Applying fair trade to British upland agriculture

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Abstract

Fair trade seeks to ensure disadvantaged farmers and workers in developing countries get a better deal for their produce on the world stage. A particular feature of the scheme is the setting of a minimum price between producer and purchaser. Whilst many recognise the validity of such an approach for developing countries, the issues fair trade seeks to represent resonate strongly with the marginal farming communities of British uplands. This paper considers the validity of applying fair trade principles to the case of upland farm businesses in Cumbria. We consider the economic, environmental and social contexts of these businesses followed by a critical appraisal of fair trade principles and that of local food production. Finally we suggest possible mechanisms which could be adopted using fair trade principles to develop a more sustainable farming economy in this marginal area.

Keywords: Fair trade, local food, upland agriculture, sustainability.

Introduction

The sustainability of upland farming in Britain has been a recurring theme in research and policy at least over the past 80 years (De La Warr, 1944; Curry, 2001). Since 1945, farm enterprises in these areas have been able to survive largely due to successive subsidy from UK and European sources. Despite this, upland farms have continued to face the challenge of volatile and variable consumer demand, high production costs and relatively low incomes leading to agricultural decline. A frequent response to this has been to focus on new products or adding value to existing ones by appealing to the demands of wider society. This has led, for instance, to the emergence of markets for organics and value-added products that retain a local identity (Weatherall *et al.*, 2003; Ilbery *et al.*, 2006). It is

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widely recognised also that the distinctiveness of products can also be enhanced by short linkages between production and consumption through selling at local markets (Holloway and Kneafsey, 2000).

The sustainability of upland farms as producers of products is dependent, in part, on the success of strategies to appeal to the demands of wider society for products that are high quality but also produced in a manner that is consistent with a range of ethical, ecological and environmental values (Kitchen and Marsden 2009). It is in this context that the potential for "fair trade principles"[1] to be applied for the benefit of upland farming becomes of interest. In this paper we explore whether upland agriculture in Britain can derive benefits from being both "fair trade" and "locally produced", and whether these forms of production are consistent with one another and sustainable in this context. In this paper, we provide a brief overview of the character of upland agriculture and its main issues which influence farmer strategies when developing alternative forms of enterprise. We then consider whether this form of farming can produce goods that can be both fair trade and local. Finally, we critique whether fair trade and local production can sustain the current upland agricultural system.

Comment [UoC4]: Addition of footnote to distinguish between 'fair trade' and 'Fair Trade'

Upland agriculture in Britain

Upland agriculture in Britain operates on the fringes of viable agricultural production limited through the physical constraints of soil, climate and topography. Consequently farm businesses focus on livestock production with typically low profit margins of around £5000 per annum, well below the national United Kingdom (UK) average (Chadwick, 2003). The uplands of Cumbria in north west England are no exception.

The farming system

A system of farming has developed in Cumbria to make the best use of the environment by adapting farming practices to fit the harsh climate and rugged terrain. This farm landscape comprises three distinct land types: inbye, intake and fell (Figure 1). *Inbye* land is the best, close to the farm buildings and used historically for the production of hay and now silage for the winter, grazing land in winter months and lambing areas in spring. At the other extreme are the *fells* at the highest altitudes, usually 300m or more above sea level (ASL) (Figure 2). These are areas typically of heather (*Calluna*)

moorland or rough unimproved grass pasture highly prized in terms of nature conservation in both the UK and Europe (English Nature, 1998). Indeed, it is the agricultural management of this land in the past that has allowed these ecological communities to develop through extensive grazing regimes and periodic burning of the heather (*Calluna vulgaris*) to re-invigorate growth (Backshall *et al*., 2001). In between the fells and the inbye lies the *intake*, sometimes referred to as *allotment*. This is land that has been taken in from the fell and enclosed using drystone walls made of locally field cleared stone. This system of walls, enclosed fields and fell areas are what give the UK uplands their intrinsic high quality so desired by the public – known collectively as High Nature Value (HNV) landscapes (Hoogeveen *et al*., 2004).

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Cumbrian farmers run mainly two enterprises in the core of the uplands, either sheep and/or beef; on the valley bottoms and upland margins some environments are sheltered enough to run dairy herds. Occasionally, farms may have a dairy herd and fell sheep flock, although this is labour intensive. Upland farms, themselves, are divided into two types; true *upland farms* containing inbye, intake and fell and the *hill farm*, which contains intake and fell with little or no inbye. This tends to restrict hill farms to traditionally running just sheep, where as the true upland farms have historically run sheep flocks and cattle herds in combination.

Fell management

From the farmers point of view the landscape they have developed has a number of functions. Walls keep livestock from straying, they keep rams away from ewes at the wrong time of year and they allow stock to be grazed in winter on a rotational basis to ensure sustainable grassland management. The fell areas are summer pasturage, when the enclosed land's productivity has been exhausted or allocated for the production of grass and hay crops for winter feed. In order to support the same number of sheep on the fell as in the inbye, the lower productive land needs a substantially larger area over which the sheep graze. This area has developed over many generations of farmers, who originally shepherded the sheep keeping them to land that the farm had common rights[ii]. Over time the sheep get to know the land that they can graze on and gradually the intensive shepherding can be withdrawn so that the flock manage themselves geographically. This instinct of the sheep to keep to a certain land

area is known as '*hefting*' or '*heafing*', an operation which can vary from upland to upland (Hart, 2004). The ewes pass the knowledge of the area (heft) on to their lambs, who in turn pass it on in turn to their offspring. In this way it is important that the farmer maintains a multi-generational flock.

Typically, these upland commons in Cumbria can be many thousands of hectares and contain enumerable hefts isolated from the main farm unit (Figure 3). Gradually, virtual boundaries between hefts have developed keeping stock from straying into another heft, thus developing a self policing of grazing pressure. Stock are gathered intermittently and brought down to the farm for shearing, worming, winter grazing, sales and lambing. Because hefts are geographically extensive, over difficult terrain, labour requirements for gathering are high (as many as 25 people for a single gather). This is exacerbated by precipitous landscapes that do not lend themselves to modern all terrain vehicles (ATVs), thus foot access is often the only means of reaching the stock (Burton *et al*., 2005).

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Farming system viability

The marginality of their location has meant that such UK farming businesses have benefited from successive subsidy support from national government (1946 to 1972) and Europe (1972 to 1992). Unfortunately, whilst aiming to solve economic marginality, many of these initiatives have led to over-production on these low carrying capacity landscapes, resulting in less desirable environmental damage (e.g. Drewitt and Manley, 1997). Agri-environment grants, decoupling and modulation have partially addressed these environmental concerns through destocking, but the consequence for farmers has been destabilisation of their farm management systems especially on hefts and declining profit margins (Mansfield, 2011). With limited enterprise choice, lack of mechanisation and few options to reduce production costs, Cumbrian upland farmers struggle to transcend the cost-price squeeze. As profits have gradually declined, farmers have had to make tough decisions regarding farm viability. Three main re-structuring options exist:

1) reduce costs of production where possible and continue with ever decreasing profits;
2) withdraw from farming altogether, or;
3) diversify production.

Comment [UoC8]: Replaced colloquialism

If a farmer chooses to continue in a similar way, they must seek mechanisms to reduce costs. Typically the easiest has been to reduce paid labour on the farm. Many Cumbrian farms now rely solely on the farmer and partner for labour, with older children helping out. For some hill farmers, they cannot cut the wage bill as they are not married, do not have children or their partner works off-farm. Whilst cutting labour saves money in the short term, in the long run it can cause problems for certain aspects of farm management. One particular issue is the lack of staff at gathering times to control flocks as they come off the fell (Burton *et al*., 2005); it also limits farm diversification.

At the other extreme, the farmer can opt to withdraw from farming altogether. A number of farmers have done this, mainly as a consequence of the effects of Foot and Mouth in 2001 (Franks *et al.*, 2003). Some have either sold up altogether, or sold just the land. Both responses have had multiplier effects for the wider landscape and community. Those that sold up altogether have often split the house from the land. The effect is twofold; firstly, the household becomes disenfranchised from the farming community and secondly the land can be abandoned. If the latter happens on the heft, the associated de-stocking affects surrounding hefts, whose sheep move into the new unclaimed territory, exacerbating gathering costs. Heft abandonment also leads to problems of under grazing, an environmental challenge (Backshall, 1999). The third option for the farmer is to diversify their enterprise. Whether to diversify or not is a difficult decision for many uplands farmers. Firstly, the need for additional labour to run new enterprises is essential; but for many this has been the first element to go to save production costs. Secondly, the lack of capital and reticence to take on additional loans or debt play a major role. Whilst there are many grant schemes to support diversification (Mansfield, 2011) most require matched funding, creating barriers for many of the most economically marginal businesses. However, the gradual decoupling of support from production and modulation towards rural development and environmental management has forced many upland farmers to develop diverse income streams in order to simply remain within farming. It is here that the concepts of fair trade and local produce offer scope for diversification.

Fair trade in the global south

Comment [UoC9]: Added ‘global’

Fair trade is described as ‘a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect that seeks better trading conditions for, and securing the rights of, marginalised producers and works, especially in the south’ (European Fair Trade Association, 2001). The concept has developed over the last 30 years through the parallel evolution of south[iii] producers seeking a fairer deal for their produce on the world stage and that of a north consumer movement to support a more ethical and socially acceptable living for south farmers, often referred to as ‘trade not aid’. Fair Trade producers and buyers have to adhere to common principles (FairTrade, 2012). Producers must be small scale who then band together to form democratic organisations who seek a fair price for their products. Workers can belong to unions, have the right to decent wages, housing and health and safety. There will be no forced or child labour and production methods need to be as environmentally sustainable as possible. Typically, producers form co-operatives, giving them greater control over sales, longer term relationships with exporters which can then lead to pre-financing. However, as Renard (2005) notes, the last co-operatives to join the fair trade movement of a product often have the greatest problems selling their crop as the market becomes saturated.

In return buyers have to direct purchase, pay a price above the cost of production with a social premium built in, make advance payments for products to avoid producer debt and provide contracts which allow long term planning and sustainable production practices. The key feature of the system is payment of a fair trade minimum price and/or social premium by a buyer to a producer. Products that comply with the principles and minimum price can use the FairTrade certification mark. The criteria for this are negotiated by the FLO (Fairtrade Labelling Organisations International) for each product. Such a system promotes a *quality economy* (Renard, 2005); whereby a range of values are applied to a product covering the physical, nutritional, hygiene, cultural, ethical and environmental aspects.

Fair trade in the global north

Comment [UoC10]: Added ‘global’

Fair trade products are typically tropical or sub-tropical in origin (e.g. coffee, bananas, tea, chocolate derivatives) and it is here in the south that until very recently the Fair Trade certification process has remained. A number of EU states now produce fair trade milk including Austria, Germany and France. With respect to upland producers in Britain, a number of the standard fair trade principles do not apply

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as the concepts are already legally present (i.e. housing and health and safety). The issue of decent wages is more relevant as most upland farms generate less than £5000 a year in net margins most years, the equivalent of take home pay for everyone else, arguably 25% of the national average income. It is this that is often used as the key factor to describe these businesses as economically marginal in comparison to other forms of farming.

A bigger issue, perhaps, in upland agriculture is the use of child labour. Strictly speaking, there is no comparable child labour on UK farms to those in the developing world. Occasional cases do occur such as in Worcestershire where Romanian migrant child workers were found harvesting cabbages (Dolan, 2010). However, on upland farms there are few secondary school age children who are not drafted in to help with pinch points in the farming calendar. Shearing, dipping, gathering, sales days and lambing typically see every able body on the farm participating. How this rests with the principles of fair trade is yet to be resolved.

A final matter with respect to fair trade certification with respect to upland agricultural production is the contractual relationship with buyers. Increasingly upland farmers are signing up to contracts with supermarkets to guarantee sales. However, apocryphal tales relayed from farmers during other conversations show that it is not unknown for supermarkets to turn down deliveries at the last moment through quality control issues or stalled through flows within outlets. Most meat contracts in this country are agreed on a farm by farm basis since the demise of the Meat Marketing Board, and thus, this puts the farmers at a distinct disadvantage. After the Foot and Mouth outbreak, the Curry (2001) report, amongst other recommendations, suggested that farmers needed to look more carefully at forming co-operatives to increase their bargaining power. This is interesting, because in many other parts of Britain farmers have banded together to form input purchasing co-operatives as well as output selling ones (e.g. Anglia Farmers). The only real co-operative movement in upland areas tends to be related to the dairy industry, probably resulting from the daily need to collect milk for bottling. The distinct lack of drive amongst upland farmers to form co-operatives is on the face of it, quite odd, given the level of co-operation required to operate the hefting system. Of course, it could be this level

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of forced co-operation that has put many off formal co-operatives for sales due to ‘falling out with the neighbour’ over stock issues, particularly disease control and animal welfare (Mansfield, 2011).

Local produce

Local produce is a term that refers to the production, sale and consumption of a good within a local area. The number of enterprises available to create local produce on an upland farm is by far the most limited of any farm type in mid-latitude areas, being derived solely from meat, milk or wool. However, there are surprisingly a large range of possibilities, such as felt, knitting wool, insulation, cheese, yogurt, ice cream, organic food, rare breed or premium meat, and all types of processed products (such as sausages, pies and burgers), to name but a few. A particular feature of local food production is minimalisation of the number of stages between producer and consumer, so that goods pass through only one or two ‘pairs of hands’ before the consumer eats them. The produce is sold unadulterated but semi-processed, as with meat or milk, or else it is processed to add value, as in cheese, butter or pies. These goods are sold through three recognisable Short Food Supply Chains (SFSCs) (Ilbery and Maye, 2006):

- face-to-face, in farmers’ markets and on-farm shops;
- spatial proximate, where producers sell to local retailers in the region;
- spatial extended, where producers sell to consumers outside the region.

SFSCs are regarded as excellent opportunities for the lagging rural regions (LRRs) of Europe to improve their economic and social structure. Upland areas are classic LRRs with remoteness, poor infrastructure, low population density, limited employment opportunities and poor development capacity (Ilbery *et al*. 2004). On the other hand, consumers often make inaccurate inferences about the quality, localness, social embeddedness (connections or associations between product and place) and sustainability of these types of products. Studies have shown that quality can vary as it is not a requirement for local produce (Ilbery and Maye 2006), social embeddedness may be stretched (Ilbery and Kneafsey 1998) and ‘localness’ and sustainability are all a matter of perception (Ilbery and Maye 2005).

Geographical branding

To overcome the quality issue, location can be used to brand upland farm goods, by linking product and producer to the area's landscape, culture and heritage, which in turn can allow both farmers and retailers to ask premium prices for produce (Kuznesof *et al*. 1997). Quality therefore becomes central, as any decline in it will result in loss in sales. Particular emphasis has been placed on securing European level designation through EU Regulation 2081/92 'on the protection of geographical indications and designations of origin for agricultural products and foodstuffs' and Council Regulation (EC) No.510/2006 'on the protection of geographical indications and designations of origin for agricultural products and foodstuffs'. PDOs (Protected Designation of Origin); PGIs (Protected Geographical Indication) and TSGs (Traditional Speciality Guaranteed) are used increasingly by groups of upland farmers to increase financial value and sales (Ilbery and Kneafsey, 1998). For example, in British upland areas, seven cheeses (e.g. Swaledale Cheese PDO) and eight meat food names (e.g. Herdwick Lamb and Traditional Cumberland Sausage PDOs) are protected in this way. Although this all sounds positive for upland farmers, there are particular problems with slaughtering arrangements in many geographical areas. Under PDO criteria livestock must be slaughtered within the designated area, but many abattoirs have closed down as a result of uneconomic legislative demands and those which remain are at full capacity. For the Rough Fell lamb group in south-west Cumbria this has stymied achieving PDO status for the foreseeable future (Mansfield, 2008).

If the quality issue can be addressed, there are many positive multipliers (Bullock, 2000). Economically, more revenue goes back to the producer rather than the middle man; money is retained in the local economy and local foods can promote tourism. Social benefits include redevelopment of links between consumers and their food and new modes of sale, such as farmers markets, which reduce social isolation and improve community cohesion. This latter phenomenon has been particularly beneficial in upland areas where many other forms of social capital are in decline as the farming system changes (Burton *et al.,* 2005). Environmental benefits often cited include the reduction of food miles, although some argue that local production does not mean a reduction in intensification of production. Health benefits may also be accrued through fresher goods.

Unfair competition

One significant aspect of the debate concerning local trading concerns the conflicts that arise between some purchasers' preference to use local suppliers and regulations relating to unfair competition at a national and European scale. In this context, a decision by a public sector organisation to give preference to local suppliers simply because they are "local" is deemed to be "unfair" on competitors located elsewhere (McCrudden 2004, Bennett 2006). The European Union is committed to "fair trading" where there is open and transparent competition for the supply of goods and services to the public sector. This perspective conflicts, however with the principle that public bodies also have a duty of care for the communities within which they operate that could include, for instance, the purchase of local farm products and use of catering providers that give preference to local sources. A pertinent case recently occurred in Sweden whose government planned to launch a buy local campaign as a strand of its Climate Smart Food project. Almost immediately, the European Commission lodged a complaint requiring Sweden to come into line with free movement principles (Agra Europe, 2009 cited in Barclay, 2012).

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Whilst EU procurement rules place barriers in the way of preferential local trading, the principles of "sustainable procurement" call for purchasers in the public sector to consider the environmental, social and economic consequences of purchasing decisions including those that affect the supply chain. There may be circumstances, therefore, where a justification can be made for using local suppliers by considering impacts of the environment (food miles, for example) or by restricting supply to businesses that have been independently verified as sustainable sources of particular goods and services.

As regards the private sector, the scope for local procurement may be restricted in many cases by a mismatch in scale of production, quality systems, management capacity and logistical requirements. Large multiple retailers, however, are increasingly adopting corporate social responsibility policies that arguably represent attempts to legitimise their activities in the eyes of key stakeholders and to offset criticisms of self-interest. Shareholders and customers, for instance, can demand more responsible corporate behaviour prompted by individual moral and ethical concerns in the economy. It

is possible that these kinds of ethical pressures can generate commercial imperatives and induce corporate buyers to invest in local supply chains.

Can upland produce be fair trade and local simultaneously?

Contrasting features

Most differences lie within the certification process. Of the two, the Fair Trade system is the most stringent, for without the meeting of certain criteria a product cannot be given *certification*. In contrast, local produce do not require certification, instead producers have become self-selecting about this opting to use PGO, PGI or TSG if it provides sales advantage. At a deeper level, the character of certification is substantially different, as Fair Trade labelling contains a number of *social criteria* already covered by law and/or employment rights in Britain and the EU (i.e. HSE, union membership and housing). Local produce certification differs as the focus is on *quality* through European legislation. With respect to product *sales and prices*, an embedded principle within Fair Trade is the agreed minimum price and *social premium*. This does not exist within local produce sales; instead financial premium is accrued by the individual producer- seller only, through the reduced number of supply chain steps or by adding value in some way. The corollary of both forms of premiums does, nevertheless, result in payment for goods *over and above the cost of production*. Another divergent issue is the matter of *child labour*. Whilst it is banned under Fair Trade certification, child labour continues to be a feature of some upland farming businesses.

The challenge of *food miles* can be perceived either as a dissimilarity or, as some argue, an irrelevance. In the strictest geographical sense local food and fair trade cannot compete with each other for food miles. Current fair trade produce cannot be grown in the EU and milk is a bulk good whose transportation does not warrant long distance haulage. However, how we define local can subsume this concept because as Ilbery and Maye (2006) stated local is merely as perception. A good example here is Scottish Beef, which is local to the UK replacing sales of an Argentinian equivalent. The localness here is more a function of selling power and availability.

Some commentators (Richardson and Whatmore, 2009), in contrast, see actual distance travelled as an irrelevance as this is not central to the concept of Fair Trade; the latter which seeks ethical and

'material' considerations above all else. Where food miles do count is in relation to environmental impact, the carbon footprint of some Fair Trade products is colossal and trying to reduce this is, to all intents and purposes, impossible. An attempt was made recently by the local Cumbrian Fair Trade Network to make a cake for as few food miles as possible. The measurement of miles travelled by the ingredients of a product has, however, been challenged by many as an oversimplification. Chi *et al* (2009) demonstrated that transportation represents only a small percentage of the sustainability of a product's life. Other features of the agricultural process and food supply chain can cause disproportionate environmental damage, and thus perhaps a life cycle analysis (LCA) approach would be closer to the full picture.

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Comparable features

One comparable feature of Fair Trade and local production is the ethical dimension. Ethical production is core to Fair Trade principles – it is why many people will buy these types of products in the first place (Renard, 2003). This ethical consideration is directed at both the producer and the mode of production. For local food consumers ethical issues sit high up the agenda as well, as Weatherall *et al*. (2003) found, although they tended to be more concerned about the process of production rather than directed to those that actually produced the food. The consumer response in their survey was complicated further with respect to respondents being urban or rural based, pricing and the type of outlet the goods were available from. As with the food miles debate we can challenge this ethical concern further as does not preclude a local producer producing food in an environmentally-unfriendly manner through overuse of veterinary drugs, artificial fertiliser application on grassland and silaging. Such limitations can only come through the adoption of certification processes banning any excesses.

It would seem from this brief critical overview that whilst on face value there are some overall similarities between Fair Trade and local produce; closer inspection demonstrates the issue is more complex, suggesting that it is almost impossible to have products that are both Fair Trade and local. Perhaps it is more a case of *fairly traded and locally produced*, in that upland farmers are paid a fair price in order to continue to farm and consumers can buy locally produced goods knowing that their money is being used to support local businesses.

Fair trade, local food and sustainable agriculture in Cumbria

Robinson (2004) suggests that sustainable agriculture is an approach to food production that 'balances agronomic, environmental, economic and social optima'. He cites Benbrook (1990) who believes the following conditions need to be met: soil and water resources are managed in such away as to not degrade them; that biological and ecological systems are maintained through appropriate plant and animal husbandry; whilst at the same time the system is economically viable, farmers make an acceptable profit and social expectations and cultural norms of the public are satisfied. Fair Trade certification goes a long way to meeting these requirements, whereas local production is a 'hit-and-miss' affair because certification is self-selecting. Whether fairly traded locally produced goods from upland farming businesses are a form of sustainable agriculture is less clear.

From an economic sustainability point of view, any form of activity on an upland farm that increases net income can only be perceived as a good thing. Operating on the physical and economic margins of cultivation in an increasingly market-led global economy has demonstrated that few upland farms can survive on livestock production alone, without seeking some form of diversification. Fair trade, fair trading and/or locally produced goods are all possible forms to improve income and make these farm businesses more sustainable. In turn, the continued operation of upland farm businesses allows for the social sustainability of upland communities and the service multipliers a retained population brings in remote areas.

Finally, there is the issue of the environmental sustainability of upland agriculture. Whilst this agricultural system has been responsible for the making of much of the British upland landscape, it has also been its undoing as we noted. If anything, upland agricultural systems are generally the main type of conventional farming system which comes closest to environmental sustainability. This is acknowledged by the very small grants available for upland farmers to convert to organic production in comparison to their lowland equivalents; £5 per ha per annum compared to £90 per ha per annum for cereals (Elliott *et al.*, 2003). Whilst Fair Trade certification does have environmental criteria, only another form of certification related to local production would create a set of environmentally sustainable practices for farmers to adhere to with regards to local produce.

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Comment [UoC17]: Removed reference to table and removed table – couldn't see how to not put in a lot of extra words affecting overall word count. Flow seems OK to me.

Summary

What is evident from this brief analysis is that simply trying to brand upland farming produce Fair Trade creates more questions than answers. On one hand, there are issues related to the nature of production systems. Few farmers and farmer-buyer relationships would meet the strict Fair Trade certification. Fair trading of locally produced goods is a possibility which might help to sustain agriculture in this marginalised sector. On the other hand, there are issues surrounding the branding of products and the extent to which consumers can make sense of the "fair trade" label added to existing perceptions of the psychic value attached to a "local product" which in itself is not a single construct, but combines many associations such as reducing food miles, rural nostalgia and product uniqueness. Evolving local and fair debate amongst suppliers, procurers and distributors in Cumbria suggests that greater benefits are yet to made from sustainable agriculture, that of sustainable rural development for the wider economy and society. For an agricultural sector often perceived as an anachronism in light of contemporary industrial capitalist systems, sustainable upland farming through concepts such as 'Local and Fair' may yet have lessons to offer wider society.

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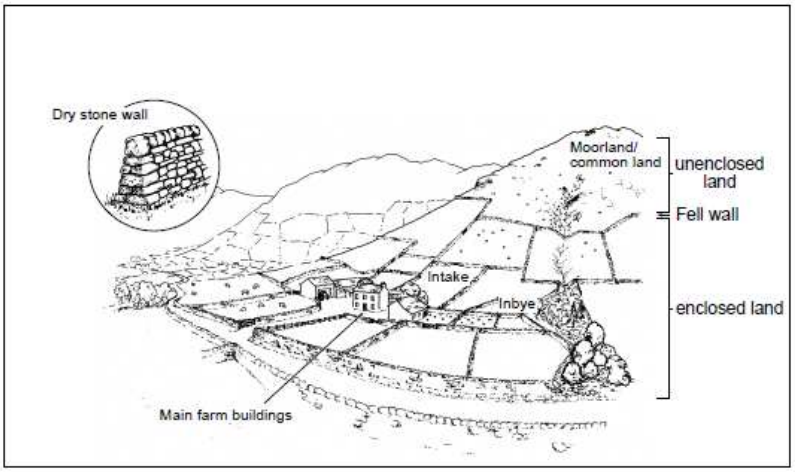
445 **Figure 1** A typical upland farming landscape (taken from Mansfield, 2011).



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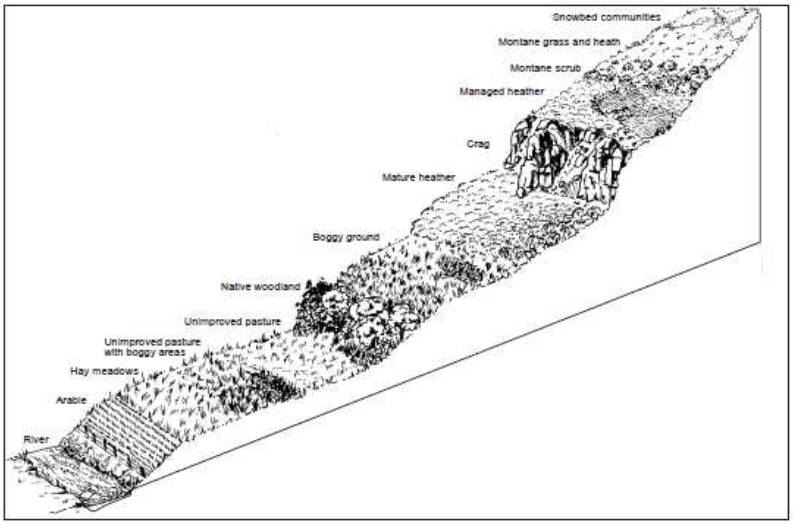
449 **Figure 2** Continuum of habitats within upland farming landscapes (taken from Mansfield, 2011).



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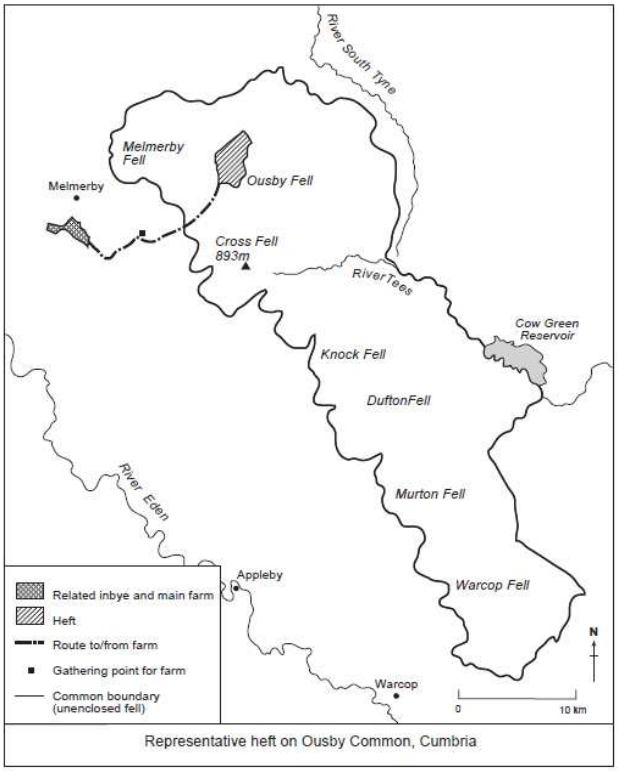
455 **Figure 3** A Heft within a Cumbrian Common (taken from Mansfield, 2011).



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[i] 'fair trade' – a set of principles designed to help producers in developing countries achieve better trading conditions and promote sustainability through the payment of a higher price to exporters as well as higher social and environmental standards; as opposed to 'Fair Trade' which is an internationally recognised certification process.

[ii] Common rights 'A person may take some part of the produce of, or property in, the soil owned by another' (Aitchison & Gadsden, 1992).

[iii] The socio-economic and political division that exists between the wealthy developed countries, known collectively as "the North", and the poorer developing countries (least developed countries), or "the South."