulu and Luponde (a MTC factory). As such, only Cha Dô and Kirchner, Fischer & Co. GmbH (K, F &Co) are involved in the Tanzanian Fairtrade value chain. I will explain these relations in the next section on the organic value chain. However, I will note here that Cha Dô is highly engaged in the FLO system and sits on the Product Advisory Council.

On the left side of Figure 4.3, I have included a value chain that is part of a fair trade value chain but is not part of the certified Fairtrade value chain. Specifically, the Fairtrade certified trader, El Puente GmbH, is considered to be an Alternative Trade Organization (ATO) and buys non-certified packed tea from a Tanzanian tea blender and packer, Afri Tea and Coffee Blenders (1963) Ltd. (Chai TTB), which sources its tea directly from its own MT processing factories that are supplied directly from smallholder farmers. These two factories (Mponde and Lupembe[21]) are not Fairtrade certified, but the smallholder associations do hold 30-50% shares in the factory ownership. In addition to paying premium prices for the packed tea, El Puente also contributed to a specific development project meant to help rehabilitate the Mponde factory and improve the tea production of the smallholder farmers.

We also see a large number of non-governmental and governmental organizations involved in providing policy and capacity building support to the Fairtrade system. Many of these initiatives take place at the 'growing' level of the value chain and consist of commercial extension services by the Tea Research Institute of Tanzania, awareness-raising by Technoserve, capacity building by Imani Development and Technoserve and 'liaison' services by FLO. Most of these projects have been involving the Rungwe Smallholder Tea Growers Association (RSTGA), as it is the only certified SPO in Tanzania. At the policy level FLO receives support from GTZ and the UK Department for International Development (DFID) in terms of public-private partnership programs at the producer level. For example, GTZ helped Cafédirect fund the three-year long AdapCC pilot projects that brought together Cafédirect's coffee and tea producer members from around the world to conduct risk assessments for adaptation to Climate Change. FLO originally worked in partnership with the World Fair Trade Organizations (WFTO), but this

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[21]Lupembe is not included in the graphic because it was closed during the period of data collection due to a legal dispute over ownership.

relationship has been described recently as contested as they are now seen by WFTO members as competitors in the struggle to define what 'fair trade' means in the market (Interview May, 2010). Finally, FLO is also a full member of the ISEAL Alliance.

Organic

The organic agriculture system is based on the principles of "health, ecology, fairness and care" (IFOAM 2010b). It is a holistic certification that has been incorporated into law in many countries around the world. Particularly important for Tanzanian tea are the EU Regulations (EC) N° 834/2007 and (EC) N° 889/2008 (former: (EEC) N° 2092/91). The Organic certification is also the only certification that covers all stages of the value chain, which is fundamental to its principle of traceability.

In Tanzania, as mentioned above, the two estates that are certified Organic are also certified Fairtrade. The move to Organic was made before the Fairtrade certification as both the organic certified companies claimed that they first joined the system because they had acquired overgrown fields and the costs for conventional rehabilitation were much higher compared to the Organic certification (Interviews November, 2009 and January, 2010). Since 1989/90, the Herkulu Estate, owned by Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Ltd., has been organically cultivated; beginning in 1994 it was certified organic by the Institute of Marketecology, Switzerland (IMO) (Bombay Burmah 2010). Luponde received organic certification in 1988 from the Soil Association (Interview November, 2009). Luponde is currently certified organic through Ecocert, Madagascar. The decisions to use a specific certification body are made by factory management based on the instructions given by their international buyers who inform them of the certifier that must be used. It is interesting to note that the local Tanzanian certifier who conducts the IMO audits also conducts the FLO-CERT audits (and C.A.F.E practices audits)

Figure 4.4 Organic value chain

Retail	North America (Sun garden), Western Europe, Tanzania			
Packing (Blending)	UK Luponde	Germany K,F % Co.	Germany ChaDô	TZ TTB/ CB
Buying (Blending)		UK T,I&E		
Sales		**Direct Sales Only**		
Processing	Factory (Herkulu, Luponde)			
Growing	Estates			

IMO Soil Assoc.

IMO EcoCert

TOAM, TANCERT, Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security & Cooperatives, UNEP/UNCTAD, EPOPA, IFOAM, ISEAL Alliance
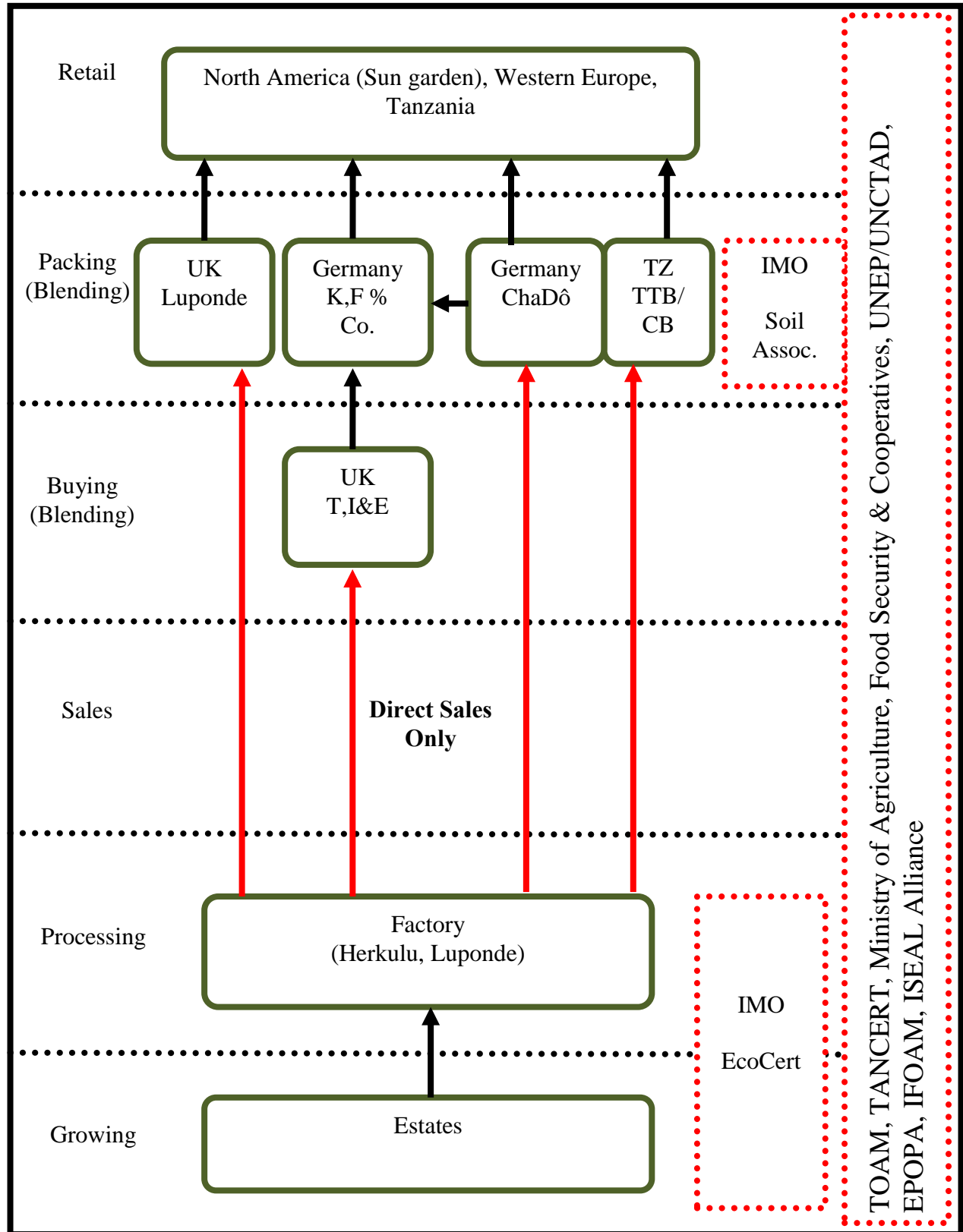
as the auditors themselves are accredited according to a number of different certification systems

and are not employees of one specific certification body. For example, an auditor explained it

like this:

> "the certification body calls you and tells you which audits to complete per year,
> but you decide whether to accept or not. So you discuss with them [the operators
> to be audited] . They sometimes say no, we are not prepared, can you come in
> April. If these people, they are not ready and you may not be ready in April, the
> certification body may assign a different auditor. It is not the case that you will go
> back to the same place every year." (Interview February, 2010)

Therefore, we have yet another layer of relations in this network – auditors who are

contracted by the certification bodies and accredited by the same or directly by the SDOs. Like

the producers and the certification bodies, these auditors are also accumulating accreditations

that allow them greater access to a wider variety of 'market' opportunities.

Organic tea is currently only bought through direct contracts and accounts for an average

of 25% of total sales for 2009. A price premium is paid for organic tea. Where the acution price

for conventional CTC was an average of $1.42/kg MT in 2009, a blender claimed that they had

paid €2.25/kg MT ($3.15/kg MT)[22] for organic CTC tea from Tanzania in 2009. However, an

average market price premium received for organic tea is difficult to determine because the

majority of certified organic tea that is exported from Tanzania is actually processed using the

orthodox method rather than CTC. Since orthodox tea receives a higher market price than CTC,

the higher prices received for the orgranic certified orthodox teas are substantial. A blender noted

that they were paying an average of €4.00/kg MT ($5.60/kg MT) for all organic certified

orthodox grades from Tanzania. Luponde and Herkulu are the only two factories in Tanzania that

are currently manufacturing orthodox tea in addition to CTC. Luponde is also producing organic

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[22] The average conversion rate was €1 = $1.40 in 2009.

and Fairtrade certified chamomile, mint, lemon verbena (not Fairtrade certified), green and white tea. This diverse product range brings greater market opportunities and higher price premiums than those for conventional CTC processed black tea.

Germany is the largest organic food market in Europe and labeled Organic tea accounts for about four percent of the German tea market (van Reenen et al. 2010), and as mentioned above, 77% of the Fairtrade certified teas are cross-certified with Organic. Also, the largest organic and Fairtrade specialty blender in Germany – Cha Dô – supplies blended teas to the UK and North American markets as does the other organic blender in my study (Kirchner, Fischer & Co GmbH). Cha Dô buys exclusively from Herkulu in Tanzania to mix with organic tea from other producing regions. It is also an agent of the company that markets Herkulu's tea, which is an India-based management company that manages all of the sales of Herkulu tea from its Indian office. The Herkulu factory receives the orders and ships the product either to the broker at auction or to the buyer directly. In addition to purchasing under both the organic and Fairtrade labels, Cha Dô provides technical assistance on quality standards.

Kirchner, Fischer & Co GmbH (K, F & Co.) own the label Mt. Everest Tea company, which is one of the oldest specialty tea companies in Germany. Specializing in orthodox blends, K, F & Co. only began purchasing Luponde teas in 2010. They first learned of it by tasting a sample that was sent to them from the UK based wholesaler Thompson, Lloyd & Ewert (TL&E), who has a long-standing relationship of buying teas directly from MTC and WATCO. TL&E is also a minority shareholder in TATEPA (Tanzanian Tea Packers Group Ltd.), the publicly-traded company that holds the majority share in WATCO (Melyoki 2005).

Organic orthodox teas from Luponde also have a direct route to retail in the UK market. Luponde Tea is a shop in the Burlington Arcade in London, which sells exclusively tea from the

Luponde estates. While this retail company is separate from the Luponde estates, they share a common investor, which has facilitated the direct trade route from farm to shop. Currently the packing and retail of the tea only occurs in the UK, but there are plans for the future to pack the tea in Tanzania also.

There is also a domestic value chain for organic tea. Chai TTB and Chai Bora, the two leading tea packers in the Tanzanian market, both offer organic brands for the local market. These include black tea, green tea, mint, chammomile, lemon verbena and habiscus infusions which come mostly from Luponde. These are sold in the main supermarkets in the large urban centers in the country, in the airport shops and in the tourist areas.

There are also a large number of actors who are listed on the right side of Figure 4.4. This illustrates the highly developed institutional context that has been developed to support organic agriculture in Tanzania. Between 1997 and 2008, Sida (Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency) financed a program to promote exports of organic products from Africa. Through this program the Tanzanian Organic Agriculture Movement (TOAM) was created to organize organic producers in the country, to lobby policy makers for the inclusion of organic agriculture in its agricultural policy and to liaise with the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM), which is a full member of the ISEAL Alliance. In 2007, the East African Organic Products Standard (Kilimo Hai) was developed as a common standard for organic agriculture in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda and TANCERT was also created as a certification body accredited to certify against this standard. Unfortunately, TANCERT is not accredited for any other organic standard which creates a barrier for them to join the organic tea value chains (cf. Akyoo and Lazaro 2010). Additional support for developing this standard came from UNCTAD and the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP). Moreover, the

Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives (MAFC) provided support and have worked together with various stakeholders to create a national organic policy.

Rainforest Alliance

The largest company in Tanzania, Unilever (PG Tips and Lipton brands), is a key player in the global consumer market, buying 12% of the global black tea supply, and is perceived to dominate the trade (Bedford, Blowfield, Burnett et al. 2002). In 2005, Unilever began an initiative, starting in Kenya and Tanzania, to make its tea supply chain "sustainable" by 2015 (Unilever 2007b). In 2010, Tetley (Tata Group), Twinings (Associated British Foods), and Taylors of Harrogate followed suit (Rainforest Alliance 2010b). This sustainability will be achieved by sourcing only from tea gardens that have been certified against the Rainforest Alliance (RFA) standard for 'sustainable agriculture', as extended to include tea in 2007.

The RFA Certified seal is awarded to farms that have met the environmental, social and economic standards of the Sustainable Agriculture Network (SAN), a coalition of local conservation organizations that first set the standard for sustainable farming in rainforest areas in the early 1990s. The SAN standards cover ecosystem conservation, worker rights and safety, wildlife protection, water and soil conservation, agrochemical reduction and education for farm children. In this way the Rainforest Alliance strives to foster the values of 'economy, ecology and ethics' in its value chain (Rainforest Alliance 2010a).

Figure 4.5: Rainforest Alliance value chain
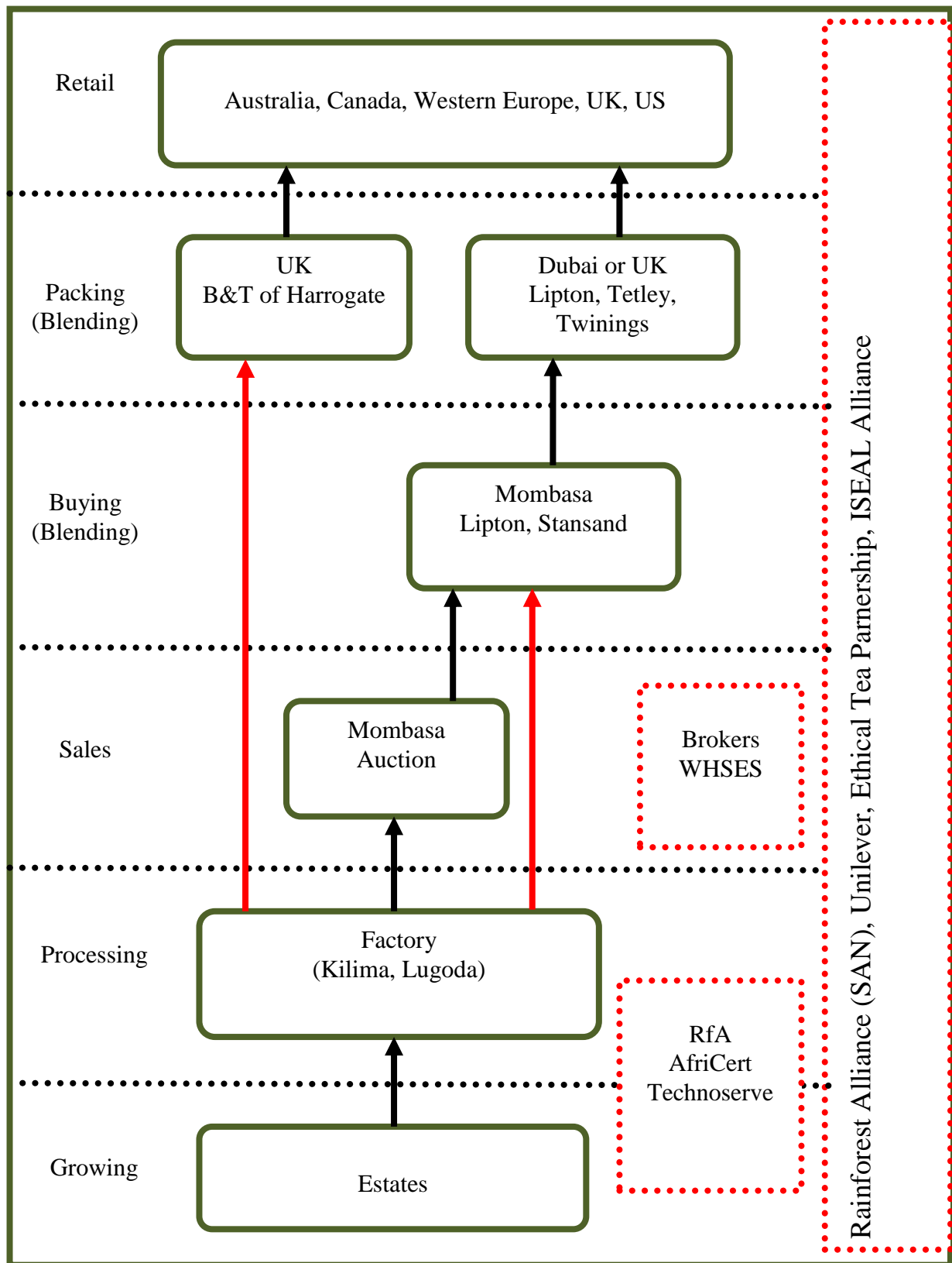
Since 2008, RFA has one broad agricultural standard for more than 100 crops with tea specific criteria. The original audit of tea plantations in Tanzania was done by RFA certifiers; subsequent audits will also be done by Africert. In Tanzania, to date, the Rainforest Alliance has only been adopted by Unilever. However, MTC and WATCO were in discussion with RFA in 2010 to try to negotiate their involvement in the system.

Unilever factories in Tanzania source mostly from medium scale growers and 95% of green leaf comes from their own plantations. Unilever operates a vertically integrated value chain where it owns green leaf production, MT processing factories, blending and packing. Green leaf that is not bought by Lipton (Unilever's buyer) goes into the traditional market through Mombasa and into non-certified tea (despite being produced according to RFA standards). While most tea is bought directly from factories due to the commitments that have been made and the scarcity of certified tea, there is also no mechanism within the RFA standard to prevent the use of the auction system. In fact, the aim is to continue to rely upon the auction system for tea trading (Interview December, 2009).

To date the cost of certification has been born by Unilever. However, there is no clear articulation of how the outgrowers in Tanzania will become certified. The Rainforest Alliance has been looking to donors for funds that can be used to provide the training and technical assistance that is needed for helping small farmers meet the certification requirements (Interview June, 2010). In Kenya, Unilever and Rainforest Alliance leveraged funding from DFID to certify smallholders who had been part of their farmer field school project.

To encourage other brands and producers to join the Rainforest Alliance system, Lipton was offering a $0.10/kg premium that is being phased out in 2010. Because of the green leaf sourcing contracts that Unilever has with its outgrowers, this price premium was transmitted

through the year-end bonus that is always given. The Lipton price premium did indeed help to create more interest in the system and other large Tea blenders (notably Tetley and Twinings) have committed to joining the system. However, the 'demand-driven' approach to certification that the Rainforest Alliance has adopted translates on the ground into a large number of producers who are interested in becoming certified, yet to date have not been able to because of a lack of RFA presence in the region and their policy of certifying those producers first who have an existing demand for their tea (i.e., Lipton, Tetley and Twinings' preferred producers).

In addition to the value chain for the large blenders, Taylors of Harrogate have also made a commitment to sourcing RFA certified tea. The commitment here is rather different than that made by the large blenders. This commitment can also be linked to the type of company that Taylors is and their relationship with the tea producers. Taylors of Harrogate is a family-owned company that maintains 'trust-based' relationships with the producers from whom they buy. Therefore, the move toward RFA certified tea was a product decision based on the decisions that were made by their producers. Let me explain. In coffee, Taylors of Harrogate has opted for Fairtrade certification because the majority of their producers were going for that certification, whereas in tea they found that their producers were leaning towards the RFA certification. Therefore, in order to keep their long-term relationships with their producers, Taylors decided to use the RFA system (Interview June, 2010). As such, Taylors continues to purchase their tea directly from the producers from whom they have always purchased.

In terms of the institutional actors, there are still relatively few as the RFA network is so new to the tea industry. However, RFA has signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the ETP and RFA is a full member of the ISEAL Alliance.

Governance of buyer-driven chains and embedded networks

For Gibbon and Ponte (2005), African commodities have been subjected to buyer-driven chains guided by international lead firms. These firms assert monopoly power as a result of their size and their ability to define quality standards. The quality standards pose a major entry barrier for many African producers who are unable to maintain predictable supplies of the product at the specified standard, making it impossible for African exporters to guarantee market supply. Thus, African producers face a buyers' market that demands exacting quality standards that have little direct contact with them. While African-based suppliers have managed to hold their own, much of their success has owed more to private coordination, usually associated with powerful non-African business elites, rather than public action. The case of tea fits well within their description of African commodity chains. For example, the Tropical Commodity Coalition claims that "the buying and retailing end of the [tea] market is dominated by a handful of powerful multinational companies that are in a strong negotiation position and are able to skim off most of the value in the chain" (van Reenen et al. 2010).

However, as shown in the case studies of certified Tanzanian tea, governance also includes the social actors that influence decisions made about sustainable production at the various stages of the value chain. These include the many non-governmental organizations that attempt to influence both public and private policies and behavior concerning sustainable production (Guthman 2009). Some of these non-governmental organizations (e.g., Rainforest Alliance) both set standards for sustainable agriculture, and assess and certify compliance with those standards. This is indicative of the shift that we have seen in the agri-food system, that is, a decrease in regulation and an increase in voluntary forms of governing value and supply chains. In this sense, these case studies are examples of what Islam (2008a) calls twin-driven commodity

chains or what Tallontire et al. (*Forthcoming*) claim is a form of horizontal governance. In other words, those stakeholders who are not necessarily party to the exchange may govern value chains and the standards used by them (e.g., Fairtrade and Organic value chains), in this way governing power within value chains can extend horizontally as well as vertically. However, as these four cases illustrate, drivenness is not quite as simple as buyer or twin-driven. A variety of contextual and embedded relationships have resulted in differing patterns of governance even within value chains. I will summarize the nature of each of these four chains.

For the ETI value chains, the reliance on the traditional supply routes results in market and relationally governed, buyer-driven GVC. Participation or input by upstream actors is absent in most cases and textually mediated in those cases where their input is requested (e.g., via self-assessment questionnaires). However, producers are exhibiting power in some ongoing negotiations in this chain, particularly with regards to their compliance with these standards and their ability to remain within the network despite non-compliance.

The Tyhpoo QAP is a first party assurance scheme while the ETP has also taken the form of a corporate social responsibility exercise for its members. The lack of a consumer label has thus lessened the legitimacy of the ETP program as an effective external check on suppliers, which may explain why many of its original members have either left the partnership or have joined the Fairtrade and Rainforest Alliance systems. The MOUs with Rainforest Alliance and with FLO are examples of the change that ETP is attempting to make in its practices as well as an attempt to exert more power in developing a twin-driven value chain.

The fair trade value chain is the most complex of these four chains. Given the values of collaboration and partnership that Fairtrade espouses, it might be expected that the Fairtrade tea value chain would be coordinated through relational governance, where chain drivers coordinate

exchange through norms of trust, obligation, and shared expectations (Gereffi et al. 2005). The criteria of Fairtrade – stable supply chain relations, the social premium, and the 'fairness' of the transaction – should in theory facilitate relational governance as exchange is predicated on symmetry, 'partnership,' and interdependence (Marsden 2009). Yet the reliance on the auction system in much of Faitrade tea marketing militates against the longer-term buyer commitments and the symmetrical supply chain relations that relational governance implies (Dolan 2008). Moreover, the relatively low percentage of sales to Fairtrade buyers in Tanzania (average 8 percent of certified production) means that much of the certified product is being sold through traditional marketing channels, thereby reducing some of the Fairtrade sales to market goverened relationships. However, the diversity of trading routes within the Fairtrade system illustrates the difficulty involved with relegating Fairtrade to a pure definition of governance. For example, we also see examples of hierarchical governance in the case of Herkulu and relational governance in the relationship between Cafédirect and its producer partners.

The organic value chains exhibit hierarchical and relational governance, depending entirely on direct purchasing relationships and sharing of information between buyers and producers. Moreover, there is a paradox in the Tanzanian context between policy and practice. While much work has been completed to create an 'enabling environment' for organic agriculture, the national organic agriculture movement and national policy is not connected to the value chains for organic tea that begin in the country. In fact, one research participant from the policy group did not even know that Herkulu was certified organic (Interview September, 2009). This shows that organic value chains add an interesting twist to the twin-driven notion of governing. There is indeed involvement of actors who are not party to the transactions between buyers and producers such as auditors and even FLO. However, the impetus for becoming

certified and the direction on which certification body to use comes from the buyer – who often has some sort of interest in the producing company. Yet Tanzania does have a small market for organic tea – which suggests that the producers are also engaging with the local blenders and the local organic agriculture movement creatively to develop the domestic market. Therefore, the relational nature of governing is a better description of the value chain interactions than the term buyer-driven.

Finally, we return to buyer-drivenness in the case of the Rainforest Alliance where decisions made at the corporate level dictated which certification system to join and facilitated the certification of Unilever's own hierarchically governed value chain. Moreover, the 'demand-driven' approach that Rainforest Alliance is using to roll out its certification, in addition to the intensive training required by smallholder farmers before meeting the certification requirements, militate against the ability of producers to initiate involvement in this value chain and gain access to more lucrative direct sales contracts. However, the relational governance relied upon by Taylors of Harrogate adds a new layer to the Rainforest Alliance system and presents a case where alternative power relations between value chain actors might develop.

Figure 4.6: Value chain coverage of standards systems

Growing		Processing	Sales	Buying (Blending)	Packing (Blending)	Retail
25%	75%				**Fairtrade**	
100%		**Rainforest Alliance**				
100%					**Organic**	
100%		**Ethical Tea Partnership**				

The percentages refer to which percent of the growing stage of the value chain is Estate production versus Smallholder production (represented by the red shaded percentage of the chain).

Figure 4.6 summarizes the value chain coverage of the four standards in Tanzania and the percentage inclusion of smallholders in the production portion of the chains. Only Fairtrade and Organic require certification and separation of certified and non-certified products throughout the chain until the packing stage. However, the Fairtrade standard is not as clear on this requirement as the Organic standard is (e.g., retro-certification). No standard covers the retail end of the chain, where the majority of the profits are found. Only Fairtrade covers smallholder prodcution, but this only accounts for 25% of Fairtrade certified tea production in Tanzania. These shortcomings further illustrate why there is such variation and complexity in the governance of these chains, thus making the characterization of twin-drivenness or buyer-drivenness incomplete.

Conclusions

As explored in the discussion above, there is no clear pattern in the relationship between standards regimes and governance relations. What we do see are pragmatic strategies to influence power within the market through the inclusion of different actors into 'value-added' chains. The conclusions suggest that despite claims about the ability to change trading relationships through the certification systems, most of the old networks are still in place. The certification systems only add additional buyers to global value chains that were already governed by highly relational mechanisms. These conclusions thus place in question some of the claims made by standards development organizations as to their abilities to change practices.

However, the question remains, to what extent are these standards development organizations really attempting to change practices as opposed to performing a marketing role within these existing value chains? Put differently, what remains to be explored is to what extent the governance relations outlined in this chapter translate into performances of the values

embodied by these value claims. Which actors are claiming to be doing what and how are they doing it? These questions will be explored in the next three chapters as I examine the performances of sustainability, gender equity and corporate social responsibility in these four value chains.

CHAPTER FIVE: Sustainable Performances

[T]he worldwide crisis of nature puts into the limelight the impotence of the world society in creating a global framework for sustainability (Sachs 1999: 85)

Chai yako? Panda, Tunza, Ikutunze!
Your tea? Plant it, Care for it, It takes care of you! [Smallholders' Cheer]

In 2006, the Netherlands based Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations published a report entitled "Sustainabilitea: The Dutch Tea Market and Corporate Social Responsibility," which was an exposé on the tea industry and a review of some of the existing corporate social responsibility efforts, namely the Ethical Tea Partnership (SOMO, ProFound, and India Committee of the Netherlands 2006). This was the first of a number of initiatives and events that adopted this name. The 2007 International Tea Committee (ITC) annual 'Producer-Consumer' meeting was organized around the theme "SUSTAINABILITEA" (Daily News 2007). It is from reading the agenda of this conference that I decided to adopt this same title as the organizing theme for this dissertation. Also in 2007 Arbor Teas, a US-based organic tea company, launched its official weblog called "SustainabiliTEA" (ArborTeas 2007). In 2009, National Geographic published a photo dossier and a special advertising presentation on the Lipton initiative, which they have entitled "SustainabiliTea: Your small cup can make a big difference" (National Geographic 2009). Most recently, in 2010, a U.S. federal trademark registration was filed for a Sri Lankan tea company named Zesta, "ZESTA YOUR SUSTAINABILITEA" (Trademarkia 2010). In sum, this notion of sustainability in the tea sector is something that is being discussed as well as incorporated into marketing strategies in the industry.

The tea industry is not alone in incorporating the notion of sustainability into the core identity of the industry. Sustainability, as an idea and as a guiding vision for practice, has emerged over the past ten years as something that must be achieved for the 'sustainability' of our society and of our planet. However, "sustainability represents a contestable, and necessarily contested, space of political action and *ethical* choice" (Livesey, Hartman, Stafford et al. 2009: 425). The purpose of this chapter is to take a closer look at the concept of sustainability that has entered into the discourse of the tea industry, by analyzing performative utterances, observations and textual data. What follows is a brief introduction to how sustainability has been defined in the literature. I then analyze each of the four written standards published by ETP, Fairtrade, Organic and RFA. These standards are compared based on the vision of sustainability that is found in each of the documents. I then compare these sustainabilities to the ways in which different actors along the value chains are enacting their visions of sustainability.

While each standard has its own unique description of sustainability, there is a clear reference throughout all of them to the classic definition of a three part vision for sustainability built on the social, environmental and economic pillars. However, what we can see enacted in practice is neither straightforward nor fully in line with the bar that has been set by the standards. I illustrate this point with three examples of the enactment of sustainability. First, sustainability is enacted as sustaining the tea enterprise, which is in line with economic goals. Yet analysis reveals a number of tensions between this enactment and the goals set out in the standards. Second, sustainability is often referred to in relation to the tea plant itself, rather than to a larger environmental program. Here sustainability was enacted as good farm management practices and quality characteristics of the tea. Finally, sustainability was enacted as change, specifically in

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terms of the ability of different value chain actors to adapt to changes in the market and in the broader social discourse of acceptable practices.

Defining sustainability

The inevitable response that I received when I asked my research participants how they would describe what 'sustainability' means for them in their position in the value chain was: "what do you mean by sustainability?" This was the first indication to me that not only was it something that was being discussed, but it was a concept that had multiple meanings for each actor in the value chain. One respondent claimed that "it has been defined so many times" and therefore I begin this section with the classic definitions of sustainability.

The 1987 report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (Bruntland Report) argued that unless some fundamental changes take place in our lifestyles, large areas of the globe will become uninhabitable within the next 30 years (Bruntland 1987). Following this report, the first working definition of sustainability for the development and political communities entered public discourse. It claimed that sustainable practices "meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (United Nations 1987: 1). Current definitions draw on the idea of three pillars of sustainability which represent a balance among economic viability, social justice, and environmental responsibility (Morito 2002).

Scholars and activists have been calling for sustainability of both production and consumption (Ekins 1996; Marsden et al. 2000). Sustainable agriculture is a portion of this response, where the organic agriculture movement has received the most attention. Within the agri-food sector, the notion of sustainability has come to mean sustainable agricultural practices that do not damage the environment while maximizing production capacity (D'Souza and

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Gebremedhin 1998). However, if the real costs of producing food (including environmental externalities and social consequences) could be added up, one would find that modern industrialized systems of production that are focused on maximizing yields perform poorly in comparison with sustainable systems. A United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) report concluded that "modern agriculture" has become "one of the major threats to the indigenous and local communities as well as to biodiversity, healthy ecosystems, and food insecurity" (Cavanagh and Mander 2004: 210). Sustainable agriculture involves the innovation, development and diffusion of more environmentally sensitive production practices. It also manifests itself as a form of resistance to and mobilization against the socially and environmentally destructive conventional agricultural paradigm (Hinrichs 2000).

Gouveia and Juska (2002) point out the enforced separations of 'nature and society, production and consumption, food consumers and food provisioning workers' that are perpetuated by industrial food systems. By recognizing the ecological and social destructiveness of the globally-based food system, a variety of analyses suggest an alternative founded on respect for the integrity of particular socio-geographic places and an increased recognition of the need for local knowledge and protection of biodiversity for sustainable food systems (Hassanein 1999; Kloppenburg, Hendrickson, and Stevenson 1996). Therefore, there is an explicit emphasis on (the contested notion of) ecosystem equilibrium and the conservation of biodiversity (Shiva 1989). Socio-cultural concerns are exemplified by the protection of worker and community rights and the promotion of sustainable livelihoods (Chambers and Conway 1992; Nussbaum 2005).

Moreover, this notion of sustainability critically rethinks the relationship between people and nature (Marsden, Milbourne, Kitchen et al. 2003). It also proposes alternative relationships

for the interaction of societies with nature (Cavanagh and Mander 2004; Mellor 2000). For example, Ekins (1996) suggests that the Global North needs to place more emphasis on sustainability (rather than economic growth) as a policy objective, while the Global South needs to grow equitably with the newest technology and environmental regeneration. Moreover, Ekins (1996) calls for a restructuring of the economic relations between the Global North and the Global South. Key to this concept is that sustainability cannot be seen as solely an economic concern, nor merely as the implementation of eco-friendly technologies as the eco-modernists propose (e.g., Mol and Spaargaren 2000).

Sustainability has most often been discussed within the frameworks of sustainable development. Sachs (1999) agrees that sustainable development is neither about economic excellence nor biospheric stability, but rather about local livelihoods (cf. de Haan 2000; DuPuis and Goodman 2005; Hines 2000). As quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Sachs (1999) suggests that there is a worldwide crisis of nature, which in turn testifies to the inability of societies to create a global framework for sustainability. Morito (2002) claims that in order to create sustainability, we must rethink liberal notions of freedom, radically rethink the meaning and application of the *harm* principle (Nussbaum 2005) for sustainability, the ecosystem integrity principle for conservation, and an ethic of *thankfulness* as a means to view our relationship with the ecosystem. Others promote a re-conceptualization of place based on a maintenance of cultural and ecological traditions of production (Morgan et al. 2006) and the promotion of sustainable communities (Marsden 2008; Marsden et al. 2003). Thus, some scholars note that there is a fourth pillar of 'aesthetic or cultural value' that must also be ensured. (Morito 2002).

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Over the past twenty years, standards have been seen as ways to encourage sustainable practices in agriculture (Raynolds et al. 2007a), as improvements in environmental management practices and labor conditions have been documented (Cashore et al. 2006; Meidinger 2007). Proponents claim that certifications, such as Fair Trade and Ethical Sourcing, are means to encourage growth in the agricultural sector in the Global South, to promote ethical values throughout the value chain and serve as a reassurance to consumers that their changing consumption patterns are sustainable (Raynolds 2000). Thus consumption is also invoked in the discourse surrounding social and environmental standards systems, suggesting that these are two sides of the same coin, as Robins and Roberts (1997) explain:

> The emphasis of sustainable production is on the supply side of the equation, focusing on improving environmental performance in key economic sectors, such as agriculture, energy, industry, tourism and transport. Sustainable consumption addresses the demand side, looking at how the goods and services required to meet basic needs and improve quality of life - such as food and health, shelter, clothing, leisure and mobility - can be delivered in ways that reduce the burden on the Earth's carrying capacity.

However, this is a highly contested topic, "some economists call it a contradiction in terms. Some postmodernists call it the latest middle class moralism. Some Neo-Marxists call it a bourgeois green herring that diverts attention from where the real conflict lies: in production. Yet many others view sustainable consumption as essential for solving the dilemma of balancing economic prosperity with ecologic vitality and social justice" (Bell 2006). Thus, there is a conceptual link between the consumption and production ends of value chains when discussing the sustainability of agri-food value chains that can bridge the gap highlighted by Lockie and Kitto (2000).

This literature informs the larger debates that are circulating in society as well as the way that I, as a researcher, conceptualized sustainability in this dissertation. The purpose of this

project is to show how the concept of 'sustainability' is performed in the empirical world, how it shapes and is shaped by the actors and standards involved, and how it is maintained through the interactions involved in producing 'sustainable' tea. These performances can be judged as effective or generic based on the resonance of similar justifications by various actors up, down and outside of the value chain. In other words, are all actors performing a story of sustainability that holds together or are we actually observing multiple 'sustainabilities'?

Defining the measure of performance

This section begins with the ETP, Fairtrade, Organic and RFA standards themselves as data for analysis. As noted in chapter one, each written standard codifies values of sustainability that are to govern practices in each GVC. These values are brought together under broad 'visions for sustainability' that have been defined by the SDOs in their publications. For example, "the ETP members share a vision of a thriving industry that is socially just and environmentally sustainable" (ETP 2010c). Fairtrade focuses on "transparency, partnership and participation, representative democracy, and equal exchange" (FLO 2010a); while Organic agriculture is based on the principles of "health, ecology, fairness and care" (IFOAM 2010b). Finally, the RFA has created its sustainable agriculture standards based on "economy, ecology and ethics" (Rainforest Alliance 2010a). These four standards systems set out to distinguish themselves, rhetorically and materially, into separate tea value chains based on their visions of sustainability.

Given that there are no specific criteria for 'sustainability' *per se* in any of the four standards, the general outline of criteria are used as a proxy (Table 5.1). Comparing the main organizing categories of these four standards brings forward a number of preliminary conclusions. First, the ETP, Fairtrade and RFA standards are quite similar in terms of social and environmental criteria, while the Organic standard is actually quite different. Second, the

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Table 5.1: Sustainability criteria

	Social	Economic	Environment
ETP	1. Freely chosen employment 2. Freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining 3. Health and Safety 4. Child labor & young workers 5. Wages and benefits 6. Working hours 7. Discrimination 8. Regular employment 9. Harsh and inhumane treatment		10. Environmental Management Systems (EMS) 11. Agrochemicals 12. Soil conservation 13. Ecosystem conservation 14. Water conservation 15. Energy use 16. Waste management
Fairtrade [23]	HL and SPO: 1. Freedom from Discrimination 2. Freedom of Labor 3. Freedom of Association & Collective Bargaining 4. Conditions of Employment 5. Occupational Health & Safety HL: 6. Development Potential & Capacity Building SPO: 7. Fairtrade adds to Development 8. Members are Small Producers 9. Democracy, Participation & Transparency 10. Non-Discrimination 11. Employment Policy	HL: 12. Joint Body (JB) SPO: 13. Fairtrade Premium 14. Economic Strengthening of the Organization	HL and SPO: 15. Impact Assessment, Planning and Monitoring 16. Agrochemicals 17. Waste 18. Soil and Water 19. Fire 20. Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO)

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[23] HL = Hired Labor (applicable to the commercial estate sector) and SPO = Small Producers Organization.

Table 5.1 continued

Organic[24]	Flexibility
	1. Exceptional production rules
	Labeling
	2. Use of terms referring to organic production
	3. Compulsory indications
	4. Organic production logos
	5. Specific labeling requirements
			Production Rules
			6. General production rules
			   a. Prohibition of the use of GMOs
			   b. Prohibition of the use of ionizing radiation
			7. Farm production
			   c. General Farm production rules
			   d. Plant production rules
			   e. Products and substances used in farming & criteria for their authorization
			   f. Conversion

RFA	1. Role Of Interpretation Guidelines 2. Social and environmental management system (also applies to environment) 3. Fair treatment & good working conditions for workers 4. Occupational health & safety 5. Community relations (also applies to economic)		6. Ecosystem conservation 7. Wildlife protection 8. Water conservation 9. Integrated crop management (agro-chemicals & no GMO) 10. Soil management and conservation 11. Integrated waste management

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[24] Refers to the EU Regulation (EC) N° 834/2007 and (EC) N° 889/2008 (former: (EEC) N° 2092/91). I have only included those criteria that apply to plant production. There is no clear separation of social, economic and environmental criteria for the EU regulation; they are separated base on the purpose of the rules.

Fairtrade standard is the most comprehensive, considering the inclusion of specific economic criteria. Third, the Fairtrade, RFA and Organic standards make the claim that genetically modified organisms are not part of sustainable agriculture. Finally, only the Organic and RFA standards formally acknowledge the need for flexibility and local interpretation.

Ethical Tea Partnership

In the 2006 'SustainabiliTEA' report the Dutch Tea Initiative found that the ETP's code was unclear as to what standards the members were actually committing themselves to and had little to no reference to environmental standards (SOMO et al. 2006). What is shown above in Table 5.1 is the 2009 revised standard where a section on the Environment was included. The 2009 Annual report explains this change as follows:

> The new standard covers key elements of all the relevant certification programmes, which will help ease the transition for any producers who become interested in certification at a later date. (ETP 2009a: 1)

When reviewing the standard, it is easy to see that the focus of sustainability for the ETP began and remains the social aspects of tea production. Of the 24 page document, only four of the pages deal with environmental criteria and there are no specific 'economic' criteria. Moreover, since the ETP standard uses the Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI) base code which is closely based on the International Labor Organization (ILO) Conventions, the social aspect of the standard addresses primarily workers rights. This reflects the ETP focus on factories and estates – to the exclusion of small farmers from their program.

The standard itself is organized in two columns. On the left side there is the 'ETP Standard – Principles', while the right column specifies 'In practice this means…' Therefore, the core elements of sustainability deal with the social provisions for workers, mainly, freedom from forced labor, freedom from discrimination, no harsh or inhumane treatment, and the right to join

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unions and engage in collective bargaining. The health and welfare of workers are to be provided

for by the company including accommodation, childcare and health services. The only economic

aspect of this standard is the compliance required by estate companies to provide wages and

benefits for employees. These wages are to be at least the minimum wage and "workers shall not

be obligated to work overtime to earn a basic needs wage" (5.1.2 ETP 2009a: 14).

Workplace health and safety is to be managed by a senior management representative and

consists of the provision of a "safe, clean and healthy working environment" (ETP 2009a: 6)

which consists of hazard minimization, training on proper use of equipment, provision of

protective clothing, fire safety and chemical safety. Sanitation criteria are also clearly specified,

yet these became a particular point of contention. It was explained as follows:

> Say in the farm, for instance when you are working with the tea farms, the
> standard requires every farm there should be a latrine and there should be a
> washing facility aside. You see all these require a lot of investment, so most of the
> operators would fail some of these - because of money. (Interview February,
> 2010)

The sticking point here is that the standard requires such facilities in each field, but the estate

manager explained that due to the plucking rotations, workers went to each field only once or

twice a month. Thus, despite the detailed social provisions of the ETP standard, the aspect that

caused the most difficulty for tea estates in Tanzania was the toilet requirement.

The environmental criteria, as mentioned above, are short and to the point. The standard

requires that an Environmental Impact Assessment be carried out and that the management

program is required only for those impacts that have been identified by the assessment. Since the

standard is specific to the tea industry, it identifies key potential environmental impacts, which

are then to be addressed in the remaining compliance criteria. These include "toxicity, soil

deterioration and loss, biodiversity loss, water pollution, water shortage, greenhouse gas

emissions and air pollution" (ETP 2009a: 21). The one environmental criterion that is included in

the ETP standard, but not highlighted in the other three standards is in the 'energy use' criteria

where there is a specific focus on reducing greenhouse gas emissions and other pollution. It

appears that many of these criteria are based on the Fairtrade standard, as the wording is almost

identical. This approach has been justified by the ETP as part of their change process:

> The new standard covers key elements of all the relevant certification
> programmes, which will help ease the transition for any producers who become
> interested in certification at a later date. (ETP 2009b: 1)

However, the ETP standard has been able to embellish the criteria and make it specific to the

case of tea. For example, the recommendation that "scrubbers are installed on factory chimneys"

is not found in the Fairtrade standard. Finally, the use of certain agrochemicals is prohibited.

These are those that are not registered officially in the country for the specific crop, those that

have been prohibited by the United States Environmental Protection Agency, the European

Union, the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants, the Rotterdam Convention

on Prior Informed Consent and the Pesticide Action Network Dirty Dozen.

Fair trade

The Fairtrade standard states quite clearly that its focus for sustainability is one of social,

economic and environmental development. The first paragraph of the Hired Labor (HL) standard

reads as follows:

> Fairtrade (FT) is a strategy for poverty alleviation and sustainable development.
> Its purpose is to create opportunities for producers and workers who have been
> economically disadvantaged or marginalized by the conventional trading system.
> If fair access to markets under better trade conditions would help them to
> overcome barriers to development, they can join Fairtrade. (FLO 2009a)

Here, the focus is on the economic development aspects of what joining Fairtrade will

bring to participants. Indeed, Fairtrade is the only standard to focus explicitly on economic

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criteria. However, the economic criteria that are covered by the Fairtrade standard are not economic criteria related to the way that the factory or estate organizes its everyday operations, such as greenleaf prices to outgrowers, or commissions paid to brokers; rather it is purely on the administration and management of the Fairtrade premium and the assurance of the Fairtrade minimum price (Table 5.2). The price paid for Tanzanian Fairtrade certified tea should cover the production costs and not be lower than the FLO floor price of USD 1.50/kg in addition to a Premium of USD 0.50/ kg.

Table 5.2: Fairtrade premiums (FTP), minimum prices (FTMP) and sustainability margins (SM) for Tanzanian tea (October 2010)

Type	CTC teas & Orthodox dusts and fanning		Other Orthodox teas	
	Conventional	**Organic**	**Conventional**	**Organic**
SPO	✔ FTMP 1.50/ 1.60 \$/kg ✔ FTP of 0.50 \$/Kg ✘ SM	✔ FTMP 1.70/ 1.80 \$/kg ✔ FTP of 0.50 \$/Kg ✘ SM	✘ FTMP ✔ FTP of 1.10 \$/Kg ✘ SM	✘ FTMP ✔ FTP of 1.10 \$/Kg ✘ SM
HL	✔ FTMP 1.50/ 1.60 \$/kg ✔ FTP of 0.40 \$/Kg ✔ SM 0.10 \$/kg	✔ FTMP 1.70/ 1.80 \$/kg ✔ FTP of 0.50 \$/Kg ✘ SM	✘ FTMP ✔ FTP of 1.10 \$/Kg ✘ SM	✘ FTMP ✔ FTP of 1.10 \$/Kg ✘ SM

✔ = This type of tea does have a FTMP, FTP or SM; ✘ = This type of tea does not have a FTMP, FTP or SM
FTMP are distinguished by Auction price / Free on Board (FOB) price (i.e., direct sale)
Adapted from: (FLO 2010c; 2010e)

Moreover, the phrase 'economic development' is only applicable to the HL standard, as this same section in the SPO standard is entitled 'socioeconomic development'. This points to the more salient social aim of the standard, which to a certain extent adopts a paternalistic tone, in the way it focuses on building the capacity of the Joint Body and the SPO to manage the premium fund. This Fairtrade Premium goes to a community fund which is used according to the interests of the community, such as building classrooms, building health clinics, and bringing

electricity to the villages. Until the 2009 revision of the standard, there was perceived to be a

restriction on what these funds could be used for, thus limiting most projects purely to those of

the type listed above. However, the new version of the standard allows the premium funds to be

used for any project that is decided upon democratically and documented in the Annual General

Meeting minutes (FLO 2009b). FLO explains it as follows:

> The reviewed SPO standard is not prescriptive about the use of Fairtrade
> Premium. Producer organizations are free to decide on how to use the FT
> Premium, as long as decisions are made democratically and transparently.
> Guidance on how the FT Premium *could* (not must) be spent is elaborated in an
> Explanatory Document for the Fairtrade Premium in SPOs. (FLO 2009b: 3)

The social development criteria are also slightly different for the HL and SPO standards,

as there are provisions for workers rights in each standard. However, social development for the

SPO again focuses upon development of the organization. It is here that mention is made of the

principles of empowerment, transparency, and democracy. The standard elaborates:

> The organization must be an instrument for the social and economic development
> of the members, and the benefits of Fairtrade must reach the members. The
> organization must therefore have democratic structures in place and a transparent
> administration, enabling effective control by the members and the Board over the
> management of the organization, as well as enabling the members to hold the
> Board accountable for its activities (FLO 2009c: 7).

This provision is not made in the HL document. Rather, HL focuses purely on workers' rights in

its focus on social development and makes special note of the necessity of development potential

and capacity building, which broadly speaking is awareness raising about what Fairtrade is and

what it does (FLO 2009a: 7).

Finally, the environmental development for which Fairtrade sets criteria covers 13 pages

of the 43 page document. The principle of environmental development is explained as follows:

> Companies are expected to protect the natural environment and to make
> environmental protection a part of company management. Companies are
> expected to develop, implement and monitor an operational plan with the aim of

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establishing a balance between environmental protection and business results through the use of a combination of measures including crop rotation, cultivation techniques, crop selection, careful use of inputs such as fertilizers and pesticides and, as relevant, shade production. Companies are expected to minimize the use of synthetic and other off-farm fertilizers and pesticides, partially and gradually replacing them with non-synthetic and on-farm fertilizers and biological disease control methods. FLO encourages companies to work towards organic practices where socially and economically practical. Companies are encouraged to minimize the use of energy, especially energy from non-renewable sources. (FLO 2009a: 30)

What is particularly interesting to note is that FLO takes a strong stance against GMOs and makes special concessions for those producers who are also certified organic. Also, FLO has published a list of prohibited agrochemicals, comprising data from the WHO Class I A&B, PAN's 'Dirty Dozen' and FAO/UNEP Prior Informed Consent Procedure Lists plus FLO specific additional materials. Finally, the FLO standard highlights specific concerns for sustainability in terms of assuring the "sustainability/survivability of the [wild] species in its native habitat," ensuring that "organic waste is used in a sustainable way (e.g., composting, mulching, etc.)," and notes that the "long-term sustainability of any region depends on the judicious use of water resources" (FLO 2009a: 31, 37, 40).

Organic

The Organic standard is unique compared to the other three standards in this study for two reasons. The first reason is that it is the only standard that is also a legal regulation. The second is that it focuses on three issues: production practices, consumer labeling, and documentation and transparency, which do not fit neatly into the social, economic and environmental pillars of sustainability. Therefore, in the analysis of this standard, I also take into consideration the International Forum of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM) Norm,

which acts as the guiding vision for the Organic movement bringing together the 71 national

regulations on organic farming (UNCTAD 2010).

Organic is a holistic system that has blurred boundaries as to where the social ends and

the environmental begins. Its principle is described as follows:

> Organic production is an overall system of farm management and food production that combines best environmental practices, a high level of biodiversity, the preservation of natural resources, the application of high animal welfare standards and a production method in line with the preference of certain consumers for products produced using natural substances and processes. The organic production method thus plays a dual societal role, where it on the one hand provides for a specific market responding to a consumer demand for organic products, and on the other hand delivers public goods contributing to the protection of the environment and animal welfare, as well as to rural development. (EC 2007: L 189/1)

This quote highlights the core foci of the Organic standard, which are environmental protection

and biodiversity, and the provision of consumer market goods. Thus, besides the recognition of

organic agricultural practices as social processes, there is an additional focus on the socio-

economic provision of the product as well. This is where transparency and labeling emerge as

key features of the organic system, as it is through these two practices that information about

how the product is produced is transmitted to the consumer. Also, the flexibility clause that is

included in the EU Regulation accommodates "local climatic or geographic conditions, specific

husbandry practices and stages of development;" however, "it is important to maintain consumer

confidence in organic products. Exceptions from the requirements applicable to organic

production should therefore be strictly limited to cases where the application of exceptional rules

is deemed to be justified" (EC 2007: L 189/2).

However, Organic is most known for its environmental provision, particularly the

principle of ecology which claims that "organic agriculture should be based on living ecological

systems and cycles, work with them, emulate them and help sustain them" (IFOAM 2009: 5).

However, this principle of ecology is usually interpreted as it is written in the standard: "organic plant production involves varied cultivation practices and limited use of fertilisers and conditioners of low solubility" (EC 2008: L 250/1). However, the IFOAM norm qualifies this statement:

> Organic agriculture [also known as "Biological" or "Ecological" agriculture or protected equivalent forms of these words (in other languages)] is a whole system approach based upon a set of processes resulting in a sustainable ecosystem, safe food, good nutrition, animal welfare and social justice. Organic production therefore is more than a system of production that includes or excludes certain inputs. (IFOAM 2009: 8)

Indeed, it is IFOAM that links the legal language of the standard to the social movement that drove its existence, as the standard itself makes little to no mention of how the people involved in organic production should be treated or should relate to each other. IFOAM is the organization that actually articulates the principles of organic agriculture in its standard. The principle of Health refers not to worker health and safety as it is intended in the other standards, but rather to the" health of the soil, plant, animal, human and planet as one and indivisible" (IFOAM 2009: 4). This is also related to the two other principles of fairness and care, which both link back to the environmental focus of the standard. "Fairness is characterized by equity, respect, justice and stewardship of the shared world, both among people and in their relations to other living beings," (IFOAM 2009: 4) while the notion of care encapsulates the idea that "organic agriculture should be managed in a precautionary and responsible manner to protect the health and well-being of current and future generations and the environment" (IFOAM 2009: 6). These principles are thus embedded in the wording of the objectives of the EU Regulation:

> Organic production shall pursue the following general objectives: (a) establish a sustainable management system for agriculture that: (i) respects nature's systems and cycles and sustains and enhances the health of soil, water, plants and animals and the balance between them; (ii) contributes to a high level of biological

diversity; (iii) makes responsible use of energy and the natural resources, such as water, soil, organic matter and air. (EC 2007: L 189/6)

As such, those key concerns that are highly detailed in the other standards, do not command as much detail in the Organic standard. Rather, the production criteria are rather straightforward. The main concern is of course with the use of agrochemicals and specifically in maintaining soil fertility and organic matter in the soil. This is most important for the required conversion period of 2-3 years, which is unique to the Organic standard. While waste management has become an important issue in the other standards, in the EU Regulation, waste is dealt with as follows:

> Organic farming should primarily rely on renewable resources within locally organised agricultural systems. In order to minimise the use of non-renewable resources, wastes and by-products of plant and animal origin should be recycled to return nutrients to the land. (EC 2007: L 189/2)

This cyclical reasoning is actually quite endemic to the Organic standard in that many particulars are not laid out, but rather refer back to the principle of organic agriculture as the way to resolve any discrepancies.

Rainforest Alliance

The RFA standard provides "a measure of each farm's social and environmental performance and best management practices" (Rainforest Alliance 2009: 6). At the beginning of the standard, the 14 critical criteria are highlighted. Eight of these deal with environmental criteria while the other six deal with socio-economic issues such as separating certified and not certified products and providing minimum wage and benefits for workers. In order to obtain and maintain certification, the farms must comply with at least 50 percent of each principle's criteria, and 80 percent of all criteria.

The interesting aspect about the social criteria of the RFA standard is that unlike that of ETP, which is really just focusing on workers' rights, or that of Fairtrade, which has placed a development focus on its social criteria, or that of Organic which is focused on consumers awareness and social justice, the RFA standard takes into account the social in the sense of understanding the dynamic nature of society. For example, "the social and environmental management system is dynamic and adapts to changes that occur" (Rainforest Alliance 2009: 17). Moreover, the RFA recognizes a need for local interpretation guidelines as their standard covers more than 100 crops in countries around the globe. These local indicators interpret the binding criteria of the standard in the context of local conditions or for a specific crop and are developed by a local workgroup. However, at the time of my research, there were no local interpretation guidelines for tea or for East Africa. An interviewee explained it like this:

> There are some weird things in the Rainforest Alliance set up… like having a complete list of all of the wildlife on the farm (…) we were going back all the time to the people and asking what do you mean by this (...) and really what they meant was: get all the workers together and an expert and draw up a list and that works fine. They were asking for awareness-raising rather than a huge scientific list. But because there were no crop specific or country specific interpretations of the standard available, and it was outside the comfort zone of the Rainforest Alliance society (…) some of the things like that were difficult to interpret without any training, but we finally managed to work out a way through it. (Interview June, 2010)

However, in other aspects of the standard, particularly the environmental criteria, scientific verification is a core element of the standard and sets it apart from the other standards. Critical Criterion 4.5 is reproduced below to illustrate this point (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: RFA Critical criterion 4.5

4.5 *Critical Criterion.* The farm must not discharge or deposit industrial or domestic wastewater into natural water bodies without demonstrating that the discharged water complies with the respective legal requirements, and that the wastewater's physical and biochemical characteristics do not degrade the receiving water body. If legal requirements do not exist, the discharged wastewater must comply with the following minimum parameters:	
Water Quality Parameter	**Value**
Biochemical Oxygen Demand ($DBO_{5,\,20}$)	Less than 50 mg/L
Total suspended solids	
pH	Between 6.0 – 9.0
Grease and oils	Less than 30 mg/L
Fecal coliforms	Absent

Source: (Rainforest Alliance 2009: 19)

Precise measurement is thus a theme that runs throughout the environmental and social criteria of the RFA standard, which means that there must be measuring equipment available to farmers to determine compliance. There are precise measurements for water quality (three different tables with parameters), for shade density in agro-forestry crops (40% at all times), for noise level in the box and packaging areas (85 decibels), for personal work space in box and packing assembly areas (2 meters per worker), and there is a whole annex dedicated to the separation between production areas and water bodies, roads and buildings (Rainforest Alliance 2009). The list of prohibited agro-chemicals is indeed the same that is listed in the ETP standard and requires that there be a plan for reducing WHO Category I and II products as is also noted in the Fairtrade standard. However the RFA standard is more precise on the requirements for personal protection equipment (PPE) for handling and application of organic and inorganic farm inputs. The waste management requirements are based on the idea that "certified farms are clean and orderly" (Rainforest Alliance 2009: 37).

The notion of community is also present in the RFA standard, for example in the waste management section the standard requires that "the farm must regularly implement educational

activities for farm workers and residents with the objective of promoting cleanliness and preventing the indiscriminate disposal of rubbish" (Rainforest Alliance 2009: 37). There is a core principle of the standard that is dedicated to community relations, which is something that sets the RFA apart from the other standards. While Fairtrade does prescribe that its Premium must go to community projects, the RFA principle of community relations is broader than the community development focus. It encompasses both a social and an economic responsibility of farms towards communities and recognizes that communities are very much a part of the local context of sustainable farms.

> Certified farms are good neighbors. They relate in positive ways with neighbors, surrounding communities and local interest groups (…) Certified farms contribute to local economic development through training and employment and try to prevent negative impacts on the areas, activities or services that are important for local populations. (Rainforest Alliance 2009: 33)

This notion of community and local surroundings is closely linked to the focus of the RFA standard on wildlife preservation. Here, wildlife refers both to animals and plants. Particularly important for tea estates are the agro-forestry requirements of a minimum of 12 native species per hectare on average and a tree canopy of at least two strata or stories. Finally there are specific concessions made for Organic certified farms. For example, the distance required to separate farms and territorial ecosystems is more than 50 percent less for Organic farms. Also, "The farm must give priority to organic fertilization using residues generated by the farm" (Rainforest Alliance 2009: 36), thus prioritizing organic agriculture techniques in their standard.

In sum, sustainability has been encoded into each of these four standards under the guises of social, economic and environmental criteria. The RFA and Organic standards contain more rhetoric about ecology and ecosystems, while Fairtrade and the ETP have focused more attention

on the social aspects in their compliance criteria. Overall, there is very little mention of the economic pillar of sustainability in these standards, particularly in reference to the economic sustainability of producers, the production system or the value chain. In the next section I explore how these three themes are enacted by the value chain actors through discourse, negotiation and publicity.

Sustainable performances

By interviewing actors, observing practices and reading Annual Reports and other advertising material from certified companies these three themes that are scripted by the standards are enacted as performances of specific sustainabilities. Economic sustainability, while largely absent in the standards themselves, was the most dominant theme that emerged from the data and focused specifically on sustainability of the enterprise. Environmental sustainability was not enacted with much attention to broader ecosystem effects, but rather to the sustainability of the tea plant itself – both in terms of farm management practices and quality attributes. Finally, social sustainability is enacted as the ability to change and adapt to new situations, as a standards development organization, as a business and as a network of actors.

Sustainability of the enterprise

Ensuring sustainability of the enterprise was the most often noted concern for sustainability. I use the word enterprise rather than business or farm first because the responses spanned all of the different value chain actors. Second, the word enterprise, more accurately encompasses the notion of 'project' that was reflected in the responses I received about sustainability. According to Webster (2010), the noun enterprise can mean a 'project or undertaking that is especially difficult, complicated, or risky; a unit of economic organization or

activity; and a systematic purposeful activity.' Therefore, there was evident attention being paid

to the notion of sustaining the enterprise in which each type of value chain actor was engaged.

There is constant debate in the industry around whether or not engagement with a particular

standard was furthering the sustainability of the enterprise or detracting from it. The main

discussions on how the standards actually detracted from sustainability were mostly concerned

with how the time and costs associated with the standard deviated from core business. One

respondent put it this way,

> I think Fairtrade is going to disappear in the end (...) Fairtrade to the third world -
> that is poppycock - but that is not what it is about. It should be about quality,
> about competetiveness. So, I must say that I would like to see Fairtrade finished. I
> would like to see it go away, even though we benefit so much from it. I would
> like to see it, through the natural course of business, disappear. And that we be
> competitive because we are naturally fair: we treat our workers well, we look after
> the environment, we don't put oil or fuel in the rivers. And that's what I would like
> to see and we don't really have to pay for that. (Interview October, 2009).

This was most often the enactment of ETP and Fairtrade standards according producers

(both the estates and smallholders) in Tanzania. It was enacted as something quite separate from

the business of producing tea. This is also reflected in the FLO standard itself, where the

economic development criteria are concerned solely with the management of the premium fund.

Much of the enactment of Fairtrade in the Tanzanian tea sector concerns the premium fund as a

means to justify sustainability. Put differently, there was also a distinct enactment of 'community

projects', whereby local politics were often involved in determining how these funds were used.

For example, the large sums of money that have entered the communities in the form of Fairtrade

premiums have often taken on the role of a 'gift' to the community rather than something that

has been earned through the hard work of tea farmers (cf. Dolan 2010; Phillips 2009).

In Tanzania, the community is very important. Every time something must be done in the

community, adding an extra classroom to a government school or installing a water pump,

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contributions are requested from every community member. This is normal practice and is expected from each member, not as a gift, but as a responsibility. The reciprocity that is implied through normal community contributions cannot be applied to the Fairtrade premium funds, because the source of funding is not always explicit and even when it is, it is not possible to clearly explain the link between the premium funds and individual consumers. Therefore, when such large sums of money enter into the community with the requirement of community investment, these investments are no longer seen as responsibilities, because they are not contributed by all community members, but rather as 'gifts' from the smallholder association or sometimes directly from the Chairman or Association leadership. This is a good example of Mol's (2002) argument about multiplicities. What is a premium to FLO is at the exact same time a gift to community members. For example, when I went to visit the numerous Fairtrade projects, gratitude was expressed in a very personal tone to the association leader who was accompanying me. The notion of the gift is explained in terms of power, "power belongs to him who gives and to whom no return can be made. To give, and to do it in such a way that no return can be made, is to break exchange to one's profit and to institute a monopoly" (Baudrillard 1988, in Phillips 2009: 41-42). This power is highly political; the following examples illustrate this point.

Despite the qualification that FLO made in the 2009 version of their standard, much of the discussion about Fairtrade revolved around the restrictions on the use of the premium funds. For example, certified estate workers receive the Fairtrade premium that has brought benefits to the local community. However, they commented that there was too much investment being made in the community and not enough being made for the living conditions of the workers (Focus Group February, 2010). According to Fairtrade rules, the premium "may not be used for

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expenditure for which the company is legally responsible" (FLO 2007: 4). As housing is a legal requirement in Tanzania, Fairtrade funds cannot be used for this purpose.

While in the HL context much time was spent trying to figure out how to spend the money, local politics was fueled in the case of Fairtrade premium funds in SPO situations. The case of a smallholder association in southern Iringa province illustrates this point well. MADISA had been sourcing to a MTC owned estate factory for a number of years and the village leader was the owner of the transport company that organized the transport from this area to the factory. Estate management assisted the smallholder association to become certified (by filling out the forms for them and paying the first certification fee) and agreed that a certain quantity of tea would be sold through Fairtrade each year. MADISA was certified from 2006 to 2008 and during that period of time they received TSH 10 million from Fairtrade premiums. However, MADISA was decertified in 2008 and the justification of why this happened varies. The district where MADISA is located is an area of current and historic political turmoil. The tea factory that is located less than 7 km from MADISA participating villages is 30 percent owned by the competing smallholder association (CSHA) and 70 percent family-owned Tanzanian company. One of the main investors in this company is also the Chairman of the Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) political party for Mbeya province (Godwin 2009).[25] During the period of data collection, Lupembe factory had been overtaken by CSHA and closed because of a dispute over an allegedly illegal sale of the factory by the government during privatization of the tea industry in the 1990s.

With regards to losing the Fairtrade certification, CSHA claimed that MADISA was not transparent about where their extra income was coming from, claiming it was a bonus negotiated

[25] CCM is the current ruling party in national Tanzanian politics. It was also the party of Nyerere and has thus been in power since independence.

by the chairman with the factory, and was using it as a way to convince smallholders to leave

CSHA and join MADISA. Fairtrade was not mentioned as the reason why there was extra money

coming in to the smallholder association or what it was to be used for (Interview October, 2009).

Alternatively, MADISA claimed that they found the Fairtrade bureaucracy cumbersome as they

were not allowed to use the premium money on any of the projects that they proposed, such as

fixing the village roads. They also claimed that the certification fee of TSH 5 million (about

$4,000) was too expensive as they were banned from using the premium funds to pay the

certification fee (Focus Group February, 2010). FLO claimed that there were political

contestations between the estate management and MADISA over the wealth being generated by

the transportation company and therefore management was uncooperative (Interview January,

2010). Finally, Kibena management claimed that there was little ownership (and understanding)

of the Fairtrade process by MADISA and found that the "one shoe fits all" bureaucratic approach

to FLO certification caused a number of problems for the smallholders' ability to remain

certified. The major non-compliance noted in the audit was the inability of MADISA to deliver

the General Assembly minutes (Interview October, 2009).

As this example illustrates, the justifications used by different actors to explain the

decertification of a smallholder association are numerous and are highly embedded in the local

politics where the Fairtrade standard became a way to achieve political ends. Moreover, this

story was talked about numerous times with the different actors involved in both Tanzania and

Kenya (which is where the FLO liaison office is located) and this distraction has very little to do

with the sustainability of the core business of tea. Moreover, even though MADISA lost the

Fairtrade certification, it continues to sell its tea to the estate factory through the same network

(i.e., same transportation company). Thus, despite time and effort being spent on engaging the

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standard and justifying the controversy, the core business of tea production continues much as it

did before engaging with the Fairtrade 'distraction.' Indeed the bureaucracy of the FLO system

was mentioned often as an inhibitor to engagement with the network. A blender explained it like

this:

> Another thing is that the organization FLO-cert, we are not too sure what they do.
> It is quite a lot of administration, it costs quite a lot of money and we don't know
> what they do actually with the money. Quite often we ask them and we said that
> companies like ID, Lidl, supermarket chains are also certified and they have
> certainly never seen the producers, it is just the marketing aspect. I don't know
> what is better, if you pay a little more and support the producers directly or if you
> pay the Fairtrade premium it is always complicated. Sometimes we get money
> back; they don't know where the money is in the origin. So it was basically the
> idea of one our customers - the reason why we established the FLO-cert system.
> The idea of organic is more important for us and the idea to support the smaller
> tea planters. (Interview May, 2010)

This quote actually shows how both sides of the coin are invoked in the performance of

sustainability – the distraction from core business and the added value of the standard. The other

side of the coin therefore shows examples of how these standards were actually going to be able

to help sustain the enterprise. This was most often discussed in terms of the market. For example

the usefulness of the RFA standard was explained by an employee of the SDO like this:

> Improving productivity of the farm; the farm becomes more productive - wider
> scale, diversification and diversified income – [thus] making your tea crop
> sustainable and getting an advantage in the market. (Interview June, 2010)

Here, the sustainability of the business of tea focuses on market advantage and how the standard

helps value chain actors achieve that. For example, an employee of an SDO explained:

> Tea prices are rather high now, so most people will be pretty content to continue
> on with what they are doing without certification. Two to three years ago they
> were complaining a lot when tea prices were low. (Interview August, 2009)

Therefore, the ability of the standard to bring higher market prices is a key element in the sustainability of the tea enterprise. This was also noted in regards to the organic standard. An employee of the SDO explained it as follows:

> We don't have sections that really relate to the economic aspect of sustainability, like other schemes really make a point to distinguish the three pillars. But for us the economic sustainability of organic has really been proven by the development of the market. So it really works, it is the biggest certified system in most sectors and fast growing so sustainability is there from an economic point of view. (Interview May, 2010)

This links this notion of sustainability of the business tightly with consumption. One employee of a RFA certified company explained sustainability as follows:

> Unless we somehow manage to persuade more people to drink more tea, which is what we are trying to do of course, but that is the reality of an over supply market, and that would be a damn good solution, it would be, to persuade more people to drink more tea. (Interview June, 2010)

Indeed, the focus on increasing consumption of tea was mentioned numerous times, by all types of actors, in reference to how one could make the tea industry sustainable. For example, the ETP has a very strong focus on the consumption end of the value chain, which is not surprising, given that they are a partnership of blenders. While the term sustainability first appeared in the 2008 ETP Annual report, it was not a focus of the report until 2009, where the following excerpt sums up their consumer focus of sustainability.

> "ETP collaborates with organisations that we feel can make a real difference to the sustainability of the tea sector," points out Sarah Roberts. "This will build capacity within the tea industry to tackle sustainability issues from the grassroots upwards and through to certification. It will increase the number of estates that implement and maintain positive environmental and social practices. Brands work together on sustainability through ETP, so this is a very effective way of meeting rising consumer demand for certified products." (ETP 2009b)

The process of retro-certification for Fairtrade is justified as a way to increase demand for Fairtrade certified tea. The information note about the revised tea standard laments:

Sadly, many producers are only able to a sell small percentage of their tea on Fairtrade terms because the demand for Fairtrade simply isn't high enough. (…) A process called "retro-certification" helps solve this problem. (…) This gives buyers greater flexibility in trying out Fairtrade, and in developing new product lines, thereby opening up new opportunities for producers. This enables producers to sell more of their tea under Fairtrade terms, increasing the amount of Premium they receive. (…) Our aim is to have a secure and transparent system that also allows producers to sell as much Fairtrade tea as possible. (Fairtrade Foundation 2010)

Additionally, increasing the demand for Fairtrade tea has been a clear priority for the Fairtrade Foundation in the UK:

Building on this growing consumer awareness, in 2008 the Fairtrade Foundation set some ambitious targets to 'tip the balance' of trade in favour of disadvantaged producers. For tea producers to be able to sell more tea under Fairtrade terms, we need to increase the size of the market. Some of the most vulnerable people in the world earn their living from tea and, as a nation of tea drinkers, we in the UK can have a major impact on their lives. (Fairtrade Foundation 2010)

Therefore, the notion of sustainability of the enterprise has a dual performance: there are those instances where engagement with the standard was seen as detracting from core business and thus not making the enterprise sustainable; at the same time there is the desire on the part of value chain actors to engage the standard, because it can bring sustainability to the enterprise through increased sales and consumption of their tea. It is thus more appropriate to claim that these two notions are working together in the Tanzanian tea industry as actors must negotiate the difficulties of maintaining certification so that they can also enjoy the benefits of increased consumption of their tea.

Sustainability of the tea plant

The most often noted reference by research participants in this study was made to the sustainability of the tea plant as the core focus of their enterprise. This response was most common from the production end of the value chain. Here there were two core justifications used

to explain how tea was made sustainable: farm management practices and quality attributes. A common response was similar to the following:

> Sustainability is able to sustain and remain in agriculture (…) that means we have to build up our ability to sustain the tea crop. So we want to grow tea, so it is our responsibility to keep the tea growing. So many people know this product so we need to keep it growing. we need to identify these [costs that inhibit sustainability] and deal with them today so that we can continue grow tea tomorrow (Focus Group February, 2010).

The above reference links the concepts discussed above regarding the sustainability of the enterprise – what must be accomplished in order to stay in business and maintain the customer base – with the core competency of that enterprise, which is growing tea. This was also found with regard to the organic certified estates, as one worker mentioned in a focus group. "Organic brings a benefit first of all in agriculture. The person who farms with organic sells more at the market because the requirements are greater, even the area that is required for it" (Focus Group November, 2009). However, the more that I spoke with farmers; the more I received responses relating to the agricultural practices. More specifically, when I asked how they defined sustainability and what was needed to make good or better tea (chai bora), I was told the story of the life cycle of the tea plant under conventional agriculture.[26] In other words, those necessary practices that make tea grow well. I summarize this story below.

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[26] It is interesting to note, that there is very little difference between conventional and organic tea cultivation practices in Tanzania. The main difference is the use of composting and tea waste rather than synthetic fertilizers and the use of forking rather than glyphosate when weeding is needed (which is not very often on the mature tea estates).

The genesis of the tea plant is either from a seed or a bud cutting from another bush (i.e., clonal tea). However, the use of the word clonal does not imply the use of GMOs, which are banned in three of the four standards. Rather, it refers to traditional plant breeding methods based on cutting the buds from

Figure 5. 1: Tea nursery

mother bushes. Therefore, clonal tea plants are identical to the mother plant and thus will flush at the same time with the yields and quality being similar to the mother plant. The use of seed produces seedlings that are genetically variable. Therefore, clonal tea is considered to be better for tea production. Both seedling plants and cuttings are kept in nurseries for at least nine weeks before planting in the fields (Figure 5.1). Once they are planted, they can be harvested in year two; by year four they are fully productive. Every four years the tea bush is pruned and the cuttings are left in the fields as mulch for the plants (Figure 5.2). Tea waste (from the factory) is also used to mulch tea fields in both conventional and organic agriculture.

Figure 5.2: Mature tea mulched with prunings

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To be a productive tea garden, the tea must be planted in rows so that a plucking table can be created (Figure 5.3). A plucking table describes how the tea bushes are shaped so that each row of bushes resembles a flat table. This plucking table is about waist high and kept flat through

Figure 5.1: Plucking table

the plucking process so that hand plucking can be done quickly and easily. This flat table also facilitates the use of machine harvesting if the terrain is flat.

Trees are an important part of any tea garden. An estate manager noted:

We grow eucalyptus. TRIT did a study for firewood and found that we wouldn't have any left in a certain number of years if we did not begin to replant. So we started to grow eucalyptus forests on the estates. Any well run estate must have a renewable source of firewood; therefore we must reserve some of the land to grow firewood. (Interview October, 2009).

Therefore, most estates also grow eucalyptus and gum trees, which are fast growing and can be easily harvested and replanted to keep the factory boilers running. Most tea gardens are also planted with wind breaks made of trees such as pine, cypress, *Grevillea*, *Hakea saligna,* and sometimes even bananas. There are also many patches of local forests left on the estates as not all of the land that is owned by the tea estates is cleared to convert to tea bushes. For example, of the 19,682 ha of land owned/leased from the government by Unilever in Mufindi, only 3,093 ha are used for tea bushes. The rest holds indigenous and productive forests, roads, factories,

housing, schools and hospitals. This ratio of tea to total hectares is typical for tea estates in Tanzania.

Shade trees were also traditionally planted in Tanzanian gardens, but were removed during the 1970s and 1980s because they were, according to one estate manager 'not the right species' and were creating too much shade, which prevented growth of the tea bushes underneath. However, some farms are replanting the 'right species' to provide shade in the gardens. These shade trees provide both social and ecological benefits in that they help to shield both workers and weeds from the sun.

Tea consumes a lot of nitrogen, as it is fixed in the tea leaves, which are constantly being plucked. Fertilizer (NPK), usually bought in straights (e.g., Urea, Triple super phosphate (TSP), Muriate of Potash (MOP)) to make up a NPK ratio of approximately 25:5:10, is applied twice a year - once after the first rain of the season and once again before the last rain of the season. TRIT recommended rates are 300 kg of Nitrogen per hectare for optimal yields (Carr, Ndamugoba, Burgess et al. 1992). Most estates are applying around that amount, but small farmers receive typically only 35 kg/ha on input credits from the estates and therefore they are applying usually between (30 and 100 kg/ha). Most of the soils in the tea areas of Tanzania have a potassium shortage, but Rungwe soils need sulfur, so a manager explained that they apply different fertilizers each year: "Hence for this season, we are distributing Urea and SSP [Single Super Phosphate]; last season was Urea and TSP and the season before Rock Phosphate and SA [Ammonium Sulphate]" (personal communication). Therefore, actual fertilizer application rates in conventional tea cultivation vary widely. Moreover, there is little to no soil analysis being conducted on smallholder fields; therefore the actual needed amounts of NPK for tea not grown

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in estate cultivation are not known for certain in Tanzania. This explains one of the reasons why

smallholder yields are much lower than estate yields.

As of 2010, there were no known pests for tea in Tanzania. Therefore, pesticides were not

applied. To deal with Armillaria root rot (*Armillaria mellea*) that had developed in the stumps of

old shade trees that were not removed properly from the fields, those estates that had the problem

removed the stumps and planted Guatemala grass, which has prohibited the spread of the fungus

to the tea plants. During the first four years of the tea plant, it is very important to control weeds.

Therefore, glyphosate is sprayed directly near the base of the tea plants using backpack sprayers.

Once tea is matured and a plucking table is well established, there is little need to spray

glyphosate since the shade provided by the table limits the weeds that grow as does the mulching

that is done every four years. Where there are large gaps between bushes, glyphosate is used

periodically to eliminate the weeds.

At this point, the description of chai bora turns to plucking standards and how good farm

management provides for good quality tea. Quality was the main descriptor used for discussing

the sustainability of the tea plant. The goal is to improve the quality of the tea, as this will also

improve the market prices for Tanzanian tea, thereby increasing demand and sustaining their industry. According to the actors within the tea value chain, quality begins in the field with plucking standards - i.e., two leaves and a bud (majani mawili na sindano)

Figure 5.2: Two leaves and a bud

(Figure 5.4). A producer explained it like this:

> Why are we talking about two leaves and a bud? Why are three leaves and a bud inferior? It is because of the concentration of the components that are there in the tea.With two leaves and a bud, the concentrations like carbohydrates and proteins and cafeine. The lower you go, the higher the concentration. So the more leaves, the stronger the tea, the blacker the tea. (Interview February, 2010)

However, once the tea is plucked, the time it takes to get to the factory also determines quality as does the processing method. This is the main difference between orthodox and CTC teas. While I was at an Organic and Fairtrade certified factory, I was able to compare the two that were being produced from the same batch of cross-certified greenleaf tea. While the CTC tea had a red color, the orthodox was dark black (the desired color of leaves). It was explained to me that the difference was in the cutting method and in the dryer. The CTC method was explained to me by a blender as 'bludgeoning the tea to death', while the Orthodox method gently rolls the tea leaves. Also, the drier used for the CTC tea, while new, was built to handle quantity not quality. It also has had some mechanical problems as when I was with the broker in Mombasa we examined the tea and it had a distinct smoky odor. This was not a special tea for the Russian Caravan blend, but was rather a technical problem with the drier - the smoke from the wood burning boiler was entering into the drier, which it is not supposed to do. Therefore, while quality does begin in the field, processing can either enhance or ruin the quality of the tea.

Quality is therefore something that is performed in the production and processing aspects of the tea value chain. However, it is the value that is given to the tea in the market that makes a certain standard of quality sustainable or not. As one blender noted,

> It [quality] is done by blenders and tasters and buyers. And they know what they want, and when they want it, and they buy either on contract or through the auctions. (Interview June, 2010)

A producer explained it like this:

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It is a science – how the flavor, color, and liquor determine quality. Yet, tea is tea is tea - it is the market that discerns quality. (Interview November, 2009)

This quality value is assigned first by brokers as the tea is brought to the tasting rooms. Here each lot of tea is judged by grade based on the color of the leaves, the number of fibers mixed in with the leaves (indicative of including more than just the top two leaves and a bud), the color and moisture of the brewed leaves, and finally the color, taste and smell of the brewed tea liquor. This tasting is done by master tea tasters who are employed by brokers, buyers and blenders. Thus the value assigned to a lot of tea by the broker is then judged by buyers as the price assigned by the broker is raised or lowered during the bidding process.

This attention to the sustainability of the tea plant and its quality attributes is not covered in any of the standards examined above. The broad scope of the Fairtrade, RFA and Organic standards mean that it is impossible to be crop specific. Even the tea specific criteria for the Fairtrade and RFA standards do not cover tea management practices or concerns over quality. An employee of a RFA certified company noted:

You hear Rainforest Alliance saying if we only had quality we'd get more business; and, should we add a quality module? But managing those systems is incredibly expensive. (Interview June, 2010)

ETP is the only standard that is specific for the tea industry and it has not included a single mention of quality or tea specific production practices to its standard (except for those environmental indicators unique to tea estates noted above). It has been caught up in monitoring the social practices of the tea producers, rather than the producers' concerns with sustainability. It is thus to the most common enactment of sustainability by the SDOs that I now turn.

Sustainability as change

Charles Darwin is quoted on the first page of the Cambridge Programme for Sustainability Leadership publication entitled "Landmarks for Sustainability" and sets the tone for the entire volume. The quote is as follows: "It is not the strongest of the species that survives, nor the most intelligent that survives. It is the one that is the most adaptable to change" (Visser 2009). Darwin's observation encapsulates the consensus reached around the sustainability of the standards networks themselves. The concept of change and adaptability was a common theme across all four value chains; however, the majority of the discussion of change came from the European-based SDOs. There are two clear conceptualizations of change that are performed by SDOs. The first is the claim that the SDOs are enabling change in the practices of the tea value chain actors. The second is the justification that the ability of the SDOs and value chain actors to change their own practices will ensure the sustainability of the tea sector in the long run.

The two standards that have accounted for local adaptability and flexibility, RFA and Organic, are actually those standards that have not had to deal with changing many of the practices of the tea producers in Tanzania. An auditor explained, "they do not have many non-conformities, especially in organic" (Interview February, 2010). The description of sustainable tea production in the last section of this chapter shows how many of the Tanzanian tea production practices are very similar to those that are considered organic – mostly because of the lack of pests in the country. This provides more evidence to support the claim that was noted in chapter four, where conversion to organic was cheaper than conventional rehabilitation.

The case of the RFA and Unilever is another example of how change was not necessarily enacted by the producers as a result of the standard. This claim is reinforced by the results of the very first trial audit where the Tanzanian estates passed with above 80 percent compliance and

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thus without the need to wait the typical 2-3 years that other farms needed in order to make the

changes necessary to comply with the RFA standard. The process was described this way:

> It was very easy for us to become certified when RFA came in. Unilever was
> looking for a partnership for them to say that they were sustainable. We did very
> little to get certified. (Focus Group November, 2009)

Overall, the addition of the RFA standard to Unilever's GVC has changed very little, to

date, in their enactment of sustainability. The Unilever managers at the estate in Tanzania

showed me that one of the few changes that were required of them was to cut down a eucalyptus

grove that was planted too close to a body of water and replace it with a mix of less water hungry

trees and some local species (Focus Group February, 2010).[27]

Moreover, the high overlap of Unilever's internal standard and their decision to bring the

RFA into the tea sector by their public commitment in 2007, suggests that Unilever has played a

large role in determining what sustainable tea production looks like in practice, only now this

knowledge is also confirmed by the RFA's seal of approval. One manager explained it like this:

> The Rainforest Alliance changed not very much about the way that UTEA
> operates, except strategy – now we are producing Rainforest Alliance certified
> tea, rather than just producing tea according to the principles of sustainable
> agriculture. (Interview November, 2009)

However, this adaptability of the RFA standard means that they have accounted for their

ability to accommodate what is already being enacted in tea production. An interviewee

explained: "all we are contiunally trying to do is to try and say it is an agenda with no end and

the rules are going to change as time goes on." (Interview June, 2010). This focus on adaptability

of the SDOs themselves is also apparent in the cases of the ETP and Fairtrade.

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[27] This grove was still standing a year after the original audit, as management was waiting for
the trees to fully mature so that they could harvest them for firewood, as was the original purpose
of the grove.

The ETP is the best example of change in the Tanzanian tea sector, first through their

assertion that they are making a difference with their standard. For example, the ETP claims in

their recent pamphlet, "Enabling Change – the following pages provide some examples of the

work that ETP does and the differences that it makes." (ETP 2010a: 6). However, the ETP does

not have any projects in Tanzania and their African examples of change come from Kenya.

Moreover, all of the estate workers that I spoke with had never heard of the ETP and the

managers that I interviewed said that the most recent visit from an ETP auditor had been about

seven years ago. This may be a result of the efforts made by the ETP to make changes to the way

that they approach the tea industry, specifically in their recent agreements with the other SDOs

regarding cross-recognition of their standards. This vision of how the ETP is changing its

approach is summarized in their annual meeting report:

> Martin Cooke, Deputy Director of the Ethical Trading Initiative led a thought-provoking session on 'Ethical Trading - Now and in the Future'. Martin focused on a number of key issues which resonated strongly with the changes that ETP has been making over the last few years, for example citing the fact that: "Strategies to promote better working conditions in the supply base will rely less on auditing of suppliers and more on building their capacity to demonstrate improvements through rewarding good employment practices, training and tools and collaborative industry-wide approaches." (ETP 2010b)

A blender who is a member of the ETP explained the processes:

> Its development! Now its getting there, but it took a lot of – a long learning process. They've [ETP] changed a lot, they've had to, you have to change with the times otherwise you become a dinosaur. You can't hold on to what you want to do, you have to change with what is happening. (Interview June, 2010)

This approach places the ETP more squarely into the role of a development NGO or a capacity

building organization, rather than a SDO. Thus, they are shifting their entire strategy of how

'change' might be achieved in the tea industry.

Finally, the actors in the Fairtrade value chain showed the greatest capacity to change and this is reflected not just in their review process of the standard itself (which was noted in reference to the use of premium funds and the 2010 tea standard revision), but also in some of the projects engaged in by the value chain actors. A good example is the case of the Adapting to Climate Change (AdapCC) project sponsored by GTZ (the German Development Cooperation) and Cafédirect. The project worked with tea farmers in Africa and coffee farmers in Latin America to develop climate change adaptation strategies for their production operations. Two of the Fairtrade certified companies (one HL company and one SPO) were part of this project. During the close-out workshop, which I attended in Nairobi, the representatives from each country were told to map out their climate problems, the solutions to these problems and the resources needed to address these problems. Table 5.2 is a reproduction of the table that was created during the workshop.

The discussions that we had regarding the construction of this table also mentioned food insecurity as a possible climate problem, but it did not make it to the final draft. Neither did the mention of displacement of populations, due to both land degradation and the introduction of alternative technologies (such as harvesting machines). Looking at the types of problems that were identified in the final table and were presented to the group, it is clear that the participants highlighted key issues in each of the three pillars of sustainability; however, the solutions and resources needed to resolve these problems fall mostly under the economic pillar of sustainability. This points again to how producers are identifying sustainability, even their ability to adapt to change (climate or otherwise), within the construct of the sustainability of their enterprise.

Table 5.2: AdapCC project grid

Climate Problems	Solutions	Resources
Reduced Income	Diversification Alternative Crops Alternative Technology	Extension Bridging Grants Research and Development
Land Degradation	Reforestation Improved Land Use	Finance for Seedlings Market Development Capacity Building
Social Unrest	Better Product Price Alternative Income Generating Activities	Marketing Communication [new activities]

These examples illustrate how there is both recognition and a necessity for SDOs not just to mitigate changes in the enactment of their standards, but to actually adapt to the changing circumstances in the global market. Here the focus is on sustaining engagement with the tea sector, rather than necessarily having the ability to change practices in the sector. In other words, the focus on change by the SDOs is a way to ensure the sustainability of their enterprise, which is developing and selling standards.

Conclusions

The case studies explored above show that each of the four standards define sustainability along the lines of social, economic and environmental criteria, while the enactments of these standards fall under the umbrella of sustainability of the enterprise with specific focus on sustainability of the tea plant and the capacity for change and adaptability. The biggest discrepancy between the enactment of sustainability and those visions encoded into the standards is the pillar of economic sustainability. While this was the most evident enactment of sustainability in the Tanzanian tea sector, it receives little to no attention in the written standard. This thus suggests the question: Why not? If value chain actors are engaging with these four standards in order to improve the sustainability of their enterprises, why then are there not

economic criteria for sustainability? To begin to answer this question I believe that we must reflect back on the concept of sustainability.

As was mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, sustainability is indeed a concept with a number of definitions and meanings, and thus represents a *bricolage* of sorts. However, an interviewee put it this way: "It's the word isn't it? The sustainability word is a pain in the butt. What we should have been talking about all along is sustainable development." This recalls the quote by Sachs at the beginning of this chapter. There has been an inability to create a worldwide consensus on the definition of sustainability, perhaps because we have been talking about sustainable development. However, Sachs warns that:

> By linking 'sustainable' to 'development', however, a terrain of semantic ambiguity was created. The new concept subtly shifted the locus of sustainability from nature to development: while 'sustainable' previously referred to natural yields, it now refers to development (...) Moreover, since 'development' is conceptually an empty shell that may cover anything from the rate of capital accumulation to the number of latrines, it becomes eternally unclear and contestable just what exactly should be kept sustainable. This is the reason why all sorts of political actors, even fervent proponents of economic growth, are today able to couch their intentions in terms of 'sustainable development'. The term has become inherently self-referential, as a definition offered by the World Bank neatly confirms: 'What is sustainable? Sustainable development is development that lasts' (World Bank 1992:34) (Sachs 1999: 81).

This is very much like the claim made by the Organic movement: "what is sustainable agriculture? It is Organic agriculture." However, as explored above, organic is not an empty concept like development is. Although contested, it is also a legally defined and highly prescriptive in terms of what is not considered organic. This tautology is not the case with the other standards.

However, both Fairtrade and RFA do promote organic agriculture in their standards. Those farmers who are organic certified get a higher premium through Fairtrade and do not have to conduct some of the tests required by RFA. While ETP does not officially recognize Organic,

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their agreements with RFA and Fairtrade mean that they also respect these concessions. Thus, are we perhaps actually seeing an enactment of sustainability as organic agriculture? An interviewee explained it like this:

> The key benefits of all the certifiations, is they are forcing the world to go organic. They would all prefer someone who is organic. They are saying: if you are organic, then I don't check this. The move of the world now is to have something that is organic (Interview February, 2010).

However, in Tanzanian tea, Organic has the fewest certified farms and it the one that is most dependent on the networked relationships of its value chain (as shown in chapter four). In other words, Organic agriculture may hold the most rhetorical power in discussions of sustainability, but in the enactment of sustainability Fairtrade and RFA have been the most present. Therefore, the difference here is that we do indeed have a number of different 'sustainabilities' circulating in discourses around social and environmental standards. Moreover, the tension between the contributions and distractions of the same standards towards the goal of sustainability reveal that these multiplicities must be constantly negotiated. Thus we must return to Mol's (2002) fundamental question – do these multiplicities hold?

An analysis of the standards themselves as the bar for measuring sustainability may show that most of the performances of sustainability in the tea sector are generic, because they are not reenacting the version of sustainability that is codified in the standard. However, by examining the performances of the value of sustainability we are able to identify where there is overlap, where there is cross-over and where there is contestation between the standards and their 'enactors'. Thus, we see that there is a story of sustainability that is holding in Tanzanian tea value chains. It is the story of standards as marketing devices that render tea a quality product that can be sustainably consumed and allow enterprises to adapt to changes in the industry and in the global tea market. Therefore, those questions of underlying ethics and a renegotiated

relationship between humans and nature that have been discussed in the literature as necessary for implementing sustainable agriculture actually are not taking place in this story of sustainability that holds. Broader implications of this story of sustainability are discussed in the concluding chapter. First, however, I turn to this notion of the companies and how their responsibilities are performed as an aspect of sustainability.

CHAPTER SIX: Responsible Performances or: AccountabiliTea

Change is a constant. Being prepared for the future is, accordingly, a constant responsibility for any corporation." (Finlays 2010: 4)

We do not believe it is in the interests of the global tea industry to have third-party, commercial enterprises be the sole adjudicator of what are fair trade practices. It is in the interests of the global tea industry to self police and self authenticate its industry. (Joe Simrany, C.19 FAO 2010b: 3)

The late Milton Friedman summed up the conventional belief of the role of business in society with an article entitled: "The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase its Profits" (Friedman 1970). However, with the spread of globalization and its resultant inequities (cf. Bhagwati 2004; Cavanagh and Mander 2004; Stiglitz 2002), and the recent scandals involving corporate fraud, exploitation of labor, environmental degradation, and the economic downturn, doubts have been voiced about the singularity of this role (Enoch 2007; Newell 2005; Visser 2010). Social responsibility advocates have questioned whether the capitalist dependency on profit maximizing positions it irrevocably against society, the environment and ultimately the company itself (Blowfield 2000; Gereffi, Garcia-Johnson, and Sasser 2001). An increased emphasis on Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) within and outside of the business world has slowly shifted social responsibility activists and profit-motivated businesses closer to common ground over the past twenty to thirty years (Conroy 2007; Vogel 2005).

There is substantial evidence in the literature that agribusinesses are becoming increasingly involved in CSR programs, particularly those that utilize social and environmental standards (e.g., Bain 2007; Cashore, Auld, and Newsom 2004; Constance and Bonanno 2000; Maloni and Brown 2006). These programs introduce certification schemes that make claims about the 'values' or 'qualities' embedded in certified products (Callon et al. 2002; Murdoch et

al. 2000). According to the 2006 SustainabiliTea report, CSR has not received much attention in the tea sector, either in producing or consuming countries, particularly when compared to the banana or coffee sectors. The report found that at the producing country level, more advanced CSR policies and practices have remained confined to a few big plantation companies; while awareness among other industry actors and stakeholders, such as workers, unions and smallholders, of the benefits and the concept of CSR was low (SOMO et al. 2006).

However, it is also clear that CSR is a concept that has found an outlet in the tea industry, at least through the engagement with the ETP, Fairtrade, Organic and RFA standards over the past fifteen years. The last chapter showed how sustainability of the enterprise was the core enactment of sustainability in Tanzanian certified tea value chains. This chapter takes this notion and looks specifically at how this translates into the value of CSR. In other words, if the sustainability of the enterprise is the core concern, then how do tea companies sustain their enterprises by being responsible companies?

It is this rearrangement of word order that seems to be most salient in the Tanzanian tea industry. As the epigraph from Joe Simrany, President of the Tea Association USA, illustrates at the beginning of this chapter, there is considerable resistance from the tea industry against what is sometimes described as 'neocolonial' or 'aid-focused' efforts from the Global North in determining the discourse around what corporations should be held responsible for and to whom they should be accountable. The case of the Tanzanian tea industry shows that while CSR may not be referred to in these exact terms, there are indeed responsible companies enacting their own visions of CSR.

In this chapter I explore these enactments of CSR in the certified tea sector in Tanzania. As I am using the standards as the organizing values for these value chains, I first analyze the

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standards based on whether or not there is specific mention of CSR in the standard itself, and then pose the question: how do each of the four standards expand upon the concept of responsibility? The focus here is on the tea producing companies. As illustrated in chapter four, the applicability of these standards is focused mainly on the farm and factory level of the tea value chain, and thus might be described as ways to 'discipline' the actions of producers.

However, because of the close nature of relationships between different actors in the certified value chains, the enactments of CSR include other closely linked value chain actors. What follows is a brief conceptual framework for envisioning CSR. Most discussions of CSR are found in the management literature. Here CSR is analyzed as strategic approaches to responsibility and accountability. I also include in this section some of the critiques of CSR that emerge from the sociological literature to show that this value, and those programs that are instituted to achieve it, is highly contested. I then present an analysis of the standards. Following this is an examination of the enactments of CSR in the certified tea sector in Tanzania. These can be described as three core enactments: legal responsibility, triple-bottom-line, and long-term relationships. I conclude this chapter by problematizing the role of standards as CSR strategies.

Contesting the value of CSR

First proposed in 1979, CSR was conceptualized as a construct that "encompasses the economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary expectations that society has of organizations at a given point in time" (Carroll 1979: 500). This concept ranges from the view of CSR "as actions that appear to further some social good, beyond the interests of the firm and that which is required by law" (McWilliams and Siegel 2001: 117) to a notion that firms must maintain only the fiduciary responsibility they hold to their stockholders (i.e., financial return) (Goodpaster 1991). The classic model is that of Carroll (1991), who prescribed a four-part CSR pyramid,

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where economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic responsibilities are assigned respectively decreasing importance in a corporation's decision-making process. More recently, there are discussions of a "market for virtue" (Vogel 2005) and a growing belief that "transnational firms […] ought to be held accountable not only to their shareholders, but also to a broader community of stakeholders who are affected by their decisions and behavior" (Ruggie 2004: 21).

Stakeholder theory is used to identify those groups who are affected by company policy as well as those who have the capacity to affect it (Doh and Guay 2006). Primary stakeholder groups often consist of shareholders and investors, employees, customers, suppliers, trade associations, and public entities such as governments or other public organizations that set laws and govern commerce (Clarkson 1995). However, secondary stakeholders such as activists and consumer groups have often been reported as the driving forces behind the emergence of CSR programs (Guay, Doh, and Sinclair 2004; Harrison 2003). For example, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are increasingly targeting the reputation of retailers, especially those that advance an image of corporate social responsibility, in order to try to get them to change their buying practices or implement better food quality, environmental, or labor standards (Gereffi et al. 2001; Hughes 2005; McLaughlin 2004). Eco-modernization theorists (e.g., Andersen and Sprenger 2000; Sonnenfeld and Mol 2002) maintain that a particular focus on those innovative initiatives that are founded on consumer demands will further enable corporations to 'green' their operations. For example, if an initiative is consumer driven, the consumer will begin to expect these 'green' types of practices *de facto*. As Fairtrade and Sustainable coffee has become widespread, consumers have also started to demand similar social justice certifications for other export products, such as tea, bananas and even clothing (Raynolds et al. 2007a; Raynolds 2000; Raynolds 2002). Stakeholder theory thus suggests that organizational survival and success is

contingent on satisfying both its economic (i.e., profit maximization) and non-economic (e.g., corporate social performance) objectives by meeting the needs of the company's various stakeholders (e.g., Freeman 1984; Marsden 2004; Pirsch et al. 2007).

Porter and Kramer (2006) promote the notion of interdependency between business and society, which takes two forms in their framework: "inside-out linkages" where company operations impact society and "outside-in linkages" where external societal forces impact companies. The framework also categorizes three general ways corporations intersect with society: first, "generic social issues" where a company's operations do not significantly impact society and the issue is not material to the company's long-term competitiveness; second, "value chain social impacts" where a company's normal operations significantly impact society; and third, "social dimensions of competitive context," where social issues affect the underlying drivers of a company's competitiveness. These diverse impacts could also be used as a means to characterize the type of CSR program a company adopts or the manner in which they conduct business (Porter and Kramer 2006: 8). Finally, within the sphere of business management, social performance indicators are used by NGOs and the corporations themselves as accounting and auditing mechanisms to measure the social responsibility shown by corporations (Baron 2007; Clarkson 1995; IFC 2006; Norman and MacDonald 2004).

The above mechanisms can be compared to the role of standards in GVCs, which was highlighted in chapter two, as measures against which persons, processes and things are judged. Many multinational corporations comply with standards as part of CSR programs (Webb 2002). These companies use CSR to minimize risk and avoid liability by acting (or being so perceived) ethically and responsibly throughout their supply chain. The most widely adopted approach is that of the "triple bottom line," which is defined by the business community as economic

prosperity, environmental quality, and social justice (Norman and MacDonald 2004). This definition is strikingly similar to the concept of sustainability explored in the literature in chapter five (cf. Morito 2002). Similar to what was illustrated in the last chapter, the notion of the triple bottom line also refers to how attention to environmental and social concerns can ensure economic prosperity for companies (Engardio et al. 2007).

Much of the research on CSR has been focused on Western companies and contexts without seriously investigating how these theories apply to companies that are operating in the Global South (e.g., Vogel 1995). Visser (2006) argues that the priorities laid out by Carroll (1991) are not reflective of the reality or the necessities in Africa. Using Carroll's model of CSR to look at the current corporate initiatives in Africa, Visser et al. (2006) claim that economic priorities remain the highest, but philanthropy is often given second highest priority, followed by legal priorities and finally the ethical responsibilities of the company. This model is particularly inadequate for Africa, as conflicts and contradictions are abundant and there is an urgent need to find ways to reconcile numerous binaries, such as: job creation and environmental protection, short-term profitability and AIDS treatment costs, oppressive regimes and transparent governance, economic empowerment and social investment. The authors suggest that increasingly important aspects of CSR in Africa include leadership and governance, community and environment, health and HIV/AIDS, industry or sector specific issues, supply chains and small enterprises, and finally, the effects of globalization (Visser et al. 2006). Orock (2006) claims that the marginalization of Africa from the benefits of globalization is largely due to the unwillingness of many multinational organizations (MNCs) to globalize their notions and practice of CSR from their Northern home to the African host countries. This suggests a

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recurrent theme that emerges from the multi-stakeholder initiatives, where the Global North is

driving the call for CSR, but the benefits are not necessarily being felt in the Global South.

This concept of unequal benefits might be linked to the critique that much of what is

being publicly claimed as CSR is actually 'greenwashing' (e.g., EnviroMedia Social Marketing

2010). As Enoch (2007: 88) writes, "CSR thereby acts as a means to present a 'green façade'

that 'conceals and reassures, while accelerated breakdown takes place behind its walls'." This

critique emerges from the political economy perspective, which claims that CSR efforts are

inadequate because they do not address the underlying contradictions of the capitalist system of

production (e.g., Enoch 2007; Foster 1999; Goldman 2005; Gould, Pellow, and Schnaiberg 2004;

O'Connor 1994). Put differently, the focus placed on producing sustainable tea could just be the

next new fad (cf. Marx 1956 [1893]), and once a new fad comes around that will increase profits,

this effort will go by the wayside. Reich (2007: 171) claims that CSR is a dangerous distraction,

focusing hyped-up attention on the social interventions of corporations rather than laying

responsibility squarely on government, which is the only actor that can actually solve social

problems - "to credit these corporations with being 'socially responsible' is to stretch the term to

mean anything a company might do to increase profits if, in doing so, it also happens to have

some beneficent impact on the rest of society." These critiques try to focus attention back on the

relative importance of some stakeholders versus others.

In the most recent addition to this literature the notion of CSR 2.0 is being promoted as

the next generation of CSR. Here CSR stands for 'corporate sustainability and responsibility' and

is a "transformative concept based on the five principles of creativity, scalability, responsiveness,

glocality and circularity" (Visser and Tolhurst 2010: xii). This approach attempts to remedy the

gaps in traditional CSR projects and instead proposes a holistic, embedded, scalable model of

CSR, which encompasses some of the best ideas from the other approaches noted above. Creativity encompasses the idea that businesses should use their innovation and creativity towards solving the world's social and environmental problems, rather than solely on creative product development. Scalability focuses attention on the need to 'scale up' the best practices from small boutique projects to wider-scale efforts that change the core business strategy. This transformation of core business strategy is also part of the notion of responsiveness, which pushes businesses to have greater transparency and sharing of critical intellectual resources. Glocality takes the popular notion of thinking globally and acting locally, which has been made famous by Zygmunt Bauman (1998), and recognizes the need to create local solutions to global problems at the same time as continuing to seek global solutions. The notion of circularity is Visser's attempt to highlight the constraints of capitalism that I referred to in chapter five. He explains circularity as follows:

> CSR 2.0 circularity would, according to cradle-to-cradle aspirations, create buildings that, like trees, produce more energy than they consume and purify their own waste water; or factories that produce drinking water as effluent; or products that decompose and become food and nutrients; or materials that can feed into industrial cycles as high quality raw materials for new products. Circularity needn't only apply to the environment. Business should be constantly feeding and replenishing its social and human capital, not only through education and training, but also by nourishing community and employee wellbeing. CSR 2.0 raises the importance of meaning in work and life to equal status alongside ecological integrity and financial viability. (Visser 2010: 11).

Visser envisions that in the future, this shift to CSR 2.0 will itself change the relations between producers and consumers – and expectations of responsibility. Self-selecting ethical consumers will become irrelevant as companies will cease offering implicitly 'less ethical' product ranges.

As illustrated above, the academic debates around CSR can be categorized as the following: identifying those people and things that companies are responsible for and accountable to, and determining how a company goes about fulfilling those responsibilities. This

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poses two core questions for analysis in this chapter. First, how do companies that are working in the Tanzanian tea sector both envision the responsibilities of corporations and engage their stakeholders? Second, what roles do the four sustainability standards play in the enactments of CSR? These questions are addressed in the following sections where I illustrate how these ideas are forwarded by companies through the use of social and environmental standards and how they are enacted in practice.

Reading into the standards

Only one of the four standards (i.e., Fairtrade) examined in this study explicitly mentions CSR. However, a close reading of all four of the standards illustrates that companies must be responsible for three core competencies: a healthy and safe work environment, workers' rights and benefits, and environmental concerns. I have queried the data based on the two questions: Which value chain actors are responsible for what and to whom are they accountable? The results from this query, using the exact words or phrase from the standards and aggregated to the broadest category, are listed in Table 6.1.

Ethical Tea Partnership

I begin my analysis with the ETP standard, as it has been called "a CSR exercise" for the UK blenders by many of the participants in my research. The standard itself serves as the CSR device to make a 'company' (alternatively referred to as the employer or estate) responsible. Therefore, the majority of the responsibility lies on the shoulders of the tea producing company. Specifically within the standard there are various stakeholders who are identified. The largest group is made of up of the different categories of employees (specifically mentioned are children, young workers, casual workers, men and women).

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Table 6.1: Standard responsibility and accountability

	ETP	Fairtrade	Organic	RFA
Which actors?	Companies	Companies (HL) Senior Management Organization (SPO) Members (Small producers) Operators (Trade)[28]	Operators Subcontractor/ supplier Control Authority Control Body Member States	Farm Upper Management Contractor
What? Things & Actions	Accurate scales Contracts Facilities Information Policies Procedures Programs PPEs Records/ Documents Reduce agrochemicals Respect & dignity Risk assessments Training Techniques Wages & Benefits Welfare & Social Services	Awareness[29] CSR in mission (HL) Collective Bargaining Agreement Contracts Documents Evidence Facilities Grievance procedure Plans PPEs Records Regulation Traceability (Trade) Training Wages & Benefits	Control System Conversion period Documentation Information Implementation Labeling/ Logo Practices Production Procedures Records Separation in time & space (holdings, products, processes) Techniques	Collective Bargaining Agreement Contracts Educational activities Evidence Training Policies Procedures Programs Records Salaries & Benefits Implementations Land use capacity studies
To Whom or What?	Employees Environment Law (National & International) Standard	Certification Body Inspector (HL, Trade) Board (SPO) Law (National & International) Standard	Competent Authority Community Regulation Consumers Control Authority Control Body Operator Law (National Law, ISO 65, Codex Alimentarius) The Commission	Ecosystem Community Law (National & International) Standard Workers

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[28] I have included in this analysis the Generic Fairtrade Trade Standard, as this standard discusses the 'business' side of Fairtrade specifically and places responsibilities on the 'operators' for conducting the trading aspect of the value chain. ETP and RFA standards do not cover this portion of the value chain. The EU Organic standard does address this in its requirements for traceability.

[29] These items refer to all three standards. If an item refers specifically to one standard, it is noted in parenthesis.

This accountability reflects the predominant focus of the standard on labor rights and conditions of employment. While in Table 6.1 I have listed specific responsibilities that are found in the standard, the most unique responsibility, which sets it apart from the others, is the responsibility of the company to provide accurate weighing scales. This is illustrative of the crop-specific nature of this standard. Since fraud relating to the inaccurate weighing of green leaf tea results in lower payments to both pluckers and small farmers, a responsible company should provide accurate weighing scales.

The way by which companies deliver on the responsibilities outlined in the standard is mainly by having a number of policies (frequency =18),[30] procedures (26), and programs (11) in place that are communicated (9) or documented with records (21). For example:

1.1.a. The estate should have a policy prohibiting all forms of forced and bonded labour, which it clearly communicates to its senior managers.

2.1.a The estate should have a policy stating respect for the right of workers to bargain collectively, which is communicates to all its workers.

3.1.1.a The estate should have a written Health & Safety policy as well as management systems ensuring effective implementation of this policy.

4.1.a The estate should have a policy regarding child labour (whether or not children are working on the estate). In addition, it has management systems in place which ensure effective implementation of this policy (including remediation plan).

4.4 Companies shall develop or participate in and contribute to policies and programmes which provide for the transition of any child found to be performing child labour to enable her or him to attend and remain in quality education until no longer a child.

4.5.a The estate should have guidelines in place for the types of employment conditions that are acceptable.

10.1 The estate has a written environmental policy.
The estate has an environmental management system (EMS) which includes policies, procedures and programmes aimed both at managing the environmental aspects of its operations and reducing its environmental impact. (ETP 2009a)

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[30] The frequency, the number in parenthesis, refers to the number of times the word appears in the text.

By having these policies in place, which can be checked during the 'monitoring' visits, these companies are illustrating their accountability to the UK-based blenders. Given the recent agreements with Fairtrade and RFA, the ETP is also suggesting that companies are responsible first to the Fairtrade and RFA standards systems – in lieu of the responsibilities that are laid out in the ETP standard. This results in confusion in terms of the enactment of the ETP standard, as it is very difficult to identify how this standard is enacted in practice, if the standard is no longer actually being applied to the companies.

Fairtrade

Fairtrade is the only standard that explicitly addresses CSR and dictates specific responsibilities for certain individuals and accountability to others. The minimum requirement for those companies certified under the HL agreement is explained as follows:

> In addition to its economic and financial goals, the company acknowledges and abides by its social responsibilities and specifically aims to enhance the empowerment and well-being of its workers as well as to protect the environment, thus adding a new quality dimension to the product, by the following means:
> - o owners share the aims and values of Fairtrade and its underlying philosophy and make it part of their corporate mission
> - o senior management incorporates the Fairtrade concept into its strategic business plan
> - o management applies Fairtrade to its daily activities in a suitable manner
>
> Fairtrade certification can enhance and further enable this mission. Applicants shall be asked to demonstrate the way in which they are currently disadvantaged by market and trading conditions. Certification may only be granted to companies whose workers have been economically disadvantaged or marginalized by the conventional trading system. (FLO 2009a: 6)

For the SPO standard, the responsibility of organizations is the following:

> **1.1 Fairtrade adds to Development: Intent**
> The direct beneficiaries of Fairtrade within this standard are small producers (including their families) who are organized in producer organizations to advance their interests. Fairtrade should lead to the demonstrable empowerment and environmentally-sustainable social and economic development of the producer organization and its members, and through them of the workers. (FLO 2009c: 6)

Generally speaking companies, organizations and operators are responsible for plans (48 instances in the SPO standard, 28 in the HL standard, nine in the Trade standard). These plans encompass all of the diverse social, economic and environmental development responsibilities of the participating companies, organizations and operators. In some instances a specific employee is held responsible for specific activities. For example, "A person (Health and Safety Officer) is nominated to be in charge of occupational health and safety matters" (FLO 2009a: 21). Evidence (14) [31] is required in order to justify many of the deviations or implementations of the plan. Yet, there is no one single definition of 'evidence' in the Fairtrade Standard. For example:

> 'Evidence' can be defined in a number of ways: the company should specify how it is defining it. In all cases, the company should be able to explain to inspectors its rationale for the use of agrochemicals. (FLO 2009a: 36)

Often, however, document(s) (79) and record(s) (48) are the means through which evidence must be presented to FLO, so to ensure the accountability of companies, organizations and operators to standards body. For example, in the Tea specific standard, an exception is made for the use of Fairtrade premium funds in the Darjeeling region of India:

> 2.1.2 Infrastructure projects of benefit to both the plantation management and the workers' community may be approved by FLO if it can be demonstrated to FLO's complete satisfaction that this has the clear approval of the workers. (FLO 2010f: 3)

There is also accountability to the complex chain of command within the certification system, beginning through the practice of the audit. This is explained below:

> A full Fairtrade audit can last from four days for a small producer organization and up to six or seven weeks for the largest cooperatives. The time the auditor spends on the ground depends on the size of the producer organization, its complexity, and the number of certified products it is seeking to sell. The cost of certification is dependent on the number of working days required to inspect the

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[31] The frequencies in this section refer cumulatively to the three standards, unless otherwise noted.

producer group. Following an audit, a report is sent to FLO-CERT for evaluation. The decision to certify is taken by a specialized certifier, who is supervised by an independent certification committee. After they receive their initial Fairtrade certification, producers are inspected on-site on an annual basis. In some circumstances, where organizations have demonstrated excellent compliance over many years, they may qualify for a 'desk-top' review as part of a three year inspection cycle. (FLO 2010b)

Here, it is noted that if enough trust has been built up between the SPO and FLO, where the SPO has shown that they have acted responsibly, there is a possibility to turn the time consuming physical yearly audit into a true exercise in documented evidence. This exception has not yet been granted to the participating tea producers in Tanzania.

Organic

There is no CSR policy written into the EU regulation for Organic. Indeed, the way that this standard is written is quite different from the other three. First there is embedded in the standard a cyclical notion of accountability between those actors identified in the document. While not entirely reciprocal accountability, there is a complex system of checks and balances where a number of actors (operators, subcontractors/suppliers, control authority, control body, and member states) are accountable to a number of different actors [competent authority, community regulation consumers, control authority, control body, operator, law (national law, ISO 65, Codex Alimentarius), The Commission].

The main responsibility of these actors is to uphold the integrity of the Organic standard, which is ensured through the use of a control system. For example,

> (31) In order to ensure that organic products are produced in accordance with the requirements laid down under the Community legal framework on organic production, activities performed by operators at all stages of production, preparation and distribution of organic products should be submitted to a control system set up and managed in conformity with the rules laid down in Regulation (EC) No 882/2004 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 29 April

2004 on official controls performed to ensure the verification of compliance with feed and food law, animal health and animal welfare rules.(EC 2007: L189/3)

13. Member States shall ensure that the control system as set up allows for the traceability of each product at all stages of production, preparation and distribution in accordance with Article 18 of Regulation (EC) No 178/2002, in particular, in order to give consumers guarantees that organic products have been produced in compliance with the requirements set out in this Regulation. (EC 2007: L189/18)

In other words, the control system facilitates the ability of organic actors to be responsible for traceability within the organic system so to ensure their accountability to both the law and to consumers. The way by which this responsibility is enacted in the standard is through procedure(s) (33), practice(s) (25), information (20), implementation (14) and documentation (14). Thus, the responsibilities of organic actors are focused more on what the actors are doing, rather than on what they are documenting about what they are doing.

Rainforest Alliance

The RFA standard focuses mainly on the farm, with specific reference to upper management and contractors. This generic use of the term farm illustrates the broad applicability of the RFA standard to the production portion of the value chain. However, specific responsibility that is placed on individual actors, as is also noted in the Fairtrade standard, facilitates the enactment of the vision of corporate responsibility. However, differently from the Fairtrade standard, the RFA standard also notes the need for the allocation of resources for specific activities. For example,

The farm's upper management must demonstrate a commitment to certification and to complying with the requirements stipulated in the standard and by law. The management must also be familiar with and endorse the system and its programs and support its execution by providing the necessary resources. (Rainforest Alliance 2009: 14)

The RFA standard focuses on responsibilities along the supply chain, as is also found in the traceability requirements of the Fairtrade and Organic requirements. However, the RFA standard is only looking at the supply chain that terminates at the farm level – not the retail level. The RFA standard elaborates on the responsibility of farms for the way that their suppliers act.

> 1.8 The farm's service providers must commit to complying with the environmental, social and labor requirements of this standard, not only while operating on the farm but also for any outside activities related to the services provided. The farm must have mechanisms for evaluating its service providers and checking that they are complying with this standard. The farm must not use the services of suppliers or contractors that do not comply with the social, labor and environmental requirements of this standard. (Rainforest Alliance 2009: 15)

These responsibilities are articulated in the standard as programs (53), procedures (32), and policies (30). These must be implemented (27) and recorded (19). As is also suggested in the ETP standard, the RFA standard requires farms to be accountable to two core groups of stakeholders: workers and the community. For example:

> 5.13 The farm must formally and regularly consult and inform workers regarding any planned technical and organizational changes and their potential social, environmental and economic impacts.(Rainforest Alliance 2009: 24)

> 7.4 The farm must contribute to the protection and conservation of community natural resources, collaborate with the development of the local economy, and contribute fairly towards the costs of the community infrastructure and local shared resources consumed – schools, pathways, aqueducts and other infrastructure as well as water and other resources – according to the amount used by the farm. Farms must negotiate a fair compensation with local communities and local and national authorities for resources and infrastructure used.

> 7.5 The farm must help with local environmental education efforts and must support and collaborate with local research in areas related to this standard. (Rainforest Alliance 2009: 33)

The responsibility on the part of RFA certified farms toward collaboration with local research and education efforts external to the place of work is something that sets this standard apart from the others in its focus on a responsibility of the company to the broader community.

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In the case of the tea sector in Tanzania, collaboration with local research on tea provides these actors with access to laboratories where they can conduct numerous chemical analyses also required by the standard.

Overall, the tone adopted in each of these standards is indeed very legalistic – in all cases national legislation or ILO conventions are referred to in the standards. This has not been done for the environmental responsibilities of the standards. This may be because there is yet to be developed on a global scale an agreed upon convention for environmental conservation that rivals the recognition that the ILO conventions hold for labor rights. There is also an overwhelming focus on the responsibility of actors to have policies and management systems, which represent 'evidence' of standard compliance. The ETP, Fairtrade and RFA standards also require that the certified actors provide housing and deliver training to employees. The core stakeholders that are referred to in the ETP and RFA standards are different types of employees and surrounding communities. Each standard explicitly requires compliance with 'this standard' (or 'regulation' in the case of Organic), thus implies that companies are accountable to the standard itself. Only the Fairtrade and Organic standards note specific accountability to the conformity assessment system (certifiers, control bodies) put in place to enforce the standards.

Identifying the actors

In Tanzania, there are five key companies that make up the certified tea sector: Bombay Burmah Trading Company (ETP, Fairtrade and Organic), East Usambara Tea Company (ETP, ex-Fairtrade), Mufindi Tea Company (ETP, Fairtrade and Organic), Unilever Tea Tanzania Ltd. (Rainforest Alliance), and Wakulima Tea Company (ETP and Fairtrade). In order to gain a nuanced understanding of how CSR is enacted in the Tanzanian tea sector, it is important to

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provide a clearer description of how the companies that must demonstrate responsibility are organized.

Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation Ltd. – Herkulu Estates (BBTC)

BBTC, operating in Lushoto and Muheza Districts of Tanga Province, is an Indian registered share-holding company that operates two factories and estates in Tanzania – Herkulu and Marvera. BBTC is India's second oldest publicly quoted company (Wadia Group 2010). In 1954 the Indian company spread BBTC's tea interest to East Africa. In January 1956, Herkulu Estate in the West Usambara Mountains was purchased, the factory has been in operation since 1961, and teas have been sold at the London and then the Mombasa Auction throughout this period. As illustrated in chapter four, the Herkulu value chain is characterized as "hierarchical" given the formal integration of assets and trading systems within a single ownership structure. Since 1989/90, the Herkulu Estate (230 Hectares) has been organically cultivated; beginning in 1994 it was certified organic by the Institute of Marketecology, Switzerland (IMO) (Bombay Burmah 2010). Since 1997 Herkulu has been certified according to the FLO HL standard, but presents an interesting arrangement whereby the smallholder farmers were involved in the Joint Body (JB). Herkulu has an outgrower contract with about 2,000 smallholder farmers who are part of the Mponde Tea Producers and Marketing Co-operative. This cooperative was created in 1999 when this group of farmers split from UTEGA (the umbrella smallholder association for the Usumbaras region) to begin sourcing to Herkulu. This break represents an interesting case in the local politics of tea in Tanzania as UTEGA owns 50% shares in the New Mponde factory in Lushoto and all UTEGA members should be receiving share payments. The reasons given for the shift to sourcing to Herkulu were that "Herkulu pays on time" and the farmers were "receiving additional benefits from the Fairtrade funds" (Focus Group January, 2010). In fact, although

these smallholders were not FLO certified, Herkulu management allowed them to be represented

on the JB since they lived in the same villages as the majority of workers. The smallholder

involvement in the JB was stopped as a result of the FLO audit in 2009, FLO adjudicated that the

smallholders should not be involved as they were not part of the certified system. Management

did not argue as they had noticed that the "smallholders had been dominating the decisions made

by the JB" (Interview January, 2010).

Over the years, the JB has invested the funds to build dispensaries, classrooms, housing

for para-medical staff and teachers, and to build bridges to better connect the surrounding

villages. The premiums have also been used to procure roofing sheets for local school buildings,

as well as distributing roofing sheets, cement and sewing machines to workers (as the majority

have chosen not to live in the company provided accommodation). The company has set up a

Fairtrade shop where supplies are purchased at wholesale prices from the towns and sold to the

workers and smallholders on a 'no-profit-no-loss' basis. Only the workers are allowed to

purchase supplies from the shop on credit. Additionally, a maize mill was installed as a joint

project between the JB and BBTC, which is available to residents of the surrounding villages.

Herkulu management explained that due to a small budget allotted by the parent company to

Tanzanian operations, most of its CSR activities were paid for with Fairtrade premium funds.

East Usambara Tea Company Ltd. (EUTCO)

EUTCO, operating in Muheza District of Tanga Province, is a Tanzanian registered

company, owned by the Mac Group Plc. – a Tanzanian, family-owned, shareholding, umbrella

company for a variety of investments in Tanzania. EUTCO operates two factories and estates

(Bulwa, Kwamkoro) that were both Fairtrade certified from 2007-2009. Prior to the current

ownership, EUTCO has been owned by two UK based companies, namely Global Tea and

Commodities Ltd. (2001-2005) and CDC Group Plc (1987-2001). Prior to this, EUTCO had been nationalized and run under the TTA system. The majority of production for the two factories comes from the companies own fields as there are not many smallholders in Muheza district who grow tea - 246 smallholders farming 119 hectares that source to three factories (Priest 2010). Among the reasons for this is competition for highly fertile land with high value crops such as spices, fruit trees and maize. Moreover, there is a history of industry neglect towards the smallholders in this area, which has eroded the tea cultivation culture (Faber 1995). The Tea Research Institute of Tanzania (TRIT) has been engaged in research and extension in this area since 1999. TRIT noted that the greatest difficulty in providing extension services is "changing the attitude" of smallholders about the benefits of growing tea (Interview January, 2010). Recently, the company has been encouraging outgrowers by providing plants from their own tea nurseries at subsidized rates and they expect an increase in smallholder production (EUTCO 2010). EUTCO is located in the middle of the Amani nature reserve, which is considered to be a biodiversity hotspot (Conservation International 2007), and as such maintains a large portion of its holdings as natural forest.

EUTCO was certified under the HL arrangement. The decision to engage with Fairtrade was a management decision, based on negotiation with a set of buyers, yet during the two year period of certification, EUTCO was "unable to sell a single kilo of tea" (Interview January, 2010). The buyers who prompted the certification pulled out based on the "low quality" tea produced by EUTCO. When workers were interviewed, it was difficult to find workers who knew what Fairtrade was and were aware that operations had been certified. However, the floor supervisors in the factory remembered the visit of the last certifier whose audit resulted in the de-certification of the factories and estates. The current management was not in place when the last

ETP monitoring visit occurred; therefore there was little to no mention made to this certification system. In recent years EUTCO has been selling its tea mostly to the domestic blenders and has only re-entered the Mombasa Auction in 2009, after many years of absence due to the low quality of its tea.

Mufindi Tea & Coffee Company (MTC)

MTC, operating in Mufindi and Njombe Districts of Iringa Province, is a subsidiary of Rift Valley Holdings (RVH), which is a share-holding company created in 2005 by a merger of the African interests of Saxonian Estate Ltd. and Höegh Capital Partners Ltd. All three of the factories and estates owned by MTC are Fairtrade certified (Itona 896 ha., Luponde 695 ha., and Kibena 730 ha.). Together with Unilever, MTC controls more than half of the production of tea in Tanzania (Reporter 2009). MTC was first established in 1954 with the Itona factory in Mufindi district (operational 1960) and added Luponde estates in 1987. Luponde received organic certification in 1988 and, together with Itona, was the first to receive fair trade certification in 1994 through Tradecraft. During the socialist period, MTC was nationalized due to political concerns about its Zimbabwean ownership; it was handed back to the company in 1995 (Interview November, 2009). Kibena estate was planted, by CDC Group Plc., on land originally farmed with wattle trees in 1997. In 2002 it was bought by Tanzania Tea Packers Ltd. (TATEPA), a successful Tanzanian tea processing, packaging and distribution business that was backed with a majority share by CDC. Together they created a strong, integrated tea business and became the first company to be listed on the Dar-es-Salaam Stock Exchange (Tyler 2006). Between 1998 and 2000, EUTCO and Tanganyika Wattle Company (TANWAT, also owned by CDC) held 26.28 percent of the shares in TATEPA (Melyoki 2005). In 2007 Kibena was bought by MTC.

Itona, Kibena and Luponde joined Fairtrade under the HL arrangement. As explained in the last chapter, Kibena has been experimenting with bringing smallholder farmer groups into the Fairtrade system. At the time of data collection, a new smallholder group in Kifanya ward of Njombe District was beginning the application process to be included in the Fairtrade system. This smallholder group is organized and led by a local catholic priest, who has been instrumental in the creation of a tea estate on the land owned by the Catholic Diocese of Njombe. Itona and Luponde factories also have strong ties with the local smallholder associations and Itona has a separate processing line dedicated to processing smallholder green leaf tea. The competition with Unilever in Mufindi district has allowed the local smallholder associations (uniquely organized into block farms from the socialist period) to negotiate higher than average prices for their green leaf tea and they have benefited from both Fairtrade and company investments in community infrastructure as well as an active presence by TRIT, which has been working in the district since 1999.

While under the ownership of TATEPA, Kibena developed a model HIV/AIDS outreach program and also gained Fairtrade certification for their estates as soon as they started processing tea. MTC is an active participant in the African Fairtrade Network. It was one of the first partners of what was at the time called "Twin Trading" tea (now Cafédirect); however, their sales to Cafédirect have dwindled over the years and the percentage of tea sold under the Fairtrade label is about 5% of tea sold by all three factories combined. MTC's value chain is based on relational governance as it relies mainly on direct sales for its certified tea and invests in direct marketing channels. For example, a US-based online tea seller includes the following description of Luponde tea:

> The modern era of Luponde is characterized by more than just amazing tea. In
> recent years the estate has earned a Fair Trade certification and has established an

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excellent track record of beneficial social and economic developments for its workers. As an example, the estate recently used some of their Fair Trade premiums to construct a mill for grinding maize. While this may seem like a small development, prior to the mill's construction, workers had to haul their maize 7 km away to have it ground (The estate's workers are given land on which to grow their own crops.) The estate is also renowned for its excellent environmental practices, forgoing chemical fertilizers and other synthetic agricultural inputs in favor of an all-natural style of tea husbandry (British Express 2010b).

Unilever Tea Tanzania Limited (UTTL)

Unilever is one of the largest multi-national corporations operating in the agri-food sector. It was created in 1930 by the amalgamation of the operations of British soapmaker Lever Brothers and Dutch margarine producer Margarine Unie. Unilever N.V. (NV) is a public limited company registered in the Netherlands and Unilever PLC (PLC) is a public limited company registered in England and Wales. "The two parent companies, NV and PLC, together with their group companies, operate as a single economic entity (the Unilever Group, also referred to as Unilever or the Group)" (Unilever 2009a: 2). The 'One Unilever' initiative has brought these two companies closer together in their operations with "single point accountability" and "fewer management layers to deliver faster decisions and faster execution" (Unilever 2004: 8). Unilever purchases around 12% of the world's black tea supply. Much of this is for Lipton, the world's leading tea brand (Unilever 2003). The conglomerate is perceived to dominate the trade (Bedford et al. 2002).

In 1984 Unilever acquired ownership of one of the historically socially responsible tea estates in Tanzania: Brooke Bond Tanzania, Ltd. (BBT). BBT, which was the first commercial tea estate in Tanzania in the 1930s, is now a subsidiary of Unilever and part of its eight-country

group of tropical plantations. UTTL, as it is referred to officially,[32] the five estates (3,093 ha.) and three factories (Kilima, Kibwele and Lugoda) are located in Mufindi district of Iringa province. UTTL employs 7,000 workers, 5,000 of whom and their families are housed in small communities on the estates; other workers live in the 14 surrounding villages. All employees and their dependents (~35,000 people) receive free medical treatment (including HIV/AIDS). The company maintains 44 day-care centers to look after the 1,100 children during working hours, and it recently built an English middle school. It also has a program to provide books and other teaching materials to local primary schools within the plantation. BBT has a 99-year land lease arrangement from the government for 19,682 hectares—a common land tenure arrangement in Tanzania. According to the company's management, BBT's irrigated tea area "represents the largest known area of tea under overhead irrigation anywhere in the world" (Baffes 2003).

In terms of multi-stakeholder initiatives in the tea sector, Unilever is one of the more active market players. For example, it jointly created the Marine Stewardship Council in 1996 with the World Wildlife Federation (WWF). Both Unilever and WWF received a lot of attention for this endeavor as many equated it to a power move by Unilever to gain the legitimacy of WWF (Constance and Bonanno 2000). Between 1994 and 2001, Unilever engaged in dialogue with environmental and consumer NGOs in the UK over questions raised by the genetically modified foods debate. In this initiative Unilever sought to reframe its relations with consumers using the concept of 'consumer-citizens' (Doubleday 2004). In 2003, Unilever began a public-private partnership in Tanzania to provide additional sources of income to subsistence farmers who can collect the seeds of the Allanblackia tree nut, whose oil is used in Unilever's margarine brands and soap products (Bekefi 2006). In 2004, they became a founding member of the

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[32] During interviews and focus groups, UTTL was referred to alternatively as Brooke Bond, Unilever Tea East Africa (UTEA) and Unilever.

Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) – a body which Unilever currently chairs. In December 2008, Unilever co-founded the Water Footprint Network (WFN) with organizations from the private sector, the International Finance Corporation, World Business Council on Sustainable Development (WBCSD), WWF and United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNESCO). The Network aims to develop a measurement framework that assesses the total water used across the lifecycle of a product and the impact of that water use. "Unilever is conducting two pilot studies, on tea and margarine, to help to develop this methodology." (Unilever 2003: 26)

In the late 1990s, Unilever was a founding member of the Ethical Tea Partnership (ETP) and was involved in the Ethical Trading Initiative's (ETI) Smallholders Project (Partnership 2007). Sustainable agriculture has been in effect on these plantations since 1991 (Unilever 2003). It is called The Sustainable Agriculture Initiative for Tea. Under this initiative, Unilever works together with the Unilever Sustainable Agriculture Advisory Board (SAAB), the Ethical Tea Partnership and with the tea industry in general to establish sustainability indicators, appropriate measures and standards. This initiative determines 'sustainability' based on: soil fertility, soil loss, nutrients, pest management, biodiversity, product value, energy, water, social capital and local economy (Unilever 2003). Natural forest occupies over 65% of the land on Unilever's Mufindi tea estate. This natural forest is part of the Eastern Afromontane biodiversity hotspot (Conservation International 2007),. The Tanzania Forest Act, introduced in 2002, protects certain 'red-listed' species by law, several of which are found on the Mufindi estate, such as a rare epiphytic orchid and straggling bamboo (Unilever 2007a).

These initiatives have not gone unnoticed. Covalence, an ethical reputation ranking agency, placed Unilever at the top of its ranking based on positive versus negative news

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coverage for 2007 (Covalence 2009). A recent study financed by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) found that only one of the fourteen companies analyzed (Unilever) fell within the realm of best practice (level 4), albeit on the lower end of the scale (Grigg et al. 2009: 12). Unilever's areas of particular strength were found in competitive advantage, standards and the development of projects aimed at addressing barriers to sustainable sourcing. Specifically, Unilever was recognized for demonstrating a "structured way of building brand value and addressing barriers to sustainable sourcing through its Brand Imprint tool." This strategy was argued to take "a 360 degree look at product impact from environmental, social and economic perspectives," and covers areas from soil erosion and air quality to supplier training. (Grigg et al. 2009: 40)

In 2007, Unilever took global action to make its tea supply chain sustainable by 2015 (Rainforest Alliance 2007; Unilever 2007b). Unilever has asked Rainforest Alliance to start certifying tea farms in Africa, beginning with the estates owned by Unilever in Kenya and Tanzania (Rainforest Alliance 2007). By the end of 2009, about 80% of Lipton Yellow Label and PG Tips tea bags sold in Western Europe were sourced from Rainforest Alliance Certified™ farms. Rainforest Alliance Certified™ tea in the US, Japan and Australia was launched in 2009, with the Australian market following with 12% growth in sales (Unilever 2009b). By the end of 2009, two factories and five estates in Mufindi have now been certified. And Unilever remains optimistic: "Globally around 15% of our tea now comes from certified farms, representing good progress towards our 2015 goal" (Unilever 2009b: 19).

The adoption of the RFA standard is clearly perceived by Unilever as a supply chain strategy that draws upon its CSR image of a 'sustainable' company. For example, Unilever claims that this initiative:

has the potential to reassure consumers about the source of the tea they enjoy drinking so much; to improve the crops, incomes and livelihoods of nearly 1 million people in Africa and, eventually, up to 2 million people around the world; to protect the environment from a further drain on its resource and to provide us with a means by which we can differentiate our brands from those of our competitors (Unilever 2007b).

In fact, Unilever claimed that they "considered collaboration with FLO, Organic, and Utz Certified." However, they found that Rainforest Alliance most closely resembled what they had already been doing in their Sustainable Agriculture program (Interview April, 2008). It was also noted that enrolling Rainforest Alliance as an outside certification was a way for Unilever to gain recognition for the work that they had already been doing within their supply chain. In effect, Unilever "outsourced" its internal sustainable agriculture program to the RFA, "one of the reasons was the high overlap with the internal system" (Interview June, 2010).

UTTL sells the majority of its tea to Lipton through private contracts, but it also sells some of its tea at farm gate and through private contracts for the local and national populations and a small percentage through the Mombasa Auction. As such, the Unilever value chain is rather hierarchical, given the common ownership of the producer company and the main purchasing company.

Wakulima Tea Company (WATCO)

WATCO, operating Katumba Factory (and 316 ha. of estate-grown tea) in Rungwe District of Mbeya Province, is a joint venture between the Tanzanian Tea Packers Group (TATEPA) (75%) and smallholder tea farmers represented by Rungwe Smallholders Tea Growing Association (RSTGA) (25%). TATEPA is a small private holding company that was established in 1995 by the joint involvement of a Tanzanian national and a UK investor (CDC Group plc). This company has been heralded by the World Bank as an example of well directed

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venture capital and technical assistance (World Bank 2000). It then "expanded upstream" and bought WATCO, a smallholder tea producer that had been formed in 2000 as part of the privatization scheme of the TTA. The business plan for TATEPA's investment in WATCO is based on the intention of selling 100% of its shares to RSTGA. RSTGA is the smallholder tea growers association that represents the 16,000 tea farmers in Rungwe. It is organized into nine sub-schemes and each sub-scheme is composed of 10 or more villages. There are currently 118 villages growing tea and a total of 2,993 hectares cultivated. Each sub-scheme is headed by a Chairman and a Secretary. The Chairman of each sub-scheme automatically becomes the member of the RSTGA Board. The Chairman of the RSTGA is democratically elected by the Board and a secretariat for the association accommodates an accounting department and administration for the Rungwe Fair Trade Fund (RFTF) and the Rungwe Smallholders Tea Development TRUST Fund. Both WATCO and RSTGA are certified for Fairtrade – WATCO as a trader and RSTGA as a SPO.

RSTGA is fully responsible for managing Fairtrade affairs and its administrative structure is able to accommodate the paperwork requirements of FLO. Technoserve has provided volunteers who have been working with RSTGA to streamline its administrative processes and become more business oriented in preparation for its eventual purchase of WATCO (Mwakasege 2009). Additionally, RSTG actively participates in the Africa Fairtrade Network. As a result, we see RSTGA as having full control and return rights to the farming aspect of the Fairtrade process. RSTGA has reported receiving over US$ 1.2 million over 7 years from the Fairtrade premium, which has contributed to building schools, dispensaries, bore holes and a Savings and Credit Cooperative Organization. This same group has also reported increased yields and productivity during this period (Rowland 2008).

However, this cannot solely be attributed to Fairtrade (Interview October, 2009). During this period, WATCO hired TRIT to provide commercial extension that provides farmers with technical support to enable them to attain optimal production potential; acceptable quality within the given plucking schedule; facilitate logistics of green leaf collection; facilitate correct and timely payments to farmers; and coordinate field activities, and use of inputs. This is an innovative approach linking production, transportation, processing and marketing. All these work together under different organizations (i.e., RSTGA controls production, WATCO controls processing and marketing, and Jilanjo is contracted by WATCO to provide transportation).

The value chain for WATCO tea is also based on "relational" governance steeped in trust and entrenched trading relationships. Fairtrade contracts are negotiated entirely outside of the auction system and account for typically about 10 percent of production. CaféDirect is one of the main buyers of WATCO tea and WATCO is a shareholder in CaféDirect. Also, the previously mentioned TATEPA wholesaler purchases directly from WATCO. We observe significant involvement of stakeholders in contributing to the operations and maintenance of Fairtrade values. For example, CaféDirect is very active in supporting its producers and has consistently involved WATCO/RSTGA in its climate change and other development projects.
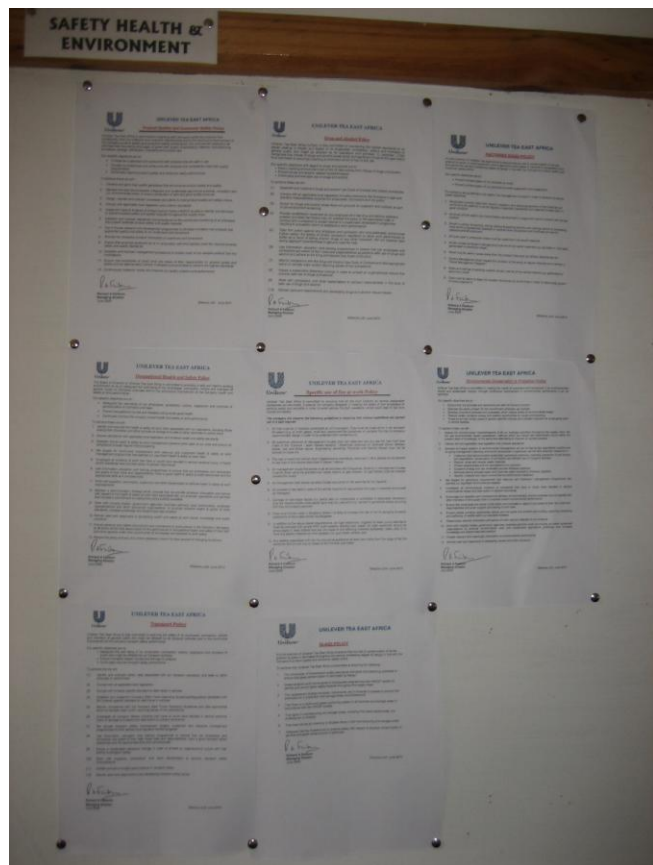
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The above descriptions show the diversity of certified companies working in the Tanzanian tea sector. They range from private Tanzanian investors to one of the largest, and heralded as one of the most responsible, MNCs in the agri-food sector. We are also looking at two distinct regions in Tanzania: the Usambaras and the Southern Highlands. Despite geographic distance between these two regions, quantity, quality and origin of ownership are also apparent between the regions. It is perceived in the Tanzanian tea sector that the tea currently being

produced in the Southern Highlands is of a consistently higher quality than that in the

Usambaras. The Southern Highlands are also producing much higher quantities of made tea

(24,375,501 kgs) than the Usambaras (6,937,711 kgs) in 2008-2009, which make these

companies much larger players, with the ability to exert more influence in the national industry

(TBT 2009). In the Usambaras all of the tea estates are owned by Indian or Tanzanian

companies, and the General Managers for these companies are of Indian nationality and were

trained in India. In the Southern Highlands, the certified companies are owned by multinational

corporations backed by some UK investments, and the General Managers for these companies

are of UK or East African nationality, but were trained in tea in East Africa. Moreover, the

companies in the Southern Highlands have

not experienced much turnover in terms of

Figure 6.1: Policy wall at Unilever in Mufindi

ownership of factories or management,

while those in the Usambaras have a mixed

experience. EUTCO has changed

ownership numerous times over the past

10 years, while Herkulu has remained with

the same company, but has had four

different general managers in the past three

years.

Performing responsibility

The previous section illustrates

how CSR, *per se*, is not encoded directly

into all of the standards, yet the concepts

of accountability and responsibility are a concern of the standards. This is also a concern for the producers who are complying with these standards. In the interviews and focus groups where we discussed CSR, there was not one company that had an official CSR policy. For example, UTTL has a number of policies displayed on its walls (Figure 6.1), but they are not CSR policies. Indeed, it was stressed that involvement with RFA is not a CSR program, but "a supply chain strategy" (Interview August, 2008). This performance of posted policies is actually recurrent in the Tanzanian tea industry. The offices of upper management typically have policies, announcements, maps and certifications posted on bulletin board. This is a clear signal to auditors that the required policies exist, and is something that the inspectors look for during the audit visit.

Since there were no specific CSR policies to discuss, in the interviews and focus groups stakeholders (*wadau*) were identified and the group discussed the responsibilities (*wajibu*) that the company had to these stakeholders and vice versa. This exercise revealed a number of themes regarding stakeholders and responsibilities. First, the most common concern for the companies was actually dealing with legality and their responsibility as a company to comply with the law. Second, there is an interesting interpretation of the 'triple bottom line' in the tea sector where this is more viewed as a pragmatic approach, rather than specific strategic planning. Finally, long-term, reciprocal relationships were seen as a core responsibility for both producers and blenders in the tea value chains. Longevity in the business and inter-personal relationships were seen to bring benefits to stakeholders in the tea industry.

Rule of law

The attention to legal responsibilities was the most often cited enactment of CSR in

Tanzania. It was also one of the key aspects of each of the four standards, best illustrated by the

FLO requirement:

> FLO also requires that producer organizations always abide by **national legislation** unless that legislation sets standards which are below the referenced internationally recognized standards and conventions, in which case the international standards prevail. However, where national legislation sets higher requirements on a specific issue than these standards then that national legislation shall apply. The same applies to regional and sector-specific practices. (FLO 2009a)

In order to understand what is meant by the rule of law[33] in the enactment of the

standards in Tanzania, it is important to understand the country's colonial and socialist history.

An employee at a RFA certified company explained it like this:

> You have got to remember the history of why these things happened in the first place. At the time when these plantations were put in in India, and in East Africa, it was the colonial times in effect. There was no infrastructure, so basically the plantations became the infrastructure and the town council, and the hospital and maintained the roads and in a lot of places they still have a legal obligation to do that. So it's not building on nothing; it's building on a history where private business was always expected to do that. (…) If you want to have a reputation as a good employer its part of the benefits package. It has benefits for the business as well; it is not just for the government in that they don't need to pay for a school. (Interview June, 2010)

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[33] The rule of law is fundamental to western democratic order and is a core concept in the mission of the United Nations, "it refers to a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the State itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards. It requires, as well, measures to ensure adherence to the principles of supremacy of law, equality before the law, accountability to the law, fairness in the application of the law, separation of powers, participation in decision-making, legal certainty, avoidance of arbitrariness and procedural and legal transparency." (UN 2004: 4). The notion of the 'rule of law' is also used by F. A. Hayek (1960), in his neoliberal philosopy, to justify the limited role of the state vis-a-vis free-market capitalism.

Independence from British colonial rule was gained in 1961 and beginning in 1967, with

the Arusha Declaration, a period of socialist political and economic governance ensued.

President Julius Nyerere (Mwalimu) focused political and economic attention on self-reliance

and protectionism. This led to the adoption of policies that sought to encourage the evolution of

an egalitarian society based on state-ownership of the major means of production including

corporations. However, there was little emphasis placed on CSR issues such as employee and

environmental protection (Lauwo 2010). Between 1967 and 1992, state-owned corporations were

the most common type of large corporations found in Tanzania. However, Melyoki (2005: 12)

claims that "in these corporations, corruption, (embezzlement and nepotism) managerial

incompetence, political interference and government subsidization of failing corporations were

the predominant characteristics of corporate governance." This was noted earlier in this chapter

with respect to the governing of the Tanzanian Tea Authority (TTA), which resulted in the

privatization of the TTA factories in the 1990s.

With the introduction of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) by the World Bank and

IMF in the 1980s and the liberalization of the 1990s, much of the government support for

economic, social and environmental services were removed. As Ponte (2002) also noted, the

Tanzanian government adopted wholeheartedly the neoliberal reforms proposed in the SAPs.

Meloyki explains the risks to corporate governance as follows:

> Ngemera (1993) cautioned that if privatization was not carefully handled, it could
> end up by creating an economy which was either foreign dominated, or locally
> dominated by a small group of people. Notwithstanding these warnings, the
> majority of the privatised corporations have single controlling shareholders.
> Although poverty is generally considered to have reduced the ability of
> indigenous people to acquire the privatised corporations, leading to a greater
> reliance on strategic investors, other reasons for the reliance on strategic investors
> have been suggested. Chachage (2003) observes that: "…what we are seeing is a
> situation whereby stupendous wealth is accumulated by a tiny fraction of the
> population through exploitation and pillage of human, mineral, and natural

resources during mounting poverty, destitution and structural adjustment"
(Melyoki 2005: 57)

Given the current pressures on companies globally, those who are operating in Tanzania are also experiencing pressures for organizing and incorporating structures responsible for improving CSR and corporate governance. This has been mainly through philanthropic initiatives such as corporate investment in education, healthcare, community support and sponsorship. However, as the first quote in this section notes, these investments have been in practice in the tea sector since the colonial period and have become *de facto* mandatory for the tea industry in Tanzania. As such they do not qualify completely as philanthropic responsibilities.

The institutional frameworks for corporate governance, accountability and CSR issues are highly influenced by the country's colonial past. For example, the current institutional framework for corporate governance is found in the Company Act of 2002, which replaced the Companies Act of 1932 (CAP 212) that was enacted in 1929 during the British colonial rule. The new act has incorporated little to curb the negative social and environmental impacts of MNCs or to protect employee rights (Lauwo 2010). However, it has included an inherent ethics into the governance structure and reciprocal accountability to employees:

> Subject to this section, a director of a company, when exercising powers or performing duties, must act honestly and in good faith and in what the director believes to be in the best interests of the company. (sec 182 (1) United Republic of Tanzania 2002: 133)
>
> (1) The matters to which the directors of the company are to have regard in the performance of their functions include, in addition to the interests of members, the interests of employees.
>
> (2) The duty imposed by this section on the directors is owed by them to the company (and the company alone) and is enforceable in the same way as any other fiduciary duty owed to the company by its directors. (sec 183 United Republic of Tanzania 2002: 134)

Additional laws that apply to the way that a company is obliged to operate in Tanzania are the following: The Environmental Management Act No. 20 of 2004; The National Environmental Policy (NEP, 1997); The Employment and Labour Relations Act (2003); The Occupation Health and Safety Act (2003); and the Capital Market and Securities Act (1994). Although a legal framework generally exists in Tanzania, challenges remain with respect to enforcing the existing laws (Melyoki 2005). Perhaps this may explain why so many of the responses that I received to my query about CSR noted that companies must first comply with the law and pay their taxes to the government (including a tea cess which supports the national tea institutions – e.g., TRIT, TSHTDA). This response was given almost automatically, in some cases even defensively, as one manager explained in response to my question about local responsibilities:

> What we do here everything is very very legally bound. We don't do anything which is out of legality. And we make sure that whoever is working for us are well paid, are looked after well. If they have any issues all of the issues are cared for. We do not have any kind of the legal issues with the legal department or with government or with anybody else in Tanzania. I think it comes back to, you know, what their rights are and you don't know what the duties are. That is always there. That is possibly, what I'd say, a 50-50 trend where some workers do say they are working for the Bombay Burmah and that's key for them; that we can say for the company. But there is another lot which, you know, can care to hell. You know, they are here but they are not from here, they are taken from elsewhere. The biggest hassle for us here at Herkulu is all of our workers stay outside of the camps. We have camps for all of the workers but they all have shambas [farms], so this is actually their second livelihood. It is not their priority because they always have the shamba to fall back on. That has always been their primary agenda. (Interview January, 2010)

In other words, the responsibility of companies was enacted as upholding the legal rights and responsibilities of companies and their workers. Housing was mentioned in the standards as a requirement and it was mentioned in discussions about what responsibilities companies have towards their workers. Yet this responsibility is also a legal responsibility in Tanzania "It is a

Tanzanian government regulation that you must provide for housing for workers, this is not because of ETP. If you do not provide housing you must provide some type of reimbursement for housing expenses" (Interview October, 2009). This is a good example of how the enactments of elements encoded into standards often reflect different priorities from those that are made explicit in the written form. Therefore, we see that the provision of housing in Tanzania is actually a legal responsibility, rather than an ethical or philanthropic responsibility as might have been intended by a CSR effort.

The rule of law was also interpreted in terms of reciprocity and of not cheating the system. One interviewee explained this responsibility of farmers as follows:

> So if the operator is buying something from the farmer for instance; has this farmer given a receipt? Because if it is from here, then we can know how much the estimate made, and how much has he delivered. Because if he has delivered more than he has estimated, then he has taken this from somewhere else, then this is going to be something that is not allowed. Maybe he has taken it from a farmer who does not know anything about fairtrade and who does not know anything about organic. You can not take something from a non-member and put it in the chain. Those consumers in Europe, they believe that this food is not contaminated and that it is from a producer that understands that DDT is not allowed. So you cannot take it from everybody. You can only take it from those who are included in the certification system." (Interview February, 2010).

This enactment of the rule of law in terms of trustworthiness is also captured by the RFA notion of 'good neighborliness', as was explained by another interviewee to mean that "chickens don't stray and pluckers don't pinch from the company" (i.e., those who are selling their leaf to the company and are not employed on the estate are not plucking the estate's fields in order to get more green leaf to sell) (Interview November, 2010).

This suggests that there is an underlying notion of ethics embedded into the Tanzanian concept of the rule of law. Actually, ethics constitute a 'legal responsibility' in the Tanzanian tea industry. Let me explain: All of the tea companies that trade their tea at the Mombasa auction

must be members of the East African Tea Trade Association (EATTA). As part of the

membership requirements, members must sign a code of conduct that consists of the following

ethical code:

> **Honest and Ethical Conduct.** Each Member of the EATTA will maintain a high
> standard of conduct and character in both their professional and personal interests
> and will act honestly and ethically and will not be party to any illegal or improper
> activities. Members will ensure that those who work with them uphold the same
> standards through dialogue and training.
>
> This Code of Conduct makes clear the adherence to the law and ethical behaviour.
> (EATTA 2009: 1-2)

Thus, ethics are enacted as honestly abiding by the laws and making sure that colleagues and

employees do the same. This also shows that the rule of law, in the Tanzanian context, carries

with it a significant number of responsibilities that may not always be assumed when talking

about the rule of law in the Western context. Indeed, the concept of the rule of law provides the

basis for discussing the notion of the triple-bottom-line in the Tanzanian tea sector.

Triple bottom line

Lauwo (2010) notes that
CSR has only recently become an
issue on the public stage, with an
increasing number of companies
using it as part of their corporate
strategy. Therefore, the concept
of the triple bottom line (TBL)
better explicates the performance
of CSR in the Tanzanian tea

Figure 6.2: Triple bottom line in Tanzanian tea

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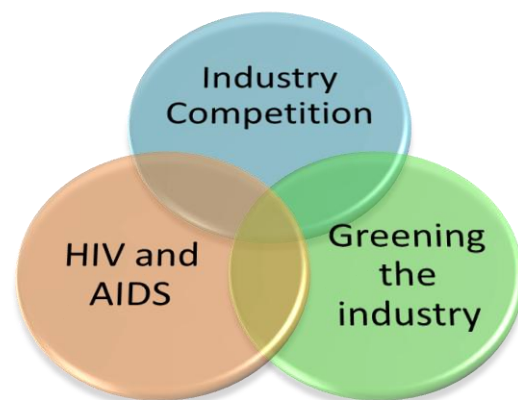
industry, as the section above shows that the lines that separate the levels of Carroll's pyramid are indeed blurred with the rule of law encompassing both social and ethical principles. The notion of CSR as the maintenance of a triple bottom line in the context of Tanzanian tea is better illustrated with a Venn diagram, rather than a pyramid (Figure 6.2). Here the core elements of economic viability, social justice and environmental concern overlap. It is in these overlapping areas that the most salient performances of the TBL are best articulated. In the case of Tanzanian tea these could be summarized as attention to HIV and AIDS, the 'greening' of the industry and keeping up with industry competition. This overlap is best illustrated by the 'Responsibility' statement found on Rift Valley Holding's (RVH) website:

> Our responsibility to our employees, the communities surrounding us and the environment we work in is an integral part of the way we operate.
> - Where possible RVH works closely with small holder farmers in its neighbourhood in a commercially sustainable way, both through improving production methods and purchasing their products. This relationship is mutually beneficial and leads to broad based improvement of the standard of living of our surrounding communities.
> - Our approach has been recognised through certifications such as Fairtrade. Where applicable the resulting premiums get used for the improvement of education, medical and welfare facilities for our labour force and the communities concerned.
> - RVH is in the process of setting up a company-wide programme fighting AIDS and Malaria. The programme will not only focus on the prevention of the spread of HIV / Aids, but also on the enabling of the treatment of those affected.
> - RVH is a long term investor in land based assets in Africa and, as such, is committed to the conservation of the land it owns, as well as the surrounding areas, in a sustainable way. (Rift Valley Holdings Limited 2010)

HIV and AIDS

HIV and AIDS have been recognized as significant economic, social and policy issues in Tanzania, particularly in rural areas (e.g., Nombo 2010; Rau 2006; Rugalema 2000). The adult (15–49) prevalence rate of people living with HIV was 6.2 percent of the total population in

2007 (UNAIDS 2008). Prevalence rates are much higher in the plantation sector, for example, "it

has been found that farm and plantation workers in Iringa and Morogoro for example, have HIV

prevalence of about 30%, which is very high compared to the general population" (TACAIDS

2010). The Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO) and the United National

Development Program (UNDP) commissioned a study in 1999 to better understand the impact of

the epidemic on commercial agriculture. The report concluded that:

> Protracted morbidity and mortality are costing the industry financially,
> economically, and socially (including loss of skilled and experienced labour). For
> agro-estates to remain viable businesses, it is necessary and urgent to approach
> the epidemic with the seriousness it deserves. This includes well-elaborated
> prevention programmes and concerted mitigation strategies at company level, in
> collaboration with other sectors of the economy including the government, NGOs,
> and civil society. (Rugalema, Weigang, and Mbwika 1999: ix)

Over the past ten years, HIV and AIDS awareness, prevention and treatment have

become fundamental social and business responsibilities. For example, in 2006, the Government

of Tanzania (GoT) developed an agriculture sector strategy that identifies the challenges posed

by HIV and AIDS and proposes ways to mitigate these challenges (United Republic of Tanzania

2006). In the 2010 collective bargaining agreement between the Tanzanian Plantation and

Agricultural Workers Union (TPAWU) and the Tea Association of Tanzania (TAT) there is a

new section that has been added on HIV and AIDS. It is reproduced below:

> **18. Program for HIV and AIDS.**
> As explained in the National policy for HIV and AIDS, employers in partnership
> with the Trade union at the work place will ensure that the National policy on
> HIV and AIDS is implemented in the following areas:-
> 18.1 To provide education and knowledge that HIV and AIDS is a National
> disaster which is calculated to erode the work force and AIDS has no cure or
> vaccine and that employees should change behavior.
> 18.2 That an employee infected with HIV and AIDS has the right to be employed
> and to continue to work until opportunistic infections make him unable to
> work.

18.3 That employees should be sensitized to voluntary counseling and testing and ensure that there is confidentiality on results so that there is no negative impact on their status in the workforce.

18.4 Employers should refrain from issuing work in high risky areas which may facilitate new infections.

18.5 Employers in partnership with Trade Union should ensure that protection gear for prevention are available at the workplace and a proper system to access them exist.

18.6 Employees who volunteer to disclose their sero status to the employer should be given every assistance to obtain RV's and be facilitated to obtain nutritional suppliments during the period they are on medication.

18.7 To design any new program they think appropriate depending on financial ability so long as such program is in line with National Policy and ILO code of conduct on HIV and AIDS. (TAT and TPAWU 2010)

The reason for such an inclusion was explained to me by a TAT member as follows:

> We had a brief clause in the agreement on HIV/AIDS. The Union felt they wanted a summary of a programme included to ensure that companies, which did not have a programme, they at least adhere to the National guidelines. We agreed to this. (Personal Communication, October 2010)

All certified factories and estates in Tanzania have some sort of HIV and AIDS program running, under the supervision of a dedicated officer, the medical officer, or in partnership with a NGO. UTTL's in-house hospital at its Mufindi estate is one of 90 medical centers that have been selected to provide free testing and anti-retroviral drugs as part of the Tanzanian government's National HIV/AIDS Care and Treatment Plan (NCTP). Unilever is publicizing this initiative on its website as follows:

> Over 6,000 people were tested for HIV/AIDS at Mufindi estate in 2007. By the end of 2008, 900 people living with HIV were being monitored, and 400 people living with AIDS were receiving anti-retroviral treatment. Unilever Tea Tanzania and its partners have set a target to reach 30,000 employees and their dependants out of a total local population of approximately 100,000 people. (Unilever 2010)

Attention to HIV and AIDS in the workplace is thus a responsibility of companies that is expected of them from the government, from communities and from their workers. It is also a legal requirement, articulated nationally and in the Collective Bargaining Agreement, for which

tea companies are accountable. Finally, caring for HIV and AIDs in the workplace is a pragmatic approach to providing for workplace health and safety.

Greening the Industry

Attention to the environmental aspects of the business is another enactment of the TBL in the Tanzanian tea industry. The most discussed projects are those dealing with renewable energy, which are mentioned in the standards, but are not considered to be 'minimum requirements' or 'major non-conformities'. The push towards finding renewable sources of energy is related to the requirements for energy in the processing phase of tea production. On average, a tea processing factory produces between 198-205kgs of made tea (MT) from one cubic metre of fuel wood used in the factory. The use of fuel wood for tea processing has been a subject of fierce criticism from the environmentalists in the past. The process initially involved harvesting natural forests hence causing significant environmental damage. However, the tea industry in Tanzania has responded to this challenge by developing a self-sufficient renewable source of fuel wood through forestry programmes (Unilever 2003). In addition to fuelwood, most factories in Tanzania rely on electricity from the National grid. However, an EATTA survey in 2004 found that 11% of tea factories in Tanzania are completely off-grid and depend entirely on diesel generators for their power (GEF 2007: 7).

Moreover, there has been movement towards the use of renewable energies for the processing of tea in East Africa. The *Greening the Tea Industry in East Africa* (GTIEA) project is a small hydro-power initiative that was approved by the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) Council for funding as a full-sized project in 2007. It is co-implemented by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the African Development Bank (AfDB) and executed by East African Tea Trade Association (EATTA) to co-fund the development of hydro-power sites

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by tea companies in tea growing areas to decrease the tea factories' overdependence on the main grid. The objective of the proposed small hydro-power (0.2MW - 5MW) project is to reduce electrical energy use in tea processing industries in member countries of the EATTA while increasing power supply reliability and reducing Greenhouse Gas emissions through the removal of barriers such as financing. The Suma hydro project is being invested in by WATCO in Rungwe, Tanzania as part of this larger tea industry project (GTIEA 2009).

There are two additional small hydro-power projects that have been initiated in the Southern Highlands, both associated with Mufindi Tea Company. The Roman Catholic Diocese of Njombe has been included in a World Bank project to build a small hydro-power project at Indonja Falls of the Ruhudji River. "The project proposes to supply power to the Catholic mission at   Kilocha, plus the villages of Ihanga, Itupila, Kifanya, and Iboya. Excess power will be sold to Tanzania Electrical Supply Company Ltd. (TANESCO)" (World Bank 2007: 54). A separate Mwenga hydro rural electrification project is also underway in Mufindi and is being implemented by Mufindi Tea Company (MTC). This site is on the MTC estate, and is located approximately 55 km from the MTC headquarters. "It is proposed that the capacity of the station will be 3.0 MW, with a head of 62 m and a flow of 5.7 m^3/s. Power is now proposed to be supplied to MTC, UTTL, villages along transmission route, and supply of power to TANESCO under the proposed standardized PPA and Tariffs" (World Bank 2007: 54). The progress made at Mwenga is summarized in the RVH 2009 Annual Report:

> The Environmental Impact Assessment has been approved by the government environmental authority. The Standard Power Purchase Agreement with TANESCO has been finalised and will be executed shortly. Other licensing requirements are at an advanced stage. Positive steps have been made to make connections to rural users at a heavily subsidized rate via the Rural Energy Fund, and the distinct possibility that Mwenga Hydro can sell Certified Emission Reductions on the international market. Mwenga hydro project has made progress

throughout the year, but the pace of bureaucracy remains frustrating. (Lafferty 2010)

In the Southern Highlands the push towards developing small hydro projects is both an innovation for expanding rural electrification in the communities surrounding the tea factories, as well as a means for the businesses to conserve both expenses and trees. The original idea for these small hydro-power projects actually emerged from what some of the old colonial companies did. Since the tea companies were established in areas that were uninhabited forests more than 100 years ago, out of necessity, the tea estates became very self-sufficient communities. For example, the Dindira Tea Factory in the Usambara area of Tanzania has installed a 250 kW small hydro-power plant in its tea factory. Dindira is not a certified tea company, although in theory they are included in the ETP scheme. When I was in Kenya in 2008, I toured the original Brooke Bond small hydro-power plant built in Kericho in the 1930s (Figure 6.3). This is still operational today and served as the model for the GTIEA project. The project document presents the following evidence to support their proposal: "Unilever with a total installed capacity of 2 MW is reportedly making savings of the order of Kshs 44 million (US$ 600,000) on electricity costs per year" (GEF 2007: 10).

Figure 6.3: Small hydro-power dam in Kericho

Hydro-power innovations have a history of use in Tanzania also. For example, small water pumps have also been installed to bring water from the streams up the mountains to the villages. This has been accomplished using hydraulic ram pumps, of Indian design, that capitalize on the force of gravity, water pressure and air pressure to push the water back uphill through the tube without an external power source. In Mufindi I observed these pumps in use on estates to bring water to the workers' camps as well as in smallholder villages to bring water up to the village center and to the tea nursery. There is no binding legal requirement by businesses to invest in alternative sources of energy; rather, the innovative use of these technologies reflects the pragmatic approaches that many of the companies in Tanzania have taken to resolving both economic and environmental constraints to their businesses.

Industry competition

Industry competition could be described as the way in which tea companies in Tanzania are enacting their economic bottom line. While the rule of law covers the basic requirements for CSR, alone it is not enough to meet the CSR expectations of the actors in the Tanzanian tea industry. The responsibility of a company to deliver a 'good investment' to investors and shareholders was clearly stated by my research participants. However, the concept of economic value in the TBL is slightly more complex than the pure profit motive. There is also a significant focus on 'competitive advantage' in the industry, particularly tied to the current trend in 'sustainability initiatives'. This notion is that which is encapsulated in Finlay's epigraph at the beginning of this chapter. For this reason, the ETP was found to be less effective than the other three standards. One interviewee explained the pre-competitive focus of the ETP like this: "Things like (...) the ETP system that didn't have a consumer face, so, it was also very heavily

bound up in legal issues (...) it was very legalistic and didn't have a consumer face" (Interview June, 2010)

In discussions with various actors throughout my four research sites, I learned that the tea industry, globally, has finally begun to publicize the 'sustainability' aspects of the industry over the past five years. In this case, the intent that was expressed in an interview with a Unilever employee, where it was claimed that the push towards RFA certification was a means to "raise the bar" in the industry and seems to be working. Thus, Unilever has often been seen as a leader in this push toward competition on the production end as well as on the branding end of the tea industry. Because of its hierarchical structure, decisions made to meet consumer markets also directly influence practices in the Tanzanian tea industry. This agenda was explained by an employee of Unilever:

> The argument was that what we wanted to do was mainstream this whole thing.
> We want to drive change in the industry and try and keep our important suppliers
> in business potentially at the expense of the less sustainable, so that was a genuine
> agenda, because there is a world oversupply of tea. (Interview June, 2010)

This focus on leading change in the industry at the same time as increasing their profits is echoed in the 2009 Annual Report:

> When it comes to environmental impact, for example, we lead the industry in the
> move to sustainable sourcing of commodities such as palm oil and tea. In fact we
> have given a firm commitment that by 2015 all of our supplies of palm oil and tea
> will come from certified sustainable sources. (…) Leadership like this explains
> why, for the 11th year running, Unilever was sector leader in the Dow Jones
> Sustainability Indexes – a feat unmatched by any other company. (Unilever
> 2009a: 6)

However, there is not enough evidence to claim that the push towards sustainability began with Unilever, particularly considering the presence of the Organic and Fairtrade certifications in the Tanzanian tea sector before Unilever even introduced its internal Sustainable Agriculture program. However, it is apparent that the publicity surrounding Unilever efforts has

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definitely encouraged others in the industry to be more vocal about their activities. A manager of an ETP and Fairtrade certified company commented that the problem wasn't that they were doing less than Unilever, in terms of CSR, the problem was that they were not receiving the attention that Unilever receives; he concluded that the reason was "perhaps because they market it more" (Memo 2008). This is most clearly illustrated in a half-page advertisement that a non-certified tea producing company published in the English language newspaper in Tanzania (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4: MeTL advertisement

Source: (MeTL 2010)

The advertisement above is a great example of how the discourse around responsible and sustainable tea production in the industry in general is framed and the changes that are being introduced. MeTL is most known for its transport business and its sisal plantations in Morogoro.

It is not a company that has a reputation of being a particularly responsible company. However, if we examine this advertisement, it is clear that MeTL is appealing to the industry standards of competition. There are sections that address good agricultural practices (the most important enactment of sustainability by producers in Tanzania), environmental concerns and global warming.

The reference to a triple bottom line has also been repeated in the marketing of the tea from MeTL online, whereby they appeal to a CSR image to sell their tea:

> The owners and managers of Ambangulu have been reinvesting in the estate quite heavily providing jobs and security for approximately 1500 workers and their families. In addition to this they now ship their produce in locally made - but to strict specifications - 5 ply kraft paper sacks. Traditionally the state's [sic] of Tanzania all Ambangulu Tea is now shipped in paper sacks. In the addition to saving trees and habitat for local fauna the gross shipping weight has been reduced by 3000 pounds saving wear and tear on roads and vehicles. From time to time due to hazardous road conditions and floods, the estate is cut off for periods up to 2 weeks, accessible only by aircraft. (British Express 2010a)

A Vision and Mission are also clearly set out in the advertisement. The Mission notes that "our company is committed to becoming a regular buyer and timely payer of the green leaf produced by small scale outgrowers who have been licensed/authorized by the respective district authorities and the Tanzanian Tea Board to sell the green leaf to our tea processing factories" (MeTL 2010: 9). This is a clear reference to the legal enactment of corporate social responsibility, as well as to the responsibility of companies to maintain long term relationships, which will be explored in the next section. The trend then would appear to be increasing competition on the maintenance of a triple bottom line as part of the competitive context of the local tea industry.

Long term relationships

Long-term, reciprocal relationships and accountabilities are fundamental to the way that

the Tanzanian tea value chains function. It is the way that the industry works, where preferred

suppliers are always given priority. The maintenance of these relationships was considered to be

the core enactment of corporate responsibility in the Tanzanian tea industry. This performance

begins with the reciprocal responsibilities between small farmers and tea companies. Most often

these were noted as fiduciary responsibilities of providing good quality leaf and not cheating the

system. Some farm workers at a FLO and ETP certified estate claimed that the company also

held a financial responsibility to the small farmers in terms of providing input credits. It was

explained as follows:

> When it is time to collect agricultural inputs, a farmer isn't able to get them. The
> company should help him, lend him that fertilizer that he pays in installments, he
> pays a little with the price that he gets if he sells tea. This will help the farm to
> live day by day; because he will have the ability to know income that he will get
> from different places. (Focus Group November, 2010).

Indeed the provision of input credits is quite common in Tanzania. The general manager of an

ETP and FLO certified company explained it like this:

> Basically TRIT do an analysis of what each farmer needs and can afford. Then we
> compare that with what they request. Then check against our Red, Orange, Green
> system (depends on evidence of theft, support, competing smallholder association,
> etc. – most are Green) and then distribute the lower of our or the farmers'
> requirements. (Personal communication)

This desire to have individual direct knowledge about suppliers, based on past experience and

inter-personal trust, is endemic in the tea industry and is valid for this basic level of

farmer/factory interaction as well as for the blender/factory interaction further down the value

chain. An organic certified blender explained their approach as follows:

> It is a family owned company, so it is basically one family. Their purpose of
> course is to keep this company; the customers of course. Yes, quite a long time.

We have a long term relationship and we try to keep it as long as possible. We visit them in the countries of origin or they come there and the personal contact is quite important for us because you can discuss the quality of the trade itself. You can get an idea of where you leave your money, what they do with your money, and that's the most important. And there are so many, especially in China, there are so many new suppliers who also sell cars whatever spare parts, they don't have any idea about tea. They don't really care about the product. So it is really important that you know the people and that they know the product. (Interview May, 2010)

A RFA certified blender explained how they maintain their relationships with their suppliers:

With some suppliers we are potentially doing forward contracts (…) we have a preferred suppliers list where we are working towards a smart source program with them. Most of the tea still gets bought through auction, very important, not because we would always like to buy through auction; but because sometimes people won't sell it to us privately because they want to wait and see what the market does because at the moment it is bullish. We have tried, people think it is always the buyer - but it isn't always the buyer - we have tried to do it [direct contracts] sometimes in tea, we want to cover the costs - and they still want to wait for the market. If it fell, I am sure they would be knocking at our door (…) We look for our suppliers and we don't care - that may drive the market up or down. (Interview June, 2010)

Twinings explains their approach on their website and justifies these long-term relationships as the company's responsibility to their consumers to provide the best tasting tea:

At Twinings, we think it's important to know where our tea's come from and who's grown it. That's why we try and buy a lot of our tea directly. We have longstanding relationships with tea estates and growers, and we visit them regularly to check everything's as it should be. Sometimes they even grow teas just for us, depending on what we need. These relationships, and the direct way of buying, help us make sure we're blending the best tasting teas possible. (Twinings 2010)

The ETP, Organic and RFA standards are exploiting the already existing long term relationships in the tea value chains by the way that these standards bodies are going about certifying producers and linking those producers to markets. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the RFA is adopting a demand approach whereby Unilever's (also Tetley's and Twinings') 'preferred suppliers' have access to RFA training and are first on the list for

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inspections. The organic tea companies (Herkulu and Luponde) are capitalizing on common

investors to reach higher value Organic markets in Germany and the UK. The ETP was also an

exercise in capitalizing on long-term relationships. The blender-driven focus of this standard

means that the monitoring activities, and now the capacity building support, applies only to those

producers who are already in the value chains of member companies.

The situation with Fairtrade is a little different. The original purpose of Fairtrade was to

create more fair trading relationships between producers and blenders within the value chains.

This is illustrated by the section of the standard that was highlighted in 'reading into the

standards' section of this chapter. The original purpose of the Fairtrade standard is to assist

disadvantaged producers. This is encoded in the Generic Trade Standard:

> Fairtrade aims to create sustainable trade partnerships between producers and
> their buyers, which enable producers to have long-term access to markets under
> viable conditions. Above and beyond standards requirements, it is important that
> these relationships grow stronger over time and are based on mutual respect,
> transparency and commitment. (FLO 2001: 8)

While this was accomplished with the emergence of companies such as Cafédirect, the majority

of trading relations did not change. The difficulties in changing the embedded trading

relationships were explained by two different blenders:

> It's really imporatant to realize that that's a logo - it shouldn't be your business
> model. Fairtrade set out to create direct contracts and what it did sometimes was
> to split up the contract - they set up a great system as well - but that shouldn't be
> their role. What we've said is that these are our suppliers, and this is who we need
> to support. (Interview June, 2010)

> But we are in the same stupid position where we have to stop buying from
> supplier x to go to supplier y just so I can put the seal on the pack. But that doesn't
> mean that y is more sustainable than x. (Interview June, 2010)

There was significant resistance by blenders to the idea that the adoption of a standard would

mean that they would need to change the relationships with their suppliers. The importance of

long term relationships, which can be maintained even through the auction system, is something

that was not originally conceived of in the Fairtrade system. An Organic and Fairtrade certified

blender explained it as follows:

> I think the auction is a totally unsuitable instrument for Fairtrade. Fairtrade is
> something that is a direct relationship with the producer. The auction is something
> that is an anonymous system where it is just about getting the cheapest deal. It has
> nothing to do with Fairtrade. I think Fairtrade teas should not be sold through the
> auction. which again for the UK is a very big problem. You need transparent
> structures for Fairtrade and organic and these transparent structures have to be
> very traceable and this instrument of auction is totally alien to this concept. No, I
> don't think there is any auction that trades in organic. (Interview May, 2010).

However, with the current 'courting' of UK supermarkets that is going on with Fairtrade,

this practice risks becoming even more closely aligned with that of the other standards that have

benefitted from the long term relationships that have existed in the global tea industry. The

supermarkets do not have the same reputation of valuing long-term supply-chain relationships

that the large blenders enjoy. A Fairtrade and Organic blender explained the situation like this:

> This [sustainability] is one of the things that I feel is not enough in the focus of
> the conventional FLO sector. Because nobody really, the big companies are not
> interested in sustainability, and they are not interested in reliability and
> commitment, and that is I feel one of the massive problems I have with a lot of the
> British companies. They don't make a commitment to the smallholders, even if he
> is conventional. The buying pattern actually has not changed. They still hop
> around to see who is the cheapest. (…) So sustainability in relationship was of no
> concern. And this is something which is also a point of discussions that we have
> presently with companies like Finlays, we say first we want to see your
> commitment, then we start working. For them it is a very alien concept and I think
> that FLO and the Fairtrade Foundation in the UK have to keep a very strong eye
> on this kind of practice if it just gets to something like a meaningless label like
> Rainforest Alliance, UTZ Kapeh, or whatever, then the people will also start to do
> what they are already doing, they are already hoping from one label to another.
> (…) So this is somewhere that we have to be a little more demanding towards to
> the industry in that we are the ones setting the standards, and not the industry.
> Because I found that mainly the Fairtrade Foundation in the UK are a little in
> panic because the big brands like Unilever are going to RFA and not to Fairtrade,
> but, I mean, let them. (Interview May, 2010)

It thus appears that the way in which long-term relationships are enacted determines the extent to which they are considered to be responsible enactments or not. While the value of long-term relationships in the ETP, Organic and RFA value chains are rather straightforward and justified based on each stakeholders' vision of what is responsible, the Fairtrade enactments are highly contested as some blenders claim that the Fairtrade mission forces them to choose less 'sustainable' suppliers while others claim that the blenders don't demonstrate reciprocal long-term relationships with their suppliers in the first place.

Conclusions

The data presented in this chapter show that there is very little difference in the responses I received among certified value chains. Most of the respondents mentioned more or less each of the three themes elaborated above (i.e., the rule of law, triple bottom line and long-term relationships). The main differences in enactments lie not among value chains, but rather between regions in Tanzania. The justifications used in the Usambaras relied more heavily on the legal responsibilities while those in the Southern Highlands focused more on the competitive advantage aspects of CSR. This might be explained by the differences in quantity, quality and trading partnerships in which these two regions are involved. The lower quantity and quality of the tea emerging from the Usambaras also means that this tea is not necessarily gaining access to the higher value markets in the UK where CSR receives more attention in the press. The hierarchical trading relationship between Herkulu and the parent company in India means that a separate identity for CSR in the Tanzanian context is not easily identified. Moreover, the cross certification that Herkulu holds (ETP, Fairtrade and Organic) means that it is trading with buyers who are also part of these schemes, and are therefore not necessarily looking for external verification of CSR.

The case of the Southern Highlands is slightly different. To begin with, the larger

quantity of tea also means that they are supplying a larger number of buyers in the global market.

These companies also represent a greater variety in terms of ownership and compliance with

social and environmental standards, as all four standards are present in this area. This poses a

greater competitive market within Tanzania and internationally, thus focusing these companies'

efforts beyond the legal responsibilities towards more integrated strategic programs. These

companies also have greater ties to the UK market, via investment interests. This suggests that

they must be responsible for the expectations of their UK investors and customers who are

currently living in an environment where competition on social responsibility receives more

public attention.

Through the presentation of textual, visual and interview data, I have shown that CSR is a

highly contested concept in the tea sector. The impetus to engage third-party standards as a

means to show a public face has been driven by consumer demand for certified products as well

as an industry that is trying to capitalize on a traditionally responsible, yet unpublicized, past.

The focus on the rule of law and the nature of the legal requirements in Tanzania illustrate that

much of what is judged to be CSR by consuming nations is legally mandated, either through the

collective bargaining agreement or the colonial and Ujamaa legacies. This also means that the

notion of a pragmatic 'triple bottom line' has emerged in the Tanzanian tea industry as

companies try to find innovative ways to comply with the law, local challenges such as high HIV

infection rates and expensive electricity, while keeping a market advantage. The embedded

network relationships that have lasted through the history of Tanzanian tea are being exploited

by the four standards networks as means to include 'preferred suppliers' in the certified value

chains. Attempts by the standards development organizations to force changes to these networks is met with resistance by the tea industry as a whole.

Therefore, it would seem that the main stakeholder that CSR is being performed for is the UK or German consumer, via marketing campaigns that blenders adopt with the help of SDOs. Those stakeholders that are concerned with the day to day enactments of CSR are performing their expectations of what these tea companies have always provided for them – even though this provision is sometimes even expected from the government instead. The analysis reinforces the arguments put forth by both Vogel (2005) and Porter (2006): there is indeed a 'market for virtue'; moreover, the tea industry has strategically placed itself ahead of others in quickly adopting a range of sustainability standards, which are being utilized to raise the bar for the industry as a whole. What remains to be better understood is the future of these standards networks. Now that the bar has been publicly raised to the level at which certified industry actors in Tanzania were already playing– are they going to deliver further improvements on the socially responsible practices?

CHAPTER SEVEN: There *is* Gender Equity in the Tea Industry

Binadamu wote huzaliwa huru, na wote ni sawa.[34]
– Tanzanian Constitution 1977, Paragraph 12.-(1)

While there is infinite pleasure in taking tea, it is also cloaked with a system of rules designed, I think, to civilize and calm our more primitive side.
(Johnson and Richardson 2009: 6)

On March 5th, 2010 I gave a lecture at the US Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam. It was part of the Fulbright Reflections series and had been organized by the Embassy to help Fulbrighters share their preliminary results with their research participants before leaving the field. As such, I invited all of my research participants in Tanzania, and other interested individuals, and the turnout was fantastic, I don't think that there was an empty seat in the room. The lecture lasted about an hour and forty minutes. I spoke for an hour and then we had a lively discussion for the next forty minutes. The lecture was interactive. While I was on one of my concluding slides I noted that "The tea sector promotes gender equity – but what does this mean?" A hand shot up immediately and one of my research participants said: "Yes, there *is* gender equity in the tea industry. It's in our agreement with the labor union." This assertion was greeted with a lot of nodding, from the room filled predominantly by men.

Throughout all of my interviews in Tanzania, men and women alike told me that there is gender equity (usawa wa kijinsia)[35] in the tea industry. This assertion of there being gender equity is supported by Tanzania's national level statistics. Tanzania is a signatory to various

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[34] All humans are born free, and they are all equal.

[35] According to the TUKI dictionary (TUKI 2001), the root word jinsia in Kishwahili can mean, sex, gender or ethnicity. In the official policy, kijinsia is used rather than the generic jinsia to make the word into an object.

international human rights instruments which bind it morally, and legally, to adhere to equity and non-discrimination policies. For example, Tanzania signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) less than five months after it was opened for signature in 1980 and ratified it in 1985. Tanzania has also ratified the International Labor Organization (ILO) Declaration on the Fundamental Principles and Human Rights at work, specifically Tanzania ratified both the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention and the Equal Remuneration Convention in 2002. Non-discrimination is also encoded in the Tanzanian constitution itself (Section 3, Paragraph 13.-(5)). A specific focus on women (and subsequently gender) and development has been an official national policy since 1992. Tanzania is one of about 40 countries in the world that have a legislated quota system aimed at ensuring that women constitute at least a "critical minority" of 30 or 40 percent (UNDP 2009).

The Human Development Index (HDI) has created two statistics that try to measure gender equity. The HDI measures average achievements in a country, on a scale of 0 to 1, but it does not incorporate the degree of gender imbalance in these achievements. The gender-related development index (GDI) measures achievements in the same dimensions using the same indicators as the HDI but captures inequalities in achievement between women and men. In other words, it is simply the HDI adjusted downward for gender inequality. The greater the gender disparity in basic human development, the lower is a country's GDI relative to its HDI. Tanzania's 2009 GDI value, 0.527 should be compared to its HDI value of 0.530 (ranked 151 out of 182). Its GDI value is 99.4% of its HDI value. Out of the 155 countries with both HDI and GDI values, 53 countries have a better ratio than Tanzania. France, Kenya and Malawi have the same GDI ratio of 99.4%. The 2009 Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), which examines

the extent to which women and men are able to actively participate in economic and political life and take part in decision-making, for Tanzania was 0.539 (similar to the HDI 0-1 scale). This placed Tanzania 69th (out of 109 countries), not that far behind Japan (ranked 57) with a GEM value of 0.567, and ahead of countries that are ranked much higher on the Human Development Index such as Chile (GEM ranking 75) and Romania (GEM ranking 77) (UNDP 2009). These statistics also seem to be represented in public opinion as the 2005 Round 3 of the Afrobarometer survey shows that 71.5 percent of its respondents claimed that the government was "handling empowering women" either very well or fairly well (Global Barometer Survey 2005).

Therefore, what I intend to do in this chapter is to examine how this positive vision of gender equity is being enacted by participants in the four certified value chains by analyzing the data collected from research participants, observations, documents and national level statistics. In other words, how is gender equity encoded into the material standards? What do research participants claim gender equity to be and what types of roles are played by men and women in the tea industry? The results from my research show that the standards have taken a 'non-discrimination' approach to defining gender equity. However, when asked about gender in interviews and focus groups, a number of enactments of this 'non-discrimination' have emerged, which may not be as equitable as the above statistics suggest. First, the European research participants responded to the question in terms of 'gender issues' and focused less on ideas of equity and roles than on stereotypical 'issues' of discrimination. Second, the Tanzanian respondents focused on 'equal opportunities' and the equal sharing of 'jobs' in the tea sector. However, there was a clear distinction made between public and private roles, which problematize the extension of the notion of gender equity to the smallholder tea sector. Finally, respondents on both continents agreed that there are specific cultural performances of gender that

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are manifested in the tea sector, related both to local Tanzanian culture and the culture of Tea.

These findings point to a fundamental question that is being asked by the standards development

organizations at the moment: Are standards the best way to address gender inequities in global

value chains? First, however, the literature on gender equity is summarized so to locate these

performances within the broader academic debates.

Gender equity as a process

The gender inequities of sustainability standards have begun to receive attention in the

literature, e.g., inequitable pay or protection of worker safety (Barrientos and Dolan 2006;

Barrientos et al. 2003; Pearson 2007). Research from Africa shows that a shift from subsistence

to commercial production reflects a similar shift in control over resources and benefits from

women to men (Boserup 1970; Smith and Dolan 2006), yet decisions over whose labor is used is

constantly negotiated (Francis 1998). This suggests that gender roles are not as static or

uncontested as they may appear. A focus on gender as a *process* (Nightingale 2006) reveals these

dynamics in the tea industry and does not relegate these dynamics solely to differences between

men and women. Thus, gender is not what one is, but what one *does* (Butler 1990) and here we

quickly return to the theoretical framework of performativity. In the context of standards, the

metaphor of co-production (Jasanoff 2004) is particularly applicable as gender is coded into

technologies/standards in different ways, while at the same time, they may re-enforce gender

patterns (Fox, Johnson, and Rosser 2006). Prior studies also suggest that with the introduction of

new technologies, distinct relationships between women and men emerge with varying, and often

little understood, outcomes in the equity of those relations (Haraway 1997; Harding 1991;

Hovorka 2006; Schroeder 1999). Thus, a gap remains as to how the differences between

definitions of gender equity in disparate certification networks may influence the outcomes of

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engagement with that network. It is on this point where this chapter picks up the discussion. The analysis below identifies key themes in the outcomes of engagement with the four standards and describes how there is indeed little difference between the encoded definitions of gender equity – yet the enactments carry quite different interpretations. First, however, I turn to the discussion in the literature as to what these possible outcomes may be in global value chains.

Barrientos and colleagues (Barrientos, McClenaghan, and Orton 1999; Barrientos and Dolan 2006; Barrientos et al. 2003; Barrientos and Smith 2007) and Dolan (2001; 2008) have written about the inadequacy of provisions for workers rights within standardized export sectors in Africa. This is largely because the standards themselves reflect a human-rights based approach to ensuring workers' rights (based on the ILO conventions). Yet certain aspects of some of the standards, fair trade for example, also attempt to achieve social ends such as transparency, partnership and participation, representative democracy, and equal exchange. These values are not well captured within the human rights framework. The Human Rights Doctrine incorporates a notion of gender equality, which is an equal right for all people under the law, which Nussbaum (2005) claims are the 'best ideas we can find'. However, there seems to be dissonance between a rights-based approach and an equity approach to development, particularly within the overarching goal of sustainability that creates the framework for this dissertation. Nussbaum (2005) claims that 'choice' is a fundamental right of individuals and those without choice suffer from a form of 'false consciousness' regarding their contentment with their lot in life. However, Elson (2002) shows how human rights are inextricably linked to liberal ideals and neo-liberal economic policies. Therefore, given the arguments that were put forward in previous chapters regarding the inherent un-sustainability of the neo-liberal economic growth paradigm (cf. Sachs 1999), then aspects of rights-based approaches are less likely to remove inequities in practice. As

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such, I find the notion of cognitive justice (Visvanathan 2007) to be a more compelling lens

through which to examine gender equity. Cognitive justice acknowledges the right of different

forms of knowledge to co-exist, but this plurality needs to go beyond tolerance or liberalism to

an active recognition of the need for diversity. In other words, it is a rubric for realizing a

democracy of knowledges. In an attempt to allow for cognitive justice in this chapter, I have

summarized below some of the other perspectives that have been used to analyze gender equity.

A number of theories have emerged from these perspectives and I have found evidence of some

of these in the performances that I document.

Feminist political ecologists have shown that all environmental actions are embedded

within social fields of power and political economies that shape both the social and ecological

outcomes of such actions (Rocheleau 2005; Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 1996;

Schroeder 1993). Therefore, in this literature there is a strong focus on the uneven distribution of

access to and control over resources on the basis of class and ethnicity. This focus allows a more

comprehensive definition of gender than is reflected in the non-discrimination clauses found in

three of the four standards (ETP, FLO and RFA) and in Tanzanian law. For example, Schroeder

(1993) revealed the exploitation of women in The Gambia by men (often within their

households) to take on the burdens of forestry projects as part of processes of 'environmental

stabilization.' Women were pushed into these roles not because of a natural affinity with

environmental management (Shiva 1989), but because the men did not want to water the trees.

Similarly, Gunewardena (2010: 372) argues that the commercial sugar economy in Sri Lanka has

rendered the rural areas it has incorporated into "social sites where newly constructed symbolic,

discursive, and ideological meanings of masculinities have begun to circulate, making invisible

women's work, household economic contributions, and decision making, thereby serving to

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inscribe their subordination." Thus, new gender identities and inequities are shown to be introduced through both modernization and environmental conservation efforts. Alternatively, Korovkin (2003) argued that flower plantation employment has changed gender relations at the household and community level in the direction of greater equality; yet, simultaneously employment in the cut-flower industry has produced negative effects on intra-household relations and in community participation. Thus, the feminist political ecology approach adds to our ability to see how gender (in)equities play out in practice based on women's and men's experiences, responsibilities and daily practice. This approach, as well as the environmental justice approach (Bryant 1995; Stein 2004), has shown that in some situations, gender is not the main inequity that concerns people. This exposes the multiplicity of (in)equities in society, which the performativity metaphor attempts to capture.

In their Gendered Value Chain approach, Barrientos, Dolan and Tallontire (2003) sketch a gender pyramid that divides the key issues relating to employment into three inter-linked levels: formal employment issues (i.e., formal work); employment-related issues (i.e., informal work); and the wider socioeconomic context that affects an individual's access to particular types of employment (i.e., reproductive work). Subsequent application of this approach (Smith and Dolan 2006: 79) recognizes that "men and women experience work differently, and that their experiences are largely determined by societal norms and institutions that shape their roles and responsibilities". Smith and Dolan (2006) show how the majority of women in the new export crop sectors are involved in reproductive and informal work relationships while men are found mainly in the formal work spheres. They found that the reproductive work of women, particularly the demands of pregnancy and child-care, seem to motivate companies to discriminate against them by allocating temporary, non-permanent and non-benefit paying jobs.

Bain (2010) has also found evidence of this in the Chilean fresh fruit export sector, where GlobalGAP standards for worker health, safety, and welfare act to reproduce and reinforce the flexible and feminized labor market by excluding precarious, or casual, workers from their compliance criteria. This has been characterized as the *casualization* and *feminization* of agricultural work (Allen and Sachs 2007; Barndt 2002; Barrientos et al. 2003; Mbilinyi 1986; Peterson and Runyan 2010). Islam(2008b: 212 emphasis in original) writes that we can see at least two patterns of this in the shrimp commodity chain: "*feminisation alongside masculinity*, characterised by an increasing female workforce in the processing factories but the continued dominance of male workers; and *flexibility and informality alongside rigidity*, in which an increasingly casual, temporary and part-time workforce that is precarious and vulnerable works in an inflexible and formal workplace with various codes of conduct."

By taking on the challenge of examining the multiple processes of gender equity, this chapter will explore the different embodiments of gender equity that exist in certified Tanzanian tea value chains. For example, I explore the notions of 'women's work' and 'men's work' in the tea industry. Thus, what I describe in terms of performance outcomes are those enactments that are specific to the particular place, temporally, spatially and culturally, as explained and understood by those involved in the tea industry. However, attempts have been made by SDOs to black-box these specificities by encoding gender equity into their standards. It is to this codification that I now turn.

Engendering non-discrimination

This section explores how gender equity is encoded in each of the four standards under review (ETP, FLO, OR, RFA). In other words, how has each of the four standards created a measure against which performances of gender equity can be evaluated? Through examination of

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the standards themselves and during interviews with employees of the SDOs, it became apparent

that the differences between standards, on the value of gender equity, are not vast. Three of the

four standards adopt typical 'non-discrimination' clauses based mainly on ILO convention No.

111,[36] while the Organic standard does not have any such clause (Table 7.1). However, closer

analysis of the standards reveals additional criteria that attempt to address gender inequities in

each standard, which I will explain in turn.

Table 7.1: ETP, FLO, OR and RFA non-discrimination clauses

Ethical Tea Partnership	**7.0 Discrimination** **7.1 Equal Treatment** • The employer shall not engage in or support discrimination in hiring, compensation, access to training, promotion, termination or retirement based on race, caste, national origin, religion, age, disability, gender, marital status, sexual orientation, union membership or political affiliation. **7.2 Equal pay for equal work for men and women** • The employer should take appropriate action to ensure that men and women are paid equally for equal work **7.3 No discrimination against pregnant women** Employers must ensure that pregnant women are not discriminated against in terms of recruitment or any terms of employment, according to the requirement above.
Fairtrade (HL and SPO)[37]	**1.2 Freedom from Discrimination** **1.2.1 Minimum Requirements** 1.2.1.1 There is no discrimination on the basis of race, colour, sex, sexual

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[36] "Any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation. Positive discrimination in favour of people from certain underrepresented groups may be legal in some countries" (C11 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention 1958 ILO 1958).

[37] HL stands for Hired Labor (applicable to the commercial estate sector) and SPO stands for Small Producers Organization. In the requirements under 1.2, I have used the language in the HL standard as it is practically the same as that in the SPO standard, the only difference being that the SPO standard refers to the 'Organization' or 'Employer' rather than to 'Management'. Moreover, the SPO standard does not have an equivalent of requirement 1.2.1.4 nor does it have progress requirements. It does however have the extra requirement that is noted in the table.

Table 7.1 continued

	orientation, disability, marital status, age, religion, political opinion, membership of unions or other workers' representative bodies, national extraction or social origin in recruitment, promotion, access to training, remuneration, allocation of work, termination of employment, retirement or other activities. 1.2.1.2 Management does not engage in, support or tolerate the use of corporal punishment, mental or physical coercion or verbal abuse. 1.2.1.3 Management does not engage in, support or tolerate behaviour - including gestures, language, and physical contact - that is sexually intimidating, abusive or exploitative. 1.2.1.4 Management does not discipline, dismiss or discriminate against workers for using any grievance procedure. **1.2.2 Progress requirements** 1.2.2.1 Within one year of certification, the management puts in place a policy regarding staff/worker qualifications. In particular, the needs of disadvantaged and minority groups in the workforce should be targeted with training and other programmes. 1.2.2.2 Management ensures that women have equal opportunities in the company and equal access to the benefits of Fairtrade. 1.2.2.3 A special grievance procedure is in place for cases of sexual harassment. Cases of grievance should be designated to specially appointed women or women's committees (linked to a high-ranking woman in management) with direct access to the Chief Executive. **Specific to SPOs: 1.4 Non-Discrimination** **1.4.1 Minimum requirements** 1.4.1.1 The organization does not discriminate against members or restrict new membership on the basis of race, colour, sex, sexual orientation, disability, marital status, age, religion, political opinion, language, property, nationality, ethnicity or social origin. Furthermore, there must be no discrimination regarding participation, voting rights, the right to be elected, access to markets, or access to training, technical support or any other benefit of membership. **1.4.2 Progress requirements** 1.4.2.1 Programmes related to disadvantaged/ minority groups within the organization are in place to improve the social and economic position of those groups in the organization, particularly with respect to recruitment, organizational staff and committee membership.

Table 7.1 continued

Organic[38]	EU Regulation (EC) N° 834/2007 and (EC) N° 889/2008 (former: (EEC) N° 2092/91)
	N/A
	IMO Organic Standard – IMO Organic Equivalence Standard for Operators in Non-EU Countries – Version 1.1 3/2010
	N/A
	IFOAM Norm 2005
	8. Social Justice
	8.5 Operators shall provide their employees and contractors equal opportunity and treatment, and shall not act in a discriminatory way.
	2.1 Non-Discrimination
	2.1.1 The policies and procedures which govern the operation of the certification body shall be non-discriminatory.
Rainforest Alliance	**5. Fair Treatment and Good Working Conditions for Workers**
	5.2 *Critical Criterion.* The farm must not discriminate in its labor and hiring policies and procedures along the lines of race, color, gender, age, religion, social class, political tendencies, nationality, syndicate membership, sexual orientation, marital status or any other motive as indicated by applicable laws, ILO Conventions 100 and 111, and this standard. The farm must offer equal pay, training and promotion opportunities and benefits to all workers for the same type of work. The farm must not influence the political, religious, social or cultural convictions of workers.
	5.10 *Critical Criterion.* Any type of forced labor is prohibited, including working under the regimen of involuntary imprisonment, in agreement with ILO Conventions 29 and 105 and national laws. The farm does not withhold any part or all of workers' salaries, benefits or any rights acquired or stipulated by law, or any of the workers' documents, in order to force them to work or stay on the farm, or as a disciplinary action. The farm does not use extortion, debt, threats or sexual abuse or harassment, or any other physical or psychological measure to force workers to work or stay on the farm, or as a disciplinary measure.

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[38] The EU Regulation (EC) N° 834/2007 and (EC) N° 889/2008 (former: (EEC) N° 2092/91) do not make any mention of discrimination. However, compliance with ILO conventions by signatory countries is a mandatory trade requirement for the EU. Ecocert conducts its audit for specific compliance to the EU Regulation. IMO has created its own organic standard that guides its audits against the EU Regulation and is thus listed separately. For the purposes of this table I have also included the IFOAM norm as it serves as the unifying vision of organic across the national/regional organic regulations.

Ethical Tea Partnership

The ETP standard would appear to have to most straightforward description of non-discrimination. There is specific reference to the multiple aspects of gender discrimination, highlighting a particular concern for pregnant women and specifically calling for 'equal treatment' and 'equal pay'. Overall, the ETP standard is the most comprehensive in terms of describing particular concessions for worker's rights. As the ETP standard is based on the Ethical Trading Initiative base code, and emerged as a way for blenders to keep track of workers'rights, 20 of the 24 pages of the standard are dedicated to 'labor rights' (83.3 percent). There are specific criteria for maternity leave (6.10), child and youth labor (4.0) and provision of protective clothing (3.1.4). The standard suggests that in practice this means: "suitable protective clothing and equipment must be provided to all workers including women and temporary, seasonal, and casual workers" (ETP 2009a: 7), which leaves no room for estate interpretation on the provision of protective clothing to any type of workers. Also important is that the provision of facilities, such as sanitation and housing, is divided by gender. For example, "the number of toilet facilities should be appropriate for the number of workers present and facilities should be separated by sex" (ETP 2009a: 9). As I pointed out in the chapter on sustainability, this particular aspect of the ETP standard was strongly enforced by the auditors.

ETP also takes on the notion of family obligations and expects welfare provisions to take into account those workers with family responsibilities and obligations, specifically "Employers should provide welfare and social services which meet the needs of women workers, particularly those with family responsibilities and pregnant female workers" (3.4.1 ETP 2009a: 10). Moreover, the "wages paid for a standard working week shall be sufficient to meet basic needs of workers and their families and to provide some discretionary income" (5.1.2 ETP 2009a: 14).

A section on harsh and inhuman treatment is also included where physical abuse and sexual or other forms of harassment are prohibited. This attention to detail is endemic in the ETP standard and relates to the 'legalistic' nature of the standard that was discussed in the last chapter on corporate social responsibility.

Fairtrade

The FLO standard is unique in that there are actually two standards that are enforced, with a few interesting differences between them. The wording in the HL standard is much more complex and holds the employer responsible for more 'progress' than the SPO standard holds its organizational operations and its members responsible. For example, in the freedom from discrimination sections (which in the SPO applies to workers employed by the SPO or by members), the HL standard contains the extra minimum requirement that management does not discipline, dismiss or discriminate against workers for using any grievance procedure (1.2.1.4) as well as the progress requirements that aim at improving the access of women to training and opportunities in the company. For example, nine pages of the 31 page SPO standard (29 percent) are dedicated to non-discrimination and labor rights, while 20 of the 43 pages (46.5 percent) of the HL standard are dedicated to the same. This may be because of the basic legal differences between a producer organization and a commercial estate, as well as a recognition of the differences in the ability to enforce more complex labor standards for small farmers as well as their applicability to such work environments.

There is also a specific focus on increasing the participation of women in the FLO standard, which goes beyond the 'non-discrimination' clause. One of the suggestions for the progress requirement on the sexual harassment criteria is to gradually increase the number of female supervisors to be in proportion to the number of female workers in a given department

(1.2.2.3). There is also a requirement of a 'fair gender representation' in the Joint Body composition (2.1.3) and 'special attention should be given to the participation of female members' in the producer's organization (1.4.2.1). There is even special consideration that "time constraints (e.g., suffered by women with children or those who travel long distances between home and workplace) should not jeopardize exercising the right to organize" (FLO 2009a: 14). Additionally, there are specific conditions of employment that protect the rights of casual, temporary, pregnant and nursing workers. For example, "The following persons are not allowed to be engaged in potentially hazardous work: persons younger than 18 years; pregnant or nursing women; persons with incapacitating mental conditions; persons with chronic, hepatic or renal diseases; and persons with respiratory diseases" (FLO 2009a: 23). This means that there is a rather wide range of medical examinations that must take place to determine the 'fitness' of the worker, as well as considerable negotiation between the auditor and the employer over what FLO means by 'hazardous work'.

Organic

The EU Regulations (EC) N° 834/2007 and (EC) N° 889/2008 (formerly: (EEC) N° 2092/91) that constitute the organic standard do not make any mention of discrimination. In fact, there is no mention of the treatment of humans at all, save for mention of the 'protection of human and animal health.' The two certifying agencies working in the Tanzanian tea sector, Ecocert and IMO, audit against this EU regulation. Ecocert conducts its audit for specific compliance to the EU Regulation and has not developed a separate organic standard that incorporates labor concerns. IMO, on the other hand, has created its own organic standard that guides its audits against the EU Regulation. However, examination of this standard also shows

that there is no mention of protections against 'discrimination' or gender equity in any form. A research participant put it this way:

> Gender is not such a big piece of our standards in general. It is a concern; we have a leaflet that explains a bit this relationship between organic and gender. It's not there, there are equal opportunities of course for men and women but that is the basic thing. (Interview May, 2010)

Therefore, I picked up both the leaflet and the IFOAM norm, which serves as the unifying vision of organic across the national and regional organic regulations, so as to better understand gender equity in the context of the organic agriculture standard. Out of the 126 pages of the standard, I found three pages (2.3 percent) that were relevant for evaluating gender equity. The non-discrimination clause that is cited in Table 7.1 refers to the operation of certification bodies that are IFOAM accredited. The use of 'non-discriminatory' practices is not very helpful here. However, there is a section of the IFOAM norm (section 8), entitled *Social Justice*, which better elaborates the standard notion of gender equity. The general principle is that "social justice and social rights are an integral part of organic agriculture and processing" (IFOAM 2009). The specific recommendations related to gender equity are that "1) Operators should comply with all ILO conventions relating to labor welfare and the UN Charter of Rights for Children. 2) Operators should provide for the basic social security needs of the employees, including benefits such as maternity, sickness and retirement benefits. 3) All employees should have equal opportunity and adequate wages when performing the same level of work regardless of color, creed and gender. 4) Operators should respect the rights of indigenous peoples, and should not use or exploit land whose inhabitants or farmers have been or are being impoverished, dispossessed, colonized, expelled, exiled or killed, or which is currently in dispute regarding legal or customary local rights to its use or ownership" (IFOAM 2009: 49). Thus, as my respondent noted, there is a slight emphasis on equal opportunities in the organic system.

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Rainforest Alliance

The RFA standard contains a small fair treatment of workers section and an occupational health and safety section within its rather long and science-based standard (12/43 pages or 27.9 percent). The RFA standard is less specific than the others in detailing what is considered equitable in terms of labor requirements; however, it is quite specific in the interaction between humans and their environments. For example, the RFA standard states "Only males between the ages of 18 and 60 may apply agrochemicals" (Rainforest Alliance 2009: 31). According to a tea estate manager, this specification was also part of the FLO standard at one point, but has since been changed to: "All spray operators: (…) are relieved periodically from spraying according to a job rotation scheme" (FLO 2009a: 24). According to my research participant, he had made a number of complaints to FLO about this particular criteria claiming that in practice it was reverse discrimination. Common practice on tea estates is to have teams of workers rotate duties depending on what task is required to be completed each day. For example, much of the time is spent plucking tea leaves. However, depending on the season these teams will be assigned to fertilizer, pruning or weeding duties. Weeding is done by spraying glyphosate on the ground between the tea bushes. Therefore, prohibiting women from spraying agrochemicals in effect prohibited them from being part of these work teams, which meant that they could not be hired by the tea estate for field work (Interview October, 2009). To date, this debate has not yet been initiated with regards to the RFA standard.

Cultural considerations are also taken into account by the RFA standard with respect to hunting practices (section 3.3) and the surrounding community (section 7). For example, the RFA standard allows for interpretation of guidelines which determine "how the Standard for Sustainable Agriculture with its criteria is interpreted and applied to particular situations"

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(Rainforest Alliance 2009: 11). Specific input can be gathered from "local labor and occupational health laws executed by the local health and labor ministries or related authorities that can orient farms to implement their social policies" (Rainforest Alliance 2009: 12). As such, appreciation of local or cultural knowledge is to be considered for compliance with the RFA standard.

All four standards make special provisions for child and youth labor and the degrees of severity vary along the spectrum from the very strict dictation that "child labor does not occur" that is found in the FLO standard, to the more relaxed recommendation in the IFOAM norm that "Children are allowed to experience work on their family's farm or a neighboring farm provided that a) such work is not dangerous or hazardous to their health and safety; b) it does not jeopardize the children's educational, moral, social, and physical development; c) children are supervised by adults or have authorization from a legal guardian" (IFOAM 2009: 50). Additionally, most of the health and safety regulations and the housing requirements are consistent across the standards.

Therefore, to summarize the characterization of gender equity encoded in the standards themselves, we can claim that they have effectively taken on the issue of non-discrimination as the main point of departure. There is additional note of the concept of 'equal opportunities' and 'gender issues' such as harassment and child labor. Finally, the RFA standard makes room for interpretation or 'cultural' considerations, which is fundamental to the enactment of gender equity. If we look purely at the amount of paper and ink that has been devoted to labor concerns by each of these standards, we find the following ranking of gender-sensitive standards: 1) ETP (83.3%), 2) FLO (37.35%)[39], 3) RFA (27.9%), and 4) Organic (0.76%).[40] However, the written

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[39] Refers to the average between the two FLO standards.

documents are only part of the performance of gender equity in these networks. To pursue the

performative metaphor, they are the scripts (though not the only scripts) that are used to varying

degrees in the performances. Therefore, let us look at the performances of each of the three key

themes that have emerged from the standards as a way to better capture how gender (in)equity is

enacted in the Tanzanian tea industry.

Performing equal opportunities

An organic and FLO certified blender pointed out that the main concern is really about

participation and opportunity, rather than specific concerns about discrimination. "Normally it's

a question of respect for participation. That women are participating in the process of the

committees (…) it is an important point that they are not only plucking" (Interview May, 2010).

Thus the concern for 'equal opportunity' was the most common theme that emerged from my

data, covering 22 percent of the coded data for gender equity. In terms of equal opportunities,

there are two main ways in which this concept was articulated. The first revolves around the

practice of breaking down the perception of 'women's work' and 'men's work' (kazi anayofanya

kinamama na kinababa) and the second discusses the way that diversity in the workforce is

achieved or not achieved. A focus group of middle managers summed up the story that was

repeated throughout the country:

> In Tanzania there is no separate job. Women work the same; they are able to do
> the same that men are doing. You come to the offices you find clerical jobs: men
> and women, planting: men and women, fertilizer applications: men and women,
> weeding: men and women, Jilanjo: men. [Laughter] Well, we are having most of
> our employees are drivers and we don't have any women that are drivers. [That is]
> not to say that Jilanjo is not employing women, their project manager is a woman.
> We make sure at least that we mix our work, we are gender-balanced. (Focus
> Group February, 2010).

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[40] Refers to the average among the three Organic standards.

Figure 7.1: Gender equity among pluckers

Figure 7.2: Gender equity in the factory

Figure 7.3: Heavy lifting at the boiler

This sentiment was repeated in focus groups with estate and factory workers where they claimed that the main differences that you see between men and women doing different types of jobs is based on ability, not on gender. For example, a consensus was reached that plucking and other field work was equally done by both men and women (Figure 7.1). Factory line work was also evenly split between men and women (Figure 7.2). However, some jobs that were considered to require a significant amount of strength for lifting or were considered to be high risk (e.g., boiler duty, or machine harvesting Figure 7.3), were usually given to men; while jobs that required detailed work and patience (e.g., sorting the green leaf, Figure 7.4) were usually given to women. However, as Figure 7.4 shows, this is not always the case.

It is therefore important to take into consideration the justifications that are given as to why we see differentiation between the jobs that men and women do:

> In sum, we don't take gender into account more, for example, a person has gone to study and perhaps they have become a mechanic. Now we can't say that it is because of gender that so and so can't be a mechanic, it is considering how the person has studied that we give that person the job to do. We select exactly how the work was done, not gender (Interview November, 2009).

The importance of education levels in differentiating labor roles is particularly the case with an obvious lack of women in top management positions in the tea industry. Lower level supervisors who had been promoted from entry level positions were observed. However, a concern was expressed that not enough qualified women were applying for management positions in the very remote areas where tea production and processing takes place. This was even more apparent in the Usambara region where the gender balance, even in the factories, favored men.

Figure 7.4: Man and woman doing 'detailed' work

However, this is not just a problem with the tea industry, but rather reflects a nationwide policy concern. Similar results were found in an earlier study on Fairtrade in the Tanzanian tea industry: "While the general workforce was fairly evenly distributed between males and females, and women seemed well respected and comfortable in voicing their needs and opinions, most companies had very few women in management positions. One manager said that it was not due to a lack of qualified women, but rather that they had inherited a rather male-dominated

workforce, and since there was little turnover in the higher-level positions, they tended to be occupied by men" (Thompson 2006: 50).

Another line that has been forgotten in the 'equal opportunity' performance is the role of equal opportunity for the smallholder sector. Most of my data explicates the formal working sphere whereas the smallholder sector, in many ways, remains within the private sphere of gender relations. During discussion with tea company employees, I asked them if the gender equity that they saw in their work roles were reflected in their gender roles at home. Without fail this produced a round of laughter and one employee at an ETP and FLO certified estate put it the most succinctly: "We can't say what happens in our private homes, every family is different. It is different from work" (Focus Group November, 2009).

However, the smallholder tea sector is indeed the place of work for smallholder farmers. The smallholder farm is considered, by the tea sector, to be an agri-business. The RFA, FT and Organic standards that are applied to these smallholders require similar management systems and documentation that the large estates must have in place, albeit on a smaller scale. The agro-chemical restrictions in the RFA certification system apply to both commercial crops and consumption crops. Therefore, smallholder farmers are very much involved in the formal work sphere of the tea industry. However, the gender equality patterns are slightly different. Depending on where you are in the country (North vs. South) the roles that men and women play are quite different. In the north, I saw a lot of women working and men supervising or waiting with the greenleaf for pickup because that is where your leaf got weighed and the receipt to collect payment was given. A consistent comment was that in the past, the women worked and the men received the money. However, it seems that this practice is changing. A small farmer explained that:

In other parts, not in Njombe, a woman will pluck tea and weigh it. The man will be the one to go and collect the money. Therefore, we must say, perhaps we say that the woman is the one who weighs the tea and writes her name so that this tea is hers or she writes the name of the man. This means that her responsibility is when she finishes up there and when she weighs the tea and the cash has been taken. When it is returned it is the man's so that when he goes to receive it he can plan the household expenses. The one who plucks is the one who writes their name there and is indeed the one who goes to collect the money. Therefore, we agree that all work is the work of all. We can all pluck, we are all there. Perhaps the name that was written was the man's, but the whole household is one family. So if you are sent to collect the money, you will meet there both women and men. (Focus Group November, 2009)

A consultant who had done a lot of extension work with tea farmers explained to me some of the intra-household dynamics associated with the tea payments. The following is an excerpt from one of my memos:

Anna told me about the experience with Mkonge block farm and how they saw that women were not plucking their own fields and were going to pluck their neighbors fields instead. She found out that they were doing this because they were not seeing any of the money from their own fields because the husbands were taking it. So they were going to get paid directly from the neighbor to pluck his fields instead. She said that she spoke first with the women, then went to speak with the men and said to them, "why don't you pay something to your wife and children, so that they will continue to pluck? That way you will continue to get money rather than having overgrown fields!" She said that after some time she saw the women going back to their fields. She said that you won't see women doing something unless they are seeing some type of benefit. This is really true. So if fields are left without being plucked this is because the women are not seeing the benefit. If they are plucking it, they are seeing the benefit.

The negotiation described above is fundamental to the way in which gender roles are produced and reproduced in society. It is also on the boundary of the formal and informal work that gender issues get glossed over, rather than discussed. It is thus to more 'gender issues' that I now turn.

Enacting gender issues

In my discussions with the European value chain actors, rather than talking specifically about gender roles and equity, the language quickly moved towards what were termed 'gender

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issues'. This semantic difference points to the creation of 'gender issues' as 'problems' rather than the positive notion of 'gender equity' that was explored above in terms of equal opportunities. A FLO employee explained the how this problem is conceived by FLO:

> Gender discrimination is checked in every audit. It is considered a major non-compliance – it can cost you to lose certification. It also has progress requirements (Interview January, 2010).

A FLO and organic auditor explained how he applied the standards in the tea industry:

> Normally it is Fairtrade, not organic. Fairtrade we have some indicators for that - discrimination and gender issues. In the tea sector, I have not seen this as a big problem. There is no problem at all I can say (Interview February, 2010).

Thus this gap between the Tanzanian reality and the concerns expressed by the SDOs was a consistent point of tension in my data and revolved mainly around the themes of harassment and casualization of the labor force. This tension manifested as the SDOs performed the role of concerned organizations that were doing their part to include these protections against discrimination as best they could, while the Tanzanians enacted their rights as allowed by the Tanzanian law, labor contracts and their own interests.

Harassment

While three of the four standards have specific clauses about harassment, this was only seen as a 'gender issue' by the European actors (cf. FNV Mondiaal and FNV Bondgenoten 2009). For example, the ETP discussed how sexual harassment was a problem in Kenya, but they had instituted a program to improve labor relations "through the introduction of female security staff" (ETP 2010a). However, this provision was already instituted into the 2008 TAT-TPAWU collective bargaining agreement where it states that:

> Employers may employ askaris [guards] and watchmen who shall have the right to search any employee suspected of having the employer's property unlawfully

upon his person, provided that a female employee shall not be searched except by another female (TAT and TAPWU 2008)

However, no note is made for provisions against harassment in the collective bargaining agreement. It is, however noted as a form of discrimination in Tanzanian labor law (7.-(5) The United Republic of Tanzania 2004: 12). More specifically, harassment, sexual or otherwise, was barely mentioned in my discussions with Tanzanian tea actors. One manager expressed how standards seem to be out of touch with reality, citing the question "Do you beat your workers?" that was asked during an audit of a standard not included in this study. His response was that "we have moved beyond this" (Memo 2008). There was also another discussion related to the lack of women working the night shift, in which I queried one manager whether this was to do with sexual harassment. His response was that "it is for the children's sake, not for personal safety reasons" (Interview November, 2009). In fact, Tanzanian labor law does not allow companies to require that 'mothers' work the night shift for two months following the birth of the child and after that date, "if after that date if the mother produces a medical certificate that she is not yet fit to perform night work or that the baby's health does not permit the employee to work night shift" (20.-(1) The United Republic of Tanzania 2004: 20). In other words, we have two distinct performances of 'gender issues' between the standards (and their European writers) and the Tanzanian counterparts. While the Europeans expressed concern about inequities caused by harassment, the Tanzanians were much more concerned about other issues related to gender equity, specifically the issue of casual labor.

Casualization

Casualization of the workforce was another 'issue' that was brought up by the value chain actors. For example, in their 2009 Annual Report, the "ETP works to remove repeated use

of casual labour in Kenya" (ETP 2009b: 2) and in our interview we discussed how casual labor is used in the tea industry in many parts of the world. The recent report published by the War on Want makes special note of how casualization is a growing problem in the Kenyan tea industry (Morser and Michuki 2010). However, a Fairtrade, ETP and Organic certified estate manager explained the situation like this:

> By banning casual labor you are increasing poverty. The people who take casual labor want this because they are hiring out their labor for many different agriculture jobs and crops. They want to come here in the high season for tea and go somewhere else when there is a lot of work there. This is how they are maximizing their income by having that flexibility. Tanzanians prefer to have day work - we don't want to be permanently employed (Interview October, 2009)

While this generalization is exaggerated, suggesting that relatively 'unskilled' casual laborers have significant power to choose they type of work they do, this sentiment was repeated by a number of different types of workers in the tea industry. For example, some factory workers in a RFA certified factory claimed that they might prefer to work in the fields rather than in the factory because at least in the fields you could earn more by plucking more. For example, Unilever managers claimed that on some of their estates in the high season exceptional workers could pluck 100 kilos of tea per day, which is far over the average of 30-35 kilos that are expected per 8 hour work day (Interview February, 2010). Additionally, the flexibility allowed by seasonal contract work was seen as a way to diversify income.

> For example, there are workers that do this if they have many crops, if the amount of work [at the estate] goes down - they go home. Some return every year because there are those that work seven months then go home. This way it is good. (Focus Group February, 2010)

This was confirmed by another group of workers at a FLO certified estate who said that seasonal contracts are better because there are better jobs at other times of the year, "timber here,

their own food crops, etc. in Iringa, everyone has a piece of land" (Focus Group November, 2009).

Moreover, it is important to understand that the private tea companies, represented by the Tea Association of Tanzania (TAT), negotiate a new collective bargaining agreement with the Tanzanian Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union (TPAWU) in July every other year (salaries are negotiated yearly). In this contract the minimum wage and benefits for workers are outlined. There are specific conditions that govern seasonal contracts (not to exceed nine month contracts) and outline the benefits that must be provided (e.g., paid leave and severance allowance where applicable). As shown in the chapter on corporate social responsibility, the tea companies provide substantial social and community benefits to their workers – both permanent and seasonal. Therefore, the seasonal contracts are negotiated and agreed upon by management and workers and for the most part are respected by both.

In the 1980s, Mblinyi argued that more than half of the peasant labor force was female due to demographic changes and changes in the sexual division of labor in peasant production. Additionally, "the development of agribusiness has accelerated the process of commoditization, proletarianization, and differentiation in Tanzanian society and qualitatively deepened the oppression of women, particularly those women who are peasants or casual labor" (Mbilinyi 1986: 107). Her analysis shows that in two regions of the Southern Highlands (Rungwe and Mufindi), which are key tea growing regions, Brooke Bond's subsidiary, the Tanganyika Tea Company, relied on casual labor to a large extent in Rungwe, whereas in Mufindi it used proportionately more migrant labor.[41] Her analysis of casual labor in Rungwe shows that the

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[41] In the Tanzanian estate sector, the difference between migrant labor and casual labor is basically a geographic one – migrant means they have leave their homes for 3-9 month durations, while casual means that they commute from home for the 6-9 month duration of the seasonal

feminization of this casual labor was due to the outmigration of males to the copper mines in

Rhodesia, which left a largely female population in these areas to tend to agriculture and hire

their labor out to the tea plantations. Today, these population characteristics have changed to

some extent, with an approximately equal number of males and females living in Rungwe (the

district population was 52.6 percent female in 2002). In Rungwe, seasonal contracts are still

common (88 percent of the labor force for the tea company in Rungwe is seasonally contracted)

as there is a substantial smallholder tea growing population (estimated around 15,000

smallholders); while the migrant labor in Mufindi (52 percent female in 2002) have since settled

in villages around the estates (The United Republic of Tanzania 2002). The last use of migrant

labor in the tea sector in Tanzania was at an ETP certified and FLO de-certified estate in the

Usamabara region. According to the manager, it was discontinued in 2009 due to the 'social

problems' that a migrant labor population brought with it (Interview January, 2010).

Given the nature of 'equal opportunities' in the workforce described above, casualization

of the workforce is indeed enacted in the Tanzanian tea sector. However, this is not something

that has been brought in, exacerbated or even changed by the social and environmental standards,

nor is it observed to be something that is gender specific. It affects men and women workers

more or less equally because of the types of jobs available in the 80 year old tea plantation

culture that most often employ seasonal contracts (e.g., plucking and entry level factory work).

Finally, Mblinyi (1986) showed that casualization has been in effect in Tanzanian plantation

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contract. When the colonial estates first started in Iringa province, they had been established in
areas where there were no local villages. Therefore they brought migrant laborers from the
Uhehe and Ubena areas of southern Iringa up into Mufindi. These populations have now settled
in Mufindi and provide casual labor in the sense that they are physically close to the plantations.
In the East Usamabaras, sub-contracted migrant labor was brought in from Kigoma province.
However this practice has stopped and the estates are now relying upon casual labor from the
surrounding villages or migrants from Iringa province.

agriculture since colonialism. Thus, the notion of casualization is deeply embedded in the local culture surrounding tea estates in Tanzania.

Performing culture(s)

Two distinct performances of culture were found in the explanation of the roles of men and women in the tea industry. The first are myths of African society and the roles that men and women play in this context. The second refers to the tea industry and the specific stereotypes that are reenacted throughout the industry, in some cases with the specific aim of manipulating these stereotypes in marketing campaigns. The references to culture made by the European actors manifest again in the notion of 'gender issues'. For example, a FLO and RFA certified blender claimed that "Tea estates by their nature (it's a legacy model) you are housing large numbers of people in a community, of course it's just a microcosim of society in general. So you are going to get problems, gender issues are a problem in East Africa" (Interview June, 2010). This stereotype of gender issues in a generalized African society was repeated by most of the European research participants. However, there was also a rather substantial understanding of the differences between the values set out by the standards and the local context. An organic and FLO certified blender explained it this way:

> You have to look at the African society - the women do the work and the men get drunk. In the factory there is a young woman and there is an old guy who is in charge of the production. I never talk to the guy; I always talk to the young woman, she knows what she is doing. This is something, you know, you can't change it from outside they have to change it themselves, so what you can do is you can support them if they want to change things. And so that is why I am a little sort of careful to go there and to tell people how they have to live and how they have to do things. We always look at these societies from our experience and from our perspective and that is quite nonsense. (Interview May, 2010).

This concept of changing from the inside was actually the version of culture that was repeated by some of the Tanzanian participants. They noted that before there were a lot of gender inequities in society, but now the broader society and policies are changing.

> I think that long ago (zamani) the woman was doing separate work. For example, collecting wood was women's work; men could till, women could sow. But now women till men till, women sow men sow, women weed, men weed. Therefore, long ago it was different but now, it is going equally with all work. If work needs people, ten people will work (Focus Group November, 2009).

> It is different because the government says that we have equal rights. Even you, if you go there you will meet secretaries or messengers who are women and this is different from long ago because then they were only men. Therefore now, we have female members of parliament, ministers and many people. Therefore it has gone up to the company. In the company there are equal rights. Therefore, even in plucking you will meet women and men and they are carrying baskets and they are plucking tea (Focus Group November, 2009).

As such, the stereotype that is implied by the SDOs is not being consistently reproduced across the board in the Tanzanian tea sector. Rather, the small farmers and farm workers themselves tried to dispel this stereotype through the way that they discussed gender equity and the typical ways of working in the tea sector. Through their discussions, the dynamic nature of local culture was revealed, as were different dimensions of gender inequities.

In the Tanzanian context, rather than a clear separation between men and women, another important cultural characteristic is apparent in the tea industry, which is age. Phillips (2010) shows the tensions in political rhetoric that are organized around the distinctions made between youth (ujana) and eldership (uzee). Uzee remains a powerful cultural concept that organizes people, practices, and relationships. I observed a number of instances where the youth were assisting elders in their work in the fields. I asked a group of supervisors about this and they explained it this way:

> Given our African culture, we tend to respect our elders. If you go to see farmers plucking at their residences, you see older people plucking closer to the main

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road, and the others are further in. In other cases you see youngsters closer to the road. But there is no rule, it is automatic. This is a company who respects family (...) and today, we are fathers and children working in the same company. So we have this family relationship, so how can you explain that? So when people come from other areas they don't understand this (Interview February, 2010).

In Tanzania, the predominance of the elder generation in the agriculture sector has been noted in key policy documents, as the government attempts to promote opportunities for the younger generation (United Republic of Tanzania 2009). Simbua (Simbua 2006a; 2010) found that the average age of smallholder tea farmers in Rungwe was 53 while the average age in Mufindi was 43. This is compared to the median ages as reported in the 2002 census of 17 for Mufindi and 18.9 for Rungwe (The United Republic of Tanzania 2002) and a national life expectancy at birth of around 56 years (UNDP 2009). The same study also found that younger farmers were more likely to attend training, to adopt new technologies and better farm management practices, which was a statistically significant indicator of higher greenleaf yields (Simbua and Loconto 2010). This suggests that an aging population in the smallholder sector will further marginalize the smallholders from accessing the benefits that might be brought with inclusion in the standards networks. Moreover, as Thompson (2006) concurred in her study, the management class in many of the tea plantations in Tanzania is also of the elder generation.

The nature of an aging population for the tea industry relates back again to the issue of casualization and the introduction of machine harvesting. Machine harvesting was first introduced as both a measure against a lack of available labor and as a means to modernize the industry. As noted in the section on 'equal opportunities' it was noted that mostly men are employed as drivers and as machine harvester operators. These employees tend to be from the younger generation and have gained technical training. The introduction of machine harvesters has already reduced the number of casual laborers in one ETP, FLO and Organic certified

company as the use of machine harvesters cuts down the need to employ large teams of pluckers.

The general manager explained the rationale behind this move:

> It is very much a policy of our company, whether it is politically acceptable or not, is that we feel the future of tea is not in employing thousands of people on minimum wage. We would like to employ fewer people on much higher skill sets on a much more sustainable wage (Interview 091028).

In Kenya, estate workers went on strike in October, 2010 to protest the loss of 10,000 jobs due to the introduction of machine harvesting (Sambu and Matoke 2010).Therefore, there seems to be a much larger 'gender issue' at stake here, as both men and women of lower skill sets, will be facing unemployment and the gender equity that is currently experienced in the tea sector may not be long lived in the future.

Performing the tea culture

> Tea in 1989 was not unlike tea in 1889. It was an industry that was demographically challenged, catering primarily to older females. For a male to publically order tea in an out of home setting in 1989 was to invite ridicule and to raise questions about one's masculinity. There were few young consumers of tea as most had opted for the "more cool" coffee option and/or trendier beverages such as bottled water, soft drinks and even energy drinks, which were just making their way into the marketplace (Simrany 2009)

Within the tea culture, there are three distinct stereotypes of what types of jobs are done by men and which jobs are done by women. As observed in the text quoted above, the vision of women as the main consumers of tea has been the mainstay of the business for more than a century. The books written about tea etiquette cater to a largely feminine audience as it was first championed in England by Catherine of Braganza when she married the English King Charles II in 1662. She brought tea with her from Portugal and "the new herb became a distinctly fashionable treat. Ladies drank their tea at home in their closets while their men folk went off to the coffee houses to drink tea, coffee or chocolate (and various alcoholic beverages) with their

professional colleagues and friends" (Pettigrew and Richardson 2008: 14). As such, the

marketing of tea caters to distinct masculine and feminine markets. For example:

> The men they have their classical teas. Anything that is new and there is support
> for marketing, that goes directly to housewives. But also for business women, you
> have relaxing tea and feel well tea. The male teas, that is quite difficult. We had
> some teas, like smokers tea; or a tea for a car presentation, it was strong sportive
> tea. Not so much a feeling, like feel well, but it was more like energy, strong
> power (Interview May, 2010).

The tea trade itself, however, is a male dominated business. The trading part, as explained

in chapter four, is made up of brokers and

buyers, who are also specialized tea tasters.

Figure 7.5: The Mombasa auction

While conducting work in Europe, I met two

women tea tasters, one from Germany and

one from the UK. They both confirmed that

in their line of work, there are very few

women. "There are just two or three women

in Germany (…) 12 years ago, there was just

one lady" (Interview May, 2010). The tea

auction center in Mombasa is a case in

Source: (EATTA 2010)

point. As illustrated in figure 7.5 the number of women buyers or brokers in the room can be

counted on one hand. The language used on the auction floor is also focused on just one type of

broker, as captured by a story featured on National Public Radio (NPR):

> "Yes, sir!" is what traders say when they bid on an offering of tea. It's all part of
> the tea-trading vernacular in this former British territory, where black, white and
> Indian traders compete for the best of what's around.
>
> The scene unfolds the same way week after week in this cozy, wood-trimmed
> amphitheater. Everyone sits in assigned seats, and the auctioneer stands at a
> lectern below. Brewed tea in glistening white mugs and saucers is served

promptly at 10 o'clock. The women wear spectacles and comfortable shoes, while men sport Oxford shirts and ties. It's warm in Mombasa, so jackets are implied. (Thompkins 2009)

Moving back upstream, we return to a stereotype of the woman laboring in the fields. The pictures that we see on the packed boxes of RFA, FLO and Organic certified tea often portray the image of a woman plucking tea, either in Asia or in Africa. This image of the woman as the tea producer has been replicated into the rhetoric around tea production and encapsulated within the notion of 'flexible feminized labor'. However, I argue that in Tanzania this is actually not the case. The history of tea production has actually been one of a male dominated production process and the inclusion of women is neither the result of the adoption of social and environmental standards, nor of exploitation of women. Rather it has been a pragmatic approach to resolving labor concerns in the industry. For example, the legacy of a male dominated workforce is something that was left over from the Tanzanian Tea Authority (TTA) and the colonial plantation period when the factory workforce was predominantly male and the field labor predominantly female. However, an ETP and FLO certified manager noted that once they began introducing women into the factories they were pleasantly surprised that absenteeism (which was endemic at TTA factories) declined drastically as the men were more willing to come to work if women were there (Interview November, 2009). Thus, the tea culture itself, and the typical gender roles associated with it, are reenacted throughout the certified value chains and has perhaps more influence on entrenched gender (in)equity than the standards themselves do. Moreover, the male-dominated nature of the tea industry can be seen as a form of 'discrimination' since it is at the different nodes along the value chain where power is utilized to influence negotiations. However, this is not jus a 'gender issue' in Tanzania – it reflects the historical, social and cultural construction of the tea industries in both Europe and Africa.

Are standards adequate to address gender (in)equity?

The examples laid out in the above sections reveal a number of important points regarding how gender equity is encoded in the social and environmental standards and how it is performed in the certified tea value chains. First, there is a clear distinction between how gender equity is accounted for in the written standards and how actors *do* gender equity. The reliance upon the legal terminology around non-discrimination poses a number of difficulties in the translation of non-discrimination into practice. Where Bain (2010) found the GlobalGAP standards lacking in specificity towards casual labor, this is not the case with ETP, RFA or FLO. Rather, the discrepancies seem to emerge in that there is too much specificity in the standards themselves, while the enactments of the standards are open to interpretive flexibility. Riisgaard (2010) argues that easier to measure issues are those that are focused on by auditors, while others like discrimination are neglected. In practice this ensures a number of points of contestation, some of which are able to act as a feedback loop into revisions of the standards themselves.

Smith and Dolan (2006) claim that ethics codes seem to be based on a western model. They focus on individual rights and company responsibility to the individual, yet mitigating risks in the reproductive work sphere of women's lives would require "non-employment related benefits and social provision supporting." Yet, the performances presented above suggest that these benefits and provisions are being supplied through other means, such as the collective bargaining agreement, Tanzanian labor law and local customs related to gender norms. Moreover, the concerns revealed in the above analysis suggest that those issues that are of most concern, such as casualization, an aged workforce, low levels of education and increased mechanization are not and perhaps cannot be addressed through global standards. This is because these standards must be immutable mobiles (Latour 1987) that are rigid in their boundaries so as

to gain wide scale applicability and legitimacy from consumer markets. This rigidity is necessarily negotiated during the compliance process, otherwise it would be impossible to pass the audits. This confirms Gibbon et al.'s (2010) conclusion that there is a lot of flexibility on content, procedures and control exercised during the certification process.

This then poses a fundamental question, which was taken up at the 2010 annual meeting of the ISEAL Alliance. Are global standards the best way to deal with removing gender inequities in agricultural value chains? A workshop was held to review research that was being conducted by ISEAL on gender standards and the discussion at this meeting revealed that only the women-specific standards and labels, such as the Café de Mujer standard, were making positive progress towards dealing with 'gender issues' (Verhart and Pyburn 2010). Social participatory auditing techniques are emerging to expose some of the hidden issues, but they are more costly and challenging to apply (Ponte 2010). The question also arose, regarding not just the effectiveness of the standards, but whether standards, particularly emerging standards, should have this aim. One RFA, FLO and Organic blender put it this way: "if you are in such a stage of development, you should be a little less aggressive in demanding things from the smallholders" (Interview May, 2010).

Conclusions

What this chapter has done is take the notion of gender equity and examine it based on the performances by a variety of actants: national statistics, written standards, and a variety of participants in four certified value chains. By looking at these diverse performances we can break down false dichotomies that are typically discussed in relation to African agriculture (i.e., commercial vs. subsistence farming, formal vs. informal work, public vs. private space) and cannot claim that any of the main theories that are put forward in the literature are dominantly

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practiced in the certified Tanzanian tea industry. Instead, we find a multiplicity of performances around the concept of non-discrimination including equal opportunities, gender issues and cultural contexts.

A manager at a certified tea estate summed up the idea that is consistently performed in the tea industry: "I think that [gender equity] in this tea sector is better because fair trade followed up basically automatically, it will enter even if it isn't wanted, therefore it must be better than other sectors" (Interview November, 2009). In other words, there is the impression that these standards systems have entered the tea sector, because the tea sector was already performing gender equity better than other sectors of the Tanzanian economy. Therefore, we return again to one of the core problematics of this dissertation. How are these standards performing against the goals that they have set out for themselves? In the case of gender equity, it would appear that they are again capitalizing on practices that already exist in the tea industry, while at the same time glossing over gender inequities that also exist in global tea industry. Thus in this sense, only the organic standard is 'effectively' performing its vision of gender equity – as it has not set out to dictate any specific form non-discrimination and as such the practice is consistent with the rhetoric. Put differently, organic succeeds in performing gender equity by virtue of its modest aims.

CHAPTER EIGHT: Shaping Sustainability in Tanzanian Tea Production

Social and environmental standards systems are poised to play a critical role in addressing global sustainability challenges. For this to happen, we need a globally agreed understanding of best practice that will set the bar for all standards systems to meet, exponential scaling up of the impacts of these systems, and unparalleled cooperation among standards systems (ISEAL Alliance 2009: 2).

Getting its own plantation certified did not prove too difficult, as Unilever had been practising sustainability for decades. (Attwood 2007)

The core objective of this dissertation was to understand how these standards networks (ETP, Fairtrade, Organic and RFA) are performing visions of sustainability in practice, and whether these performances are 'effective'. The following research questions were used as a means to meet this objective: 1) how are the original objectives (i.e., written standards) reflected in the implementation of the desired values (sustainability, CSR, and gender equity)? 2) How do those in each certification network interact with each other (SDOs, certifiers, producers, brokers, buyers, blenders, and technical assistance groups), and how do these performances shape both their interactions and their notions of sustainability? and 3) are different standards producing different outcomes for different types of producers? To answer these questions I posed a theoretical framework based on 'performing GVC governance'. This framework enabled me to evaluate the performances of the values of sustainability, corporate social responsibility and gender equity amongst value chain actors in each value chain and among value chains.

In this chapter I bring together the data that has been presented in the previous chapters to evaluate the 'effectiveness' of each standard and its network at performing their vision. First I summarize the main conclusions in response to each of my research questions and discuss the overall effectiveness of the performances of sustainability. I then examine the future of these

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standards networks in terms of the calls that I have heard for harmonization and the work of the ISEAL Alliance. I conclude with reflections on how this theoretical framework of 'performing GVC governance' contributes to the field of agri-food studies. Finally, recommendations for the Tanzanian tea value chains are put forward.

Objectives and implementations

The first research question occupied most of my attention in this dissertation and was the main organizational element in chapters five through seven. In each of these three chapters I examined the objectives for sustainability, corporate social responsibility and gender equity. I then compared them to the enactments of these same values through the implementation of each of the four standards. In chapter five, the examples that I presented show that each of the four standards define sustainability along the lines of social, economic and environmental criteria, without making significant, explicit note of criteria for sustainability. The main justification for this is that the act of conforming to the explicit criteria of each of the standards, represents sustainable activities, and thus achieves sustainability.

Economic sustainability was the most dominant theme that emerged from the data and focused specifically on sustainability of the enterprise. Environmental sustainability was not enacted with much attention to broader ecosystem effects, but rather to the sustainability of the tea plant itself – both in terms of farm management practices and quality attributes. Finally, social sustainability was enacted as the ability to change and adapt to new situations, as a standards development organization, as a business and as a network of actors. However, through examination of each of these core performance themes, reference was continuously made towards the sustainability of the actors' enterprises. The biggest discrepancy between the enactment of sustainability and those visions encoded into the standards is the pillar of economic

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sustainability. While this was the most evident enactment of sustainability in the Tanzanian tea sector, it receives little to no attention in the written standard. I suggest that the SDOs are working under the assumption that is put forward in the discussions of CSR (cf. Engardio et al. 2007; Norman and MacDonald 2004). That is, by complying with the standards that outline how to achieve social and environmental sustainability, economic sustainability will be also achieved.

As I showed in chapter six, CSR is a highly contested concept in the tea sector. The focus on the rule of law and the nature of the legal requirements in Tanzania illustrate that much of what is judged to be CSR by consuming nations is legally mandated. This also means that the notion of a pragmatic 'triple bottom line' has emerged in the Tanzanian tea industry as companies try to find innovative ways to comply with the law and keep a market advantage. The embedded network relationships that have lasted through the history of Tanzanian tea are being exploited by the four standards networks as means to included 'preferred suppliers' in the certified value chains. Attempts by the SDOs to force changes in these networks are met with resistance by the tea industry as a whole. Therefore, the main performance of CSR is focused towards the consumer audience. Yet, this public face is not hiding some irresponsible interior, as Goffman's (1959) analysis would suggest. In other words, it is not merely 'greenwashing' (Enoch 2007). Rather, the tea industry has strategically placed itself ahead of other industries in quickly adopting a range of sustainability standards that capitalize on their good practices of the past and have thus utilized them to raise the bar for the industry as a whole.

This performance of using already existing good practices as a strategy for engaging sustainability standards was expanded in chapter seven where I analyzed the performances of gender equity against the objectives of non-discrimination. In my analysis I tried to break down false dichotomies and the numerous stereotypes that are typically discussed in relation to African

agriculture (i.e., commercial vs. subsistence farming, formal vs. informal work, public vs. private space). My analysis shows that there are a multiplicity of performances around the concept of non-discrimination including equal opportunities for both men and women in the workplace, gender issues (harassment and casualization) and cultural contexts of an imagined Africa, a changing Tanzanian population and the culture of the tea industry itself. I argue that by focusing on non-discrimination clauses, the standards are not able to pick up on more pressing concerns for equity within the Tanzanian tea industry, which deal with an aging smallholder population with few youths interested in growing tea, a lack of women in management positions throughout the tea value chain, and the threat to rural employment that widespread adoption of mechanization poses.

Using the standards themselves as the bar for measuring sustainability shows that most of the performances of sustainability, CSR, and gender equity in the tea sector are generic. In other words, the objectives that are codified in the standards are not reenacted during implementation. However, by examining the performances of these three values we are able to identify where there is overlap, where there is cross-over and where there is contestation between the standards and their 'enactors'. Thus, we see that there is a story of sustainability that holds together in Tanzanian tea value chains. It is the story of standards as marketing devices that render tea a quality product that can be sustainably consumed and allow enterprises to adapt to changes in the industry and in the global tea market. This story holds together with Tsing's (2004: 4) notion of 'friction' where cultures are continuallying co-produced in the "awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative" interactions between the local and the global.

Critics may argue that the above definition of sustainability that has emerged from my data is not a valid definition because those questions of underlying ethics and a renegotiated

relationship between humans and nature actually are not taking place in this story of

sustainability that holds. However, I argue that despite generic performances of the standards,

value chain actors are enacting a vision of sustainability which enables each of them to continue

to sustain their enterprises. Moreover, the ways by which individual actors and collectives are

sustaining their enterprises differ within the Tanzanian tea value chains. Innovative strategies to

adapt to change are ongoing and these strategies actually perform versions of the values encoded

in the standards effectively. The challenge for the SDOs is that my data cannot confirm that these

performances are due to standards. Therefore, the question posed by the critics is thus the

question that we must also pose to future research: Is it enough to sustain our enterprises,

particularly when our enterprises are considered to be sustainable to begin with?

Network interactions

Identifying who the actors are, how they are interacting, and how this is affecting their

notions of sustainability was the second focus of this dissertation. In chapter four I outlined the

traditional value chain and presented each of the four certified value chains and their modes of

governance. I argue that there is no clear pattern in the relationship between standards networks

and governance relations. For the Ethical value chains, the reliance on the traditional supply

routes results in a market and relationally governed, buyer-driven GVC. Participation or input by

upstream actors is absent in most cases and textually mediated in those cases where their input is

requested. However, producers are exhibiting power in some ongoing negotiations in this chain,

particularly with regards to their compliance with these standards and their ability to remain

within the network despite non-compliance. The MOUs with RFA and with FLO are examples

of the change that ETP is making in its practices. The alliance with RFA and FLO could also be

interpreted as an attempt by ETP to exert more power within chain governance as ETP seeks to reestablish a viable twin-driven value chain.

The fair trade value chains are the most complex of these four chains. The reliance on the auction system in much of Faitrade tea marketing, compounded by the relatively low percentage of sales to Fairtrade buyers in Tanzania (average 8 percent of certified production), means that much of the certified product is being sold through traditional marketing channels, thereby reducing many of the Fairtrade sales to market goverened relationships. However, the diversity of trading routes within the Fairtrade system illustrates the difficulty involved with relegating Fairtrade to a pure definition of 'governance'. For example, we also see examples of hierarchical governance in the case of Herkulu; relational governance in the relationship between Cafédirect and its producer partners; and relational governance used in the non-certified fair trade value chain. In other words, as Mohan (2010) notes, the benefits claimed by Fairtrade can also be obtained from the normal business relationships that exist between primary product producers and buyers.

The significant role that FLO plays in occupying the time and attention of those who are certified in bureaucratic exercises, in determining the use of Premium funds, and in trying to find additional market outlets shows that the Fairtrde value chain exhibits the characteristics of a twin-driven chain, when enacted as a whole. However, the 2010 Fairtrade revision to the Tea standard illustrates the risk that Fairtrade runs in its courting of the retailers and blenders. That is, Fairtrade is offering to compromise its vision of sustainability, based on social, economic and environmental development, by reducing the economic development component of this vision in order increase sales. By doing this Fairtrade risks losing the one major component that set its

standard apart from the others, which is also the value of sustainability that is the most enthusiastically enacted by participants in the Fairtrade system.

The organic value chains are completely cross-certified with the Fairtrade value chains. These networks exhibit hierarchical and relational governance, depending entirely on direct purchasing relationships and sharing of information between buyers and producers. Organic is also the only chain, in addition to non-certified tea, that has a domestic market – albeit quite small. Moreover, there is a paradox in the Tanzanian context between policy and practice. While much work has been completed to create an 'enabling environment' for organic agriculture, the national organic agriculture movement and national policy is not connected to the value chains for organic tea that begin in the country. This shows that the organic value chains add an interesting twist to the twin-driven notion of governance. There is indeed involvement of actors who are not party to the transactions between buyers and producers such as auditors and even FLO. However, the impetus for becoming certified and the direction about which certification body to use comes from the buyer – who often has some sort of interest in the producing company. Therefore, the relational nature of governing is a better description of the value chain interactions than the term buyer-driven.

Finally, we return to buyer-drivenness in the case of the RFA where decisions made at the corporate level dictated which certification system to join and facilitated the certification of Unilever's own hierarchically governed value chains. Moreover, the 'demand-driven' approach that RFA is using to roll out its certification, in addition to the intensive training required by farmers before meeting the certification requirements, militate against the ability of producers to initiate involvement in this value chain and gain access to more lucrative direct sales contracts. However, the relational governance relied upon by Taylors of Harrogate adds a new layer to the

RFA system and presents a case where alternative power relations between value chain actors might develop, if the Rainforest Alliance is able to increase its organizational capacity and expand beyond the 'preferred suppliers' lists to also include the less 'sustainable' farms. It would be on these farms that the RFA standard would be able to illustrate how effective the RFA standard is at governing values in GVCs. As the situation in the Tanzanian tea industry stands right now, the overlap between Unilever and RFA values is too great to be able to distinguish clearly where the performance of Unilever's values end and where RFA's values begin.

In sum, we see pragmatic strategies to gain market advantage through the inclusion of different actors into 'value-added' chains. Despite claims about the ability to change trading relationships through the certification systems, most of the old networks are still in place. For example, despite the presence of the ETP, Fairtrade, Organic and RFA, the buyers are still 'checking up' on their suppliers – through the traditional mechanism of tea samples, estate and factory visits and long term relationships between individuals in the business. Gibbon and Lazaro (2010) note that the social and environmental standards value chain strands are usually less differentiated, since in each case producers and intermediaries can and do sell product into 'conventional' chain strands. This dissertation shows that there are surprisingly few new value strands emerging at all. And those few are confined to the cases of Fairtrade and Organic. While Gibbon and Lazaro (2010) note that in other products the main change in chain structure was the elimination of intermediaries between smallholders and international trading companies or processers, the case of tea shows that only additional buyers have come into the networks – in a few cases through bypassing the traditional value chain, but more often utilizing it to gain access to certified tea. In other words, the certification systems only add additional buyers to global value chains that were already governed by highly relational mechanisms.

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As part of the extensive cross-over between the traditional value chain and the certified value chain, the certified value chain actors' notions of sustainability cannot be clearly separated, and thus are shaped collectively. For example, when an ETP, Fairtrade and Organic producer explains that sustainability means being able to continue to produce tea in fifty years time, the question becomes: how can this performance be assigned to a clear cut category? Indeed, I argue that it cannot, because of the situated nature of what it means to be able to continue to produce tea in fifty years time. Among other justifications, it means that one must make sure that the tea plant is still healthy and producing tender green leaves; it means that the buyers, who have been buying tea continue to buy the tea and that new buyers are found. It also means that the producer must be able to adapt to changes in the market, in the environment, in society and in the policy arena. Some of the strategies employed by these producers are thus to continue to engage with the existing standards systems as well as joining others, such as RFA or UTZ certified (which is being piloted in Malawi and Kenya). They are also joining HACCP or ISO 22000, which address other qualities that are beginning to be important in the tea sector such as Maximum Residue Levels (MRLs) and other food safety concerns.

The lesson from these standards is that a whole new set of actors have entered into the tea value chain and they are changing the terrain of negotiation in terms of rhetoric, while competition has moved towards new types of 'quality' attributes. However, unlike what Islam (2008a) found, they are not effective in their performances. In other words, the standards are not actually changing practices, but rather changing the terms of competition, towards what values tea should embody and integrating that into the traditional value of quality that is still being used for tea. In practice this is enacted as the establishment of brands. The competition between SDOs to gain competitive advantage in the tea market has enabled brand-leaders to turn the standards

into brands, which also offers opportunities for different upstream value chain actors to utilize the standards as marketing devices. However, the tea industry also shows that brand alone is not enough, there must be additional claims that are made by the companies themselves, such as historical relationships or sustainable innovations, in order to gain that extra market recognition. It is for this reason that I find that the 'ability to change' is the most salient performance of sustainability. This notion encompasses the multiplicity of relationships between value chain actors as well as the multiplicity of 'sustainabilities' that both shape and are shaped by the performances that I have outlined in this dissertation.

Different outcomes for different producers

The final question of this research seeks to improve our understanding of the outcomes of these performances. In other words, are there any clear patterns in the outcomes of engagement with the standards networks among different types of producers? Most other studies have approached this question in terms of social impact (e.g., Bacon 2005; Barrientos and Dolan 2006: #400; Bolwig, Gibbon, and Jones 2009; Jaffee 2007; Lyon, Bezaury, and Mutersbaugh 2010; Smith and Dolan 2006; Valkila and Nygren 2009). However, by adopting a performativity approach, I have presented in-depth accounts of diverse, situated outcomes of these interactions.

The clearest distinction found in this dissertation is that which was illustrated in Figure 4.6. In this figure I highlighted what parts of the value chain were 'governed' by each standard and what percentage of production was contributed by estates or smallholders. The Tanzanian tea industry is clearly dominated by the estate sector. They account for 70% of total tea production and 100% of ETP, Organic and RFA production. The estates also account for 75% of Fairtrade production, but as this dissertation has shown, there is only one smallholder association that is currently certified according to Fairtrade. Therefore, the greatest influence of these standards has

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been on estates and not on smallholders. This influence is not in conflict with the objectives set out by each of the four standards. ETP was always focused exclusively on the estate sector, RFA has been known for working with large scale plantations, Organic does not differentiate between large-scale and small-scale, and Fairtrade has created a separate standard for hired labor estates. However, this does conflict with the rhetoric that has been used, particularly by Fairtrade, in promoting its certified tea.

Moreover, there is a fundamental aspect of the relationship between smallholders and estates in the tea industry that is not addressed in these standards; and thus inhibits the provision of equal outcomes for estates and smallholders. This is based on the way that the Tanzanian portion of the value chain is organized and the balance of power at the grower/factory nexus. As I explained in the introduction and in chapter four, tea is organized in outgrower schemes where outgrowers supply the closest processing factory with greenleaf tea. These factories are either estate factories or factories sourced solely by smallholders. In Tanzania, only one factory is sourced solely by smallholders and this factory (not the smallholders' farms) is part of the certified value chains. This means that prices, inputs, and services for smallholders are mediated through the factory. Moreover, in Tanzania, greenleaf price is negotiated at the national level and again at the local level so that you have a published minimum price as well as regional variation based on relationships between the district level smallholder associations and the factories.

This also means that the financial benefits from each of the four standards are distributed differently. The ETP standard does not bring any financial benefits with it. Therefore, the prices received by estates and smallholders are differentiated according to normal quality characteristics that are allocated in the market. As shown in chapter four, the Fairtrade minimum price does not reach smallholder producers, as the greenleaf prices are negotiated annually and

are not based on the fluctuations in the market for made tea. It also does not affect estate worker

salaries, as these are also negotiated in the collective bargaining agreement irrespective of the

standards. This focus on the market price for tea is influenced by the coffee focus of the Fairtrade

standard. These differences in industry were explained by a blender:

> They [Fairtrade] didn't see the differences, they didn't get it; they didn't
> understand the industry. Again the industry behaves very differently - in tea, you
> know practically that buyer, that buyer, that buyer, and you have more. They are
> big operations in some cases. (…) In tea - unless you have a Fairtrade market
> there, ready to take a plantation's million bags, you know, it doesn't work; and
> when you're potentially trying to work with industry to develop something like
> that you need to listen to them. (Interview June, 2010).

Therefore, the main difference between the conventional system and the Fairtrade system

is indeed found in the Fairtrade premium, which was explained in chapter five. In this case, both

estate workers and smallholder associations are receiving the same sort of access to these funds;

however, the estate workers have far more restrictions imposed on how they are allowed to use

them. Organic premium market prices reach the estates for which they are applicable, but not the

smallholders because they are not certified. The price premiums are also not translated into

employee salaries, because of the collective bargaining agreement noted above. However,

organic estates do employ more manual laborers than conventional estates, due to the manual

weeding and composting requirements. Therefore, there is an increase in employment

opportunities at these estates for residents of the surrounding rural communities. Finally,

between 2008 and 2010 Lipton was offering a price premium ($0.10/kg) for RFA certified tea.

This price premium was not transferred to outgrowers, because there were no outgrowers who

were certified during this period. This was also not transferred to employees, again because of

the collective bargaining agreement. However, because Unilever uses a calculation to determine

the monthly greenleaf price and also pays a year-end bonus on market prices of made tea, when

Unilever outgrowers do become certified they should also receive part of a price premium, if there is one. This will depend on the market prices. While they are still currently high, there is no assurance that they will stay that way.

The main differences between types of producers are found in their ability to invest in the changes needed for compliance with each of the standards. This was illustrated by the experience of the two groups, one estate and one smallholder association, that lost their Fairtrade certification. The high certification fees and administrative requirements proved to be barriers for these producers. Yet these examples also showed that these are not confined only to smallholders. Estates can suffer from these issues as well. The main differences we see here are also due more to the regional differences outlined in chapter six, rather than due to the standards. Gibbon and Lazaro (2010) claim that for standards such as RFA, UTZ certified, FSC and MSC, which may be associated with additional categories of conformity cost, non-conformity is not generally associated with loss of market access in the North. However, this is not the case for tea. The 100% commitment to the RFA standard made by four of the top five blenders in the UK market (PG Tips/Lipton, Tetley, Twinings, and Taylors of Harrogate), shows that the RFA standard has become mandatory for inclusion in these specific value chains. While non-conformity is not yet an issue in Tanzania, it may become one as more producers attempt to join these chains.

As long-term relationships defined the responsibility of corporations, ETP, Organic and RFA actors utilized these to their advantage to gain more sustainable relationships in their value chains. Only Fairtrade rhetorically pushed away from this notion by focusing on forging new alternative trade relationships. However, in practice, even Fairtrade has realized that it is through the already existing long-term relationships that Fairtrade will be able to sustain itself as a

valuable label in the tea sector. By relying on 'preferred suppliers' to target audits and provide

training, the standards themselves are reaching those suppliers who have already been

performing sustainably for many years. The focus on 'preferred suppliers' and the organization

of the tea value chains through long term relationships are reminiscent of the way by which

supermarkets have created change in their upstream procurement (Reardon et al. 2004; Timmer

2009). The danger here is that those companies that are not as sustainable, responsible or

equitable as those that I have highlighted in this dissertation remain outside of these networks

because they were not considered 'preferred suppliers' to begin with. The real test of these

sustainability standards is if they can enact changes in those value chains that are not already

considered to be sustainable by those in the industry. This should be addressed both in practice

and in future research.

As this dissertation shows in chapters five through seven, the rhetoric used by estate

workers, managers and smallholders are generally similar – there is a focus on sustaining the tea

plant, sustaining their enterprise, and adapting to change. What is interesting, however, is that in

the standards themselves there are concessions made for those producers who are organic

certified. Fairtrade allows for increased premiums for organic certified tea and RFA forgoes

some of the scientific tests that it requires. ETP does not mention organic, but through its

agreements with RFA and Fairtrade, it does so vicariously. This suggests that the SDOs are

enacting a vision of sustainable agriculture that uses Organic as its foundation. However, in the

enactment of these standards, Fairtrade and RFA are the most strategically used to influence

changes in practices, despite their current ineffectiveness. Thus, we have a rhetorical notion of

sustainable agriculture as organic agriculture – yet an enacted notion of multiple sustainability

strategies. This conclusion lends itself to another of Vogel's (2005) conclusions regarding

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private voluntary schemes – in that those schemes that are legally required (or in the case of RFA – *de facto* mandatory) are those that will be the most effective in changing practices.

Sustainability as '(in)ability to change' – possibilities for harmonization

Recent contributions to the literature notes that agro-food standards are subject to a profound series of changes in the increasing numbers of standards, their more demanding content, the increased competition between standards and the diversity standards' ownership and governance (e.g., Auld 2009; Gibbon et al. 2010; Jaffee and Henson 2004; Raynolds, Murray, and Wilkinson 2007b). This dissertation contributes to this literature with its comparison of four of these standards. Ponte et al. (2010) suggest that the newer standards that are emerging might be better seen as a learning tool, or a marketing tool, for producers and processors rather than requiring compliance *per se*. This claim is confirmed by the *change* that I have documented in relation to the ETP standard, where the ETP is strategically positioning itself to deliver capacity building assistance to members 'preferred suppliers'. This again points to my argument for 'sustainability as change' and to the discussions around harmonization.

Harmonization of social and environmental standards has long been called for by producers who find the multiple certifications time consuming and costly. The majority of my research participants saw only minor differences between the standards, which has also been noted in the scholarly literature (Browne, Harris, Hofny-Collins et al. 2000; Gendron, Bisaillon, and Rance 2009; Raynolds et al. 2007a; Smith and Barrientos 2005). The different possibilities for harmonization are explained by blenders:

> What I would like to see, and I believe what Unilever would like to see for tea also, is an auditor say, or a system, goes to a farm and does a central audit. If they want Rainforest Alliance they do the extra bits, they want UTZ they do the extra bit, if they what Fairtrade they do the extra bits. This is ISEAL - why the hell can't they cooperate? Because it's not in anybody's advantage (the situation at the moment) and the same auditors are doing the audits! (Interview June, 2010)

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We had to choose FLO-cert because our customers are certified by FLO-cert. There are other organizations that we would prefer to support, but it is just not possible. We hope that there will be one common label that you can choose. (Interview May, 2010)

The response of the SDOs is best illustrated with the quote below:

We have participated in one project which was to harmonize the requirements for group certification. That was very interesting project with ISEAL, but as far as we can see that is kind of the only area of the standards which is meaningful for us to harmonize; because it is not about the standard itself – it's more about the system of control. So the internal control system there is no real reason why it should be so different you know in organic and other systems; and given the fact that often you have multiple certifications it helps. But in terms of harmonizing the technical content of the standard itself – no – we are not so much interested in that. Obviously for us it would mean diminishing the integrity of the standard. In many aspects of course you could say Fairtrade, for example, they have higher or different requirements on social aspects but most that is about the agronomic practice is more advanced, lets say, in organics. So I mean harmonization - if they want to come closer to us we are so happy – but we are not so much interested in discussions of how we can find middle ground. (Interview May, 2010)

There is a clear role for the ISEAL Alliance in the rhetoric surrounding the social and environmental standards. As noted in chapter four, the ISEAL Alliance, the independent global association for social and environmental standards systems, offers a framework for social and environmental standards networks to work together to consolidate standard setting and objective analysis. However, until recently ISEAL was not mentioned as a means to justify validity of the standards themselves – as is illustrated below with the quote from PG Tips.

We decided that in the light of the issues that we were facing in the tea market that the Rainforest Alliance is the most appropriate partner to work with and we believe that our decision, in 2007, to move PG Tips to Rainforest Alliance certification standards has had a positive impact on the tea market. (…) We also believe that it isn't fair for ISEAL certification schemes to campaign against each other while so much of the tea on the market isn't certified at all.(PG Tips 2010)

Rather, ISEAL relied upon the validity of its members to gain legitimacy in its role as an accreditation body. For example, on their website they claim:

ISEAL members are leaders in their fields, committed to creating solid and credible standard systems that give business, governments and consumers the ability to choose goods and services that have been ethically sourced but most of all help the environment and guarantee producers a decent living. (ISEAL Alliance 2010)

However, it seems that harmonization is gaining more political traction, and thus ISEAL might be gaining more legitimacy. For example, the European Commission has made particular note of the need for harmonization:

It is suggested that support is given to the development of procedures underlying the transparency and credibility of sustainability labels and the capacity of producers to achieve certification and market access and to meet the challenges of organisation on which this depends. For example, resources could be made available to the ISEAL Alliance to take forward the work to harmonise schemes where appropriate and clarify the unique elements where not. ISEAL provides a multi-stakeholder organisation where the common aspects of various labelling schemes can be consolidated and where differences can be independently evaluated and explained (para. 5.4 EESC 2010: 7).

To date, ISEAL has developed a code of good practice for standards setting; an impact assessment code; and in 2010, ISEAL launched the participatory process of developing a verification code, which would seek to harmonize aspects of the audit processes. These actions suggest that there is indeed movement towards harmonization. Therefore, it is important that future research better understand the process through which those actors in the ISEAL Alliance are harmonizing their standards. It will be important to understand who is included and which interests are paid attention to, in order to better understand the implications of adding an additional layer of accountability within these already complexly governed networks.

The paradox represented by the two epigraphs at the beginning of this chapter sums up the dialectic that has run throughout this dissertation. On the one hand, we have sincere performances by social and environmental SDO networks of trying to make changes in the sustainability of the tea industry. On the other hand, we have a tea industry in Tanzania that has

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sincerely been performing their version of sustainability for at least fifteen years. In other words, what this dissertation has shown is that to date, the performances the values have indeed been generic. But this is not something of which the actors in the ETP, Fairtrade, Organic, and RFA value chains are unaware. Rather, they are quite aware of this, hence the growing power of the ISEAL Alliance. In other words, what my research shows is that the standards have been unable to effect change in practice, yet the SDOs and the standards are changing with the market pressures (both from the industry and from competition between standards). At the same time the industry has not changed very much due to external pressures over the past 100 years, however due to industry pressures they are 'adapting' to new challenges in the market (by co-branding with these sustainability labels) and by dealing with their changing environment. I argue that it is for this reason that the enactment of 'sustainability as the (in)ability to change' is the most resonant among all research participants – regardless of where they are located in the network.

Reconciling GVC governance and performativity

As the case studies presented in this dissertation show, one cohesive vision of sustainability is not implemented in each of these four value chains. Rather, we see a contested multiplicity of 'sustainabilities' whereby different actors influence how this organizing concept is both discussed and enacted in a variety of ways. Moreover, the way that the value chains themselves are organized is indicative of the ability of external actors, such as the standards development organizations, to influence these multiple performances. Therefore, an analysis of governance must also pay attention to the social actors that influence decisions made about sustainable production at the various stages of the value chain. These include processing factories, smallholder associations, and the many non-governmental organizations that attempt to influence both public and private policies and behavior concerning sustainable production

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(Guthman 2009). This represents the shift that we have seen in the agri-food system, that is, a decrease in regulation and an increase in voluntary forms of governing value chains.

The recent proliferation of buyer-driven and twin-driven GVCs points to a redistribution of power along the GVC where the consumption end of the chain is increasingly influencing the production end. Konefal et al. (2007) claim that the future political arena of food and agriculture is likely to be the retailer-consumer nexus. The data presented in this dissertation support this conclusion. The use of standards as socio-technical devices to perform multiple value chain 'sustainabilities' allows social movements to focus on consumption and production processes simultaneously by supporting movements such as fair trade, organic, environment and ethical trade (Barrientos and Dolan 2006). However, I also find that the large-scale blenders in the tea industry, in collaboration with the social and environmental labeling initiatives, are driving this move – rather than supermarkets. What may be emerging, however, is a competition between supermarkets and blenders over the definition of 'sustainability' as each camp has staked out a claim in the Western European market over being Fairtrade and Rainforest Alliance certified, respectively (cf. Gibbon et al. 2010).

Dolan (2010: 33) notes that the technologies of standards and conformity assessment "increasingly render north south partnerships ever more virtual and depoliticized." However, I would argue that the politics have not been removed, but rather shifted from competition between buyers and sellers in the negotiation of value within the market, to competition between certification systems as means of 'sustainable' value addition. It is on this point of contestation that we can observe the emergence of politics in the consumption arena (cf. Gibbon et al. 2010). Also, local politics in Tanzania have been fueled by the introduction of additional funds to the community in the form of the Fairtrade premium and other standards-based training that is

available from donor funds for certain 'preferred' suppliers. This upstream politics may also be reflective of the dominant role of companies, such as Unilever, that have vertically integrated value chains and are therefore also competing in the realm of production.

The categorizations of producer-driven, buyer-driven and twin-driven shed some light on which method of coordination and governance is benefiting which 'lead' actor. However, Gibbon and Ponte's (2005) critique deserves more attention, as even within buyer-driven and twin-driven GVCs, as shown in this dissertation, there are additional power negotiations that standards are keeping (or not keeping) in line. For example, Fold and Larsen (2008) claim that the term 'buyer-driven' is misleading as there are many buyer-driven transactions at different points in GVCs. Moreover, the question of who is driving the chain is somewhat misleading in that even the weakest actors have some ability to influence its direction. This is the case because the physical objects that are created/manipulated/modified by actors in the value chain are not infinitely malleable. It is on this point where this dissertation attempts to show how performativity analysis can highlight the nuances of value chain governance. At different points of negotiation, we see strategies to influence the negotiations being utilized by supermarkets, SDOs, buyers and blenders, factory management, and local village and smallholder association leaders. Depending on the extent to which actors are involved in articulating and interpreting their visions of sustainability, these changes will be reflected in certain actors' abilities to govern processes up, down and across value chains. These conclusions further confirm that rather than static vertical chains, value chains are indeed webs of interaction, where negotiations take place between actors (and within institutions) at each node (cf. Gibbon and Ponte 2005; Rocheleau and Roth 2007; Tallontire 2007).

In this dissertation, I suggest that if we consider Foucault's (Foucault 2007; 2008) vision of governmentality, we can better envision GVC governance as a particular way of acting in the world – that is a particular way of disciplining value chain interactions. In this context, social and environmental standards, such as ETP, Fairtrade, Organic and Rainforest Alliance, are particular socio-technical devices that are used to discipline these interactions. What the idea of governmentality does is frees actors from acting on or being acted upon in GVCs. It allows greater agency in the conceptualization that many of the actors in the Tanzanian tea value chains are indeed using strategies – some more defined than others – to enact their visions of sustainability, corporate social responsibility and gender equity. Therefore we see that the importance of these competing social and environmental standards is that they allow different actors in the value chains to engage with them for different purposes. They are thus an embodiment of the neoliberal ideal of governmentality in that they provide individuals a choice – within the limits established by national, international and industry laws (cf.Ong 2006).

Yet envisioning GVC governance through the lens of governmentality is not complete without considering performativity. Performativity suggests that actions and outcomes could be otherwise. In fact, it is often otherwise that values are enacted in the multiple performances found in value chain interactions. In other words, by paying attention to performativity we can show how practices reinforce or resist the values that have been scripted in the standard. We can highlight how social and political relations reproduce or how they change in the process of implementing the standards. This is thus the added value of performativity analysis: it avoids the tendency to reify the value chain as a static linear chain of actors (cf. Marx 1956 [1893]). In other words, the value chains 'work' because they are enacted and the 'governance' that they exhibit are artifacts of these enactments (cf. Neilson and Pritchard 2009). As Law (2008: 632) so

succinctly put it, "Everything in the web is revisable. Everything is uncertain. Everything is relational. And nothing is foundational." Therefore, there is no certainty that these strategies of neoliberal governmentality will continue to hold in the Tanzanian tea industry. This depends on the negotiations that are hidden in the folds of value chain performances.

Recommendations

Throughout my data collection and dissemination period – everyone I met asked me to recommend which of the four standards systems was the 'best'. In other words, as a policy decision, which one should they promote and actively try to become involved in. It was this question, more than any other question that made me stop and reflect on my role as a researcher and the usefulness of my research. Throughout my entire data collection period I kept repeating to everyone, I want my research to be practical and useful to the people in the tea industry. Yet – I could not confidently answer this rather simple question: Which one is best? Why?

After much reflection I have decided that it is a fundamental question that goes back to the foundations of what I am studying. What is best for whom? The prospect of paying attention to performances as enactment of values illustrates what those persons are looking for in their engagement with these standards and certification schemes. For those who are enacting the visions of sustainability of the tea plant – then the obvious choice is actually not to join any system and to focus on improving farm management and practices that will improve the quality of the tea. For most producers, this is their core focus. For most brokers and buyers, this is the advice they are giving to the producers. For most blenders, this is one of the core deciding factors in their decisions to continue buying tea from a particular producer. Therefore, by joining any one of these four standards systems, there really is no added 'value' for this sustainability mission.

However, as I have shown, this is not always the core vision of sustainability for actors in the tea values chains. There is also a key focus on the sustainability of the business. If we do utilize Porter and Kramer's (2006) notion of CSR as strategic advantage, we can see those companies that have found an opportunity to gain a market advantage by joining the Fairtrade, Organic or Rainforest Alliance systems. In different ways, they have incorporated these requirements into their overall business strategies – either officially or unofficially. Thus, effective performances of the sustainability of their business also mean effective engagement with the certification system.

More important, however, is the notion of sustainability as adaptability to change. This means being prepared for a number of different opportunities and challenges as they arise, such as climatic changes, market changes, social and political changes. This means effectively being involved in as many certification systems as is feasible for a company, so as to keep options open. It is for this reason that we must continue to pay attention to the work being done within the ISEAL Alliance and the global tea sector to see if and how harmonization between these standards can be achieved.

As noted in the introduction of this dissertation many estates have been able to curb political risk by being actively involved with the smallholder sector. As this is currently a policy priority, this practice should continue. However, the biggest challenge for Tanzania will be to balance the threat of mechanization to rural employment with this desire to increase smallholder tea production. I think that it will become quite clear that in certain agro-ecological zones of the country, machine harvesting will prove to be more 'sustainable to the business' of large estates and as such will be adopted more widely. This means that there are a lot of landed and landless laborers who will be left without formal or even casual employment. In these cases, a CSR

strategy by the companies, with other stakeholders such as the ministry of agriculture, ministry of education, NGOs and perhaps even SDOs, may be to create programs that can assist these farm workers to retrain to either enter the tea market as smallholder producers or turn to alternative crops, or train for higher skill sets that will be requested in mechanized harvesting.

There is a current policy being put forward in the Tanzanian tea industry that is encouraging smallholder associations to build their own CTC factories. I would argue that there are enough trends in the export tea markets to begin diversifying away from CTC tea towards higher value markets. Experiments at the Organic certified factories have shown that Tanzania is capable of producing high quality, distinctive orthodox tea through organic methods. Indeed these companies are those who are gaining more power in the trading relations because they are able to rely upon existing relationships to launch new product lines and processing techniques. I think that sharing of technology between India, Sri Lanka and Tanzania could benefit the Tanzanian tea industry as these countries have been able to invest in small scale orthodox processing factories that sustain their industry. If these recommendations were to be followed, any new investment in a smallholder factory must be accompanied by management and marketing training for both men and women of different ages. As this study shows, relying upon certification systems alone does not necessarily bring new buyers to the market. Rather it is through brokers and marketing strategies that these avenues for sales have been forged over the past 15 years. Attendance at international trade fairs by producers will bring greater recognition of Tanzanian tea and such efforts by individual companies have already begun to show results.

Finally, I don't believe that enough attention has been paid to organic tea production. The largest organic producer in Tanzania has just planted 110 new hectares with organic tea (Lafferty 2010), which might be an indication of their belief in the potential of that market. The first

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estate-scale trial of organic tea in India was successfully conducted in 1934 (Howard 2006). The Indians and Chinese have recently begun a large scale research program in organic, with the assistance of IFOAM and the Common Fund for Commodities (Lin 2010; Sen 2010). While consumer confidence is beginning to return to the organic market in the UK following the global economic crisis (Soil Association 2010), there is a *de facto* requirement that Fairtrade certified tea must also be Organic in the rest of the EU market. The national enabling environment for organic agriculture has also been built, but has been largely neglected by the tea industry.

Mbiha and Ashimogo (2010) suggest that, in absence of meaningful public support, organic certification is unlikely to occur without donor support, which often involves setting up internal control systems, training company staff and officers, setting up demonstration plots and quality management systems, farmer training and time-bound support for certification costs. However, I think that there are opportunities to utilize the institutions that have been created to raise awareness within Tanzania about organic agricultural practices. For this reason more research should be conducted on existing tea estates and on smallholder plots to determine good agricultural practices and ways to create, and source locally, high quality composting materials that will ensure the health of the tea plants and the economic feasibility of organic. As the costs of inputs increase, Tanzanian smallholders are in a good position to take advantage of their 'organic by default' status to experiment in organic agriculture. Moreover, the introduction of the participatory guarantee system (PGS) that IFOAM is developing, would greatly decrease the costs required for participation in the organic agriculture system as third-party certification would no longer be required. "PGS are locally focused quality assurance systems. They certify producers based on active participation of stakeholders and are built on a foundation of trust, social networks, and knowledge exchange" (IFOAM 2010a). The purpose of the PGS is to

enable smallholder farmers to participate in the organic agriculture system for both domestic and export markets. Finally, organic is the only certification that has a domestic face. In order to expand this local movement TOAM and TANCERT must be empowered – through greater awareness of their activities by Tanzanians. Recognition of the East African Organic Standard as equivalent to the EC Regulation would also help to reduce the costs of certification, even for the tea estates.

Finally, I believe that the SDOs need to critically rethink what they see their role being in these value chains. If indeed there is a desire to change the trade relations and shift the balance of power, as Fairtrade is trying to do, the current approach in the tea sector is not working. As this dissertation has shown, the relationships between buyers and producers are highly embedded and to date, the external SDOs have not been able to effectively dis-embed them. If the focus is to provide external validation of the practices that are already in place, as the RFA is currently doing, then the reputation of these SDOs must be protected. The public battles do not help in creating credibility in these systems, particularly since many of the practices in the tea industry are already considered sustainable by producers. However, if there is a clear focus on creating change in the industry and helping producers to improve their practices, then the ETP seems to be the only SDO that has understood what is needed. As was most clearly illustrated in chapter seven on gender, standards and audits are perhaps not the most effective means to enact change in deeply ingrained practices. The RFA and Fairtrade networks have also understood this and have included training programs for smallholders in their approach. The problem here is that both organizations must apply for donor funds in order to carry out this training – they are not automatically part of the standards package. Therefore, the effective privatization of the

standards positions the social movements behind these SDOs fundamentally against the

enactment of the standards they have created.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Semi-structured Interview Guides

SustainabiliTea: Shaping Sustainability in Tanzanian Tea Production

Semi-structured Interview Guide

Tentative Questions for Value Chain Actors (including SDOs)

1. Can you explain briefly the history of your organization, when it was set up, by whom and why?
2. What is your role in the organization?
   a. What does that entail?
   b. How long have you been with the organization?
   c. What did you do before?
3. What are the mission/goals of your organization?
   a. How do you measure success in achieving them?
4. Who is your organization accountable to?
5. What types of responsibilities does your organization have towards its stakeholders, e.g.,
   a. the community it works in
   b. management
   c. employees
   d. shareholders
6. What responsibilities do these stakeholders have towards the organization?
7. Do you have a corporate social responsibility program?
   a. How does that program work in your organization?
   b. Is the involvement with the certification part of your CSR program?
8. How does the certification process work?
   a. What costs (if any) are associated with the certification process? Please indicate specific costs that are involved.
   b. What benefits (if any) are gained from the certification process? Please indicate specific income that is received.
9. What is your role in implementing the sustainability standard?
   a. Who else plays a role in the implementation process?
10. Why have you chosen to adopt the STANDARD rather than another one?
    a. How have you chosen a certifier to work with?
    b. What is your relationship with the standards-setting body?
    c. What (processes, people, partners, etc.) has this STANDARD changed (if anything) about how your organization works?
    d. What do you think is the most important aspect of the STANDARD?
    e. What aspects of the certification/ auditing process create the most difficulties for you?
    f. What does the certification process make easier about your business?
    g. What would you prefer to see changed?
11. What are the typical jobs that men and women do in the Tea sector?

12. Within your organization, are there certain jobs that are done only by women, only by men or both?
    a. Are these considered women's work or men's work?
    b. Are there opportunities for training/career advancement?
13. Can you comment on the non-discrimination aspects of the standard?
    a. Who do these policies benefit, who do they hurt?
    b. Do you think they make the production process work better, worse or the same?
14. Does your organization have its own policy to protect employees against gender discrimination?
    a. If yes, how does that program work in your organization? How does that program relate to the sustainability standard (or CSR program)?
    b. If no, how has the sustainability standard (or CSR program) changed how your company addresses gender, if at all?
15. Do you think there is gender equity in the tea sector? Why?
16. What does sustainability mean for your organization?
    a. Does it include economic viability/social justice/environmental responsibility?
    b. What do these concepts mean to you?
17. How do you measure success in achieving sustainability?
18. Do you think there is a big market for certified tea?

Extra Questions for Certifiers
    1. Why do you think that companies become certified?

Extra Questions for Brokers and Buyers
    1. What is the relationship between you as a buyer, the producer and the broker?
    2. How have you chosen a producer or buyer to work with?
    3. How much of your sales include those with the Fairtrade, Ethical Tea Partnership, Organic or Rainforest Alliance certification?
        a. How much is through the Auction and how much goes through direct sales?
        b. In the Auction, how do you know which tea is certified?
        c. When do you declare that the tea you are buying is to be bought as certified tea?
        d. Most often, from whom do you buy certified tea?
        e. To whom do you sell certified tea?
    4. Do you need to be certified against any of these standards in order to buy them?
    5. Why do you think that companies become certified?

Extra Questions for SDOs
    1. What has your role been in the creation of the sustainability standard?
        a. How would you describe the process of creating the standard?
        b. Who else was involved in the standards creation process?
    2. What makes your standard different from other standards?
    3. What are the possibilities for harmonization?

Extra Questions for policy-makers
    4. What has your role been in the creation of the sustainability standard?
        a. How would you describe the process of creating the standard?

b. Who else was involved in the standards creation process?
5. Are there any national policies that encourage or discourage the use of the sustainability standard for tea production?
    a. Do these policies affect different actors in the value chain differently?
    b. How might the sustainability standard work to improve or worsen these impacts?
6. How is the tea sector treated in your country's agricultural policy framework? Development policy framework?
7. How does the sustainability standard fit into your country's agricultural policy framework? Development policy framework?
8. Do you think that the use of this standard will make the tea value chain more sustainable in your country?

Consent Form for *SustainabiliTea* Interviews

Thank you for considering participating in this study. I am a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at Michigan State University in the United States. The name of my research project is "*SustainabiliTea*: Shaping Sustainability in Tanzanian Tea Production." The purpose of my study is to understand how four different sustainability standards (Ethical Tea Partnership, Fair Trade, Organic and Rainforest Alliance) are affecting practices in the Tanzanian tea industry. During my research, I will be talking to actors in each tea value chain to learn more about their experiences with the certification scheme and their views about sustainability. I wil be conducting focus group and individual interviews.

There will be approximately 80 participants in this research and your participation is completely voluntary. I am interested in your views and practices pertaining to the sustainability standard and certification scheme that you work with and therefore will not be seeking personal or other sensitive private information. This individual interview should take approximately one hour. At any time during the interview you may feel free to ask questions about the study, refuse to answer any question you deem inappropriate, or, if necessary, withdraw your participation in this research. While you may feel hesitant to answer some questions, there are no known risks associated with participation in this study. You will not directly benefit from your participation in this study. However, you may benefit indirectly from participating in this study by gaining access to information about the tea value chain that could be beneficial to you.

With your permission, I would like to tape record the interview to document our discussion and verify the accuracy of written interview notes. Interview tapes will not be transcribed *in full;* however, if I use quotes from our conversation, you will not be identified by name or any other means that would release your identity. These interview tapes will be kept in password protected files on a password protected computer for a minimum of 3 years. Moreover, interview tapes will be destroyed after quotation and no further voice record will be maintained. Your confidentiality is an integral part of my research ethics, both within this project as well as at Michigan State University, and your confidentiality will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

If you have concerns or questions about this study, such as scientific issues, how to do any part of it, or to report an injury, please contact the researcher (Allison Loconto or Dr. Lawrence Busch: Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, 316 Berkey Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824, locontoa@msu.edu or lbusch@msu.edu, 517-355-3396.

If you have any questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 517-432-4503, or e-mail irb@msu.edu or regular mail at 207 Olds Hall, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824.

I voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

_____   _____
Signature   Date

_____
Printed Name

I voluntarily agree to have any interviews with the researchers tape recorded. Initial here: _____

This consent form was approved by the Social Science/Behvioral/Education Institutional Review Board (SIRB) at Michigan State University. Approved 9/03/09 – valid through 09/04/10. This version supersedes all previous versions. IRB# 08-480

Consent Form for *SustainabiliTea* Focus Group Interviews

Thank you for considering participating in this study. I am a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at Michigan State University in the United States. The name of my research project is "*SustainabiliTea*: Shaping Sustainability in Tanzanian Tea Production." The purpose of my study is to understand how four different sustainability standards (Ethical Tea Partnership, Fair Trade, Organic and Rainforest Alliance) are affecting practices in the Tanzanian tea industry. During my research, I will be talking to actors in each tea value chain to learn more about their experiences with the certification scheme and their views about sustainability. I will be conducting both individual and focus group interviews.

There will be approximately 80 participants in this research and your participation is completely voluntary. A focus group interview will be a group interview consisting of six to eight participants. It will last approximately 90 minutes. The purpose of discussion is to share ideas and not necessarily to come to an agreement about any specific topic. I am interested in your views and practices pertaining to the sustainability standard and certification scheme that you work with and therefore will not be seeking personal or other sensitive private information. At any time during the interview you may feel free to ask questions about the study, refuse to answer any question you deem inappropriate, or, if necessary, withdraw your participation in this research. While you may feel hesitant to answer some questions, there are no known risks associated with participation in this study. You will not directly benefit from your participation in this study. However, you may benefit indirectly from participating in this study by gaining access to information about the tea value chain that could be beneficial to you.

With your permission, I would like to tape record the focus group interview to document our discussion and verify the accuracy of written interview notes. Interview tapes will not be transcribed *in full;* however, if I use quotes from our conversation, you will not be identified by name or any other means that would release your identity. These interview tapes will be kept in password protected files on a password protected computer for a minimum of 3 years. Moreover, interview tapes will be destroyed after quotation and no further voice record will be maintained. Your confidentiality is an integral part of my research ethics, both within this project as well as at Michigan State University, and your confidentiality will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. However, confidentiality cannot be fully guaranteed in a focus group because participants may share what you say here to others outside of this focus group.

If you have concerns or questions about this study, such as scientific issues, how to do any part of it, or to report an injury, please contact the researcher (Allison Loconto or Dr. Lawrence Busch: Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, 316 Berkey Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824, locontoa@msu.edu or lbusch@msu.edu, 517-355-3396.

If you have any questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 517-432-4503, or e-mail irb@msu.edu or regular mail at 207 Olds Hall, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824.

I voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

_____   _____
Signature   Date

_____
Printed Name

I voluntarily agree to have any interviews with the researchers tape recorded. Initial here: _____

This consent form was approved by the Social Science/Behvioral/Education Institutional Review
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version supersedes all previous versions. IRB# 08-480

Fomu ya Makubaliano na Vikundi Maalumu kwa Ajili ya Kujadili Kuhusu *Sustainable*

Tea.

Asanteni kwa kukubali kushiriki katika utafiti huu. Mimi ni mwanafunzi wa shahada ya juu ya Udaktari kutoka kitengo cha soshorojia katika chuo cha Michigan State huko Marekani. Utafiti huu unahusu 'sustainable tea': kuleta uendelevu katika utengenezaji wa chai ya Tanzania. Dhumuni la utafiti ni kuelewa juu ya viwango vinne vya uendelezaji wa chai hapa nchini ambavyo ni (ethical tea partnership,fair trade,organic and rainforest alliance) ni jinsi gani vinachangia katika kuleta mabadiliko katika kutengeneza chai ya Tanzania. Wakati wa utafiti nitahitaji kuongea na kila mmoja kutoka kila kiwango ili kuweza kujua zaidi kuhusu uzoefu wake juu ya kiwango ambacho wamejiunga nacho na wanaelewa nini juu ya 'sustainable tea'. Nategemea kuzungumza na mtu mmoja mmoja peke yake pia nitazungumza na vikundi.

Katika utafiti huu tutazungumza na wastani wa watu 80 na ushiriki ni wa kujitolea. Tutahoji kikundi cha watu sita mpaka nane tunakadiliwa kuchukua wastani wa dakika 90. Dhumuni la mazungumuzo ni kubadilishana mawazo sio lazima tukubaliane kuhusiana na kichwa cha habari tunacho jadili.ninahitaji zaidi mawazo yenu na jinsi mnavyofanya kuhusiana na viwango vya uendelezaji na skimu ambazo mnafanya kazi na sihitaji habari za mtu binafsi au habari zozote za siri za mtu. Wakati wote wa kuhojiana upo huru kuuliza swali, kujibu swali au kujitoa kwenye kundi. Hakuna tatizo lolote kushiriki katika utafiti huu. Hamna faida moja kwa moja kushiriki katika utafiti huu lakini utafaidika kwa namna moja kwa kupata habari kuhusu utengenezaji wa thamani ya chai.

Kwa ruhusa yenu ningependa kurekodi mazungumzo kwa kuweka kumbukumbu sahihi ninapokuwa naandika maelezo ya mahojiano. Sitakopi maelezo yote kutoka kwenye tepu ya mahojiano lakini nitarudia kama yalivyo maneno mliozungumza au kuandika bila kuandika majina yenu. Tepu hizi za mahojiano zitafungiwa kwenye komputa kwa muda wa zaidi ya miaka mitatu baada ya hapo zitaharibiwa na hakutakuwa na sauti zilizoifaziwa tena. Siri ya mazungumzo yako ni muhimu kwangu binafsi na kwamujibu wa sheria ya chuo kikuu na jimbo la Michigani Marekani. Siri ya mazungumzo yako italindwa kwa mujibu wa sheria lakini haiwezi kulindwa ndani ya makundi kwa sababu washiriki wanaweza kujadili walicho zungumza nje ya makundi yao.

Kama una maswali au matatizo yeyote juu ya utafiti huu, tafadhali wasiliana na mtafiti (Allison Loconto au Dr. Lawrence Busch: Department of Sociology, Michigan State University, 316 Berkey Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824, locontoa@msu.edu au lbusch@msu.edu, +1-517-355-3396).

Kama una maswali au matatizo yeyote juu ya utafiti huu au kulalamika kuhusu utafiti unaweza kuwasiliana bila kujitambulisha, Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program. Namba ya simu +1-517-355-2180, namba ya fax +1-517-432-4503 au barua pepe irb@msu.edu au kwenye barua: 207 Olds Hall, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Nipo tayari kujitolea kwenye utafiti huu, pia nipo tayari kuhojiana kwa kutumia tepu rekoda:

_____   _____
Sahihi   Tarehe

JINA KAMILI

APPENDIX C: Focus Groups Interview Guides

<u>Managers and Employees</u>

We want to start by introducing ourselves. When you introduce yourself, can you tell us your:
1. Name
2. Your job?
3. Tell us how long have you been with the organization?
4. Also tell us if you weren't working in the tea industry, what do you think you would be doing for work?
   a. What do you think you would like to be doing?
5. Do you also grow tea on your own? If you do, who do you sell it to? If you don't, what crops do you grow?

I want to talk in general about the STANDARD. Can you tell me what the STANDARD is and what it does?
- What do you think the benefits are?
- What do you think the disadvantages are?
- How has the STANDARD changed work?
- Do you think that the STANDARD makes tea production better, worse, or no influence? Why?
- Do you think that the STANDARD makes life better, worse or no influence? Why?

On a piece of paper, please write down the first word that comes to mind in Kiswahili (or even English if you prefer) when you hear the English word "Sustainability" – if you haven't ever heard this word, write Sijui. [I will collect these papers and then read out these words to the group]

OR

How would you describe the English word "sustainability" in Kiswahili?
- Do you agree with what the other people say?
- Why have you chosen the word that you have?
- Use an example to explain why you think that your explanation is better.
- What do you need to do to make sure that you will have a good crop from 5, 10 or 20 years from now?

I will now read how STANDARD defines sustainability: _____
- Do these definitions sound like the Swahili words we have just discussed? Explain.
  o If the definitions are different, ask: Do you need to have the same definitions of words to reach the same goals?
- Do you think the goals about sustainability are the same for you and for COMPANY?
  o Why or why not?
  o If not, do you think you need to have the same goals to reach sustainability?

What type of responsibilities do you think that a business in general has?
[for example, if no one responds, we can prompt– to make money, to create jobs, to produce products, etc.]
- Who is COMPANY responsible to?

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- What do you think COMPANY should provide for:
  - Workers or small farmers
  - Workers' (or small farmers') families
  - Local Communities
  - Shareholders
  - Country
  - The tea industry
- What are the responsibilities that these groups have toward COMPANY?
  - Workers or small farmers
  - Workers' (or small farmers') families
  - Local Communities
  - Shareholders
  - Country
  - The tea industry
- Do you think STANDARD has changed the way that COMPANY works with these groups of people?
- Do you think STANDARD has changed the way these groups of people work with COMPANY?

In the tea sector, which jobs are usually done by women and which jobs are usually done by men?
- Are these jobs considered only women's work and only men's work or can they be done by both people?
- Do you think that STANDARD changes what jobs women and men do? How?
- What are the best ways that the tea industry can think about gender equity?
- Do you think there is gender equity in the tea sector?
- Are there opportunities for training here at COMPANY?
- Are there opportunities for career advancement?
  - [for example, if you start as a seasonal worker, is it possible to become a permanent worker? If you start as a plucker, can you move into management]?
  - Has the STANDARD helped promote this or was this already an COMPANY policy or way of working?
- What are the consequences of STANDARD for how you work?
  - What are the consequences of the STANDARD for your community?
  - What are the consequences of the STANDARD for your families?

Smallholders (English Version)

Start out by introducing everyone:
1. Name
2. What is your role in the association?
3. If you weren't growing tea, what do you think you would be growing? Would you be doing some other type of work? And what do you think you would prefer to be doing?

Ice-breaker (the question will be posed to the entire group, and each person will be asked to either write on a piece of paper (depending on the literacy levels) or think of a word). We will go around the group to share answers. These one word answers will be recorded.

Question: How would you describe sustainability in Kiswahili (or English)?
Probes:
- Do you agree with what this other person has said?
- Why have you chosen the word that you have?

We will then read the definition of sustainability that is used by the standard that each group is affiliated with.
- Does this definition sound like the Swahili words we have just discussed? Explain.
- If the definitions are different, ask: Do you need to have the same definitions of words to reach the same goals?
- Do you think the goals about sustainability are the same for you and for the business? Why or why not?
  - If not, do you think you need to have the same goals to reach sustainability?

To explore CSR, I want to understand how they view the responsibility of businesses in society.
- What type of responsibilities do you think that a business has?
- Who is a business responsible to?
- What do you think they should provide for:
  - Workers or small farmers
  - Workers' (or small farmers') families
  - Local Communities
  - Shareholders
  - Country
  - The tea industry
- What are the responsibilities that these groups have toward the business?
  - Workers or small farmers
  - Workers' (or small farmers') families
  - Local Communities
  - Shareholders
  - Country
  - The tea industry
- Has the standard changed the way that businesses have acted towards the people to whom they are responsible?

- Has it changed the way the people act toward the business?

The concept of gender equity will be dealt with by asking the participants to reflect on the types of jobs women and men do traditionally in the tea sector.
Probes:
- Are these women's and men's work, why or why not?
- How have the new rules for production changed what women and men do?
- What are the consequences for how you work/ for your community/ for your families?

I will also ask the participants to make value judgments about each of the practices associated with the sustainability standards.
- Tell me about the STANDARD; what is it and what does it do?
- What do you think the benefits are?
- What do you think the disadvantages are?
- Do you think the standard makes work better, worse, or the same? Why?

Specifically for Fairtrade smallholders:
- Has Fairtrade changed what is included in outgrower contracts?
- Has Fairtrade changed what is included in estate employee contracts?
- What is the relationship between the factory ownership and fair trade?
  1. Do you think that you would get more Fairtrade benefits if you owned the factory? Why?
  2. Do you think you would get more benefits overall if you owned the factory? Why?
     - What would these benefits be?
  3. Are there disadvantages to owning a factory?
  4. Is it better to have a contract with a factory or to own it?

For In Process Scheme:
1. Why do you want to join the FT program?
2. Why did you choose the FT program rather than another one?
3. What are the other programs available in your region?
4. How did you learn about the FT program?
5. Is there anyone helping you to become FT certified?
6. Do you think that there is a big market for FT certified tea?

For Failed Scheme:
1. How would you describe your experience with FT?
2. How did you learn about the FT program?
3. Was there anyone helping you to become FT certified?
4. Why do you think you lost your certification?
5. Did FT tell you why you lost your certification? How did you learn about it?
   a. Did someone else tell you why you lost your certification?
6. If you had the opportunity, would you try to become recertified? Why?
7. Do you think that there is a big market for FT certified tea?

Smallholders (Kiswahli version)

Tutaanza kwa ajili ya kujitambulisha - Kila mtu atajibu peke yake. Wakati wa kujitabulisha tutatakiwa kufanya vitu vifuatavyo:
6. Jina lako
7. Kazi yako na Jukumu lako katika VIKUNDI?
8. Uniambie kama haulimi chai, unalima nini / ungependelea kulima nini?
    a. Unafanya kazi nyingine yeyote?
    b. Ungependelea kufanya nini?

Nataka tuongee kwa Ujumla kuhusu Fairtrade. Mnaweza kuniambia maana ya Fairtrade? Na inafanya nini?
- Kwanini mnataka kujisajili na Fairtrade?
- Nani aliwaeleza kuhusu Fairtrade?
- Nani aniwasaidia kujiunga na Fairtrade?
- Mmefanya jitihada gani za kujiunga / kujisajili na Fairtrade?
- Je, mmejisajili na kiwango kingine? Kama mmejisajili na kiwango kingine ni kipi?
- Mnadhani kuna faida gani kujiunga na fair-trade?
- Mnadhani kuna hasara gani kujiunga na fair-trade?
- Mnadhani kuna soko kubwa ya Fairtrade?
- Mnadhani Fairtrade inaongeza dhamani ya chai, inapunguza, au aina msaada wowote? Kwanini?
- Mnadhani Fairtrade inafanya maisha kuwa mazuri, mabaya au aina msaada wowote? Kwanini?
- Mnadhani Fairtrade imebadilisha mkataba ya wakulima wadogo na kiwanda?
- Mnadhani mngepata faida zaidi kutoka Fairtrade ikiwa mnakuwa na hisa kiwandani? Kwanini?
- Mnadhani mngepata faida zaidi kwa jumla ikiwa mnakuwa na hisa kiwandani? Kwanini? Mngepata faida gani?
- Mnadhani kuna hasara gani kudau kiwanda?
- Mnadhani ni bora kuwa mkataba na kiwanda badala ya kuwa na hisa?

Katika karatasi nitakazo wagawia, naomba muandike neno ambalo unafikiria kwa kiswahili au kingereza ukipendo unaposikia neno "sustainability." Kama ujawai kusikia neno hili andika: Sijui.
[Tutakusanya karatasi na tutasoma maneno kwenye kikundi]
- Unakubaliana na maneno haya?
- Kwanini umechagua neno ambalo umeandika?
Unaweza kuelezaje neno la kiingereza "sustainability" au "endelevu" kwa Kiswahili?
- Tumia mfano wowote kutokana na maisha yako ya kila siku – au methali – kuelezea kwanini unadhani maelezo yako ni sahihi.
Nitasoma ambavyo Fairtrade inaelezea "sustainability." Kwa wao wanasema, sustainability ni kuhakikisha uendelevu wa njia ya kujipatia kipato ambayo inawezesha mahitaji ya siku hadi siku kwa uchumi, jamii, au mazingira ya kuwa na afya na furaha, bali pia inawezesha kuweka hali nzuri zaidi ya baadaye.
- Je, maana tulioelezea inafanana na neno la Kiswahili ambalo tumejadili? Elezea.

- o Kama maelezo ni tofauti, unaweza kuuliza: unahitaji kuwa na maana sawa ili kufikia lengo moja?
- Mnadhani malengo ya KAMPUNI kuhusu sustainability ni sawa na yenu?
  - o Kama ndiyo – kwa nini?
  - o Kama siyo – unadhani mnahitaji malengo sawa ili kufikia sustainability?

Unadhani biashara ina wajibu gani kwa ujumla?
- [kwa mfano, kama hamna atakayejibu, tunaweza kusema – labda kupata faida, kuwezesha ajira, kuzalisha bidhaa]
- KAMPUNI inawajibika kwa nani?
- Unadhani KAMPUNI inatakiwa ijitolee nini kwa:
  - o Wakulima wadogo
  - o Familia za wakulima wadogo
  - o Jamii inayoizunguka
  - o Wadau
  - o Nchi - serkikali
  - o Sekta ya chai
- Unadhani makundi haya yana wajibu gani kwa KAMPUNI?
  - o Wakulima wadogo
  - o Familia za wakulima wadogo
  - o Jamii inayoizunguka
  - o Wadau
  - o Nchi - serkikali
  - o Sekta ya chai
- Unadhani Fairtrade imebadilisha jinsi KAMPUNI ilivyokuwa inafanya katika haya makundi ya watu?

Sasa tunataka tuongelee juu ya usawa na kijinsia katika sekta ya chai. Ni kazi gani zinazofanywa na wanawake na ni kazi gani zinazofanywa na wanaume?
- Zinachukuliwa kama kazi za wanawake peke yao au kazi za wanaume pekeyao au zinaweza kufanywa na wote?
- Mnadhani Fairtrade imebadilisha kazi zilizokuwa zinafanywa na wanawake na wanaume? Kivipi?
- Mnadhani ni njia gani nzuri ambayo sekta ya chai inaweza kufikiria kuhusu usawa wa kijinsia?
- Mnadhani kuna usawa wa kijinsia katika sekta ya chai?

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