

Fair Trade Governance in Ghana: Between Local and International Perceptions of Social Value

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Abstract

Social enterprises, that combine ways of creating financial profits and social value within the same organisation, are distinguished and evaluated here largely by their capacity to produce social value. I will make a case for diversifying the perceptions of social value that are used to govern fair trade companies. This paper, based on the author's own ethnographic research, will look the case of Kuapa Kokoo, a 45,000 small-holder member's producer co-operative in Ghana that also owns 33% of the Divine Chocolate Company, a confectionary producer in the UK. While global perceptions of social value shape and frame the governance structures of the co-operative, there are several national and local processes that contribute the perceived impact of the social enterprise.

Les entreprises sociales, qui combinent la création d'utilité sociale et les profits financières dans la même organisation, se distinguent et se sont évaluées dans cet étude par leur capacité de créer d'utilité social. L'intention ici est de proposer une diversification des perceptions d'utilité social qui se sont utilisées de gouverner les entreprises de commerce équitable. Cette étude, qui se base sur une étude ethnographique au Ghana d'auteur, analysera le cas de Kuapa Kokoo, une entreprise coopérative qui réunit 45,000 petits agriculteurs. Elle tient aussi 33% des actions de Day Chocolate Company au Royaume-Uni, une entreprise chocolatier. Même que les perceptions mondiales d'utilité sociale forment et encadrent les structures de gouvernance de la coopérative, il y a des divers processus nationaux et locaux qui se contribuent à la perception de l'impact des entreprises sociales.

Las empresas sociales combinan la creación de ganancia privada con la generación de valor social. En este caso, las empresas son más bien evaluadas por su capacidad en la creación de valor social. En este caso específico la forma en la que será evaluado el valor social que son capaces de crear se hará con referencia al comercio justo. Este documento está basado en la experiencia etnográfica del autor, se trata de la experiencia de la empresa cooperativa Kuapa Kokoo en Ghana, la cual cuenta con 45,000 miembros, que además es propietaria en un 33% de la empresa Day Chocolate en el Reino Unido. Evidentemente, la influencia y referencia global influyen enormemente en la estructura gerencial de la empresa, mientras que el impacto social de la misma debe ser considerado más propiamente en un contexto nacional y local.

1. Introduction

I study fair trade as a sector composed of social enterprises that create social value through trading activities. For the consumers and the general public fair trade enterprises are often the most visible part of the growing social enterprise sector. Visibility has led to a heightened sense of accountability and need to demonstrate that social value is being generated in ways that can be comprehended by the international public and consumers in particular.

Therefore, focusing on this dynamic of social value between international conventions of fair trade on one hand, and local issues on the other hand is an interesting dynamic in debating the creation of social value especially in culturally and socially distant places such as West Africa. Though social enterprises acting in the local community may have similar barriers at demonstrating and essentially *translating* the social value that is being created, measured and accounted for, the issues generally speaking grow with increased geographical and social distance.

In this paper I will link the issues of fair trade enterprises, to social value creation. It stands in contrast to the Global Value Chain approach (Nicholas and Opal 2006), the approach that created the fair trade rules in the first place. Therefore the intent is to go beyond rectifying power relationships in the productive chain, and towards looking at the ways of creating social value through market trading in a much broader sense. I find that this is precisely what Kuapa Kokoo is doing.

The first intent is to bring insights from debates about the particularity of social enterprises as businesses, rather than as production chains. Secondly, I will look at the emergence of international norms and rules for fair trade producers and intermediaries and how they are translated to local communities in Central Ghana. Thirdly, the emerging issues of information and money will be

discussed at some length as ways in which social benefits are negotiated through the fair trade enterprise in ways that are not prescribed in the international rules, or indeed much accounted for in the social accounting reports of the fair trade company. Finally, I will attempt to conclude on the ways in which social value as a concept could be used to include both local and international notions, through the mechanisms of *translation* and *assemblages* that are part of my theoretical framework.

2. What is a social enterprise?

Social enterprises question explicitly boundaries in terms of state borders, global governance, the roles between culture and economy, as well as the notions of value that are being calculated by enterprises. We should embrace the concept as a new space to reassemble networks that are capable of negotiating contemporary disparities as part of the process of globalisation, and persistent inequalities in industrialised and developing countries alike.

There are continuous attempts at making legal and institutional definitions of social enterprises, attached to the co-operative and mutual society, association or foundation statutes. These institutional or legal definitions together make up the social economy (Welch, 1994), which has also gained a status in the European Union and other political institutions including the OECD. However the mere existence of socially inspired statutes is no guarantee for the continuation of the creation of social value. Institutions evolve, often by processes of *institutional isomorphism* as described by DiMaggio and Powell (1983), whereby the mainstream institutions define the wider assumptions of value creation, managerial objectives, aspirations of workers. Institutional definitions therefore aren't a good guide to the interests and groups represented in the enterprise sector. A social enterprise may be made up of a co-operative, limited company, association or even an informal group.

I will instead adopt a qualitative approach to defining social enterprises. This is also suggested in the definition according to Defourny, who finds four economic and five social qualities of a social enterprise.

Economic qualities:

- 1) A continuous activity producing goods and/or selling services;
- 2) High degree of autonomy;
- 3) A significant level of economic risk;
- 4) A minimum amount of paid work;

Social qualities:

- 5) An explicit aim to benefit the community;
- 6) An initiative launched by a group of citizens;
- 7) A decision-making power not based on capital ownership;
- 8) A participatory nature, which involves the persons affected by the activity;
- 9) Limited profit distribution. (Defourny 2001: 16-18)

These qualities were defined within the scope of EMES, a European-wide research project that studied the sector and assumed social enterprises as part of an emergence of global civil society. Defourny agrees that these qualities, or criteria as he calls them, are a work in progress. They are however becoming quite widely used to conceptualise the phenomenon (OECD 1999; SEL 2001).

My definition of a social enterprise borrows from the above while changing the vocabulary towards a diversified discussion of value, and a wider understanding of the market as mobilising for social value.

Social enterprises are assemblages that aim to create both social and financial value, where a multitude of interests and resources merge into an enterprise. It funds itself primarily through trading and exchanging activities in the market. They demonstrate participation of beneficiaries in their decision-making processes, thus formally territorializing the company to include interest groups previously seen as outsiders. Ownership and management structures include beneficiaries, their interest groups or persons acting as their spokespersons.

The aim of this definition is to do away with the boundaries between the economic and the social spheres by focusing on a broadened notion of value. Here social enterprises are considered as

unified *assemblages* (Latour 2005). By making away with boundaries, I will analyse what types of markets social enterprises make up of and contribute towards.

3. The Economy of Qualities

I will situate social enterprises along the definition that has been given above to a wider approach to the economy called the *economy of qualities*. The approach was introduced by Karpik¹ (1989) in an article where he analysed the market of lawyers within the Paris Bar Association. In this particular case, market knowledge goes through a word of mouth, inter-personal references, ties and networks, since all advertising is banned by the association rules. (Karpik 1989: 188). Other studies in particular discuss price formation in the Burgundy wine market being relative to status and professional relations (Chiffolleau 2004), mass consumption (Cochoy 2002), and e-commerce (Callon, Méadel and Rabeharisoa 2002). What unites these studies is that they try to find non-conventional markets where qualities of products are highly negotiated among intermediaries, customers and producers. Social enterprises also offer a rich site to study such linkages.

There are two important concepts that should be mentioned to introduce the economy of qualities. First concept is that of *calculative action*. “We start by redefining the notion of calculation, broadening it to include categories of action such as judgement with which it is usually contrasted.” (Callon and Law 2005: 718) Thus, decisions are no longer based on numerical or arithmetic accounts, but judgemental and qualitative accounts². In this way many things that were not calculated before, become calculable through new measuring means of social accounting, regulatory monitoring and environmental standards. This moves economic agency away from utilitarianism,

¹ At the time of writing, a faculty member of the Centre d’Innovation Sociale at the Ecole des Mines in Paris, where Callon and Latour have spent most of their careers. The approach is inspired by Science and Technology Studies (STS), where ethnographers followed scientists in society (Latour 1987).

² Here the authors propose that we use a new term called “qualculation”, a move that I dismiss as not being very intuitive and thus quite hard to generalise in usage. As a term it does, however, describe best what the authors are trying to get at.

and towards more normative action. The new type of agency that emerges is neither uniquely descriptive nor excessively rationalising.

The second term that introduces us to the economy of qualities is that of *framing*, as an actor is always an actor-world composed of objects and persons alike. It is a way to capture and cut the heterogeneous networks that both establish transient boundaries while maintaining links outside it.

The concept of framing indicates that such closure is possible: individuals, whether two or 2,000 in number, whether by communicating through prices or taking turns to negotiate contracts, together regulate problems of resource allocation or property transfer while simultaneously establishing a temporary impenetrable barrier between themselves and the rest of the world. (Callon 1998b: 251)

For decisions to take place in markets, it is necessary to frame the relevant agency temporarily. Commonly boundaries exist as representations of the firm (a physical location, brand or story of origins), or in terms of economic ties involving payroll, managerial authority and accounting. However, if we enlarge the view of framing to practices of non-professional or otherwise qualitative knowledge, we can start tracing how companies transcend boundaries.

[M]etrology itself creates new objects. This is made clear in Callon's analysis of 'framing' in *The Laws of the Markets*. Metrological practices (such as those associated with, for example, quality control, audit or environmental monitoring, etc.) do not just reflect reality as it is. They create new realities (calculable objects) that can, in turn, be the object of economic calculation. (Barry and Slater 2002: 181)

The very existence of a *social enterprise* is dependent on social boundaries, as the establishment of new metrologies makes social enterprises visible and accountable as distinct objects, establishing new boundaries. The social enterprise is precisely different because it undergoes evaluation and measurement of its social objectives with regard to fair trade rules, and other possible labelling schemes.

The benefit of adopting a point of view of the *economy of qualities* is that it allows us to include many small-scale farmers, village loans committees, fair trade regulators as crucial intermediaries in

creating calculable objects of enterprises and products in markets. This ethnographic view of markets also gives an alternative to the view of the three spheres of exchange put forward by Polanyi (1944 and 1992).

4. Ethnographic Methodology

To trace such non-professionals (who may not leave traces, or articulate their knowledge in reports or in the media) one needs to open up the study of linkages outside some obvious actors. Ethnography plays a key role in here, as where international fair trade rules are very visible, the perceptions of Ghanaian cocoa farmers are somewhat harder to come by. Inroads have been made by organising fair trade events in the West at times with the participation of fair trade farmers, managers or promoters from the South.

This paper relates to research conducted in Ghana between December 2004 and August 2005, when I looked into the activities of two social enterprises. The enterprises selected were Kuapa Kokoo, a cocoa grower's co-operative, and Busy Internet, an Internet centre. Though this paper only focuses on Kuapa Kokoo, its affiliates and relevant fair trade and foreign aid partners, many of the themes that are discussed here have equally emerged from the study of Busy Internet. The centre, though being a privately held company, was also a public space, a public wi-fi spot, hosted an aid funded Busy Incubator programme, and was an informal networking ground for various other commercial and non-commercial initiatives in the Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) sector.

The methodology of describing a field site in this study is based on Actor-Network Theory (ANT). In ANT the notion of place, which has been central to ethnography so far, is gradually replaced by a network. The idea of 'following the actors' is a central tenet of ANT (Latour 2005) and it serves as a guide to establish explanations of why things take place, to trace the various agents that make up

an effective actor-world. Therefore, I wish to shift the notion of the social as a lived experience towards the network as it carries several advantages. Strathern (1996: 522) points out that “a network is an apt image for describing the way one can link or enumerate disparate entities without making assumptions about level or hierarchy”. Making fewer assumptions is an advantage, since it can allow actors to define their own actor-spaces.

I studied Kuapa Kokoo as a network, instead of conducting a more classical ethnography where one studies events through places (neighbourhoods, or villages) where it operated. As an enterprise, Kuapa Kokoo is a cocoa grower’s co-operative, founded in 1993 after the market liberalisation of cocoa buying in Ghana in 1992. Up to 1992 only government-employed agents were allowed to buy cocoa directly from the farmers. Kuapa operates in the southern cocoa growing regions of Ghana, and has around 45,000 producer members, who own the company. There are different structures that are linked to Kuapa Kokoo Farmers Union (KKFU), the representative body of the co-operative. The Kuapa Kokoo Limited (KKL) is a licensed buying company, registered according to the government cocoa market regulations. Kuapa Kokoo Farmer’s Trust (KKFT) is a foundation that disburses the fair-trade premium on development projects according to fair trade rules. Kuapa Kokoo Credit Union (KKCU) organises micro-credits for farmers. Finally, the Divine Chocolate Company (DCC)³ is based in London to manufacture chocolate, and 33% of its shares are owned by Kuapa Kokoo Farmer’s Union. The organisational chart is produced on the following page (Ronchi 2002: 13).

Figure 2:

³ The Day Chocolate Company Ltd. became the Divine Chocolate Company Ltd. in 2007. I will thus use the current name, while in the graph the old name is reproduced since it’s from the year 2002. At the time of research, Divine Chocolate was a consumer brand sold in particular in the UK and the Republic of Ireland.

Kuapa Kokoo organisational chart

This company structure is a result of the different regulatory environments where the enterprise operates. The government requires it to register a licensed buying company, and the fair trade regulations stipulate that the disbursement of the fair trade premium should be through an independent body (KKFT). The KKCUC is a registered micro-credit organisation, following banking regulations of the Bank of Ghana. Part of these regulations set minimum reserve requirements and ways of securing the assets, which is done through the Ghana Co-Operative Credit Union Association (CUA), an apex body of credit unions in the country.

Kuapa Kokoo in this ethnography is studied at its different levels: the national head office, one area office and finally two villages that were nearby this area office. The choice these sites were down to practical issues. Being able to conduct interviews in a day trip from the area office limited the range of the study, but also gave me a picture of the distances travelled by cocoa farmers themselves in order to reach the closest town. The time that was spent in Ghana for this research was split between the two quite different field sites, where the urban ethnography of the ICT sector was researched with more intensity than the rural sites making up Kuapa Kokoo. The reasons for this were various, including the need for hiring a research assistant for two months for translating and helping out in organising village visits.

The first village was proposed to me as it was a *pioneer village*, that had been part of the company since the very beginning. The second village was a *weak village*, chosen to contrast the first one. It was found by following the Research and Development Officer (RDO) who makes regular rounds to an average of 60 villages that fall under any single area office. The issues were very different in both villages, as the pioneer one had a strong women's group, and the weak one had just elected a new purchasing clerk and had recently received training concerning the credit union.

5. International Fair Trade Rules as Forms of Social Value

On the international arena, a fair trade organisation becomes a recognisable object once they are certified either by Fairtrade Labelling Organisations (FLO) certification in Germany. This labelling stabilises and standardises the use of the object in global markets. However, for fair-trade companies, it's not only important to report to FLO about the compliance to standards. As a consumer-driven market (like chocolates), the Divine Chocolate Company, recognises that it also has to measure the ways in which it communicates about fair-trade to its consumers. Thus it

actively seeks to establish social qualities, brand stories of origins, and distinctive social marketing mechanisms to achieve these ends.

There are different levels of standards set in terms of fair trade. The trade standards concern relationships between buyers and producers.

- 1) Pay at minimum a price to producers that covers the costs of sustainable production: the Fairtrade⁴ Minimum Price;
 - 2) Pay a premium that producers can invest in development: the Fairtrade Premium;
 - 3) Partial pay in advance, when producers ask for it;
 - 4) Sign contracts that allow for long-term planning and sustainable production practices.
- (FLO 2007a)

In addition there are rules on the fair trade enterprises by the type of organisation, depending whether they are producer owned enterprises or private companies using hired labour. In the case of cocoa and coffee, only small farmer organisations are accredited for fair trade labelling.

Small farmers can join Fairtrade if they have formed organisations (in co-operatives, associations or other organisational forms), which are able to contribute to the social and economic development of their members and their communities and are democratically controlled by their members. Organisations can be certified by FLO if they comply with the requirements in this document. (FLO, 2005: 2)

As a result, all cocoa and coffee produced in the fair trade system comes from producer owned co-operatives or other commonly owned structures of the farmers themselves. It is partly due to these rules that the co-operative form was chosen for Kuapa Kokoo, as it was also aligned with the vision of both the Ghanaian and foreign founders.

When monitoring the fair trade practices, there is a recognised gap between often the monetary perceptions of fair trade benefits, and the wider aspirations of the producers. Socio-economic development, when broadly defined, does not necessarily translate into money or neatly quantifiable

⁴ Fair Trade Labelling Organisations International (FLO, 2007b) defines the term 'fairtrade' in the collated form, where as most authors separating these words according to standard English orthography. I will retain the separated form throughout the paper.

responses in measuring and evaluation (M&E) reports. This is also recognised by those who carry out such M&E exercises.

An example from Kuapa's experience involves consultants entering with the preconceived notion that the impact of a Fairtrade initiative should be felt uniquely at individual income level. ... Fairtrade M&E, due to the popular notions of 'fair price' etc., discussed above, is particularly subject to this type of misjudgement. (Ronchi 2002: 15)

The concern that the price of the cocoa bean is too low is translatable to consumers' idea of Third World farmers making little money, but village development is harder to communicate to outside audiences. The primacy of the 'fair trade premium' in presenting fair trade to new consumers in the literature and publicity leaflets is not helping the issue. While it should be recognised that the ethical concern over Third World farmers came out during a period of low commodity prices, the way to measure social development and livelihoods is not only through individual monetary benefits.

Fair trade rules stipulate that a single farmer cannot receive the Fairtrade Premium directly, as it should be spent through farmers' representative bodies. Furthermore, Kuapa Kokoo's supply far outstrips the fair trade market demand, as at the time of the research only 2% of the produce is sold as fair trade due to the small portion that fair trade represents of the overall confectionary market.⁵ All of Kuapa's produce would certainly qualify to be sold as fair trade, but only this 2% received the premium. Therefore in the case of Kuapa Kokoo, the monetary and social development benefits that come through the spending of the Fairtrade Premium are quite limited.

The main benefit is that equitable trade rules that favour Third World farmers *framed* the institutional setting for the social enterprise in the first place. This platform has been subsequently been used for further social value creation, beyond the Fairtrade Premium. The main benefits were

⁵ Personal communication with company representative in London, though this is a commonly known fact in many large-scale fair trade companies.

elsewhere, in facilitating information flows, advocating for the rights of the farmers, helping to deal with government officials and organising micro credits.

6. Information and Credit as Social Value

Kuapa Kokoo as a company should be seen in terms of these very linkages that actually makes up the company as a network. The company as a whole is an *information hub*, with its broad representative structures, people travelling for meetings (and using the trip to gather other information), holding workshops on various farming, health or skills issues, and finding opportunities to assemble information that was also outside the specific topic of the workshop each time taking place. In fact seeing the company as a creator of information challenges the idea of what a company represents for its employees and co-operative members. Besides information, the credit union organises small loans, educates the farmers about the importance of savings and furthermore organises women's groups (with a special loans scheme) to empower Kuapa women. Information, I argue, is closely linked to credit as strong information linkages create a secure base to build a credit union.

On the village level, the only paid job as part of the company is the purchasing clerk (PC) who takes the cocoa out of the village to the area office and pays the farmer. Besides this the PC also brings information about government initiatives such as mass spraying or new health schemes back to the village. His role (and all the PCs that I met were men) is also to bring such productive inputs to the village, as he has to be a farmer in the very village that he serves. In the credit union, he is the village banker taking money to deposit in the area office, bringing loans to farmers and subtracting cash payments from sales to constitute repayments. His post is elected by the village society and approved by the management, according to the rules of KKFU. Most farmers don't see the

separation between his buying and representative roles, since boundaries between these are blurred and tasks are conducted simultaneously.

Training workshops are done in conjunction with the village societies, for instance, workshops concerning the credit union were ongoing in three regions at the time of my village interviews. The idea was to invite two people from each village in the region, who would become *peer promoters* for the rest of the village society members. Peer promotion as a method of information dissemination (and information creation) is a common one in many NGO-led social development projects in Ghana. It can be based on youth groups, professional groups or village and neighbourhood based networks. In the rural areas, it is one of the most common ways of creating new links for constructing information.

At the time of conducting village interviews, there was a particular problem in the weak village as many of the farmers had not received their cocoa bonuses from the government. The bonuses are a relatively small sum (15,000 Cedis or approximately 1.5 USD per bag of cocoa) at end of season payments for farmers by the government. To address the issue, the RDO was collecting names of the farmers who had not received the bonus in each of the villages as he was doing his round. Advocating rights in this way improves the situation of farmers, since they don't have to travel to the near by town where the Ghana Cocoa Board (COCOBOD) has its offices and make a personal complaint. Travelling to the town, writing a complaint, and being paid would unlikely to all be completed in one trip anyway, adding expense possibly beyond the bonus that is owed to them. In contrast, the RDO works at the area office situated in the same town as COCOBOD, and already knows persons there to deliver the complaint. The information links that the RDO and the purchasing clerk provide for villagers are at times vital.

The Kuapa Kokoo Credit Union (KKCU) is constituted as a banking institution to provide loans only for provident or productive purposes. Its foundation was not part of the original plans of the co-operative, but rather a result of internal reflection and aspirations. In the system, the purpose of the loan (not only the collateral and payment schedule) needs to be approved by the village loans committee, area office employees and the national credit union administration. The loan application is a three part process, which often requires local guarantors as well as members can only take out a loan of double of their own savings. Establishing credit worthiness takes place on different levels as well, relating to different type of information available. On the local level it's based on the person's reputation, on the area level on his or her cocoa sales, and on the national level on universal loan criteria and the availability of funds.

Additionally, a special loans scheme was created for women's groups through an initiative of a US-based NGO called Women Vision International. The scheme includes several women's groups who can provide group loans of up to a 1000 USD for income generating projects. In the pioneer village, a women's group comprising of 20 women had received a loan for making palm oil. They used the loan of about 500 dollars to purchase palm nuts, which they then pressed into palm oil that was then put in a storage. Though most women's group projects are funded to serve local markets, such as selling second hand clothes, basket weaving and other crafts, there are plans to market the produce abroad as well. As in the case of village societies, the knowledge of the trustworthiness and organisation of existing women's associations and groups are vested in the research and development departments in area offices and the national office.

Credit Unions can't offer the best commercial interest rates. While the national interest rate was between 23.5% and 25%, the KKCU interest rate was at 30%. While these rates are high, village society members reported in interviews that they informal moneylenders charged between 50% to 100% annual interest rates on loans that were given to them in cases of acute emergencies such as

the death of close kin. This alone was a significant improvement to the safety net of these farmers. The improvement of credit markets as a result will decrease the cost of such emergency loans, and make some farm improvement projects worthwhile even at the 30% rate, as returns on using fertilizer or spraying can be higher than that.

Social value is created through the credit union precisely because it's purpose driven lending. They don't for example approve loans to buying cars or motorcycles, or other purposes that are deemed as non-productive for the co-operative as a whole. Medical bills, school scholarships are common purposes of provident loans. The way social value is tied in with lending is exemplary of the way Kuapa Kokoo's networks are mobilised for securing, evaluating and negotiating loans. Without the common social purpose, village societies might not want to put their time in these essentially voluntary tasks.

7. Conclusions

Social enterprises have caught the imagination both of Northern consumers and consumer movements, as well as Southern social movements and farmers organisations. However as often in social movements, the motivations are often diverse and follow a logic of crises to which regulatory approaches respond to. The crises of commodity prices was very real to many Southern producers in the 1980s and 1990s when the world prices for most commodities fell dramatically as a result of increased supply through debt financing. This was the birth of the fair trade movement, as a consumer-led mobilisation for fairer global trade. The response was a regulatory regime that attempted to shift the existing power imbalances to the greater benefit of Southern farmers who are historically disadvantaged as a result of colonial rule and unfair world trade rules.

These fair trade rules however don't easily translate to the lived realities of Ghanaian farmers in this case. The most important consequence of fair trade regulation was to create an environment for social change that served more as a platform to attract further projects and innovations rather than lay back and see how the fair trade system solved pertinent problems of poverty. The Fairtrade Premium in the case of Kuapa Kokoo played a smaller part, though in other instances it has a major role in changing the livelihoods of the farmers or workers who benefit from it.

The way in which fair trade enterprises such as the Divine Chocolate Company respond to these discrepancies is through qualifying their products to include ways of reporting from the improvements in livelihoods in Ghana as a result of fair trade. The chocolate wrappers use Ghanaian traditional Adinkra symbols and local farmers are used for advertising to create a visual sense of origins and to singularise the chocolates from other confectionaries. Fair trade events, websites and news articles provide for further information about the local senses of social value that are enabled by the fair trade movement.

The discrepancy between international and local perceptions of social value can be mediated also by reinventing some of the regulatory approaches to fair trade. For instance, the establishment of COFTA (Cooperation for Fair Trade in Africa) as an umbrella organisation for fair trade producers in Africa may start changing the way in which measurement and evaluation is conducted, focusing more on local notions of social value and subsequent social change. Hopefully national chapters could carry out producer evaluations, and be able to account for improvements in information practices and credit relations along side with the international fair trade rules. Otherwise the larger stories of social transformation on the level of villages may be lost. The momentum from the fair trade movement can only gain from engaging with the whole diversity of social value creation.

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