

The role of the Fairtrade producer – a study of discourse in Sweden

Matilda Wassgren

Department of Human Geography

Lund University

SGED10

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Abstract

The aim of the study is to explore the role the Fairtrade producer is given within texts that contribute to the discourse on Fair Trade in Sweden. A sample of 50 texts coming from news articles published in Sweden 2015-2016 and Fairtrade labelled products sold in Lund in 2016 are examined with the help of discourse analysis and discussed in relation to the concepts of glocalization, agency and ethical consumerism. The study answers the research question; How is the role of the producer of Fairtrade labelled goods constructed in the Fairtrade discourse in Sweden? The conclusion of the study is that while the agency of the Fairtrade producer regarding their own local place is constructed to be quite large the agency they are given to affect the global or another local place than their own is limited. Other ways of constructing the producer, on its own and in relationship with other actors, especially the consumer, could possibly make the producer more able to influence change beyond their own local place and interacting with other local places to develop the global world for the better.

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1 INTRODUCTION

In the current global economic system, trade has been claimed to disadvantage many of those who produce primary commodities, especially those who are already most marginalised. These people are predominantly living in the global south and they are producing primary commodities for consumption mainly in the global north (World Fair Trade Organisation, Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International 2009, Fairtrade International 2011d, Fairtrade International 2011e).

There have been several issues with how ideas of development have been carried out during the past 200 years. In many cases those who are the intended beneficiaries of development has not been regarded as knowledgeable participants in the development process. Neither has local conditions been regarded as relevant to the success of development schemes. The power dynamic of these development approaches has been uneven, leading to the actors in the global north applying their ideas of development to places in the global south (McMichael 2012:2-4).

Today, in the beginning of the 21st century, producers and consumers of commodities and products traded on the global market are divided by large geographical distances. This makes transparency of the commodity chain difficult and consumers can be ignorant of the impact of their consumer choices has over the producer. One development approach that strives to overbridge this distance between producers and consumers and at the same time counteract global inequalities and injustices is the Fair Trade movement. Fair Trade positions themselves as an alternative to mainstream development. Both in the sense of providing an alternative to the way global trade works and to the mainstream way of dealing with the injustices that the global trade today creates (World Fair Trade Organisation, Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International 2009, Valiente-Riedl 2012, Fairtrade International 2011b).

One of the major Fair Trade organisations is Fairtrade International (FLO) who issues the Fairtrade certification label, (see figure 1.1). Their goal is to change the

conventional trading system by working from within that system, with the vision of “[a] world in which all small producers and workers can enjoy secure and sustainable livelihoods, fulfil their potential and decide on their future.” (Changing trade, Changing lives 2016-2020: Fairtrade Global Strategy, 2016).

Figure 1.1 The Fairtrade Label



(Fairtrade Australia 2016)

Trying to overbridge this geographical distance and connect producers and consumers often involves communicating via text or another media. The way producers and consumers are portrayed to each other this way will be their main means of creating knowledge about each other.

The approach of analysing discourse can shed light on social phenomena through the analysis of texts. Discourses are important since they are not only a way to understand the world, they also have the potential to affect the way people think and act (Griffiths 2015, Dunn, Neumann 2016:3). This suggests that the way beneficiaries of development approaches like Fairtrade are portrayed, says something about how everybody involved in that process of development have acted, will act and be able to act.

This study will investigate the way the producers of Fairtrade labelled goods are portrayed in different media to the Swedish consumer. Fairtrade is one of the largest actors within the Fair Trade movement with the most well-known label for ethically produced goods (Fairtrade International 2011b). An additional point that makes Fairtrade interesting is that it is a mark, not a specific brand of Fair Trade products. Products carrying the Fairtrade mark can be made by any brand or company (Fairtrade International 2011c). This means that the data used in the study comes from different actors who all agree with the Fairtrade vision but who might have different ways of working with it. The analysis will consequently be more able to discuss the broader discursive ideas of society than if all the data came from one single actor.

1.1 OUTLINE

This paper will start out with some definitions. Some of them are of concepts that are established within the Fair Trade movement and some has been established for the purpose of communicating the results of this study. After this the research aim and questions will be presented and the contribution of this paper and its delimitation will be discussed. Following this is a literature review of the purpose of Fairtrade and some current discussion in the academic literature regarding Fairtrade. These discussions will be connected to different concepts within the conceptual framework which will be revisited in the discussion. The methodology of the study and the discourse analysis approach will be explained and the data collection process detailed. After this the findings of the study will be presented, the answer to the research questions discussed and presented in a conclusion.

1.2 DEFINITIONS

A set of definitions that will give some information of Fairtrade and define the terminology used in this study can be found below. The first set of definitions are quoted from the Fair Trade glossary made by Fairtrade International and World Fair Trade Organisation. Following that is some terms that has been established for the use of this paper in order to report the findings in a clear and easily understandable way.

Fair Trade: "The term Fair Trade defines a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect that seeks greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development by offering better trading conditions to, and securing the rights of, marginalized producers and workers – especially in developing countries" (World Fair Trade Organisation, Fairtrade International et al. 2011:1).

Fair Trade organization (FTO): " A Fair Trade organization, also called an alternative trade organization (ATO), has Fair Trade as part of its mission and at the core of its objectives and activities" (World Fair Trade Organisation, Fairtrade International et al. 2011:1).

Fair Trade movement: "The Fair Trade movement is the combined efforts of Fair Trade organizations, campaigners and businesses to promote and activate the Fair Trade principles of empowering producers, making trade more fair, and sustainable livelihoods" (World Fair Trade Organisation, Fairtrade International et al. 2011:1).

Fair Trade/Fairtrade: Fair Trade as two words refers to the movement and Fairtrade as one word refers specifically to Fairtrade International, one actor within the Fair Trade movement (World Fair Trade Organisation, Fairtrade International et al. 2011).

Fairtrade consumer: In this paper, this refers to both a person who buys Fairtrade labelled products and/or engage in Fairtrade more actively as for example a volunteer. It also refers to somebody who is situated on the consumer side of the Fairtrade commodity chain. This would be anyone who has the possibility to consume Fairtrade products because of their geographical location or economic possibilities.

Fairtrade producer: This term will be used below to refer to a person who are working with producing commodities they can then sell on Fairtrade terms.

Producer: This definition includes all growers and workers who are active in sectors where it is possible to produce under Fairtrade terms, even if they themselves do not.

Fairtrade product: Product that is available for the consumer and is Fairtrade labelled.

Fairtrade commodity: Goods that has been produced and sold under Fairtrade terms by Fairtrade producers.

Producer countries: The countries in which it is possible to be a Fairtrade producer. Producer countries are found in three regions: Africa and the Middle East, Asia and Oceania and Latin America and the Caribbean (Fairtrade International 2016b). A map of in which countries Fairtrade labelled products are produced and sold can be seen in figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2 Map of in which countries Fairtrade labelled products are bought and sold.



Source: (Fairtrade Label South Africa 2016)

1.3 RESEARCH AIM AND QUESTIONS

The aim of this thesis is to investigate how the producer of Fairtrade commodities is portrayed in Sweden and to critically discuss this in relation to current academic research.

1.3.1 Overarching research question

How is the role of the producer of Fairtrade labelled goods constructed in the Fairtrade discourse in Sweden?

1.3.2 Sub questions

1. How is the producer constructed in relation to other actors?
2. How is the producer represented in processes it is connected to?
3. How is the producer's role not included in the discourse?

1.4 WHAT THIS STUDY WILL CONTRIBUTE WITH

The ambition of this study is to contribute to the discussion on the producer role in Fair Trade discourse. It will also add to the research on Fair Trade and Fairtrade in general and expand the amount of research that is done on the case of Sweden within this topic. More specifically it will also expand the research about the relationship between producers and consumers of Fairtrade. Within this topic, studies that focuses on discourse are less common than impact assessments and consumer behaviour investigations, thus this study will broaden the diversity of studies within the topic.

1.5 DELIMITATION

The delimitations of this study is first and foremost to Fairtrade and challenges that has been connected which that specific development approach. These will be detailed in the literature review below.

Secondly the geographical delimitation of the study is Sweden. The choice to study the Swedish context was based on the fact that it is a cultural setting and language that is familiar to me as a researcher. This is important when doing discourse analysis in order to be able to interpret the findings (Dunn, Neumann 2016:83-86). Additionally, it is an interesting case to study in the context of Fairtrade since it is very well established in the country. Sweden is one of the countries with the largest consumption of Fairtrade goods in the world and has been a part of Fairtrade International since the start in 1997 (Fairtrade International 2011f, Fairtrade International 2015).

The time period from which the data was collected is a 12 month-period from May 2015 to April 2016. This delimitation was made in order to capture enough data to be representative and still keep the scope of the data collection and analysis on a suitable level for a bachelor thesis.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review will cover the topics of what Fairtrade is and what it sets out to achieve. Additionally, findings from the previous academic literature on the nature of producer and consumer interaction with Fair Trade will be discussed. Firstly, there will be a brief introduction to how Fairtrade International works. Secondly, the Fairtrade vision and the Fair Trade principles they subscribe to are presented. Thirdly, two challenges of implementing the Fairtrade approach to development that has been identified by previous academic research will be discussed.

2.1 WHAT IS FAIRTRADE?

Fairtrade International is a global network made up of three producer networks and 35 national Fairtrade organisations, for example Fairtrade Sweden. The producer networks and the national organisations are represented in the Fairtrade International board by 50% each. The task of the producer networks is to coordinate producers and provide them with support. National Fairtrade organisations promote the ideas of Fairtrade towards consumers, raise awareness and certify companies who want to use the Fairtrade mark on their products. Producers who wish to be Fairtrade certified organise themselves in co-operatives or companies where they are employed. There are no limits of how many Fairtrade producers there can be in the world and certified producers will get the Fairtrade minimum price and premium for all commodities they sell as Fairtrade. There can thus be a difference of supply and demand of Fairtrade certified commodities since it is up to the producers to get certified if they find that valuable. Companies who wish to sell Fairtrade labelled products to end consumers also have to be certified and Fairtrade audits them as well as the producers to make sure that the Fair Trade principles are met. An agreement between buyer and seller of Fairtrade commodities should be long term to ensure sustainability for producers. It

must also guarantee a minimum price set by Fairtrade that covers the cost of sustainable production. If the world market price is higher than the cost of sustainable production, producers are entitled to at least the world market price. On top of this, producers receive a bonus on all commodities they sell as Fairtrade called the Fairtrade premium which they decide together on how to spend. This premium is often invested in local development or to supplement incomes (Fairtrade International 2011a).

2.2 WHAT FAIRTRADE SETS OUT TO ACHIEVE

The Fairtrade vision is as stated above as “[a] world in which all small producers and workers can enjoy secure and sustainable livelihoods, fulfil their potential and decide on their future.” (Fairtrade International 2016a).

In order to achieve this vision, Fairtrade has co-authored and committed to the Fair Trade Principles. These principles have been adopted by them and another large Fair Trade actor called World Fair Trade Organisation. The Fair Trade movement exists in order to assist those who are working very hard and still do not have a sustainable livelihood because they are vulnerable to the negative effect of world market forces. In order to do this, they have adopted five core principles that they will work with at the same time as they will provide flexible solutions to suit different local settings. These are; to provide market access to producers, make trade relationships sustainable and fair, help the producer to build up their capacity, connect producers and consumers in a movement for social justice and make the trading partnership a mutually respectful social contract (World Fair Trade Organisation, Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International 2009).

Several impact assessments have shown that Fairtrade minimum prices and premiums are a valuable tool for producers to protect themselves against the instability of world market prices. This only works if producers manage to sell a large enough amount of their production on Fairtrade terms. On average the producers sold 40% of what they produced on Fairtrade terms in 2013-2014 and supply was larger than demand for all categories of Fairtrade commodities. Fairtrade premium has averaged around 70 euros

per year per individual producer for the period 2011-2014. This average hides large differences but indicates that Fairtrade sales do contribute in a concrete way to local development for producers each year. The money from the Fairtrade premium has been used to invest in for example tools for increased productivity, health care, schooling, infrastructure, business loans or supplemented producer's incomes (Fairtrade International 2016b).

An external study commissioned by Max Havelaar Foundation and Transfair Germany investigated the impact of Fairtrade on local development within six different Fairtrade commodities. These were flowers, cocoa, coffee, tea, bananas and cotton. The results of the study showed that through the use of the Fairtrade premium, the people living in the area got more power over local development than they otherwise would have had. This was true for the coffee, banana and cotton case studies, while the local influence over development was smaller in the case of tea and cocoa. These impacts of working with Fairtrade was found not only to benefit the farmers involved with producing Fairtrade commodities but also people living in the same geographical location. Even though Fairtrade is not the only influencing factor when it comes to local development the study concluded that the Fairtrade approach brings many benefits. The main problems that were discovered were not with the theory of the Fairtrade approach. Rather the positive impact of Fairtrade was smaller when practical issues, like low demand for Fairtrade commodities or low literacy, hindered the full implementation of the Fairtrade approach (CEval 2012).

2.3 CHALLENGES TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FAIRTRADE VISION

As discussed above, the Fairtrade approach has been useful to many producers. However, the topic of what the shortcomings of Fairtrade could be and what can be done about them has been of interest to academic research for the last few years. For the purpose of this study, two challenges have been chosen as the focus of the investigation and will along with the ideal vision of the Fairtrade approach discussed

above make the foundation for the conceptual framework. These challenges have been chosen because they could be connected to the role of the producer, and allowed the discussion to focus both on the production and the consumption of Fairtrade.

The first of these challenges is how the way the Fairtrade chain of production is structured. Although the Fairtrade approach is improving many people's working conditions, it can also reinforce the pre-existing power structures of global trade (Wilson, Jackson 2016, Sundberg 2016). The second challenge is related to Fairtrade's future. While trade can be an effective tool of making a sustainable impact it also poses the question of how to balance keeping the original values of the Fairtrade vision with marketing the Fairtrade products (Goodman 2004, Malpass, Cloke et al. 2007, White, MacDonnell et al. 2012). If the Fairtrade vision is lost that might prove damaging for the long term sustainability of the approach. At the same time, if something is making real improvements in people's livelihoods maybe that is worth a deterioration of the ideals. This is a delicate balance and therefore a challenge to the Fairtrade approach to development.

2.3.1 Reinforcing existing power structures

In an article on Fairtrade banana value chains, Wilson and Jackson (2016) argue that postcolonial power structures can be reproduced in Fairtrade. They argue that both the way the Fairtrade producer is situated in reality and represented to the consumer reinforces power structures that date back to the colonialism. Their work is building on research of other scholars who have found that initiatives such as Fairtrade can, even though they are more moral, place producers in a situation where they are in a similar disadvantaged position towards consumers as in mainstream chains of food production (Wilson, Jackson 2016).

2.3.2 Fairtrade – not about the producer

Fairtrade consumption is not always founded in a concern of building sustainable trade relationships with producers. Two studies that has raised concerns over this argues that the consumption of Fairtrade products has developed into luxury consumption where those who can afford it buy Fairtrade as a sign of status, quality or convenience (Goodman 2004, Griffiths 2015). Additionally, a study by White et al. (2012) showed that focus of consuming ethically was an expression of the consumers working with their own ideas of themselves and the world through consuming Fairtrade. This was a larger motive for Fairtrade consumption than doing something practical to improve working conditions for producers (White, MacDonnell et al. 2012).

In another study, Malpass et al. (2007) found that the rationale for Fairtrade consumption that was promoted by the Fairtrade city of Bristol did not have the focus on the producer and their challenges. Rather Fairtrade was promoted as a type of product that the people of Bristol bought because of their identity as Bristol consumers or because it was the convenient choice because of their geographical location (Malpass, Cloke et al. 2007).

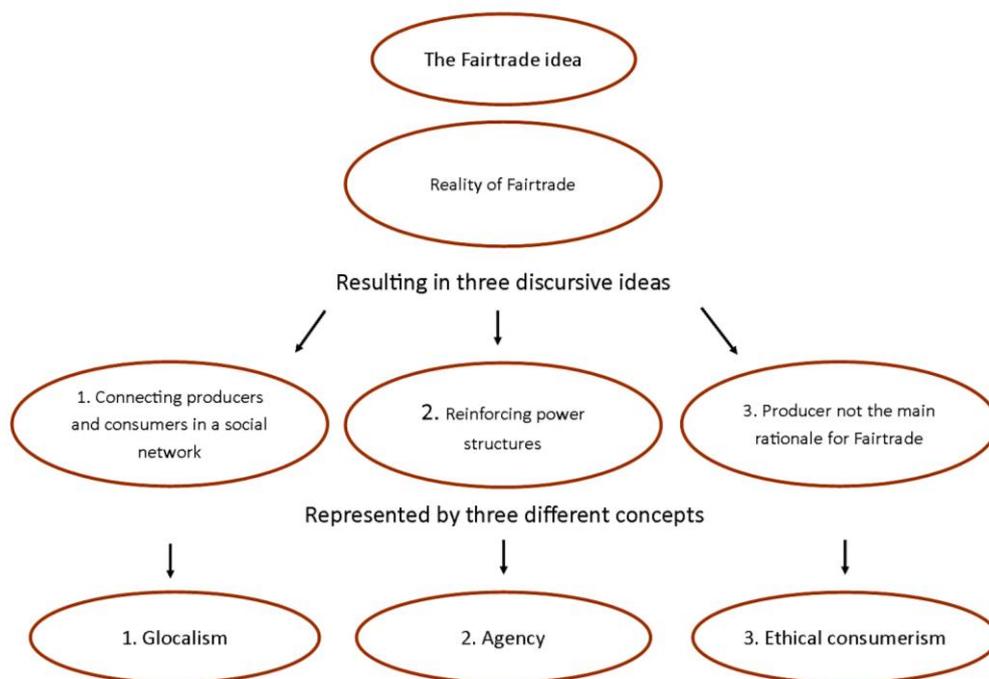
This literature review has gone through the aims of the Fairtrade development approach and the vision the approach is striving to achieve. It has also identified two challenges to identifying this vision, found by previous research on Fairtrade. In order to connect these previous findings with the data gathered in this study, and answer the research questions, a conceptual framework has been created and will be presented below.

3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Based on the literature review, three different concepts have been chosen as a way to discuss the findings of this study in relation to the vision and challenges of the Fairtrade development approach. The reason these concepts were chosen because they were the concepts that best explained what the abovementioned challenges are examples of.

Figure 3.1 is a model of the conceptual framework which shows the different ideas of Fairtrade and their connected concepts. After this, each concept is presented and explained. The concepts will then be revisited in the discussion together with the findings.

Figure 3.1 The conceptual framework



3.1 GLOCALIZATION

As we saw in the previous chapter, impact assessments show that the strength of the Fairtrade development approach, besides giving fairer wages, is the way the local place is allowed to influence its own development. This is well conceptualised by glocalism, where the local is setting the agenda for the global. The idea of glocalism is that instead of the global processes effecting what happens at a local level, all different local places should have the power to create the global agenda (Ashcroft, Griffiths et al. 2013:131-132).

Another definition that has been used in this study is the following. “Glocalization (portmanteau of globalization and localization) is a process of interlacing global trends in social development and local particularities in the cultural development of different peoples.” (Chumakov, Mazour et al. 2014:242)

3.2 AGENCY

The issue of Fairtrade reinforcing pre-existing power structures is not so much about whether producers are better off in material terms. It is about how while the producer might have fairer working conditions they still do not have the power to influence the commodity chain they are a part of. To have agency, seen as the possibility to act, would help the producer to stop this reinforcement of power structures. In the context of this study what will be discussed is whether the producer is portrayed as having agency. This would refer to not only being able to participate in the Fairtrade movement as a producer but also have some kind of power to do so on your own terms (Ashcroft, Griffiths et al. 2013:9-10). Power is a concept that can be emphasised in discourse by setting the conditions for who’s voice can get heard and which actors gets to create truths and knowledges (Dunn, Neumann 2016:54).

3.3 ETHICAL CONSUMERISM

As seen above, consumption of Fairtrade goods is not something that is not necessarily for the producer's benefit. This is well captured by the concept of ethical consumerism. Issues of availability or geographical convenience could be reasons to buy Fairtrade products that is not connected to the producer. However, consumers buying Fairtrade labelled goods because it has a value for them as consumers is the focus in this study since it is a more complex phenomenon.

Ethical consumerism is basically when consumers buy products that is promising some kind of larger ethical value than other products (Summers 2016). This does mean that the ethical consumers base their decision to consume Fairtrade labelled products on the products being in line with their values. The way this concept corresponds with a non-consumer focus as described above is if the act of consuming ethically in itself becomes the focus of discourse rather than the reasons for engaging with ethical consumption.

4 METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the research design, method, sampling, data collection and ethical considerations of the study will be explained and discussed. Both in regards to the practical features of the research process and to the methodological choices.

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

A case study design has been employed in order to investigate how the Fairtrade producer is portrayed when the topic of Fairtrade is discussed in public discourse.

The method for conducting this investigation will be discourse analysis with a poststructuralist approach. In terms of ontology and epistemology this entails that there is an objective world that the researcher can examine, however this world can only be accessed and examined through a lens of discourse (Dunn, Neumann 2016:4-11). Below it will be detailed why this method was chosen and what possibilities it has.

In this study discourse is understood as ways to construct meaning. Discourses have the possibility to affect the way people see the world and create theories of how people should think and act. (Ashcroft, Griffiths et al. 2013:83-85, Jones 2012:2-5, 11-13).

In terms of external validity this case of Fairtrade consumption in Sweden is not generalizable to other contexts but might well be comparable to other countries and the international context.

4.2 METHOD

The chosen method for this study is discourse analysis. Below, the choice of method as well as the specific tools used to carry out the analysis is detailed.

4.2.1 Why discourse analysis?

Discourse analysis is well suited to answer research questions that are interested in how something is. It is also a good tool when representations of people are of interest, especially since it can go more into detail about the meanings behind the text than a more quantitative approach to document analysis (Bryman 2012:536-540, Dunn, Neumann 2016:11-12).

Discourses are seen in this study as “broader ideas communicated by a text” (Machin, Mayr 2012:20). It is also assumed that the way language is used can influence real life events (Machin, Mayr 2012:2-10). This makes discourses and language interesting and relevant things to study since they not only reflect what is happening in the real and tangible world, they also have the power to influence that world.

The purpose of this study is to examine and discuss the discursive ideas in the data and encourage critical reflection on possible practical implications that will be different in different situations. The ambition is not to determine anything about the real life implications of the way the producer is discussed in connection to Fairtrade.

4.2.2 Tools for doing the discourse analysis

Within discourse analysis there are many tools and methods to make use of. For this thesis the focus is on a plastic approach, investigating the continuity of the discourse over 12 months, May 2015 - April 2016 (Dunn, Neumann 2016:104-105). Taking a start in the previous literature, three ambitions or challenges within the Fairtrade movement that relates to the producer – consumer relationship have been identified. These challenges were detailed above as putting the Fairtrade vision into practice, reinforcing power structures and shifting focus away from the producer. Connecting each of them with a more abstract concept – glocalization, agency and ethical consumerism – is a way to structure the analysis of the data that proved to be very useful. These concepts are not static ways of categorisation, rather they help structure the ideas within the discourse around Fairtrade for the purpose of this study. This enables a structured analysis, even though discourses are at the same time complex and always changing (Dunn, Neumann 2016:105-106).

Two specific tools have been used for the textual analysis. The first is uncovering presupposition, where naturalized statements and ideas presented as background knowledges are investigated and put into question. By framing something as background knowledge, those who have the power of using certain media can create truths. This is interesting because it makes those statements more powerful to influence discourse since they are seen as truths or facts rather than interpretations or opinions (Dunn, Neumann 2016:110-111). For the use of this discourse analysis tool, it proved to be very useful to have the background knowledge of Fairtrade and be able to identify when an incorrect statement was passed off as a truth.

The second tool that was used is identifying participants and how they are linked by processes. Participants are those actors within the texts that make actions. Through actions they are connected to other participants and involved with each other in different processes. For example, identifying a process where a participant is not present or where the participants are in a certain relationship toward each other can tell something about the way people view and treat others (Jones 2012:49-53).

The result of the use of these tools will be presented in the findings section of the paper and then discussed in relation to the conceptual framework.

4.2.3 Limitations to the method

Since discourse analysis is very dependent of the person employing it and it was the first time that I attempted employing this method, my lack of experience would be the main limitation to the use of discourse analysis in this study. However, the use of discourse analysis has improved my textual analysis, which has made it an asset to this study. There are also some general limitations of what research purposes can be achieved with discourse analysis. For example, it is not possible to get exact results and the person doing the analysis will affect the results with their previous experience and knowledge (Dunn, Neumann 2016:11-14, 85-86). However, the purpose of this study is to find out the truth of how the producers is presented. Instead it is to examine the collected data with the help of discourse analysis and find some new angels and ideas to bring to the discussion of Fairtrade in Sweden.

4.3 DATA COLLECTION

In order to investigate how the Fairtrade producer is portrayed in discussions connected to Fairtrade in Sweden, two sources to collect data from was chosen. This

chapter will discuss the choice of the sources and how the collection itself was carried out.

To get a view of different aspects of Fairtrade consumption, two types of places where the consumer interacts with Fairtrade has been identified. Firstly, data was collected from the place where Fairtrade is bought; here data was collected from five different stores in the town Lund in southern Sweden. The second place is where information and public discussions are spread and the chosen source here is the Swedish media, both in print and online. Data from this source was collected using a media achieve.

These two sources of data were chosen because they were accessible examples of places where texts that reflect the debate and discourse on Fairtrade in Sweden is published. In both places what is written has to reflect the interest of the society at large or at least large groups of society. They are also within the public domain which means that the texts they put forward have the potential of influencing discourse since they are seen and read by many people.

The texts that make part of the data set are judged to be authentic as it is the same text that reaches the consumer. It is the texts as they are that could influence or represent the current discourse and as such they have been investigated in this study.

4.3.1 How the data collection was carried out

In order to collect texts related to Fairtrade discourse from stores, I visited five different stores and in each store I bought all packages that were Fairtrade labelled and had some text regarding Fairtrade or Fair Trade in general. For practical reasons during the data collection, ice cream was excluded from the sample. This data collection resulted in 20 different texts from packaging, representing 15 different companies and 9 different types of products. 9 of the 20 products were chocolate bars.

Early on in the process of collecting data it became clear that the primary source of text involving Fairtrade in the store environment was the packaging of the products

themselves. After having conducted data collection from the 5 stores I came across very much the same products and marketing material. At this point I decided to stop the data collection since further collection would not likely give many new data and that the time it would take was better spent on analysing the already collected data.

It also became apparent that most product packages did not spend much space on engaging with Fairtrade. Consequently, the majority of Fairtrade products available in the stores had one of two short standard texts about Fairtrade in either Swedish or English. These two texts are included in the sample as well as every other text about anything related to Fairtrade or Fair Trade on Fairtrade labelled product packages. If a new product was found and a text identical to that of an already collected product, that new products' text was identified as already sampled.

The articles were collected from all of the major and most of the minor papers in Sweden, including local and national papers as well as industry journals. The way the news articles were accessed was through the Retriever Research Database, a media archive with articles from 300 Swedish newspapers (Lund University Libraries 2016). All articles that mentioned Fairtrade over a 12-month period, May 2015 to April 2016, was included in the data collection, in total 1551 articles.

4.4 SAMPLING

Due to the nature of the different data sources, the way sampling was made will be detailed in the respective chapters below. The overarching purpose of the sampling was to gather the most recent data from both categories, the data from the stores were collected in April 2016 and the news articles dates back one year from May 2015 to April 2016. In both cases a further delimitation of the data was needed so the focus of the sampling is on articles and product packages where there are implicit or explicit comments regarding Fairtrade. This has been an issue of interpretation during the course of the sampling which will be detailed below.

4.4.1 Sampling of places where Fairtrade is bought and product packaging

Two kinds of stores have been sampled; three regular supermarkets of different size and belonging to different supermarket chains and two stores selling only Fair Trade goods have been part of the sample. The unit of analysis in this category is texts from the product packaging and not the entire packages in themselves. All the stores were located in the Lund area. Even if the scope of this study is Fairtrade discourse in Sweden, the sampling of stores in only one city is considered to be sufficient since four out of five stores were part of a chain of stores spread over Sweden. This makes them quite representative of the range of Fairtrade products available to people all over Sweden.

4.4.2 Sampling of news articles in Swedish media

The method of this study is to analyse the text in-depth. Consequently, the initial sample of 1551 articles was committed to a purposive sampling. In this sampling, articles that only mentioned Fairtrade briefly was excluded since they would not provide much text to analyse. The kind of articles that were excluded were of the type where the article did not make any comment on Fairtrade or anything relating to it apart from a brief mentioning of for example "Fairtrade coffee will be served at the event" or "She is a member of the Fairtrade City steering group". After this was done and all duplicates were identified and removed there remained 487 articles.

487 articles were too large a sample to study in this thesis so out of these 487 articles a random sample of 30 articles was drawn. These have been analysed with the help of discourse analysis and the results of this is presented in below in the findings chapter.

Since the aim of the study is to explore how texts can be used to show different representations of the producer rather than determining which representation is the

most common or influential, my sample size should be sufficient to answer the research questions.

From the initial overview of the data, it became clear that some newspapers publish many more articles discussing Fairtrade than others. The sample which is analysed in this thesis will therefore be representative of what is written in Swedish news media; however, Fairtrade consumers living in different locations might have different access media coverage of Fairtrade.

4.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The material that makes part of the data sets is publicly available and written by people in their professional capacity or to raise public debate. Since the articles are searchable online and the number of Fairtrade products with texts that discusses Fair Trade is rather small it could be possible to identify the sources of individual data. Since the texts are already public, I choose to disclose exactly which texts I have examined so that the transparency of this study would be as large as possible. This is not seen as a problem as the texts are only used as examples of broader phenomena, not as an evaluation of each article or product in itself.

5 FINDINGS

The findings chapter is divided up into the findings of the news articles and product packages. Both these sub-chapters are structured the same way, according to three main themes that were found during the analysis. These themes will be detailed below. To make the read of this chapter as easy as possible the texts has all been given a number, 1-30 for the articles and 1-20 for the product packages. The source of the texts will be detailed in the reference chapter.

5.1 NEWS ARTICLES

As a way to make the reader acquainted with what kind of material the news article data consisted of, this chapter will start with a short overview of the data. Following this there will be a detailed report of all relevant findings generated by the discourse analysis and the chapter will end with a summary of the main findings.

5.1.1 Overview of the data

In the following overview, the entire data set of 487 articles will be described before detailing the findings from the 30 sampled articles to which discourse analysis was applied. The purpose of this overview is twofold. Firstly, processing the data before doing the actual analysis was a large part of the research process and will to some extent influence the discussion below and how the data was interpreted. The second purpose is to let the reader get an idea of the material and a better understanding of what the data consisted of then if it is only explained as articles about Fairtrade.

An initial overview of the 487 articles showed that articles came from a range of different actors in society. These were; companies involved with Fairtrade, civil society organisations, private persons, journalists and representatives from Fairtrade Sweden. Topics ranged from heated debates on the effectiveness and purpose of Fairtrade to features of products made of Fairtrade ingredients. The topic that undoubtedly sparked most debates within the sample was municipalities and counties in Sweden getting certified as Fairtrade Cities or Regions. These debates often started out with someone being critical towards a decision to become a Fairtrade City or Region. This was usually met with a response from someone at Fairtrade Sweden. Concerns was usually not raised over the purpose or effectiveness of the Fairtrade approach. Rather they were about whether the municipality should explicitly commit themselves to the Fairtrade concept. There were also some articles that argued in favour of Fairtrade in

general – focusing on the need for an approach that addresses the issues that Fairtrade are working with and presenting Fairtrade as a desirable solution.

Interest for Fairtrade peaked around most holidays as well as Fairtrade related events, like World Fair Trade Day in May or the Fairtrade Challenge in October. During these events there was often articles initiated by a Fairtrade City or Fairtrade Sweden, often using the same content that had been written as part of a campaign. This could be for example an encouragement to buy Fairtrade roses on Valentine’s Day. Releasing of the annual report of Fairtrade sales also generated interest in writing about Fairtrade.

Another substantial part of the articles was based on press releases from different companies who had launched a new Fairtrade labelled product or wanted to communicate their commitment to Fairtrade. Fairtrade labelled products were also featured in articles written by for example fashion magazines or wine columns.

Features of people and businesses where Fairtrade was part of what they worked with was also part of the sample. In two articles Fairtrade producers were interviewed and got to discuss their views of Fairtrade. Throughout the sample, the articles were directed at the current and potential consumer of Fairtrade products in Sweden.

5.1.2 Findings from the discourse analysis of the 30 articles

The findings will be structured under three themes. These are; development and working conditions, ideas and relationships connected to the producer and the processes of production and consumption. The same structure will be repeated in the section detailing the findings from the product packages.

5.1.2.1 *Development and working conditions*

The first significant group of findings is concerning which participants are involved with the processes concerning development and working conditions. This section will

examine who brings development, what kind of development different actors can participate in and for whom is it created. It will also go through the state of working conditions, which actor is responsible for them and in which way they are debated.

Creating development is a term that is used here to refer to improving the livelihoods of producers, their working conditions or making the world a better place in general. This has been a process present in the majority of the articles but has been dealt with in different ways in all of them.

Starting with the producers, who are the focus of this study, they are central in the process of creating development, not only in receiving it. One way for producers to be involved in creating development is to get help to help themselves. As an example, in article 12 and 10 consumers buying Fairtrade will enable producers to get themselves out of poverty.

The only instance where the producer is constructed as someone who can create development all on their own is in article 28. In this case the producer does not need any help from the consumers or the Fairtrade approach. They will be better off if they are left to their own work without interference from others. If they do this, they will eventually be able to have the living standards that Fairtrade consumers enjoy today.

Another interesting question is what kind of development the participants are able to create. When it comes to producers, the type of development or impact they can make is impact in their own local area. Articles 2, 6 and 21 involve producers who can make a difference for themselves and their local communities. None of the articles in the sample portrays a producer who creates development on the global or on a local place that is not their own.

What the producer could do on the other hand, is to have a negative impact on local development. In article 28 the Fairtrade producer is portrayed as someone who is benefiting from development at the expense of their fellow producers who are not Fairtrade certified. Since, as seen above in the literature review, most Fairtrade producers do not get all they produce sold as Fairtrade, this claim can be questioned. Buying products without the Fairtrade label could just as well mean that the same

producer gets less compensation for the same product that they could have sold as Fairtrade. What is not mentioned is if consumers benefit from producers being vulnerable.

The participants that most frequently creates development are the consumer and Fairtrade itself. Fairtrade both creates development itself and is a tool that consumers can use to improve for the producers. Examples of this can be seen in articles 10, 11 and 12. Through buying or promoting Fairtrade consumption, consumers are constructed as actors that can create development.

Finally, it is worth paying attention to how the process of creating development do not have a participant that drives it. In several articles this process of creating development is central to their argument, however there is no mention of how or by whom this development should come about. This is the case in article 4, 14 and 28.

After discussing who creates development it could also be useful to reflect on how creating development really is defined. All but a few of the 30 articles refer to vague concepts like creating opportunities (article 6), improving the world (article 15) or caring about working conditions (article 29). A few articles do however use more specific language. In article 11 the development that is created through Fairtrade is described as giving the producer a pay that is worth their efforts, being paid enough and gaining knowledge to adapt to climate change. Article 25 specifies this as getting “an approved salary and not being forced to work too long days” (authors translation).

The need to create development for producers suggests that the current situation of working conditions in the sectors where the Fairtrade producers work are not good enough. Given that the Fairtrade vision, as quoted above, is to create sustainable livelihoods for all small producers this seems reasonable to believe that all of them does not yet enjoy sustainable livelihoods. This makes it noteworthy that even though almost all of the 30 articles mention how working conditions will be improved, how development will be created or how producers will benefit, it is rarely mentioned what the working conditions that needs to be improved really are like.

Despite this, there are a few articles that does mention working conditions in different sectors. Article 11 explains the challenges of climate change for growers. Article 25 and 26 addresses working conditions for commodities that could be produced as Fairtrade most explicitly. Article 25 is characterizing them as making the producers lives even worse than they already are. The article claims that producers are forced to work long hours in dangerous environments without getting paid enough to live on. Article 26 is framing the current conditions in the chocolate industry as dangerous, underpaid and worsening.

If working conditions are this bad, who is responsible of changing them and for creating or contributing to them in the first place? Few of the articles were found to assign responsibility to anyone. Several articles, among them articles 2, 8, 14 and 28, were discussing current working conditions without discussing who the actors are that can influence them. Article 26 mentions the chocolate industry as responsible for changing and improving working conditions. However, nothing is mentioned about who created the working conditions that need improvement. This is not the case in article 25 where the local government in the producer country as well as companies buying cotton are held responsible for the poor working conditions that exists in the places they are buying it from.

Consumers are never held responsible and neither are producers. While it is often said to create development as seen above, Fairtrade is never portrayed as having created bad working conditions. They are in one case, article 5, criticized for making conditions worse even if they aim to make them better.

5.1.2.2 The producer – ideas and relationships

This section will go through which ideas about the producer have been found in the articles and how their relationships with other actors have been described.

The producer is present a lot in the articles, without actually doing much apart from having bad or decent working conditions and producing commodities. One thing that

the producer does not do is author any of the articles in the sample of 30, nor is there any of the articles in the initial sample of 487 that has a Fairtrade producer as an author.

Although the producers do not do much in the articles they are present in the majority of them. The ways to construct the ideas of the producers are many. In several cases the producer is described as poor. Poverty in these cases is referred to as an absolute concept and not as a power imbalance between producer and consumer. Throughout, as for example in article 10, producers are one clearly defined group of people who faces the same problems. In article 17 the producer is constructed as skilful in their work of growing cocoa beans.

The producer is of course not just portrayed in isolation. It is also involved with other participants of the texts. Usually this relationship is between the producer and the consumer. Producers are someone consumers can help so that they can help themselves through consuming Fairtrade products. Consumers can make a difference for producers (article 11) or draw attention to their situation (article 12).

The consumer's role towards producers is more than just buying Fairtrade products. They also want knowledge of and care about the producers and their conditions. This is mentioned in article 20 and 29. Fairtrade can communicate this knowledge between producer and consumer (article 20) but this knowledge is also something the producer can transfer directly to the consumer (article 24).

In conclusion, the producer is constructed as someone who needs help and can give knowledge. The producer works hard, should be valued for their skilful work, is in a vulnerable position and is part of a rather homogenous group.

5.1.2.3 The processes of production and consumption

Another group of results from the discourse analysis was how the processes of production and consumption was constructed in the texts. Most of the articles

featured the process of consumption, although only a handful truly discussed production.

When it comes to production it is characterized in article 17 and 18 as something that takes skill. In article 11 production is affected by climate change. In the way that climate change is something that makes production more difficult it is a poor working condition. Worth noting is that climate change is described without anyone holding responsibility for it. Article 28 constructs production under Fairtrade terms inefficient.

Consumption of Fairtrade products is a frequent theme in the articles. In some of them the consumption of Fairtrade goods is framed as difficult and expensive. This is not usually in articles that are negative towards Fairtrade but in those who frame Fairtrade as an important thing to be involved with. In articles 2, 8, 15 and 27, Fairtrade consumption is framed as a something that is important to do but also needing effort and sacrifice of time and money. Even when it is explicitly said that buying Fairtrade is worth these sacrifices, they are mentioned in an uncertain way, making what may be a small sacrifice seem like it is possibly a very big one. For example, article 8 starts out with saying how important Fairtrade is and that the municipality will prioritize buying it. Then it goes on to point out how no one knows how much more expensive this will be for the tax payers.

This way of framing Fairtrade products makes them seem problematically expensive for the consumer even though there is nothing that proves that this is the case. While the cheapest Fairtrade certified coffee might be more expensive than the cheapest non- Fairtrade coffee, it is impossible for the readers of the article to know if it is more expensive than the coffee the municipality buys today. And even if it is more expensive for the taxpayers, this is not put in relation to for example how much it would benefit the producer. The opposite is true for article 12 where the consumer spending money on Fairtrade translates to improved livelihood of the producer.

The main focus in the articles as a whole is nevertheless to construct Fairtrade consumption as something that is important, desirable and makes a difference. This is present in the majority of the articles. Fairtrade consumption also carries meaning for

the consumer, it reflects well on them (8), makes them feel good (5 and 6) and is a way for them to influence trade (10 and 28).

Better working conditions are connected to consumption of Fairtrade but bad conditions are rarely connected to consumption of non-Fairtrade products. The exception from this is articles 25 and 26.

5.2 PRODUCT PACKAGING

This section is structured the same way as the previous section concerning news articles. The findings of the packaging are related in relation to the already presented findings in order not to be too repetitive.

5.2.1 Overview of the data

This part of the data set consist of 20 different packages and product sheets from 15 different companies. 9 of them are chocolate wrappers and the rest are packages of coffee, cocoa chocolate drink, cashews, white pepper, tea, bananas and sugar. Texts were in either Swedish or English. In the analysis, company refers to the company that that made the Fairtrade product and producer is the people who produced the Fairtrade certified ingredients of the product or is working in a sector where they could be part of Fairtrade, for example growing cocoa beans.

5.2.2 Findings from the discourse analysis of the product packaging

In general, the texts on products constructs a producer that has more power and possibility to influence their own working conditions and local as well as global development than the texts in the articles.

5.2.2.1 Development and working conditions

When it comes to who brings development, what kind of development different actors can participate in and how the state of working conditions there is some clear differences between the findings of the news articles and the product packaging.

The type of development producers can bring is broader in the texts of the product packaging than in the news articles. On product 1, producers can create a sustainable future. This not limited to local development but neither is it explicitly stated that they can affect the global development. Additionally, producers can improve their own livelihoods as on product 4. They can also take a bigger part in creating their own development (product 13) where the producers are the ones who created the company selling the finished product, really taking charge instead of just being approached by a company who wants to offer them better conditions.

In general, the text of the product packaging deals with development and working conditions in a more exact way than the news articles. While there are few mentions of other than vague ideas of what working conditions are like in the articles, there are much more explicit examples from the packaging. For example, on product 6 the benefits of Fairtrade are specified as investment opportunities, improved market access and higher incomes. On product 2 it is described as a living wage and ability to send your kids to school. Also product 9 mentions improved schooling and healthcare as examples of development that Fairtrade brings to producers.

Who is responsible for the state of working conditions in the sector is on product 2 pointed out to be the world market and the coffee industry. While someone is assigned as responsible, this someone is still a bit vague.

Product 10 is an interesting case, because it focuses the debate on changing the working conditions of the all producers in the chocolate industry and not only on promoting the improvements made for the producers of their chocolate. Here, there is also assigned responsibility for creating development which lies with the consumer, since the company can only help the producer with the help of the consumer.

Despite the larger exactness, the trend on the packaging is the same as in the news articles. The focus is much more on how good conditions are for producers who are behind the product in question than on discussing what it is that makes the better conditions of this products producer necessary.

When it comes to what kind of development different actors can bring, there were none of the news articles that featured a producer that could influence anything different than their own local development. On product 14 it is explicitly stated that the production of the product influences global and local development. The producer as such is not constructed as influential but the process they are the driving force of is.

5.2.2.2 The producer – ideas and relationships

When it comes to producers' lives and livelihood, a few product texts construct them as characterized by hard work and insufficient pay, for example product 2. Product 10 is using much stronger language, claiming that working conditions in the chocolate industry is essentially equal to slavery.

A more common view of the producer is that they poor and in need of improved livelihoods. This is a theme in for example article 6 and 18. They are also small scale (products 14 & 17), take pride in the product they produce (product 16).

On product 6 the producer is someone who has influence, although it is not clear what that is influence over; their own situation, another actor or the world market.

Compared to the articles there is a whole other relationship between the producer and the companies who makes Fairtrade products. The texts communicate that the companies not only know their producers and care about their working conditions (products 8, 9 & 14), producers also have influence over the company (product 13).

The relationship between the Fairtrade producer and consumer is important in the product packaging texts. Just like in the articles, the consumer is someone who can help the producers and make a difference in the producers' lives and create

development for them (products 2, 6 & 12). The producer can also be part of creating their own development, discussed on for example product 18.

On product 15 the producer to other producer relationship is also featured, where the featured producer wants to be an inspiration to others and affect the industry.

The voices of producers are heard by quotes from producers featured on the packages. For example, on product 18 there is a producer who describes what benefits she has from being able to sell her products as Fairtrade.

5.2.2.3 The processes of production and consumption

One very common theme here is how desirable the Fairtrade products are. This is of course important in order to sell the products. For this purpose, there are two different focuses, either on the production or consumption of the product. Some package texts distinguish the product by giving more information about the production of the product than just that it carries the Fairtrade brand. For example, specifying which cooperative made the coffee (product 18) or describing the production in more detail (products 5 & 16). As opposed to the news articles, two thirds of the products discuss the production while only half on them features ideas about the consumption aspect.

Another way of constructing the product as desirable is to focus on the consumption aspect and frame the product as very tasty and desirable to the consumer. This is present on products 7 and 16. Alternatively the product is desirable because it is of high quality. Examples of this was found on products 11, 17 and 19. Product 20 also frames consuming the product as something the consumer can do with a good conscious.

6 DISCUSSION

In this chapter the findings will be discussed in relation to the conceptual framework. The chapter is divided into different sections where discussion that is related to each sub research question will be presented. Following this chapter is the conclusion where the discussion will be summed up as an answer to the overarching research question of how the role of the producer of Fairtrade labelled goods is constructed in the Fairtrade discourse in Sweden.

6.1 HOW IS THE PRODUCER CONSTRUCTED IN RELATION TO OTHER ACTORS?

In relationship towards the consumer, the producer is constructed as someone who can co-create but in most cases not initiate development. The rationale for engaging with Fairtrade consumption is often framed within the sample as the consumer being a good person who helps others.

That value added that Fairtrade brings, is how the consumer can help someone else get a better life. This is a positive process and that might sell many products because it feels positive for consumers to buy Fairtrade labelled products. While this might be a good reason for framing it this way, that does not mean there cannot be other ways of framing Fairtrade the producer – consumer relationship.

Imagine for example that Fairtrade was framed as something both producers and consumers did together, to counteract the injustices of the global market forces. For such a discourse to be possible, the producers must be constructed with more agency and be able to do more than just comment on the local impact fair wages gives to their lives. Even if the producer has agency to give knowledge, it is only about their own local conditions, not about world trade or sustainable production and consumption.

Another way of constructing this would be if Fairtrade consumption was framed not only as an additional choice available for consumers if they feel like being nice to others. Instead, the entire purchase decision would be constructed as a choice and any product that is or is not bought, will have consequences for the producers of that product.

A too large focus on ethical consumerism both draws attention to and hides the producer's role. Consuming products that has been produced under good working conditions is important. However, it does obscure the producer's role in production when they are not part of ethical consumption. A too large focus on this also takes a starting point in consumption rather than production. This could make issues that are important from a producer perspective seen as less relevant if those issues do not correspond with something at the consumer end of the exchange. If this is the case the space that the diversity of images of the producers have will be much smaller.

If producers were constructed to have more agency and consumers to be less in need of feeling like good ethical consumerists there could possibly be another view that producers and consumers together strived for the local development of both. Producers would get better working conditions and consumers get good products, the knowledge they need and local development because their purchase patterns affects things like climate change that in turn affects their local development, not just the producers'.

These other approaches to constructing the producer-consumer relationship is represented in some of the texts of the sample. However, most of the texts have features of this limited agency and ethical consumerism which could help reinforce existing power structures.

6.2 HOW IS THE PRODUCER REPRESENTED IN PROCESSES IT IS CONNECTED TO?

In relation to the process of creating development, the producers have been described with varying levels of agency. They have been described as the recipients, the co-creator and the driving force of development. Here there was a large difference between different texts and also between articles and packages. On some of the products there is more both glocalization and agency where the producers are really the driving force that does not only continue but also initiate development.

Within the texts, producers act, create companies, organise themselves and have opinions. They are not only passive recipients of developments. However, they only act in relation to what other actors do or will do. Processes like selling Fairtrade commodities and detailing the benefits of Fairtrade is usually connected to the actions of other participants, like the consumer demanding Fairtrade goods or wanting to know the efficiency of the Fairtrade approach. This way, producers are not portrayed to set the terms of interactions or to influence other actors more than other actors influence them.

The producers constructed with the most agency throughout the sample was the ones who started and are still part of running one of the companies selling Fairtrade labelled products. This proves really agency of a producer role which can do something on their own terms. They can be the ones who not only influences the running of the company but also how to communicate and what relationship they should have with the consumer.

The importance of the local development is strongly communicated throughout the sample. However, this local development that producers are very much involved with is rarely connected to the global. There is a lack of discussion of how the local place of the producer and what happens there connects to other local places that in turn effect the global turn of events. This has implications for the producer role. The producers are not really agents of a glocal process of creating development but rather involved in a very local and personal endeavour of improving their livelihoods.

6.3 HOW IS THE PRODUCER'S ROLE NOT INCLUDED IN THE DISCOURSE?

In the process of consumers choosing Fairtrade products when this is constructed as difficult and expensive even though it is important, the producer's role is not often mentioned. Since the choice of consumers have considerable effects on producers' livelihoods this seems to be a case of the producer's role being omitted from the discourse.

What is said about Fairtrade producers benefiting from other producers being worse off, does construct a Fairtrade producer with some agency to create disadvantages to others. However, what is not mentioned is how both Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade producers relate to consumers. Saying that Fairtrade does not work and in fact is damaging to the most marginalised does imply that there is no need to engage with ethical consumption. Regardless of whether the article is right in the uselessness of Fairtrade, not addressing the fact that consumers might benefit much more from all producers' marginalised position than they benefit from each other's is a good example of another thing that seems to be missing from the discourse. As we have seen in the results, the working conditions and livelihood possibilities of workers is usually positioned as something that needs improvement or sometimes even as under all critique. Nevertheless, it is never really put in relation to the working conditions and livelihood possibilities of the consumers.

In conclusion, the producer can be given agency to help their own development, inform about the own situation and influence others close to them. However, they are not constructed as someone who have agency to really challenge underlying structures. Interestingly enough, the consumer, constructed to be first and foremost engaged in ethical consumerism, is not either someone who can challenge larger structures through their actions. Producers and consumers can both make the world better, or at least improve the local place of the producer. What they are not really constructed as being able to do, is to truly change the world.

7 CONCLUSION

The overarching research question this study has examined is; how is the role of the producer of Fairtrade labelled goods constructed in the Fairtrade discourse in Sweden?

What stood out about the producer role was the producer – consumer relationship. The way producers are constructed is being able to affect their own local environment with the help of the consumer. While the producer is affected by the consumer, the consumers or their local place are rarely able to be affected by the producers and their actions. Neither is either actor constructed as able to make any substantial impact on the global arena.

Overall, the producer's role is very prominent when positive values are communicated. When it comes to more problematic issues, the ones that affects the producers does not get the same amount of attention as those that are problematic to the consumers. As a result of a focus on ethical consumerism, the producer is often constructed in relation to consumer choices. Either the choice of the consumers to buy Fairtrade is producing better conditions for the producers or their choice of not consuming Fairtrade labelled products results in unsustainable livelihoods. The producers are thus mainly affected by and responds to what the consumers does. They are rarely constructed in relation only to themselves, the things they produce or each other. Neither are the producers and their conditions constructed relative to the consumers' conditions.

The producers are constructed to have agency to some extent. They can have opinions and address the consumer as well as co-create and, in a few cases, be the driving force of development. What they do lack in terms of agency however, within the role that is created for them in the examined discourse, is agency to set the agenda for debates on global consumption or set the terms for their own participation in the trade relationship.

7.1 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

As long as producers being a little better off when they can sell what they produce is constructed as the only way they can participate in the global market on good terms it is more difficult for the global development to be created. It is then also difficult for Fairtrade to be more than an expression of ethical consumption that has some practical advantages for the producer. To change the world (which is what the Fairtrade vision states it wants to do) the producer needs to be allowed to have more agency in discourse than we have seen here in this study. The producer needs agency to challenge the way we think world trade should or could be and not just have opinions on how good or bad Fairtrade is. It is proof of some agency that they can bring knowledge and have opinions about their local development. However, in order to go beyond small improvements stuck in a system where power structures are not challenged the discourse on Fairtrade needs to be a little better at dealing with the difficult questions and openly discuss the subjects that are conveniently avoided in this discourse today.

A larger focus in discourse on the injustices inflicted by global trade might not change the producer's role. Still, lifting the authority of those who experience these injustices and construct a producer that can offer their view of it with the basis of their reality, could be important in order to really produce sustainable change.

7.2 FUTURE RESEARCH

It would be interesting to do this same study from the producer's point of view. That is, not an impact assessment of Fairtrade but a discourse analysis on whatever communication regarding Fairtrade is reaching the producers and influencing the way they construct themselves and their role within Fairtrade discourse.

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8.1 LIST OF NEWS ARTICLES

Article no.	Title	Source	Publication date
1	<i>"Vi passar på under Fairtrade dagen"</i>	Dalademokraten	2015-05-08
2	<i>Fortsatt fokus på bananer</i>	Dalademokraten	2015-05-10
3	<i>Vem bakar Linköpings schysstaste bakverk</i>	MyNewsDesk	2015-05-26
4	<i>Mjölby kommun rättvisemärkt</i>	Östgöta Correspondenten	2015-06-09
5	<i>Storhetsvansinnet borde stollemärkas</i>	Expressen	2015-06-23
6	<i>Eko-marknaden? En certifieringsdjungel</i>	Kosmetik	2015-06-26
7	<i>We love Sense Organics nya, fina babykollektion – Fairtrade & Ekologiskt</i>	MyNewsDesk	2015-09-08
8	<i>Uppsala fikar efter större rättvisa</i>	Uppsalatidningen	2015-10-01
9	<i>Årets mjölkfria nyhet från Plamil är här</i>	MyNewsdesk	2015 -10-05
10	<i>Lidl Sverige bjuder på Fairtrade-fika – för att göra skillnad</i>	Cision Wire	2015-10-15
Article no.	Title	Source	Publication date
11	<i>Kaffeodlare möter kaffedrickare</i>	Sändaren	2015-10-20
12	<i>Raglunda kommun fikatätast i Jämtlands län</i>	MyNewsDesk	2015-10-20
13	<i>I Fairtrade-kommunen Alingsås får du växa och ta ansvar</i>	Ny Teknik	2015-10-21
14	<i>Tänk på arbetsvilkor</i>	Mariestads-Tidningen	2015-11-30
15	<i>Handlare har märkt ökat rättviseintresse</i>	Skånska Dagbladet	2015-12-16
16	<i>Min önskelista</i>	Vi Föräldrar	2015-12-22
17	<i>"Jag fick uppleva chokladkulturen"</i>	Svenska Dagbladet	2015-12-27

18	<i>Ekologisk mellanrost / ny kostym</i>	MyNewsDesk	2016-01-12
19	<i>Sara Bäckmos matfilosofi</i>	Blekinge Läns Tidning	2016-02-06
20	<i>Vinerna som saknas</i>	Dagens Nyheter	2016-02-12
21	<i>Vad betyder märkningarna?</i>	Fri Köpenskap	2016-02-12
22	<i>Inget intresse hos näringslivet för schysst handel</i>	Smålandsposten	2016-02-12
23	<i>Uppmaning att agera själva</i>	Smålandsposten	2016-02-17
24	<i>Besök av en rosodlare under Fairtradekväll</i>	Länstidningen Värmlandsbyggden	2016-02-19
25	<i>Svårt att hitta bra bomull</i>	8 Sidor	2016-02-24
26	<i>Barnarbete bakom din chokladkaka</i>	Veckans affärer	2016-03-07
27	<i>Svagt intresse för fairtrade bland politiker</i>	Lokaltidningen Halmstad	2016-04-13
28	<i>Fair Trade är långt ifrån rättvist</i>	Nyheter 24	2016-04-16
29	<i>Region Örebro län ska ansöka om Fairtradediplomering</i>	MyNewsDesk	2016-04-26
30	<i>Utsedda till Kyrka för Fairtrades Guldkorn 2015</i>	Dalademokraten	2016-04-28

8.2 LIST OF PRODUCT PACKAGING

Product no.	Product name	Company
1	Mörk Choklad Apelsin	Favorit
2	Bryggmalet mörkrostat kaffe	Egualé
3	Ekologiska bananer	Änglamark
4	Ljust muscovadosocker	Dansukker
5	Lime Green Tropical Aromatic tea	Hampstead Tea London
6	Ekologisk mörk chokland med havssalt	Ica I love eco
7	Chocolate berries	Landgarten
8	Chokladdryck	Kung Markatta
9	Dark milk Fairtrade Chocolate	Anthon Berg
10	Milk chocolate caramel sea salt	Tony's Chocolonely
11	Raw milk chocolate tangerine	Seed and Bean
12	Cashewnötter	Smiling
13	Dark chocolate 40 g	Divine
14	Pralin choklad	Egualé
15	Dark Chocolate with raspberries	Divine
16	Cocoa	Divine
17	Vitpeppar	The house of Fair Trade
18	Torkad Mango	North & South Fair Trade
19	Product sheet chocolate and coffee	Egualé
20	Product sheet tea	Egualé