

Processes and Outcomes Associated with the Uptake of Organic Agriculture in the Global South

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Abstract

This thesis examines the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. The thesis draws on insights and concepts from three distinct theoretical approaches – Actor-Network Theory (ANT), Resource mobilisation Theory (RMT) and framing analysis – to examine why organic agriculture has come to be taken up within the Global South, how organic agriculture has become taken up within the Global South and what implications are associated with the uptake in the Global South in terms of the future development of the organic agriculture phenomenon. The thesis argues that there is an array of interests and values held by adherents within the organic movement and that attempts to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South have served only to increase this diversity.

The thesis argues firstly that the movement mobilisation has been grounded in market exchange relations, which has formed the basis for the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Because they are mediated by non-human actors, market exchange relations provide a means to deliver incentives, which resonate with an array of interests and values held by a larger number of potential adherents.

The thesis argues secondly that the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has been facilitated by the actions taken by Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of new adherents, who believe in the goals and objectives of the movement, and constituents, who can provide financial resources to fund activities to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. By framing organic agriculture as providing social and economic benefits to farmers in the Global South, SMOs have mobilised support from the international development cooperation sector.

The thesis argues thirdly that individual movement entrepreneurs also play a critical role in facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Individual movement entrepreneurs are able to participate in activities to frame organic movement because they actively participate in activities to promote market exchange involving actors in the Global South or because they participate in activities which provide them with selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy, which can be used to participate in framing activities.

The thesis argues lastly that the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has created intramural conflict within the wider organic movement. As new adherents are mobilised to participate in the organic movement by framing organic agriculture as delivering incentives, which resonate with a wider diversity of interests and values, this creates conflict and necessitates reconciliation between these interests in order to maintain the enrolment of the diversity of movement adherents.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	vi
List of Images	vii
List of Figures	vii
Glossary	viii
Statement of Originality	x
Acknowledgements	xi
 CHAPTER ONE	 1
The Uptake of Organic Agriculture in the Global South	1
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Development and Global Spread of Organic Agriculture	3
1.2 Conceptualising the Uptake of Organic Agriculture in the Global South	6
1.3 Thesis Structure	9
 CHAPTER TWO	 15
Reviewing the Organic Agriculture Literature	15
2 Introduction	15
2.1 Historical Analysis	17
2.1.1 Historical Analysis in the Global North	17
2.1.2 Historical Analysis in the Global South	20
2.1.3 Relevance of the Historical Analysis Literature	21
2.2 Farmer and Consumer Behaviour	22
2.2.1 Farmer and Consumer Behaviour in the Global North	23
2.2.2 Farmer Behaviour in the Global South	27
2.2.3 Relevance of the Farmer and Consumer Behaviour Literature	28
2.3 The Private and Public Regulation of Organic Agriculture	30
2.3.1 Private and Public Regulation in the Global North	31
2.3.2 Private and Public Regulation in the Global South	33
2.3.3 Relevance of the Private and Public Regulation Literature	35
2.4 Political Economy Analyses	37
2.4.1 Political Economy Analysis of Organic Agriculture in the Global North	37
2.4.2 Supply Chain Analysis in the Global South	42
2.4.3 Relevance of the Supply Chain Analysis Literature	43
2.5 Cultural ‘turn’	44
2.5.1 Cultural ‘turn’ in the Global North	45
2.5.2 Cultural ‘turn’ in the Global South	51
2.5.3 Relevance of the Cultural ‘turn’ Literature	52
2.6 The Application of Social Movement Theories	53
2.6.1 The Application of Social Movement Theory in the Global North	54
2.6.2 Social Movement Literature in the Global South	58

2.6.3	Relevance of Social Movement Theory Literature	58
2.7	Conclusion.....	59
CHAPTER THREE		63
Theorising the Processes and Outcomes Associated with the Uptake of Organic Agriculture in the Global South		63
3	Introduction.....	63
3.1	Actor-Network Theory (ANT)	67
3.1.1	Modes of Ordering.....	72
3.1.2	Spaces of Prescription and Negotiation	73
3.1.3	Criticism of ANT	74
3.1.4	Relevance of ANT to this Thesis	75
3.2	Framing Analysis	76
3.2.1	Development and Background of Framing Analysis	76
3.2.2	Core Framing Tasks	77
3.2.3	Frame Development Processes	79
3.2.4	Frame Resonance	81
3.2.5	Criticisms of Framing Analysis	83
3.2.6	Relevance of Framing Analysis to Organic Agriculture in the Global South ...	84
3.3	Resource mobilisation Theory (RMT)	85
3.3.1	Origins and Development of Resource mobilisation Theory	86
3.3.2	Selective Incentives	89
3.3.3	Limitations of RMT	90
3.3.4	RMT and the Uptake of Organic Agriculture in the Global South.....	92
3.4	Conclusion.....	93
CHAPTER FOUR.....		97
Methodology and Methods for Analysing the Uptake of Organic Agriculture in the Global South		97
4	Introduction.....	97
4.1	Research Focus.....	98
4.2	Case Study Approach	101
4.2.1	Case Study Design	103
4.3	Sub-units of Analysis	105
4.3.1	Market Exchange Relations	105
4.3.2	Social Movement Organizations (SMOs).....	106
4.3.3	Individual Movement Entrepreneurs	108
4.3.4	Intramural Conflicts	109
4.4	Data Collection Methods.....	110
4.4.1	Document Analysis	111
4.4.2	Semi-structured Interviews, Informal Conversations and Correspondence	112
4.4.3	Direct Observation	114
4.5	Data Analysis	115
4.6	Limitations of the Research.....	116

4.7	Conclusion.....	119
CHAPTER FIVE		121
Market Exchange Relations		121
5	Introduction.....	121
5.1	Siegfried Herrman and the origins of market exchange relations	124
5.2	Establishing relations with wholesalers and retailers.....	126
5.2.1	Dennree Naturkost GmbH (Dennree)	129
5.2.2	Naturkost-Service GmbH	131
5.2.3	Der Obergrashofam.....	133
5.2.4	Basic Stuttgart.....	134
5.2.5	Voll-Corner Biomarkt.....	135
5.2.6	Viv BioFrischeMarkt	136
5.3	Establishing and stabilising relations with exporters in the Global South.....	137
5.4	Establishing and stabilising relations with producers in the Global South.....	141
5.5	The impact of ‘organic’ on the organisation of production	147
5.6	The impact of the ‘quality’ on the organization of production	152
5.7	Conclusion.....	158
CHAPTER SIX.....		162
Social Movement Organizations (SMOs).....		162
6	Introduction.....	162
6.1	Development of Standards and Certification Procedures	166
6.1.1	International Task Force on Harmonization and Equivalency (ITF).....	167
6.2	Organization of Conferences, Meetings and Workshops.....	172
6.2.1	The Organic World Forum (OWF)	172
6.2.2	Smallholder Group Certification (SGC) Workshop Series.....	173
6.2.3	Other Meetings, Workshops and Conferences.....	177
6.3	Internal Organizational Innovations.....	180
6.3.1	“Third World” Task Force/Working Group and Development Forum	180
6.3.2	IFOAM Africa Office (IAO)	183
6.3.2	Individual Movement Entrepreneurs	185
6.4	Projects and Programs	188
6.4.1	Organic Agriculture 1999	188
6.4.2	Organic Agriculture 2002	189
6.4.3	IFOAM - Growing Organic (I-GO)	189
6.5	Lobbying of Multilateral Organizations.....	200
6.5.1	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO).....	202
6.5.2	Building Relations with the FAO	203
6.5.3	Outcomes of the FAO/IFOAM relationship	207
6.5.4	IFOAM, FAO and Food Security	209
6.6	Conclusion.....	216
CHAPTER SEVEN		221
Individual Movement Entrepreneurs		221

7	Introduction.....	221
7.1	Export Promotion of Organic Products from Africa (EPOPA).....	223
7.1.1	Program Activities within EPOPA	224
7.1.2	Management and Implementation of EPOPA.....	227
7.2	Bo van Elzakker and the Origins of Agro Eco.....	230
7.2.1	Van Elzakker's path to Agro Eco	230
7.2.2	Competing Social, Environmental and Economic Interests	233
7.3	Gunnar Rundgren and Origins of Grolink.....	236
7.3.1	Rundgren's path to Grolink	236
7.3.2	Competing Social, Environmental and Economic Interests	242
7.4	Implications of van Elzakker and Rundgren's Actions.....	244
7.4.1	Van Elzakker.....	246
7.4.2	Rundgren.....	248
7.5	Conclusion.....	250
	CHAPTER EIGHT	253
	Intramural Conflict.....	253
8	Introduction.....	253
8.1	The UK Soil Association.....	255
8.1.1	Air Freight Green Paper	256
8.1.2	First Round of Consultations	260
8.1.3	Second Round of Consultations.....	260
8.1.4	Mobilisation of Resistance to the Air-Freight ban in the Global South	263
8.1.5	Making Sustainability Standards Work for Small-scale Farmers.....	268
8.1.6	Consultative Meeting on Food Miles and Ethical Standards.....	276
8.1.7	Final Outcomes of the Consultation	279
8.2	Conclusion.....	281
	CHAPTER NINE.....	286
	Concluding Remarks.....	286
9	Introduction.....	286
9.1	Implications of the Theoretical Model	290
9.2	Future Research.....	299
	REFERENCES	301
	Appendix 1: List of Interviews/Correspondence	331

List of Tables

Table 1: Selected statistics on world organic agriculture sector in 2006.....	6
Table 5: Documents produced for the ITF	170
Table 5 (cont'd): Documents produced for the ITF	171
Table 6: IFOAM Organic World Conferences between 1986 – 2008	174

Table 7: Conferences and meetings organised by IFOAM between 2002 and 2009.....	178
Table 7 (cont'd): Conferences and meetings organised by IFOAM between 2002 and 2009	179
Table 8: IFOAM Committees and Regional, National and Interest Groups in 2002	182
Table 9: Advocacy status of IFOAM.....	201
Table 10: Conferences and meetings organised by IFOAM and FAO between 2002 and 2009	210
Table 11: Conferences and meetings organised by the FAO between 2000 and 2009.....	211
Table 11 (cont'd): Conferences and meetings organised by the FAO between 2000 and 2009	212
Table 12: EPOPA Program Phase One Projects	225
Table 13: EPOPA Program Phase Two Projects	226
Table 14: List of presentations made at the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting Arusha, Tanzania 2008.....	269

List of Images

Image 1: Slide of Presentation made by Alexander Kasterine at the Biofach Congress 2008, NürnbergMesse, Nuremberg, Germany, February 21-24, 2008	265
Image 2: Slide from Presentation made by Sonia Madwime at pre-UNCTAD XII meeting Arusha, Tanzania 2008	270
Image 3: Slide from Presentation made by Sonia Madwime at pre-UNCTAD XII meeting Arusha, Tanzania 2008	271
(Source: Madwime 2008)	271
Image 4: Slide from Presentation made by Sonia Madwime at pre-UNCTAD XII meeting in Arusha, Tanzania in 2008	271
Image 5: Slide from Presentation made by Sonia Madwime at the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting Arusha, Tanzania 2008	272
Image 6: Slide from Presentation made by Sophia Twarog at the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting Arusha, Tanzania 2008	273
Image 7: Slide from Presentation made by Sophia Twarog at the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting Arusha, Tanzania 2008	273
Image 8: Slide from Presentation made by Sophia Twarog at the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting Arusha, Tanzania 2008	274
Image 9: Slide from presentation made by Dr Stephen Mbithi at the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting in Arusha, Tanzania in 2008	275

List of Figures

Figure 1: IFOAM organisational structure, circa 2002.....	181
Figure 2: EPOPA Phase 2: Management Framework.....	226
Figure 3: Distribution of EPOPA funds in phase two.....	227

Glossary

AAFNs	Alternative Agri-Food Networks
ANT	Actor-Network Theory
ARF	The National Association of Alternative Farmers (<i>Alternativodlarnas Riksförbund</i>)
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CBTF	Capacity Building Task Force on Trade, Environment and Development
CCOF	California Certified Organic Farmers
CEE	Central and Eastern European (countries)
CFS	Committee on Food Security
COAG	Committee on Agriculture
CSA	Commodity Systems Analysis
CSD	Commission on Sustainable Development
CT	Conventions Theory
CTA	Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation
DED	German Development Service
DfID	Department for International Development
EAC	East African Community
EAOPS	East Africa Organic Products Standard
EFA	Ecological Farmers Association
EFL	The Swedish Ecological Farmers Association (<i>Ekologiska Lantbrukarna</i>)
EPOPA	Export Promotion of Organic Products from Africa
ESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FiBL	Research Institute for Organic Agriculture
FLO	Fairtrade Labelling Organisation
FPEAK	Fresh Produce Exporters Association of Kenya
GTZ	German Agency for Technical Cooperation
Hivos	Humanist Development Cooperation Organisation
IAO	IFOAM Africa Office
IAPB	IFOAM Accreditation Programme Board
IAPB	International Accreditation Program Board
ICS	Internal Control System
IDWG/OA	Inter Departmental Working Group on Organic Agriculture
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFOAM	International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements
I-GO	IFOAM-Growing Organic
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IISP	International Institute for Sustainable Development
IMO	Institute for Marketecology
INEC	Department of Infrastructure and Economic Cooperation
IOAS	IFOAM Organic Accreditation Service
ISEAL	International Social and Environmental Accreditation and Labelling Alliance
ITC	International Trade Centre
ITF	International Task Force on Harmonization and Equivalency
KOAN	Kenya Organic Agriculture Network
KRAV	Control body for Alternative Agriculture (<i>Kontrollföreningen för Alternative Odling</i>)

NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NOVIB	Netherlands Organization for International Aid (Nederlandse Organisatie voor Internationale Ontwikkelingssamenwerking)
OA 1999	Organic Agriculture 1999
OA 2002	Organic Agriculture 2002
Organic-AIMS	Organic Agriculture Information Management System
OSEA	Organic Standards in East Africa
OWF	Organic World Forum
PAIA	Priority Area for Interdisciplinary Action
PAIA/ORGA	Priority Area for Interdisciplinary Action/Organic Agriculture
rBGH	recombinant Bovine Growth Hormone
RMT	Resource mobilisation Theory
SDRN	Environment and Natural Resource Service
SFSC	Short Food Supply Chain
SGC	Smallholder Group Certification
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SMO	Social Movement Organization
SwedeCorp	Swedish International Enterprise Development Corporation
TOAM	Tanzanian Organic Agriculture Movement
UgoCert	Uganda Certified Organic
UK	United Kingdom
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
US	United States
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
WFS	World Food Summit

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Uptake of Organic Agriculture in the Global South

1 Introduction

This thesis is designed to examine the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Specifically, it seeks to understand how organic agriculture has come to be taken up within the Global South and what, if any, are the outcomes of this uptake process.

The thesis does this by examining four discrete case studies of different types of relations and actors identified as implicated in the uptake process. Attention is focused on the way in which these specific relations are constructed and maintained by applying a range of concepts developed within three distinct theoretical approaches – Actor-Network Theory (ANT), Resource mobilisation Theory (RMT) and framing analysis.

By applying concepts from these three theories this thesis will demonstrate how organic agriculture principles and practices are generated through the ongoing interaction of a complex array of actors, both human and non-human, and how the mobilisation of participants in these relations rely on the delivery of benefits resonant with participants interests and values. In doing so, this thesis will demonstrate how the uptake of organic agriculture into the Global South has the capacity to create intramural conflict as movement participants holding different interests and values come to be adherents of the movement.

The thesis deploys the terms Global South and Global North as a means to demonstrate the differentiated yet interconnected nature of the processes and outcomes associated with the global expansion of organic agriculture. By using the terms South and North¹ this thesis will demonstrate how the processes by which the uptake of organic agriculture in the South occurs is different from that in the North because of social, economic and environmental differences in these contexts. The conditions under which individual and institutional actors become

¹ According to Slater (1997) the categorisation of ‘North’ and ‘South’ was first popularised in the Brandt Report on Survival and International Development.

engaged in organic agriculture are not uniform throughout the world and neither are the interests and values, which shape an individual actor's decision to engage in organic agriculture.

While the use of the North/South distinction can be read simplistically as implying one part of the world as being developed and another part as developing, by combining them with the term 'Global' it is possible to conceptualise the processes and outcomes associated with the global uptake of organic agriculture as being interconnected. As Slater (1997:647) points out, 'societies of the South have always had to react to initiatives and projects from the North' and this is no less the case in terms of the global spread of organic agriculture. This is not intended to imply a one way deterministic process but instead to highlight the global interconnections that occur in society.

Combining insights from RMT and framing analysis, this thesis views the uptake of organic agriculture as being reliant on activities to symbolically frame organic agriculture in ways that stimulate the mobilisation of movement *adherents*, who believe in the objectives and goals of the movement, and movement *constituents*, who contribute resources required to promote movement mobilisation (Benford & Snow 2000; McCarthy & Zald 2001). Given that the mobilisation of adherents in the Global South occur under different social, economic and environmental conditions to those in the Global North, and involve actors with differing interests and values it is argued that there will be differences in the interests and values of actors located in each of these contexts. Furthermore, it is argued that activities to frame organic agriculture in ways that mobilise new adherents and constituents results in changes in the way that organic agriculture is conceived and ultimately practiced.

This thesis examines the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South by drawing on insights and concepts from three specific theoretical approaches, Resource mobilisation theory (RMT), framing analysis and Actor Network theory (ANT) to develop a novel theoretical approach. As it was alluded to above, actions taken to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of adherents and constituents is critical to understanding the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

To contextualise and situate this argument, the introduction provides some relevant background information about the uptake of organic agriculture, so as to better inform the reader of the rationale behind this particular approach.

1.1 Development and Global Spread of Organic Agriculture

The production and trade of products labelled as ‘organic’ is becoming an increasingly global phenomenon. This thesis defines organic agriculture specifically as relating to the production and trade of agricultural products, which have been certified as ‘organic’ under a set of guidelines developed and administered by a relevant private or public authorities. In 2006, the global market for organic products was estimated to be worth some \$US38.6 billion with organic production occurring on some 30.4 million hectares of land and on some 700 000 farms throughout the world (Willer *et al* 2008). While the consumption of products defined as ‘organic’ has traditionally been concentrated in the Global North, production is increasingly being taken up within countries defined as being within the Global South² (Parrott & Marsden 2002). As 2006 estimates suggest, roughly 25 percent of all land and 70 percent of all farms under organic management are located in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Willer *et al* 2008). It is important to note that the global spread of organic agriculture is a relatively recent phenomenon.

Before the turn of the 20th Century, and the advent of industrial techniques to improve the productivity of agricultural systems, virtually all agriculture used methods which could be defined in some way as being organic in that they relied on human and animal manures as a primary method of sustaining and enhancing soil fertility. Agricultural industrialisation was fuelled by the emergence of new scientific principles and the commercial application of these new scientific principles in the field of agriculture. The primary scientific principle underpinning industrialisation was the Law of the Minimum. The Law of the Minimum stated that only three basic elements; nitrogen (N), phosphorus (P) and potassium (K), were required to stimulate growth in plants (van der Ploeg *et al* 1999). When techniques were developed to synthetically and cheaply produce large quantities of NPK, this created an entire industry devoted to the manufacture of farm inputs, which increased levels of agricultural

² The thesis is part of a wider Australian Research Council (ARC) funded project entitled ‘Globalisation, Sustaining Rural Livelihoods and Organics: The Transformation of the Production and Consumption of Organic Foods’, which was formulated in direct response to the increasingly global nature of organic production, trade and consumption.

productivity in terms of the ratio between production and labour, sowing the seeds for the broader industrialisation of agriculture in the Global North (Goodman & Redclift 1991).

Systematic conceptualisations of organic agriculture, ones that would form the basis of the formal definitions of organic agriculture in more recent times, began to take shape in the early half of the 20th Century in countries in the Global North in direct opposition to the industrialisation of agriculture. Such conceptualizations were also based on observations of practices of peasant farmers in Asia and Africa³ which underpinned an emerging critique of the way in which the organization of modern societies made it difficult to follow principles viewed as core to healthy agricultural practices (Conford 1995; Conford 2001; Heckman 2006; Howard 1943; King 1911). This spurred a number of individuals to actively define organic agriculture practices and principles based on traditional humus based theories of fertilisation. Underpinning the development of these practices was the idea that soil, plant and animal health is compromised through the application of industrial inputs (Conford 2001). In support of these principles and practices, communities of like-minded individuals emerged who, in many cases, formed organizations through which these principles and practices could be debated and promoted (Conford 2001; Reed 2001; Paull 2008).

For many years the widespread application of ‘organic’ practices and principles remained limited and was primarily concentrated in countries of the Global North (Conford 2001). The relative obscurity of the organic movement shifted three quarters of the way into the 20th Century when a number of movement organizations began to independently develop and inscribe standards, certification and labelling procedures to govern the production and trade of organic agriculture products. Standards, certification and labelling provided the organic movement with a means to further define and communicate what was meant by the term ‘organic’ and a means with which to enforce compliance with these definitions.

Not long after the UK Soil Association created its first draft standard in 1967 (Reed 2001) various other organic agriculture organizations began to inscribe and institutionalise organic farming principles and practices. This occurred almost exclusively in countries located in the

³ While the majority of these individuals were located primarily in the Global North, in some cases individuals based organic agriculture principles and practices on observations made of peasant production systems located in the Global South, such as F. H. King’s observations of peasant production systems in China and Japan and Sir Albert Howard’s observations of peasant farming practices in India (Conford 2001; Heckman 2006; Howard 1943; King 1911).

Global North and, as such, it was within these countries that the production and consumption of 'organic' products first began to be concentrated⁴. Eventually governments also became involved in the process of institutionalising organic practices by initiating public regulation to ensure the integrity of organic markets, such as occurred in California in 1990 (Guthman 1998).

The development and inscription of standards and associated certification and inspection procedures ensured that organic agriculture practices could be taken up more widely. DeLind (2000) (and others) argued this was because consumers could have greater trust that products were organic. Importantly, standards and certification and inspection procedures grounded the expansion of the organic agriculture movement in relations involving market exchange relations.

As the use of standards and certification and inspection procedures became more widespread the distance that organic products were traded increased, leading to increased incidences of cross border trade of organic products. In the UK, for example, it was estimated that some 70 per cent of organic foods and 80 per cent of organic beverages were being imported from other countries at the turn of the century (Morgan & Murdoch 2000; Barrett *et al* 2001). A similar situation existed in Germany, where it was estimated that imports made up around 60 per cent of organic products on the market (Lohr 1998 *cited in* Reynolds 2004:733). This increase in the incidence of cross border trade spurred both movement organizations and government regulators to create regional and global standards⁵.

While much of the cross border trade of organic products occurred in countries located in the Global North, production also began to develop in countries located in the Global South. It was estimated by Barrett *et al* (2001) and Twarog & Vossenaar (2003), for example, that by the end of the turn of the 20th Century as many as 60 countries in the Global South were engaged in exporting organic commodities into the EU. Over time, production of organic

⁴ In 2002, the Western European market for organic products was estimated to be worth US\$10.5 billion, just under half of the world market. The German market is the biggest, accounting for US\$3.06 billion, or roughly 13% of the total world market in 2002 (Willer & Yussefi 2004). In 2006, the German market for organic products was estimated at €4.6 billion (US\$5.8 billion) or 15 per cent of the total world market (Willer *et al* 2008).

⁵ For example, the European Union (EU) implemented EU Reg. 2092/91 as a mechanism to ensure compliance with organic standards within its borders.

products in the Global South has steadily increased, such that a significant proportion of the total area of land and the total number of farms engaged in organic production can now be found in countries in the Global South (Refer Table 1, below).

Table 1: Selected statistics on world organic agriculture sector in 2006
(Sources: Willer 2008; Willer *et al* 2008)

	Land Area (million ha)	Land Area (% of World Total)	Number of Farms (‘000)	Number of Farms (% of World Total)	Average farm size (ha)
Africa	0.4	1	175	24	2.3
Asia	3.1	10	130	13	24
Europe	7.4	24	200	28	37
Latin America	4.9	16	223	32	21
North America	2.2	7	12	2	183
Oceania	12,4	42	8	1	1 550
World	30.4	100	748	100	N/A

1.2 Conceptualising the Uptake of Organic Agriculture in the Global South

To conceptualise how organic agriculture has come to be taken up within the Global South, this thesis draws on insights from three specific theoretical approaches, framing analysis, RMT and ANT. The application of insights and concepts from these three theoretical approaches has not been undertaken in this way before and there are a number of important reasons why this novel approach is fruitful in understanding the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

The use of this novel approach hinges firstly on the argument, informed by ANT, that the organic agriculture concept, its principles and practices, are effects generated by ongoing interactions between a diverse and complex network of relations. As Lee & Brown (1994:775) argue, ‘the elements bound together in a network (including the people) are constituted and shaped by their involvement with each other’.

The approach also hinges on the argument, informed by RMT, that the mobilisation of movement *adherents* is dependent on the delivery of material, moral, solidarity or status incentives to adherents (Buechler 1993). In conceiving adherent mobilisation as dependent on the delivery of material, moral, solidarity or status incentives, this thesis' combines this observation with insights from the framing analysis literature, to argue that adherent mobilisation occurs only when selective incentives *resonate* with the interests and values of adherents (Snow & Benford 1988). By conceptualising the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South in this way, this enables the thesis to raise an important question, which might otherwise have been overlooked.

If the practices and principles associated with organic agriculture are effects generated by ongoing interactions of movement adherents, and the mobilisation of these adherents is dependent on the delivery of material, moral, solidarity or status incentives which resonate with the interests and values of these adherents, how is it possible for the organic movement to prescribe a consistent and coherent conceptualisation of organic agriculture if there are differing, divergent or even conflicting interests and values held by movement adherents?

As it is argued in this thesis, the answer to the problem of integrating a range of actors holding diverse interests and values, within the organic movement, has been the grounding of adherent mobilisation in market exchange relations⁶. Why? Because market exchange relations provide the organic movement with a flexible mechanism to deliver a diversity of incentives to adherents holding different interests and values. Conceptualising the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South in this way is important because it has been through market exchange relations, particularly through the production of organic products for export, that the majority of actors in the Global South have been mobilised as adherents of the organic agriculture movement⁷.

⁶ This is not to say that the use of market exchange relations to mobilise new adherents is not unproblematic or without conflict or contestation, food security and sovereignty being two issues raised by the increasing marketization of food production. Unfortunately, such ruminations are beyond the scope of this thesis and will not be addressed in any substantive way, except to acknowledge their existence at this juncture.

⁷ This is not to say that there are not actors in the Global South who become mobilised to support the organic movement outside of market exchange relations. There are clearly initiatives which have been promoted in countries such as Uganda to promote organic production practices aimed at household level food security. This is simply an acknowledgement that many of the farmers engaged in organic production are participating in export based market exchange relations.

Central to understanding why this thesis views market exchange relations as critical to understanding the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South requires a brief explanation of several key framing analysis concepts, *diagnostic*, *prognostic* and *motivational framing*, and their value in explaining movement mobilisation.

While the organic movement has consistently engaged in *diagnostic framing* processes, by communicating to wider society that the application of industrial agriculture is a primary societal problem in need of change, and *prognostic framing* processes, by identifying organic agriculture as the solution to this societal problem, it has only recently engaged a *motivational framing* mechanism flexible enough to motivate participants with a wide array of interests and values. By grounding movement mobilisation in market exchange relations the organic movement have provided a flexible ‘rationale for action’⁸ to motivate adherent mobilisation.

Market exchange relations are able to mobilise greater participation in the organic movement because market exchange relations create the conditions for the delivery of a diverse array of material, moral, solidarity or status incentives, which resonate with the diverse array of interests and values held by potential adherents. Market exchange relations are capable of delivering a diverse array of incentives because they are mediated by non-human actors.

Because the interests and values of consumers may not correspond exactly with the interests and values of producers, non-human actors, such as standards, money and commodities become critical because these mediate between the diverse array of interests and values held by movement adherents. The reason that non-human actors can do this is because they are social constructions (Murdoch 2001). A non-human actor, such as money, can represent a means to obtain health goods to a consumer, whilst at the same time represent a means to reward a producer for providing good environmental stewardship.

⁸ This is similar to assertions made with regard to RMT where McCarthy & Zald (1973) have claimed, for example, that social movements are successful because of actions taken to redefine existing grievances in new ways.

While this might imply that market exchange relations are of key importance in movement mobilisation processes, it is vital to acknowledge that the focus on market exchange relations draws attention to the role of meaning in motivating movement participation.

It is important to note, at this juncture, that the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South is not exclusively tied up with relations involving the exchange of goods. There are also other important sets of relations which support the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. The framing processes used to mobilise movement participation are also undertaken in other relations, which not only promote the mobilisation of adherents into market exchange relations, but also mobilise valuable resources, such as money and legitimacy, which can be used to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. As this thesis will demonstrate, movement mobilisation activities occur within relations formed specifically for the purpose of promoting the principles associated with organic agriculture.

The next section outlines the thesis structure and details the way in which the thesis' argument is progressed through the analysis of the four specific case studies examining different sets of relations through which the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South is promoted.

1.3 Thesis Structure

In Chapter Two, the thesis explores the full range of literature examining the organic agriculture phenomenon. The review of the literature is performed to provide the reader with an understanding of the various theories and methods used to understand the complex nature of the organic agriculture phenomenon. This provides a means to explore the applicability of different theories and methods in understanding the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

In Chapter Three, the thesis discusses in detail the three theoretical approaches utilised to understand the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This involves a discussion of the historical development of ANT, RMT and framing analysis and an analysis of the various ANT, RMT and framing analysis concepts and their relevance to this thesis.

In Chapter Four, the thesis discusses the methodology and methods used to elicit real world data to understand the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This involves a discussion of the use of the single (embedded) case study design and the various methods utilised to elicit empirical evidence. Chapter Four introduces the four discrete case studies used in the thesis and explains: why these four case studies enable the thesis to explain how organic agriculture has been taken up in the Global South.

In Chapter Five, the thesis presents the first of the four case studies used to examine the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This case study examines a specific set of market exchange relations involved in the production and trade of organic products. This case study describes the relations involved in the production, trade and consumption of fresh organic pineapples, which are grown in Uganda and consumed in Germany. The case study demonstrates how market exchange relations enable the mobilisation of a diverse array of movement adherents by delivering an array of incentives that resonate with the diversity of interests and values held by exchange participants.

This is achieved by applying Law's (1994) 'modes of ordering' concept to the case study. Modes of ordering are 'strategic logics', 'ordering scripts' or 'coherences' that guide action and organise the social materials that make up a specific network of relations (Law 1994; Lockie 2004; Lockie & Kitto 2000; Whatmore & Thorne 1997). By applying the modes of ordering concept to the case study, this chapter is able to conceptualise market exchange relations as being discursively and recursively organised. The case study shows how market exchange relations are ordered to deliver a diverse array of material, moral, solidarity or status incentives, which resonate with the different interests and values of actors within these market exchange relations. In doing so, it implies that the ongoing interaction of actors within these relations may result in changes to the interests and values held by different actors.

Central to this argument is the adoption of the idea from ANT that relations are heterogeneously engineered in that non-human actors play a critical role in mediating these relations. As Murdoch (1998:359) argues 'it is the mixing of human actions and non-human

materials which allow networks to both endure beyond the present and remain stable across space'. Non-human actors have the capacity to mediate between the diverse interests and values of market exchange participants and are especially important in enabling the spatially extended market exchange relations to operate. A simple box used to hold organic pineapples, for example, enables perishable products to be transported over large distances because they facilitate the expression of quality characteristics desired by end consumers.

In Chapter Six attention shifts from the focus on market exchange relations in facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South to a focus on the role of dedicated Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) in this process. The case study draws on insights from ANT, RMT and framing analysis and applies this to a case study examining the role of the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movement (IFOAM) in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

Drawing on insights from RMT, it is argued that dedicated SMOs provide significant opportunities to mobilise adherents, who believe in the objectives of the organic movement, and constituents, willing to contribute resources to movement activities (McCarthy & Zald 2003). Drawing also on insights from framing analysis, this case study demonstrates how a central component of movement mobilisation are activities undertaken to 'frame' organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of adherents and constituents (Benford & Snow 2000).

Drawing on insights from ANT, it is argued that in order to promote movement mobilisation in the Global South, IFOAM has acted to incorporate the interests and values of adherents with links to the Global South. Drawing on the work of Murdoch (1998) it is argued that IFOAM has simultaneously created 'spaces of negotiation'⁹, in which the diverse interests and values of movement adherents can be voiced, and 'spaces of prescription'¹⁰, in which these interests and values can be incorporated into movement norms and rules.

⁹ In 'spaces of negotiation', order is less rigid and elements are more readily coopted into alternative network configurations (Murdoch 1998).

¹⁰ In 'spaces of prescription' fairly strong norms circulate 'imposing rigid and predictable behaviour' (Murdoch 1998:362).

Drawing on the insights of framing analysis, the case study demonstrates how IFOAM has actively framed organic agriculture as delivering benefits, which resonate with the interests and values of movement adherents with links to the Global South. In this same vein, IFOAM has been able to mobilise economic resources from external constituents, aligned with the international development cooperation sector, because these framings resonate with the interests and goals of these constituents.

In Chapter Seven of the thesis, the role of individual movement entrepreneurs in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South is explored by examining the life experiences, interests and values of two individual movement entrepreneurs, Bo van Elzakker and Gunnar Rundgren. It is argued that these two particular entrepreneurs have engaged in activities, which provide them with opportunities to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

As the chapter shows, both van Elzakker and Rundgren have created consultancy companies, which have enabled them to engage directly in activities to promote the development of export orientated production in the Global South, such as through their management and administration of projects, such as the Export Promotion of Organic Products from Africa (EPOPA) program. It is argued that these two individual movement entrepreneurs participation in providing consultancy services to the organic sector provide them with an opportunity to negotiate between competing social, economic and environmental values.

Drawing on insights from RMT, it is argued that van Elzakker and Rundgren's participation in the management and administration of consultancy projects provide them with selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy that they can then use to participate in a range of other movement activities, such as those associated with IFOAM. As it is argued in the RMT literature, this is vitally important because participation in movement activities require 'expenditures of time, energy and money' (McCarthy & Zald 2001:535). In doing so, van Elzakker and Rundgren are able to actively participate in activities to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of adherents with links to the Global South in order to facilitate their mobilisation into the organic movement and to mobilise resources from constituents to fund movement activities aimed at further promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

In Chapter Eight, analysis turns to a case study outlining an intramural conflict arising from the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. The development of this particular case study is informed by the framing analysis literature and its focus on framing processes in mobilising movement participation. According to the framing analysis literature, one strategy that can be utilised to mobilise movement participation is frame extension. Frame extension is the deployment of symbolic frames, which are not necessarily part of existing frames used to promote movement mobilisation. According to the literature, frame extension processes are potentially problematic for a movement because they can lead to intramural conflicts when the frames being deployed conflict with existing frame used to mobilise movement adherents (Benford & Snow 2000).

This particular case study focuses on the recent Soil Association consultation process organised to determine the applicability of using air freight as a means to transport organic products. As this case study demonstrates, the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has led to the increased use of air freight as a means to organise market exchange relations, which deliver material, moral, solidarity and status incentives to movement adherents. The case study demonstrates how sections of the organic agriculture movement with links to the Global South, have had to fend off the imposition of a ban on air freight, brought about because some movement adherents in the UK viewed the use of airfreight as conflicting with their desire to consume products which maximise environmental sustainability.

As it is argued, a range of actors have mobilised to oppose any potential ban by engaging in activities to frame the use of air freight as providing social and economic benefits to smallholders in the Global South. While the consultation process precipitated the threat of a ban, it interesting to note that it also provided an important space through which the interests and values of adherents with links to the Global South have been able to raise concerns about the impact that such a ban would have on smallholders in the Global South.

As this case study clearly demonstrates the principles and practices associated with organic agriculture are not statically defined but dynamic products of the ongoing interactions between a complex array of actors. The case study demonstrates the importance of efforts to

mobilise constituents, associated with the development cooperation sector, to provide resources which can be used to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Without the ongoing support of these actors, it may be more difficult for advocates of organic agriculture with links to the Global South to have their interests and values incorporated within the wider organic movement.

In Chapter Nine, the thesis concludes by summarising the main insight gained from taking the thesis' unique approach. Discussion is undertaken regarding the value of applying insights and concepts from the three theoretical approaches and the four discrete yet interrelated cases studies. The implications of utilising ANT, RMT and framing analysis to the research topic along with suggestions for future research based on the findings of the thesis as also undertaken in this final chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

Reviewing the Organic Agriculture Literature

2 Introduction

To reiterate from the previous chapter, there are two research questions which guide the execution of this thesis. The first is: *What are the processes which have facilitated the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South?* The second is: *What are the outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South?* In order to understand the importance of these two questions it is vital that this thesis first examine the array of literature relating to the organic agriculture phenomenon. This process will help to justify the choice of research questions and provide a rationale for the theoretical and conceptual tools and research methods used in this thesis.

The summary of literature in this chapter will highlight the emerging and evolving nature of organic agriculture. While organic agriculture is commonly described as a set of principles and practices governing the production and exchange of agricultural products, these principles and practices are not immutable or irrefutable laws, such as those found in the physical sciences, but emerge as the result of ongoing interactions involving complex networks of relations consisting of both human and non-human actors. As it will be shown, organic agriculture, and the principles and practices that assist to define organic agriculture, are constructed as a result of the ongoing interplay of a range of actors within a complex array of relations.

The emerging and evolving nature of organic agriculture has important impacts on the choice of theoretical tools within this thesis. Combining insights and concepts from Actor-Network Theory, Resource mobilisation Theory and framing analysis provides a useful means to account for the full range of actors involved in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South, whilst focusing attention on the critical role of meaning and interpretation in this process.

As it will be shown in this chapter, organic agriculture has been analysed from a variety of theoretical standpoints, using a number of different research methods. Each of these theories

and methods provide access to and understanding of organic agriculture in different ways. To make the task of summarising the literature more manageable and coherent the chapter categorises the existing literature into six discrete sections.

The six discrete sections summarise the literature, either by theme or theoretical approach taken. The summaries are grouped into the following categories: literature describing the historical development of organic agriculture; literature analysing the values, beliefs and motivations of organic farmers and consumers; literature analysing the use of private and public regulation to govern organic agriculture; literature using political economy to analyse organic agriculture; literature analysing organic agriculture that is informed by the cultural 'turn' in sociology; and literature applying of theories of social movements to analyse the organic agriculture.

Within each of these discrete sections, literature focusing on the Global North is contrasted with literature focusing on the Global South. This is done to demonstrate differences in the way in which analysis has been undertaken in these two contexts. As it will be shown, there are different concerns and approaches applied in the literature focusing on the Global North when compared with the literature focusing on the Global South. While these differences have much to do with the disciplinary backgrounds of specific authors, it is useful to contrast the Global North and South literature to demonstrate how differing social, economic and environmental contexts influence the choice of methods and theories in research. Contrasting the Global North and South literature also highlights the limited way that the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has been studied.

By summarising the existing literature, this chapter will demonstrate the value of conceptualising organic agriculture as a social movement and the value of combining conceptual tools from ANT, RMT, and framing analysis. As it is argued in this thesis, combining concepts from each of these three theories enables this thesis to clearly articulate the emerging and evolving nature of organic agriculture and thus elucidate the broader processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

2.1 Historical Analysis

In this section, a summary of the literature grounded in the historical analysis of the development of organic agriculture practices and principles is provided. In general, this literature explores the interests, values, beliefs, experiences, motivations, relationships and actions of key actors, both individual and organizational, involved in developing and disseminating the principles and practices associated with organic agriculture. Aside from providing a basic overview of the development of organic agriculture, this sub-set of the organic agriculture literature highlights the importance of conceptualising organic agriculture as a system of ideas produced through the ongoing interactions of a range of individual and organisational actors. This summary also demonstrates how efforts undertaken to describe the historical development of organic agriculture have been focused primarily on actions taken in the Global North, and in doing so, the importance of processes of systemisation and inscription in facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture in the recent past.

2.1.1 Historical Analysis in the Global North

Many authors have discussed the historical development of organic agriculture by drawing attention to the role of individual actors in developing and disseminating organic principles and practices (Conford 2001; Haccius & Lunzer 2000; Harwood 1990; Heckman 2006; Lampkin 1994; Inhetveen 1998; Niggli 2000; Padel 2001; Polito 2006; Ritchie & Campbell 1997 and Schmitt 2006).

According to Conford (1995, 2001), Harwood (1990) and Heckman (2006), there are a range of individual actors responsible for developing and disseminating organic farming concepts in the first half of the 20th Century. Sir Albert Howard, for example, is described as being one of the pioneers of organic agriculture and responsible for developing and disseminating a number of key principles and practices through observation of peasant farmer activity in India, which were eventually taken up and promoted by other advocates, such as Lady Eve Balfour in Britain and Jerome Rodale in the United States^{11,12} (Conford 2001; Heckman

¹¹ Howard though, was not the first to note the import of peasant farming systems in developing countries. In 1909, a trained soil scientist in the United States F.H. King studied the agricultural practices of rural populations located in China, Japan and Korea, publishing his observations in a book entitled *Farmers for Forty Centuries* (King 1911). According to King, an important aspect of the success of this style of agriculture was its ability to secure soil fertility through the recycling and composting of human and animal wastes. King was particularly impressed with the ability of these techniques to maintain high population densities over historically long periods of time (King 1911).

2006). The focus on individual actors is also taken by Moore-Coyler (2001) who investigated the contribution of another advocate of organic agriculture in Britain, Rolf Gardiner. The role of individual actors in developing and disseminating organic practices and principles has also been undertaken in other English speaking countries, such as in the context of New Zealand (Ritchie & Campbell 1997)¹³.

Lampkin (1994), Inhetveen (1998), Haccius & Lunzer (2000), Niggli (2000), Padel (2001) and Polito (2006) have all discussed the importance of individual actors in the development and dissemination of organic agriculture principles and practices in a number of German speaking countries. Inhetveen (1998) has discussed the role of farmer and innovator, Maria Müller, in developing and disseminating organic farming techniques in Switzerland. Lampkin (1994:6) has explored how biologist and politician, Dr Hans Müller, ‘founded a movement for agricultural reform’ based on ‘Christian concepts of land stewardship’ to support family farm preservation. Padel (2001) has noted the role of microbiologist, Dr Hans Peter Rusch, in conducting groundbreaking research into the role of bacteria in maintaining soil fertility. These three individuals, it is argued, collaborated to develop techniques that formed the basis for the modern organic-biological approach in Europe (Haccius & Lunzer 2000; Niggli 2000; Padel 2001; Polito 2006).

While it is clear from this summary that individual actors have had an important role in formulating and disseminating the principles and practices associated with the organic agriculture it is important to recognise how the choice of research focus and method can alter such results. Schmitt (2006), for example, has highlighted the contribution of a number of key individual women, such as Laurintia Dombrowski, Erika Riese, Lili Kolisko, Mina Hofstetter and Maria Mueller, to the development of organic farming principles and practices in wider Europe, by calling into question the methods by which researchers use to conduct historical analysis. Schmidt (2006) argues that the contribution of these women has largely been ignored because of the preference, amongst women, for less visible forms of expression,

His book had a significant impact on other key pioneers of organic agriculture in the English-speaking world (Conford 2001).

¹² Howard advocated for the use of a humus-based approach to agriculture in opposition to industrial techniques based on the application of NPK.

¹³ According to Ritchie & Campbell (1997), organic agriculture emerged in the 1920s in New Zealand as a result of the criticisms of industrial agriculture made by a number of key farmers and urban professionals. These activities were linked to the poor quality of health of poorer New Zealanders creating a discourse about the benefits of natural food.

such as written correspondence, and the preference of researchers for examining public texts dominated by male authors.

Various historical analyses have also focused on the important role of organizations in the development and dissemination of organic agriculture principles and practices. Ritchie & Campbell (1997) argue, for example, that the development and dissemination of organic farming ideas and the linking of people with an interest in alternative farming methods in New Zealand were given voice through the formation of the New Zealand Soil Association and the Humic Compost Society¹⁴. Moore-Coyler's (2001) analysis of the activities of Rolf Gardiner to promote organic agriculture also demonstrates the role of individual actors in forming key organic agriculture organizations, such as the UK Soil Association. Conford's (2001) seminal work on the history of the organic movement in the United Kingdom and Western Europe details in great length the various organizations directly involved in promoting organic agriculture in the early 20th Century. Moore-Colyer & Conford (2004) have examined the activities of the informal group *The Kinship of Husbandry* in developing and disseminating organic principles in the British context. Paull (2008) has examined the development of organic agriculture in Australia by investigating the significant role played by the *Australian Organic Farming and Gardening Society* (OFGS). A clear theme in this literature is the importance of formal organization as a means to provide opportunities to debate, develop and disseminate ideas about organic agriculture.

Another important focus of the historical literature is on the mechanisms by which organic farming principles and practices are developed and disseminated. Conford (1998; 2001) has demonstrated, for example, how many individuals were able to promote organic farming principles and practices in the United Kingdom by publishing articles in the *New English Weekly* (*NEW*) journal¹⁵. Paull (2008) has shown how organic farming principles and practices were disseminated in Australia through the *Australian Organic Farming and Gardening Society* (OFGS) journal *Organic Farming Digest* (*OFD*) and how such

¹⁴ Ritchie & Campbell (1997) argue also that the emergence of health and environmental concerns and declining terms of trade for farmers facilitated a wider interest in organic methods and philosophies in New Zealand in the 1960s and 1970s.

¹⁵ Conford (1998) argues that the *NEW* provided opportunities for these authors to develop ideas, which linked agriculture with physical, social and spiritual health. Many of the contributors to *NEW* went on to form what is now the peak organic organization in the UK, the UK Soil Association (Conford 1998).

publications provided a means to internationalise organic agriculture principles and practices by publishing articles from authors in other countries. This clearly points to the importance of physical texts as a durable means of communicating ideas about organic agriculture amongst the various individuals involved.

Another key concern in the historical analysis literature has been the preoccupation with understanding the logic, reasoning and influences underpinning the development of organic principles and practices. Moore-Colyer (2001) demonstrated, for example, how Rolf Gardiner was associated with right wing politics and fascism, but claims that he was also a ‘warm-hearted’, ‘paternalistic’, ‘patriot’, deeply interested in promoting a self-sustaining rural-based England. Moore-Colyer & Conford (2004) have argued that, in promoting organic agriculture, the members of the group, *The Kinship of Husbandry*, were attempting to support a post-war reconstruction of rural life in opposition to urbanization and industrialisation and based on principles of craftsmanship and Christianity¹⁶.

Conford’s (2001) book, *The Origins of the Organic Movement*, is highly instructive in this regard as it attempts to portray many of these early advocates of organic agriculture as holding a common perception about agriculture, namely that the application of industrial techniques had a negative impact on the health of soils, plants, animals and ultimately humans¹⁷. This focus on meanings attributed to participation in the organic agriculture movement is a key theme of this thesis. Rather than attempting to demonstrate some underlying consensus, as is done in Conford (2001), this thesis argues that the ongoing development of the organic agriculture movement involves significant tensions over what organic agriculture means.

2.1.2 Historical Analysis in the Global South

While the organic agriculture literature presented above primarily credits the development of organic agriculture principles and practices to actors and actions taken in the Global North, it is important to note that several of the key individuals credited with formally developing organic principles and practices, developed these through observation of peasant farming

¹⁶ In doing so, Moore-Colyer & Conford (2004) demonstrate that there were internal ideological conflicts over the principles and practices ascribed to organic agriculture within the ‘Kinship’.

¹⁷ Such as: Rudolf Steiner (Germany/Austria); Sir Albert Howard; Lady Eve Balfour; Lawrence Hills; Rolf Gardiner; Sir Robert McCarrison; Richard St. Barbe Baker (UK); and Jerome Rodale (US).

practices occurring in the Global South¹⁸. It is well noted in the existing literature, for example, that the American agronomist F.H. King's (1927) published observations of peasant farming in China, Korea and Japan and Sir Albert Howard's (1953) observations of peasant farming practices in India have had a significant influence on the development of organic agriculture practices and principles in the Global North (Conford 1995, 2001; Heckman 2006).

Howard's observations of peasant production in India, for example, formed the basis for his systemization of the concept of composting, which underpins modern practices in the Global North. It is clear from such literature that actors in the Global South have made an important contribution to the development of organic agriculture through centuries of *in situ* experimentation and informal knowledge dissemination¹⁹. What should also be clear from reading such literature is the importance of organization and texts in the process of defining organic agriculture as a coherent set of principles and practices,

2.1.3 Relevance of the Historical Analysis Literature

A common theme within the historical analysis literature is the preoccupation with identifying the key actors' involved in developing and disseminating organic agriculture principles and practices. The existing literature identifies a range of actors involved, the relationships between these actors, and their role in developing and disseminating organic agriculture principles and practices. The literature highlights the importance of organizations and non-human actors, primarily texts, in providing opportunities to develop and disseminate organic agriculture principles and practices. The literature also demonstrates the importance of formal and informal interactions, such as meetings, conferences and personal correspondence, as providing spaces where organic agriculture principles and practices are debated, developed and disseminated.

As such, this thesis views organic agriculture primarily as a system of ideas, which have developed through the ongoing interactions of a range of actors, including individuals, organizations and artefacts and objects, such as texts. The important point to take from this is

¹⁸ Aside from Sir Albert Howard, a number of other organic agriculture advocates, such as F.H King, St Barbe Baker and Sir Robert McCarrison have been shown to have developed ideas about organic agriculture through observations undertaken in the Global South (Conford 2001),

¹⁹ The development of organic practices is an issue, one that is beyond the scope of the thesis.

that any analysis of the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South should focus on the way that organic agriculture principles and practices develop through ongoing interactions of a range of actors. To do this, this thesis has adopted insights from RMT, to draw attention to the role of individuals and organizations in the uptake of organic agriculture, framing analysis, to focus attention on the role of meaning in mobilising actors and ANT, to capture the complex networks of actors, both human and non-human, involved in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

2.2 Farmer and Consumer Behaviour

Another significant sub-set of the organic agriculture literature focuses on the interests, values and motivations of farmers and consumers. For the most part, the literature focusing on farmers seeks to: understand farmers' motivations; investigate farmers' interests and values; and explain why farmers choose, or do not choose, to farm organically. In many cases the literature also attempts to ascertain if there are particular demographic characteristics common to organic farmers, in contrast with conventional farmers. The literature focusing on consumer behaviour focuses, similarly, on understanding why consumers choose to or do not choose to purchase or consume organic products. In the main, this has been done by analysing the interests, values and motivations of consumers with regards to the purchase and consumption of organic products. This includes: analysis of consumer perceptions of organic products; analysis of consumer purchasing motivations; categorisation of organic consumers; and analysis of the impact of external influences on consumer behaviour. The majority of this literature relies on evidence gathered from qualitative in-depth interviews, focus groups or quantitative surveys.

It is important to briefly examine the farmer and consumer behaviour literature because it demonstrates how a decision to farm organically or consume organic products is intimately related to an individual actor's interests and values and the capacity of production and consumption to deliver incentives which resonate with the values and beliefs of individual farmers and consumers. It is also useful to surmise the farmer and consumer behaviour literature, because it demonstrates how differing social, economic and environmental contexts impact on decision making and how there are a diverse array of values and beliefs underpinning a farmer or consumer's decision making. As it is argued throughout this thesis, the role of meaning in shaping action is of critical importance in understanding how organic

agriculture has come to be taken up in the Global South and what the implications of this uptake are.

2.2.1 Farmer and Consumer Behaviour in the Global North

A significant proportion of the literature focusing on farmer behaviour attempts to ascertain the reasons why organic farmers convert to organic farming methods. As Darnhofer *et al* (2005) note, there are a wide variety of reasons why farmers choose to practice as organic.

These include: financial; husbandry (soil degradation and livestock health); family health; political or philosophical (environmental and food quality) (Lampkin & Padel 1994); having an ideological commitment to the environment and working in harmony with nature (Egri 1997); having an organic philosophy; concern over chemical use; personal health concerns; attractiveness of price premiums; experience of problems with conventional production; concern for protecting soil health (Fairweather 1999); concern for environmental sustainability (Burton *et al* 1999; 2003); family support/opposition; expectations of wider society (Durum 2000); general environmental and financial concerns; desire to simplify systems; suitability of the farm to organic; preference for extensified/diversified farming; desire to use direct marketing methods; aspiration to improve animal health (Padel 2001a); lifestyle; family; economic (Padel 2001b, 2002); perceived hazards posed by chemicals to the environment and human health; support from a spouse; existence of effective crop and animal protection techniques; environment benefit; and because it was viewed as a skilled activity (Regouin 2002).

In several studies focusing on motivations for converting to organic, a clear distinction has been made between newer organic farmers and existing orthodox organic farmers. According to Lyons & Lawrence (2001), newer organic farmers, in Australia and New Zealand, are inclined to be attracted to organics because of the existence of price premiums, whereas orthodox organic farmers are inclined to be motivated because of concerns about the impact of farming on health and the environment. Lund *et al* (2002) have shown, in the case of livestock farmers in Sweden, that there are distinct value differences between organic pioneers and farmers who adopt organic practices later. While late adopters were found to have less interest in the more radical organic principles, the longer they participated in organic production the stronger these values became (Lund *et al* 2002). Flaten *et al* (2006)

show how newcomers to the organic dairy sector in Norway were primarily motivated by financial concerns and more pragmatic and business minded whereas established organic farmers were mostly motivated by food quality and soil fertility and pollution issues.

A second approach taken in the farmer behaviour literature characterizes and categorises organic farmers based on demographic data. In most cases organic farmers are compared with conventional farmers. Lampkin & Padel (1994) found that organic farmers: had higher education levels; were younger; and had an urban background. Egri (1999) has argued that organic farmers in Canada had: higher education levels; were more likely to be female; had smaller farms; had less years of experience; and were less dependent on hired labour, than conventional farmers. Burton *et al* (1999, 2003) found that organic farmers in the UK were more likely to be smaller in size, female and younger. In the Netherlands, Regouin (2002) found no significant demographic differences between organic and conventional farmers, but did find organic farms to be, on average, almost half the size of conventional farms. Flaten *et al* (2006) found organic farming newcomers in the dairy sector in Denmark to be less educated than existing organic farmers.

A third approach taken in the farmer behaviour literature examines why conventional farmers do not convert to organic farming practices. The reasons given by farmers for non-conversion are many and varied. Having a negative perception of organic farming practices, markets and lifestyles and/or having a lack of technical information to support conversion (Lampkin & Padel 1994). Pessimism and negativity about: organic practices; the quality of organic products; and/or the productivity of organic production (Egri 1997). Having a belief that organic agriculture was either technically or economically unviable (Fairweather 1999). Having a perception that there are/is: a lack of efficient marketing relations; inefficiency in organic supply chains; and/or high costs associated with establishing markets, and/or a perception that the medium term sustainability of marketing relations are poor (Baeke *et al* 2002). Belief that: organic is: time consuming; labour intensive; physically strenuous; and/or reliant on inadequate sources of labour (Regouin 2002).

A fourth approach taken in the literature asks why some organic farmers choose to revert back to conventional methods of farming. Rigby *et al* (2001) argue that there are two types of farmers who choose to revert to conventional methods in the UK. The first type of farmer

adopted organic methods purely for economic reasons, while the second adopted organic practices for lifestyle or ideological reasons. Rigby *et al* (2001) argued that both reverted to conventional because of poor marketing opportunities and/or economic returns. Kaltoft & Risgaard (2006) argue, similarly, that Danish farmers were inclined to revert primarily for economic reasons. While Danish farmers were disappointed to revert, because they disliked spraying and had an appreciation for the craft nature of organic, none of the reverting farmers embraced values and behaviours consistent with a strong organic worldview²⁰.

Within the consumer behaviour literature much work is taken surveying consumers to understand why they do, or do not purchase, organic products²¹ (Hutchins & Greenhalgh 1995; Chinnici *et al* 2002; Harper & Makatouni 2002; Huang 1995; Krystallis & Chryssohoidis 2005; Lockie *et al* 2004; Lyons *et al* 2001; Magnusson *et al* 2001, 2003; Makatouni 2002; Padel & Foster 2005; Squires *et al* 2001; Weir & Calverley 2002). As with the literature focused on farmers, this consumer behaviour literature demonstrates the diversity of interests, values and motivations driving the consumption of organic products.

In both a UK (Hutchins & Greenhalgh 1995) and an Italian (Chinnici *et al* 2002) consumer study, for example, respondents were found to be more likely to purchase organic food for health rather than environmental reasons. In a US study conducted by Huang (1995) it was reported that potential organic consumers were: concerned with the existence of chemicals on fresh produce; demanded testing for chemical residues; and were conscious of the nutritional content of foods. Squires *et al* (2001) have found that concern for health and diet does not correlate with heavy organic consumption amongst Danish consumers as it did with consumers in New Zealand. Magnusson *et al* (2001) have reported that price premiums are a major barrier to organic consumption amongst Swedish consumers. Krystallis & Chryssohoidis (2005) found that food 'quality' and 'security' was the most important factor affecting Greek consumers purchasing decisions. Lockie *et al* (2004) claim that the naturalness of food and the sensory/emotional experience of eating were strong determinants of increasing organic consumption amongst Australian consumers. Weir & Calverley (2002)

²⁰ By behaviours consistent with a strong organic worldview Kaltoft & Risgaard (2007) mean that the farmers did not consume organic products themselves; believed that there wasn't much difference between organic and conventional products; or didn't have a clear idea about an alternative development pathway to intensification.

²¹ In this section, I will give examples of a sample of these to demonstrate the variety of motivations proffered as to why people consume or don't consume organic foods.

claim that demand for organic products amongst European consumers is impacted by the convenience and accessibility of organic products.

Several consumer studies have attempted to ascertain the motivations behind organic consumption, with reference to specific products (Hill & Lynchehaun 2002; Krystallis & Chryssohoidis 2005; O'Donovan & McCarthy 2002; Padel & Foster 2005). Hill & Lynchehaun (2002), for example, have found in a survey of UK milk consumption that consumers primarily purchase organic milk because of health concerns, followed by concerns for taste and the environment. Hill & Lynchehaun (2002) discovered, alternatively, that consumers didn't purchase organic milk because: the price was too high; respondents observed no difference in taste; and availability and accessibility was limited. O'Donovan & McCarthy (2002:353) found that Irish consumers bought or intended to buy organic meat because they were concerned about food safety and their own health. O'Donovan & McCarthy (2002) also found that organic meat consumption was negatively impacted by availability and price, limiting the consumption of meat to individuals from higher socio-economic groups.

Several consumer behaviour studies attempt to categorise organic consumers using demographic data (Byrne *et al* 1991; Davies *et al* 1995; Huang 1995; Lockie *et al* 2002; Thompson 1998). In an early study in the US context, for example, Byrne *et al* (1991) found that women with higher household incomes were the most likely to purchase organic products, as were women with high school degrees or less. In the Northern Ireland context, Davies *et al* (1995) found that women were the most committed to buying organic foods, particularly if they had disposable income and/or children within a particular age range. In summarizing several US studies, Thompson (1998) argues that certain age segments, such as middle aged and younger people, have an increased desire to purchase organic products.

Several studies have attempted to correlate organic consumption with participation in other environmental activities (Lockie *et al* 2004; Magnusson *et al* 2003; Pedersen 2000; Squires *et al* 2001; Weir & Calverley 2002). Pedersen (2000) claims that consumption of organic food in Denmark is positively correlated with activities such as recycling but not with less tangible and visible environmental activities associated with transport or energy consumption. Squires *et al* (2001) argue that concern for environment and having a negative view of the impact of

industry are positively correlated with organic consumption in both Denmark and New Zealand. Weir & Calverley (2002) claim that idealistic consumers, driven by environmental or political concerns, buy organic products more frequently than those primarily motivated by health concerns in Europe. Magnusson *et al* (2003) argue that environmentally friendly behaviour, such as refraining from driving a car, is positively associated with organic food purchase frequency amongst Swedish consumers.

A number of the studies of consumer behaviour have made links between organic consumption and external contextual influences (Baker *et al* 2004; Chinnici *et al* 2002; Lockie 2006; Lyons *et al* 2001; Squires *et al* 2001). Chinnici *et al* (2002) argue that changes in family structure, lifestyle and income over the past 30 years in Italy have led to changes in consumer demand for organic products. Baker *et al* (2004) contend that cultural differences manifest different values and means for achieving these values and, as such, German and British consumers manifest different understandings about what product attributes support value attainment. Squires *et al* (2001) have argued that differences in values may be explained by differences in contextual factors, such as a countries' health, environmental or agricultural policies in comparing Danish and New Zealand consumers. According to Lyons *et al* (2001), consumer perceptions of organic food are strongly shaped by the meanings provided by the food industry. Lockie (2006) highlights how media discourses frame issues around organic and conventional foods and, inevitably, impact on consumer perceptions about organic and conventional foods.

2.2.2 Farmer Behaviour in the Global South

In terms of the Global South there is very little literature, which systematically surveys farmer behaviour by documenting their interests, values, motivations and rationale for choosing to farm organically. Most of the Global South literature instead focus on the impact organic farming has on a farmers' livelihood with little effort taken to systematically understand decision making processes (See Section 2.6.2, below, for analysis of the livelihoods literature). At best there are only general references made, in the Global South literature, to the primacy of economic motivations underpinning a farmer's decision making with regard to organic agriculture.

As Rice (2001) claims, for example, smallholders participate in organic production in the Global South because of the economic benefits associated with organic production. This is supported by Bellon & Abreu (2006) who claim that farmers in Brazil adopt organic farming as a means to access markets and promote rural development objectives. This is not to suggest that farmers in the Global South are not motivated by non-economic motivations but to suggest that little work has been undertaken to unpack the values, beliefs and motivations of such farmers.

While there have been a great many studies of consumer behaviour conducted in the Global North, no such body of work exists in relation to the Global South. One exception to this is a recent study conducted by Wyatt (2010) which analyses consumer perceptions of organic food amongst consumers in Chiang Mai, Thailand. Wyatt (2010) found that organic consumers here were primarily attracted to organic foods primarily because of health concerns. The lack of literature examining consumer markets in the Global South is attributable to several factors. The first is an obvious one of language²². The second is the limited development of markets for organic products in the Global South. A third related factor is that organic production in the Global South is predominantly geared towards export markets in the Global North.

2.2.3 Relevance of the Farmer and Consumer Behaviour Literature

There are a number of interesting observations to make from the review of the literature above. It is argued firstly, that this literature is underpinned by an assumption that decision making is contingent. It is contingent in that a farmer's adoption/rejection of a particular farming system is influenced by the capacity of that system to deliver incentives that match a farmer's interests and values. Similarly, a consumer's decision to purchase and consume products is influenced by the capacity of such products to deliver benefits, whether real or imagined, which match a consumer's interests and values. If this assumption is true, it would be useful to have information about the interests and values of farmers in the Global South and consumers engaged in consuming organic products grown in the Global South.

²² It is possible that studies may exist examining consumer behaviour in the Global South but that these are published in a language other than English.

The farmer and consumer behaviour literature is instructive for another reason, as it demonstrates the diversity of interests and values amongst farmers and consumers. As Yiridoe (*et al* 2005) have noted, perceptions and understandings of what it means for a product to be classified as organic are inconsistent amongst consumers. While health concerns are consistently voiced as a primary rationale for organic consumption there is no consistent view of the quality of organic products, which is held by consumers. Perceptions of what organic means differ between and within different cultural contexts.

A similar point to draw from the summary of the literature is that decision making is relational and reflexive. As Chinnici *et al* (2002), Baker *et al* (2004), Squires *et al* (2001), Lyons *et al* (2001), and Lockie (2006) all argue, organic consumption is a relational and reflexive process in which decision-making is influenced, not just by objectively assessing observable qualities of organic products, but by reflecting on information offered by a range of actors, including relatives, friends, shopkeepers, labels, public and private authorities, and the media.

This raises important challenges for the thesis. How can one talk about the values and beliefs of organic farmers in the Global South or consumers in the Global North when attempting to understand the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South, when it is clear that these are not homogenous groups. It should not, and is not, assumed that all farmers in the Global South will have similar interests, values and motivations underpinning their decision making processes. To overcome the limitations inherent in speaking of the Global South or North as a uniform whole, this thesis examines a specific case study involving the production, trade and consumption of organic pineapples in Chapter Five. Yet, at the same time, the thesis also examines several other case studies, which demonstrate how the interests, values and motivations of farmers in the Global South come to be represented in a fairly simplified and consistent manner for the purpose of promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

The summary of the literature also raises another important question for the thesis. What challenges does the diversity of interests, values and motivations held by farmers and consumers pose for the future of organic agriculture? What happens, for example, when new actors become embroiled in the complex network of relations that revolve around organic

agriculture if the meanings different actors ascribe to organic agriculture come into conflict? Such questions have led this thesis to adopt framing analysis as a key theoretical lens. Framing analysis helps to focus attention on the role of meaning and interpretation in the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

2.3 The Private and Public Regulation of Organic Agriculture

A third sub-set of the literature, focuses on the impact of private and public regulation on organic agriculture. As the summary of the literature, below, will demonstrate, private and public regulation has been one of the single most critical factors stimulating the uptake of organic agriculture throughout the world because of the way that regulation has stimulated the growth of markets. As the literature will demonstrate, regulation has important impacts on the nature and trajectory of organic agriculture, defining what principles and practices are acceptable and which actors can or cannot participate in the production, trade and consumption of organic products. It is useful to outline the literature on regulation because there are many tensions, which have arisen as a result of the implementation of regulatory mechanisms. As it will be demonstrated, the act of regulating organic agriculture, whether through the use of private or public means, influences how the concept of organic agriculture is understood.

One focus within the literature examining private and public regulation of organic agriculture is the outcomes or impacts arising from the use of private and public regulation. There is, as it will be made clear, a trend within literature focusing on the Global North, portraying private and public regulation as corrupting organic agriculture and eroding environmental goals. With regards to the Global South literature, it will be shown that there is a focus, on alleviating the burdens created from compliance with regulations. Another distinct focus within the literature summarised in this section, is the analysis of the various public sector support mechanisms used to promote the uptake of organic agriculture. This literature explores the general impact of such measures on the future of organic agriculture and the various reasons for putting such measure into place.

2.3.1 Private and Public Regulation in the Global North

The primary impact of private and public regulation of organic agriculture is that regulation provides a mechanism with which to facilitate trust in exchange relations. As such, the regulation of organic agriculture increases the distance by which organic products can be traded, whilst providing assurances to consumers that products are what they say they are. DeLind (2000:201) argues, for example, that the growth of organics has been stimulated by the introduction of private and public regulation, which supports ‘trade among strangers and across landscapes’ making ‘interstate and international trade less cumbersome, more efficient, and of course more profitable’. This is supported by Rigby & Caceres (2001) who argue that the increase in the global trade of organic products has largely been facilitated by the advent of organic regulations.

A strong theme within the literature on private and public regulation is that both private and public regulation is bad because it narrows the practices available to farmers. Guthman (2000) argues, for example, that the narrowing of the types of farming practices able to be adopted by farmers allows farmers to take a minimalist approach to organic farming. According to Guthman (2000), this compromises the sustainability of organic practices, allowing less ideologically committed farmers to adopt dubious practices. Another criticism raised by Guthman (2004a) is that private and public regulation creates scarcity, monopoly rents and price premiums, which undermine a farmer’s capacity to farm in a non-intensive manner. While scarcity, monopoly rents and premium prices help to pay for the increased costs of production, Guthman claims that these inevitably stimulate competition and increase land values, forcing farmers to intensify their production over time. Rigby & Caceres (2001) have supported this argument, claiming that standards may not necessarily be capable of embodying best-case sustainable practice, particularly because they enable organic products to be transported over ever larger distances.

The biggest criticism within the regulation literature is the impact of public regulatory regimes. Michelsen (2001a) argues that public regulation has undermined the capacity of the Danish organic farming movement to influence the future development of organic standards. Guthman (1998) is also highly critical of public regulation. While Guthman (1998) acknowledges that it was grass roots elements of the organic agriculture movement in California, namely California Certified Organic Farmers (CCOF), which lobbied to introduce

public regulation, Guthman argues that this has undermined organic agriculture principles. Furthermore, Guthman (1998) argues that public regulation has facilitated the entry of agribusiness interests into the organic sector in California, compromising environmental sustainability and the interests of smaller producers.

A third focus in the literature is on the use of public regulations to promote the uptake of organic agriculture. The EU and EU member states have been the primary political entities in the Global North which have provided support to organic agriculture. This has been undertaken primarily through various measures within the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). As Lampkin & Padel (1994) and Dimitri & Oberholtzer (2002) demonstrate, EU governments have enacted pro-organic policies²³ to: support conversion; stimulate the development of advisory, research, extension and marketing services; and provide access to cheap credit. In examining the EU's support for organic farming Gay & Offermann (2006) find that organic farming receives between 4 – 10 percent more financial support than what is received by conventional farming. In doing so, they note that a large proportion of this support for organic is through support which is open to all farmers.

Many studies have examined the use of public support in specific country contexts and discuss the impacts of this support in these contexts. Both Kaltoft (1999) and Michelsen (2001a), have argued, for example, that the rapid development of the organic agriculture sector in Denmark was assisted by the provision of financial subsidies, advisory services and public regulation²⁴. Hofer (2000) has compared the development of the organic sectors in Austria, Denmark and the Netherlands and claimed that differing levels of organic sector growth are related to three important factors: EU and CAP measures; support from national agricultural structures; and the existence of supportive national agricultural policies. Crescimanno *et al* (2002) identify EU policies, namely the financial incentives offered by EC Regulation 2078/92, as promoting increased production in the organic olive oil industry in Sicily. Ryden (2007) has shown how the organic sectors in Sweden, Norway and Denmark, have benefited from policies including targets used to stimulate the development of organic agriculture.

²³ In 1989, for example, Germany became the first EC country to use EC extensification policies to provide payments for conversion to organic (Lampkin & Padel 1994).

²⁴ According to Kaltoft (1999), the existence of a single public standard enabled Danish consumers to have confidence in organic products and increased patronage.

Some of the literature on public support mechanisms in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture, have analysed the reasons why public support is given to organic agriculture. According to Schmid (1994) public support for organic agriculture in Switzerland is predicated on the existence of a number of problems facing new organic farmers, including increased labour and investment costs and lower yields. Both Lampkin & Padel (1994) and Dimitri & Oberholtzer (2002) have argued that public support for organic in the EU has been implemented²⁵ because of a belief that organic agriculture contributes to a variety of pernicious policy goals, such as environmental protection, production surplus reduction, and new market development. As Dimitri & Oberholtzer (2002:21) have claimed, ‘divergent policy directions ... matter in terms of satisfying other rationales for supporting organic agriculture’. Lynngaard (2001) has claimed that the strong public support for organic agriculture in Denmark can be attributed to close relations between the organic and conventional agricultural sectors. Greer (2002) has argued that the development of organic regulations in the UK and Ireland was strongly influenced by external contextual factors, such as: the crises in animal health; the weakening of entrenched policy communities; and the existence of strong organic agriculture policy networks.

In Sweden, where there is strong public sector support for organic, there have been several attempts to explain this support. Kallander (2007) attributes positive public sector support, in the Swedish context, to the existence of a coordinated organic sector. Ryden (2007) argues that the Ecological Farmers Association (*Ekologiska Lantbrukarna*) in Sweden gained access to agricultural policy networks and state support for organic agriculture because: it took a fairly pragmatic position; formed strong relationships with other organizations; displayed a high level of professionalism; and enjoyed a high level of legitimacy, due to the acceptance of environmental issues amongst the wider community.

2.3.2 Private and Public Regulation in the Global South

The literature focusing on regulation in the Global South takes a different approach. For the most part this literature discusses the impact of compliance on the livelihoods and opportunities for farmers and farmer communities in the Global South.

²⁵ A number of similar studies have since been undertaken to further detail European policies affecting organic agriculture (see, for example, Padel *et al* 1999 and Lampkin *et al* 1999).

One of the impacts identified in the literature is the barriers that farmers in the Global South face due to the requirements posed by regulation. Harris *et al* (2000), for example, identify a number of issues facing farmers hoping to participate in the production of organic products for export. These include: lack of knowledge of organic practices and EU requirements; inapplicability and inflexibility of EU regulations; difficulties with record keeping requirements; excessive costs of certification; complexity of certification and inspection procedures, lack of choice with regard to certifier; lack of market information and knowledge; and difficulties associated with achieving certification equivalence. Barrett *et al* (2001) have argued that smallholders face difficulties in acquiring organic certification, primarily because the high cost of certification poses a major barrier. Gomez Tovar *et al* (2005), meanwhile, argued that compliance with certification and inspection procedures in Mexico poses onerous bureaucratic requirements on smallholders reinforcing their social and economic disadvantage.

One of the primary impacts reported in the literature on regulation in the Global South context has been the organizational changes occurring as a result of compliance. Rice (2001) has argued that participation in organic coffee export production in the Global South has resulted in the establishment of new forms of economic cooperation, implemented to reduce the costs associated with certification, marketing and knowledge dissemination. Nigh (1997) has argued that new hybrid organizational forms have been constructed to enable smallholders' engaged in organic coffee exports in Mexico to access global markets governed by organic regulations. Bray *et al* (2002) have argued, similarly, that the requirement to meet organic regulations has led to the implementation of organizational innovations in organic coffee production in Mexico. Similarly, Mutersbaugh (2002) has found that the introduction of organic certification and inspection procedures in smallholder coffee production areas in Mexico has created changes to the organization of local farmer groups. It is claimed that these changes create heavier workloads for the individuals responsible for certification compliance and bring about a 'new logic of producer interdependence', creating 'new conflicts and problems' for smallholders²⁶ (Mutersbaugh 2002:1175). In another article, Mutersbaugh (2004) has argued that local inspectors tend to operate as 'interactive service

²⁶ If members responsible for compliance are unable to perform their duties, de-certification of all farmers may result (Mutersbaugh 2002).

employees' who make foreign production standards intelligible to smallholders. Gonzalez & Nigh (2005) argue that the adoption of organic agriculture in Mexico has required: the use of contract farming; adoption of conservation production techniques; and the need for government support to facilitate conversion. According to Gonzalez & Nigh these three trends produce contradictions with existing organic agriculture goals and also with the interests of smallholders.

In some of the Global South literature attention is focused on the ways that regulatory barriers can be overcome. In discussing the impact of EU organic regulations on Chilean exports, Martinez & Bañados (2004) have argued that a lack of an equivalence system requires Chilean organic imports to use special import permits increasing transaction costs, increasing the likelihood of non-acceptance in other EU countries. Martinez & Bañados (2004) report that the Chilean government is attempting to create a national certification system to overcome this barrier to trade. Barrett *et al* (2001) contend that there are a number of strategies, including: forming producer/marketing cooperatives; accessing external financial assistance; engaging in contract selling; instigating group certification procedures; and utilising local certification organizations, which can help to overcome the barriers faced by smallholders. In another article, Barrett *et al* (2002) have argued that a reduction in the costs of certification is essential for smallholder access to the UK organic markets and to stimulate future development of production in developing countries. Barrett *et al* (2002) recommend the development of local certification and inspection capacity and the use of group certification procedures to remedy this. In another article, Paull (2007) has argued that the Chinese government has played a significant role in stimulating the rapid growth in the organic sector in China by creating public regulatory mechanisms to govern organic production and trade. According to Paull (2007) the Chinese government created an indigenous 'Green Food' agricultural certification scheme to provide a platform for entry into organic markets governed by stricter regulations.

2.3.3 Relevance of the Private and Public Regulation Literature

As the summary of the literature has shown, the application of private or public regulatory mechanisms has been a major factor stimulating the uptake of organic agriculture, through the promotion of market exchange relations. As some of the literature suggests, though, this growth has come at the expense of best practice, particularly in terms of maximising the

environmental benefits from following specific organic principles and practices. The creation of public regulation was also shown to have led to the entrance of environmentally unsustainable agribusiness interests and the erosion of grass roots control over standards.

Yet while the literature focusing on the Global North acknowledges the importance of private and public regulation in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture, it tends to promote a view that the principles and practices associated with organic agriculture are static and in need of protection. The literature focusing on the Global South provides quite a different perspective, one that focuses on the barriers that farmers face in accessing markets due to the incompatibility of organic regulations with the conditions experienced by farmers. The Global South literature tends, therefore, to portray the principles and practices associated with organic agriculture as dynamic and in need of change to accommodate the needs of farmers in the Global South.

While this difference of focus in the literature is the product of the disciplinary backgrounds of individual authors, it points to inherent differences in the way that organic agriculture is perceived in the Global North and South and the different interests and values held by actors located in these contexts. The attention on meaning is, as it has already been noted, a significant focus of this thesis, one that culminates in the examination, in Chapter Eight, of a case study of an intramural conflict arising directly from the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

The summary of the literature focusing on the private and public regulation of organic agriculture is instructive for another important reason. The summary draws attention to the use of public support mechanisms in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture. As it is demonstrated throughout this thesis, the use of public support has been critical in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. The mobilisation of technical and financial support from organisations associated with international development cooperation has been a critical factor stimulating the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. More importantly, though, this support for promoting organic agriculture in the Global South has important implications for the way that organic agriculture is conceived. This has necessitated the combining of concepts from RMT and framing analysis to enable this thesis to demonstrate how the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has resulted from

actions taken to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the goals and priorities of organizations within the international development cooperation sector.

2.4 Political Economy Analyses

A fourth segment of the literature uses political economy theories and concepts to investigate power relations in supply chains involving organic products. For the most part, this literature preoccupies itself with the impacts and outcomes associated with organic agricultures' reliance on capitalist exchange relations as a mechanism to stimulate its uptake. A significant concern within this body of literature is whether or not organic agriculture is undergoing a process of 'conventionalisation' or 'institutionalisation' in which competitive market forces lead organic agriculture to eventually resemble its industrial counterpart.

Given that the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South is tied to the use of market exchange relations it is useful to surmise this body of literature to demonstrate how the principles and practices associated with organic agriculture are susceptible to change as new actors become mobilised in the everyday processes of production and trade.

2.4.1 Political Economy Analysis of Organic Agriculture in the Global North

Several authors have called into question the transformational promise of organic agriculture as organic practices become embedded in capitalist exchange relations by applying political economy theories to the analysis of market exchange relations involving organic agriculture products.

Clunies-Ross (1990) has argued that the entry of organic products into rationalised marketing relations, such as those involving supermarkets, undermines the environmental, economic and social benefits of organic agriculture. Clunies-Ross & Hildyard (1992) have demonstrated how increased competition negatively impacts on the economic sustainability of organic farming. Allen & Sachs (1993:154) have questioned the revolutionary promise of organic agriculture when increasingly embedded within capitalist exchange relations²⁷, arguing that organic farmers will inevitably be driven by concerns for 'economic efficiency

²⁷ According to Allen & Sachs (1993:151), supply chain relations are critical to sustainability because they 'determine the equitability of resource distribution'.

rather that ecological rationality once market competition among organic farmers develops'. Deploying Marx's concept of *commodity fetishism*²⁸, Allen & Kovach (2000) have argued that while organic agriculture has the potential to undermine the process of commodity fetishization this is undermined by pressure from increased competition²⁹.

The use of political economy theories to critique the organic agriculture has led to the development of the 'conventionalisation' thesis. According to the conventionalization thesis, organic agriculture is becoming similar to conventional agriculture because of its reliance on capitalist market exchange relations. The catalyst for the development of the 'conventionalisation' thesis, are several supply chain studies conducted to understand the development of the Californian organic sector (Buck *et al* 1997; Guthman 1998, 2003, 2004a, 2004b).

Buck *et al* (1997) have argued that there is an identifiable trend towards larger, capital intensive, mechanized, input dependent and export orientated organic vegetable production in California. Buck *et al* (1997) argued that as agribusiness interests penetrate the more profitable segments of organic production, through *appropriation* and *substitution*³⁰, organic

²⁸ Commodity fetishism denotes a situation where social relationships are mediated by objectified relationships between things, concealing the nature or conditions by which the thing is produced and traded (Allen & Kovach 2000).

²⁹ In doing so, Allen & Kovach (2000:224) point out that one of the biggest problems facing organic agriculture is that its definition is not fixed, but is the product of 'historically specific social formations, with particular ecological, economic, and political characteristics', which means that things such as regulations are open to be altered in an infinite number of directions depending on who controls the processes involved in setting such standards.

³⁰ The conventionalisation thesis draws on debates surrounding the 'agrarian question' and the impact of capital penetration in agriculture. According to this argument, the natural basis of farming provides barriers to capital, which leads to a search for opportunities for off-farm accumulation through the processes of *appropriation* and *substitution*. Appropriation is the process whereby essential on-farm materials, such as organic manures from livestock, are 'refashioned' and substituted by materials generated off-farm, such as chemical fertilisers, and sold as essential inputs. Appropriation leads to significant changes in the pattern of land use, such as forest clearing, due to the need to increase production to pay for off-farm inputs. Substitution, on the other hand, is where an ever-greater proportion of profits accumulate to food processors, through a process of value-adding (Buck *et al* 1997; Goodman *et al* 1987). As agribusiness interests come to control upstream input industries and downstream marketing chains farmers become caught in a cost-price squeeze where they are forced to increase the efficiency of production, through mechanisation, intensification, concentration and specialisation, to offset the growing disparity between production costs and commodity prices (Healey & Ilbery 1985; Wallace & Smith 1985). This, it is argued, intensifies the capitalisation of farms and exacerbates environmental and economic problems.

production and marketing systems increasingly resemble conventional production and marketing systems, reducing the capacity of organic farmers to utilise sustainable production and marketing systems. As a result, Buck *et al* (1997) have claimed that there is a bifurcation between farmers following the large-scale capital intensive model and farmers following a small-scale diversified artisanal methodology.

The arguments made in Buck *et al* (1997) were eventually reiterated in several papers by Guthman (1998, 2003, 2004a, 2004b). Guthman (1998) has argued that organic regulations create price-premiums, which encourage competition and the adoption of practices antithetical to organic principles. In another article, Guthman (2003) draws on a case study of the organic salad mix market to demonstrate how demand for large volumes of high quality organic salad mix enforced the use of production and marketing systems that reflect conventional production practices, undermining environmental sustainability. Elsewhere, Guthman (2004a:511) has drawn upon the concept of economic rents to argue that organic regulation undermines a farmer's ability to 'farm in a less intensive manner' creating: barriers to entry, scarcity, and economic rents, which are open to erosion from increased competition. Guthman (2004b) later defends the conventionalisation thesis against charges of universalism, by arguing that conventionalisation is a process specific to California. Guthman (2004b) claims that most organic farmers have a 'light commitment' to broader organic farming values and will inevitably be undermined by price competition from larger more specialised and efficient farms.

Several other authors have also drawn on the conventionalisation thesis to investigate the outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture. Klonsky (2000) has given credence to the conventionalisation thesis by arguing that the rapid growth of organic agriculture, coupled with the advent of national standards, has encouraged mainstream interests to enter into the organic sector in the US. Smith & Marsden (2004) provided evidence to support the conventionalisation thesis by claiming that organic agriculture in the UK is facing pressure from the traditional farm-gate price-squeeze. Smith & Marsden (2004) argued that the buying power of supermarkets, combined with domestic overproduction and cheap imports, undermines farm gate prices, forcing farmers to compromise production practices. Jordan *et al* (2006) give support to the conventionalisation thesis by examining

supply chain relations involved in the organic grain sub-sector in the Australian context. Jordan *et al* (2006) have argued that non-farm capital plays an increasing role in the organic grains sub-sector, undermining economic and environmental sustainability.

Padel & Midmore (2005) also lend support to the conventionalisation thesis, by showing how industry representatives view organic markets as eventually evolving from a niche market, involving shorter more direct supply chains, to one that resembles conventional markets, involving longer supply chains dominated by multiple retailers. Best (2007) has argued that conventionalisation is occurring in the German context by comparing the: farm structure; level of environmental concern; attitudes to organic farming; and organic organizational membership, of early and late adopters of organic. De Wit & Verhoog (2007) have argued that the influence of conventional agri-food commodity chains and use of off-farm inputs is increasing in certain segments of the organic sector in the Netherlands, which could be viewed as representing a type of conventionalisation, if it involves a deviation from a set of normative values for organic³¹.

Several authors have eschewed the conventionalisation thesis language in favour of the term ‘institutionalisation’. Lyons & Lawrence (2001:71) and Lyons (2001, 2008) have argued that organics in Australia, is being integrated into conventional food systems through ‘the entry of corporate actors, scientific advisory services as well as government regulatory organizations’. Similarly to Buck *et al* (1997), these authors view institutionalisation as leading to a bifurcation between orthodox organic producers who uphold traditional organic principles and practices and producers integrated into conventional agri-food networks.

Lyons & Lawrence (2001) explore the ‘institutionalisation’ concept by examining the changing motivations of organic producers in Australia and New Zealand, arguing that the entry of new farmers aligned with agri-business interests result in a conflict over the meanings ascribed to organic agriculture. Lyons (2001:91) has argued that organic agriculture in Australia and New Zealand is being institutionalised, moving away from being a social movement to a food industry, through the ‘evolution of organic certification bodies’ and the entry of corporate and government actors responding to the profit potential of organics.

³¹ De Wit & Verhoog (2007) identify the principles set out by the International Federation of Organic Movements (IFOAM) as a likely set of normative values and show that these appear to be in conflict with practices characterised as conventional within the Netherlands.

Lyons (2001) has argued that institutionalisation has resulted in shifts in the meaning as new actors with differing interests become involved. Lyons (2008) explores institutionalisation in organic agriculture in Australia in another paper by examining the increasing influence of supermarkets in Australia. According to Lyons (2008), the increasing dominance of supermarket interests will: increase the financial vulnerability for organic farmers; distort geographic availability of organic products; and de-politicise organic farming's critique of industrial agriculture.

While there is strong evidence to support the conventionalisation thesis, this has not gone without criticism. Coombes & Campbell (1998) have argued, for example, that conventionalisation is not inevitable. Coombes & Campbell (1998) argue that the thesis draws selectively on theories claiming capital's ability to substitute and appropriate, ignoring theories highlighting the difficulty facing capital's penetration of agriculture³², such as is shown in the case in New Zealand where family farming is the basis for much of the domestic organic production. Campbell & Liepins (2001) also question the inevitability of the conventionalisation thesis. By analysing the discourses surrounding the development of organic standards in New Zealand, Campbell & Liepins (2001) have shown that there is not a linear progression from social movement to industry because corporate dominance is mitigated by actors who construct alternative spaces and discourses.

In another study, Hall & Mogyorodý (2001) have found little evidence of conventionalisation in the organic sector in Ontario, Canada. This argument was drawn from their attempts to analyse the degree of conventionalisation in Ontario by examining a number of key variables said to be indicative of conventionalisation, such as increased farm size; debt load; increased use of capital; mechanization; industrial inputs; and shift from local to export marketing arrangements. Hall & Mogyorodý (2001) have contended that the lack of evidence may indicate that conventionalisation is not inevitable but a context or commodity specific process.

Lockie & Halpin (2005) have provided one of the most strident critiques of conventionalisation by calling into question the variables used to indicate conventionalisation. They contend that: concentration of capital; substitution of on-farm processes with off-farm

³² Coombes and Campbell (1998) contend that capital faces difficulties penetrating agriculture as a result of: the politicisation of farmer and consumer groups, the biophysical characteristics of food, and the relative productivity of small commodity producers.

inputs; bifurcation between capital intensive sector and artisan sector; and the emergence of defensive localism, are not analytically robust. Lockie & Halpin (2005:304) are particularly critical of the bifurcation concept, having found little evidence to support this in the Australian organic industry.

Lockie & Halpin (2005:284) have claimed that the conventionalisation thesis has been used, uncritically, as a rhetorical device to 'police' the organic sector and 'retrieve or save the organic sector from corruption by the patterns of practice and thought associated with conventional agriculture'. This is a critical point because it highlights the socially constructed nature of organic agriculture practices and principles and the fact that there are ongoing contestations and conflicts between actors with differing interests and values.

2.4.2 Supply Chain Analysis in the Global South

Despite the dominance of supply chain analyses in the Global North literature, there has been little application of this approach to understanding the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. The majority of the supply chain literature focusing on the Global South focuses attention on the impacts of farmers' from their uptake of organic agriculture.

Raynolds (2000) draws on the Marxian *commodity fetishism* concept to compare the capacity of organic and fair trade systems' to challenge exploitative capitalist exchange relations. Raynolds (2000:306) argues that under capitalist exchange relations 'commodities become abstracted from their human and natural roots so that price becomes the dominant characteristic' used to determine value. Raynolds (2000) argues that organic does little to highlight conditions beyond the point of production but that fair trade has a greater capacity to highlight the true conditions of supply chain relations.

Crucefix (1998) has analysed the contribution of organic agriculture in promoting sustainable rural livelihood development. Crucefix (1998) argues that organic production in developing countries entails certain characteristics, which can promote increased self-reliance, autonomy, self-confidence, labor diversity, and biological diversity. According to Crucefix (1998) receipt of these benefits will be dependent on the: existence of adequate financial incentives;

minimisation of the burden of certification; adaptation of production techniques; provision of training and extension services; and availability of external funding and support.

Bacon (2005) has found that organic (speciality and fair trade) coffee production has an important impact in reducing the vulnerability of smallholders in Nicaragua. In interviews with farmers, Bacon (2005) found that farmers were less vulnerable because they used organic and fair trade to reduce production costs and increase returns and also because they instigated diversification strategies and utilised cooperative marketing structures.

Killian *et al* (2006) have examined whether sustainable coffee production (organic and fair trade) benefits farmers by assessing: differences in costs and prices; impact on different categories of farmers; and the medium to long-term economic outlook for farmers. They found that while price premiums enable farmers to improve their incomes, over time these premiums will erode as supply increases. As such, it is argued that farmers will have to increase farm productivity and quality if they wish to maintain these higher incomes.

Bolwig *et al* (2008) have compared the revenue effect of participation in certified organic contract farming against conventional (organic by default) farming of coffee in Uganda. Bolwig *et al* (2008) found that participation in certified organic contract farming had a positive impact on a farmer's revenue, which increased net coffee revenue on average by 75 per cent. Bolwig *et al* (2008) claimed that these higher returns were not just from organic but also tied with contract farming, which enabled the dissemination of low-cost farming techniques that improve productivity and quality.

2.4.3 Relevance of the Supply Chain Analysis Literature

The grounding of supply chain analyses in political economy concepts has a tendency to portray a sense of inevitability about the developmental path of organic agriculture because political economy theories view capitalist exchange relations as being determined by economic efficiency considerations. There is a strong emphasis within the literature on protecting the integrity of organic agriculture principles and practices from the influence of economic considerations. The political economy inspired literature fails to acknowledge that exchange relations are also influenced by a range of other socio-cultural and environmental concerns.

In contrast, the literature focusing on supply chains involving producers in the Global South is more concerned with the economic or livelihood impact associated with organic agriculture's uptake in the Global South. While this contrast can be attributed in part to the disciplinary backgrounds of the specific researchers, it also indicates how there are different interests and values held by actors in different contexts.

While the political economy literature summarised above raises important questions about power relations in supply chains, it is also clear that the deterministic nature of these analyses are misleading, as economic considerations are, as it was noted earlier, not the only considerations influencing farmer or consumer behaviour. Another important point, is that supply chain relations involve a range of actors other than just farmers and consumers, including wholesalers, exporters, importers, transport contractors along with a range of non-human actors, such as money, communication technologies and products, which all in some way impact on the nature of these relations.

From a methodological standpoint, these criticisms do not negate the importance of analysing supply chain relations in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture, but rather necessitates adopting more suitable theoretical tools to analyse such relations and account for the diversity of actors, interests and values underpinning these relations.

2.5 Cultural 'turn'

While the use of political economy is common within the organic agriculture literature, there are many theorists that are dissatisfied with this approach. As Marsden (2000) argues, political economy supply chain analyses do not provide adequate conceptual tools to understand the social significance of Alternative Agri-Food Networks (AAFNs), such as those involving the production, trade and consumption of organic products. Lockie & Kitto (2000) attribute this to political economy's modernist ontological grounding, which: privileges structural accounts; emphasizes the importance of material resources; and neglects negotiations over symbolic resources.

Dissatisfaction with political economy inspired supply chain analyses has been strongly informed by post-modern and post-structuralist theories. There are a number of distinct

approaches informed by the wider cultural ‘turn’ in sociology, which are discussed in this section. These include: the use of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and Conventions Theory (CT); a focus on the quality ‘turn’ in agriculture; and literature emphasizing the role of organic agriculture in stimulating rural development. As a whole, these theories focus attention on the role of meaning and interpretation in mediating relations involving the production, trade and consumption of organic products.

2.5.1 Cultural ‘turn’ in the Global North

ANT adopts the network metaphor to overcome a number of dualisms inherent in the use of a political economy approach. As Lockie & Kitto (2000) argue, ANT attempts to overcome the macro-micro dualism in sociology by viewing macro-level phenomena as extensions of situated practice, extended temporally using technologies of communication, transport and inscription called ‘immutable mobiles’. ANT attempts to overcome a second dualism, between the natural and social, by conceiving social reality as ‘heterogeneously engineered’ collectives of human and non-human actors. According to Lockie & Kitto (2000), the networks of relations that make-up social reality, involve ongoing processes of interest translation, alignment and stabilisation.

Goodman (1999) uses ANT concepts to view the establishment of federal organic standards in the US as an effort to make organic agriculture resemble conventional agriculture. Goodman (1999) argues that the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) engaged in a process of ‘retranslation’ by including a number of practices antithetical to the organic farming movement. If the USDA had been successful, claimed Goodman (1999), this would have undermined earlier efforts to stabilise an alternative ‘mode of ordering’³³ in which organic practices are governed by principles, such as environmental sustainability.

Van der Ploeg & Frouws (1999) have used ANT concepts to examine the emergence of a network of relations involving the production and sale of organic dairy products in the Netherlands. Van der Ploeg & Frouws (1999:337,340) have argued that this new network was

³³ ‘Modes of ordering’ is a concept developed by Murdoch (1997), which is used extensively throughout this thesis to explain the construction and maintenance of social relations as governed by discursive ordering processes. More will be made of this in Chapter Three where the specific theoretical concepts applied in this thesis will be elaborated and critiqued.

successful because it was able to overcome a ‘world of insecurities’³⁴ and because the company at the centre of the network had the capacity to ‘envisage’ and ‘materialize’ an alternative set of network relations and the ‘capacity to concretise a specific prospect and to enrol other actors in it’.

Lyons (1999:257) has deployed ANT concepts to ‘disavow the privileged position of any actor(s) as “key” determinants in shaping the trajectory of the organic industry’ in the Australian context. Lyons uses discourse analysis techniques to examine how particular discursive strategies or ‘modes of ordering’ strengthen or weaken relationships involved in the production, trade and consumption of the *Organic Vita Brix*TM breakfast cereal. When production costs increased, this disrupted the existing ‘modes of ordering’, which placed concern for economic efficiency above secondary concerns for the environment, and led to withdrawal of *Organic Vita Brix*TM from production.

Goodman & Goodman (2001) have deployed ANT concepts to argue that organic product label discourses act as ‘immutable mobiles’ enrolling distant consumers into networks of capitalist exchange aimed at promoting green consumption. Goodman & Goodman (2001) claim that such labelling does not challenge broader consumption practices in society but supports a type of techno-centric and eco-centric niche production that privileges individuals with the knowledge and economic means to avoid the negativities of conventional production.

Lockie (2002) has combined ANT with Foucault’s concept of governmentality, to examine the ways that people are mobilised as consumers of organic foods. Lockie (2002:279) has argued that the idea of ‘consumer demand’ is used to make consumption ‘knowable’ and ‘manipulable’ by those wishing to enrol consumers in organic networks. Discourses about the type of consumer most likely to purchase organic products, such as ‘health conscious’ and ‘wealthy’ are said to have shaped the strategies of retailers and reinforced organic consumer stereotypes.

³⁴ Van der Ploeg & Frouws (1999) list these insecurities as: adequate consumer demand; outlets to sell to; farmers to produce enough supply; the actions of larger dairy companies; existence of financial, technical and administrative support; actions of organic organizations and lobbies; and the capacity of the factory to meet organic requirements.

A second approach informed by the cultural ‘turn’ in sociology is Conventions Theory (CT)³⁵. CT is generally employed to reinterpret commodity exchange relations as being coordinated through processes of qualification³⁶. While CT concepts are not employed in this thesis, it is useful to explicate this specific approach in order to further demonstrate the importance of meaning and interpretation in governing relations involved with the production, trade and consumption of organic products.

Murdoch & Miele (1999) have adopted Salais & Storper’s (1992) version of CT to analyse the development of the organic industry in Italy. They have argued that the Italian organic sector shifted from a dedicated and specialised sector to a dedicated and standardised sector to expand organics and enable greater opportunities for organic farmers. This, they have argued, occurred as a result of coordinated action by the five leading organic co-operatives who established an accessible distribution network, including specialist organic supermarkets.

Murdoch *et al* (2000:118) have used CT to demonstrate how a Welsh organic company shifted from a locally embedded network to become the ‘second largest manufacturer of organic yogurt in Britain’. Murdoch *et al* (2000) have argued that the success of this enterprise can be attributed to the combining of original ecological (organic) and domestic (local) conventions with industrial and commercial conventions by integrating into mainstream multiple retail supply chains and investing in state of the art processing equipment.

³⁵ According to Wilkinson (1997), the qualities of a product are sometimes not always clear in the process of exchange and as such may require rules, norms or conventions to facilitate exchange. These rules emerge within the process of coordination by providing a mechanism for clarification. There are six forms of justification used to facilitate exchange within CT: civic (representation); domestic (loyalty); industrial (productivity); market (competition); renown (reputation); and inspiration (creativity) (Wilkinson 1997).

³⁶ As Callon *et al* (2002:199) point out ‘All quality is obtained at the end of a process of qualification, and all qualification aims to establish a constellation of characteristics, stabilized at least for a while, which are attached to the product and transform it temporarily into a tradable good in the market. A good is defined by the qualities attributed to it during qualification trials. These qualities are therefore twofold. They are intrinsic: the good is engaged in the qualification trial and the result obviously depends on the good in question. But they are also extrinsic: not only are the qualities shaped by the device used to test and measure the good (and therefore depend on the choice and characteristics of that device) but their formulation and explanation also generate evaluations and judgements which vary from one agent to the next’.

Barham (2002) has combined CT with the network metaphor to investigate values-based labelling efforts as a form of social movement. According to Barham conventions theory provides a tool for understanding producer and consumer decision-making processes because it draws attention to the everyday processes of argument and justification involved in market exchange relations.

Rosin and Campbell (2009) have utilised CT to reinterpret the evolution of the organic industry in New Zealand and provide a critique of the conventionalisation thesis. Examining farmers' reasons for selecting a particular certification organization, Rosin & Campbell (2009) have demonstrated the complex way that farmers justify their actions. Rather than simply accepting that farmers' decisions are driven by capitalist logic, Rosin & Campbell (2009:45) have used CT to demonstrate the operation of 'various worlds of justification'.

A third set of literature informed by the cultural 'turn', focuses on the role of quality in shaping agri-food networks and providing opportunities for rural development. According to Goodman (2004), consumer interest in quality products is part of a turn away from industrial mass-produced foods, which is attributed to the increasing incidence of food scares and growing consumer reflexivity. Demand for products embodying particular qualities is viewed as providing organic farmers with an opportunity to charge premiums prices. This enables farmers to restore farm income capacity and provide a platform for diversification into other lucrative enterprises.

Marsden (1998) has argued that interest in organic foods provides a clear example of the importance of quality in reshaping supply chain relations and rural spaces. According to Marsden (1998), the growth of food scares, such as Bovine Spongiform-Encephalitis (BSE): drive consumer interest in farm and food assurance schemes; ingrain quality criteria along food supply chains; and lead to differentiation in food markets. In a second article, Marsden (2000) argues that qualities, other than merely price concerns, are becoming the basis for modern retail competition and that different actors within a food supply network ascribe the same product with different qualities.

Gilg & Battershill (1998) have investigated the role of quality in shaping agri-food networks by interviewing farmers and retailers involved in direct selling or *vente directe* relations in

France. Gilg & Battershill (1998) have argued that many of the *vente directe* consumers that bought organic products were discerning, knowledgeable and concerned about the link between quality, product and practice.

DuPuis (2000) has claimed that the growth in organic milk consumption in the US, indicates how consumer perceptions of quality play a significant role in shaping agri-food networks. DuPuis (2000) has argued that the potential for contamination with recombinant Bovine Growth Hormone (rBGH), is contributing to the rapid growth of the organic milk industry and that consumers constantly reflect upon the various discourses surrounding food products made by friends, colleagues, experts, media and corporate actors. Buttel (2000), on the other hand, is more cautious in ascribing power to consumers in his assessment of the rBGH controversy. While Buttel (2000) has acknowledged that consumption is not given adequate causal status, he claimed that there is little evidence that the rBGH controversy has led to a consumer movement with any real impact. Goodman & DuPuis (2002) have rebutted Buttel's (2000) argument and claimed that his dismissal of consumption is the product of a strong grounding in political economy. Goodman & DuPuis (2002) have advocated instead for the use of discourse analysis to view power relations as rooted in struggles over the control of knowledge.

Sage (2003:47) has argued that quality considerations, in displacing concerns for price, present the potential for a 'new economic dynamic'. Taking an actor-oriented approach, Sage analyses the network of relations involved in alternative marketing relations in South-west Ireland, arguing that social embeddedness mediates self-interest within these spatially proximate networks. Sage (2003:48) has argued that participants in AAFNs 'make efforts to establish the preferences of customers and signal their efforts to meet them' creating emotional bonds of regard, which have the capacity to somewhat override price concerns.

In terms of the quality 'turn' literature there are a number of authors who view the quality 'turn' as promoting opportunities for rural development. Banks & Bistrow (1999) have argued that quality demands have created opportunities for economic development in Wales. Banks & Bistrow (1999) outline a number of constraints and opportunities involved in attempts to use quality as a market tool, arguing that product differentiation, using organic labelling and regional branding, provides an opportunity to redress falling market returns.

Banks & Marsden (2001) have examined the potential for organic agriculture to promote rural development by drawing evidence from a case study of organic dairy production and processing in Wales. While Banks & Marsden (2001) have argued that conversion to organic provides opportunities to capture a larger portion of total value added, these opportunities are not open to all. Small producers face greater constraints than larger farmers and farm viability is dependent on management skills and the capacity to adapt to evolving market conditions.

Marsden & Smith (2005) explore whether specialised food networks involving organic livestock production help to promote sustainable rural development in Wales. Marsden & Smith (2005) find that a network of livestock farmers, using diversified and direct marketing relations, was established to sell quality livestock products in response to economic and quality crises in UK livestock production. According to Marsden & Smith (2005) this move to quality food production is dependent on the emergence of ‘ecological entrepreneurs’ who are capable of stimulating innovative projects and enrolling others in these projects.

Using the example of the *Rhongold Organic Dairy*, Knickel & Renting (2000) have shown that organic farming has become implicated in wider rural development networks in Germany. According to Knickel & Renting (2000), organic farming provides a basis for extra non-productive rural development opportunities. This is because non-productive activities, such as nature conservation and tourism, are reliant on farming styles that involve reduced levels of productive intensity.

Marsden *et al* (2000) have explored the relationship between new consumer demands for ‘quality’ products and rural development using the Short Food Supply Chain (SFSC) concept. SFSCs attempt to capture new forms of value added by engendering ‘different relationships with consumers’ and ‘different conventions and constructions of quality’³⁷ (Marsden *et al* 2000:425). Marsden *et al* (2000) concluded that struggles over definitions of quality empower local producers to create new innovations, but are cautious to suggest whether such relations are durable over time.

³⁷ To offset the withdrawal of capital in rural areas caused by the introduction of spatially extended industrialised supply chains.

Renting *et al* (2003) have also used the SFSC concept to examine whether consumer demand for 'quality' is challenging conventional agriculture. Renting *et al* (2003) have argued that SFSCs provide an opportunity to capture increased value by short-circuiting the long supply chains associated with industrial agriculture. While Renting *et al* (2003) have claimed that SFSCs provide opportunities for rural development they have also argued that they have the potential to be appropriated by agribusiness interests and are therefore not immune from competition and the cost-price squeeze.

Highlighting the synergies and linkages between organic agriculture and other sustainable rural development initiatives, Pugliese (2001) has claimed that organic agriculture is a viable option for promoting sustainable rural development. According to Pugliese (2001), organic agriculture contributes to four basic aspects of sustainable rural development – innovation, conservation, participation, and integration.

Interviewing 12 organic farmers in Austria, Darnhofer (2005) has found that farmers converted to organic as part of a wider strategy to enable reorganisation of production and adoption of alternative non-productive activities. This facilitated: short-term economic gains; improved capacity to avoid risk and control resources; and improved quality of life and work. As Darnhofer (2005:319) argues, organic agriculture offers the capacity to transform a farm into a 'complex rural enterprise delivering a broad range of products and services'.

While the quality 'turn' is generally viewed positively in the literature, Goodman (2004) has been critical of claims that this represents the emergence of a new rural development paradigm in the Western Europe context. Goodman challenges the argument that AAFNs/SFSCs, supported by a 'turn' to quality, provide the basis for a paradigm shift away from agricultural modernisation. Goodman (2004) has argued that without some form of subsidization the higher price of organic products make their consumption simply a niche 'class diet' available only to those people with the economic means or knowledge resources to do so.

2.5.2 Cultural 'turn' in the Global South

With the backlash against political economy inspired supply chain analyses, it might be expected that studies examining organic agriculture in the Global South would incorporate

these theoretical concerns. Surprisingly, there are few studies examining organic agriculture in the Global South, which incorporate post-modern and post-structural concepts. Given the criticisms raised in the cultural ‘turn’ literature and increasing incidence of organic production in the global South this would appear to be a lacunae worth filling.

One clear exception is the work of Raynolds (2004, 2008). Raynolds (2004) has appended the political economy commodity chain approach with insights from ANT and CT to analyse processes involved with the increasing globalisation of organic agriculture. Raynolds (2004:727) has attempted to bring about a more ‘balanced’ analysis to account for the influence of both ‘the symbolic as well as the material’. Raynolds (2004) has argued that standards and certification procedures embed commercial and industrial conventions within organic agriculture eliding traditional domestic and civic conventions.

In a second article, Raynolds (2008) applies this ‘commodity network approach’ to the development of organic agriculture in the Dominican Republic. Raynolds (2008:181) has claimed that the Dominican Republic is at the forefront of a boom in organic export production in Latin America and attributes this to ‘historically specific local, national and international forces’, including: the existence of government policy support for non-traditional exports; ‘multilateral and non-governmental assistance’; and ‘numerous private-sector initiatives’. Raynolds (2008) has also argued that increased competition, falling premiums and changing quality demands are disempowering smallholders and undermining the positive impacts of organic export production.

2.5.3 Relevance of the Cultural ‘turn’ Literature

The cultural ‘turn’ literature is particularly relevant to this thesis as it focuses attention on the symbolic in facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture. Conceptualising the uptake of organic agriculture as shaped by contestations over meaning, draws attention to discourse and discursive processes. ANT is particularly useful in this regard, because it enables the thesis to conceptualise organic agriculture as an effect generated through ongoing interactions of complex networks of relations. ANT’s focus on social relations as being ‘heterogeneously engineered’ elevates the role of non-human actors in ordering market exchange relations. In this regard, the ‘modes of ordering’ concept developed by Murdoch (1998) becomes an important concept to enable the thesis to conceptualise exchange relations as discursively and

recursively constructed through the ongoing interaction of a range of materials, both human and non-human.

The literature on quality as a mechanism for promoting rural development is also useful. As it will be shown throughout the thesis, but particularly in the case study examining a specific set of relations involved in the export of fresh pineapples outlined in Chapter Five, consumer demand for quality has helped to stimulate the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Goodman's (2004) scepticism of the emergence of a rural development paradigm is important to note in this regard. As it is shown in this thesis, organic agriculture is being used as a tool for promoting rural development in the Global South and there are important questions about the long-term sustainability of these relations, particularly because of conflicts over meaning arising from the entry of the Global South into organic export markets.

2.6 The Application of Social Movement Theories

The focus on contested meaning within the cultural 'turn' literature is reiterated in another sub-set of the organic agriculture literature, which seeks to conceptualise organic agriculture as a type of social movement. As it was argued earlier in the summary of the historical analysis literature, organic agriculture emerged as a system of ideas about how agriculture should be practiced that were directly opposed to the agricultural industrialisation occurring in the early part of the 20th Century.

Given that organic agriculture has been conceptualised as a mechanism to limit the negatives social, economic and environmental impacts associated with the industrialisation of agriculture, it is no surprise that an important sub-set of the organic agriculture literature, conceptualises organic agriculture as a type of social movement and applies social movement theories to understand organic agriculture.

This literature focuses primarily on the conflicts that occur as advocates of organic agriculture attempt to promote the uptake of organic agriculture. Efforts to conceptualise organic agriculture as a type of social movement within the literature have focused attention on the actors, discourses and spaces involved in conflicts to define what organic agriculture is.

2.6.1 The Application of Social Movement Theory in the Global North

Belasco (1989) has outlined the development of organic agriculture in the US by examining the trials and tribulations of the US counterculture movement in its attempts to find alternative organisational patterns to embody the movement's rejection of industrial society. While Belasco (1989:97) has claimed that many of these alternatives collapsed from the 'troublesome overlap between counterculture and capitalism' and the 'organizational problems of building and maintaining alternative institutions', Belasco has argued that ideas linking nature and health, at the core of the counterculture movement, laid the ideological groundwork for the later growth of organic movement in the US.

Egri (1994:155) has demonstrated how ideology and subjectivity have been important in 'framing and focusing struggles of resistance' to industrial agriculture in British Columbia, Canada. The power of the organic family farmers to resist industrial agriculture, claims Egri (1994:153), is compromised by a 'crises of identity and direction' of the wider organic movement. While some elements within the organic movement oppose compromise with government, conventional agriculture and agribusiness, others elements are shown to support a more pragmatic position of commercialisation and institutionalisation.

Drawing on evidence from Denmark, Kaltoft (1999) has argued that the organic farming movement represents a shift from modernity to reflexive modernity in which society reflects upon its engagement in modern industrial practices and attempts to redress some of its more deleterious aspects.

In attempting to demonstrate the importance of meaning in shaping the development of the organic agriculture in Ireland, Tovey (1999:23) has argued that the Irish organic agriculture movement involves a range of actors, including farmers, consumers and traders, who for various reasons want to define a different vision of 'food production and rural society'. In a second article, Tovey (2002) has argued that, by neglecting social movement theories, rural and agricultural sociologists have ignored issues of collective or individual agency in favour of macro-level analysis. Tovey (2002) has argued that rather than being simply coopted by external forces, movement activists face a constant struggles to balance communicative and strategic goals. Irish organic farmers, argues Tovey (2002), are able to resist pressure to conform to purely instrumental goals due to the adoption of a radically different

‘cosmological commitment’ that prevents them from adopting production techniques without due consideration of the impact on nature and society.

Moore (2006), meanwhile, has claimed that the upsurge in organic farmers’ markets in Ireland is a response to the contradictory pull between institutionalisation and radicalisation within the organic movement as it operates within the market sphere³⁸. Moore (2006) combines Melucci’s notion that collective action is inseparable from the processes involved in collective identity production with Foucault’s notion of power and resistance to argue that the Irish organic movement is a continuously contested and emergent discursive field, which adapts to prevailing conditions and internal dynamics³⁹.

Drawing on evidence from hearings, membership meetings, commentaries and interviews, Vos (2000) has shown how the organic movement in the US opposed the introduction of genetic modification, sewage sludge and food irradiation into US organic regulations by mobilising grass roots opposition to the regulation of these practices. Ingram & Ingram (2004) used the controversy over the proposed US regulations to understand the impact of social movements on public policy. Ingram & Ingram (2004:125) attempt to understand how social movements ‘strategize and frame their arguments in order to achieve political victory and wider appeal’. Ingram & Ingram (2004) have claimed that the marketplace provided the organic movement with financial support when it was denied state sponsored benefits open to conventional agriculture and contend that the organic movement protected the integrity of organic standards by deploying a ‘right to choose’ master frame that resonated with consumers.

Klintman & Boström (2004) have deployed the framing concept to examine debates over food labelling in the US and Sweden. Klintman & Boström (2004) have focused on how science and ideology are framed in debates about organic labelling. They argue that US labelling debates involve adversarial positions on basic purposes and concerns making nuanced debate about core problems difficult. Swedish debates over labelling are said to occur within an accepted eco-pragmatic frame, which makes it easier to gain acceptance but

³⁸ Moore is critical of the concepts of conventionalisation and bifurcation (see section 4.0 below) used to explain developments in organic agriculture, which he views as dualistic and non-dialectical.

³⁹ Moore attempts to replace dualist conceptualisations with the concept of post-organic to account for the contradictory pull between institutionalisation and radicalisation within the organic movement.

excludes certain labelling issues considered to be outside of the frame. In a second article, Boström & Klintman (2006) have drawn again on social movement theory to examine why US state-centred and Swedish non-state standards differ⁴⁰. According to Boström & Klintman (2006), different configurations of actors in each case result in different types of regulatory occupation. In the case of Sweden, where there is cooperation amongst interests, regulatory occupation occurs from within, leading to stable frames but rigid taken for granted standards. In the US, regulatory occupation comes from above, from the state, which can set rules that undermine the position of social movement actors.

Reed (2001, 2002, 2005, 2008) has undertaken a number of analyses in the UK context in which organic agriculture is conceptualised as a type of social movement. In 'Fight for the Future!' Reed (2001:132) has examined the 'unfolding of the discourse of the British organic movement, through its principal vehicle the Soil Association'. Reed (2001) has demonstrated how certain unpalatable elements of organic philosophy have been jettisoned to facilitate the growth of organic agriculture. According to Reed (2001) key individual actors, such as former Soil Association President E.F. Schumacher, acted to reconstruct the discourse of the Soil Association, away from inconclusive scientific arguments and towards moral arguments, which fed off growing evidence of the health risks associated with industrial agriculture.

In a separate article, Reed (2002) has examined the pivotal role of organic farmers and farmer organizations in opposing the introduction of Genetically Modified (GM) crops. Reed (2002) does this by focusing on the values, relationships, tactics, actions and discourses of various actors' involved in the anti-GM campaign. Reed (2002:482) has argued that the organic movement was able to mobilise support and 'construct the debates about genetically modified food', through the work of organizations, such as the UK Soil Association, and the advocacy of high profile individuals, such as the Prince of Wales.

In a third article, Reed (2006) has demonstrated how the campaign to stop the introduction of GM crops in the UK, led by the organic movement, increased acceptance of organic products and production practices within the wider community. Reed (2006) draws on the 'network' metaphor and a decentred dialectical approach from Foucault, to map out the policy and issue

⁴⁰ By analysing processual factors, such as framing and organizing, as well as contextual factors, such as political culture, pre-regulatory arrangements and organizational structures.

networks involved in the campaign to oppose the introduction of GM in the UK⁴¹. According to Reed (2006), this represents a shift in governance of rural spaces, away from traditional actors, such as farmers, towards actors, such as consumers, without direct interest in production.

In a later paper, Reed (2008) has used the organic food and farming movement as one of three case studies to demonstrate that rural areas have become important spaces for protest. According to Reed, the success of the organic movement's mobilisation of resistance to GM crops demonstrates how organic agriculture should not be dismissed simply as a privileged lifestyle choice or as a profit tool for agri-business interests.

Lobley *et al* (2005:5) have argued that organic agriculture can be seen not just as a system of standards used to facilitate economic transactions, but also as a social movement. According to Lobley *et al* (2005), solidarity exists within informal networks associated with the exchange of organic products that has positive benefits for farmers. Farmers' benefit from 'relations of trust' with consumers sympathetic to their situation and from the existence of shared beliefs and solidarity with organizations representing organic farmers, which have a wider mandate than simply maximising productivity and returns for members.

Alroe & Noe (2008) have argued that there are multiple meanings associated with organic agriculture and suggest that a 'polyocular' approach provides a balanced and comprehensive understanding of the future development direction of organic agriculture. Because the polyocular approach is grounded in theories that argue what we see is dependent on how we see it, there is 'no hope to find one complete and accurate representation of a complex reality such as organic agriculture' (Alroe & Noe 2008:10). Alroe & Noe have suggested three different perspectives: organics as alternative to conventional; organic agriculture as value-based self-organising system; and organic agriculture as a market opportunity, to illustrate how concepts expressed within different perspectives will have different meanings.

⁴¹ Reed (2006) is critical that there has been little analysis of the role of the organic movement in the development of organic agriculture within the existing literature. He qualifies this by arguing that the organic movement has until recently been submerged and has only, in the case of the UK, come to prominence with the emergence of debates over GM crops.

2.6.2 Social Movement Literature in the Global South

While there are references to organic agriculture as a social movement within the Global South literature, specific analyses using social movement theories is limited. One exception is Luttikholt (2007), who analyses the capacity of the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM) to generate principles which encompass the diversity of interests in the global organic agriculture movement. According to Luttikholt (2007:348), principles developed at the IFOAM general assembly in Australia in 2005 have been developed in an attempt to ‘bridge the values of the founders and current developments towards globalisation of organic agriculture’. Luttikholt (2007) has raised two questions about the authority of IFOAM to define such principles. The first is – who is able to participate in this process, and the second – how can an organization, such as IFOAM, ‘with such diverse membership’ claim to articulate ‘the values for a whole movement’⁴² (Luttikholt 2007:349).

2.6.3 Relevance of Social Movement Theory Literature

As the summary of the literature above demonstrates, organic agriculture involves ongoing conflicts over the meanings ascribed to organic agriculture practices and principles. This is a key lens through which this thesis analyses the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. The literature summarised above, demonstrates how organic agriculture principles and practices change over time through a range of interactions between actors located both within and outside the movement. The literature clearly demonstrates how the grounding of the organic agriculture movement in market exchange relations creates tensions for the organic movement as it attempts to reconcile material and cultural concerns.

Conceptualising organic agriculture as a social movement is particularly useful as it enables this thesis to analyse the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South as involving ongoing conflicts over meaning, between a range of actors operating within a number of different spaces. While many of the analyses above are part of the European New Social Movement Theory (NSMT) tradition, which focuses on culture and identity, this thesis has

⁴² In March 2003 the IFOAM World Board formulated IFOAM’s mission as ‘Leading, uniting and assisting the organic movement in its full diversity. IFOAM’s goal is the worldwide adoption of ecologically, socially and economically sound systems that are based on the principles of organic agriculture’ (IFOAM 2003c:2).

adopted two theories located in the American tradition, framing analysis and RMT, because they are deemed as providing more relevant conceptual tools.

When combined with ANT, these concepts provide a means to conceptualise the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South as occurring within complex networks of relations in which a variety of actors holding different interests and values act to (re)negotiate the principles and practices associated with organic agriculture. This (re)negotiation of the principles and practices associated with organic agriculture is undertaken so as to accommodate the wide diversity of interests and values of movement members, without which it would be difficult for the movement to continue to grow.

2.7 Conclusion

It is clear from this exhaustive review of the existing literature that there exist ongoing conflict and negotiation over the principles and practices which define organic agriculture. The network of relations through which these practices and principles are negotiated and prescribed are both complex and evolving and the summary of the literature, above, goes some way to outlining this. The summaries of the literature provide an important starting point from which to develop a clear and consistent theoretical and methodological approach that can be applied to understanding the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

The historical literature has focused attention on the role of individuals and organizations in formulating organic agriculture principles and practices, as well as the role of individuals, organizations and written texts in disseminating organic practices and principles. The summary of the historical literature also draws attention to the need to conceptualise organic agriculture as a system of ideas about how agriculture should be practiced and thus to the importance of meaning and interpretation in any analysis of the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

The summary of the literature pertaining to farmer and consumer behaviour clearly demonstrates how actors are motivated to participate in the production and consumption of organic products because doing so meets a complex array of interests and values held by these actors. As the summary of the literature has demonstrated, though, the interests and

values of farmers and consumers are neither uniform nor static. This raises important questions about the impact of this diversity on the future sustainability of supply chain relations involving actors with differing interests and values.

As the summary of the literature examining private and public regulation has shown, the uptake of organic agriculture has been facilitated by activities to inscribe organic principles and practices in private and public regulatory mechanisms. As it was shown, such mechanisms not only provide an important means to stimulate the uptake of organic agriculture, by fostering market exchange relations, but are also critical in defining what organic agriculture is and who can or cannot participate in the production and consumption of organic agriculture. The literature on regulation also highlighted the role of public support mechanisms, such as subsidies, in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture.

While the political economy literature demonstrated a tendency for market exchange relations to result in the ‘conventionalisation’ or ‘institutionalisation’ of organic agriculture and as a result the erosion of environmental sustainability, it was argued in the summary of the literature that political economy analyses tend to neglect the role of cultural factors in shaping supply chain relations.

The summary of the cultural ‘turn’ literature demonstrated a number of alternative theories and concepts, which have been deployed to overcome the materialist bias of political economy analyses. The summary of the literature drew specific attention to the importance of meaning and interpretation in shaping relations and the role of ANT as one approach which can accommodate the symbolic in analysis, whilst also acknowledging the critical role of non-human actors in organising social reality.

The summary of the use of social movement theories to understand the dynamics of the organic agriculture phenomenon demonstrated the value of conceptualising organic agriculture as a type of social movement. In particular, it was shown that the combination of framing analysis and RMT could be particularly useful tools because they enable the thesis to conceptualise all activities associated with organic agriculture as attempts to mobilise movement adherents, whilst focusing on the role of meaning and interpretation in these mobilisation processes.

Taking all of these insights together, it is argued that the task of analysing the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South requires the combination of ANT, RMT and framing analysis. In this regard, organic agriculture will be conceptualised, in the language of ANT, as an effect generated through the ongoing interactions of an array of actors. These interactions are heterogeneous in that they involve both human and non-human actors, who through a range of ongoing interactions continually (re)negotiate and (re)prescribe what is meant by the term organic agriculture.

By conceptualising organic agriculture also, in the language of RMT and framing analysis, as a type of social movement, all activities associated with the uptake of organic agriculture are viewed simultaneously as attempts to mobilise movement ‘adherents’ into a larger organic agriculture movement, including those activities related to the construction and maintenance of market exchange relations. By combining ANT’s heterogeneous theoretical and methodological approach, which ruthlessly ascribes agency to human and non-human actors, with framing analysis’ attention to meaning and interpretation, the unique qualities of human actors for reflection can be reconciled with the material.

In combining ANT with RMT and framing analysis, this thesis is able to define movement mobilisation as a rational activity, which relies on the capacity of participation in organic agriculture related activities to deliver incentives to movement adherents, which resonate with their interests and values. While this reinforces the importance of market exchange relations as a primary means of stimulating adherent mobilisation it also recognises that these relations are not solely material in nature but are mediated by complex considerations of value which are not solely economic.

In conceptualising the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South through these three particular theoretical lenses, this thesis is able to demonstrate how: the uptake of organic agriculture relies on the capacity of market exchange relations to deliver incentives that resonate with the diversity of interests and values held by potential adherents; the diversity of interests and values amongst movement adherents results in the constant (re)negotiation of organic agriculture principles and practices; the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has relied on strategic actions taken to frame organic agriculture as providing social

and economic benefits to smallholders in the Global South; and the constant (re)negotiation of organic agriculture principles and practices creates ongoing tensions and conflicts within the organic movement.

The following chapter outlines the concepts used in this thesis in greater detail as a precursor to their deployment in later chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

Theorising the Processes and Outcomes Associated with the Uptake of Organic Agriculture in the Global South

Actor-network theory is a disparate family of material-semiotic tools, sensibilities and methods of analysis that treat everything in the social and natural worlds as a continuously generated effect of the webs of relations within which they are located.

Law 2007:1

In order to predict the likelihood of preferences being translated into collective action, the mobilisation perspective focuses upon the pre-existing organization and integration of those segments of a population, which share preferences.

McCarthy & Zald 2003:171

Social movement scholars interested in framing processes begin by taking as problematic what until the mid-1980s the literature largely ignored: meaning work – the struggle over the production of mobilising and counter mobilising ideas and meanings.

Benford & Snow 2000:613

3 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explicate a consistent theoretical approach to explain the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. The theoretical approach offered in this chapter draws on insights from three specific sociological theories - Actor-Network Theory (ANT), Framing Analysis and Resource mobilisation Theory (RMT). ANT, Framing Analysis and RMT provide complimentary conceptual tools, which can be used to investigate the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This particular theoretical approach has been selected to focus attention on network construction processes underpinning the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

ANT provides a useful starting point from which to begin building a coherent conceptual framework. ANT is an attempt to overcome the human centeredness and dualisms (micro/macro, human/non-human) inherent in social theory (Murdoch 1997). Within the ANT literature, actors and networks are viewed as intimately entwined. That is to say, when entities become enrolled into networks they achieve a shape or function which reflects the network to which they are enmeshed (Murdoch 1997). The identity of an actor is produced as an effect of the complex networks of relations in which it is embedded. Conversely, the identity of a network is produced as an effect of the actors that make it up. In treating everything as a ‘continuously generated effect’, nothing has reality outside of the ‘ongoing enactment of these relations’ (Law 2007:1). Accordingly reality is *materially semiotic*, in that relations exist both between things (material) and between concepts (semiotic) (Law 2007).

Methodologically, ANT is preoccupied with tracing and describing the construction and maintenance of specific associations (Latour 2005). This preoccupation manifests from a concern with understanding how some relations are formed and manage to hold together, when others do not (Callon & Law 1982; Law 1992, 1994). ANT’s insistence that all phenomena are network effects leads this thesis to conceptualise organic agriculture as an effect generated through ongoing interactions of a range of actors. Methodologically, this leads to concern with tracing and describing the various associations implicated in the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

While ANT provides useful tools to reconceptualise social reality in more symmetrical ways, the emphasis on treating human and non-human actors equally neglects to account for the unique properties of human actors. As Murdoch (2001:127) claims,

...while humans are enmeshed within networks of heterogeneous relations, they retain distinctive qualities as members of such networks ... linked to language and culture and the ability to reflect upon circumstances.

In order to overcome ANT’s neglect of the distinctive qualities of humans, whilst continuing to focus on associational processes, this thesis adopts insights from Framing Analysis and Resource mobilisation Theory (RMT).

Framing Analysis and RMT focus specifically on processes involved in social movement mobilisation. When combined with ANT, Framing Analysis and RMT offer a consistent approach to explain network construction processes implicated in the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

The central value of adopting Framing Analysis is that it focuses attention on the relationship between ideology, beliefs and action in movement mobilisation. Framing is viewed in the literature as a strategic activity undertaken to mobilise movement adherents and achieve social change (Snow & Benford 1992). The central argument of value to this thesis is contention that movement mobilisation only occurs if the collective action frames, offered by a social movement to mobilise support, resonates with the interests and values of potential participants.

The central value of adopting insights from RMT is its use of the rational action model to explain movement mobilisation. By adopting a rational actor behavioural model, RMT focused attention on resource mobilisation as a key determinant of social movement success. This led to a preoccupation with organizational dynamics and the argument that movement mobilisation is reliant on the delivery of *selective incentives* (Jenkins 1983). When RMT and framing analysis are combined it is argued that movement mobilisation occurs only when participation delivers selective incentives to potential participants, which resonate with their interests and values.

While the focus on selective incentives implies tangible and indivisible material incentives, such as the salaries offered to movement organization staff and membership benefits offered to movement supporters, this thesis takes on a broader definition of selective incentives, informed by the cultural 'turn' in sociology (Wilkinson 1997), which includes intangible and divisible solidarity, moral and status incentives. This enables the thesis to include cultural concerns underpinning movement mobilisation.

By combining ANT, framing analysis and RMT to explain network construction processes implicated in the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South, this thesis provides an approach which can be applied to a range of actors and relations. As it was demonstrated in the previous chapter, the uptake of organic agriculture, in both the Global North and South,

includes a range of actors and networks of relations. This includes networks of relations involving actors engaged in struggles to remake society in ways reflecting particular social, environmental and economic concerns, as well as networks of relations involving actors engaged in relations involving the exchange of goods. While it useful to conceptualise social reality as heterogeneously engineered so as to acknowledge the role of non-human actors, it is also useful to account for the fact that human actors have specific language skills and the capacity for reflection when attempting to understand how they become mobilised or enrolled into stable network relations, such as those associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

Such an approach does not attempt to privilege one type of relation or type of actor over another but attempts to account for the full diversity of actors and networks involved in facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This means analysing relations engaged with activities defined as social movement activities, alongside relations defined as market exchange activities.

This approach recognises that relations are heterogeneously engineered, made up of both human and non-human elements and involving relations which are both material and semiotic. This means conceiving the identities or attributes of network elements as effects, produced relationally through ongoing interactions and accounting for the role of non-human actors as mediating relations.

This particular approach recognises, though, that human actors have distinctive characteristics arising from their use of language (and thus their capacity for reflection), which make them different from non-human actors. This means that the relationship between human interests, values and actions needs to be accounted for when attempting to understand network construction processes.

This approach recognises that human actors are rational and participate in networks of relations because participation delivers selective incentives which resonate with their interests and values and that the interests and values held by participants are effects produced through association. This means that the interests and values held by actors are relationally produced through ongoing interactions within heterogeneous networks.

Whilst they emerge from different theoretical origins and utilise different language, RMT, ANT, and framing analysis provide a useful suite of conceptual tools to analyse the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. What unites these theories is the common concern for understanding mobilisation/network construction processes. As this thesis will demonstrate, an understanding of mobilisation/network construction processes is essential to understanding the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. While RMT and framing analysis focus on relations involved with social movement activity, ANT widens the analytical scope of the thesis to include any relations implicated in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This enables the thesis to include relations involved with market exchange. The origins, core concepts and criticisms of each of these three theories are discussed in detail in the remainder of this chapter.

3.1 Actor-Network Theory (ANT)

ANT developed primarily within the sociology of science and technology. ANT's primary advocates: Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, and John Law, formulated ANT's core concepts from a collective interest in reconceptualising the processes involved in ordering reality. A key concern within the emerging literature was a desire to develop a better understanding of how patterned social order is generated and held together and how some actors are capable of enrolling others into sets of stable interactions when others are not (Callon & Law 1982; Law 1992, 1994). An implicit assumption underlying this approach is that durable networks of relations are not easily formed but take a great deal of effort.

At its core, ANT adopts the network metaphor, popular in economic sociology (Granovetter 1985), as a central conceptual and methodological tool. As Hughes (2000:178) argues the network metaphor, 'at the most general level of analysis ... captures the pattern of webs of interdependence existing between different sets of actors'. The network metaphor implies that entities should be understood with regard to their relationship with other entities (Law 1999). As Pugliese (2001:115) claims, network analysis 'allows researchers to follow the process of network building and to observe how actors and systems co-evolve'.

Using the network metaphor, ANT conceptualises the identity of actors and networks as intimately entwined and co-produced. As Lee & Brown (1994:775) argue, ‘the elements bound together in a network (including the people) are constituted and shaped by their involvement with each other’.

[An] actor and the network are essentially embedded in each other ... the actor’s identity ... evolves within the network context ... [and the] network at the same time can be identified as a structured product of the identities of its participants.

Kostov & Lingard 2001:20-21

Taking a co-constructionist approach, an ANT analysis attempts to understand how ‘relations and entities come into being together’, such that the identities of entities within a particular network of relations emerge as the heterogeneous materials exchange their properties (Murdoch 2001:111).

An essential aspect of the co-constructivist approach is ascribing agency to non-human entities. As Murdoch (2001:118) claims, the separation of ‘ontological categories of society and nature’ is ‘meaningless’ because non-human entities, both technological and natural, are important and interdependent in the process of network construction. Accordingly, Law (1992:2) conceptualizes social reality as made up of ‘patterned networks of heterogeneous materials’.

Holding to this, ANT offers a relational view of power in which power is not *held* by individuals but is a relational effect of the interactions between actors, both human and non-human (Lockie & Kitto 2000). This is similar to post-modern and post-structural view of power, forwarded by both Foucault and Giddens (Clegg 1989), in which power and agency is viewed as an effect of ongoing attempts to enrol actors into stable networks of relations ‘formed to advance actor projects’ (Goodman & Goodman 2001:98). If power ‘lies anywhere’, claims Murdoch (1995:752), ‘it is in the resources used to strengthen the bonds’ between actors.

The capacity of non-human actors to actively participate in the construction of other actors’ identity is an important preoccupation within the ANT literature. As Valentine (2002:2)

argues, '[o]bjects can define actors, the space in which they move, the ways in which they interact, allocating roles and responsibilities and vesting them with moral content'⁴³. According to Murdoch (2001), non-human actors have the ability to act upon other actors because they exchange properties and shape meaning. This is why Law (2007) defines ANT as material semiotics. Elements within a network, both human and non-human, define and shape one another through meaning.

Non-human actors are also important in social ordering processes. For one, material objects impute a degree of durability to network relations. As Murdoch (1998:359) argues, 'it is the mixing of human actions and non-human materials which allow networks to both endure beyond the present and remain stable across space'. Non-human entities, such as walls and palaces, provide durability beyond that afforded alliances enforced by mere social contract and enable micro actors/phenomena to grow into macro actors/phenomena. Material objects are also 'actants', intimately involved in ordering struggles. The identity and characteristics of material objects are not, though, natural or inherently given but are constituted as a result of ongoing interactions between elements within situated relations. They are, so to speak, relational effects in the same manner as human actors.

One type of non-human entity of particular importance in the ordering of social relations in modern society are inscriptions. According to Callon (2002), inscriptions have considerable technical and social ordering capacity. Inscriptions can: represent and stand for other things, confer durability to social orderings, extend the temporal and spatial reach of network relations, construct the identity of the other human and non-human actors, and as such act to define the practices undertaken within a specific set of relations.

A significant feature of inscriptions, such as texts, is their mobility and durability (Law 1987; Latour 1987; Law 1994, Callon 2002). Inscriptions, such as texts, can stand for or represent complex social phenomena and be readily transmitted or transported geographically largely undeformed. This is particularly true with the advent and widespread use of electronic inscription devices (computers) and associated telecommunication technologies (internet).

⁴³ An example of this might be sunscreen. The act of placing sunscreen upon material bodies to stop sunburn alters ones thinking and future action by reinforcing the concept of prevention. In accepting that the act of placing sunscreen on one's body prevents sunburn and skin damage this portrays an identity of cautious upon the person engaged in this act.

The mobility and durability of objects, such as inscriptions, are not inherent qualities of such artefacts but ‘relational effects’ produced through association (Law 1994). Inscriptions should be understood, not as an object that describes reality but as a social ordering tool which may construct the practices within the networks of relations in which such inscriptions are embedded.

Methodologically, ANT replaces macro-level analysis with analysis of situated social action. Macro-level processes, such as globalisation; structures, such as capitalism; and entities, such as organizations, are re-conceptualized as extensions of and attempts to sum up situated social action (Lockie & Kitto 2000). Situated social action is able to be temporally and spatially extended through the mobilisation and enrolment of specific non-human actors called *immutable mobiles*. Immutable mobiles include ‘technologies of telecommunication, transport and inscription’ (Lockie & Kitto 2000:7). Immutable mobiles act as network mediators enabling ‘action at a distance’. As networks of relations become longer and more complex, network mediators become more important to network performance (Whatmore & Thorne 1997).

The ANT literature deploys the translation concept to conceptualise the process by which actors become enrolled into stable associations. Translation denotes a process of ‘negotiation, representation and displacement’ of interests in the establishment of a network of relations (Murdoch 1998:362). Translation describes how interests, which are outcomes of previous attempts at network construction, are manipulated to form new network associations (Callon & Law 1982).

As Law (1999) argues, all network relations are precarious and formed through an ongoing process of translation in which the elements within a network are made equivalent. As Callon & Latour (1981:296) argue, ‘In order to grow we must enrol other wills by translating what they want and by reifying this translation in such a way that none of them can desire anything else any longer’. By translating the interests of others a network can be mobilised and stabilized to produce a desired outcome, such as the cross border trade of an agricultural commodity (Lockie & Kitto 2000).

According to Callon (1986), there are four moments which are involved in the process of translation: *problematization*, *interessement*, *enrolment*, and *mobilisation*. The first moment, *problematization*, is when an actor or group of actors define themselves as indispensable to the solving of a particular issue. In doing so, they set themselves up as an Obligatory Passage Point (OPP) through which others must pass in order to solve the problem and define the set of actors and their identities.

Interessement involves the locking in of allies into the network through a device. The identities of the actors involved required to attain the particular goal are defined and locked in through the deployment of a technical device which severs existing links and forms new bonds (Callon 1986; Higgens 2006; Higgens & Kitto 2004). As Donaldson *et al* 2002 argue, 'During "interessement" the first actor presents its agenda in such a way that a second actor might allow itself to be represented by the first'.

In the third moment, *enrolment*, agreement is made between the actors and a stabilised network relationship ensues. According to Callon (1986:10) enrolment,

... designates the device by which a set of interrelated roles is defined and attributed to actors who accept them. ... To describe enrolment is thus to describe the group of multilateral negotiations, trials of strength and tricks that accompany the interessements and enable them to succeed.

Put simply, enrolment is possible if the rewards offered by enrolment are better than those already open to a given actor (Busch & Juska 1997).

In the fourth moment, *mobilisation*, the solution (and thus new relationship) is accepted only if a wider group of actors accepts that they can be represented by a spokesperson. As Callon (1986:18-19) argues,

...to translate is also to express in one's own language what others say and want, why they act in the way they do and how they associate with each other: it is to establish oneself as a spokesman [sic].

Each of the moments in this process of translation form the essential building blocks of a universal process of network construction in which the interests of actors are made equivalent to form stable alliances. As it will be demonstrated, though, there are several problems with the translation approach, which can only be rectified by acknowledging the unique qualities of human actors in explaining the construction and maintenance of associations, such as those implicated in the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

Aside from the focus on re-conceptualizing social reality as heterogeneously engineered, there are two specific concepts from ANT, which are utilised in this thesis to analyse the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South – *modes of ordering* and *spaces of prescription/negotiation*.

3.1.1 Modes of Ordering

To conceptualise how networks become durably held together, Law (1994) deploys the *modes of ordering* concept. This is similar to Foucault's conceptualization of discourse (Lockie 2004). Modes of ordering are 'ordering scripts' or 'coherences' that act to discursively organise the social materials that make up a stable set of network relations (Law 1994; Lockie 2004; Lockie & Kitto 2000; Whatmore & Thorne 1997).

Law (1994:83) conceptualises modes of ordering as intentional strategic logics that arrange network relations 'generated in and reproduced as part of the ordering of human and non-human relations'. Modes of ordering 'tell of the character of agency, the nature of organizational relations, how it is that interorganizational relations should properly be ordered' (Law 1994:20). These are not singular logics but can exist in multiplicity, impacting on an actor's enrolment in network configurations (Whatmore & Thorne 1997).

In the original text by Law (1994), four different modes of ordering were offered to explain the construction and maintenance of relations involved with a large scientific laboratory in the United Kingdom. Law (1994) argued that the laboratory was discursively ordered by four specific ordering scripts – 'enterprise', 'bureaucracy', 'Khunian puzzle solving' and 'charisma'. Each of these ordering scripts discursively order the relations involved in the working of the laboratory (Law 1994).

The modes of ordering concept has since been applied to studies within the rural studies literature. Whatmore & Thorne (1997) have applied the modes of ordering concept to analyse relations involved with the global trade of Fair Trade coffee. Whatmore and Thorne argue that two modes of ordering, 'enterprise' and 'connectivity', act to order the relations involved in Fair Trade networks.

Lyons (1999), meanwhile, has applied the modes of ordering concept to explain the entry and exit of a food manufacturer in the Australian organic sector. Lyons (1999) offers three 'modes of ordering' – economic efficiency, consumer health and environmental integrity, to explain the manufacturers failed attempt to produce an organic version of its popular breakfast cereal.

In this thesis, the modes of ordering concept is applied to a case study of relations involved in the production and export of fresh organic pineapples from Uganda. This case study demonstrates the value of using the modes of ordering concept to explain how such relations are discursively ordered.

3.1.2 Spaces of Prescription and Negotiation

In attempting to explore whether ANT gives rise to a new kind of geographical analysis, Murdoch (1998) conceptualises the types of spaces implicated by the adoption of an ANT approach. Murdoch (1998) argues that the main types of spaces implicated through ANT analysis can be conceptualised as – *spaces of prescription* and/or *spaces of negotiation*.

The first type of space implicated by ANT is spaces of prescription. Spaces of prescription connote a type of space where the links and relations within a given network are stabilised. In this type of network the links and relations are standardised and 'heavy with norms as Callon (1992:91) puts it' (Murdoch 1998:362). Such networks impose a rigid order and are capable of fending off attempts to enrol network elements in alternative network configurations.

Murdoch (1998) counterpoises this with spaces of negotiation. In spaces of negotiation the links between network elements are more provisional and norms harder to establish. In these networks order is less rigid and elements are more readily coopted into alternative network configurations.

Murdoch (1998) argues that spaces and negotiation and prescription are not separate entities but two sides of the same coin. Murdoch (19998) argues that even in prescriptive spaces, where relations are standardised, there is always scope for negotiation.

The spaces of prescription and negotiation concepts are useful to apply in the analysis of the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Conceptualising spaces as prescriptive and heavy in norms or negotiated and provisional enables the thesis to highlight the tensions that exist as organic agriculture is taken up in the Global South and new actors are mobilised into the complex associations that give rise to the broader organic agriculture phenomenon. As this thesis will demonstrate, the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South relies on both spaces of prescription and negotiation.

In this thesis I use several cases studies to demonstrate the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South as simultaneously involving spaces of prescription and spaces of negotiation and delineate where actors agree and disagree on a common view of organic agriculture. What is shown is that multiple representations and identities exist and thus it is difficult to establish rigid norms despite the apparent unity of organic agriculture as a concept and practice.

3.1.3 Criticism of ANT

ANT has been criticized on a number of fronts in its attempts to break down dualisms and provide a symmetrical approach to analyzing social reality. Murdoch (2001:121), for example, has claimed that the terminology used within ANT is neither ‘innovative nor novel’ and fails to extend understanding beyond conventional sociological analysis.

One criticism is that ANT is not actually a theory but simply a methodology. As Buttel (2001:175) argues ANT is a ‘methodological injunction, rather than theoretical approach’. This assertion is not lost on Latour (1999:20-21), who has argued that ANT is,

... simply a way for the social scientists to access sites, a method and not a theory, a way to travel from one spot to the next, from one field site to the next, not an interpretation of what actors do simply glossed in a different more palatable and more universalist (sic)

language ... ANT does not tell anyone the shape that is to be drawn-circles or cubes or lines-but only how to go about systematically recording the world-building abilities of the sites to be documented and registered.

Higgins & Kitto (2004) concur, labelling ANT as a useful methodology for exploring socio-technical devices as governance tools.

A second criticism relates to the co-constructionist symmetrical approach offered by the ANT. In attempting to ascribe agency to non-human entities, Murdoch (2001) argues that ANT fails to accurately reflect the socio-natural world because humans, having language, are distinctively different from other natural entities.

The ability of humans to be reflexive is said to create an important distinction between human and non-human entities. As Murdoch (2001:123) argues, by neglecting this distinction and portraying human and non-humans as co-constructions it becomes difficult to understand 'how and why humans develop their beliefs and execute their actions'.

If one is to talk of interest translation and of interests being effects produced through previous attempts at network building as Callon & Law (1982) do, then one must also talk of the relationship between these interests and network construction processes. While Murdoch's (2001) argument is helpful in focusing attention on the relationship between interests and network construction this thesis adopts concepts from framing analysis as tools to account for the unique capacity of human actors for reflection.

3.1.4 Relevance of ANT to this Thesis

The benefits of adopting ANT to analyse the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South is that it focuses attention on the fact that there are a range of relations implicated in these processes. The uptake of organic agriculture does not just involve relations commonly identified as associated with the organic agriculture movement but also the relations involved in exchange of organic products through the market. ANT also draws attention to network construction processes and highlights the role of non-human actors in mediating these relations. ANT also draws attention to the semiotic nature of these relations.

3.2 Framing Analysis

As it was argued, above, analysis of the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South requires conceptual tools to re-conceptualise social reality in more symmetrical terms, as co-constructions of human and non-human elements. As it was outlined, though, in attempting to offer a symmetrical analytical approach ANT fails to pay adequate attention to the way that human actors, as reflexive language based agents, differ from non-human entities.

To overcome the deficiencies of ANT, this thesis offers framing analysis as providing conceptual tools to rectify this deficiency. Framing analysis continues to focus on issues of network construction by offering up a range of tools to investigate movement mobilisation processes within social movements. Built on the assumption that meaning is prefatory to action, framing analysis provides theoretical concepts to explain movement mobilisation as being reliant on the capacity of a social movement to frame movement participation as resonant with the interest and values of potential participants.

3.2.1 Development and Background of Framing Analysis

Framing analysis is informed by the work of Erving Goffman and his use of the ‘interpretive frame’ concept. Framing analysis, therefore, has close affinities with the analytical approach of symbolic interactionism. Framing analysis is also informed by the work of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, who argued that reality is socially constructed through the discursive negotiations of social actors (Snow & Benford 1992). Framing analysis is built on the assumption that meaning is: ‘prefatory to action’; ‘derived (and transformed) via social interaction’; ‘subject to differential interpretations’; and ‘negotiated, contested, modified, articulated, and rearticulated’ (Benford 1997:410).

According to the framing analysis approach, the primary function of a social movement is as a signifying agent. Rather than just being carriers of existing ideas, social movements are also ‘actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning’ (Snow & Benford 1992:136). Framing is viewed as a strategic and deliberate activity undertaken by social movement actors to mobilise resources, such as supporters and money, and thus facilitate the achievement of social movement objectives and goals. Framing does this by affecting the

way that actors ‘perceive their interests, identities, and possibilities for change’ (Campbell 2005:49). Movement mobilisation occurs when the frames offered by social movements resonate with the interests and values of potential participants.

The central concept in the framing perspective is *collective action frames*. Collective action frames emphasize or specify an issue for the purpose of promoting movement mobilisation. As Snow and Benford (1992:137) argue, a collective action frame is,

an interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses the ‘world out there’ by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one’s present or past environment.

Collective action frames legitimate and inspire action by making ‘events or occurrences meaningful’ enabling individuals to locate and label experiences within their lives (Benford & Snow 2000; Snow *et al* 1986). Collective action frames accentuate the seriousness of a social condition; personify it as in need of change; identify culpable agents; and suggest ameliorative actions (Snow & Benford 1992).

For their success, collective action frames rely on *frame alignment*. Frame alignment occurs when social movement activities, goals and ideology are linked or aligned with individual interests or values through collective action frames (Snow *et al* 1986).

3.2.2 Core Framing Tasks

The framing analysis literature specifies a number of key strategic tasks required to mobilise actors. These are defined in the literature as *core framing tasks*. Drawing on Wilson’s (1973) deconstruction of ideology into three distinct but interrelated tasks, Snow & Benford (1988; 2000) propose three core framing tasks, *diagnostic framing*, *prognostic framing* and *motivational framing* as being critical to movement mobilisation (Benford & Snow 2000; Snow & Benford 1988). mobilisation is dependent upon how well these three core framing tasks are developed and the degree to which they are complimentary (Snow & Benford 1988).

3.2.2.1 Diagnostic Framing

Diagnostic framing involves the identification of a particular social condition or situation as immoral or unjust. Activists identify the victims of the injustice and amplify their status as

victim. Diagnostic framing also involves the attribution of blame or determination of the cause of the problematic condition, which is referred to as the 'adversarial frame'. While there may be consensus about the existence of a particular social condition or situation in need of remedy amongst movement participants there might not necessarily be consensus about the cause of the problem or who is to blame (Benford & Snow 2000; Klandermans *et al* 1999; Snow & Benford 1992).

3.2.2.2 Prognostic Framing

Prognostic framing involves the articulation of a solution to the perceived problem and the development of a plan or strategy for achieving the amelioration of the problem. According to Snow & Benford (1988) there is likely to be a relationship between diagnostic and prognostic framing efforts, such that the diagnosis will constrain the types of strategies and tactics that a movement may use in redressing the problem. Prognostic framing includes a process of 'counterframing' in which a movement mobilises against an opponents' framing effort. While this may appear problematic for a social movement it has been argued that this assists in the development of clearer and stronger collective action frames for social movements (Benford & Snow 2000).

3.2.2.3 Motivational Framing

Motivational framing involves the construction of 'vocabularies of motive' used to stimulate action. This differs from diagnostic and prognostic framing in that diagnostic and prognostic framing specifically involves consensus mobilisation whereas motivational framing involves the provision of a 'rationale for action' (Snow & Benford 1988). As Snow & Benford (1988:202-203) argue:

... consensus mobilisation does not necessarily yield to mobilisation ... diagnostic frames alone, no matter how richly developed, do little to affect action mobilisation and that, the more highly integrated the diagnostic, prognostic, and action frames, the higher the probability of becoming active in any particular cause.

As with prognostic framing activities, motivational framing is constrained by the way in which the problem is initially diagnosed and blame attributed. It is here that there is cross-

over with RMT as it is argued that motivational framing involves the delivery of selective incentives, in the form of material, status, solidarity or moral inducements, to motivate action (Snow & Benford 1988).

To understand the framing analysis approach further it is important to outline some of the many concepts offered to explain how collective action frames and frame alignment processes work in practice. This can be done by examining frame development processes and the concept of frame resonance.

3.2.3 Frame Development Processes

A number of concepts have been deployed to conceptualise how a particular frame is constructed and the various constraints facing frame construction processes. As Benford and Snow (2000) argue, there are three specific types of processes: *discursive*, *strategic* and *contested*, which impact on frame development.

3.2.3.1 Discursive Processes

Discursive processes involve acts of communication both oral and written in the course of movement activity and involve two distinct practices – *frame articulation* and *frame amplification*. *Frame articulation* involves the collection and alignment of existing ideas, events and experiences in a novel way ‘so that they hang together in a relatively unified and compelling fashion’ (Benford & Snow 2000:623). This provides an opportunity to see a problem in a new light in order to stimulate attention and mobilisation. *Frame amplification*, on the other hand, involves highlighting or emphasizing particular issues or beliefs as having greater importance than others. This is also commonly referred to as punctuating.

3.2.3.2 Strategic Processes

Strategic processes involve the deliberate development of strategic frames to stimulate movement mobilisation and acquire resources (Benford & Snow 2000). The framing analysis literature offers four specific strategic processes – *frame bridging*, *frame amplification*, *frame extension* and *frame transformation* – said to contribute to movement mobilisation.

Frame bridging is the most basic strategic process. It involves the connection of ‘two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames’ usually by linking a movement organization with ‘aggregates of individuals who share common grievances ... but who lack the organizational base for expressing their discontent’ (Snow *et al* 1986:467). *Frame amplification* occurs when a movement frame taps into existing cultural values and beliefs and amplifies them to stimulate support. *Frame extension* is the process whereby a social movement extends an existing frame to encompass concerns outside of the frame held by individuals in order to recruit new adherents or capture resources. If a movement extends a frame to encompass multiple interests and values, it can potentially face the problem of frame overextension and loss of support from its existing movement base. While this strategy potentially widens the pool of potential supporters it can lead to internal conflicts regarding ideological direction and thus undermine support for a movement as it becomes less resonant with its traditional constituents. *Frame transformation* involves the wholesale generation of new understandings to replace old ones (Benford & Snow 2000).

3.2.3.3 Contested Processes

Contested processes involve contestation over the control and construction of frames. Three types of contested processes have been identified in this regard: *counterframing by opponents, bystanders and media*; *internal frame disputes*; and the *dialectic between frames and events*.

Counterframing or ‘framing contests’ occur when an attempt is made to rebuff the claims of a social movement by an external opponent, bystander or media organization. This can lead to a process of reframing on the part of the social movement in an attempt to limit any damage caused by the counterframing effort (Benford & Snow 2000). Framing contests can also occur between actors located within social movements. These are called internal framing disputes and involve conflict over the attribution of blame, tactics, strategy and mobilisation techniques. The final type of movement contestation relates to the dialectical relationship between movement discourse and action. As discourse is mobilised it impacts on the types of actions available to activists and, in turn, affects the framings efforts of social movement actors.

3.2.4 Frame Resonance

Framing analysis uses the frame resonance concept to compliment its focus on collective action frame development. Frame resonance relates to the mobilising potential of a collective action frame (Benford & Snow 2000). The focus on frame resonance emerged in response to criticisms that frame analysis is ‘overly mechanistic’ and ‘nondialectical’ (Snow & Benford 1988:204). In response to these criticisms, Snow & Benford (1988:204) draw on Gramsci’s (1971) argument, that political education must be linked to the nature and structure of existing belief systems and Rude’s (1980) argument, that mobilisation is dependent on the degree to which movement ideology has built on ‘inherent ideology’ or the existing ‘stock of folk ideas and beliefs’, to develop concepts that can recognise the dialectical nature of framing processes. Two concepts, *frame credibility* and *relative salience*, are offered to understand the variability of framing effort.

3.2.4.1 Frame Credibility

Frame credibility is related to the efforts and claims of frame articulators and is divided into three dimensions; *frame consistency*, *empirical credibility* and the *credibility of frame articulators*. These have been deployed within the framing literature to understand the role of credibility in supporting framing processes undertaken by social movements.

Frame consistency, the first dimension of frame credibility, relates to the degree to which a social movement’s beliefs, values and claims are congruent with the actions of the social movement. If contradictions exist between beliefs and actions, this will undermine efforts to gain support. *Empirical credibility* is the degree to which the framings offered by social movement actors are readily verifiable through direct observation or by way of valid evidence. If framing claims aren’t directly observable it is the less likely that support will be forthcoming. The *credibility of frame articulators*, on the other hand, relates to the perceived authority of frame articulators. Frame articulators with status or perceived expertise create a sense of trust and therefore have greater credibility and ability to mobilise potential adherents or constituents (Benford & Snow 2000).

3.2.4.2 Relative Salience

While frame credibility relates to the articulators of a framing effort, relative salience relates to the actors who are the target of framing efforts and the congruence between a framing effort and their extant belief systems or ideologies. There are three components: *centrality*, *experiential commensurability* and *narrative fidelity*, which constrain acceptance of movement framing efforts (Benford & Snow 2000; Snow & Benford 1988).

Centrality relates to the ranking of values and beliefs of a potential supporter. As Snow & Benford (1988:2005) argue,

...if the values or beliefs the movement seeks to promote or defend are of low hierarchical salience within the larger belief system, the mobilising potential is weakened considerably and the task of political education or consciousness raising becomes more central but difficult.

If the values or beliefs the movement wish to promote are of low hierarchical salience within the hierarchy of values and beliefs held by adherents then this weakens the movements mobilising potential.

Experiential commensurability is the degree to which a frame is resonant with the everyday experiences of a mobilisation target. The more abstract a framing is the less salience it will have and the less mobilising capacity.

Narrative or cultural fidelity, as Snow & Benford (1988:210) argue, relates to the degree to which framings resonate with ‘stories, myths, and folk tales’ within a person’s life. Stories, myths and folk tales are important because they inform present interpretations of events and experiences and as such the greater the narrative fidelity, the greater the salience and chance of mobilisation.

Relative salience is important because it contributes to the potential success of a framing effort and its attempts to mobilise actors. As Snow & Benford (1988:211) argue

Hypothetically, if a frame is empirically credible, experientially commensurable, and narratively resonant, the stronger the consensus mobilisation and the more fertile the soil for action mobilisation.

Conversely, if a collective action frame is only linked to one core belief or value then a framing effort will be open to being discounted by potential supporters.

3.2.5 Criticisms of Framing Analysis

There are a number of criticisms that have been levelled at the framing perspective. One of its key proponents Benford (1997), for example, has put forward an extensive list of criticisms.

Benford (1997) argues that framing has a tendency to: neglect systematic empirical analysis in favour of conceptual development; elaborate a plethora of specific as opposed to more conceptually useful generic conceptual frames; view social movements as static entities and frames as static ‘things’ rather than as dynamic processes of negotiation and change; reify social movement frames as real when they are social constructions; personify social movements as having agency when it is individual actors which act on their behalf; be reductionist and de-emphasize individual actors own frames as being socially constructed; and focus on the views of social movement elites because of a methodological bias towards gathering empirical evidence from either key activists, movement documents and the media.

This is compounded by criticisms from Steinberg (1998, 2002), Williams (2002) and Goodwin & Jasper (1999) who argue that the framing approach portrays meaning generation and interpretation activities as overly instrumental and culturally narrow. They raise several different issues for framing analysis in this regard.

Firstly, framing analysis neglects the way that different individuals can interpret ‘words and phrasing’ differently based on their particular social location. Secondly, framing analysis portrays a situation of excessive voluntarism where ‘people can control, create, and distribute meanings much as they do material resources’ to the detriment of others. Thirdly, framing analysis neglects the way that such activities are constrained by existing cultural repertoires

(Williams 2002). Fourthly, framing analysis reduces culture to strategy⁴⁴ ignoring the diverse forms that culture takes, such as ‘tradition, “common sense”, material artefacts, idioms, rituals, news routines, know-how, identities, discourse and speech genres’ (Goodwin & Jasper 1999:24). Lastly, framing analysis is said to neglect analysis of the way in which emotions play a significant role in social movement mobilisation and success (Goodwin & Jasper 1999).

3.2.6 Relevance of Framing Analysis to Organic Agriculture in the Global South

As it has already been noted, framing analysis draws attention to the role of ideas and meaning in stimulating movement mobilisation. It is argued here that the conceptual tools and insights of framing analysis, when combined with ANT, can be applied to understand the processes of network construction associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. By focusing on the relationship between ideas and action, framing analysis provides tools to account for the unique characteristics of human actors in these network construction processes.

Framing analysis’ insistence that three core framing tasks underpin movement mobilisation is particularly instructive in understanding the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. As it is argued in this thesis, the advent of standards and certification procedures, as tools to define and regulate organic agriculture principles and practices, has grounded movement mobilisation in market exchange relations. By grounding movement mobilisation in market exchange relations this has created a flexible device to stimulate movement mobilisation. This is because market exchange relations provide a ‘rationale’ for participation that is able to resonate with a wider diversity of interests and values within the population.

The point made above raises an important issue for analysis of movement mobilisation processes implicated in the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Framing efforts are not just strategic activities undertaken by specific movement actors attempting to mobilise other actors in order to achieve movement goals. The increasing reliance of the organic

⁴⁴ As Steinberg (2002:210) argues framing analysis depicts ‘framing as a market activity’ where frames are ‘pitched to potential adherents’ who make decisions based purely upon the desirability or utility of the frame.

movement on market exchange relations to mobilise support, and that an actor's identity and interests are effects generated relationally through ongoing interactions within complex networks of relations involving human and non-human actors, implies that there are other objectives stimulating movement mobilisation with regards to organic agriculture.

To understand this further requires an examination of a second theoretical approach within the social movement literature – Resource mobilisation Theory (RMT). In arguing that movement mobilisation is predicated on the delivery of *selective incentives*, RMT offers an important addendum to the framing analysis approach.

3.3 Resource mobilisation Theory (RMT)

In section 3.2, above, framing analysis has been offered as an important addendum to the symmetrical approach of ANT because it acknowledges the unique characteristics of human actors, primarily their capacity for reflection. It was argued that framing analysis provides a range of conceptual tools that can be used to understand movement mobilisation processes implicated in the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. In this regard, it is argued that the framing processes described in the framing analysis literature are akin to network construction processes described within the ANT literature.

While it was argued that the grounding of movement mobilisation processes in market exchange relations necessitates that these relations be analysed as instances of movement mobilisation, it was also argued that the reliance on market exchange relations to stimulate movement mobilisation combined with an acceptance that interests (and values) are relationally generated effects, implies that interests and values of participants in market exchange relations reflect the material semiotic relations within them.

In making this argument there is an important gap in this thesis' approach which must be rectified before moving on to analyse the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. While it is useful to talk of movement mobilisation as being motivated by the alignment between the framing efforts of social movements and the interests and values of potential participants it should also be noted that the interests and values of potential participants relate to the delivery of benefits. As it was highlighted in summary of the farmer and consumer behaviour literature in the previous

chapter, farmers and consumers choose to participate in the production and consumption of organic products because this confers to them certain benefits.

As it was noted in the summary of the framing analysis and the ANT literature above, framing efforts undertaken to mobilise movement participation are not simply abstract exercises but involve relations between ideas and things. As Law (2007) has noted such relations are simultaneously material and semiotic. The success or failure of a framing effort, in terms of its capacity to stimulate mobilisation, depends partly on the capacity of the framing effort to be validated by the potential participant. If, for example, a framing effort claims that participation in a social movement will result in income improvements for the participant, this will only work to mobilise the participant if that claim is validated through everyday experience.

To understand this more clearly, this thesis adopts insights from RMT to explain movement mobilisation processes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South as being reliant on the delivery of *selective incentives*. RMT adopts the rational actor behavioural model to focus attention on the role of selective incentives in stimulating movement mobilisation. The importance of selective incentives in understanding the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South is investigated by tracing the origins and development of RMT.

3.3.1 Origins and Development of Resource mobilisation Theory

RMT emerged at the end of the 1960s to challenge the dominant collective behaviour paradigm, used to understand instances of collective action. Under the collective behaviour paradigm, analysis focused on individual grievances. The view was that participation in instances of collective action was irrational and abnormal behaviour motivated by the breakdown of existing social structures. RMT shifted analysis away from individual grievances and towards analysis of organizational dynamics and represented a shift from a focus on *why* collective action occurs, to a focus on *how* collective action occurs (Tarrow 1998).

The emergence of RMT has been explained by two factors. Empirically, the development of RMT was precipitated by the emergence of the civil rights and other non-labour social

movements, beginning in the 1960s. The appearance of these sustained political protests led RMT advocates to reject grievance as having central analytical import. The emergence of civil rights and non-labour social movements encouraged RMT advocates to attempt to develop a new theoretical paradigm that could reconcile some of the practical concerns related to social movement dynamics and tactics (McCarthy & Zald 2003).

While resource mobilisation advocates agreed that protest was the result of expectations rising faster than opportunities, they did not believe that grievances adequately explained social movement success (Nash 2000; Snow 2001). As McCarthy & Zald (2003) contend, there was little empirical evidence to support the view that the mere possession of a grievance translated into effective movement mobilisation. It was assumed, alternatively, that grievances and mobilising beliefs are largely ubiquitous within society (Snow & Benford 1988; Snow & Benford 1992).

RMT advocates instead focused on resource mobilisation. According to Jenkins (1983:532), resource mobilisation is ‘the process by which a group secures collective control over the resources needed for collective action’. The focus on resource mobilisation drew on evidence that suggested that successful social movements required expenditures of ‘time, energy and money’ (McCarthy & Zald 2001:535). The focus on resources mobilisation also drew on observations, such as those by Jenkins (1983:543), that successful social movements are created as a result of ‘long-term changes in group resources, organization, and opportunities for collective action’.

As a result modern social movements were viewed as being made up of bureaucratic organizations pursuing ‘narrow goals’, using ‘selective incentives’ and relying on external ‘sponsorship’ (Jenkins 1983:543). This redirected analysis away from grievances towards analysis of the internal dynamics of SMOs (Buechler 2004; McCarthy & Zald 1987; Tarrow 1998). Formal organizations were viewed as essential to social movement success (McCarthy & Zald 2003).

A second important influence on the development of RMT was the emergence of new theoretical perspectives within North American social science. Of particular influence were ideas emerging from organizational and economic theory. As Campbell (2005:41) has argued,

[RMT] drew on organizational analysis to argue in part that social movement organizations, like many types of organizations, tend toward bureaucratisation, professionalization and conglomeration and that these organizations often adjust their goals in order to better fit their resource environments and survive.

As Tilly (1978) argues, this involved acceptance of neo-classical economic models, which drew on the utilitarian perspective of John Stuart Mill and individual self-interest models of social action. By adopting rational actor models to understand behaviour, RMT transcended the traditional view that movement participation was irrational, deviant and negative and replaced it with a view of movement participation as normal, rational and positive.

The application of a rational action behavioural model to the study of social movements can be attributed to the work of Mancur Olson, who adopted the model to understand the mobilisation of 'long-standing unions, lobbies and interest groups' (Fireman & Gamson 1979:8). In adopting the individual self-interest model, Olson argued that individuals were not irrational products of structural changes but were rational actors who were motivated to participate in social movement activities because of the existence of material and personal incentives. Individual actors, it was claimed, weighed up the costs and benefits before choosing to participate in collective action (Buechler 1993; Della Porta & Diani 2006; Nash 2000; Tarrow 1998; Tilly 1978).

In offering a rational actor model to explain movement participation, RMT raised an important problem for the study of collective action. As Fireman & Gamson (1979:9) argue, because the benefits of collective action are not directly derived from participation 'rational people with common interests do not automatically pursue them collectively' but instead choose not to participate in collective action because they do not need to in order to gain the benefits of collective action (Tarrow 1998). This 'free-rider' problem emerged as the central concern of RMT and led advocates to become preoccupied with examining the role of SMOs in mobilising the resources required for successful social movement activity.

The primary outcome of RMT's adoption of rational actor models was that RMT became preoccupied with explaining social movement mobilisation as reliant on the distribution of 'selective incentives' (Buechler 1993). It is this preoccupation with the delivery of selective incentives that is the key insight that this thesis draws from the RMT literature.

3.3.2 Selective Incentives

According to the RMT literature, the primary task of a SMO is to mobilise resources to achieve movement objectives and goals. Resources are defined broadly within the RMT literature and include economic resources used as incentives to stimulate participation, physical resources, such as office equipment used in movement activities, and human resources, such as individual actors who participate movement activities.

With the focus on selective incentives, it is useful to note how actors are defined within the RMT literature. This is done to systematically describe resource mobilisation styles and dilemma's and has implications for the internal structure of SMOs and the size of the resource pool available to particular SMOs. According to McCarthy & Zald (2003) individual and organizational actors can be defined along a number of dimensions, including *bystander public*, *non-adherents*, *adherents* and *constituents*. Adherents believe in the goals of the social movement, whereas constituents provide actual resources to undertake movement activities. Non-adherents need to be converted into adherents who believe in movement goals and objectives, and adherents need to be converted into constituents from which resources can then be mobilised⁴⁵ Bystander public are non-adherents who do not oppose but witness movement activity. A central concern within the RMT literature is understanding how adherents and constituents are mobilised to participate in the activities of a social movement and how physical and economic resources are mobilised to support the achievement of movement goals and objectives.

It is important to note that within the RMT literature the term constituent generally refers to actors' externally located to a social movement. This emerges from a conceptual distinction being drawn between size of the resource pool being controlled by different individual and organizational actors (McCarthy & Zald 2003). Within the RMT literature it is argued, for example, that the economic resources required for successful social movement activity are located externally to a social movement. As Jenkins (1983:533) has argued,

⁴⁵ McCarthy & Zald (2003:174-175) have argued that 'At one level the resource mobilisation task is primarily that of converting adherents into constituents and maintaining constituent involvement. However, at another level the task may be seen as turning non-adherents into adherents.'

The most distinctive contribution of resource mobilisation theory has been to emphasize the significance of outside contributions and the cooptation of institutional resources by contemporary social movements.

According to McCarthy & Zald (2003), modern social movements rely heavily on resources generated from external constituents, such as governments and religious institutions, which control a large swathe of the discretionary resources (legitimacy, time and money) produced as surplus within advanced industrial society.

RMT also focuses on the role of social movement leaders or individual movement entrepreneurs in achieving movement goals and objectives. Individual movement entrepreneurs are said to play an important role in enlarging the pool of potential adherents and constituents by manufacturing grievances and defining movement concerns for specific and general audiences (Jenkins 1983; McCarthy & Zald 2001). In doing so, these movement entrepreneurs contribute to the capacity of SMOs to mobilise resources for the achievement of movement goals (Jenkins 1983).

The focus on individual movement entrepreneurs within the RMT literature has led advocates of RMT to emphasize the importance of monetary resources in movement mobilisation processes. This is because money provides a key selective incentive to engage individual movement entrepreneurs in SMO activities. As Jenkins (1983) argues, individual movement entrepreneurs are, in part, motivated by the selective incentives and career opportunities afforded by professional SMOs. As more resources are generated and a SMO grows it undergoes increasing specialisation and professionalization providing further opportunities for continuous employment for movement entrepreneurs (McCarthy & Zald 2003).

3.3.3 Limitations of RMT

Fireman & Gamson (1979) have raised concerns about the grounding of RMT in utilitarian behavioural models. Whilst they 'welcome the focus on resources, organization, and strategic action' and the shift to viewing people as rational as opposed to irrational actors, they are concerned that this potentially obscures more than it illuminates (Fireman & Gamson 1979:8). Buechler (1993:230) has noted, similarly, that the focus on economic incentives neglects other moral, solidarity, collective and purposive incentives in mobilising actors,

The formulation of grievances and the articulation of ideology are inseparable from cultural processes of framing, meaning and signification which are prior to any utilitarian calculations of costs and benefits.

Fireman & Gamson (1979:9) support this by arguing that,

...only in special circumstances is it both possible and worthwhile to use “selective incentives” to get people to struggle for common interests. More often, when events and organisers mobilise people, it is because they build solidarity, raise consciousness of common interests, and create opportunities for collective action.

As Buechler (1993:222) argues ‘The social construction of grievances may be the critical step which allows members of socially dispersed groups to begin to mobilise’. By neglecting analysis of grievance production RMT neglects the critical role of ‘ideas, beliefs, values, symbols and meanings that motivate individual participation and give coherence to collective action’ (Buechler 1993:222).

A second criticism, also raised by Buechler (1993:229), is that RMT neglects to account for inter-movement diversity because it views ‘social movements as unitary empirical objects with an underlying essence’. According to Buechler (1993) inter-movement diversity is both an asset and a liability. While inter-movement diversity can create factionalism, reducing the potential for social movement success, it can also be an asset increasing the number of adherents, constituents and resources available to a movement as well as broadening the ‘arguments which can be made for movement objectives’ (Buechler 1993:229).

Another issue with RMT is the preference to analyse formal SMOs. While the RMT literature recognises organization as a critical point of observation and analysis, this should not be restricted to only professional social movement organizations or individual movement entrepreneurs (Holland 2008; Melucci 1985, 1996). As McAdam *et al* (1996:4) claim, resource mobilisation is,

...less a theory about the emergence or development of social movements than it was an attempt to describe and map a new social movement form – professional social movements – that they saw as increasingly dominant in contemporary America.

The argument that informal and non-movement associational forms should be taken into account drew on evidence demonstrating the importance of grassroots informal networks in social movement mobilisation (see, for example, McAdam 1982; Morris 1981, 1984; Tilly 1978).

Rejection of RMT and its focus on SMOs and individual movement entrepreneurs is taken up stridently by Melucci (1996) and other advocates of New Social Movement Theory. Melucci (1996) argues that analysis of social movements should focus on understanding how collective identity is produced and forms the basis for movement action. Melucci's (1996) claim that collective identity is 'dispersed', 'fragmented' and submerged in everyday life has strong resonance with the situated approach taken within ANT, which forms the basis of this thesis' methodology.

3.3.4 RMT and the Uptake of Organic Agriculture in the Global South

At its core, RMT explains movement mobilisation as being reliant on the delivery of selective incentives. The selective incentives argument offers an important standpoint from which to understand the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. RMT views movement mobilisation as a rational activity in which participation is motivated by the delivery of selective incentives to participants. In taking on such insights, any attempt to understand the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South requires that delivery of incentives be taken into account.

Given the criticisms above about selective incentives focusing solely on tangible and divisible material incentives (Jenkins 1983), it is important to negotiate this conceptual impasse. What must be overcome in this regard is the narrow materialistic definition of selective incentives implied by the RMT literature. This requires adopting a broader definition of selective incentives, which does not only encompass tangible and divisible material incentives, but also intangible and thus indivisible moral, status and solidarity incentives. Such a shift in thinking is inherent within the cultural 'turn' in sociology and can

be achieved by adopting the framing analysis approach to understanding social movement mobilisation.

As it was demonstrated in the previous chapter in the discussion of Conventions Theory (CT) market exchange relations, such as those involving the production and trade of organic products, are mediated by a range of considerations other than merely price concerns (Wilkinson 1997). This is something that is also demonstrated clearly in the literature examining farmer and consumer behaviour with regard to organic agriculture. Given that markets play a critical role in stimulating movement mobilisation but that the reasoning for participation in the production and trade of organic products is not solely materialistic the definition of selective incentives and the analysis of mobilisation must include non-materialistic concerns.

As it was demonstrated above in the outline of the framing analysis literature it is critical to understand symbolic framing processes when analysing social movement activity. This focus on the symbolic is an important means to interrogate the movement mobilisation processes involved in the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Such analysis will include not only material incentives but also moral, status and solidarity incentives.

While RMT conceptualises movement mobilisation as a rational and strategic activity undertaken to mobilise movement participation, framing analysis focuses attention on the symbolic processes involved in adherents and constituent mobilisation, enabling analysis to focus simultaneously on material, moral, status and solidarity incentives in the mobilisation processes surrounding social movements.

3.4 Conclusion

Understanding the processes and outcomes involved with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South requires a novel theoretical approach to encapsulate the complex nature of the organic agriculture phenomenon. In this chapter, it was argued that a suite of conceptual tools from three specific theoretical approaches – ANT, RMT and framing analysis – provide a novel means with which to analyse the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

ANT is a useful approach to apply to the thesis because it enables the thesis to conceptualise social reality as being constructed as an effect of the interactions between elements within complex and heterogeneous networks of relations. In this regard, the principles and practices and interests, values and identities of the various actors', associated with the organic agriculture phenomenon are viewed as effects generated through the ongoing interaction of complex networks of relations involving both human and non-human actors (individuals, organizations, commodities, money and documents). This necessitates a focus on understanding how various networks of relations associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South are constructed and maintained.

By combining ANT, RMT and framing analysis this thesis is able to argue that market exchange relations have been a crucial element in the uptake of organic agriculture (both in the Global South and North). This is achieved by combining three arguments: framing analysis' insistence that movement mobilisation requires a clear 'rationale for action' to motivate participation; ANT's insistence that non-human actors play a critical role in constructing and stabilising network relations; and RMT's insistence that mobilisation is a rational activity motivated by the delivery of incentives. When these insights are combined it provides the thesis with a solid theoretical basis for the argument that market exchange relations are crucial in stimulating the uptake of organic agriculture.

As it will be argued, market exchange relations are not the only type of relations implicated in the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. In adopting RMT and framing analysis, the thesis will conceptualize the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South as part of a type of social movement. By conceptualising the networks of relations associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South as part of a type of social movement this will focus attention on the processes and outcomes associated with the mobilisation of actors into these relations.

By grounding the thesis in ANT, the thesis will view the goals and objectives of the organic movement as effects generated through the ongoing interactions of the complex array of actors' involved with the organic movement. By adopting RMT, the thesis will argue that the capacity of the organic movement to meet these goals and objectives relies on the mobilisation of adherents, who believe in the goals and objectives of the movement, and

constituents, capable of supplying the movement with economic resources to fund movement mobilisation activities.

By adopting the framing analysis approach, this thesis will conceptualize meaning as being prefatory to action and, as such, focus attention on the role of meaning in adherent and constituent mobilisation processes. This will enable the thesis to show how the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has involved strategic efforts to symbolically frame organic agriculture as providing social and economic benefits to participants in the Global South, which have acted to stimulate the mobilisation of adherents, who believe in the goals and objectives of the movement, and the mobilisation of constituents, who provide economic resources to fund movement mobilisation activities.

In adopting RMT and combining this with framing analysis, the thesis will be able to conceptualise participation in the organic movement as being a rational activity that relies on the delivery of incentives, which resonate with the interests and values of participants (without restricting this simply to the delivery of tangible and divisible material incentives, but also to intangible and indivisible moral, status and solidarity incentives). By adopting RMT, attention will be focused on the importance of selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy in providing individual movement entrepreneurs with the means to participate in the framing activities involved with movement mobilisation.

In adopting insights from framing analysis, this thesis will be able to demonstrate that the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has created intramural conflict within the organic movement. Because the mobilisation of adherents in the Global South relies on strategic activities to frame participation in the production of organic products as delivering social and economic benefits to adherents in the Global South it will be argued that this has created intramural conflict within the organic movement because the delivery of these social and economic benefits is viewed by other movement adherents as producing negative environmental outcomes, which conflict with the interests and values of these adherents.

This will be used to highlight one of the important arguments of the thesis – the difficulties facing social movements as it attempts to reconcile the complex array of interests and values

held by adherents as the production and consumption of organic products becomes global in nature.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology and Methods for Analysing the Uptake of Organic Agriculture in the Global South

4 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methods and techniques used to gather empirical evidence to examine the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. The chapter outlines how a single (embedded) case study research strategy involving four cases (sub-units of analysis) is utilised to do this. The chapter discusses how the cases were selected, the rationale for their selection and the methods used to gather evidence.

The chapter begins by discussing the rationale for focusing on the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. As it is noted in this section, the focus on the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South is the increasing globalization of the production, trade and consumption of organic products on the one hand and the paucity of research undertaken to explain this uptake. This includes a discussion of the rationale for using Uganda as an entry point for fieldwork.

The chapter then discusses the use of the case study approach as the means of examining the processes and outcomes associated with uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This includes a discussion of the benefits and costs of using the case study approach and the fit between the case study approach and the three theoretical approaches of Actor-Network Theory (ANT), Resource mobilisation Theory (RMT) and framing analysis.

The chapter then discusses the various designs, which can be utilised to elicit empirical evidence under the case study approach. It is argued that the single (embedded) case study approach is the most appropriate design because it provides an opportunity to examine a number of discrete yet interrelated sets of relations involved in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

Having shown the benefits of using the single (embedded) case study design, the chapter then outlines the four specific case studies, which are used in this thesis to explain the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. In this regard, the relevance of the four cases - Social Movement Organizations (SMOs), market exchange relations, individual movement entrepreneurs and intramural movement conflicts – is discussed with regard to empirical reality and theory.

After introducing the four specific case studies, the chapter then discusses the specific methods used to collect empirical evidence. As it is shown, the primary methods used to collect evidence are document analysis, interview and direct observation and this section demonstrates the benefits of using these techniques. This is followed by a discussion of the techniques used for analysing the evidence generated through the research methods. In this regard, it is argued that evidence has been interrogated, firstly, to determine the nature of the case study relations and, secondly, to determine the ways in which these relations are constructed and maintained.

The final section of the chapter identifies the limitation of the research process presented before presenting some concluding remarks.

4.1 Research Focus

As it has been noted already, the overriding concern of this thesis is to understand the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. In this regard, the thesis aims to understand how organic agriculture has come to be taken up in the Global South and to examine what outcomes (or impacts) are associated with this uptake. To understand why this thesis takes this particular approach it is important to provide some background information about the research process as it transpired.

This thesis forms one part of a wider Australian Research Council (ARC) project aimed at examining the increasing globalization of organic agriculture. In the outline of the ARC funding proposal it was identified that there was an increasing trend towards globalization with regard to the production, trade and consumption of organic products and it was argued that this necessitated in-depth research be undertaken.

In attempting to understand the global spread of organic agriculture it was initially decided, through consultation with primary supervisors that it would be practical to select a single location to use as a case study. It was believed that the selection of a single research site would provide a practical solution to the problem of generalising about globalization processes. The site that was selected for his purpose was Uganda.

Uganda was selected as a suitable cases study for a number of reasons. Through initial research Uganda was found to be one country in which organic agriculture has been recently and rapidly taken up. The relevance of Uganda as case study was initially ascertained through a number of informal conversations held with representatives of the international and Ugandan organic movements. These conversations were made possible because of the participation of the researcher's primary supervisor in an international organic coffee conference held in Kampala, Uganda in 2004.

The observation that Uganda would provide a pertinent research site was validated by examining a range of existing texts describing the growth of organic agriculture in various countries located in the Global South. One of these texts was the Greenpeace publication *The Real Green Revolution* authored by Parrot & Marsden (2002) and a second was the IFOAM publication *Organic and like-minded groups in Africa* authored by Parrot & van Elzakker (2003).

The initial observation that Uganda was a site in which organic agriculture is being rapidly taken up was later validated by statistics about the size and scope of organic agriculture markets throughout the world. As it was noted earlier in Chapter One, Uganda is one of the leading producers of organic export commodities in Africa, having: the second largest area of land certified as organic (88 439 ha); the third highest percentage of land devoted to organic (0.71 percent); and the largest number of organic farms (86 952) of any African country in 2006 (Bouagnimbeck 2008; Willer 2008; Willer *et al* 2008).

But whilst Uganda presented a discrete case study, it soon became clear that the uptake of organic agriculture in Uganda could not be divorced from broader networks of relations intersecting, directly and indirectly, with the chosen research site. This realisation was informed from collecting empirical evidence about the case study site but also from engaging

with the existing organic agriculture literature and the theoretical approaches informing this literature.

During the initial scoping for the thesis it became clear that the uptake of organic agriculture in the Ugandan context involved a complex array of actors. Aside from the obvious actors engaged with the production, trade and consumption of organic products a number of other actors were identified as playing minor and more significant roles in the uptake process. Many of these actors were not located within the Ugandan context nor directly or specifically involved promoting the uptake of organic agriculture as a key concern. An example of this, was the early observation that actors involved in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in Uganda, were individuals and organisations involved with the development cooperation sector. Given that the actions of these actors are not isolated to the Ugandan context, this necessitated that the research process be amended to account for the role of such actors in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture.

The insight that the uptake of organic agriculture involves a range of actors not solely related to the Ugandan context or the production, trade and consumption of organic products was also influenced by the existing literature and the theories informing this literature. As the summary of the literature in Chapter Two demonstrated, organic agriculture is a complex and evolving phenomenon, one whose form and nature is shaped through the ongoing interactions of a diverse array of actors. By conceptualising organic agriculture as a set of ideas, which are emerging and evolving as a result of the ongoing interactions of a diverse array of actors, this necessitated the adoption of concepts from Resource mobilisation Theory (RMT), framing analysis and Actor-Network Theory (ANT). The adoption of RMT, framing analysis and ANT, in turn, necessitated the adoption of a methodology which could enable the thesis to take better account of the complex and messy nature of reality, whilst imposing some level of structure upon these relations for analytical purposes.

As a result, the research was reconfigured so that Uganda was not viewed as a case study in and of itself but as a fieldwork entry point from which to begin the process of collecting empirical evidence. In taking on board Latour's (1999) insistence that a researcher avoid entering the field with preconceived ideas about the shape and make up of social reality, work was undertaken to identify the various relations believed to be somehow implicated in the

uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South with a mind to understanding how these relations are constructed and maintained. While Uganda provided a discrete site⁴⁶ to begin the process of identifying and tracing these relations, the parameters of these relations were defined by reflecting on empirical reality, through the process of following the actors and things identified as associated with organic agriculture.

Before detailing the parameters of each of the individual cases examined in this thesis and the basis for their selection, it is important first to examine the literature pertaining to the use of the case study approach. This will provide further evidence to justify the approach taken in this thesis.

4.2 Case Study Approach

Methodologically, this thesis adopts a case study approach to analyse the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. A case study approach is a useful strategy to guide the research process because a case study strategy enables a researcher to conduct empirical analysis of contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context (Yin 2003). While this generally involves a specific bounded phenomenon (Snow & Trom 2004), the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not always necessarily clear (Yin 2003).

As Yin (2003:2) has argued, a case study is grounded in the ‘desire to understand [and provide detailed information about] complex social phenomena’. It does this by using multiple research methods to provide ‘a richness and depth to the description and analysis of the micro events and larger social structures that constitute social life’ (Orum *et al* 1991:6). The use of multiple methods differentiates the case study approach from a purely ethnographic approach (Snow & Trom 2004), because multiple methods enable the researcher to generate ‘thick’ and ‘rich’ data about complex social phenomena.

Case studies utilise data collected from several sources, using different data collection methods (Orum *et al* 1991:2; Robson 1993; Yin 2003). This data is generated using a range of qualitative (and quantitative) research methods, such as in-depth interview, document

⁴⁶ Given that multi-sited research can be extremely time consuming and costly Uganda provided a discrete entry point to make the process of gathering empirical evidence more practical.

analysis and observation, to elicit rich and detailed information about the social reality as it is experienced by research subjects (Bryman & Burgess 1999; Gray 2004; May 1997; Patton 2002). Evidence therefore comes from examining documents and artefacts, parlaying with informants and observing events (Yin 2003).

According to Orum *et al* (1991), there are a number of benefits associated with the use of a case study approach. The first of these is that case studies enable a researcher to ground her observations in natural settings, allowing claims or representations to be closely aligned with those made by research participants. This enables the researcher to ‘render social action in a manner that comes closest to the action as it is understood by the actors themselves’ (Orum *et al* 1991:8).

Case studies also enable information to be gathered from a range of different sources over a period of time to permit holistic understandings of complex action and meaning. This permits ‘the researcher to examine not only the complex of life in which people are implicated but also the impact on beliefs and decisions of the complex web of social interaction’ (Orum *et al* 1991:9).

A third benefit of using a case study approach is that it enables a researcher to examine continuity and change over time, permitting an ‘analyst to uncover the historical dimension of a societal phenomenon or setting’ (Orum *et al* 1991:12). A final benefit of utilising a case study approach to research is that case studies lend themselves to theoretical generation and generalization and the generation of new ideas and theories (Orum *et al* 1991).

The case study approach has been adopted within this thesis because it is compatible with the actor-network theory, resource mobilisation theory and framing analysis. As a cursory glance at the actor-network theory literature will attest, most actor-network studies utilise the case study approach as a strategy for gathering empirical evidence. See, for example, Latour’s (1988) analysis of the pasteurization of France, Callon’s (1986) study of the domestication of scallops and scallop farmers and Law’s (1994) analysis of the workings of the Daresbury SERC Laboratory.

It is the same within framing analysis, where case studies are used extensively to investigate instances of social movement activity. See, for example, Klandermans *et al*'s (1999) analysis of framing activities in farmer protests in Spain and the Netherlands, Mooney & Hunt's (1996) analysis of master frames in US agrarian movement mobilisation, Zuo & Benford's (1995) analysis of mobilisation processes in the Chinese democracy movement.

There is also a clear predilection for using the case study strategy in research focusing on social movements⁴⁷ within the resource mobilisation literature. See, for example, Kaminstein's (1995) analysis of community protest over a toxic waste dump, McCarthy and Wolfson's (1996) analysis of the Movement Against Drinking and Driving (MADD), and Rochford's (1986) analysis of the Hare Krishna movement in America.

4.2.1 Case Study Design

This thesis uses a specific case study design, the single (embedded) case study, to analyse the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. A single (embedded) case study approach takes a single case or situation and examines a number of discrete sub-units of analysis that reside within the case study (Yin 2003). This research strategy has been adopted as the most suitable means of analysing the broader case of the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This introductory section explores the rationale behind the case study approach and the various aspects of its use.

There are of course a several different case study designs which could have been used to collect empirical evidence in this thesis. As Yin (2003) has argued there are two basic case study designs – single and multiple, both of which have two variations – holistic and embedded. As it will be shown, it was the single (embedded) case study design which was deemed the most suitable for the purpose of analysing the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South and rationale for this will be provided by outlining the characteristics of each of these four case study designs.

⁴⁷ While the case study approach is noted by Snow & Trom (2004) as having particular suitability to the study of social movements it is important to note that the case study is but one of a number of strategies that can be applied to social movement research.

In the single-case study design, a single case or situation is used as the sole analytical unit, whereas in the multiple-case study design there are multiple cases or situations which are compared or contrasted (Yin 2003).

Yin (2003:40-42) offers five specific rationales for using a single-case design. These include where: a critical case is used to test, confirm or extend an existing theory; an extreme or unique case is used to explore a rare circumstance; a representative or typical case is used to capture the 'everyday or commonplace situation'; a revelatory case is used to observe a previously inaccessible phenomenon; or a longitudinal case is used to observe change over time.

The primary rationale for using the multiple-case study design is that, in contrast to single-case design, multiple-case study design provides an opportunity for direct replication. In this regard, multiple-case study design is said to have advantages over single-case design because of the capacity to have comparable cases. This makes the multiple case designs more compelling and robust than the single case design and increases the capacity to make generalizations from cases study findings. The disadvantage of using a multiple-case design, though, is that it can be costly, time consuming and impractical to perform an analysis that involves multiple cases (Yin 2003).

In both the single and multi-case study designs, there are two variations – holistic and embedded. In the single (holistic) case study design only one unit of analysis or context is investigated. In contrast, in the multiple (holistic) case study design several case studies are compared and contrasted. In the single (embedded) case study design there is one overarching case study and then a number of 'sub-units of analysis' within the overall case study⁴⁸. In the multiple (embedded) case study design there are several case studies which are compared and contrasted and a number of sub-units of analysis within each of these case studies.

This thesis utilises the single (embedded) case study design to gather empirical evidence. The reason for selecting this particular design is that it enables investigation of discrete cases (sub-units of analysis) as part of a larger case. The advantage of using the embedded over the

⁴⁸ An example of this might be that in the analysis of company or company model, these may include sub-units of analysis, such as individual actors or departments.

holistic design is that each sub-unit offers ‘opportunities for extensive analysis, enhancing the insights into the single case’ (Yin 2003:46). The use of a single-embedded case study design is consistent with actor-network theory, as it acknowledges that phenomena, such as the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South, involve a complex array of discrete yet interconnected networks of relations.

In this regard, this thesis takes as its single overarching case the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South and investigates four discrete yet interrelated sub-units of analysis. It takes this particular approach in order to explore different sets of relations implicated in the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

4.3 Sub-units of Analysis

Having chosen to analyse the uptake of organic agriculture and use Uganda as a fieldwork entry point, an initial audit of the various relations involved in the uptake of organic agriculture in this context was undertaken. As a result of these research activities four specific sets of relations were identified, whose dimensions were duly traced. This chapter introduces each of these specific cases to explain the rationale for their selection and the methods used to elicit empirical evidence.

4.3.1 Market Exchange Relations

Early on in the research process, it was identified that one of the primary type of relations involved in the promoting the uptake of organic agriculture were those relations involved in the everyday activity of market exchange. It was deemed important to analyse this type of relations as they represented a primary means through which a range of disparate actors become involved in organic agriculture and because, as it was shown in Chapter Two, such relations have been widely examined within in the existing literature.

Access to a suitable market exchange case study was secured whilst undertaking research in Uganda. Through the goodwill of a key representative of a Ugandan-based export company, Biofresh Limited, and the support of a representative of a German-based import company, Kipepeo Bio & Fair GmbH, access to the network of relations involved in the production and trade of a range of organic tropical fruits was secured. To make the case study more

manageable it was decided to limit analysis to one particular type of commodity – fresh pineapples – being traded through this particular set of relations.

The primary technique for tracing these relations was the ‘follow the thing’ strategy, which involved selecting a specific commodity and tracing the relations involved in the production, trade and consumption of these items (Marcus 1995). According to Stone *et al* (2000:4) following a commodity offers ‘a particularly useful window on globalization processes partly because they ... transport cultural messages ... [such as] images, ideas, information, and meanings’. Following a commodities path allowed the researcher access to each step of the market exchange process that would otherwise be difficult to uncover.

Similar to the CSA approach of Friedland (1981:27) analysis of these relations drew primarily upon evidence gathered from ‘interviews with knowledgeable participants’ to understand ‘the character and history of relationships between actors’. Formal in-depth interviews and informal conversations were conducted with export company staff and smallholder farmers⁴⁹ in Uganda and with representatives from import, wholesale and retail companies located in Germany.

While the primary source of evidence came from face-to-face semi-structured interviews, this was complimented by observations, informal conversations, correspondence via email and telephone and by examining a range of texts, such as websites and brochures.

4.3.2 Social Movement Organizations (SMOs)

Given that organic agriculture is an activity, which has been described within the existing literature as a type of social movement, it was deemed that it would be pertinent to analyse a discrete set of relations defined in terms of social movement activity. This was informed, in part, by engaging with the RMT and framing analysis literature. Within the RMT literature it is argued that social movement success relies on the activities of Social Movement Organizations (SMO’s), which provide opportunities to mobilise both adherents and resources (McCarthy & Zald 2001). Within the framing analysis literature it is argued that movement mobilisation involves activities to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with movement adherents (Benford & Snow 2000). In this regard, it was deemed that it

⁴⁹ In the case of farmers, a translator was used to conduct interviews with a sample of farmers.

would be critical to examine the actions taken by a key SMO to frame organic agriculture in ways that have promoted the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

In the process of tracing relations involved with the uptake of organic agriculture in Uganda, it was identified that one particular SMO, the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM), would provide a useful and discrete case study through which to analyse movement activities to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. IFOAM is an international membership-based organization, which has a membership of over 650 member organizations from over 100 countries (IFOAM 2007b). Given its status as an international organization and its active goal of promoting the worldwide uptake of organic agriculture practices and principles, IFOAM was deemed a useful case study for analysis.

The IFOAM case study provides an opportunity to demonstrate how organic practices and principles are effects, which are generated through ongoing interactions between a range of different actors. In selecting IFOAM as one of these thesis' sub-units of analysis, this presented an opportunity to examine the role of movement organizations in symbolic framing processes in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This is particularly important because actions taken by IFOAM and IFOAM representatives have mobilised resources and actors, which might otherwise not have contributed to the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

Evidence for the IFOAM case study was gathered through a number of means. The primary of these was through interrogating texts, such as annual reports, flyers, reports, conference and meeting proceedings and websites, produced either by IFOAM, individuals allied with IFOAM or individuals and organizations external to but holding some relationship with IFOAM or IFOAM activities. A secondary means of gathering evidence was through querying knowledgeable individuals. This was achieved primarily through correspondence via email. Knowledgeable individuals were identified by interrogating texts, including websites, where relevant contact information was identified and were contacted when specific IFOAM activities needed clarification.

4.3.3 Individual Movement Entrepreneurs

During the process of gathering empirical evidence, it was noted that there were a range of individual actors engaged in activities to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. While this observation might appear trivial, the RMT literature makes specific reference to the role of individual movement entrepreneurs in stimulating adherent, constituent and resource mobilisation (McCarthy & Zald 2001). When combined with insights from framing analysis (Benford & Snow 2000) it was deemed that it would be useful to focus attention on the role of individual movement entrepreneurs in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

During the fieldwork process a number of individual actors were identified as intimately involved in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Two of these actors, Bo van Elzakker and Gunnar Rundgren, were selected as useful cases. These two actors were selected because of their participation in a range of relations identified as being critical to the uptake process. These two individuals were not only involved in the administration of the highly successful development project called Export Promotion of Organic Products from Africa (EPOPA), but were also engaged in a range of other activities, such as being prominent actors within IFOAM and other organisations, which have acted to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

The focus on individual actors is partly an attempt to balance the focus on the role of SMOs in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Given the decision to examine a case study of a single SMO, it was deemed necessary to balance this with a focus on the role of individual actors. The decision to select both individual actors and SMOs as case studies in this thesis is supported by ANT. As Law (1994) has claimed, '[t]here is no a priori difference between people and organizations: both are contingent achievements' and as such both should be given equal status in analysis.

Using the tracking strategy of following the life history (Marcus 1995), information about the experiences, interests and values of van Elzakker and Rundgren were gathered through a number of methods. This included the use of face-to-face semi-structured interviews and email correspondence, but also by interrogating texts, such as annual reports, flyers, reports,

conference and meeting proceedings and websites, authored by van Elzakker and Rundgren or published by organizations affiliated with van Elzakker and Rundgren.

4.3.4 Intramural Conflicts

As research for the thesis progressed it became clear that it would be important to investigate a fourth case study, which could examine the outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Given that this thesis is theoretically grounded in framing analysis, and the role of meaning in stimulating movement mobilisation, it was deemed necessary to examine an intramural conflict resulting from efforts to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. The reason for this was that, as it will be made clear in this thesis, the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has been facilitated by and resulted in changes in the way that organic agriculture is framed. By framing organic agriculture in new ways this creates conflict as the movement attempts to appeal to a diversity of actors holding a diverse and sometimes conflicting set of values and interests.

The case study that was chosen to demonstrate this was the intramural conflict, which emerged through the implementation of a consultation process by the UK Soil Association. The UK Soil Association is the peak movement organization responsible for setting standards governing organic production and trade practices in the United Kingdom. The UK Soil Association had initiated a consultation process in 2007 to discuss whether air freight was an acceptable means of transporting organic products as a direct result of the increasing incidence of export production in the Global South and criticism raised by consumers about the use of air freight to transport organic products. The rationale for selecting this particular case study is grounded in empirical and theoretical considerations.

Empirically, the airfreight consultation case study was relevant to the thesis because many export operations in the Global South, such as the one examined as a case study in Chapter Five, rely on airfreight as the sole means of transporting produce to markets in the Global North. As such, any decision to limit or ban the use of air freight by certification bodies, such as the UK Soil Association, would have a potentially deleterious impact on the future feasibility of these operations.

Theoretically, the selection of the airfreight consultation as a case study is critical because it sheds further light on framing processes and the impact of framing efforts on movement mobilisation. As it is argued in the framing analysis literature, the mobilisation of new movement adherents relies on actions taken to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the issues and concerns ‘presumed to be of importance to potential adherents’ (Benford & Snow 2000:625). As it is argued in the framing analysis literature efforts to mobilise new adherents to participate in the activities of movement can involve the extension of frames to encompass concerns not central to a movement. In deploying these frames to mobilise movement participation, intramural conflicts can arise if these framings conflict with existing frames used to mobilisation movement participation (Benford & Snow 2000). The air freight consultation therefore offered a pertinent and discrete case study with which to examine intramural conflict arising from actions taken to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

Evidence for this fourth case study was gathered by engaging the tracking strategy of following the controversy (Marcus 1995). The primary means of gathering evidence was through collecting and examining texts, such as organisational documents and news articles related to the conflict. Supporting evidence was gathered by corresponding with actors a number of knowledgeable actors involved in this particular event. Relevant texts and informants were identified through using internet search engines and interrogating texts.

The next section expands on and provides more detail about the research process by examining data collection methods.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

Having outlined the rationale for case study selection, the section discusses the intertwined issues of data collection and analysis. During the research process several distinct methods were used to elicit information from informants related to each of the four cases. Methods have been selected to do two things. The first is to gain information that can enable the researcher to trace the complex array of relations involved in each of the case studies. The second is to elicit information about the way that these relations are constructed and maintained.

4.4.1 Document Analysis

The primary method used to elicit information for the case studies, was document analysis. Documents are generally written texts created for a particular purpose (Robson 1993; Yin 2003). Documents can provide an important compliment to other more obtrusive information sources, such as in-depth interviews (Yin 2003). Documents have another advantage in that as durable artefacts, they can be re-examined at any time (Robson 1993). Gathering evidence from documents is useful in the analysis of the four cases studies presented in this thesis because the ‘institutions, events and people that are studied by qualitative researchers utilise a variety of written documents.’ (Bryman & Burgess 1999:xx).

According to Bryman & Burgess (1999) documentary evidence falls into two categories primary sources, such as minutes, contracts, memoranda, and reports, and secondary sources, such as commentaries and summaries of original sources. The thesis relied upon a number of primary sources, such as organisational documents, reports, contracts, guidelines and policies.

Secondary sources were important primarily, but not exclusively, in the analysis of the history of commercial agricultural production relations in Uganda and drew from a range of existing interpretations and analyses.

Relevant documents were gathered throughout the research process, prior to, during and after conducting fieldwork. The primary means of obtaining documents was through the use of internet search engines. By applying keyword searches to search engines, such as GoogleTM, this provided an inexpensive means of gaining access to documents relevant to the four case studies.

A secondary means of accessing relevant documents was through contact with knowledgeable informants collected during face-to-face interviews and through email correspondence. In some cases, informants provided relevant texts or provided information on how to access relevant documents. These sources are referenced in the thesis where information from them has been drawn on.

4.4.2 Semi-structured Interviews, Informal Conversations and Correspondence

A range of methods were employed during the research process to gain information from knowledgeable informants. These included in-depth semi-structured interviews, informal conversations and correspondence via email and telephone.

The primary method for gaining access to information with informants was through the use of semi-structured in-depth interviews. Interviews are a ‘purposeful conversation’ (Denscombe 2003; May 1997; Minichello *et al* 1995) used to gain access to ‘people’s ideas, thoughts and memories in their own words’ (Reinharz 1992:19). Interviews are useful tools to provide detailed information about social reality through the eyes of those who experience it (Bradshaw & Stratford 2000). According to Denscombe (2003) interviews differ from casual conversations because they involve the active consent of a participant, recording and utilisation of participant responses, and the setting of guiding themes.

Interviews yield ‘rich insights into people’s experiences, opinions, aspirations, attitudes and feelings’ (May 1997:109), allowing the researcher an in-depth understanding of case study participants and their social world (Ezzy 2002; Hay 2000; Holstein & Gubrium 1999; May 1997; Minichello *et al* 1995; Reinharz 1992). As Bradshaw & Stratford (2000:43) have argued,

Talking with, or observing people as long as necessary (or at least as long as possible), to understand their different experiences and perspectives is a good way to develop an in-depth understanding of the positions and issues surrounding any particular research interest.

As Glesne & Peshkin (1992) and Patton (2002) have argued, interviews are one of the best methods a researcher has for understanding the personal meanings that participants attach to their social world. This is because such techniques elicit personal stories and accounts that might otherwise not be accessible.

With regard to the four cases presented in this thesis, there have been a range of interviews performed to elicit information relevant to each case study (the list of interviewees and respondents can be found in Appendix 1). In each of the four cases, interview schedules were

developed to structure questions in ways that could best elicit general and specific information from informants. This included questions to elicit information about why participants choose to engage in activities related to organic agriculture but also included information about the relationships and nature of relationships in each of the case studies.

In cases where interviews were conducted with a sample of similar informants, interview schedules were standardised. As Patton (2002:286) argues, it is useful to collect the same information from different people in a group as this provides a holistic understanding of the ‘worldview of a group of people’ minimising ‘issues of legitimacy and credibility’. An example of this was the development of a standardised questionnaire, which was used in undertaking interviews with smallholders engaged in producing pineapples within the market exchange case study presented in Chapter Five.

In general, interviews were semi-structured, so that opportunities to ask unscripted questions could be taken at certain junctures during the interview process. This was done to allow both the interviewer and interviewee the opportunity to clarify certain details or to follow-up unexpected pieces of information that may have been otherwise unobtainable in following a strictly scripted interview model (Berg 2001; Fontana & Frey 1994; Minichiello *et al* 1995).

During the interview process, interview notes were recorded and were electronically recorded using a Sony Minidisc© recorder. According to Minichello *et al* (1995:214), quality data analysis is greatly dependent upon the researcher’s ability to ‘store and manage’ research data. The use of an audio recording device enabled the researcher to capture the responses of interviewees for later transcription. Interviews were transcribed by the interviewer as soon as possible after each interview to allow opportunities to begin data analysis as quickly as possible. This was particularly important where interviews provided further information about the networks of relations in the case studies. In situations where it were in-depth interviews could not be secured, alternative techniques were employed.

In some cases, particularly when time was a constraint, informal conversation was used as a supplement for formally structured interviews. This was particularly relevant in collecting data from research participants associated with the market exchange case study. On a number of occasions, the use of informal conversation was necessary when relevant participants

indicated a lack of availability to participate in formal interview. In these situations, informal conversations were recorded using a fieldwork journal.

Geographical distance, combined with the time constraints on interviewees, necessitated the use of email correspondence as a supplementary means of gathering information from informants. Correspondence via email provided an extremely useful tool to gain information from informants. The advantage of using email correspondence was that informants could respond to questions in their own time. The other benefit of using email correspondence was that responses were durably inscribed and did not require further transcription by the researcher. The other advantage of using email correspondence was that this is an inexpensive method for gathering information. This was particularly useful in this research as geographical distance posed an impasse to collecting information through face-to-face means.

In one case, where geographical distance posed a constraint to interview, supplementary information was gathered from an informant through the use of telephone correspondence.

4.4.3 Direct Observation

A third method for gaining information about the four case studies was through the use of direct observation. Direct observation provides an opportunity for the researcher to observe alien situations in order to find out what is going on in these contexts (Robson 1993). 'By making a field visit to the case study "site," you are creating the opportunity for direct observations' (Yin 2003:92). Direct observation can be used to take in a range of dimensions including information about physical space, actors, activities, objects, acts, events, sequences of events, actor goals and the emotional context of a situation (Robson 1993). As Yin (2003) argues, direct observation provides an opportunity for the researcher to gauge the conditions of research subjects and settings. The use of direct observation is particularly relevant to the use of the case study method because it enables includes observations of current phenomena (Yin 2003).

Opportunities for making direct observations were made possible during the process of collecting evidence through interview. This provided an opportunity to make observations about the research participants' everyday setting. Observation was a particularly invaluable method used to build a greater understanding of the workings of the market exchange

relations case study outlined in Chapter Five. Observations were made in a range of locations where the pineapples were grown and exchanged in both Uganda and Germany.

To facilitate the accurate recalling of these observations a journal was kept in which relevant observations about the case study locations, participants and events could be recorded for later analysis. Field notes are useful in the process of gathering data in the field providing an 'ongoing stream-of-consciousness commentary about what is happening in the research, involving both observation and analysis' (Eisenhardt 1989:539).

4.5 Data Analysis

This section discusses the methods used in data analysis during the research process. Data analysis is designed to make sense of gathered evidence (Yin 2003). The process of analysing the data was an ongoing one, in that data was continuously analysed throughout the research process. The data analysis process was therefore a reflexive one, in that incoming data collected during the research processes influenced ongoing data collection and writing processes.

The primary data analysis technique was the examination of a range of documents produced within the cases studies. Texts were gathered throughout the research process and were interrogated to ascertain how the relations within the four case studies were constructed and maintained. This involved a process whereby each relevant text was read and re-read to find relevant patterns or themes (Silverman 1993). Texts were examined to find evidence which could be used to demonstrate how specific social relations held together, including the specific framings deployed within these texts.

The secondary data analysis technique employed was examining information collected during face-to-face interviews. A number of interviews were conducted with key informants and their responses to questions were transcribed and analysed by the researcher. As with the interrogation of documents, transcriptions were analysed primarily to elicit information about how specific social relations held together. This necessitated an analysis of the ways that participants justified their participation in relevant activities. Attention was focused primarily on the reasons informants gave as to why they participated in certain activities.

Attention was also focused on the way that human actors' discussed their relationship to non-human actors. In the market exchange case study presented in Chapter Five, attention was focused on the ways that informants described the characteristics of objects within these relations, as this was deemed to provide important information that could determine the role of such objects in motivating participation in these relations.

4.6 Limitations of the Research

There are several limitations associated with the research design. The first limitation was the geographically distant and dispersed nature of research. In choosing to examine the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South as the research focus, this raised critical issues in terms of gaining access to evidence. This necessitated travel to a number of distant locations to provide firsthand knowledge of research sites and to facilitate access to informants. Access to these sites was facilitated by the existence of resources from the ARC project to facilitate the entry of the researcher into a range of sites. In this regard, the researcher travelled to Uganda, from April to August 2005, and then to several locations in Europe, from August to October 2005, in order to access informants and visit relevant research sites.

While the ARC provided funds to be able to travel to research sites in Uganda and Europe, these funds were limited. The high costs associated with multi-sited research involving geographically distant and dispersed field sites posed issues for gathering empirical evidence, as it was not economically feasible to travel a second time to these sites to obtain further information. As such, it was difficult to gain access to information that had been missed during the fieldwork phase. While this was mediated, to some degree, through the use of telecommunication technologies, this was limited by the access to which informants had to such technologies and the willingness of potential respondents to requests for information.

Given that the field sites covered a range of settings, there were also problems associated with language barriers. The need to access research sites in which informants used languages other than English diminished the capacity of the researcher to access informants as the researcher did not have the capacity to learn new languages to the competency required to conduct in-depth interviews or interrogate texts written in languages other than English. This barrier was mediated, to some degree, by the increasing universality of the English language.

English, for example, is an official language in Uganda and used by many of the relevant interviewees identified during the research process.

To overcome situations in which potential respondent did not speak English, such as with smallholders in Uganda, interviews were conducted through the use of a translator. There are, of course issues with the use of translators, primarily the fact that responses are altered through the act of translation, potentially deforming the meanings of the responses being offered. There were also times when locating a suitable translator was not possible or economically feasible and this limited access to interview participants. This may have been overcome with more forward planning, greater fieldwork time and with larger financial resources.

The use of in-depth interview as a method to elicit empirical data from informants also raised problems. One problem that can be encountered in conducting interviews is that informants may give misleading or false information. On the one hand, informants may give false or misleading information because they have difficulties with recall. On the other hand, they may give false or misleading information for nefarious reasons. This is particularly problematic when a researcher does not have an intimate connection to the world of the research subjects.

This problem can be minimised to some degree by triangulation and cross-checking, which includes the repeating of interviews with a number of different informants, cross-checking information with other informants, examining relevant documents or making personal observations (Minichello *et al* 1990). Documents in particular, can provide an important means to cross check responses given by informants during interview corroborating and supplementing information gathered (Yin 2003).

Another limitation of the research is the difficulties inherent in accessing and securing an informant's participation. One significant problem, which occurred during the research process, was that many actors had time constraints, which made it difficult for them to agree to participate in time consuming activities, such as in-depth interviews. During the research process several respondents associated with the wholesale and retail operations in the market exchange case study presented in Chapter Five and also respondents involved with the

IFOAM case study presented in Chapter Six, were found to be unable or unwilling to participate in interviews due to time constraints.

One clear example of this was a representative of a wholesale company in Germany, who after repeated attempts to arrange an interview withdrew at the last minute because of staff shortages at his place of business. A second clear example of this was an individual intimately involved in the activities related to the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South, who claimed to be unable to be interviewed, even via telephone, because he was busy engaging in movement activities.

While the constraints imposed by time were able to, somewhat, be overcome through the use of email correspondence, this diminished the capacity to gain a rich and intimate understanding of an informant's experiences, interests and values. The difficulty in accessing the experiences, interests and values of certain actors was also overcome in some cases by accessing publicly available texts authored by informants.

Another significant problem of securing access to informants was the wariness of economic actors to participate in interviews. Gaining access to informants involved in market exchange relations was difficult in an environment where competition, and the desire to protect markets, is prevalent. As Bryman & Burgess (1999:xv) argue,

a qualitative researcher is likely to be (from the organisation's point of view) an irritant who will take up valuable time and who may even reveal to the outside world aspects of the organisation that it would prefer to keep under wraps.

Friedland (1981) argues that access to actors engaged in market exchange relations can be particularly problematic if these actors prefer secrecy so as to not highlight inequitable or exploitative practices.

Access to actors involved with economic exchange relations is no easy task because it is dependent on the ability of the researcher to build rapport with important 'gatekeepers' (Bryman & Burgess 1999). Even the most supportive respondents can be hesitant about divulging information, which a researcher requires to gain access to other actors. This was the

case in the market exchange case study presented in Chapter Five, where the importer, whilst being highly supportive of the research, was apprehensive about who would have access to the information he was giving because ‘business is very tough ... and very often a matter of survival’ (Herrman pers comm. 2005).

Access to informants can also be difficult due to research fatigue. It was found, for example, that access to suitable market exchange relations for analysis was difficult because some had previously participated in other research activities and did not have the resources or desire to participate in further research. Access to several promising market exchange case studies could not be secured because gatekeepers were not willing to participate for this very reason.

There were also difficulties faced in accessing certain relevant documents. As with gaining access to human informants, there are reasons why access to certain documents is limited. Actors involved in market exchange relations are reticent to provide open access to documents in a competitive environment or unwilling to share information which may reveal inequitable or exploitative practices. Certain documents are also difficult to gain access simply because they are not directly accessible or require time and energy to retrieve. Some texts are also simply not publicly accessible. When access to relevant texts was not readily available by searching the internet, websites and archives, access to these documents was sometimes able to be negotiated by corresponding relevant informants.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methods and techniques used to gather empirical evidence to examine the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. The chapter has demonstrated the applicability of applying a single (embedded) case study research strategy to the analysis of the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Information about the four specific case studies was also presented and it was argued that each of these four discrete, yet interrelated, case studies provide an opportunity to examine the different relations involved in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

As it is noted, the decision to focus on the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South was informed by an overriding concern with explaining the globalization of organic agriculture. It was argued that selecting Uganda as an

entry point for fieldwork was a useful strategy to enable the researcher to begin to trace the different sets of relations involved in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

As it was argued, the single (embedded) case study approach was the most appropriate case study design to use because it provided the researcher with opportunity to examine a number of discrete yet interrelated set of relations. The selection of the four specific case studies – Social Movement Organizations (SMOs), market exchange relations, individual movement entrepreneurs and intramural movement conflicts – were shown to have been informed by reflection on empirical reality as well as being informed by considerations of the three theories – ANT, RMT and framing analysis – which constitute the epistemological and ontological basis of the thesis' analysis.

While the chapter highlighted several limitations with the methodological approach taken, it is argued that these limitations do not detract from the capacity of this approach to gather empirical evidence which can be used to understand how organic agriculture has come to be taken up in the Global South and the impact of this uptake.

In the next four chapters each of these specific case studies are presented for analysis. In the first of these chapters, the case study of SMO relations are presented to demonstrate the role of such organizations in mobilising resources that can be used to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This involves a discussion of the strategies undertaken by IFOAM and the importance symbolic framing processes in mobilising adherents, who believe in the goals and objectives of the organic movement, and constituents, willing to provide resources to fund movement mobilisation activities.

CHAPTER FIVE

Market Exchange Relations

5 Introduction

This chapter examines market exchange relations and the role of market exchange relations in facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This analysis is undertaken to demonstrate how market exchange relations contribute to movement mobilisation processes within the organic agriculture movement and stimulate the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. The chapter demonstrates how market exchange relations act to mobilise participation in the organic agriculture movement by delivering an array of incentives, which resonate with the diversity of interests and values held by participants.

As it was noted in Chapter Two, there are a diverse range of interests and values held by actors engaged in the production, trade and consumption of organic agriculture products. The interests and values of organic consumers differ both with other consumers and also with other actors engaged in market exchange relations, such as producers. Given that there exists such diversity in the interests and values of actors engaged in market exchange relations, it was argued, in Chapter One, that the advent of standards and certification and inspection procedures underpinning organic product exchange markets provide the organic agriculture movement with a flexible means to mobilise movement adherents. This draws on the insights of framing analysis, which argue that movement mobilisation requires the delivery of symbolic frames providing a ‘rationale for action’⁵⁰ (Snow & Benford 1988) through which to mobilise movement adherents. As it is demonstrated in this chapter, market exchange relations enable the mobilisation of movement adherents because such relations are capable of delivering an array of incentives, which resonate with the diversity of interests and values held by participants.

To understand how market exchange relations deliver a diverse array of incentives to mobilise adherents, this chapter draws on the argument made within the ANT literature that non-human objects are critical actors’ involved in mediating network relations. As Murdoch

⁵⁰ This is similar to assertions made with regard to RMT where McCarthy & Zald (1973) have claimed, for example, that social movements are successful because of actions taken to redefine existing grievances in new ways.

(2001) has asserted non-human actors are social constructions embedded with meaning. The meanings ascribed to such objects do not solely extend from their natural form but are co-constructed through relations. The identity of an object within a particular network of relations emerges as the heterogeneous materials engaged in this network exchange their properties (Murdoch 2001:111). If non-human objects, such as standards, money, texts and commodities, have a relational identity, they are capable of delivering an array of incentives which resonate with the diversity of interests and values held by participants in market exchange relations.

It is important to flag the role of non-human actors in mediating market exchange relations for another reason. Non-human actors facilitate the operation of market exchange relations because they enable actors who are geographically separated to be related. As Murdoch (1998:359) argues ‘it is the mixing of human actions and non-human materials which allow networks to both endure beyond the present and remain stable across space’. Without transportation devices, such as trucks or airplanes, communication devices, such as telephones or the internet, and inscription devices, such as computers, forms or labels, spatially extended market exchange relations would not be possible.

To understand the importance of non-human actors in facilitating the operation of market exchange relations it is important to explore how market exchange relations are organised. To do this, the chapter draws on Law’s (1994) ‘modes of ordering’ concept to conceptualize market exchange relations as being discursively and recursively organised. Modes of ordering, as it was outlined in Chapter Three, are ‘strategic logics’, ‘ordering scripts’ or ‘coherences’ that guide action and organise the social materials that make up a specific network of relations (Law 1994; Lockie 2004; Lockie & Kitto 2000; Whatmore & Thorne 1997). As Law (1994:20) argues ‘modes of ordering tell of the character of agency, the nature of organizational relations, how it is that inter-organizational relations should properly be ordered’.

The chapter explores the organization of market exchange relations by examining a specific set of market exchange relations involving the production of fresh organic pineapples in Uganda and their export to Germany. Analysis is based on evidence gained from informal conversations and formal interviews with actors engaged in these relations, by observation of

the operation of these relations and by analysing a range of documents relating to or emerging from these relations. Based on the evidence, this chapter argues that there are four specific modes of ordering: ‘fairness’⁵¹, ‘quality’, ‘organic’ and ‘efficiency’, which discursively and recursively organise this particular set of relations.

As it is demonstrated, the specific set of market relations presented in this case study were initiated by an individual actor, Siegfried Herrman, hoping to provide economic opportunities for his family whilst delivering fair economic returns to smallholders engaged in primary production in the Global South. As it is shown, the decision by this individual actor to organise this specific set of exchange relations is influenced by the actor’s interests and values. It is argued that these interests and values have been constructed through a specific set of life experiences, central of which is the actor’s participation in the activities of the Christian church and interaction with actors in the Global South through these activities. These experiences have led the individual in question to establish a set of market exchange relations which are organised by the ordering principle of ‘fairness’.

As it is also demonstrated, the organization of this specific set of relations is shaped by considerations of the interests and values of other actors required to establish and stabilise these relations, namely the interests and values of wholesalers, retailers and end consumers and the non-human objects mediating the relations between these actors. As it is shown, these considerations have led the person initiating these relations to choose to specialise in the production and trade of products embodying characteristics desirable to end consumers willing to, and capable of, paying premium prices for these products and to mobilise a range of nonhuman actors capable of facilitating the delivery of products embodying these desirable characteristics. This has led these relations to be organised by the ordering principles of ‘efficiency’, ‘quality’ and ‘organic’.

The chapter begins by exploring the motives of the initiating actor, Siegfried Herrman, before moving on to explore relations with downstream and then upstream actors engaged within this particular set of market exchange relations.

⁵¹ When I refer to ‘fairness’ as a specific ‘mode of ordering’ I refer specifically to the capacity of exchange relations to provide a fair economic return to actors involved.

5.1 Siegfried Herrman and the origins of market exchange relations

The idea for forming a set of relations to produce and trade fresh organic pineapples originated with an individual actor, Siegfried Herrman. As a Christian, Herrman travelled to Tanzania with his wife in the early 1990s to work as a Pastor in remote rural communities. During this time Herrman witnessed firsthand how declining prices for coffee were having deleterious impacts on smallholder communities in rural Tanzania. After working in Tanzania for seven years, Herrman returned to Germany with his wife and three young children.

On returning to Germany, Herrman found that there were no further opportunities for employment within the church. Herrman did not know exactly what he would do but chose to study a course in business and trade management in the hope of finding a way of supporting his family.

Before I started this study I did not know if I would need it or not. I did not know if I would start such a business. I was just using this opportunity to study something else because I did not know how it goes on and feed the family and so on.

Herrman pers comm. 2005

Herrman began to think about the possibility of starting a business involving the importation of agricultural commodities from Tanzania, which would allow him to satisfy two important goals. The logic behind this initiative was that it would generate an income to support his family but also provide smallholders in Tanzania with an opportunity to earn a better income from their production.

It was touching me somehow and after being back in Germany not being able to get employed immediately. I was thinking that maybe there could be a way to establish something, in a business way, coming away from this way of funding and giving a lot of gifts to poor people and poor countries but helping them to be more independent to rely on themselves and their daily work, what they were producing.

Herrman pers comm. 2005

This is consistent with the motivations and actions of the fair trade movement, which emerged out of the activities of the church in Europe in the 1960s with the opening of fair

trade shops (Murray & Raynolds 2000). This ‘trade - not aid’ sentiment is inscribed in the promotional documents produced by Herrman for his import company Kipepeo.

Supplying into the export market is a major boost for local initiatives and agricultural production. Income generation generates self-confidence and dignity for the suppliers and farmers. Attitudes of dependency on handouts and aid projects are being reduced, in line with the slogan ‘trade - not aid’ – Fair trade instead of charity.

Kipepeo Flyer 2005

Herrman was not interested in giving handouts. He had once given money to a farmer cooperative, and to his disappointment it had disappeared. Herrman clearly had a view that supporting the farmers to access economic opportunities through trade would be beneficial to the smallholders and smallholder communities.

Reflecting upon his experiences in Tanzania, Herrman decided to specialise in tropical fruits. Herrman was not interested in traditional export commodities, like coffee, because he had seen firsthand the declining terms of trade and the negative impact of coffee on smallholder communities. Fresh tropical fruits, on the other hand, offered Herrman with an alternative option that would be potentially more economically sustainable.

Essential to his decision to concentrate on tropical fruits was his knowledge that the fresh tropical fruits grown in Tanzania were of an excellent quality. This was important to Herrman because he believed that only tropical fruits embodying the highest quality would be economically feasible. The main reason behind this was that it would enable Herrman to charge a premium price for produce with which to pay farmers a premium price.

For much the same reason, Herrman also decided to specialise in organic products. Herrman believed that consumers would only be willing to pay premium prices for his produce if they were certified as organic and of the highest quality. According to Herrman (pers comm. 2005) premium prices were vital to the feasibility of the enterprise as they would enable him to

draw an income to support his family and pay farmers in the Global South premium prices for their produce⁵².

Herrman's consideration of the importance of sourcing organic products of the highest quality as a means to ensure the economic feasibility of the enterprise can be seen clearly in the following quote.

In my research it was very clear that it cannot be only conventional fruits, but has to be the best quality, best ripeness and best quality in sense of organic production, otherwise it will not be able to cover all the costs for bringing the fruits to Europe, because it is a market that is very challenging in terms of suppliers.

Herrman pers comm. 2005

As it can be seen in the brief narrative presented above, 'fairness', 'quality', 'organic' and 'efficiency' are all important logics underpinning Herrman's construction of the fresh pineapple supply network.

As initiator of these relations, Herrman has had to consider how different actors ascribe different meanings to their participation in order to enrol and hold together the different actors needed to form the supply network. The meanings that different actors ascribe to their participation in a network, though, are not static. At different times the logic that an actor uses to justify ongoing participation changes. In some cases this leads to a strengthening of the relationship, and in other cases, a weakening or break in relations.

5.2 Establishing relations with wholesalers and retailers

Before examining how relations were established with suppliers, it is pertinent to firstly examine the establishment of relations between Herrman's import company Kipepeo and downstream wholesale and retail customers. This is done to highlight how Herrman has had to construct relations and mobilise actors in ways that provide for his family, whilst also providing economic opportunities for farmers in the Global South.

⁵² It is possible that such beliefs are implicit within Herrman's belief structure and therefore not overtly expressed, although there was no evidence to suggest that this is the case.

What this discussion will demonstrate is that consumers are unwilling to purchase fresh pineapples that command premium prices unless they appeal to the certain meanings that these consumers attach to their consumption. In the case of fresh pineapples consumer preferences are complex. They involve considerations of whether a pineapple: is organic ('organic'), has excellent taste, smell and appearance ('quality'), provides fair economic returns to producers ('fairness') and is expensive in terms of price ('efficiency').

After establishing a relationship with an exporter Herrman set about enrolling the necessary customers through which to sell organic pineapples and other tropical fruits. This involved contacting intermediary companies involved in the trade of organic products in Germany and convincing them of the benefits of stocking Kipepeo branded pineapples and other products. This was done by approaching potential customers directly or through events such as the annual organic trade fair (Biofach), and communicating to potential customers the qualities of the products being offered (Herrman pers comm. 2005).

Quality wise I explain to them [potential customers] our policy, our aims, for example, and stress that we are looking to serve them with tropical ripeness, which means the best quality we can afford without pushing them into a trap into problems of getting over ripe fruits.

Herrman pers comm. 2005

One of the difficulties in establishing these relations was convincing potential customers that there was a market for Kipepeo's products. This was made all the more difficult as Herrman was hoping to sell his products for a much higher price than those already available on the market⁵³.

While the primary justification for the increased price was that the products would arrive embodying product quality that was higher than existing sources, this raised a second problem, convincing potential customers that Kipepeo had the capacity to consistently deliver products of a quality that matched the higher price requested by Herrman (Herrman pers comm. 2005).

⁵³ The retail price for Kipepeo branded fresh pineapples in September 2005 was roughly €7.99/kg. In comparison the retail price for fresh organic pineapples from Ghana was around €5.99/kg.

To overcome resistance, Herrman explained to potential customers that he was selling the pineapples at a higher price in order to pay a fair trade premium to smallholders. The difficulty of this strategy was that potential customers did not have any means to verify Herrman's fair trade claims because his company, Kipepeo, and its suppliers were not certified under existing Fair Trade systems. Another potential barrier was the lack of demand for fair trade pineapples. Fairly traded pineapples were of little interest to potential customers, when compared with other more well known fair trade products, such as bananas, coffee and chocolate.

While this fair trade policy resonated with several potential customers, Herrman also had to overcome the resistance of potential customers by granting price concessions. Price concessions enabled Herrman to demonstrate that he could regularly deliver high quality products and, more importantly, that there was indeed demand for products embodying these higher product quality characteristics.

Price concessions, though, were not in the long-term interests of Kipepeo. Price concessions conflicted with the logic by which Herrman hoped to structure relations with customers because this reduced the profitability of the business, limiting the capacity to provide economic returns to his family and undermining his ability to pass on fair trade premiums to farmers.

It was very tough, very hard. For two years I had no salary! It was really a very big risk on one side to invest a lot of money in Uganda⁵⁴ in this company the other side in Germany, not being able to raise any salary for daily life here because I had to sell the produce cheaper than I bought in order to come into the market.

Herrman pers comm. 2005

Herrman (pers comm. 2005) was well aware that his approach to doing business, selling higher quality products as a means of justifying premium prices, was in conflict with the prevailing logic of the market.

⁵⁴ As it will be shown, Herrman eventually decided to source produce from Uganda as opposed to Tanzania due to a number of logistical constraints associated with the procurement of fresh tropical fruits from Tanzania.

This is a very narrow channel we have to use ... to convince clients that we have very good produce, very delicious produce, which is really different from other products that are already on the market, it was a risk ... Of course, I have to do business and business has to be profitable on all stages but I'm working against the usual way of trading - buying as cheap as possible, selling as cheap as possible. My policy is different. Therefore maybe I'm sort of a strange business.

Ultimately, though, it was Herrman's capacity to consistently provide high quality products which was central to maintaining relations with downstream customers.

To give a clearer picture of this, information is now presented about several of the wholesale and retail customers stocking Kipepeo branded fresh pineapples. These profiles demonstrate how considerations of 'quality', 'efficiency' 'organic' and 'fairness' influence the purchasing motivations of Kipepeo customers.

5.2.1 Dennree Naturkost GmbH (Dennree)

Dennree is a one of Kipepeo's largest customers and is the single largest wholesaler of organic products in Germany⁵⁵. Dennree's main warehouse⁵⁶ and head office is located in southern Germany near the town of Toepen. The warehouse covers an area of 30 000m² and is capable of storing up to 17 000 pallets of goods. Dennree owns and operates a fleet of 140 trucks, which it uses to distribute a large range of organic products throughout Germany and Austria. Dennree has roughly 1600 customers, ranging from small shops to multiple supermarkets and operates by the policy that it will only sell to outlets that specialise in organic products (Hasenhündl pers comm. 2006; Hasenhündl & Renner pers comm. 2005; Microsoft 2006). To coordinate activities, Dennree has over 600 staff, two of which offered information regarding the buying and selling of Kipepeo branded pineapples.

Dennree has a set price list for its products, which it updates daily and sends via email or fax to its customers. Customers place orders for its products when needed and these are

⁵⁵ Dennree was founded in 1974, by CEO Thomas Greim. Greim started in organic agriculture trade by selling biodynamic products in Munich (Hasenhündl & Renner pers comm. 2005).

⁵⁶ Dennree also has eight regional storage spaces throughout Germany and a number of retail shops (Hasenhündl & Renner pers comm. 2005).

transported by truck from existing warehouse stock. To replenish its stock Dennree places orders with its suppliers based on the amount of stock on hand and estimated demand. In terms of Kipepeo branded pineapples, Dennree places a weekly order and receives the pineapples directly from the airport in Frankfurt in around eight days from when the original order was placed (Dennree 2008; Hasenhündl & Renner pers comm. 2005; Herrman pers comm. 2005).

Dennree stock pineapples as a matter of demand and carry both Kipepeo branded pineapples and cheaper fresh pineapples from Ghana. As Hasenhündl & Renner (pers comm. 2005) claim:

Pineapples are part of this wholesale business because pineapples are part of a good fruit vegetable shop. It needs pineapples, and people like pineapples, for us it is normal to have pineapples.

As a large wholesaler with a diverse customer base, Dennree stock Kipepeo branded pineapples because they meet specific consumer demands. By stocking Kipepeo branded products, for example, Dennree is able to satisfy customer demand for fair trade products.

We also saw they were from small farmers these products and they are Fair Trade and because some of our clients want Fair Trade products because ... there is some marketing on it, this small thing you can find some information about the products. The people who buy them they can see the people on these photos and they know it is fair trade and there is contact between the producer of this product and the seller of the product. We felt there are special clients who want these products who ask for products like this and so we thought it would be a good idea to sell this product.

Hasenhündl & Renner pers comm. 2005

As Hasenhündl & Renner pers comm. (2005) noted, though, demand for fairly traded fresh pineapples was limited when compared to the demand for more well-known fair trade products, such as coffee and chocolate.

While Dennree may choose to stock Kipepeo branded products to meet customers demand for fair trade, it is clear that meeting the quality requirements of customers, in terms of appearance, taste and smell, is also a primary consideration in Dennree's decision to stock Kipepeo branded pineapples at Dennree. As Hasenhündl & Renner (pers comm. 2005) have said,

[e]veryday we have to go to our customers and show our quality and sell. For us it is important that the products are of a good quality. It is not enough that the products are organic because maybe 20 years ago the quality was not important only that it is organic, but now it is also important that the products, when they are organic, are good quality because people are paying a good price for the products and because of this they want good quality products.

Dennree continues to use Kipepeo as a supplier because it regularly supplies fresh pineapples that meet the expectations of its own customers, of which quality and fair trade are said to be important (Hasenhündl & Renner pers comm. 2005).

5.2.2 Naturkost-Service GmBH

Another direct customer of Kipepeo is the family owned and run business, Naturkost-Service. Naturkost-Service specialises in the retail sale of organic fruit and vegetable products but operates as a type of wholesaler in that it purchases directly from importers and farmers to supply its three retail outlets located in Munich. Naturkost-Service purchases fresh fruits and vegetables directly from Kipepeo to reduce the costs of procurement and to benefit from having more direct and personal contact⁵⁷. Naturkost-Service's owner Klaus Trubenecker faxes an order for Naturkost-Service's three stores directly to Kipepeo every week and the produce is delivered and then divided amongst the three retail outlets.

The primary Naturkost-Service retail outlet is located at the Viktualianmarkt, which is the oldest fixed outdoor market of its kind in Munich and consists of almost 150 stalls and shops selling a range of products from flowers, plants, fruit, vegetables, herbs, spices, dairy, meats, wine and tea in an area of 22 000 m². Naturkost-Service's stall at the Viktualianmarkt is

⁵⁷ As owner, Klaus Trubenecker (pers comm. 2005) claimed, close relationships enabled him to communicate specific quality requirements that could not be done with wholesalers.

called Beim Trubenecker and has been operating here since 1993. Beim Trubenecker specialises in supplying fresh and exotic tropical fruits to meet specific consumer demands. Beim Trubenecker services mainly repeat customers, which make up around 80% of the customer base (Trubenecker pers comm. 2005).

Trubenecker first met Herrman at the annual Biofach trade fair in Nuremberg whilst looking for new suppliers. Trubenecker liked the products that Herrman was offering and felt 'a level of trust' about Herrman's claim that he was promoting fair trade by giving farmers premium prices (Trubenecker pers comm. 2005). Trubenecker is himself personally interested in supporting fair trade and prefers to support smallholders rather than the large farms, such as the ones in Ghana where he used to source his fresh pineapples. He believes, though, that only about five percent of his customers hold the same sort of beliefs and claimed, alternatively, that it was the quality of the Kipepeo branded pineapples, in particular the taste,⁵⁸ that was the primary driving force behind customer purchase (Trubenecker pers comm. 2005).

To support this claim, Trubenecker (pers comm. 2005) argued that demand for imported and exotic organic goods, such as tropical fruits, has grown as the organic market has become patronised by more mainstream interests. As the market has widened, claimed Trubenecker, the nature of the market has changed. According to Trubenecker, organic does not just include people solely concerned about environmental issues, but also consumers whose primary concern is taste and quality⁵⁹. One of the problems with this, argued Trubenecker, is that organic products do not always possess higher quality characteristics, such as good taste. As a result, claims Trubenecker (pers comm. 2005) one has to be selective with regards to who produce is sourced from⁶⁰. With this in mind, Trubenecker buys only the Kipepeo branded pineapples, because he believes that they are the best quality on the market.

⁵⁸ In terms of consumer demand Trubenecker (pers comm. 2005) stated that 'The first feedback [from customers] is the taste! You don't discuss about bio [organic]'.

⁵⁹ According to Trubenecker (pers comm. 2005) 'The history of bio [organic] is also the history of ideology. Some people would never enter a bio shop, but we stay in a public place so everyone can look. We had some customers who don't go to a bio shop as of 10 years ago because of its ideology ... But this changed because of the supermarkets.'

⁶⁰ As Trubenecker (pers comm. 2005) claims '... if someone buys bio they like a healthy fruit and he thinks this is natural with a good taste and doesn't degenerate like conventional fruits. But you do find this in bio because there are big farmers on the European market who sell big tomatoes without any taste and they are bio with certification, but no taste. People are interested if they buy bio they want a healthy fruit with a good taste'.

5.2.3 Der Obergrashofam

Der Obergrashof is a fruit and vegetable market stall located north of the centre of Munich in the Elisabethmarkt, which is a permanent outdoor market established over 100 years ago. Elisabethmarkt consists of 24 stalls selling a range of produce similar to, but much smaller than the Viktualienmarkt in which Beim Trubenecker is located. As a retail outlet, Der Obergrashof purchases Kipepeo branded pineapples through the wholesaler Dennree.

Der Obergrashof is owned and run by Luigi de Prato who has been involved in the organic industry in Germany for 20-25 years. De Prato first got interested in organic foods after having an accident, which poorly affected his health. Initially, de Prato used to act as an intermediary, buying organic fruits and vegetables from farmers and selling them to shops. As business grew, de Prato was faced with the question whether or not to go bigger (like Dennree) but decided that he was not interested in being a big wholesaler, preferring to have time for himself. After several different ventures de Prato chose to set up a stall at the Elisabethmarkt.

De Prato (pers comm. 2005) stated that there were several reasons why he regularly stocked Kipepeo branded pineapples. The first is that they are grown and sold under fair trade conditions, which he personally liked. His understanding of this comes from having direct contact with Siegfried Herrman who met with him and explained about the origins of the pineapples. Having talked to Herrman, de Prato claimed that he had trust for him and his claims regarding fair trade, which was important in de Prato's eyes. While de Prato claimed that his customers generally preferred fair trade, he argued that customers were also highly influenced by the different messages going around in the mainstream media⁶¹.

⁶¹ De Prato offered two examples of the responsiveness of the public to mainstream media messages. He argued that the organics sector developed, in part, as a product of the German Greens' promotion of organic and fair trade products in the mainstream media. He also claimed that the Green party was able to promote organic and Fair Trade because one of its parliamentarians was made the Minister in charge of the new Ministry of Consumer Protection, which formed as a direct result of the BSE scare in Germany. De Prato also argued that the media had impacted on consumer acceptance of organic products in the egg market. He argued that when the Ministry for Consumer Protection passed a law to ban battery cages after 2007 there was a scare/scandal in the media with claims that organic eggs had large doses of dioxin, which made people afraid of eating organic eggs. He claimed, though, that it was later found that dioxins occur naturally in eggs.

De Prato stated that the most important consideration in stocking Kipepeo branded pineapples was that they were the best tasting of all of the fresh organic pineapples available on the market. This was not just his own belief but also belief of his customers who communicate this sentiment to him. Importantly, de Prato claimed that he was able to stock the more expensive Kipepeo branded pineapples because his customers were willing to pay more for the higher quality of the product. Another related factor influencing de Prato's decision making in this regard was that Kipepeo branded pineapples consistently embodied product quality characteristics, such as good taste (de Prato pers comm. 2005).

5.2.4 Basic Stuttgart

A second example of a retail outlet stocking Kipepeo branded pineapples through wholesale suppliers is the Stuttgart branch of the organic supermarket chain Basic. There were a total of 12 Basic stores located across Germany in 2005, which at the time of interview all sourced their organic products from Dennree. A regular Basic store stocks a full range of organic products, from fresh fruit and vegetable to packaged and processed organic products. The Basic in Stuttgart employs 17-18 people on a mixture of full-time and casual basis to manage and operate the store (Basic staff pers comm. 2005). Two Basic staff responsible for organising procurement for the Stuttgart shop offered information regarding the buying and selling of Kipepeo pineapples.

In terms of organic pineapples, Basic staff procured both the Kipepeo branded pineapples and the cheaper pineapples from Ghana. It was reported that there was a €1 difference in the wholesale price between the Ghanaian and Kipepeo branded pineapples. Kipepeo pineapples, for example, sold at a wholesale price from Dennree of around €4.90/pineapple whereas the Ghanaian pineapples sold at €3.90/pineapple. When sold in the Basic shop in Stuttgart there was a mark-up, of around €2 (Basic staff pers comm. 2005).

Basic staff (pers comm. 2005) argued that this price difference made the Kipepeo branded pineapples very expensive and that the main factor influencing Basic consumers was price. When the Kipepeo price was low staff ordered Kipepeo branded pineapples, when the Kipepeo price was high⁶² they bought the pineapples from Ghana⁶³. This strategy was

⁶² The retail price can sometimes get as high as €10.99/kg.

⁶³ The Ghana/Togo Pineapples were on promotion for €4.99/kg but regular price is €6.99/kg.

attributed to the signals received from customers who did not buy Kipepeo branded pineapples if they were too expensive, because this left unsold product, which had to be paid for by the individual Basic store.

Unlike the majority of other intermediary interview respondents, the staff at Basic (pers comm. 2005) argued that they did not perceive a significant difference in quality between Kipepeo branded pineapples and pineapples from Ghana⁶⁴. They also argued that customers were not interested in fair trade for pineapples but only for other products like coffee and bananas. They attributed this preference to the attention paid to these products in the mass media.

5.2.5 Voll-Corner Biomarkt

A third example of a retail outlet purchasing Kipepeo branded pineapples through wholesale is the organic supermarket chain Voll-Corner Biomarkt. Voll-corner Biomarkt began operation in 1988 and had, in 2005, five shops in Munich dedicated to selling a range of organic products to consumers. Each of the stores is centrally owned but ordering of stock is organised individually by each shop. One of these stores, located 2km west of the city centre, procured the majority of its stock from the wholesaler Dennree and was a regular purchaser of Kipepeo branded pineapples.

According to Voll-Corner Biomarkt staff member Michael (pers comm. 2005), he chooses to stock Kipepeo branded pineapples because they meet customer demand for higher quality produce. According to Michael, Kipepeo branded pineapples were the sweetest tasting pineapples on the market and consistently embodied the quality characteristics demanded by customers. Michael also claimed that he had never had any problems with the pineapples with regard to quality. Michael also mentioned that some customers were interested in fair trade products but that consumption of fair trade was generally limited to products that were commonly recognised as fair trade, such as bananas and chocolate.

⁶⁴ Although they did acknowledge that the Kipepeo pineapples lasted longer on the shelf.

5.2.6 Viv BioFrischeMarkt

A final example of a retail customer stocking Kipepeo branded pineapples through wholesale supplies is the organic supermarket chain Viv BioFrischeMarkt. Viv BioFrischeMarkt initially began in 1998 when two individuals, Ulrich Unbekannt and Stefan Buschek, bought an existing organic shop. After several years of growth they decided to convert the shop into an organic supermarket. In 2005, Viv BioFrischeMarkt had grown to include six different stores, one of which was dedicated to organic cosmetics. Not all of the new stores have been successful, with at least two having to close down due to lack of custom. Information regarding the Kipepeo branded pineapple procurement was obtained from a staff member of one of these stores located in Oranienbamm in the outer suburbs of Berlin (Viv BioFrischeMarkt staff member pers comm. 2005).

The Viv BioFrischeMarkt outlet in Oranienbamm was similar to the Basic in Stuttgart in that it was not a regular purchaser of Kipepeo branded pineapples, choosing mostly to stock cheaper organic pineapples from Cameroon⁶⁵. According to the staff member (pers comm. 2005), price was the main determinant of consumer behaviour at this particular shop. Whilst the majority of customers patronising this particular shop were affluent, they were unwilling, argued the staff member, to pay higher prices for everyday products such as fruits and vegetables. This is despite the fact that pineapples were not, as the staff member acknowledged, an everyday item.

They were, though, willing to pay higher prices for speciality products, such as fair trade coffee. While there were discernable differences in the quality of pineapples, this was not viewed by the staff member as being as important as the price difference between the Kipepeo branded pineapples and the pineapples from Cameroon. The Cameroon pineapples were generally sold for €5.99/kg whereas the Kipepeo branded pineapples were generally sold for €7.99/kg at Viv BioFrischeMarkt.

As the evidence presented above suggests, Kipepeo's attempts to enrol customers into supply network relations is dependent on the capacity of the fresh pineapples to embody characteristics which justify the premium price. The capacity of these products to embody

⁶⁵ Viv BioFrische Markt procured Kipepeo branded pineapples from time to time from Dennree but purchased the pineapples from Cameroon from another wholesaler.

these desirable characteristics relies on Herrman's attempts at establishing relations with suitable suppliers as it will be demonstrated in the next section.

5.3 Establishing and stabilising relations with exporters in the Global South

Whilst Herrman was initially interested in setting up opportunities for the communities that he had served in Tanzania, Herrman quickly realised that it would not be feasible to transport fresh tropical fruits grown in Tanzania. As it was stated already, fresh tropical fruits need to be transported by air to preserve and maximise their natural qualities which are desired by end consumers. Unfortunately, potential production sites in Tanzania were too far away from suitable airport infrastructure. Considerations of 'quality' and 'efficiency' motivated Herrman to search for alternative opportunities in neighbouring Uganda. As Herrman (pers comm. 2005) explains,

Uganda was a neighbouring country and the best possible place for exporting by air. The idea behind this was that if it was possible to export fresh tropical fruits from central African countries to Europe it needs to be a very fast and good logistical way to Europe. Only by air no other way.

In Uganda potential production sites were much closer to airfreight infrastructure and this would minimise product quality loss and make the operation more economically efficient (Herrman pers comm. 2005).

Herrman's plans to establish his enterprise came to fruition when Herrman met the Swiss entrepreneur, Fritz Platner, in 1999. Platner had been responsible for establishing the very first organic export company, Suntrade and Consulting International (U) Ltd (Suntrade) in Uganda in 1993. Suntrade was involved in procuring certified organic tropical fruits from smallholders and exporting these to European markets in Switzerland and the Netherlands. At the time they met, Suntrade was experiencing financial difficulties.

The Swiss guy in Uganda was somehow in the end of the business, as it was collapsing. He was not able to run the business well by finance and was almost bankrupt but I saw

he had built a good project with small scale farmers. He had weekly exports to Switzerland and Netherlands. Tried to come into the German market, but failed.

Herrman pers comm. 2005

As a result of this situation, Herrman was invited, along with another investor, to become partners in a new company, Amfri Farms Limited (U), to replace Suntrade.

While Herrman was apprehensive about this arrangement, it represented an opportunity to capitalise on existing relations with which he could use to supply produce to German markets. Having established this relationship, Herrman set up his import company, Kipepeo, and established relations with customers in Germany. But while relations with customers became more or less stabilised, Herrman eventually found that he had to pull out of his relationship with the export company.

The reason for the destabilisation of relations between Kipepeo and the exporter was a conflict surrounding Herrman's desire to provide fair trade premiums to farmers. Herrman (pers comm. 2005) became increasingly unhappy that smallholders were not receiving a fair trade premium, despite his insistence that this be done⁶⁶. This was particularly problematic for Herrman because the delivery of the fair trade premium was the primary logic underpinning Herrman's efforts to establish the supply network. Herrman's relationship with customers was based, in part, on his commitment to providing fair trade premiums to smallholders. While fair trade was not the only logic underpinning consumer purchases, Herrman could not bear to be involved in a supply network that was not paying fairer prices to farmers.

When Herrman could not convince his partner in the export company to pass on the fair trade premium to farmers, Herrman made a decision to exit from the relationship. As Herrman (pers comm. 2005) claims, 'after three years I had decided to go out of this company in Uganda. I could not agree anymore to policy and the way of doing business'⁶⁷. Rather than

⁶⁶ This does not mean that the smallholders were being exploited but that they were not being remunerated to the degree that Herrman believed was fair. As Herrman (pers comm. 2005) claimed, 'I paid a fair trade premium to the first company once and I found that the money was not given to the farmers. That gave me the final push to deciding to drop out of this relationship'.

⁶⁷ As Herrman (pers comm. 2005) claimed of his partner 'He was always looking for money and has really done a lot of strange things. He got a lot of loans from the bank in Uganda to do some business.

quit altogether, Herrman initiated plans to establish a new export company. The new company, called Biofresh, was established in August 2002 and was formed by Herrman in collaboration with two other individuals – Sonia Madwime and Moses Muwanga.

Madwime is a Kenyan national and has had many years of experience working for export companies. Madwime completed a Bachelor of Science in Food Science and Technology in Nairobi in 1987 and was soon employed for Delmonte in Kenya as a Quality Department Head. Subsequently, Madwime assumed a number of different roles as either an Operations or Quality Manager with a variety of export companies. In 2000, Madwime was employed by Amfri Farms as its Operations Manager, which was her first role working in the organic agriculture field. Madwime (pers comm. 2005) chose to get involved with organic production because she believed that organic agriculture provided a range of benefits to producers, consumers and the environment. Madwime (pers comm. 2005) stated, for example, that organic production and products: provides better health for farmers than conventional production; minimises the environmental impacts of farming; offers healthier products to consumers; and improves the livelihoods and social development of farmers.

Muwanga is Ugandan and first became involved in organic agriculture whilst undertaking his Bachelor of Science in Agriculture at Makerere University in Kampala. As part of this degree Muwanga undertook industrial training with the company Suntrade in 1995 and when he completed his degree, became employed at Suntrade as a production and extension officer. When the company eventually changed to Amfri Farms in 1999, Muwanga was promoted to the role of Production Manager. This was at a time when Muwanga was also becoming involved in a range of meetings and events that led to the formation of the National Organic Movement of Ugandan (NOGAMU), the national representative organization for the organic movement in Uganda. When NOGAMU received external funding for its operations in 2003, Muwanga left his position as Production Manager at Amfri Farms and became NOGAMU's National Coordinator (Muwanga pers comm. 2005 & 2007).

I did not understand why he needed such a lot of money therefore he was under a lot of pressure to refund the loan and interest’.

Herrman had developed a high regard for Madwime and Muwanga while working with them at Amfri Farms. For Herrman (pers comm. 2005), Madwime's strong belief in Christianity, enabled him to implicitly trust her.

Sonia is a strong Christian. She is a strong believer in Jesus Christ. I'm coming out of the Church doing the whole of my life Christian services in Church and so on; therefore we have a very strong relationship, which is somehow without any complications.

Herrman pers comm. 2005

While Muwanga was not a Christian, like Herrman and Madwime⁶⁸, this was not a barrier to his enrolment in Biofresh, as Herrman (pers comm. 2005) held him in high regard because 'his attitude is very open, very straight and very honest'.

In Madwime and Muwanga, Herrman found partners with a common commitment to fair trade. As Herrman (pers comm. 2005) claimed,

Two leading people in this project have been fed up as well, a Kenyan lady and Ugandan both involved in the company. They agreed together with me doing fair trade in the way I was looking for in the beginning.

As Madwime (pers comm. 2005) has claimed, he decision to set up Biofresh 'was purely about the fair trade issue, we felt convinced that we needed to do trade in fair trade way'.

As part of the process of establishing Biofresh as a new export company, new relations needed to be established with farmers. An essential part of this process was enrolling farmers capable of supplying fresh pineapples and other tropical fruits which embodied the characteristics desired by end consumers. In this next section, I demonstrate how considerations of 'quality', 'efficiency', 'organic' and 'fairness' impact on the enrolment and organisation of farmers.

⁶⁸ In fact Muwanga is a Muslim, albeit 'not a strong Muslim' according to Herrman (pers comm. 2005).

5.4 Establishing and stabilising relations with producers in the Global South

As noted already, the mobilisation of consumers willing to pay premium prices for fresh pineapples is predicated on the capacity of the exchange relations to deliver fresh pineapples that embody characteristics which are desired by consumers. The maximisation of characteristics, such as taste and appearance, is particularly problematic when unprocessed perishable goods are involved in spatially extended supply networks. As Harvey *et al* (2003:164) argue, '[f]ood as an organic, variable, raw material, which is fundamentally unstable over time' and, as such, the standardisation of product quality poses 'a major challenge' in lengthened supply relations. An important part of establishing and stabilising the specific relations involved with the production and trade of fresh organic pineapples is finding farmers capable of supplying produce that embody the quality characteristics desired by end consumers.

As a product that is consumed in its natural state, fresh pineapples pose difficulties in attempts to standardise desirable quality characteristics. Fresh pineapples have variability in size, appearance and taste that is difficult to control during the process of production⁶⁹. The characteristics that make fresh pineapples desirable to consumers, such as taste, deteriorate naturally over time, more rapidly if exposed to unfavourable external environmental conditions, such as excessive heat or cold. The appearance and taste of fresh pineapples can also be damaged if poorly handled in transportation and storage⁷⁰. These biological considerations, when combined with considerations of consumer demand, impose constraints on processes involved in enrolling farmers.

Farmers needed to be located as near to Kampala as possible to minimise transportation costs and reduce spoilage. This was particularly important because of the poor condition of Ugandan roads. The further that fresh pineapples travel on such roads, the higher the incidence of mechanical damage⁷¹ and the higher the costs of production⁷² (Herrman pers

⁶⁹ Although it was noted during fieldwork that farmers are encouraged to plant pineapple rows closer together than what is generally recommended to stimulate the growth of smaller pineapples.

⁷⁰ As it will be shown later, fresh pineapples are susceptible to mechanical damage, which can be sustained during transportation, causing defects such as bruising which are not acceptable to consumers.

⁷¹ Mechanical damage is stress resulting in physiological and morphological changes in fruit sustained during post harvest handling (Martinez-Romero *et al* 2004).

comm. 2005; Madwime pers comm. 2005). As Madwime (pers comm. 2005) has claimed, higher incidences of mechanical damage result in extra costs because Biofresh has to purchase more produce from smallholders to fill orders. Given that there are only several regions in Uganda with the capacity for growing pineapples⁷³ located relatively close to Kampala, it was decided that it would be best to attempt to locate smallholders in the Luweero and Kayunga Districts located roughly between 50 and 60km north north-east of Kampala.

In these two locations farmers were identified during ‘sensitisation’⁷⁴ sessions organised by Biofresh. During these sensitisation sessions, representatives from Biofresh and NOGAMU gave farmers information about the benefits of producing organic pineapples for export and explained the conditions under which organic production should take place if they chose to supply to Biofresh. An important actor in this process was the Production Coordinator, Patrick Mulabe, who was employed by Biofresh to coordinate and manage activities related to training, certification and procurement (Mulabe pers comm. 2005).

Biofresh representatives were also instructed to select farmers using another important criterion. As the production capacity of a smallholder is limited, smallholders needed to be organised as a group, or at the very least, in close proximity to streamline procurement, certification and training.

The issue of mobilising the farmers into very streamlined viable groups is very paramount. Because once they are organised into viable commercially organised groups you can introduce quality standards, you can streamline the purchasing and buying system and you can control and facilitate information flow to these groups.

Muwanga (pers comm. 2005)

⁷² According to the Madwime (pers comm. 2005), mechanical damage generally results in a loss of up to five per cent of the produce and is exacerbated by the poor quality of the packaging materials available for the pineapples.

⁷³ It was important to find farmers with existing capacity to supply Biofresh as pineapple plants can take up to 18 months before they can first be harvested.

⁷⁴ ‘Sensitization’ is a colloquial term commonly used in Uganda. It is made in reference to the need to change peoples’ way of thinking in order to facilitate development.

The primary motivation for locating farmers within a discreet geographical area was to ensure that adequate volumes of produce with the highest possible product quality could be readily sourced, reducing the costs of procurement (Madwime pers comm. 2005; Mulabe pers comm. 2005).

The second motivation for locating farmers in this fashion was to assist in the implementation of organic certification. Without organic certification, produce would not be able to enter into organic markets in Germany and command a premium price. As the target group for the project was farmers with small farms and limited production capacity, Biofresh needed to implement Smallholder Group Certification (SGC) procedures which are made easier to monitor when farmers are within close geographic proximity or organised as a group.

The third motivation was to streamline the training of farmers required to ensure that farmers could meet the product quality demands of consumers and comply with organic certification requirements. Two groups of farmers were eventually identified as being willing to supply organic pineapples to Biofresh that met, as best as possible, Biofresh's need to ensure that the pineapples would embody the characteristics desired by consumers.

The first of these was located in the Lusanja parish, in Luweero District. Here Biofresh identified 29 smallholder families to supply it with organic pineapples. Fourteen of these had been organised together as a group since 1998 in the hopes of maximising their chances of accessing export markets. They were encouraged to do this from information received from local civil society and government organizations^{75,76}. When Biofresh approached the smallholders in 2003 the group was enlarged to increase production volumes and thus ensure

⁷⁵ Group formation of this kind is not a usual situation for Ugandan farmers. Ugandan farmers have had little opportunity or experience of organizing into groups at the farmer-level marketing their crops primarily as individual family groups (Bbemba pers comm. 2005).

⁷⁶ Encouragement to form a farmer's group came from training and sensitisation received through local development organizations. As the current chair of the Lusanja group, and other farmers claimed, organizations, such as Volunteers Efforts for Development Concerns (VEDCO) and Plan International provided initial training and encouragement to form the smallholders (Farmer pers comm. 2005). A second form of inspiration for group formation came from individual experiences of key group members. The Lusanja farmer group chair, for example, gained personal knowledge of the benefits of group formation from training that he received as a former member of the local council (Farmer pers comm. 2005). As the Chair (pers comm. 2005) asserted, '...the reason why we actually started a group was that we wanted help from the district, because the district always gives help to people who are together, not a single person'. This made him aware that group formation was an essential prerequisite for accessing state resources.

that production could meet the requirements of the export company. Calling themselves the ‘Lusanja Organic Farmers Group’ these farmers elected a number of executives, including a Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, who were responsible for activities to coordinate the group⁷⁷.

In Kayunga District, Biofresh identified six smallholder families in the Nsotoka and Busaana parishes to supply organic pineapples. One of these smallholder families, included six discrete family units as part of a larger family group of siblings. As Madwime (pers comm. 2005) explains,

In Kayunga, there are about six farmers and one of the farmers, his farm is very big, but he has six members of the family, but only one appears. We have six main farmers that are recorded on our list but one of them has six brothers who all have their own pieces of land and they are considered to be all his land so it’s a cooperative of family members, six of them together.

Most of the smallholders in Kayunga were located in the village of Nsotoka whilst two of the smallholder families were located some distance away in the Busaana parish⁷⁸. Aside from the family group, the smallholders in Kayunga District were not organised into a farmer group. In spite of this, the export company has insisted that the farmers form a coherent group to streamline certification, procurement and training. As a result, it was reported that several of the smallholders had been elected as executive members at the time of interview.

The enrolment of these farmers into relations with Biofresh should not be taken for granted. Farmers are not simply enrolled into projects against their will, but make decisions about participation based on assessments made about the benefits that actors might receive as a result of their participation. Taking on board the insights of ANT, it can be argued that the decision making of individual smallholders is influenced by the network of relations in which actors are entwined.

⁷⁷ The chairman, for example, is responsible for communicating with Biofresh regarding orders.

⁷⁸ These two farmers were not viewed as being part of the main group and were separated geographically and on religious lines.

If, as it is argued in this thesis, that movement mobilisation is achieved only if participation delivers incentives that resonate with the interests and values of potential adherents, then it is important to discuss the reasons given by farmers as to why they choose to supply pineapples to Biofresh. This is done to demonstrate how the mobilisation of pineapple farmers in the case study presented in this chapter is associated with considerations of the role of money as a means to achieving a diverse range of goals and with comparisons of local market relations versus export market relations.

During interviews⁷⁹ farmers made specific reference to the positive terms of trade offered by Biofresh and contrasted the terms offered by Biofresh with the poor terms of trade offered locally. Smallholders stated overwhelmingly that they were motivated to supply pineapples to Biofresh because doing so offered farmers a higher price than was offered on the local market. As one farmer claimed (Farmer pers comm. 2005),

After realising the benefit of the Biofresh market I just had to make my own decision without consulting anyone because I compared the Biofresh market with the local market and found that it was much better because the price was higher.

This price was stipulated in the terms of their contract⁸⁰, where Biofresh agreed that it would pay farmers a price ‘approximately 10% higher’ than ‘average local farm gate prices’⁸¹ (Biofresh Contract 2005:3).

Another motivation for participation was the exploitation that farmers faced in supplying pineapples to the local market. Smallholders had difficulty selling pineapples on the local

⁷⁹ Please note that unless otherwise stated I do not attribute specific responses to individual farmers. The reason for this was that it was not practical to utilise the standard consent form that was used with most interview participants. Consent forms of this nature request that an interviewee sign a document to indicate that they agree to have their responses used and attributed. It was not appropriate to do this in the case of the farmers as it was made clear to the researcher, before entering the field, that farmers are wary of signing any documents for fear of being cheated out of their land.

⁸⁰ Biofresh stipulates some of these terms in a written contract, which is translated into the local language and required as a part of the process of meeting organic certification guidelines.

⁸¹ Another benefit, although not yet acknowledged by the farmers was the provision, by the import company Kipepeo of a fair trade bonus of Ush100/pineapple at the end of each year to be used for community projects, such as building well or a collection centre. In Lusanja, for example, a collection centre was being built at the time of interview and there were immediate plans to build a well for clean water. It was not clear, though, whether such projects were being planned with the farmers in Kayunga district at the time.

market and claimed they were regularly exploited by local traders, who either: gave them very low prices; didn't pay them; or owed them money⁸². As one farmer in the Kayunga District explained,

We looked at this opportunity as being great because of the price at which Biofresh takes each pineapple. We compared it to the local buyers because sometimes the local buyers could just take the pineapples without paying us and at the end of the day they could tell us they had not got any profits so that means there was no payment.

Farmer pers comm. 2005

In comparison, Biofresh agreed to buy regularly from the farmers and pay them on a cash-in-hand basis each time that they collected produce from the farmers. This undertaking was stipulated in the contract between Biofresh and the farmer.

The decision to supply to Biofresh was also justified with reference to Biofresh's intention to buy pineapples that were not demanded on the local market. Biofresh were only interested in buying pineapples of a small size whereas local traders were only interested in larger pineapples^{83,84}. As a farmer in the Luweero District stated,

Originally the local buyers who were coming in, they were exploiting us and leaving out these pineapples that Biofresh were taking. So when we saw this market for the smaller pineapples with Biofresh we decided to start supplying.

Farmer pers comm. 2005

⁸² One respondent claimed that local traders collected the fruit without payment and then would claim that they were unable to sell the fruit. Another farmer claimed that he was owed a sum of US\$700 000 (approximately US\$300).

⁸³ According to Madwime (pers comm. 2005), 'I think that the average German family is small that's my opinion they have one child or none. The reason is because they are sold per kilo on the other side so such a pineapple you cannot cut it into two a big piece would be more expensive for the retailer to sell because he is selling by the kilo so if you have 1 kilo to 1.6 kilo fruit the price is more reasonable than if you have a 2 – 2.5 kilo fruit and maybe the consumer will not finish it in one go one sitting ... with a smaller pineapple you pay less money and you finish it if you want another one then you go for another one. With a 2 kg you pay twice the price and you won't be able to finish it'.

⁸⁴ It must be noted, though, that several of the farmers were perturbed by the fact that Biofresh did not purchase all of the pineapples that they presented for collection, but as Madwime (pers comm. 2005) claimed, this was something that Biofresh was hoping to overcome by putting in place infrastructure to process pineapples.

While some respondents linked their motivation to other non-economic motivations, such as: the ability to support family; the ability to improve one's own development; the love of working in a group; and the love of being a farmer, farmers generally made reference to the role of money as providing a primary means with which to meet these needs.

As most respondents noted, in response to a question about what would improve their life further, money was often discussed as a tool that could be used to obtain many of the things that they needed to improve their lives. As one respondent claimed,

Of course generally there are so many needs and so many home needs. I really want to fulfil all that and I want to change, really change! Like from the bicycle that I ride to a motorbike. There are so many things that I want to do but there is only one limitation, that is money.

Farmer pers comm. 2005

This sentiment was echoed by a number of respondents. It demonstrates how Herrman's commitment to 'fairness', which is manifest in the payment of premium prices to farmers, provides a critical incentive to convince farmers to participate in these market exchange relations and mobilises them as adherents of the organic movement.

5.5 The impact of 'organic' on the organisation of production

As it was stated earlier, Herrman's decision to establish an enterprise that uses the trade of tropical fruits as a means to provide income for his family and for smallholders in the Global South led him to choose to specialise in the production of organic products as a means of justifying the premium price required to make the enterprise economically feasible and thus the relations stable. The decision to focus on organic products has important ramifications for the organisation of relations because it requires the mobilisation and enrolment of a number of human and non-human actors into these relations and influences the way in which relations are organised.

In order to gain access to wholesalers, retailers and end consumers in Germany Herrman has to ensure that both his companies Kipepeo and Biofresh and farmers that Biofresh purchase products from are certified as organic. Kipepeo was originally certified as organic in 1999 by

the Swiss certification body Institute for Marketecology (IMO). Certification with IMO enables Kipepeo to access the German market because IMO complies with the standards set out by the German certification organization Naturland. Certification with IMO also enables access to other EU countries through compliance with the EU Regulation 2091/92 (Herrman pers comm. 2005; Madwime pers comm. 2005).

To be able to import goods into Germany, Kipepeo must apply for an *Import Authorisation Certificate*. An import authorisation certificate includes information regarding suppliers, exporters and producers. It also includes an estimate of the quantity of produce that the importer believes will be supplied for the following year. This quantity is based on information about the productive capacity of farms from which the importer sources his/her produce and is used to ensure that the importer is not importing goods from non-organic sources. IMO inspectors examine the documents of the Kipepeo as the basis for granting the import authorisation certificate, which places great demands on Herrman in terms of record keeping. The Import Authorisation Certificate must be renewed each year and costs the importer around US\$1000 (Herrman pers comm. 2005).

Biofresh and the farmers are also certified through IMO. Smallholders are generally not able to afford the costs or equipped to deal with the complicated documentation required to be certified under the certifications and inspection procedures developed in the Global North. As such, organisations such as IMO have developed Smallholder Group Certification (SGC) procedures to facilitate smallholder participation in the trade of organic products. SGC procedures utilise an Internal Control System (ICS), which transfers much of the responsibility for administering compliance procedures to the export company holding the certification on behalf of the farmers.

Biofresh employs Field Officers and a Field Supervisor, who are made responsible for administering the various elements of the ICS. As part of these duties, Biofresh staff have to manage a large amount of documentation. The primary of these is the main ICS document. This document acts as a guide to the effective implementation of the ICS and must include, as a minimum: an overview of the project; details of production systems used; description of the entire supply chain; a detailed risk assessment; a list of external standards to be complied with; internal standards and production rules; an organisational chart; details of the

responsible ICS coordinator, internal inspector/s and approval manager; details of each smallholder (including details of farm size, crop numbers, yield estimate and farming method/s used); village maps; non-compliance and sanction procedures; written contracts (smallholders and staff); farm entrance forms; an annual inspection checklist; farmer lists (including name, farmer code, farm area, date of registration, date of last use of un-allowed products, date of internal inspection, name internal inspector); and documentation of training provided to staff and farmers (IFOAM 2004a).

Biofresh is also obliged to record detailed information about the farmers and their activities on a number of individual forms. The *Farmers Entrance Form* records information about crops, livestock, and field history of a farmer. *Village and Area Maps* record the location of each participating farm and the overall project location. The *Grower's List* contains a summary of information pertaining to all farmers in the project, including: farmer name and code; valid season; date when the farmer signed the contract form; date of internal inspections; current farmer status; size of farmers land; number of plants; yield estimate; and information about any deviation. Each farmer is also required to have a signed contract stipulating guidelines for compliance. The contract acts as proof for the certifier that the farmer is aware that he/she is an organic farmer.

Field Officers are particularly important in the process ensuring compliance with organic certification procedures. Each Field Officer has a limited number of farmers under their control and must make regular inspections of the farmers. Field Officers have to provide documented evidence that they have undertaken two inspections of each farmer every year. These inspections are recorded using an Internal Inspection Form and the Field Officer must provide summary reports of these to the Project Manager every month.

All of the information that is collected must be presented to an external inspector from IMO, who uses the documentation to assess the efficacy of the ICS during an annual inspection. External inspectors, employed by IMO, therefore only have to inspect a random sample of farmers rather than every farm. The information found in the documentation also provides the basis for issuing *Transaction Certificates*. Each individual shipment of goods sent to Germany by Biofresh must have a valid Transaction Certificate to gain entry as organic. Biofresh must prepare documentation regarding the details of each shipment, including: the

farmers name and code, produce quantities and other pertinent details⁸⁵ and fax these documents to IMO in order to receive a valid Transaction Certificate (Herrman pers comm. 2005)

While the ICS system is designed, in part, to minimise the costs associated with certification, it is clear that this is based on the assumption that the labour costs associated with hiring staff to administer the ICS are significantly lower than those associated with using an external certifier (inspecting every farm). Nevertheless, it is still the cost of certification that Biofresh and Kipepeo representatives claim is their biggest problem⁸⁶. As Herrman (pers comm. 2005) has claimed,

There is a lot of administration costs [with organic], which makes this business really difficult. If I would have known that organic imports were so complicated maybe I would have decided to go conventionally, but of course quality wise it helps a lot ... fortunately organic certified organic products are still getting better prices in the market, but if you take all these costs aside for the certifications maybe it's the same as the conventional.

The cost of inspecting Biofresh's farmers in the first year of operation, for example, was US\$4000. Added to this, there are extra costs associated with training staff and farmers, which is stipulated within the certification standards. Furthermore, each valid Transaction Certificate costs Biofresh US\$45 (Herrman pers comm. 2005; Madwime pers comm. 2005).

To overcome the initial costs of certifying as organic, Herrman had to mobilise resources from actors aligned with the international development cooperation sector. The mobilisation of support for establishing organic export projects is not uncommon in the Ugandan context.

⁸⁵ According to Madwime (pers comm. 2005) record keeping is a large requirement of organic certification – 'We have to keep our documentation really up to date, showing the quantities that the farmers have delivered, showing the quantities that you have bought from each farmer and the signatures of each of the farmers. When you are preparing invoices, when you are selling to the client, on the invoices you have to identify the different farm codes on the invoice so the client can know the different quantities that we have bought from the different farmers ... every week we have to communicate to IMO and send to IMO all the information, the farmers delivery list of what quantity you bought from the farmers ... I also have to fax the original from the farm with the farmers signature to prove that we actually bought that quantity from the farmer'.

⁸⁶ Madwime (pers comm. 2005) argued that yearly certification costs are roughly \$US4000. On top of this, IMO charges \$US45 for each transaction certificate it issues for each separate shipment of produce. If there is only 1 shipment per week this amounts to \$US 2340 per year, at two shipments a week \$US 4680.

The majority of organic export projects have relied, for their establishment, on funds and technical assistance mobilised from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). These funds have been delivered to export projects through the Export Promotion of Organic Products from Africa (EPOPA) program which operated in Uganda from 1995 – 2008. Details of this program will be discussed further in Chapter Seven of the thesis.

Herrman, though, did not mobilise funds through EPOPA but instead secured funding from the German Development Service (DED)⁸⁷. While the DED did not have a specific program to support the development of organic agriculture in Uganda, the DED was receptive to providing support to Herrman because it had earlier given funding to the National Organic Agriculture Movement of Uganda (NOGAMU) through its Non-Government Organization/Self-Help Initiative (NGO/SHI) (Solgya pers comm. 2005). While assistance through the NGO/SHI program was not available to Biofresh, the DED was able to provide assistance to Biofresh through its Public Private Partnerships (PPP) program. The PPP program⁸⁸ was established as a means to provide assistance to private enterprises, which could demonstrate that their operation had significant benefit to poor people.

In total the DED provided €10 000 (US\$12 450) in funding to help establish its operations (Solgya pers comm. 2005). This accounted for roughly 35 per cent of the total costs required to set up Biofresh and included money for initial certification, training, and staffing, which were all related to the requirement to be certified as organic⁸⁹ (Madwime pers comm. 2005).

⁸⁷ The DED's representative, responsible for managing the assistance given to Biofresh has also provided ongoing advice to Biofresh, encouraging Madwime to explore other options for assistance, such as accessing financial support from other development cooperation programs. Eventually a memorandum of understanding was signed, between Biofresh and EPOPA, to provide funding to train and certify new smallholders to expand Biofresh's operations (Madwime pers comm. 2005). As a result of the support from EPOPA Biofresh increased its number of contracted farmers from 50 in seven districts, to 165 in 10 districts.

⁸⁸ Changes to the focus of the PPP program meant that after the DED gave support to Biofresh the DED would no longer be able to provide assistance to agricultural projects of this kind (Solgya pers comm. 2005).

⁸⁹ According to Madwime (pers comm. 2005), this included US\$4000 for the cost of having inspectors from IMO inspect the farmers. It also included funds to hire consultants to come and assist in the training of farmers in post harvest and handling and organic production procedures and pay for the wages of the Production Coordinator and Extension Officer, Mulabe, in the first year of operation. The DED also contributed an extra \$US600 to pay the costs associated with Biofresh's attendance at the German Organic Product Fair, Biofach.

By providing Biofresh with funding, Herrman did not have to take further personal financial risks at a time when Biofresh was attempting to establish itself (Herrman pers comm. 2005).

5.6 The impact of the ‘quality’ on the organization of production

The requirement to meet the quality demands of consumers has important impacts on the ordering of relations within the supply chain. Biofresh has had to employ a number of mechanisms and mobilise a range of non-human actors to ensure that farmers produce fresh pineapples that meet the quality characteristics desired by customers and ultimately end consumers and to ensure that once they are purchased these products are delivered to consumers with minimal loss of quality.

One mechanism designed to ensure that fresh pineapples embody the high quality demands of consumers and meet the requirements of certification is by organising formal training sessions for farmers. As Madwime (pers comm. 2005) claims,

We do a lot of training. Every three months we do intensive training for the groups, it’s almost like a classroom but outside, there’s somebody on the blackboard teaching them. Among the topics are: pest and disease management, record keeping, post harvest handling, which covers issues of quality control.

While these activities are generally coordinated by the Production Coordinator employed by Biofresh, they also occasionally hire external experts to teach farmers these techniques⁹⁰ (Madwime pers comm. 2005).

While these formal training sessions are important in building solidarity amongst farmers and ensuring that best practice is followed, these training sessions do not necessarily result in compliance with best practices amongst smallholders. As the Production Coordinator Mulabe (pers comm. 2005) noted, farmers do not implement many of the practices taught to them in

⁹⁰ Biofresh was able to use money supplied through a grant from the German Development Service (DED) to train farmers using external consultants when it was first established (Solyga pers comm. 2005).

training sessions offered by Biofresh. There are also problems associated with the exclusion of women from the training sessions⁹¹.

The second means by which Biofresh communicates product quality requirements to smallholders is through ongoing interaction at the farm gate. As Madwime (pers comm. 2005) claims,

We have intensive training every three months for the groups but apart from that what you see is that quality control training is continuous. Every week when we go there, whichever field officer or supervisor is responsible for collecting fruits from that particular area, he sorts and inspects each individual fruit in the presence of all the farmers. So when the farmers bring all their fruits and they undergo inspection by a field officer the farmers are also present and also help, but it becomes a way of continuous training because the farmers' learn that this colour is not ripe and this one is on this side and this one too big.

During collection the Field Officer checks each pineapple to ascertain whether they meet the guidelines set for size, appearance and ripeness, rejecting pineapples that do not meet these guidelines by means of visual and tactile examination⁹². Farmers can gain a better understanding of the requirements by observing which pineapples are rejected and which are accepted⁹³.

The need to procure produce that meets the quality characteristics desired by consumers has led Biofresh to communicate harvest requirements to farmers one day before they are

⁹¹ There are two main reasons for the exclusion of women ascertained during interviews with smallholders. The primary of these is that women are not perceived within the communities in which the project production is located as being 'the farmer'. The second problem, as several women attested, is that even if they could attend, women are unable to do so because the various household and farm activities that they have responsibility for give them no free time to attend such training activities. As such, it is men that generally attend the farmer training sessions, even though women are responsible for many of the activities involved with the growing of the pineapples.

⁹² Field Officer, Charles, was observed tapping the pineapples with his fingers as a measure of the quality of the fruit. If the fruit makes a particular sound when tapped it is not of an appropriate quality and is rejected.

⁹³ This is important because smallholders don't always understand the requirements, aren't always adequately informed of the requirements or don't have the means to assess the requirements, which are stipulated in formal training sessions.

collected. This is done to ensure that smallholders do not harvest the pineapples early, reducing freshness and shelf-life, as the following exchange demonstrates,

Madwime: The order comes in on a Wednesday, then we communicate to the farmers on a Thursday to prepare them and they harvest on a Friday and we collect from them on a Friday.

Radford: So they do not have a lot of time to...

Madwime: We don't give them a lot of time because we want the product to be fresh and we don't want them to harvest the day before.

Radford: Which you think they would do if they had the opportunity?

Madwime: Yes.

To further ensure that pineapples meet the quality demands of consumers, Biofresh has also encouraged a system to allocate order volumes amongst farmers. This system allocates orders based on the productive capacity of each smallholder⁹⁴.

When it comes to the individual farmer in each district we leave it to the committee ... each of those farmers has a different amount of land of organic pineapples so the order cannot be distributed evenly or equitably, it depends upon the capabilities of each individual farmer ... they cannot be given the same amount of boxes because they will not be able to raise that quantity so they have to distribute it amongst themselves.

Madwime pers comm. 2005

The system was encouraged by Biofresh⁹⁵ because larger farms were viewed as having a greater capacity to produce the volume and thus the quality required by Biofresh customers (Mulabe pers comm. 2005).

⁹⁴ There are of course questions about the equity of this system. Do farmers really receive allocations based on farm size or are there other power relations involved, which determine this. While there was no direct evidence to suggest this, it was noted by the production manager that some farmers expressed discord about the system arguing that they wanted to leave the group because they were not able to sell as many pineapples as other farmers.

A potential problem with this system is that it discriminates against farmers who, for whatever reason have lower productive capacity. As farmers with larger farms are rewarded with larger shares of the weekly order and as such their capacity to earn greater incomes is increased. These farmers will then have greater resources to expand their farms, and in doing so, will in time be granted greater shares of weekly orders. Over time, it is foreseeable that differences in wealth between the smaller and larger farmers will increase and eventually this may lead to consolidation of farms as larger farmers buy farms from smaller farmers.

Another important impact of the requirement to meet the specific quality demands of end consumers relates to the natural characteristics of fresh pineapples. The variable and perishable nature of fresh pineapples impacts significantly on the organization of relations given that they are embedded within spatially extended market exchange networks. As a result, a range of different non-human actors have been mobilised to overcome these limitations to ensure that consumers receive goods of the highest quality.

Telecommunication technologies are relied upon to efficiently send information between the various actors within the supply network. This includes information such as the quantities of produce required and the qualities the produce should present. The primary telecommunication technologies used in this regard are telephone, email and fax. While these technologies appear as somewhat mundane, their enrolment is of vital import in the procurement of fresh pineapples.

Telecommunication technologies reduce the time taken to place orders ensuring that requests are passed rapidly between the relevant supply network actors. In the case of fax and email, these technologies also improve the durability of communication, enabling large volumes of information to be inscribed and then passed between network actors. While some of these telecommunication technologies increase the costs associated with operating spatially

⁹⁵ According to Madwime (pers comm. 2005) ‘each of those farmers has a different amount of land of organic pineapples so the order cannot be distributed evenly or equitably, it depends upon the capabilities of each individual farmer and this we do not get involved with we leave it to the farmers to the committee and the committee sit as a group and because the committee know how much land everyone has and they know which one is the biggest land then they cannot be given the same amount of boxes because they will not be able to raise that quantity so they have to distribute it amongst themselves but it is still fair it’s an open system and they all agree’.

lengthened supply networks, without them, such supply networks would not be economically viable (Herrman pers comm. 2005).

The use of computers and computer based telecommunication technologies, such as email, enable the durable transmission of information at low cost helping to satisfy economic efficiency considerations. Herrman uses formatted spreadsheets outlining the details of a complete order to Biofresh, which are sent via email. Email is also used to transmit digital photographs to visually communicate quality requirements to upstream actors. The wholesale company Dennree, for example, can take digital photographs of produce that have quality defects and send these easily and cheaply to Herrman via email. Herrman is then able to send these images to Madwime at Biofresh who can show field staff responsible for procurement.

The recent development of mobile phone networks in Uganda⁹⁶ has also been important in speeding up the transfer of information and increasing the efficiency of procurement activities by enabling Biofresh to communicate directly with farmers. Formerly, Biofresh had to physically send a representative to farmers to communicate orders, which was an inefficient use of human resources (Madwime pers comm. 2005). Biofresh now simply calls directly to a representative of each of the two groups of farmers using a mobile phone supplied to the representative by Biofresh. This reduces the time and also the costs associated with procurement.

Transportation technologies have also been incorporated into the network to overcome the tendency of the desirable qualities of fresh pineapples to deteriorate over time. The primary of these is the enrolment of airfreight to rapidly transport the pineapples between Uganda and Germany⁹⁷. Airfreight enables space and time to be radically compressed, minimising any loss of the desired quality characteristics by radically reducing the time taken to move the pineapples.

⁹⁶ As one former EPOPA representative and agricultural sector entrepreneur claimed, the construction of reliable mobile phone networks in Uganda has been one of the most important factors in the effective development of export agriculture (Tulip pers comm. 2005).

⁹⁷ Not only is Uganda a landlocked country but transport infrastructure to the nearest port in Mombasa, Kenya is poorly developed.

The problem with using airfreight is that this significantly increases the cost of production impacting on the capacity of these relations to establish relations with consumers⁹⁸. In 2005, the cost of freighting fresh organic pineapples by air using Emirates™ was US\$1.70/kg (Muwanga pers comm. 2005). This is almost three times the cost of transporting fresh pineapples from Ghana⁹⁹ and roughly four to five times the price paid to a smallholder for a single pineapple. At almost 20 percent of the end price charged to consumers, this requirement substantially increases the cost to consumers making the mobilisation of consumers with price sensitivities quite difficult. Reliance upon the use of air freight also has potentially important impacts on the capacity of these relations to mobilise consumers, because of the negative environmental impacts – a point that will be made in greater detail in Chapter Eight of this thesis.

The transportation of fresh pineapples within Uganda poses problems for the protection of the desirable quality characteristics demanded by end consumers. On the farm, smallholders rely on relatively simple means of transportation. In general, pineapples are tied to bicycles after harvesting and transported to sites where they can be readily accessed by a Biofresh representative. During this process, fresh pineapples can endure mechanical damage, which makes them unfit for sale. Farmers noted that they would like to possess wheelbarrows to be able to more effectively transport the produce, but none indicated they had the economic means to acquire such transportation technologies.

Mechanical damage can also occur in the process of transporting the pineapples from the farm gate to Biofresh. While Biofresh packages pineapples in boxes with separate compartments for each pineapple, mechanical damage during road transportation can ensue because of the poor quality of road infrastructure in Uganda. In the villages, where roads are not sealed, road quality is particularly poor. Another problem is that while Biofresh use

⁹⁸ Securing suitable airfreight space to fly pineapples to Germany is potentially problematic because the volume of air traffic from Uganda is limited. While Herrman has managed to secure regular space with Emirates airline, the only other option to transport produce by air is with British Airways™, which charges more than US\$2.00/kg to transport produce to Europe from Uganda. A further problem with British Airways is that it does not have direct or connecting flights to Frankfurt, only to London or Amsterdam. This makes it an unfeasible option as Herrman would have to arrange further transportation within Europe, which would make it ‘impossible’ to run such an enterprise (Herrman pers comm. 2005).

⁹⁹ In comparison the cost of air freighting pineapples between Ghana and Europe was estimated to be only US\$0.70/kg (Muwanga pers comm. 2005).

packaging materials to separate the fruits, the quality of this packaging is said to be extremely poor, resulting in further mechanical damage to the pineapples (Madwime pers comm. 2005).

Removing mechanical damage has impacts on the efficiency and organisation of the network. As Madwime (pers comm. 2005) claims, Biofresh must purchase more produce than it requires to offset any pineapples damaged, which were not recognised as such by the field officer during collection at the farm gate or from damage incurred whilst the pineapples are transported from the farm gate. To further control the quality of the fruit, Biofresh employs a number of staff at its compound in Bogolobi to inspect and clean the pineapples before they are sent to Entebbe airport. Along with Field Officers, these staff act as part of a long chain of human and non-human actors that enable the demands of the end consumers¹⁰⁰ to be communicated to the point of production¹⁰¹.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the role of market exchange relations in facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South by analysing a specific set of relations involved in the production and trade of fresh organic pineapples. It is predicated on the idea that market exchange relations play a significant role in movement mobilisation within the modern organic movement and that mobilisation relies on the delivery of incentives that resonate with the interests and values of potential adherents. To do this, Law's (1994) 'modes of ordering' was deployed to explain these relations as discursively organised.

As it was argued, the organization of this specific set of market exchange relations are shaped by several 'modes of ordering' – 'fairness', 'organic', 'quality' and 'efficiency'. These discursively order relations and determine the types of actors that are enrolled in this network. These ordering scripts make it possible to deliver incentives which resonate with the

¹⁰⁰ Farmers too have mechanisms to deal with the difficulty of meeting the quality requirements set by customers. The primary of these is harvesting and bringing for collection a much larger number of pineapples for collection than is required by Biofresh. In doing so, though, the farmer is left with excess, which will be wasted if they cannot be either sold or consumed. In the case of the Lusanja group of farmers, the chairperson, Medhi, arranged for a local trader to purchase the left over produce from the farmers for sale to local markets.

¹⁰¹ The desire to purchase only pineapples that weigh between 1 and 1.6 kilograms is facilitated by combining a human and non-human object. Field staff use a battery operated set of electronic scales, to accurately determine the weight of each pineapple at the farm gate and this reduces uncertainty on the part of the field staff and the risk of error leading to the purchase of unsaleable produce.

different interests and values of the various actors within these relations. Considerations of ‘quality’, ‘organic’ and even ‘fairness’, for example, make it possible to mobilise consumers who are willing to pay a premium price that can deliver prices to smallholders that stimulate their participation in the production of organic products.

As the actor responsible for initiating the organisation of these relations, it was Siegfried Herrman’s desire to find a means to support his family whilst providing economic opportunities for smallholders that infused a logic of ‘fairness’ within the network. This logic of ‘fairness’ influenced the types of human and non-human actors that could be mobilised into the network because it was believed that end consumers would only be interested in purchasing fresh organic pineapples at a premium price if they embodied certain desirable ‘quality’ characteristics. These characteristics included taste and appearance. To accommodate consumer demands for quality this has impacted on the organisation of this set of exchange relations.

The consumer demand for quality, combined with the perishable nature of fresh pineapples was shown to have important impacts upon the organization of these particular exchange relations. In order to stabilize qualities, such as taste and appearance, and thus stabilize relations within the network a range of human and non-human actors have been mobilised. Airfreight is a key example of transportation technology mobilised to minimise the deterioration of desired product qualities in what are geographically extended networks. While the use of such technologies undermines the efficiency of the network and also the capacity to mobilise price sensitive consumers, without this technology these relations would not exist at all.

The requirement to have the pineapples certified as ‘organic’ to meet consumer expectations also had important impacts on the organization of these relations. Whilst the existence of SGC procedures minimise the costs of certification the high costs of certification continue to pose a barrier to the establishment of the export production projects in the Global South and have led to the mobilisation support from international development cooperation organisations. The mobilisation of resources from this sector was shown to be a significant strategy contributing to IFOAM’s capacity to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the

Global South and as it will be demonstrated in the following chapter has been a significant means by which organic export projects in Uganda have been established.

The case presented above raises a number of general questions regarding the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. While Herrman, Madwime and Muwanga appear to be committed to inculcating ‘fairness’ as a principle within this particular set of relations, it is clear that the capacity of these relations to provide fair economic returns to smallholders depend on the capacity of the products being traded representing characteristics, which resonate with the interests and values of consumers who may or may not care whether such relations confer fair economic returns to smallholders.

This raises important questions about the sustainability of these relations. What might happen if consumers change their preferences? What will occur if a similar supply network is established in a country where the costs of transportation and procurement are lower? What if transportation costs increase because of rising oil prices? What will occur if the level of disposable income falls in Germany due to an economic downturn? What happens if the use of air freight to transport organic products becomes unpopular because of perceived environmental impact?

What this points to is the potentially fragile and fickle nature of markets as a mechanism to mobilise movement participation. It raises questions about whether the mobilisation of new movement adherents through market exchange relations is a sustainable model for the growth of the movement. Can organic food consumers realistically be labelled as movement adherents if their primary motivation for participation is to satisfy aesthetic desires for taste or appearance?

Could it be argued, alternatively, that despite these criticisms the use of market exchange relations provide the organic movement with a mechanism to inculcate new values amongst consumers and other actors within wider society. While much attention has been focused on the impact of consumer interests and values on the organization of relations and the opportunities for smallholders in this chapter, it can be argued that the deployment of labels and other inscription devices which communicate to consumers the benefits that purchasing

these particular products have on the livelihoods of smallholders in the Global South may have the capacity to inculcate changes in the interests and values of consumers.

In the next chapter, attention shifts from the focus on market exchange relations and their role in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South to an analysis of the role of dedicated Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Using a case study of the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM) and its activities promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South, the thesis is able to demonstrate the importance of such actors in mobilising both adherents, who believe in the goals and objectives of the movement, and also constituents, who supply the movement with resources to meet movement goals and objectives. This analysis will demonstrate how IFOAM has provided spaces through which actors with links to the Global South have been able to have their interests and values incorporated into the principles and practices governing organic agriculture.

In particular, this chapter will demonstrate the role of IFOAM in actively framing organic agriculture as providing social and economic benefits to the Global South as a means to mobilise resources from external constituents from the international development cooperation sector.

CHAPTER SIX

Social Movement Organizations (SMOs)

IFOAM has just adopted a new vision and mission, which is clearly stating global conversion to organic as the ultimate goal. This is of critical importance for the long-term development and survival of mankind [sic]. Given this, opportunities to expand the organic business should not be missed due to misdirected political correctness, especially when the alternatives are vague and insecure.

Gunnar Rundgren (former IFOAM President) *cited in* Rundgren 2004:4

6 Introduction

In this chapter, analysis shifts from market exchange relations to an examination of the role of Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. While market exchange relations increasingly provide the basis for movement mobilisation within the modern organic movement, it is argued that dedicated movement organizations are important actor-networks implicated in facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

To explore the role of SMOs in facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture, this chapter examines the role of the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM) in this process. IFOAM is an international, membership-based organisation¹⁰². IFOAM's primary objective is to promote 'the worldwide adoption of ecologically, socially and economically sound systems based on the principles of Organic Agriculture' (IFOAM 2007a). As such, IFOAM provides a discrete case study through which to examine the processes involved with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. To examine how IFOAM has been involved in activities to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South, this chapter draws on concepts and insights from Resource mobilisation Theory (RMT), framing analysis and Actor Network Theory (ANT).

¹⁰² At the end of 2007, IFOAM had 661 member organizations from over 100 countries (IFOAM 2007b).

Drawing on RMT, IFOAM is conceptualised in this chapter as a Social Movement Organization (SMO). According to McCarthy & Zald (2003:173) a SMO is a 'complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or countermovement and attempts to implement those goals'. According to the RMT literature, modern SMOs meet their objectives by mobilising movement adherents, who believe in the movement's objectives and goals, and by mobilising external constituents, willing to contribute resources, such as money, which are used to achieve movement goals (McCarthy & Zald 2003). As such, this chapter will examine the methods employed by IFOAM to mobilise adherents, constituents and resources.

Drawing on framing analysis, IFOAM is conceptualized in this chapter as being actively engaged in symbolic framing processes. As it will be shown, IFOAM engages in framing processes as a means of mobilising the adherents, constituents and monetary resources required to achieve movement objectives and goals. In accordance with the framing literature it is argued that one of the central activities undertaken by IFOAM to mobilise adherents, constituents and resources are actions taken to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of adherents and constituents (Benford & Snow 2000).

Drawing on the ANT literature, it is argued that the capacity of IFOAM to stimulate movement mobilisation in the Global South depends on the capacity of IFOAM to create spaces through which the norms and rules governing organic agriculture can be both negotiated and prescribed (Murdoch 1998). As it will be shown, spaces have been created to provide opportunities for the objectives, values and principles of IFOAM to be negotiated to reflect the interests and values of movement adherents with links to the Global South. These same spaces also involve opportunities to prescribe the norms, standards and rules governing the production and trade of organic products.

Another insight which is applied from the ANT literature within this chapter is the use of material objects, namely inscriptions, as tools for social ordering in activities promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. As it is demonstrated, IFOAM participates in the production of a large number inscriptions deployed within the wider organic movement as a means of promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. As it will be shown these inscriptions are important tools used by IFOAM to communicate symbolic

framings used to mobilise the adherents, constituents and resources required to achieve movement objectives and goals.

Another insight from the RMT literature, which is drawn on in this chapter, is the role of individual actors or individual movement entrepreneurs in movement mobilisation processes (Jenkins 1983; McCarthy & Zald 2003). As it will be demonstrated, individual movement entrepreneurs play a critical role in framing processes undertaken to mobilise adherents, constituents and resources to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. As it will also be argued, individual entrepreneurs shape the framings offered by IFOAM to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South through: their participation in a range of spaces (meetings, forums, conferences etc.) provided by IFOAM in which IFOAM's objectives, goals and principles are negotiated and the norms, rules and standards governing organic production and trade are prescribed, and by authoring key inscriptions produced under the IFOAM name.

The chapter is divided into five sections. Each section discusses a different strategy or activity through which IFOAM has been engaged in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

The chapter begins by investigating the development of international standards and certification and inspection procedures, used to govern the production and trade of organic agriculture, through IFOAM. As it will be shown, IFOAM's efforts to participate in such activities rely on IFOAM's capacity to create spaces through which the interests and values of adherents with links to the Global South can be incorporated into the organic movement. As it will be demonstrated, attempts to harmonize standards and certification and inspection procedures rely on the capacity of IFOAM to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of external constituents. As it will be demonstrated these constituents provide IFOAM with economic resources to fund its standard development work.

The chapter then investigates a range of conferences, meetings and workshops organised through IFOAM through which the interests and values of adherents with links to the Global South have been incorporated into the objectives, values and principles of IFOAM. These

spaces provide opportunities for movement dialogue, debate and negotiation and opportunities to prescribe acceptable production and trade practices. As this section demonstrates, inscription devices created through these spaces have been developed to further promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South by deploying framings resonant with adherents and constituents with links to the Global South.

The chapter then examines a range of internal organisational innovations developed within IFOAM's organisational structure through which the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has been promoted. As it will be shown, the various task forces, working groups, and committees, created within IFOAM's overall structure, create spaces through which IFOAM's objectives, goals and principles can be negotiated to better include the interests and values of adherents with links to the Global South. The various task forces, working groups, and committees, also provide opportunities to prescribe the norms, rules and standards applying to organic production and trade and opportunities for individual movement entrepreneurs to gain entry into the decision making centres of IFOAM. As it will be shown, through these spaces individual movement entrepreneurs have promoted strategies to mobilise resources from external constituents, which have been used to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

The chapter then demonstrates how IFOAM has created a series of specific programs and projects, which rely on the capacity of IFOAM to mobilise resources from external constituents. As it is argued in this section, the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has relied on efforts taken to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of organizations from the international development cooperation sector. This particular section further highlights the importance of inscriptions in the uptake process.

In the last section of the chapter, IFOAM's strategy and activities to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South through its lobbying of a range of multilateral organizations is discussed. As it is argued, IFOAM has lobbied a range of multilateral organizations to legitimise efforts to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. As with its program and project activities, IFOAM has mobilised support through a range of multilateral organizations by framing the uptake of organic agriculture as providing a range of positive social and economic impacts, resonant with the interests and values of

these organizations. In order to communicate this, IFOAM has participated in a range of international conferences, seminars and workshops and commissioned the production of a number of important inscriptions.

6.1 Development of Standards and Certification Procedures

As it was noted in Chapter One of this thesis the development of standards and certification procedures to govern the production and trade of organic products has acted as a significant mechanism through which the size of the organic movement has expanded in the past 40 years. Because standards and certification procedures are critical in defining what practices are acceptable, it is important to recognize that organizations involved in setting these standards and certification procedures play a fundamental role in defining who can and cannot participate in the production and trade of organic products.

While standards and certification procedures were initially developed within local and national organic agriculture organizations, the preoccupation with and development of standards and certification procedures at the international level was eventually taken up by IFOAM. At the IFOAM General Assembly in Switzerland in 1976, it was decided that IFOAM would develop a common definition of organic agriculture, which eventually led to the publication of the first international standard for organic agriculture in 1980 (Schmid 2007).

Since this time, IFOAM has engaged in a range of activities to develop standards and certification procedures as well as engaged in activities to harmonize standards and certification and inspection procedures across different national and regional borders. One example of this has been efforts to harmonize and make equivalent organic standards and certification and inspection procedures to reduce barriers to trade. Harmonization and equivalence refer to the process of making the existing standards used to govern organic agriculture compatible, such that this reduces the barriers to trade and facilitates the wider uptake of organic agriculture.

As it will be demonstrated in this first section, IFOAM's attempts to harmonize standards and certification and inspection procedures rely on the capacity of IFOAM to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of external constituents. This

provides the organic movement with avenues with which to fund the standard development work undertaken by IFOAM. This section draws on evidence from IFOAM's participation in the International Task Force on Harmonization and Equivalency to examine this argument in greater detail.

6.1.1 International Task Force on Harmonization and Equivalency (ITF)

The ITF is a joint initiative between IFOAM, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and also the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The initiative was designed to decrease trade barriers for organic products by encouraging harmonization and equivalence between the various organic standards in operation throughout the world (FAO 2003a). As it is stated on the ITF website, the primary goal of the ITF is,

... to address and seek solutions to trade barriers arising from the many different standards, technical regulations and certification requirements that function in the organic sector, and enable developing countries to have more access to organic trade.

FAO 2008

The project provides a legitimate forum through which IFOAM can mobilise resources to undertake activities that reduce trade barriers for the Global South. By reducing trade barriers this increases the pool of potential adherents in the Global South, thus fulfilling IFOAM's objective of promoting the worldwide uptake of organic agriculture.

The ITF was first flagged as a potential project by the FAO in October 2001. The project was part of a larger proposal to establish an organic agriculture trust fund, presented to donors at the German Technical Service (GTZ) round table by FAO (FAO 2003a). While the wider organic agriculture proposal was rejected by donors the FAO eventually secured funding for the ITF component of the proposal from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) and also from the Swiss government.

A first step in the process of forming the ITF was the organization of the *International Conference on International Harmonization and Equivalence in Organic Agriculture* in Nuremberg, Germany in February 2002. The conference was organised by IFOAM in cooperation with the FAO and UNCTAD and provided an opportunity to bring together

relevant stakeholders from the public and the private sectors to discuss the potential for facilitating harmonization, mutual recognition and equivalence in organic standards. The main outcome from the conference was the recommendation to form the ITF¹⁰³. Another important outcome was the recommendation that special consideration of the situation of smallholders, such as their reliance on group certification procedures, be recognised in organic standards.

The first official meeting of the ITF was in February 2003 again in Nuremberg, Germany. At this first meeting it was agreed that the main task of the ITF would be to review the existing situation and make recommendations for harmonization and equivalence (Bowen *et al* 2004; Grolink 2003). The main mechanism chosen for this task was the production of a number of technical studies and briefing papers (Refer Table 5), which: provided the basis for discussion at the eight meetings of the ITF¹⁰⁴, informed the final recommendations made by the ITF¹⁰⁵ and served as a reference point for the development of two technical tools¹⁰⁶ developed to facilitate harmonization and equivalence in international organic standards.

It is argued here that the documents developed through the ITF act as ‘technologies of inscription’ (Latour & Woolgar 1986). These inscription devices enable a number of individual actors within the wider movement to ‘act at a distance’ and shape the development of the organic agriculture sector (Murdoch 1997). As it can be seen in Table 5 below, many of these individuals have direct ties to IFOAM or to IFOAM affiliated organizations or are consultants engaged in the provision of services to the organic sector.

¹⁰³ The recommendation made to form the ITF and thus create avenues for UNCTAD to participate as a partner in the task force was supported by recommendations made during two UNCTAD Expert Meetings on issues related to trade and standards in 2001 and 2002 (Bowen *et al* 2004; UNCTAD 2004).

¹⁰⁴ There were a total of eight meetings and 2 workshops held by the ITF to discuss harmonization and equivalence over the course of the task force’s life, from 2003 – 2008 (UNCTAD 2008a).

¹⁰⁵ It was also recommended by the ITF that governments use either the existing Codex Alimentarius Guidelines or the IFOAM Basic Standard as a basis for accepting organic imports. Importantly for developing countries, the ITF also agreed that the concept of group certification, developed specifically to enable smallholder farmers to access organic markets, be accepted (ITF 2008b).

¹⁰⁶ The two tools developed in this regard were the *International Requirements for Organic Certification Bodies* (IROCB) and *Guide for Assessing Equivalence of Organic Standards and Technical Regulations* (EquiTool). The IROCB is a reference norm designed to be used by governments and private accreditation organizations as a means to accept organic products produced using other certification systems. Equitool is a guideline to assess whether a standard found in one region of the world is equivalent to a standard in another region (FAO 2008).

Gunner Rundgren, for example, is: one of six members of the ITF steering committee; contributor of three ITF documents; a former President and Vice President of IFOAM; and a CEO of the organic agriculture consultancy company GroLink. As it will be demonstrated in a later chapter, Rundgren has a clear personal desire to promote the worldwide uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Rundgren also has a practical interest in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture through the ITF, because it is projects, such as this one, that provide Rundgren and his colleagues at GroLink with selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy, which can be used to participate in the activities of the wider organic movement¹⁰⁷.

Given that the majority of the individuals involved with this process have strong relationships with IFOAM, this enables IFOAM to retain control over the process of standard harmonization and equivalence, whilst providing opportunities for individual actors to engage in these activities. The ITF process also provides the organic movement with an opportunity to develop durable inscription devices that can shape the future development of the organic movement throughout the world.

As a result of the work of the ITF, two substantive tools have been developed to promote harmonization and equivalence of organic standards throughout the world. If these tools are adopted by actors responsible for administering organic standards and certification procedures throughout the world and the adoption of these tools do indeed reduce barriers to trade, this will mean that IFOAM, and the various actors' involved in formulating these tools, will have actively promoted the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

¹⁰⁷ This point will be discussed further in the following chapter, where the life histories of two individual movement entrepreneurs and their role in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South are examined.

Table 5: Documents produced for the ITF
(Source: ITF 2008a)

Title	Author	Primary Affiliation	Secondary Affiliations
Summary Report for ITF	Gunnar Rundgren	Grolink: CEO/consultant	IFOAM: Former President and Vice President
EquiTool: Guide for Assessing Equivalence of Organic Standards and Technical Regulations	Diane Bowen	IFOAM: Organic Guarantee System Manager	
International Requirements for Organic Certification Bodies (IROCB)	Mildred Steidle	Organic Services: Director/Consultant	IFOAM: Former Norms Management and Criteria Committee Member Naturland: Quality Manager
Potential Negative Effects of Equivalence Agreements (Potential Negative Impacts of Equivalency of Standards and Technical Regulations)	Åke Natt och Dag	Ministry of Foreign affairs (Sweden)	Swedish Fruit and Vegetable Traders Association: Executive Director KRAV: Executive Director Coop Norden: Environmental Manager
Cooperation in Conformity Assessment for Certification Decisions and Import Approvals	Gunnar Rundgren	Grolink: CEO/consultant	IFOAM: Former President and Vice President
Overview of Group Certification	Katherine DiMatteo	Wolf, DiMatteo + Associates ¹⁰⁸	IFOAM: Member of World Board
Common Objectives of Organic Standards Systems	Jane Earley	World Wildlife Fund (WWF)	
Review of the ITF Consumer Research Question	Diane Bowen	IFOAM: Organic Guarantee System Manager	
Best Practices for Organic Marketing Regulation, Standards and Conformity Assessment: Guidance for Developing Countries	Gunnar Rundgren	Grolink: CEO/Consultant	IFOAM: Former President and Vice President
Experiences of Equivalence and Recognition Mechanisms in the Regulation of Organic Agriculture	David Crucefix	IOAS ¹⁰⁹	

¹⁰⁸ Wolf, DiMatteo & Associates is an organic agriculture consultancy company based in the United States.

¹⁰⁹ The International Organic Accreditation Service (IOAS) is an IFOAM affiliated organization responsible for accrediting certification organization in line with the IFOAM Basic Standard.

Table 5 (cont'd): Documents produced for the ITF
(Source: ITF 2008a)

Title	Author	Primary Affiliation	Secondary Affiliations
Objectives of Organic Standards Programmes: Exploring Approaches to Common Regulatory Objectives	Jane Earley	WWF	
Requirements for Certification Bodies – Situation and Scope for Harmonization	Mildred Steidle &	Organic Services: Director/ Consultant	IFOAM: Former Norms Management and Criteria Committee Member Naturland: Quality Manager
	Nuria Alonso	Organic Services: Consultant	
Cooperation Between Conformity Assessment Bodies in Organic Certification	Ong Kung Wai	Humus Consultancy	Grolink: Consultant IOAS: Board member IFOAM: Member of Norms Management Committee & World Board Member
Cooperation in Conformity Assessment for Certification Decisions and Import Approvals	Gunner Rundgren	Grolink	IFOAM: Former President and Vice President
Strategy on Solutions for Harmonizing International Regulations of Organic Agriculture	David Crucefix	IOAS: Assistant Executive Director	
Overview of Current Status of Standards and Conformity Assessment Systems	Ken Commins	IOAS: Executive Director	
Current Mechanisms that Enable International Trade in Organic Products	Diane Bowen	IFOAM: Organic Guarantee System Manager	
Existing and Potential Models and Mechanisms for Harmonization, Equivalency and Mutual Recognition	Sasha Courville	ANU ¹¹⁰	ISEAL Alliance ¹¹¹
	David Crucefix	IOAS: Assistant Executive Director	
Impact of Organic Guarantee Systems on Production and Trade in Organic Products	Els Wynen	UNCTAD	

¹¹⁰ Sasha Courville was a Research Fellow with the Regulatory Institutions Network at the Australian National University (ANU).

¹¹¹ IFOAM is a key founding member of the ISEAL Alliance, which aims at collaboration in the development of environmental and social standards.

6.2 Organization of Conferences, Meetings and Workshops

A second activity undertaken by IFOAM contributing to the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has been the organization of a range of conferences, meetings and workshops under the auspices of IFOAM. As long term IFOAM contributor Bernward Geier (2007:180) has noted '[f]rom its beginning IFOAM realized that its main aim – promoting networking and exchange of knowledge – is most creatively achieved by bringing people together'. IFOAM has convened a range of important meetings, conferences and workshops to provide opportunities to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

It is argued that such networks of exchange act as 'spaces of negotiation' for internal movement dialogue and debate and 'spaces of prescription' where acceptable practices can be defined. It is also argued that the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has been facilitated through the development and deployment of inscription devices within these activities, which durably communicate IFOAM's commitment to promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. There are several examples of IFOAM's active organization of conferences, meetings and workshops which are drawn on here to demonstrate this point.

6.2.1 The Organic World Forum (OWF)

The key forum for the interaction of IFOAM members and affiliates has been the regular IFOAM General Assembly and IFOAM International Scientific Conferences¹¹². These two events are held together and are collectively known as the Organic World Forum (OWF). The OWF provides a space where spatially distant members can: meet and communicate with each other; input into IFOAM's principles and practices¹¹³; and advocate their interests.

An initial impetus for the greater inclusion of the Global South in the activities of IFOAM occurred at the IFOAM Scientific Conference in 1986 in Santa Cruz in the United States. It was here that many individual participants from Latin America gave presentations regarding organic agriculture and spurred IFOAM to convene the first ever OWF in the Global South (Geier 2007).

¹¹² This has occurred every two years between 1977 and 2002, changing to every three years from 2002.

¹¹³ Members vote to determine IFOAM's strategic direction as well as elect a governing World and Executive Boards at the General Assembly and can raise motions regarding the operation of IFOAM for debate and deliberation (IFOAM 2009).

The first OWF to be held in the Global South was in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso in 1989, which provided a further catalyst for the rapid growth of interest in IFOAM in Africa at a time when only two IFOAM members came from the region¹¹⁴ (Källander and Rundgren 2008). As former IFOAM World Board member John Njoroge (*cited in* Källander and Rundgren 2008:25) has stated,

Most Africans heard of organic agriculture for the first time during the Ouagadougou conference. After the conference, IFOAM felt that there was need to promote organic farming in third world countries, including Africa. One suggestion was to call for papers or presentations on what is organic agriculture and how it is practiced in the third world.

Over the next four years, two more meetings of the OWF were organised in Global South countries (refer Table 6, below) and membership grew rapidly from 100 to 500 members (Geier 2007).

6.2.2 Smallholder Group Certification (SGC) Workshop Series

A specific example of IFOAM's activities in organising conferences, meetings and workshops has been its funding of a series of workshops to create a more harmonized approach to Smallholder Group Certification (SGC). It demonstrates how IFOAM's activities to promote organic agriculture in the Global South have relied on its capacity to mobilise resources from external constituents from the international development cooperation sector and some linkages between activities to promote organic agriculture in Uganda and the activities of IFOAM.

SGC procedures were originally created to overcome the barriers smallholders face in utilising organic certification and inspection procedures designed for conditions in the Global North. With the increasing uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South, it became clear that the certification and inspection systems used to enforce compliance with organic standards, which were developed in the Global North, were ill suited to the conditions of the Global South.

¹¹⁴ The Kenya Institute of Organic Farming (KIOF) and Food Gardens Unlimited in South Africa.

Table 6: IFOAM Organic World Conferences between 1986 – 2008
(Source: IFOAM 2009a)

IFOAM Event	Location	Year
5 th Organic World Congress (9 th General Assembly/6 th Int. Scientific Conference)	Santa Cruz California, USA	1986
6 th Organic World Congress (10 th General Assembly/7 th Int. Scientific Conference)	Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso	1989
8 th Organic World Congress (11 th General Assembly/8 th Int. Scientific Conference)	Budapest, Hungary	1990
9 th Organic World Congress (12 th General Assembly/9 th Int. Scientific Conference)	Sao Paulo, Brazil	1992
10 th Organic World Congress (13 th General Assembly/10 th Int. Scientific Conference)	Christchurch New Zealand	1994
11 th Organic World Congress (14 th General Assembly/11 th Int. Scientific Conference)	Copenhagen, Denmark	1996
12 th Organic World Congress (15 th General Assembly/12 th Int. Scientific Conference)	Mar del Plata, Argentina	1998
13 th Organic World Congress (16 th General Assembly/13 th Int. Scientific Conference)	Basel, Switzerland	2000
14 th Organic World Congress (17 th General Assembly/14 th Int. Scientific Conference)	Victoria, Canada	2002
15 th Organic World Congress (18 th General Assembly/15 th Int. Scientific Conference)	Adelaide, Australia	2005
16 th Organic World Congress (19 th General Assembly/16 th Int. Scientific Conference)	Modena, Italy	2008

Under certification and inspection procedures developed in the Global North, individual farms were required to be inspected every year by a competent certification authority (Courville 2006). While this approach was acceptable in the Global North, where farm sizes and farm incomes are generally high enough to meet the costs of certifying an individual farm, this approach was generally not suitable in the Global South where smallholding is dominant. As van Elzakker & Schoenmakers (2001:6) claim, ‘[i]t was clear, even fifteen

years ago, that it was ridiculous for the foreign inspector to attempt to visit each and every smallholder’.

In Uganda, for example, most farms are smallholders with between two to five hectares of land (MAAIF & MFPED 2000). As a result, production output and income is significantly low in comparison to farms located in the Global North. Farmers in the Global South also frequently have low levels of education and literacy, which are fundamental to successful adherence to certification and inspection procedures. As a result, individual certification of a smallholder is economically and administratively impractical. To overcome these barriers, a number of certification organizations developed SGC procedures as an alternative to individual certification. This occurred first in Latin America where collective marketing was common practice (van Elzakker & Schoenmakers 2001).

SGC procedures utilise an Internal Control System (ICS) in place of individual certification and inspection procedures. An ICS is an internally monitored quality control system where only a sample of farms is inspected annually, rather than each individual farm. The ICS is generally managed and administered by an export company, which pays for the cost of certification and the organization and training farmers. This requires the employment of a number of field staff, responsible for carrying out inspections in consultation with the external certification body. Inspections are performed using risk based sampling techniques, whereby a random sample of farmers is inspected each year. The external certification agency is primarily responsible for evaluating the efficacy of ICS and the field staff (Bowen & van Elzakker 2002; van Elzakker & Reikes 2003; IFOAM 2004b, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d; Walaga 2003).

ICS procedures have been developed *in situ* predominantly by private certification organisations responsible for administering organic certification and inspection¹¹⁵ and in response to the demands of importing country regulations. In Uganda, a number of key organizations have been involved in stimulating the development of ICS procedures through the process of designing and implementing certification and inspection procedures for new

¹¹⁵ The Swiss based certifier IMO, German certifier Naturland and Swedish certifier KRAV have been involved in developing ICS procedures over the last decade. This culminated in the development of the first manual on quality assurance in smallholder groups in 1999 (Furst & Wilhelm 2007; IMO 2007c; Meinhausen *cited in* UNCTAD 2006b)

export projects. As the two directors of the EPOPA program, Gunnar Rundgren¹¹⁶ and Bo van Elzakker, have claimed,

When I started to work with inspection of the first EPOPA project 1995, there was very little systematic ideas about group certification. I did the first inspection together with Elisabeth Ruyegg from IMO as I knew they had more experiences of working in Africa and working with groups. To a large extent I designed the first ICS forms used by the Lango [organic cotton] project and note with a smile that some of them look exactly the same 12 years later...

Rundgren pers comm. 2007

The thing we tackled was this whole smallholder thing, which is not that it existed before, in say Mexico and other Latin American countries, but this whole aspect of having say two thousand farmers growing the same thing, how do you inspect them and certify them, with a reasonable amount of money, was a problem, you could say, which we developed, where we provided the solution, which we called the internal control system, which enables the group certification.

van Elzakker pers comm. 2005

With the development of different SGC procedures in different certification organizations (IFOAM 2003a, 2003b) and the tightening of regulations by importing countries, a number of key individuals, aligned with international certification and consultancy organizations, decided that it would be fortuitous to develop a single SGC procedure to cover all smallholders (Meinhausen *cited in* UNCTAD 2006a). The process for this was organised through IFOAM and responsibility for coordinating this process was granted to Agro Eco, the consultancy company responsible for implementing the EPOPA program. The project was organised in collaboration with the Fairtrade Labelling Organisation (FLO), the Dutch 'fair trade' consultancy Novotrade and the British 'alternative' trading company Twin Trading. The workshops were financed through the I-GO program which receives the majority of its funding through the Biodiversity Fund financed by the Dutch government (IFOAM 2006a).

¹¹⁶ Rundgren was involved in certifying the first organic cotton project funded by EPOPA on behalf of the Swedish certification organization KRAV and as such was involved in drafting generic criteria for group certification at KRAV. Rundgren also participated in the drafting of IFOAM's criteria for group certification developed as part of IFOAM's accreditation criteria in 1996.

Consultations were organised by holding a series of workshops in 2001, 2002 and 2003, designed to give representatives from the public and private sector an opportunity to discuss, formalise and harmonize SGC procedures. The overall goal was ‘to come to a consensus on the requirements for producer groups, for an internal control system and how such an ICS should be evaluated’ and hence make SGC procedures easier to understand, less burdensome and recognised as legitimate¹¹⁷ (Bowen & van Elzakker 2002; Schoenmakers 2001; van Elzakker & Reikes 2003).

A significant outcome from this process was the institutionalisation of the ICS procedures developed from this process within IFOAM and the recognition of their legitimacy by the EU under EC Reg. 2092/91 (IFOAM 2004b; Meinhausen *cited in* UNCTAD 2006a). This is particularly important for smallholders as the cacophony of standards was serving to undermine state support for group certification and jeopardising smallholder access to markets in the Global North.

6.2.3 Other Meetings, Workshops and Conferences

Aside from the OWF and the SGC workshop series, IFOAM has organised a range of opportunities for members in the Global South to meet and discuss organic agriculture. In 1994, a meeting was convened in Nairobi, Kenya between the various IFOAM members from Africa. 28 organizations from 15 African countries attended this meeting (Källander & Rundgren 2008). A second meeting followed in 1996 attended by 30 members from Africa whose attendance was supported by funds supplied through IFOAM’s ‘Organic Agriculture 1999’ program. A number of specific conferences have also been organised by IFOAM in the Global South (see Table 7 below), such as the Third International Organic Coffee conference held in 2004 in Kampala, Uganda. This conference was attended by 160 participants from 26 countries (IFOAM 2005a).

Each of these events provided opportunities to share knowledge about organic practices and principles. Most importantly they have provided opportunities for actors from the South to disseminate information about the experiences of farmers.

¹¹⁷ IFOAM also received financial assistance from the German technical Service (GTZ) (van Elzakker & Reikes 2003).

Table 7: Conferences and meetings organised by IFOAM between 2002 and 2009
(Sources: FAO 2009A; CBTF 2009; IFOAM 2009a; IAO 2009)

Title	Location & Date	Organisers
1 st African Organic Conference	Kampala, Uganda May 2009	IFOAM, NOGAMU ¹¹⁸ , Ugandan Martyrs University, AGRO Eco Louis Bolk Institute East Africa
1 st IFOAM International Conference on Organic Animal and Plant Breeding	Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA August 2009	IFOAM
IFOAM Trade Symposium 2008	Nuremberg, Germany February 2008	IFOAM
FAO Workshop on Organic Agriculture and Climate Change	Modena, Italy June 2008	FAO, in cooperation with IFOAM and FIBL
1 st West Africa Summit on Organic	Abeokuta, Nigeria November 2008	IFOAM
International Conference on Organic Agriculture and Food Security	Rome, Italy May 2007	FAO and IFOAM
East African Organic Conference: Unleashing the Potential of Organic Agriculture	Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania May - June 2007	UNCTAD, IFOAM, TOAM ¹¹⁹ and EPOPA ¹²⁰
1 st IFOAM Conference on Marketing of Organic and Regional Values	Schwabisch Hall, Germany August 2007	IFOAM
7 th International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements Asia Regional Congress	Sarawak, Malaysia September 2007	IFOAM and Sarawak Development Institute
1 st IFOAM International Conference on Animals in Organic Production	St. Paul, Minnesota, USA August 2006	IFOAM
Committee on Food Security Forum Event on Organic Agriculture and Food Security	Rome, Italy November 2006	IFOAM, in cooperation with FAO
1 st IFOAM Conference on Organic Certification	Rome, Italy November 2006	IFOAM
Organic Standard Forum	Nairobi, Kenya December 2006	UNEP ¹²¹ , UNCTAD and IFOAM
Third International IFOAM Organic Coffee Conference	Kampala, Uganda October 2004	IFOAM, EPOPA and Uganda Coffee Development Authority
Social Accountability in Sustainable Agriculture (SASA)	Italy, Rome April 2004	ISEAL Alliance, FAO
First World Conference on Organic Seed	Rome, Italy July 2004	FAO, IFOAM, ISF ¹²²

¹¹⁸ National Organic Agriculture Movement of Uganda

¹¹⁹ Tanzania Organic Agriculture Movement

¹²⁰ Export Promotion of Organic Products from Africa

¹²¹ United Nations Environment Program

¹²² International Seed Federation

Table 7 (cont'd): Conferences and meetings organised by IFOAM between 2002 and 2009
(Sources: FAO 2009A; CBTF 2009; IFOAM 2009a; IAO 2009)

Title	Location & Date	Organisers
Third International IFOAM Conference on Biodiversity and Organic Agriculture	Nairobi, Kenya September 2004	IFOAM, BfN ¹²³ , IUCN ¹²⁴ , UNEP
Organic Farming for Biodiversity – Contribution to Countdown 2010	Bangkok, Thailand November 2004	IUCN and IFOAM
IFOAM Trade Conference 2001, "Asia: The Organic Centre of the New Millennium ?"	Thailand January 2003	IFOAM
Production and Exports of Organic Fruits and Vegetables in Asia	Bangkok, Thailand November 2003	FAO, IFOAM and EarthNet
Organic trade and Markets: Fair From Local to Global	Bangkok, Thailand November 2003	IFOAM
7 th IFOAM Trade Conference	Bangkok, Thailand November 2003	IFOAM
International IFOAM Conference on Organic Guarantee Systems	Nürnberg, Germany February 2002	IFOAM, FAO and UNCTAD
Organic Farming in an Enlarged European Union as the Opportunity for Development of Rural Areas	Warsaw, Poland March 2002	IUCN, the Heinrich Böll Foundation in co-operation with IFOAM
The Potential of Organic Farming for Biodiversity	Warsaw, Poland March 2002	IUCN, IFOAM and BfN
1 st Worldwide Conference on Ecological Olive Grove: Production and Cultures and 4 th Mediterranean Congress on Ecological Olive Grove	Jaén, Spain May 2002	SEAE ¹²⁵
Food Security and Organic Agriculture	Rome, Italy June 2002	IFOAM
3 rd International Conference on Organic Textiles	Düsseldorf August 2002	IFOAM, IVN ¹²⁶ and IMO
7 th International Congress on Organic Viticulture and Wine	Victoria, British Columbia, Canada August 2002	IFOAM and Canadian Organic Growers
International Conference: Indian Organic Products - Global Markets	New Delhi, India November - December 2002	Ministry of Commerce and Industry, in cooperation with IFOAM

¹²³ German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation (Bundesamt für Naturschutz)

¹²⁴ International Union for the Conservation of Nature

¹²⁵ Sierra de Segura and Sociedad Española de Agricultura Ecológica

¹²⁶ International Natural Textiles Industry Association

6.3 Internal Organizational Innovations

IFOAM has actively integrated the interests and values of adherents from the Global South by creating a range of internal organisational innovations. Whilst the internal organization of IFOAM changes over time, it conforms to a relatively stable organizational framework (refer Figure 1). IFOAM has commissioned various task forces, working groups, and committees within this framework, which act both as ‘spaces of negotiation’ and ‘spaces of prescription’ to incorporate the interests, values and beliefs of new adherents from the Global South (Table 8, below, provides a list of these in 2002 as an example).

These spaces provide opportunities for movement entrepreneurs to gain entry into the decision making centres of IFOAM and contribute to framing processes with which to align organic principles and practices more readily with the interests and values of adherents in the Global South. As with IFOAM’s commissioning of workshops, forums and meetings, these organizational innovations foster internal movement dialogue and debate and provide opportunities to produce durable inscriptions to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. In discussing internal organizational innovations, it is argued that the role of individual movement entrepreneurs in promoting strategies that lead to mobilisation of resources from external constituents is fundamental.

6.3.1 “Third World” Task Force/Working Group and Development Forum

While IFOAM directed one of its four working groups towards the development of organics in the ‘third world’ (sic) as early as 1977¹²⁷ (NORSOK 2002; Geier 1998), it wasn’t until 1992 that IFOAM created a specific task force for this purpose. The “Third World” Task Force formed within IFOAM in 1992 was designed specifically to increase membership from countries in the Global South (Källander & Rundgren 2008). As Caldas¹²⁸ (1992) argues, the “Third World” Task Force was ‘established to focus on ways of adjusting IFOAM structures [so] as to increase effective support to the movement in regions [such] as Latin America, Africa and Asia’. As Task Force member van Beuningen (pers comm. 2007) has argued, the mission of the Task Force was to make organic agriculture more accessible to smallholders in the developing world.

¹²⁷ It was not until the mid 1980s, though, that individuals and organizations from developing countries were able to significantly influence IFOAM when they began drawing up project proposals and policy papers for promoting organic agriculture in developing countries (Geier 1998).

¹²⁸ Tadeu Caldas was a member of the IFOAM World Board from 1990 to 1994 (Caldas 2009).

Figure 1: IFOAM organisational structure, circa 2002
(Source: IFOAM 2003c)

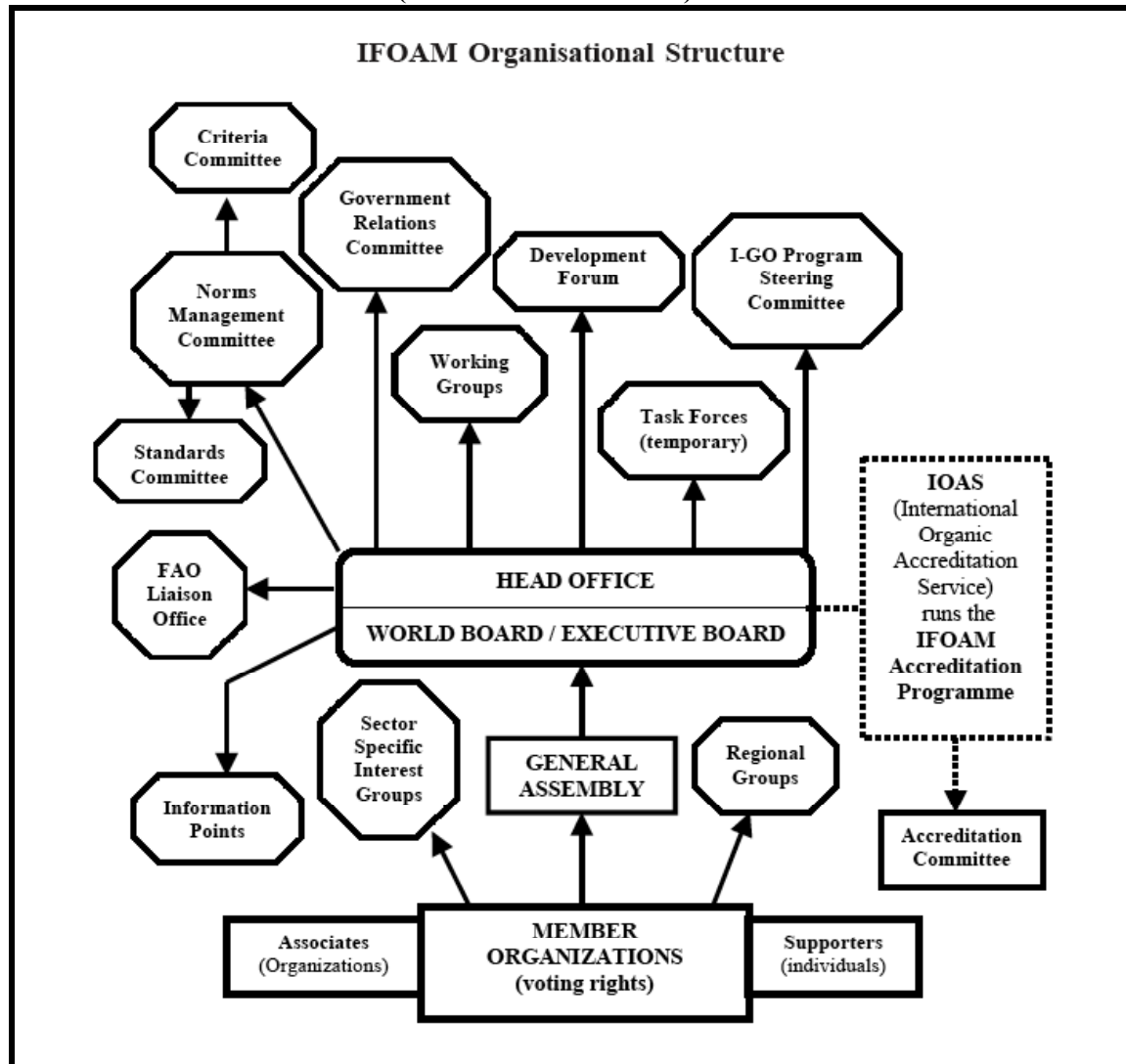


Table 8: IFOAM Committees and Regional, National and Interest Groups in 2002
(Source: IFOAM 2003c)

IFOAM Committees		
Committee	Secretary/Chairperson	Members
Norms Management Committee	Secretary: Diane Bowen (USA) Chair: Johan Cejie (Sweden)	Jorge Casale (Argentina) Antonio Compagnoni (Italy) Ong Kung Wai (Malaysia) Mildred Steidle (Germany)
Standards Committee	Secretary: Diane Bowen (USA) Chair: Rod May (Australia)	Brian Baker (USA) Alexander Beck (Germany) Jorge Casale (Argentina) Eckhard Reiners (Germany) Tali Berner (Israel) Xu Hui Lian (Japan) Richard Plowright (UK)
Criteria Committee	Secretary: Diane Bowen (USA) Chair: Ken Commins (USA)	Coen van Beuningen (Netherlands) Mildred Steidle (Germany) Paddy Doherty (Canada) Eva Mattsson (Sweden)
Government Relations Committee	Secretary: Diane Bowen (USA) Chair: Prabha Mahale (India)	Liz Clay (Australia) Bo van Elzakker (Netherlands) Katherine di Matteo (USA) Peter Einarsson (Sweden)
Program Steering Committee (I-GO)	Secretary: Anne Boor (Germany) Chair: Liz Clay (Australia)	Oscar Castaneda (Guatemala) Hay Sorée (India) Maheswar Ghimire (Nepal) Joseph Mutura (Kenya)
Development Forum	Chair: Alberto Pipo Lernoud, (Argentina)	René Piamonte (Argentina) Ranjith de Silva (Sri Lanka) Gabriele Stoll (Germany) René Tokannou (Benin) Charles Walaga (Uganda)
IFOAM Regional Groups		
Asia Vaheesan Saminathan (Sri Lanka)	German Speaking Countries Helga Willer (Switzerland)	AgriBioMediterraneo Ranko Tadic (Croatia)
Latin America Initiative (GALCI) Patricia Flores Piamonte (Argentina)	EU countries Francis Blake (UK)	
IFOAM National Groups		
IFOAM Italy Ivo Bertaina		IFOAM Japan Katsu Murayama
IFOAM Interest Groups		
IFOAM Forum of Consultants Birgitt Boor (Germany)		IFOAM Trade Forum Maria Gardfjell (Sweden)
IFOAM Aquaculture group Deborah Brister (USA)		IFOAM Farmers Group Inger Källander (Sweden)

The decision to form the “Third World” Task Force had been taken earlier in 1990 at the IFOAM General Assembly in Budapest (Wai 2008). This was at the time when IFOAM was actively convening meetings in the Global South as a means to encourage the uptake of organic agriculture. The “Third World” Task Force enabled IFOAM to network more effectively with Latin America and increase the number of members from this region from seven to eighty-five in the period of only three years (Geier 1998).

Funds channelled into the IFOAM “Third World” Task Force enabled activists from the Global South to attend conferences such as the IFOAM International Scientific Conference and General Assembly in Sao Paulo (Wai 2008). At this meeting the “Third World” Task Force was responsible for monitoring the revisions of the IFOAM Basic Standard (IBS) to better reflect conditions in the Global South (Caldas 1992). It is here that social, and not just environmental, standards began to be integrated into the IBS.

The “Third World” Task Force was upgraded in 1996 and became the “Third World” Working Group, in order to better reflect the growing importance of the Global South at IFOAM (Geier 1998). Eventually, though, it was replaced by the new Development Forum committee in August 2001 (IFOAM 2002). The Development Forum’s main goal was to review the work of IFOAM to ‘ensure that perspectives from developing countries were effectively integrated into IFOAM’s objectives and work program’ and advise the World Board on issues regarding the Global South (IFOAM 2001; IFOAM 2002:5).

6.3.2 IFOAM Africa Office (IAO)

A second type of organizational innovation was the creation of specific structures to incorporate the interests of specific geographic regions in the Global South. This occurred in Africa in 2004 with the creation of the IFOAM Africa Office (IAO) (originally the IFOAM Africa Organic Service Centre - AOSC). The IAO was initially funded through the IFOAM – Growing Organic (I-GO) program (see below) before later receiving funding from the Africa desk of the Dutch NGO Hivos. While the IAO was initially set up in Dakar, Senegal, a decision was made in 2006 to relocate the IAO to IFOAM’s head office in Bonn.

The aim of the IAO is to strengthen the network of organic farmers in Africa and facilitate the adoption of organic agriculture in Africa (IFOAM 2004a). As it is claimed on the IAO website,

The Africa Office ensures that on the entire continent of Africa, Organic Agricultural representatives make concerted efforts to promote and get recognition for Organic Agriculture among farmers groups, NGOs, governments and intergovernmental organizations, and development organizations.

IFOAM 2009b

Under the IAO strategic plan, created during an initial planning workshop held in Nairobi, Kenya in June 2004, there are four main objectives of the IAO: institutionalise African organic sectors; promote organic agriculture as a development option for Africa; contribute to organic market and standards development; and foster a supportive policy framework in Africa (IFOAM 2009c; IFOAM 2005a).

A primary outcome of the IAO is the production of a number of durable inscriptions to communicate information to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Africa. The primary inscription device is the IAO website and the Africa Organic Newsletter which is broadcast on the IAO website. This disseminates information about upcoming events and provides links to documents discussing issues relevant to organic agriculture in Africa.

Another inscription opportunity taken up through the IAO was the publication of an article in the special edition of IFOAM's magazine *Ecology and Farming* focusing on organic agriculture in Africa. In this article the coordinator of the IAO provides statistical information regarding the strong growth in the organic sector in Africa. Mention is given to the First African conference on organic agriculture, where it is stated that,

Agreement by the participants that Organic Agriculture can contribute to sustainable development, poverty eradication and food security in Africa and a call for increased support for African Organic Agriculture.

Here we can see how processes of frame extension begin within an IFOAM organised event and are then broadcast to a wider audience through organizational innovations, thus reinforcing particular framings about the benefits of organic agriculture for other actors in Africa.

6.3.2 Individual Movement Entrepreneurs

IFOAM's internal organisational structures contribute to the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South in another way, by providing spaces and opportunities through which individual movement entrepreneurs can promote strategies for resource mobilisation. One example of this is Coen van Beuningen. As an individual movement entrepreneur, van Beuningen has made a significant contribution to IFOAM by helping to shift the focus of IFOAM's resource mobilisation activities from sole reliance on resource mobilisation from adherents to increased reliance on resource mobilisation from external constituents.

After completing a degree in tropical agricultural economics at Wageningen University, van Beuningen worked in Africa for ten years¹²⁹. On returning to the Netherlands, van Beuningen decided to work in the Non-Government Organisation (NGO) sector and was employed with the Humanist Development Cooperation Organisation (Hivos). During his time in Africa van Beuningen had become disappointed with the focus in much of the development work being carried out.

I returned to the Netherlands disappointed in the development cooperation in Africa related to agriculture. It was not working towards sustainability and not in the interest of smallholders.

Van Beuningen pers comm. 2009

Eventually van Beuningen decided to become involved with the activities of IFOAM. In 1989, van Beuningen became a member of the 'Third World' Task Force (van Beuningen pers comm. 2007) and was later elected as the IFOAM Treasurer in 1993, holding this position until 1998. During the time van Beuningen continued to be employed, implementing development projects and programs with the Dutch NGO Hivos.

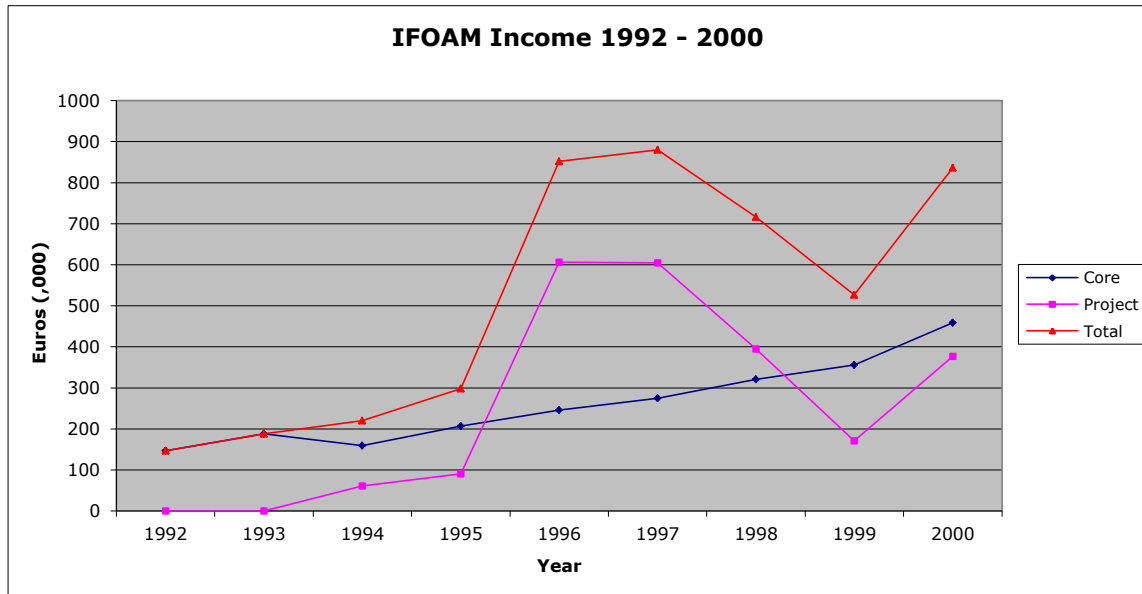
¹²⁹ Van Beuningen (pers comm. 2009) worked for the European Development Fund (EDF) in Rwanda from 1970 – 71 and the *Association pour le Développement Rural* (ASDEAR) in Tunisia from 1975 – 1982.

During van Beuningen's involvement in IFOAM, he encouraged IFOAM to mobilise resources from external donors as a way of supplementing membership fees from adherents (Van Beuningen pers comm. 2009). Van Beuningen (pers comm. 2009) first encouraged IFOAM to secure funding from external development organisations as a member of the IFOAM "Third World" Task Force and chose to become Treasurer of IFOAM for the express purpose of introducing 'planning and budget formats that fit in the donor approach'.

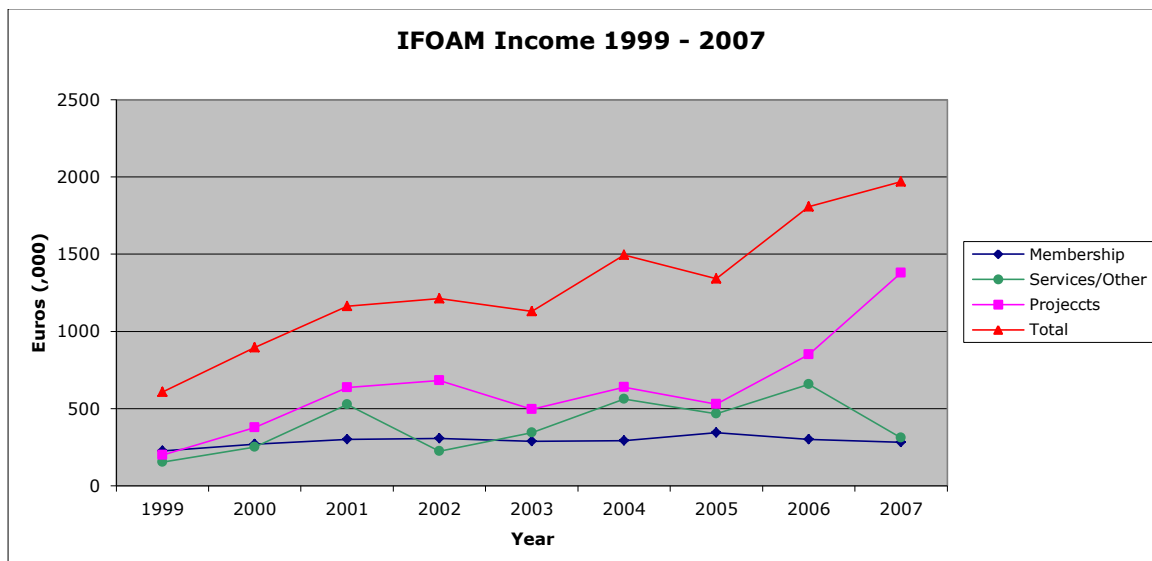
This is not to say that van Beuningen was solely responsible for implementing IFOAM's change in its resource mobilisation strategy, as there were others within the IFOAM World Board who supported this new approach as there were others who did not (van Beuningen pers comm. 2009). While van Beuningen had support from IFOAM World Board members, who recognised that membership fees were not enough to maintain IFOAM's activities, there were some IFOAM members who believed that this would give too much power to Northern development sector organisation staff, such as van Beuningen (van Beuningen pers comm. 2009). What is important in this is to point out role of individual actors or individual movement entrepreneurs in promoting new resource mobilisation strategies within the organic movement. This is something that will be addressed in greater detail in the next chapter, where the role of two individual movement entrepreneurs in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South will be discussed in detail.

The outcome of the implementation of this strategy can be clearly seen in Graphs 1 & 2, below, which clearly demonstrates the change in the sources through which resources were mobilised. This is in line with the tenants of RMT, which claims that the resources required for successful social movement activity are located externally to the social movement (Jenkins 1983). As the two graphs demonstrate the adoption of a strategy to mobilise resources from external constituents coincide with van Beuningen's tenure as IFOAM treasurer.

Graph 1: IFOAM Core and Project Income between 1992 and 2000
(Source: IFOAM 2001)



Graph 2: IFOAM Core and Project Income between 1999 and 2007
(Source: IFOAM 2001, 2002, 2003c, 2004c, 2005a, 2006a, 2007b)



There are two important outcomes of this for the organic movement. The first is that with a focus on mobilising resources from external constituents, and in particular development cooperation organizations, this has necessitated that IFOAM become focused on framing organic agriculture in ways that resonate with these organizations in order to facilitate resource mobilisation from them. The second is that, in being successful in mobilising resources from these organizations this provided a rapid increase in the level of resources that IFOAM could utilise to fund projects and programs aimed directly at facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

6.4 Projects and Programs

A fourth activity undertaken by IFOAM to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has been the creation of a series of specific programs and projects. These programs, as it was noted above, were not funded through revenues raised through membership fees but primarily financed from resources mobilised from external donors. As it is stated in the IFOAM 2005/2006 Annual Report,

Programs and projects at IFOAM would not be possible without the generous investment of institutional donors. The expansion of institutional support from foundations, corporations and government agencies is crucial in enabling IFOAM to meet the growing needs of the continually expanding organic sector and to enable IFOAM to pursue its mission and achieve its goal.

IFOAM 2006a:32

As it can be seen in Graphs 1 & 2, above, total income has been strongly impacted by program and project funding from external constituents focused almost exclusively on activities in the Global South. There have been three main programs developed by IFOAM in this regard.

6.4.1 Organic Agriculture 1999

While there was some limited budget inflow from project work between 1993 and 1995 the first real influx of external resources to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in developing countries occurred in 1996 with the creation of the “Organic Agriculture 1999” (OA 1999) program. OA 1999 was a three-year program funded by the Dutch Ministry of

Cooperation, and the Dutch NGOs' Hivos and the Netherlands Organization for International Aid (NOVIB - *Nederlandse Organisatie voor Internationale Ontwikkelingssamenwerking*). Funding from these three organizations was able to be mobilised as a result of actions taken within the "Third World" Task Force/Working Group. The Task Force/Working Group acted to institutionalise education and training in tropical agriculture at IFOAM, as a result of pressure being applied from donor agencies and individual movement entrepreneurs within the organic movement (van Beuningen pers comm. 2009; van Mansvelt *et al* 1996).

6.4.2 Organic Agriculture 2002

When OA 1999 concluded in May of 1999, IFOAM created a follow-up program, "Organic Agriculture 2002" (OA 2002), to continue to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South¹³⁰. OA 2002 began in October 2000 and was intended to align more closely with the core objectives of IFOAM. In this regard, OA 2002 had two clear aims. The first was to strengthen organic agriculture in the Global South through the implementation of 'local structures/networks to disseminate information about organic agricultural practices and certification/accreditation schemes according to IFOAM policies and provide strategies to access and develop direct and distant markets' (IFOAM 2001:8). The second aim was to ensure that Global South members (including Central and Eastern European (CEE) members) had adequate influence on IFOAM policies.

Five individual projects were organised as part of OA 2002: data collection and farm system comparison; organic certification and harmonization; lobby and outreach; strengthening of IFOAM structures; and training, extension, and direct market development. After operating the OA 2002 program for only one year IFOAM implemented a third program, I-GO, to replace it based on the lessons learned from OA 1999 and OA 2002 (IFOAM 2001).

6.4.3 IFOAM - Growing Organic (I-GO)

The I-GO program has been the most significant program for promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South within IFOAM. The initial phase of this program ran from October 2001 to 2005 and a second phase ran between 2005 and 2008. I-GO is jointly funded

¹³⁰ Van Elzakker was also responsible for coordinating projects for the Organic Agriculture 1999 project (FAO 1998).

by the Dutch NGO Hivos and the Biodiversity Fund, which is funded by the Dutch government¹³¹ (IFOAM 2006a). While the I-GO program originally included CEE countries, this was eventually changed because the funding partner Hivos did not have a mandate to provide support to CEE countries¹³² (IFOAM 2003c).

The main aim of the I-GO program is to ‘strengthen organic agriculture in developing countries and thus the organic agriculture movement worldwide’ (IFOAM 2004a:8). In the first phase of I-GO, projects were undertaken within six key objectives: harmonizing organic standards; integrating social responsibility within organic production; providing training and capacity building for regional certification capacity; promoting lobbying and outreach activities; strengthening IFOAM’s structures; and assisting in the development of organic agriculture and marketing in developing countries (IFOAM 2002).

In the second phase projects were organised within five key objectives: strengthening organic agriculture in targeted regions; improving capacity in IFOAM’s structures and membership; advocating the potential of organic agriculture to create social, environmental and economic benefits; facilitating access for smallholders to domestic and international markets and producing information packages of options for countries with an emerging organic sector (IFOAM 2006a). Box X, below, provides a list of some of the projects undertaken within the I-GO program.

Given the importance of the I-GO program, it is important to discuss two specific projects organised under the I-GO program, which have facilitated the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. These two specific projects: demonstrate important linkages with activities to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in Uganda; highlight the importance of framing processes in mobilising adherents, constituents and resources; and further illustrate the role of individual movement entrepreneurs in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

¹³¹ The Biodiversity Fund is jointly managed by the NGOs’ Hivos and NOVIB (now Oxfam NOVIB) (Hivos & Oxfam Novib 2005).

¹³² Hivos only provides support to countries categorised as developing under the OECD list of Developing Countries (IFOAM 2003c).

Box 1: Examples of I-GO Projects

- IFOAM in conjunction with members in Latin America held a workshop on organic agriculture and social justice in Bolivia attended by 115 participants from 10 different countries. Strategies were discussed to ensure that organic agriculture is tied to social justice.
- I-GO funds have also been used to employ an Organic Guarantee System Coordinator.
- I-GO financed a background study with the objective to formulate “criteria for variations in IFOAM Basic Standards”.
- I-GO financed a series of workshops to create a uniform approach to the implementation of Smallholder Group Certification (SGC) procedures.
- I-GO funds have also been used to draft biodiversity standards to be integrated into the IFOAM Basic Standard.
- I-GO funds have been used to undertake market surveys, studies and workshops to provide information to facilitate the establishment of local and regional marketing networks.
- I-GO funded three studies to identify other organizations involved in advocating organic and sustainable agriculture to establish joint advocacy initiatives for international forums and meetings.
- I-GO funds have been utilised to create regional institutions to facilitate information dissemination and regional representation. Three such representative offices have been established in India, China and Latin America.
- I-GO funds are used to sponsor lobbying and outreach activities.
- I-GO finances the costs associated with running the IFOAM-FAO liaison office.

cont’d ...

Box 1: Examples of I-GO Projects (cont'd)

- I-GO funds have been used to sponsor board and staff member attendance at important meetings such as the World Summit of Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in Johannesburg and the World Food Summit (WFS) in Rome in 2002.
- I-Go funds have been used to translate important documents into other languages.
- I-GO funds used to support a cotton conference held in Benin.
- I-GO provides funding for members to attend various meetings to ensure the representative nature of these events.
- I-GO funds were used to fund the harmonization conference held at Biofach.
- I-GO funds were used for a project to study and systematize the experiences of farmers in developing countries in Peru and Bolivia and create training manuals and an online Organic Training Platform for small-scale farmers.
- I-GO financed a project to identify potential donors for projects to develop organic agriculture and certification capacity in developing countries

(sources: IFOAM 2002, 2003c 2004c, 2005a, 2006a)

6.4.3.1 Organic Standards in East Africa (OSEA)

Organic Standards in East Africa (OSEA) was a two-year project organised through IFOAM in 2006 and 2007. The primary aim of OSEA was to improve the livelihoods of rural people in East Africa by developing regional certification capacity for organic agriculture (IFOAM 2008a). Funding for the OSEA project was provided by Sida and also from the EU. Management and implementation of the project was contracted to the Swedish consultancy company Grolink responsible for managing the EPOPA program in East Africa.

The project is an important example of how attempts to stimulate the uptake of organic agriculture in the East African region have benefited from the mobilisation of funds through external constituents located in the development cooperation sector, and thus the importance of extending symbolic frames to encompass a wider of interests and values.

The OSEA project built on earlier work conducted in East Africa to build the capacity of the organic sectors through projects funded by governmental and non-governmental development cooperation sector organizations. This is something that is acknowledged in an OSEA project summary document, which states that,

The development of the regional organic standard was coached by the OSEA project and the CBTF project and both shall have equal credit for the accomplishment. There are also other projects supporting organic in East Africa, particularly the EPOPA programme supported by Sida and the support to various organic projects by Hivos. Without the work already done by them, the project would hardly have been successful.

IFOAM 2008a:6

Sida and Hivos had both been providing assistance to the development of the organic sector in Uganda through a range of activities. Sida had earlier established a highly successful EPOPA program. The EPOPA program provided direct assistance to help establish organic export projects in Uganda since 1995 and had initiated plans to develop institutional capacity of the sector (Taylor pers comm. 2005; the scope of the EPOPA program is discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven of this thesis). Hivos had provided a range of support¹³³ including funding for the National Organic Agriculture Movement of Uganda (NOGAMU) organization, which provides a coordinating and training role in Uganda (Muwanga pers comm. 2005; van Beuningen pers comm. 2005).

In 2002, Sida commissioned one of consultants responsible for implementing EPOPA to assess the feasibility of initiating certification organizations in Eastern and Southern Africa (CBTF 2007). The report recommended that a program be initiated to develop national certification organizations in East Africa with the possibility of developing a regional standard (Rundgren & Lustig 2002). Subsequently, a three-year initiative to establish certification organizations, in both Uganda¹³⁴ and Tanzania, was organised within the EPOPA program (Agro Eco & GroLink 2003a). As part of this process, EPOPA staff

¹³³ According to van Beuningen (pers comm. 2009) Hivos encouraged certain individuals to form NOGAMU as this allow them to access resources from Hivos, which had a mandate to support and work with farmers that were organised.

¹³⁴ A task force and a standards committee was established by the national organic agriculture organization NOGAMU who is responsible as the coordinator of the project in Uganda (Agro Eco & GroLink 2003a).

organised the *East African Organic Standards and Certification Development Workshop* in Tanzania in December 2003, which had as its primary outcome and agreement to pursue the development of a regional organic standard. While a working group was established to facilitate this objective a lack of funds and limits within the EPOPA terms of reference¹³⁵ restricted the amount of progress that could be made (CBTF 2007; IFOAM 2006e; Rundgren 2006b).

In 2004, a separate program was initiated by the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and UNCTAD to promote organic agriculture in East Africa. This was part of the Capacity Building Task Force on Trade, Environment and Development (CBTF) program, which was launched in 2000 (UNCTAD 2008a). The aim of the CBTF was to support activities that promote a trade-environment-development nexus in Least Developed Countries (LDCs) (UNEP & UNCTAD 2007). Organic agriculture was identified as one of three CBTF themes during a series of meetings and consultations held with government representatives and experts between 2002 and 2004 (Naqvi pers comm. 2007). A key event was a workshop held in Brussels in February 2002 in which policy options for promoting trade of organic products from developing countries was discussed (UNCTAD 2008a; Naqvi pers comm. 2007).

During consultations, a specific project focusing on organic agriculture in East Africa was identified (CBTF 2007; GroLink 2007; Taylor 2006). One of the consultations held in September 2004 in Nairobi was with the working group established to develop a regional standard ‘under the auspices of the EPOPA project’ (Naqvi pers comm. 2007). Consultations were also made with the organic sector during the *IFOAM Conference on Organic Agriculture and Biodiversity* in September 2004 in Nairobi and the *IFOAM Organic Coffee Conference* in October 2004 in Kampala (Naqvi pers comm. 2007).

In 2005, a separate proposal to develop a regional standard in East Africa was formulated within IFOAM in collaboration with three national organic movement organizations in the region: Kenya Organic Agriculture Network (KOAN); Tanzania Organic Agriculture

¹³⁵ The EPOPA program only had a mandate to work in Tanzania and Uganda and not Kenya.

Movement (TOAM); and NOGAMU¹³⁶ (IFOAM 2008a). This was again a direct result of actions taken within EPOPA, which had provided resources to facilitate discussion of the issue of a regional standard. Because of the close alignment between IFOAM's new OSEA project and the regional certification component of the CBTF East Africa project, a decision was eventually made to merge these two projects (Grolink 2007).

A *Regional Standards Technical Working Group* was established to oversee the OSEA project, which consisted of representatives from: national organic sector organizations, government standards departments, national certification organizations in East Africa, the responsible consultancy, UNEP and UNCTAD¹³⁷. The working group was supported by a team of international consultants, one of which (Eva Mattsson from Grolink), had primary responsibility for drafting the regional standard, performing field tests and developing the inspection protocol (CBTF 2007; Grolink 2007; IFOAM 2008a; Rundgren 2006b, 2007a). The regional standard was based on existing standards in East Africa; Codex Alimentarius Guidelines for Organic Production; the IFOAM Basic Standard; stakeholder consultations¹³⁸; and field-testing in Uganda.

These processes have important outcomes for the uptake of organic agriculture in the East Africa region and the Global South. It is through these processes that durable inscription devices were produced, which legitimise the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This is because such inscriptions frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with external constituents associated with the international development cooperation sector.

¹³⁶ As it was outlined in the IFOAM project summary report 'The development of local organic certification and regional standards fits into the strategic plan of IFOAM, developed by African stakeholders during 2005' (IFOAM 2008a:10).

¹³⁷ Members of the Regional Technical Standards Working Group (RSTWG) include: Leonard Mtama (Tancert, Tanzania); Charles Walaga (UgoCert, Uganda); Francis Akivaga (Africert, Kenya); Eustace Kiarrii (KOAN, Kenya); Jordan Gama (TOAM, Tanzania); Moses Muwanga (NOGAMU, Uganda); David Ebouku (Uganda National Bureau of Standards); Obadiah N.M. Masaki (Tanzania Bureau of Standards); Carol Tom (Kenya Bureau of Standards); and Moses Ogwal (East African Business Council). The RSTWG is co-chaired by Gunnar Rundgren (IFOAM) and Sophia Twarog (UNCTAD/CBTF); Eva Mattsson (IFOAM) is committee secretary; Anne Boor (IFOAM) and Asad Naqvi (UNEP/CBTF) participate as OSEA/CBTF observers; and Diane Bowen (IFOAM) and Peter Lustig (Grolink) as technical experts.

¹³⁸ A series of consultation processes ensued to facilitate local and international stakeholder input. In December 2006, for example, the second draft of the East African Organic Standard was presented to the public at the Organic Standards Forum in Nairobi Africa for comment (IFOAM 2006a).

An example of this is the document entitled, 'Organic Agriculture and Food Security in Africa', which claims that organic agriculture has a positive impact on food security.

The evidence presented in this study supports the argument that organic agriculture can be more conducive to food security in Africa than most conventional production systems, and that it is more likely to be sustainable in the long term.

(UNCTAD 2008b:iii)

In framing organic agriculture as providing positive social and economic impact in the region, such documents contribute to the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South by providing a rationale for the mobilisation of resources from international development cooperation sector organizations for future projects and programs in the Global South.

6.4.3.2 Building Sustainable Organic Sectors

A second example of a specific IFOAM project facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South was the project formulated to create the document entitled *Building Sustainable Organic Sectors*. This document was produced in 2008 as part of the I-GO program objective to create information packages to provide development options for emerging organic sectors in the Global South (IFOAM 2006a). As the document states,

The objective of this study as formulated by IFOAM is to give guidance for appropriate development options for the emerging organic sectors, with a focus on developing countries.

Källander & Rundgren 2008:9

The *Building Sustainable Organic Sectors* document is examined here to demonstrate how inscription devices enable individual movement entrepreneurs and movement organisations with the means to 'act at a distance' and influence the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

The *Building Sustainable Organic Sectors* document was produced with the assistance of a number of different individuals from within the organic movement. Individuals from IFOAM, such as Angela Caudle (IFOAM's Executive Director), Anne Boor (International

Projects Manager), Louise Luttikholt (Strategic Relations Manager), Roberto Ugás (IAOS Accreditation Committee), Brendan Hoare and Ong Kung Wai (World Board Members), were part of a task force responsible for designing the project. Task force members held responsibility for setting the terms of reference for the project - 'to give guidance for appropriate development options for the emerging organic sectors, with a focus on developing countries'. The terms of reference stipulated that this be done by developing guidelines for sector development based on a number of country cases studies (Källander & Rundgren 2008:9).

The task force commissioned two individuals, Ingar Källander and Gunnar Rundgren, to write the *Building Sustainable Organic Sectors* document on behalf of IFOAM. Having had long-term experience in the organic movement in Sweden and internationally, Källander and Rundgren had a degree of legitimacy, which enabled them to gain responsibility for authoring the document. Input was also sought from a range of individuals with experience and knowledge of the development of organic agriculture in each of the ten country case studies. Comments were also sought from a wider audience during a workshop held at the Biofach organic trade conference in 2007 where a draft version of the document was presented. The IFOAM task force responsible for designing the project was also given responsibility to review the document (Källander & Rundgren 2008).

The *Building Sustainable Organic Sectors* document is conceptualised here as an important inscription device created to shape the ordering of social reality with respect to the future development of the organic movement. The document enables IFOAM and the individual actors responsible for writing, editing and commenting upon it to 'act at a distance' by making a number of normative statements about how best to develop a successful organic agriculture sector (Lockie & Kitto 2000; Whatmore & Thorne 1997). It is an attempt by the various actors involved to impose a particular social order, one that draws on previous attempts at ordering social reality for the purpose of expanding the organic movement, its goals and objectives.

The *Building Sustainable Organic Sectors* document uses ten country case studies as the basis for its recommendations for '[r]eorienting and redesigning agriculture in an organic direction' in developing countries (Källander & Rundgren 2008:5). The authors recommend a

number of key strategic actions and milestones, which they claim, have contributed to the successful development of organic sectors in the ten countries used as case studies. These recommendations include: sector organization; strategic alliances; farmers' involvement; a common standard and logo; media and consumer awareness; supermarket engagement; international events; food scandals and negative developments in food and agriculture; and national targets (Källander & Rundgren 2008).

While the recommendations are meant to be based on evidence from the ten case studies, it can also be argued that the recommendations strongly reflect the Swedish experience in developing the organic agriculture. The main reason for this is that the two authors given responsibility for authoring the document and formulating the documents recommendations, Källander and Rundgren, were intimately involved in the development of the Swedish organic sector. Källander was a past President of the Swedish Ecological Farmers Association (EFA) and Rundgren was co-founder of the EFA and co-founder and Executive Director of the Swedish organic certification organization KRAV.

This is evident by comparing the recommendations made within the document with evidence about the development of the organic sector in Sweden. It is recommended, for example, that engagement with mainstream supermarkets is critical to the successful development of an organic sector.

The countries with the largest current market shares are those that deliberately focused on supermarket sales. In these countries the organic market is an integrated and established part of the larger market and no longer a niche.

Källander & Rundgren 2008:27

This has clearly been the case in Sweden where 'the strong early expansion of organic agriculture' was 'spearheaded by the cooperative food chain' (Källander & Rundgren 2008:24).

The strategy of the organic farmers' associations [in Sweden] was to organise their production and distribution for the mainstream market with the aim of making organic food available to all people in their ordinary food stores.

Källander & Rundgren 2008:24

The influence of the Swedish experience is also evident in comments made in the Executive Summary regarding the need to organise farmers for marketing purposes,

To organise the farmers/producers for marketing is important for the supply and for quality improvement. The initial marketing efforts should be oriented towards simple chains and direct marketing, but for long-term growth of the organic sector, development of a diversity of market channels is essential.

Källander & Rundgren 2008:5

The development of marketing cooperatives was an ongoing concern for Rundgren, who along with other farmers organised, what he has claimed was one of the first organic marketing cooperatives ‘in Sweden, possibly in Europe’ (Rundgren pers comm. 2007).

The influence of the Swedish experience in the document is also evident in comments made regarding the need for cooperation with conventional agriculture interests,

In the healthy development of an organic sector a wide range of relevant stakeholders are invited to cooperate and contribute. It is a winning concept to have a dialogue not only with those who from the beginning are positive towards organic, but also with conventional farmers’ organizations, authorities, market actors, etc

Källander & Rundgren 2008:6

This is something noted by Källander in her assessment of success of the Swedish organic sector in a separate document,

There will be no growth and expansion unless conventional farmers get interested in organic farming and dare to have a go at it. Therefore, the EFA [Ecological Farmers Association] has always been open to dialogue with conventional farmers.

Källander 2007:213-214

The same can be said for the recommendation made that a single standard for certification be developed as an important marketing tool to promote the consumption of organic products.

Consumer interest and willingness to buy organic food is the foundation for market development. Consumer awareness is built with availability of good quality products and positive promotion, and a common logo and standard is an efficient tool for promotion ... Certification is a strong market tool that serves to build trust in organic agriculture and products. One organic standard that is applied by all organic producers, certified or not, helps to build energy and joint activities in the sector.

Källander & Rundgren 2008:5

The development of a single standard and organization for certification is said to be a central factor in the success of the development of the Swedish organic sector. This is something argued by Källander elsewhere.

KRAV has probably been the most important factor in the growth and success of organic farming in Sweden, especially for organic products sold anonymously, such as in supermarkets and the export market. The control and label help the consumer find organic products in their ordinary food stores and guarantee that the farmer has complied with the organic standards ... By offering consumers trustworthy control and a label that is easy to recognize, the market immediately took off and has had strong growth ever since.

Källander 2007:213

In arguing that Källander and Rundgren have undue influence over the recommendations made by the *Building Sustainable Organic Sectors* document, this section is not calling into question the validity of the recommendations or the impartiality of the authors. The point to be made from this analysis is that inscription devices, such as the *Building Sustainable Organic Sectors* document, provide individual movement entrepreneurs, such as Källander and Rundgren, with a means to transfer knowledge and practices from one location to another and in doing so shape the ordering of social reality in the Global South¹³⁹.

6.5 Lobbying of Multilateral Organizations

A fifth activity undertaken by IFOAM to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has been IFOAM's lobbying of multilateral organizations to legitimise organic

¹³⁹ Should potential readers be convinced of the value of the recommendations.

agriculture and to secure resources to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. By lobbying multilateral organizations, IFOAM has been able to gain observer and participant status at a number of these organizations (refer to Table 9, below) and have some – albeit arguably limited – influence over the activities of these organizations (Geier 1998; IFOAM 2007b).

To mobilise support from multilateral organizations, IFOAM has actively framed organic agriculture in ways that resonate with these organizations. This has been done by emphasizing the positive social, economic and environmental impacts of organic agriculture in the Global South.

Table 9: Advocacy status of IFOAM
(Sources: Geier 1998; IFOAM 2007b)

Organization	Year Granted Status	Status
Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)	1988	Accredited international organization with observer status.
	1997	Accredited international organization with consultative status.
United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)	1993	Accredited international organization with Consultative status.
Codex Alimentarius	For over 10 years	Accredited international organization with observer status.
International Standards Organization (ISO)	1999	D-liaison status with the commission on Conformity Assessment (CASCO). Includes membership of four of CASCO's working groups.
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)	2002	Observer status Participatory status for: Commission on Trade on Goods and services and commodities; Commission on Enterprise, Business Facilitation and Development UNCTAD Board
United Nations Environment Program (UNEP)	2004	Accredited international organization with observer status

As former IFOAM President, Gunnar Rundgren (*cited in* IFOAM 2001:2), claimed in IFOAM's 2000 Annual Report, '[i]n developing countries organic agriculture is a tool for

rural development, for biodiversity conservation, for income generation and for food security',¹⁴⁰.

To communicate the positive benefits of organic agriculture IFOAM has participated in a range of international conferences, seminars and workshops as well as commissioned the production of a number of specific documents. To examine IFOAM's attempts to lobby multilateral organizations, this section focuses on IFOAM's attempts to build relations with the FAO.

6.5.1 Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)

The FAO is the peak international body responsible for debating policies and disseminating information, knowledge, techniques and technologies to improve the nutritional intake of all people throughout the world (FAO 2008). FAO has been a long term and important target of lobbying and advocacy activities within IFOAM and is 'the international institution that gets priority attention from IFOAM' (IFOAM 2002:10). The relationship between IFOAM and the FAO is claimed to be quite strong, with IFOAM characterizing its relationship with FAO in the following terms in 2002,

FAO is by now much less a lobby "target" for organic agriculture but rather more of a partner. Meetings and presentations at the FAO headquarters in Rome were platforms for personal information exchange and for strategizing.

IFOAM 2002:10

The FAO has indicated similarly that it has a strong relationship with IFOAM, arguing that the relationship between these two organisations is such that it has been used as one example to guide internal FAO policy on cooperation.

The FAO-IFOAM joint venture and its positive impact on both FAO field and headquarters policy work were taken as an example while formulating the *FAO Policy and Strategy for Cooperation with Non-Governmental and Civil Society Organizations*.

FAO 2003a:4

¹⁴⁰ This is not dissimilar to the way that the EU justified changes to the Common Agricultural Policy and its support for organic agriculture by arguing that organic agriculture would lead to positive rural development and nature conservation impacts (Grant 1997).

In the next section, the process by which IFOAM has built its relationship with FAO will be examined to demonstrate the importance of ‘spaces of negotiation’ and inscription devices in providing opportunities to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of external constituents in order to mobilise resources for promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

6.5.2 Building Relations with the FAO

IFOAM first attempted to mobilise support for organic agriculture from the FAO during the UNCTAD conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (FAO 1998a; Geier 1998). At the time, IFOAM had intentionally organised its General Assembly and International Scientific Conference in Rio to coincide with this conference and thus provide opportunities to participate in UNCTAD. It wasn’t until 1997, though, that the FAO eventually granted IFOAM with Liaison Status at the FAO. Liaison Status meant that IFOAM representatives could provide practical assistance to the FAO in relation to organic agriculture and also that IFOAM representatives could be invited to attend as observers of the FAO conference, council and specialized meetings (FAO 2009c). After being granted Liaison Status with the FAO, IFOAM’s President, Hervé la Prairie, met with the Director-General of the FAO and senior staff to request that the FAO become more actively involved in organic agriculture.

Evidence that the FAO was beginning to take organic agriculture more seriously was the inclusion of a message of support to IFOAM on the occasion of its 25th anniversary by the Director-General of the FAO. The Director-General wrote positively in IFOAM’s journal *Ecology and Farming* about organic agriculture, and raised the prospect that the FAO might form a partnership with the organic agriculture sector to promote the future development of organic agriculture.

Prior to this time, the FAO had shown little interest in organic agriculture. The majority of its programs and projects were geared towards promoting increased farm productivity using techniques associated with intensification, specialisation, mechanization and the use of chemical inputs. This began to change during the 1990s, as the FAO came under increasing pressure from NGOs like IFOAM as well as from its own member countries, to support alternative systems such as organic agriculture (FAO 1998a). FAO member countries were particularly interested in organic agriculture because, in the words of the FAO, it had the

potential to provide opportunities ‘to tap lucrative international market[s]’,¹⁴¹ (FAO 2003a:2; Müller 2006).

There are a number of important milestones in the development of support for organic agriculture within the FAO. In 1997, the sustainable development department of the FAO commissioned a report to discuss the potential contribution of organic agriculture to sustainability goals. An external consultant was responsible for preparing this report under the direction of the Environment and Natural Resource Service (SDRN) division of the FAO¹⁴². The draft of the SDRN report was not only circulated within FAO but also within the IFOAM Head Office for comment. The final version of the report was presented at the IFOAM International Scientific Conference in Argentina in 1998 (FAO 2003a; FAO 1998a).

An important aspect of this document was the way that it framed organic agriculture as having a potentially positive impact on food security. This was done in the introduction of the document, where the central question was framed as, ‘how to evaluate the feasibility of organic agriculture and its impact on farm sustainability, and hence its role in food security’ (FAO 1998b:1). This is in line with the stated objective of the SDRN to provide,

...advisory and technical services to promote sustainable agriculture and *food security* through protection of the environment and integrated management of natural resources.
(*emphasis added*)

SDRN 2009

The framing of organic agriculture in this way was repeated in a second document produced by the SDRN in 2002. This document provided evidence of the positive impact of organic agriculture on food security from 29 case studies of certified and uncertified organic projects in developing countries audited by the University of Essex (FAO 2003b).

¹⁴¹ As it was stated at a side event on organic agriculture and food security in 2006 by Dr. Alexander Müller, the Assistant Director-General of FAO, interest in organic agriculture from FAO member countries has convinced the FAO that there are potential economic and environmental benefits of organic agriculture (Müller 2009).

¹⁴² According to the SDRN website, ‘FAO promotes organic agriculture for ecological conservation, income generation and food production for the world’s poor and food insecure. Organic agriculture is growing rapidly in many countries, and when based on precise standards and practices, organic agriculture promotes sustainable development’ (SDRN 2009).

In March 1998, the FAO agreed to convene a meeting with IFOAM to discuss issues related to organic agriculture. The meeting involved fifty FAO staff and seven IFOAM representatives, including Ranjith de Silva, Bernward Geier, Hervé La Prairie, Ulrich Kopke, Urs Niggli, Coen van Beuningen, and Bo van Elzakker (FAO 1998a; FAO 2003a) and was viewed as a brainstorming session to ‘contribute to defining FAO’s future involvement in organic agriculture’ and to ‘identify areas of potential collaboration between FAO and IFOAM’ (FAO 1998a:3).

A significant outcome of the FAO/IFOAM meeting was the inclusion of organic agriculture as an agenda item at the 15th Session of its Committee on Agriculture (COAG) to be held in January 1999 and the inclusion of organic agriculture in a FAO report to the FAO’s Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) in 2000 (FAO 2003a). The meeting also highlighted the need to improve data collection and analysis on organic agriculture and highlighted again the potential contribution of organic agriculture to food security.

In the background report that was presented to the 15th Session of COAG, the legitimacy of incorporating organic agriculture within the FAO was underlined when it was argued that the,

FAO has the responsibility to give organic agriculture a legitimate place within sustainable agriculture programmes and assist member countries in their efforts to respond to farmer and consumer demand in this sector.

FAO 1999a

To justify this, the report argued that the uptake of organic agriculture by farmers in the developing world could potentially result in positive outcomes in terms of social, economic and environmental sustainability.

Organic agriculture may contribute to the overall goals of sustainability. First, organic farmers and processors, in their attempts to adhere to rigorous certification standards, may discover new and innovative production technologies that apply to other agricultural systems as well. Second, organic agriculture may provide market opportunities for farmers and processors who choose to alter their practices to meet certain consumer demands. Finally, organic agriculture promotes the national and international public

debate on sustainability by creating awareness of environmental and social concerns that merit attention.

FAO 1999a

The COAG report also recommended that an ‘organization-wide’, ‘cross-sectoral’ program be instigated within the FAO to investigate the potential of organic agriculture to achieve these outcomes (FAO 2003a).

During the 15th Session of COAG, the status of organic agriculture at the FAO was improved when the committee made the following recommendations.

The Committee requested that FAO assist developing countries to access international markets through technical information on production requirements, trade information on market opportunities and capacity building. Specific assistance was requested to develop appropriate national legislation, certification capabilities, research and extension (following, for example, the Farmer Field School model) and to promote exchange of experiences between countries. It was agreed that FAO had a beneficial role to play in policy analysis and advice, facilitation of research and extension, information exchange, and technical assistance for organic agriculture. (original emphasis)

FAO 1999b

It was also argued at the meeting that the FAO work with IFOAM and other relevant parties in undertaking these activities.

It was agreed that FAO's work on organic agriculture be undertaken in collaboration with existing public and private institutions such as national and international agricultural research centres, national programmes, consumers' associations and competent NGOs such as IFOAM.

FAO 1999b

This was not without criticism. It was expressed, for example, that the impact of organic agriculture on food security be investigated when several committee members expressed concerns regarding ‘the ability of organic agriculture to respond to increased food needs’. As a result, ‘some countries suggested that the contribution of organic agriculture to food security be evaluated’ (FAO 1999b).

Further ideological support to organic agriculture was given by the FAO at the 8th Session of the Committee on Sustainable Development (CSD) in April/May in 2000. The CSD, commissioned in December 1992, was designed as a follow-up action from the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) Earth Summit (UNDESA 2009a). The 8th Session of the CSD focused specifically on agriculture and a background report, *Changing Consumption and Production Practices: Organic Agriculture*, was commissioned for the session¹⁴³. The report argued that changes in consumption patterns in the Global North provided opportunities for Global South countries. Importantly, the background report linked organic agriculture with environmental sustainability and economic development. It argued that, by encouraging organic production and trade, developing countries could support positive environmental outcomes while stimulating economic development (UNDESA 2000).

To further mobilise support from FAO, IFOAM established the IFOAM-FAO liaison office in 2002. According to the IFOAM (IFOAM 2002:10) the IFOAM-FAO office,

...has been integral in helping IFOAM visitors and delegations to effectively participate in FAO events. It has enabled IFOAM to spread information and promote organic agriculture within the FAO and report back to members and the organic movement about FAO activities.

The office employs one staff member to coordinate engagement with the FAO and the day-to-day activities of the IFOAM-FAO office are funded through the I-GO program¹⁴⁴ (IFOAM 2006a, 2007b).

6.5.3 Outcomes of the FAO/IFOAM relationship

On the recommendation of the COAG report mentioned above, the FAO created the Inter-Departmental Working Group on Organic Agriculture (IDWG/OA) in November 1999. The

¹⁴³ The paper followed a publication, in 1997, entitled *Changing Consumption and Production Patterns: Unlocking Trade Opportunities* produced by International Institute for Environment and Development for the United Nations.

¹⁴⁴ The IFOAM-FAO liaison office has recently been re-branded as the FAO and IFAD liaison office after a new program to build certification capacity in the Pacific region, funded by the International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD), was initiated (IFOAM 2007b).

IDWG/OA was established to coordinate 'FAO's response to member countries' and promote 'information exchange and cooperation with UN agencies (e.g. United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), International Trade Centre (ITC), UNCTAD), IFOAM and research institutions' (FAO 2003a:4).

One important task of the IDWG/OA is that it is responsible for coordinating the FAO's activities to secure donor support for organic agriculture programs and projects (FAO 2003a). To run specific projects and programs, the FAO is dependent on contributions made by donor organizations aligned with member countries because it does not have a large pool of discretionary funds for this purpose. The primary mechanism for obtaining these funds is through the annual donor round table meetings organised by the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) (FAO 2003a).

As such, there is no guarantee that funding for organic agriculture projects and programs will be forthcoming, despite organic agriculture being incorporated within the FAO mandate. Whilst the FAO may appear to be supportive of organic agriculture, it must mobilise resources from third actors, willing to pledge money for individual FAO projects and programs. Willingness of donor organizations to do this is based on the ability of the FAO representatives to convince donors that support for organic agriculture is aligned with donor priorities.

Another outcome of IFOAM's efforts to mobilise the FAO¹⁴⁵ has been the creation of the Organic Agriculture Information Management System (Organic - AIMS) (FAO 2007b). Organic - AIMS includes a dedicated website, created in July 2000, which provides information, such as: country level analysis; reports on organic agriculture; and information about organic conferences and meetings (FAO 2003a).

Limited financial support for organic agriculture was also secured in 2002, when the FAO identified organic agriculture as a Priority Area for Interdisciplinary Action (PAIA). The

¹⁴⁵ IFOAM's relationship with the UNEP has resulted in the UNEP jointly organising IFOAMs 3rd International Conference on Biodiversity and Organic Agriculture in Kenya in 2004. The relationship also led IFOAM and UNEP to jointly formulate a three-year program to address the biodiversity issue (IFOAM 2007b).

organic agriculture PAIA (PAIA/ORGa) is a cross-sectoral program designed to improve FAO support to member countries with regard to organic agriculture. PAIA/ORGa has three objectives to: make reliable, accessible and quality information available for informed decision-making; enhance the contribution of organic agriculture to environmental quality and food security; and facilitate access to international markets, especially for smallholders and exporters from developing countries.

An important outcome of the increasingly close relationship between IFOAM and the FAO is that, on a number of occasions (see Table 10 below), the FAO has jointly organised a number of conferences with IFOAM. This is important, not only because it provides financial resources to enable the conferences to proceed but also because it provides status resources to further legitimize organic agriculture within the FAO, the wider community and within the Global South. The FAO has also organised a range of conferences and meetings on its own or in conjunction with organizations other than IFOAM (see Table 11 below). As it was also noted above, conferences provide a space within which information can be exchanged within the organic movement and the interests of developing countries can be expressed.

6.5.4 IFOAM, FAO and Food Security

IFOAM's strategy to engage with the FAO has been underpinned by a willingness to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the FAO. As it has been already alluded to above, one of the ways that IFOAM has facilitated this is by linking organic agriculture with the concept of food security. In its attempts to frame organic agriculture in this way, evidence has been drawn from programs such as EPOPA to convince FAO of the positive impact of organic agriculture on food security.

As Scialabba has stated, food security is a key policy issue within the FAO.

Developing sustainable food security for all has been the key mandate of FAO since its founding. This mandate was reinforced by the World Food Summit in 1996 and its follow up meetings and instruments

Scialabba 2007:1

The FAO defines food security in the following way,

Food security exists when all people, at all times, have access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.

FAO 2009c

This relatively broad and diffuse definition has presented IFOAM with an opportunity to convince the FAO of the importance of supporting efforts to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

Table 10: Conferences and meetings organised by IFOAM and FAO between 2002 and 2009
(Source: FAO 2009A)

Title	Location/Date	Organisers
FAO Workshop on Organic Agriculture and Climate Change	Modena, Italy Jun 2008	FAO, in cooperation with IFOAM and FIBL ¹⁴⁶
International Conference on Organic Agriculture and Food Security	Rome, Italy May 2007	FAO and IFOAM
Committee on Food Security Forum Event on Organic Agriculture and Food Security	Rome, Italy November 2006	IFOAM, in cooperation with FAO
First World Conference on Organic Seed	Rome, Italy July 2004	FAO, IFOAM, ISF
Social Accountability in Sustainable Agriculture (SASA)	Italy, Rome April 2004	ISEAL Alliance, FAO
Production and Exports of Organic Fruits and Vegetables in Asia	Bangkok, Thailand November 2003	FAO, IFOAM and EarthNet
International IFOAM Conference on Organic Guarantee Systems	Nürnberg, Germany February 2002	IFOAM, FAO and UNCTAD

¹⁴⁶ Research Institute for Organic Agriculture

**Table 11: Conferences and meetings organised by the FAO between 2000 and 2009
(Source: FAO 2009A)**

Title	Location/Date	Organisers
Conference on Ecological Agriculture: Mitigating Climate Change, Providing Food Security and Self-Reliance for Rural Livelihoods in Africa	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia October 2008	African Union, Min of Agriculture and Rural Develop't, Env'l Protection Authority, Ins for Sustainable Dev't Ethiopia, Third World Network, SSNC ¹⁴⁷ , FAO.
International Farming Systems Association (IFSA). Includes a Round Table on Organic Agriculture, Market Linkages and Rural Development	Rome, Italy October – November 2005	IFSA in cooperation with FAO
International Organic Agriculture and Sea Farming	Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam June 2004	FAO, INFOFISH, VASEP ¹⁴⁸
Third Expert Meeting on Socially and Environmentally Responsible Horticulture and Trade	Nuremberg, Germany February 2003	FAO
Symposium on Organic Agriculture in the Caribbean	Bridgetown, Barbados March 2003	IICA ¹⁴⁹ /UNDP/FAO
Wildlife, Biodiversity and Organic Agriculture	Ankara, Turkey April 2003	United Nations Technical Group-Turkey and FAO
Organic Agriculture in Central America	Costa Rica May 2003	FAO, IFAD, RUTA ¹⁵⁰
First Meso-American and Caribbean Encounter of Experimental Farmers and Researchers in Organic Agriculture	Alajuela, Costa Rica August 2003	PPITTA-PO and FiBL (with the support of the FAO Regional Office for Latin America and Caribbean
Conference on Organic Agriculture for Smallholders in Central America	Costa Rica, May 2003	FAO/RUTA, IFAD and CATIE ¹⁵¹
Conference on Organic Agriculture in Arab Countries	Tunisia September 2003	Arab Organization for Agricultural Development, League of Arab States and FAO
Organic Markets for Meat and Dairy Products: Trade Opportunities for Developing Countries	Rome, Italy August 2002	FAO
Workshop on Incentive Systems for Organic Production – ECOS: Analysis and Perspectives	Bogotá, Colombia May 2002 & Feb 2001	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, FAO/World Bank Cooperative Program
First Asian Regional Round-table on Sustainable Organic and Speciality Coffee Production, Processing and Marketing	Thailand February 2001	The Royal Project Foundation, Thailand, with the support of the FAO

¹⁴⁷ Swedish Society for Nature Conservation

¹⁴⁸ Vietnam Association of Seafood Exporters & Producers

¹⁴⁹ Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture

¹⁵⁰ Regional Unit for Technical Assistance

¹⁵¹ Tropical Agricultural Research and Higher Education Centre

Table 11 (cont'd): Conferences and meetings organised by the FAO between 2000 and 2009
(Source: FAO 2009A)

Title	Location/Date	Organisers
International Occasional Symposium of the European Grassland Federation on Organic Grassland Farming	Witzenhausen, Germany, 10-12 July 2001	Universities of Gottingen and Kassel (Germany), with FAO/AGPC
Supporting the Diversification of Exports in the Caribbean/Latin American Region through the Development of Organic Horticulture	Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, October 2001	FAO, CTA, IICA
Food Safety and Quality as Affected by Organic Farming	Porto, Portugal July 2000	FAO

As it was stated above, the link between organic agriculture and food security was first flagged in the document produced by SDRN in 1997, which was presented at the IFOAM conference in 1998. The issue was raised at the meeting between IFOAM and the FAO in 1998 and in the subsequent report presented to the 15th Session of COAG in 1999, where several representatives requested that research be carried out to clarify the relationship between organic agriculture and food security (FAO 1999b). The issue was raised again in 2002 in a second SDRN publication, which provided a range of evidence of the positive impact of organic agriculture on food security.

In an internal FAO report produced by the IDWG/OA on the 25th July 2003, the potentially positive relationship between organic agriculture and food security was acknowledged as such,

The contribution of organic agriculture to food security is debated and subject to divergent views. Existing information is scattered and often deprived of a scientific basis for evaluation. SDRN and ESD preliminary overviews of case studies indicate that organic agriculture systems, even if not certified as such, offer promises in resource-poor areas, at household and local levels.

FAO 2003a:2

Yet despite such acknowledgements, there was still little support for gathering evidence to ascertain the positive impact of organic agriculture on food security to satisfy FAO members¹⁵².

The primary problem for individuals within the FAO was the lack of funds being allocated to undertake studies which could redress this lacunae (FAO 2003a). While the FAO had created internal structures, such as IDWG/OA and PAIA/ORGA, the success of these activities were limited by the low status of organic agriculture within the FAO. The low status of organic agriculture at the FAO can be evidenced in fact that the general financial resources allocated to operate the PAIA/ORGA were much lower than other PAIAs and that the organic agriculture program area does not benefit from either 'extra-budgetary funding or additional human resources' (FAO 2003a:5). This has meant that the PAIA/ORGA had to rely on the 'commitment of graduate students and the collaboration of NGO experts and networks' (FAO 2003a:5).

Despite this, IFOAM was continuing its efforts to frame organic agriculture as having a positive impact on food security in developing countries. In late 2001, IFOAM commissioned Gunnar Rundgren from GroLink to produce a dossier on the relationship between organic agriculture in food security (GroLink 2009). In January 2002, the dossier informed an IFOAM position paper released for the upcoming World Food Summit, which declared the suitability of organic agriculture for addressing the problem of food security.

Organic agriculture offers the most comprehensive response to the sustainability problems facing agriculture and our food production system ... Organic agriculture also has the potential to produce both sufficient quantities and high quality nutritious food. Therefore the World Food Summit should endorse organic agriculture as a major component in a food security strategy.

IFOAM 2002:1

¹⁵² 'The International Fund for Agricultural Development and the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific have undertaken [sic] evaluations of the contribution of organic agriculture to poverty, respectively, in Latin America and Asia' (FAO 2003a:2).

Aside from framing organic production as having a positive impact on food security, the position paper also framed conventional agriculture as undermining food security in developing countries (IFOAM 2002; IFOAM 2009d).

As part of this strategy to frame organic agriculture in this way, IFOAM instigated the production of a number of advocacy leaflets explaining ‘the relationship between Organic Agriculture and a certain topic’ (IFOAM 2006a:15). The leaflets covered a number of issues pertinent to the developing country context, such as ‘food security, rural development, biodiversity, desertification, seed diversity, human health, participatory guarantee systems, climate and gender’ (IFOAM 2006a:15).

In 2006, IFOAM decided to further engage the FAO on the issue of food security by organizing a side event at the FAO headquarters during the FAO Committee on World Food Security meeting in Rome. The side event was designed to provide a space to present evidence of the positive impact of organic agriculture on food security to the FAO. The event was attended by representatives from IFOAM and the FAO and also representatives from the EPOPA program, who IFOAM arranged to be present, to provide evidence of the success of organic export projects from developing countries (IFOAM 2006a).

An important outcome of the event was the decision to jointly organise a conference on organic agriculture and food security between the FAO and IFOAM (IFOAM 2006a). As Dr. Alexander Müller (cited in IFOAM 2006a:14), the Assistant Director-General of FAO, stated of the decision to organise the conference ‘there is a need to shed light on the contribution of Organic Agriculture to food security, so that FAO can provide objective and informed advice to its member countries’. In deciding to organise this conference the FAO presented IFOAM with a legitimate space and an important opportunity to mobilise evidence of a positive link between food security and organic agriculture.

To do this, IFOAM sponsored members from developing countries to provide ‘positive examples and share how the conversion to organic makes a significant difference in the livelihoods of people’ (IFOAM 2007b:9). Evidence was presented in a total of 58 papers of which almost half had authors affiliated with universities, public institutes or independent research organizations. The rest of the papers were authored mainly by individuals affiliated

with local and international NGOs, which more often than not had a specific interest in promoting alternative agriculture systems such as organic (FAO 2007a). Two of the papers highlighted the positive impact of organic agriculture on food security by drawing on evidence from export projects located in Uganda that had received direct assistance from the EPOPA program (EPOPA 2007; FAO 2007a).

A paper was also presented at the conference by FAO's representative, Nadia Scialabba, arguing that organic agriculture provides an alternative model for sustainable development. The paper proposed policy and research actions for improving the performance of organic agriculture at the national, international and institutional levels. The paper also recommended that the FAO establish a Global Ecological and Ethical Food System Initiative to: develop a global information base for organic agriculture; establish a policy environment conducive to the development of organic agriculture; and promote organic agriculture research (Scialabba 2007). Support for organic agriculture within the FAO was documented in the FAO's media release for the conference, which drew primarily on the paper presented by Scialabba (FAO 2007c; Scialabba 2007).

As a result of the conference, a report was prepared and submitted to the 33rd Session of the FAO's Committee on Food Security (CFS) (FAO 2007D; IFOAM 2007b), which,

...urged the 33rd Session of the Committee on World Food Security to consider promoting organic supply systems as a food security strategy by including it into national and regional programmes for food security

FAO 2007D:10

The response of the 33rd Session of the CFS was mixed. While some members emphasized the importance of including organic agriculture 'as an element in National Programmes on Food Security' other members 'felt that further analysis was needed' (FAO 2007d:5).

While the efforts by IFOAM to reframe organic agriculture, so that it resonates with the FAO and enables IFOAM to mobilise resources has been an important strategy there are ongoing problems from: the scepticism of member country representatives; the lack of objective evidence of organic agriculture's positive impact on food security; and the ongoing problem

of funding scarcity. Despite these problems, the FAO collaborated with UNCTAD and IFOAM on the International Task Force for Harmonization and Equivalency (ITF) project discussed earlier in this chapter aimed at facilitating the international trade of organic products¹⁵³ by reducing trade barriers occurring as a result of the proliferation of organic standards and certification procedures throughout the world (FAO 2008).

6.6 Conclusion

As it has been demonstrated throughout this chapter, the Social Movement Organization (SMO) International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM) has been shown to have played a critical role in facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Applying insights drawn from Resource mobilisation Theory (RMT), framing analysis and Actor-Network Theory, this chapter has explored the different activities and relationships through which IFOAM has contributed to the uptake process.

In line with RMT, it was argued that IFOAM's primary objective was to mobilise adherents, who believe in the goals and objectives of the movement and constituents, who can provide the movement with resources, all of which serve to meet IFOAM's objective to promote the worldwide adoption of organic agriculture (McCarthy & Zald 2003). As such, it could be argued that the success of IFOAM is tied to its capacity to facilitate the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South whilst continuing to support the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global North. As it will be argued in later chapters, the capacity of IFOAM and other actors engaged in the organic movement to achieve this is potentially problematic because of the difficulty in reconciling the diversity of competing interests and values held within the movement.

Another important insight in this chapter was gained by applying framing analysis. In line with framing analysis, IFOAM was conceptualized as being actively engaged in symbolic framing processes as a primary means of mobilising adherents, constituents and resources. In this regard, it was argued that one of the central activities undertaken by IFOAM in its

¹⁵³ The FAO is currently funding a series of Technical Cooperation Projects (TCPs), which provide funding up to US\$400 000 for technical inputs, training, equipment and supplies to Asia (Bhutan, India, Nepal); Croatia; Latin America (Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay); Lithuania; Syrian Arab Republic; Tunisia; Turkey; and West Africa (Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Senegal). It is also providing smaller amounts of up to US\$10 000 for 21 TeleFood Projects, which includes one in Uganda to improve organic bee keeping practices (FAO 2009d).

attempts to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South was framing organic agriculture in ways resonant with the interests and values of adherents and constituents in order to stimulate their mobilisation (Benford & Snow 2000).

Applying Murdoch's (1998) spaces of negotiation and prescription concepts to the case study was instructive as it demonstrated that the capacity of IFOAM to stimulate adherent and constituent mobilisation depends on the capacity of IFOAM to create spaces in which: the interests and values of adherents from the Global South can be incorporated into IFOAM's objectives, goals and principles. It is through opening itself up that IFOAM is able to inculcate the interests and values of these adherents into the norms, rules and standards governing organic production and trade practices. This is not to say that this is not unproblematic, as spaces of negotiation and prescription are only useful in this endeavour if they are accessible to those whose voices these spaces are designed to hear.

What was found to be an important factor underpinning IFOAM's actions to create spaces of negotiation and prescription was IFOAM's capacity to mobilise support from external constituents who were able and willing to contribute economic resources to fund these spaces. As it shown, what was critical in the mobilisation of these external constituents was the framing of organic agriculture in ways resonant with the interests and values of the external constituents. Because the majority of these external constituents are located within the international development cooperation sector, IFOAM was shown to actively frame organic agriculture as providing social and economic benefits to the Global South. A benefit of IFOAM's strategy of engaging with international development organisations is that support from organisations, such as FAO, provides organic agriculture and thus the organic movement with a degree legitimacy. Having peak international organisations support organic agriculture legitimises the organic movement's goal of promoting the worldwide adoption of organic agriculture as reverse the negative perception that organic is anti-development.

A key tool used to promote organic agriculture as providing positive social and economic benefits to the Global South was the through the production of inscriptions, namely written texts, to communicate these framings. As it was shown, IFOAM has been extremely active in producing texts as a means of communicating to external constituents the social and economic benefits of organic agriculture in the Global South. Such inscriptions provide an

important means to facilitate the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South because: they are capable of representing complex phenomena, can be readily transported (in both physical and electronic form) and therefore act to shape practices in spaces other than where they are created.

Drawing again on insights from RMT, it was shown that IFOAM's activities to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South rely on the actions of individual movement entrepreneurs. Individual movement entrepreneurs were shown to be critical in shaping the strategic direction of IFOAM in terms of the actions taken to create spaces through which the objectives, values and principles of IFOAM could be negotiated to include the interests and values of adherents associated with organic agriculture in the Global South and in creating inscriptions capable of communicating symbolic framings resonating with the interests and values of adherents and constituents. The role of individual entrepreneurs in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

In making these arguments, this chapter raises important questions about the role of movement organizations in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. If IFOAM relies, for the achievement of its goal of promoting the worldwide adoption of organic agriculture, on the mobilisation of economic resources from external constituents from the international development cooperation sector and, as such, to frame organic agriculture in ways which resonate with the interests and values of these constituents; does this mean that IFOAM is somewhat subservient to the international development cooperation community?

If the answer to this question is yes, then a second question is raised. How accurately do the objectives, values and principles of IFOAM reflect the interests and values of movement adherents in the Global South? IFOAM has clearly, as the evidence presented in this chapter has shown, created a number of spaces through which movement adherents from the Global South have had opportunities to participate in activities where the objectives, values and principles of IFOAM and the norms, rules and standards governing organic production and trade have been negotiated and prescribed. Is it possible, though, that such principles and

standards accurately reflect the interests and values of the full gamut of movement adherents from the Global South?

This leads to another important question. Has the embedding of movement mobilisation in market exchange relations (as a result of the widespread inscription of standards and certification procedures) created a movement in which a majority of adherents are mobilised because participation provides social and economic benefit? While it does not answer this question explicitly the following chapter attempts to examine some of the dynamics involved in the development and maintenance of market exchange relations involved with the production and trade of organic products involving new movement adherents located in the Global South.

Another important question which arises from the chapter is how to better understand the role of individual movement entrepreneurs in processes related to the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. As it was alluded to in this chapter, certain individual movement entrepreneurs have been more intimately involved in these activities, particularly through their active participation in spaces created through IFOAM and by authoring inscriptions produced through IFOAM. As it will be shown in greater details in Chapter Seven of the thesis the capacity of these individual movement entrepreneurs to participate in these spaces and author these texts rely on their capacity to undertake activities which provide them with selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy.

A final important question, arising from this chapter, is one that has already been alluded to above. If organizations, such as IFOAM, must frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of adherents and constituents in order to mobilise adherents, constituents and resources, what happens if these interests and values conflict. While this chapter paints a fairly unproblematic picture of the IFOAM's activities, as it will be shown in Chapter Eight, attempts to promote the uptake of organic agriculture into the Global South are not without conflict.

Before moving on to examine the emergence of intramural conflict arising from the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South, analysis will next focus on the role of individual movement entrepreneurs. This is done to demonstrate the importance of selective incentives,

career opportunities and legitimacy in providing opportunities for individual movement entrepreneurs to participate in activities to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. In doing so, this chapter will further demonstrate the importance of resources mobilised from external constituents associated with the international development cooperation sector. The chapter will also further demonstrate the role of inscriptions in these processes.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Individual Movement Entrepreneurs

...when the history of the organic movement in Uganda is written, EPOPA will play an important part, and it has certainly contributed to many of the developments. Uganda is now recognized as the leading African nation in organic exports, and it is doubtful whether that would have been possible without the pioneering efforts of EPOPA. A list of organic producers in Uganda is more or less similar to a list of projects that have received support from EPOPA, either as full export projects or in the form of limited support to exporters. EPOPA has been involved in setting up NOGAMU and in developing UgoCert, it has participated in the development of an organic agriculture policy, it has organised participation in trade fairs, and it has done many other things.

Forss *et al* 2008 cited in Agro Eco & GroLink 2008:62

7 Introduction

As it was shown in the previous chapter, formal Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) have been critical in providing spaces where the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has been promoted. It was demonstrated how IFOAM created opportunities for the interaction of a range of actors who have been able to participate in framing activities. Individual actors or entrepreneurs, as they are labelled within the RMT literature, were shown to be intimately involved in the framing processes, which have contributed significantly to adherent, constituent and resource mobilisation. In this chapter, the role of individual entrepreneurs is addressed in more detail.

This chapter explores the contribution of individual movement entrepreneurs in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South by analysing the activities and life histories of two specific entrepreneurs identified as intimately involved in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. The two individual entrepreneurs in question are Bo van Elzakker and Gunnar Rundgren.

Van Elzakker and Rundgren were selected as case studies for analysis because they have been associated with the management and implementation of programs and projects aimed at promoting organic agriculture in the Global South. In particular, these two individual

entrepreneurs were involved in the administration and management of the Export Promotion of Organic Products from Africa (EPOPA) program, which, as the quote at the beginning of the chapter asserts, has contributed significantly to the uptake of organic agriculture in Uganda.

Van Elzakker and Rundgren have been selected as suitable case studies for analysis not only because of their direct involvement in administering and managing the EPOPA program¹⁵⁴ but also because these two individual movement entrepreneurs have been immersed in complex networks of relations implicated in the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. In selecting these two individual entrepreneurs as case studies, it is not argued that these are the only individuals with influence or that they have a disproportionate influence within the organic movement. The rationale behind selecting these two individuals is to explore their cases as examples to demonstrate the role of individual entrepreneurs in movement mobilisation processes.

To demonstrate the role of individual entrepreneurs in the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South, this chapter combines concepts from RMT with framing analysis. As it is argued in the RMT literature, formal movement organizations provide individual entrepreneurs with selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy, which they use to participate in the activities of a movement. As it is demonstrated in this chapter, van Elzakker and Rundgren have each creating organic agriculture consultancy companies as a means of providing themselves with selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy. In creating selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy van Elzakker and Rundgren's companies have also provided them with opportunities to actively frame organic agriculture in ways to stimulate the mobilisation of adherents, constituents and resources from or with an interest in the Global South.

As it is argued in the framing analysis literature, individual actors are mobilised to participate in movement activities when there is resonance between the interests and goals of the movement and the interests and values of movement adherents. As it is argued in this chapter, van Elzakker and Rundgren have undertaken activities to promote the uptake of organic

¹⁵⁴ As it is noted in Chapter Four, Uganda was the site chosen as an entry point from which to select suitable case studies to analyse the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

agriculture in the Global South because doing so satisfies their mutually competing social, environmental and economic interests and values.

This chapter begins by outlining the EPOPA program as an example of the type of programs/projects contributing to the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South administered or managed by van Elzakker and Rundgren. The chapter then moves on to examine evidence, gathered through interviews and documents, which outlines the life histories of both van Elzakker and Rundgren and provides an insight into the interests and values of van Elzakker and Rundgren. As it is argued within the ANT literature, the identity, interests and values of an individual actor are effects generated as a result of an individual actors embedding within complex networks of relations. An examination of the life histories of these two individual entrepreneurs will highlight the important aspects of their identity, interests and values.

In doing so, the chapter charts the goals and objectives of the two consultancy companies, Agro Eco and Grolink, which van Elzakker and Rundgren have respectively created. This is done to demonstrate how van Elzakker and Rundgren choose to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South because it satisfies their mutually competing social, economic and environmental interests and values. This also demonstrates how the provision of consultancy services offers van Elzakker and Rundgren with selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy which they have used to participate in a range of activities where the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South is further promoted.

7.1 Export Promotion of Organic Products from Africa (EPOPA)

The Export Promotion of Organic Products from Africa (EPOPA) program ran from 1995 – 2008. The idea for the EPOPA program came from an earlier pilot project organised by the Swedish International Enterprise Development Corporation (SwedeCorp) to encourage the export production of organic cotton in Northern Uganda. SwedeCorp had initiated the organic cotton export project in 1993 as a result of a request made from a Swedish textile company looking for help to access a source of organic cotton. Because SwedeCorp's primary mandate was to promote private sector development and trade, this was the primary objective underpinning the operation of the organic cotton project (Eureka 1996; Tulip & Ton 2002).

When SwedeCorp was eventually merged with a number of other Swedish development cooperation organisations (SAREC¹⁵⁵, Bits¹⁵⁶, SIDA) to form the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), a comprehensive program to promote organic export production in Africa (EPOPA) was initiated. Responsibility for the EPOPA program fell within the Department of Infrastructure and Economic Cooperation (INEC) which, as the successor to SwedeCorp, inherited the mandate to stimulate private sector development and trade (Sida 2000). Given this mandate, it is not surprising that economic development objectives were underpinned the EPOPA program, such that a clear goal of the program was to ‘develop exports of organic products from Africa, and thereby increase income of smallholder farmers’ (Agro Eco & GroLink 2008:10).

7.1.1 Program Activities within EPOPA

During the 13 years it was funded by Sida, the EPOPA program operated in three East African countries, Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia. Over this time, EPOPA provided assistance to over 30 export projects and facilitated the conversion of almost 110,000 smallholder farmers to organic farming practices¹⁵⁷ (Agro Eco & GroLink 2008). During this time, the EPOPA program operated in two phases.

The first phase of the EPOPA program began in 1995 and ran until the end of 2001. This involved seven organic export projects, the first of which was the organic cotton export project initiated by Swedecorp. Several new organic export projects were initiated in 1997/98 involving products, such as coffee, tropical fruits and spices, four in Uganda and two in Tanzania (see Table 12 below). Total expenditure for phase one of the EPOPA program was an estimated SEK15 million (US\$1.64 million). Two-thirds of this funding (SEK11 million, US\$1.2 million¹⁵⁸) was spent providing direct support to individual organic export projects, which paid for initial certification costs and the provision of training and technical assistance to individual farmers and export companies (Agro Eco & GroLink 2008; Forss & Sterky 2000).

¹⁵⁵ Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries

¹⁵⁶ Bureau of Investment and Technology of Sweden

¹⁵⁷ As it was already reported in Chapter Five, 12 of the 16 certified export operations in Uganda in 2005 had received some form of assistance from Sida through the EPOPA program.

¹⁵⁸ Conversion based on yearly average exchange rate for the year 2000 in which these figures were quoted (SEK1 = US\$0.10956).

Table 12: EPOPA Program Phase One Projects
(Source: Forss & Sterky 2000)

Country	Project area	Products	Start Date	End Date
Uganda	Lango	Cotton	1994	1997
Uganda	Nebbi	Arabica Coffee	1998	2000
Uganda	Bushyeni	Robusta Coffee	1998	2000
Uganda	Soroti/Lang/Apac	Cotton, Sesame, Peanuts	1998	2001
Uganda	Rwenzori	Cocoa	1997	1999
Tanzania	Kyela	Cocoa	1997	2001
Tanzania	Kagera	Robusta Coffee	1998	2002

After receiving positive feedback from an independent evaluation (Forss & Sterky 2000), Sida chose to fund a second phase of the EPOPA program. This second phase ran from 2002 to 2008, after which time funding for the EPOPA program ceased. In phase two of EPOPA, the number of export projects receiving support expanded (see Table 13 below) and this was complimented with support for ‘flanking’ activities, such as the development of local certification capacity (refer to Figure 2, below). Total expenditure for phase two was approximately SEK108 million (US\$16.6 million), of which the Ugandan office received roughly SEK56 million (US\$8.6 million¹⁵⁹) (Agro Eco & GroLink 2008).

As noted already, there were two different types of support provided through the EPOPA program. The primary of these was the provision of direct support to help establish a number of organic export projects. This, as I have also already noted, accounted for roughly two-thirds of the EPOPA expenditure (see Figure 3, below) (Agro Eco & GroLink 2008). Support for these individual export projects involved: subsidy of initial certification costs, establishing certification and inspection procedures, provision of training and extension services (to export company staff and smallholder farmers), and linking of exporters with potential importers (through assisting exporter participation in trade fairs etc).

¹⁵⁹ Currency conversion based on year average for 2008 when these figures were quoted (SEK1 – US\$ 0.15366).

Table 13: EPOPA Program Phase Two Projects
 (Sources: Forss & Lundstrom 2004; Agro Eco & Grolink 2008)

Region	Product
Bundibugyo	Cocoa, vanilla
Bushenyi	Dried fruit, chilli sauce
Bushenyi	Robusta coffee
Masaka	Bark cloth
Nakasongola	Robusta Coffee
Luweero	Coffee
Mubende, Luwero, Masaka	Fruits
Lira	Shea Nuts
Arua	Honey
Wakiso	Vanilla
Wakiso, Kayunga, Mbarara,	Fruits
Mukono	Vanilla
Wakiso, Luwero, Mukono, Kayunga	Fruits
Kaberole, Mityana	Lemon grass
Palisa, Kaberamaido, Kumi	Hibiscus
Kaberamaido, Apach, Oyam, Lira	Sesame
Mukono, Wakiso	Vanilla
Kasese	Dried pineapple

Figure 2: EPOPA Phase 2: Management Framework
 (Source: Forss & Lunstrom 2004:11)

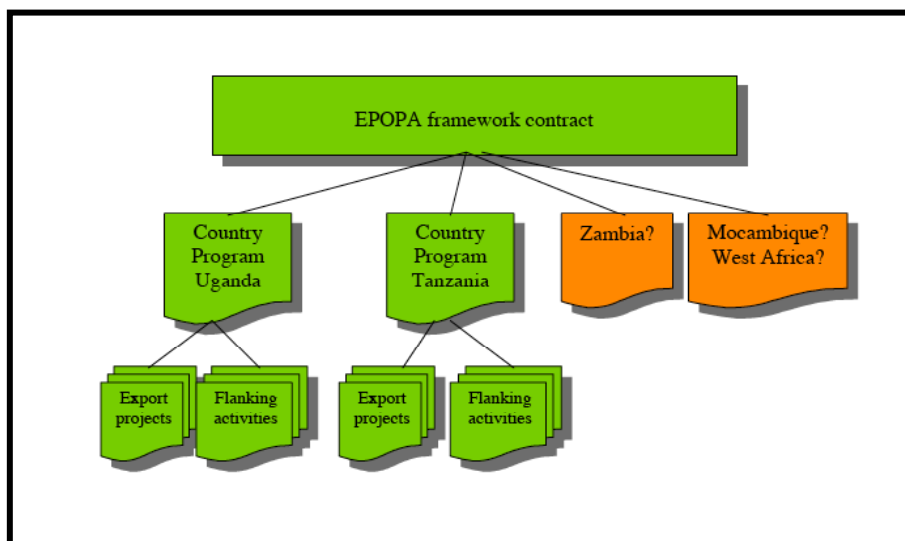
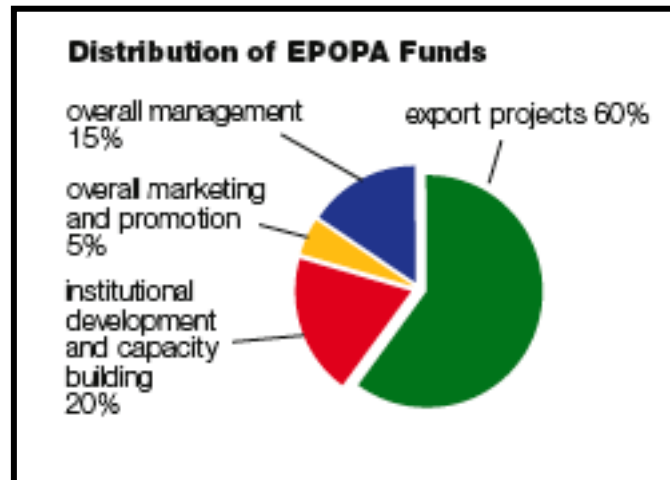


Figure 3: Distribution of EPOPA funds in phase two
(Source: Agro Eco & Grolink 2008)



The second type of support given within the EPOPA program was for ‘flanking’ activities. Support for flanking activities was designed to create an enabling environment for the ongoing development of the organic sector within a recipient country. As Forss & Lundstrom (2004:3) note, flanking activities in EPOPA include,

activities that support the institutional infrastructure around organic agriculture, such as stakeholder interest groups, annual seminars and conferences, training (in particular training of certification officers), development of guidelines on ethical trade, market surveys, etc.

Flanking activities receiving support from EPOPA included: assistance to develop a local certification company - Uganda Certified Organic (UgoCert), support to fund the activities of the representative organization the National Organic Movement of Uganda (NOGAMU) and assistance to develop a government policy on organic agriculture in Uganda. As it is shown above in Figure 3, these activities accounted for roughly one-fifth of the EPOPA expenditure in phase two.

7.1.2 Management and Implementation of EPOPA

Over the course of its life, the EPOPA program was implemented and managed by two consultancy companies, Agro Eco and Grolink. Agro Eco was initially contracted to implement the organic cotton project initiated by SwedeCorp and later was granted the

contract to implement the EPOPA program. This was because of the relative success of the original organic cotton project managed by Agro Eco¹⁶⁰. Agro Eco was responsible for administering the EPOPA program between 1995 and 2008, firstly by itself between 1995 and 2001 and then in partnership with GroLink between 2002 and 2008 (van Elzakker pers comm. 2005).

As a consultancy company, Agro Eco specialises in the provision of technical advice to the organic agriculture sector. Agro Eco's central office is in Bennekom, the Netherlands but it also has several regional offices in Africa and Eastern Europe where much of its work is carried out. The primary focus of Agro Eco is on providing services related to trade development. The focus on trade development is clearly evident in the discourses within various Agro Eco literature.

In Agro Eco's 2002 Annual Report, reference is made to Agro Eco's services promoting trade related activities. Under the heading 'The Organic Chain: Crossing borders', it is stated that,

From primary production processing to marketing the products; Agro Eco works on parts of the production chain or on development of complete chains, these chains cross borders from East to West and from North to South.

Agro Eco 2002:1

This sentiment is reiterated on Agro Eco's website, where it is claimed that Agro Eco sets up supply chains, analyses marketing opportunities, provides training to a staff, and offers administrative support to organizations and export projects involved in organic agriculture (Agro Eco 2009b). It is also important to note that the focus on trade includes a clearly stated goal 'to integrate organic production and fair trade' (Agro Eco 2005).

At the completion of the first phase of the EPOPA program Agro Eco formed a partnership with a second consultancy company based in Sweden called GroLink¹⁶¹. The decision to form

¹⁶⁰ At the time, Agro Eco was the only consultancy company specialising in providing assistance to the organic sector.

¹⁶¹ This led to a division of labour between the two companies. Agro Eco was primarily responsible for identifying, establishing and managing the individual export projects, whilst GroLink was responsible primarily for project management and administration, market development, information

a relationship with GroLink was a response to Sida's preference for having Swedish companies involved in Sida funded program (van Elzakker pers comm. 2005).

GroLink, like Agro Eco, is a consultancy company specialising in the provision of technical advice to the organic sector. GroLink's main office is based in Torfolk, Sweden but GroLink staff also undertake a range of consultancy work throughout the world. As with Agro Eco, GroLink has a goal to promote the uptake of organic agriculture by promoting international trade. As its own literature states, GroLink hopes to promote the uptake of organic farming techniques around the world as means of promoting environmentally sustainable social development.

This can be seen clearly in the following statement from GroLink's 2006 Annual Report,

Our view of development is expressed in the sentence: "To make the earth a better place to live on by providing clients with excellent consultancy service in the field of organic agriculture, environment and social development."

GroLink 2006:2

This sentiment is also communicated in GroLink's motto, which claims that 'there is not one developed and one underdeveloped world, there is only one world that is badly developed' (GroLink 2009).

Much of GroLink's efforts are focused on promoting organic agriculture in countries located in the Global South. While engagement in the Global South is claimed to be a product of 'personal engagement' (Rundgren pers comm. 2007), it is clear also that this is a conscious strategy made by reflecting on the suitability of organic agriculture in the Global South. As GroLink consultant Eva Mattsson has claimed,

[GroLink is] wanting to help in third world [sic] countries because we are convinced that organic agriculture is not just for the developed world. It really suits developing countries. It suits them better because they cannot afford these expensive pesticides and

dissemination, and training related to flanking activities, such as developing local organic certification and inspection capacity (van Elzakker pers comm. 2005).

stuff anyhow and they don't need them anyhow because if they just get some training to use organic they can be better off. I think this is a real driving force behind GroLink.

Mattsson & Friedricksson pers comm. 2005

GroLink clearly, as the quotes above demonstrates, has a mandate and objective to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South as a type of agriculture that is suitable in the Global South.

GroLink and Agro Eco's support for promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South doesn't come out of nowhere. As it will be demonstrated in the following sections, the objectives and goals of Agro Eco and GroLink can be linked to the interests and values of two key individual entrepreneurs, Bo van Elzakker and Gunnar Rundgren, responsible for founding these two companies. By analysing the life history of these two individual entrepreneurs, it will be argued that Agro Eco and GroLink and the activities undertaken to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South provide van Elzakker and Rundgren with an opportunity to mediate or reconcile between competing social, economic and environmental values held by van Elzakker and Rundgren.

7.2 Bo van Elzakker and the Origins of Agro Eco

Bo van Elzakker is the director of the consultancy company Agro Eco, which van Elzakker founded in 1985 as a one man consultancy providing technical advice to the organic sector. Van Elzakker has had a number of experiences, which contributed to his decision to become involved as a consultant to the organic industry. These experiences are outlined here to illustrate how van Elzakker's identity, interests and values are effects produced through the complex network of relations in which he has been enmeshed.

7.2.1 Van Elzakker's path to Agro Eco

Van Elzakker had a keen interest in environmental issues from a young age. This interest was heightened as a result of his exposure to information about the seriousness of environmental issues inscribed in popular books.

When I was a teenager I was very much an environmentalist, so to speak. In my time you had this Club of Rome thing and Limits to Growth. This very much had a big impact on me, and also Silent Spring from Rachel Carson, that kind of literature.

Van Elzakker pers comm. 2005

As a result, van Elzakker decided to study tropical agriculture at a university in where he specialised in crop protection. It was here that he was exposed to debates about the positive and negative environmental and social impacts of different agricultural production methods.

When studying tropical agriculture there was a kind of controversy at university about the old colonial guys who were edifying the big, highly intensive commercial farming estates, which used chemicals and capital. This was in contrast with the development worker kind of guys, the long hair guys, who were advertising much more the smallholder farming.

Van Elzakker pers comm. 2005

As a result of his experiences at university, van Elzakker came to become very concerned about the environmental and social impacts of industrial agriculture in the Global South.

My specialisation was crop protection and I got really worried about all the different chemicals they were teaching, that they were teaching all the farmers, including the smallholders, to use all these chemicals.

Van Elzakker pers comm. 2005

Over time, van Elzakker developed a strong concern about the environmental impacts of industrial agriculture and a corresponding concern regarding the social impacts of industrial agriculture in the Global South. It was around this time that van Elzakker also became exposed to ideas about organic agriculture as one alternative to industrial techniques.

Already when I was studying tropical agriculture I had very much interest in organic farming, the non-chemical route, because I thought: Well, these smallholder farmers – they just can't deal with these pesticides and fertilizers.

Van Elzakker *cited in* Agro Eco 2006

I got worried about how the smallholder can use these [chemicals] properly and can they even do without them. Then I came in touch with organic farming or whatever it was called at that time, which said you could do without and from a professional interest I tried to find out more how far you could get without chemicals.

Van Elzakker pers comm. 2005

As a result, van Elzakker began to view organic agriculture as an alternative to industrial systems relying on the use of synthetic chemicals and began to appreciate that such an approach could be applied to improve the environmental and social sustainability of agriculture in the Global South.

After graduating from university, van Elzakker decided to put his knowledge into practice by starting a vegetable farm in the Netherlands but gave up after only one year after struggling with weed control. Van Elzakker then moved to work as a farm manager in Spain, where he became involved in working as an inspector monitoring compliance with organic standards. This eventually led van Elzakker to work as an international organic inspector in Spain, Morocco, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Tunisia and France (van Elzakker pers comm. 2005).

After working for several years as an inspector, van Elzakker decided to change his career by founding the Agro Eco Service Bureau as a one-man organic agriculture consultancy in April 1985¹⁶².

It was clear that all these farmers needed some sort of technical advice and at the same time you saw the separation between consultancy and inspection and you had to make a choice, either you were an inspector or an advisor, and I decided to become an advisor, and everybody thought that I was mad. I thought, well maybe I'm mad, but this is interesting.

Van Elzakker pers comm. 2005

In these initial years, van Elzakker was hired mostly by import companies located in Central Europe, which were interested in setting up organic export operations in the Global South.

[It] turned out to work quite well simply because importing companies who were interested in having organic coffee, bananas, hazelnuts or whatever saw that it was a good idea in investing some money into me advising those producers, preparing them for certification, looking at technical problems and organisational problems.

¹⁶² It was not possible to be involved in inspection and extension due to the way that standards were formulated.

Van Elzakker pers comm. 2005

Later, van Elzakker met Peter Brul, who was working as an inspector with the Dutch certification agency SKAL. They formed a friendship and decided to combine their expertise and establish Agro Eco as a foundation in 1990.

In 1996, van Elzakker and Brul decided to create a limited company, as an arm of Agro Eco, through which their consultancy work could be undertaken. Since this time, Agro Eco and its staff have been engaged as consultants implementing projects and programs in over sixty countries throughout the world. These projects and programs have been undertaken on behalf of a range of commissioners from the private, government and NGO sectors (Agro Eco 2002, 2004, 2005; van Elzakker pers comm. 2005).

7.2.2 Competing Social, Environmental and Economic Interests

It should be made clear at this point that van Elzakker's interest in promoting organic agriculture, as an alternative to industrial agriculture in the Global South, is influenced by a number of competing considerations. Van Elzakkers' exposure to environmental texts and interactions at university have clearly contributed to his interest in understanding the social and economic impact of industrial agriculture and his interest in pursuing organic agriculture as an a more socially and environmentally sustainable alternative. While it is clear that van Elzakker developed strong beliefs about the negative environmental and social impact of industrial agricultural, it should also be noted that van Elzakkers' decision making processes were also influenced by economic considerations.

Van Elzakker's decision to participate in and promote organic agriculture is also clearly influenced by considerations of the impact that this has on his own livelihood. This can be shown in comments made by van Elzakker with regard to his decision to set up Agro Eco and work as a consultant.

I had not the faintest idea of where I wanted to be 10 years or 20 years afterwards. At that time I wanted to survive, because I was earning 500 or 1000 Marks only a month. Well, I did survive and I did develop quite well.

Van Elzakker *cited in* Agro Eco 2006

The influence of economic considerations can also be seen in comments made by van Elzakker regarding the main priorities and functions of Agro Eco.

We are supposed to be a commercial company but I don't think we are very profit driven and I find that often we act more like an NGO than a profit making company. Of course *we have to earn some money*, but just enough is enough, so to speak.

Van Elzakker pers comm. 2005 (*emphasis added*)

And again in comments about his decision to incorporate Agro Eco to avoid the personal financial liability associated with this work.

Agro Eco is a partnership, it's a limited company and the shares are 50-50 between me and another guy who is called Peter Brul. There is also a foundation, Agro Eco, where we are both the board members, but the work is mainly with the limited company because we wanted to limit our legal liability on our lives.

Van Elzakker pers comm. 2005

Van Elzakker clearly holds a range of interests and values, which sit together and influence his decision making processes. As the following quotes demonstrate there is a mixture of interests and values associated with personal satisfaction and broader social and environmental concern which also influence van Elzakker's thinking and actions.

The reason why I went into organic farming is because I liked this travelling around. I found the organic sector quite interesting: to meet interesting people and farmers. At the same time my motivation was to work towards a better world.

Van Elzakker *cited in* Agro Eco 2006

The human race is not doing so well at the moment, in terms of developing humanity or whatever. So I see in organics, a nice platform from which you work with people, quite interesting people, very often who want to do better and with people so to speak they want to develop a little further to get humanity one step up or something like that.

Van Elzakker pers comm. 2005

As the next quote demonstrates, van Elzakker is keenly aware that he holds competing values and goals.

Every now and then you ask yourself why am I doing this? Of course it's a mixture of different things. Personally I'm not sure if I care more for the environment or for people. Sometimes I care more about the environment and other times I care more about people.

Van Elzakker pers comm. 2005

As the next quote demonstrates, these competing interests and values do not always sit comfortably for van Elzakker.

Most of the work [in Agro Eco] was export projects. I have a bit of a, say, guilty feeling about that, because it's always about exports. On the other side, I can see that even when you start only with exports within a developing country it is still a kind of motor, a kind of incentive for organic agriculture in general to be promoted in the country. It's also what you saw really quite clearly in Uganda if there hadn't been export projects I think the whole organic movement would have been a lot smaller.

Van Elzakker pers comm. 2005

While van Elzakker feels a level of guilt about promoting export production, presumably because of the negative environmental impact of trade, he is able to justify this because while promoting the trade of organic products might have negative environmental outcomes, in conflict with his environmental values, by promoting the trade of organic products from the Global South this satisfies other competing social and economic concerns held by van Elzakker.

Van Elzakker's competing environmental, social and economic concerns come together in the following quote where van Elzakker discusses the logic behind the Agro Eco enterprise.

I think there is quite a bit of idealism involved. So we are a limited company we are supposed to be a commercial company but I don't think we are very profit driven and I find that often we act more like an NGO than a profit making company, of course we have to earn some money but just enough is enough, so to speak. Agro Eco for me and Peter and also for the majority of the people working here is a platform from which they can work to assist in the development of organic agriculture in all its various aspects whether it is in certification or farmer organization or trade or this or that. So I have a

nice job, I have a rich life and I think that's the main in a very interesting and challenging sector that is still developing very much.

Van Elzakker pers comm. 2005

The sentiment that organic agriculture should meet social, environmental and economic concerns is expressed in the goals and objectives of Agro Eco, as the following statement, made in Agro Eco's 2002 Annual Report, clearly demonstrates.

To Agro Eco, developing organic agriculture means stimulating an environment friendly and economically sound agricultural system that produces healthy food and pays better prices to producers.

Agro Eco 2002:1

As an internationally focused consultancy company, Agro Eco provides van Elzakker with a means to satisfy his competing environmental, social and economic concerns. The same is true for another individual entrepreneur also heavily involved in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South, Gunnar Rundgren.

7.3 Gunnar Rundgren and Origins of GroLink

Gunnar Rundgren is the director of the Swedish consultancy company GroLink, which he founded in 1998 to provide advice and services to the organic sector. Rundgren has had a number of experiences, which have contributed to his decision to become a consultant in the organic industry.

7.3.1 Rundgren's path to GroLink

Rundgren's initial interest in organic agriculture can be traced to his participation in environmental and social activism in Sweden from an early age.

I come from an environmental and social activist background, starting already at the age of 12. After years of "political work" (non-party) in various environmental and social groups, I felt the need to work with concrete alternatives.

Rundgren pers comm. 2007

While Rundgren was interested in alternative energy, it was organic farming that provided an opportunity to put his environmental values into practice. This occurred in 1977 when along with a few friends, Rundgren decided to purchase a farm in Torfolk, Sweden (Guelph 2002; Rundgren 2002d).

I bought the not-yet- organic farm together with friends - a small community - and still live there after 31 years. We converted the farm to organic the first year, and developed it from, initially, a self-sufficiency farm to a commercial horticulture farm and a jam factory.

Rundgren pers comm. 2007

The change in focus, from self-sufficiency to market production, created a new set of challenges for Rundgren and his friends and provided an opportunity for Rundgren to become involved in developing organic farming standards.

The primary challenge for Rundgren and his friends was finding adequate and accessible markets for the organic products being produced on their farm. At the time that the farm was being established, Sweden did not have uniform standards or coherent systems of certification and inspection and most, if not all, organic products were sold through local markets, farmer shops, and box schemes (Källander 2007).

To create market opportunities for their produce, Rundgren and a number of other farmers chose to initiate a regional marketing cooperative for potatoes and vegetables in 1983, called *Samodlarna Värmland*. The marketing cooperative was an attempt to establish more reliable organic markets that could provide economic returns that better reflected the difficulties of organic production.

In 1983 we were tired of selling our organic products as conventional, and teamed up with a few other organic farmers and created the first marketing cooperative for organic products in Sweden, possibly in Europe.

Rundgren pers comm. 2007

To facilitate market access, the cooperative decided that it was necessary to develop a system of standards because none existed in Sweden at this time and it deemed that such standards would help to differentiate organic products.

The cooperative also established an in-house standard and control system as there was no such system available apart from the Demeter system (but most of our farmers were not biodynamic).

Rundgren pers comm. 2007

These standards improved market access and provided Rundgren with an opportunity to be involved in designing and implementing organic certification and inspection procedures. The cooperative, run by Rundgren and Kari Örjavik¹⁶³, gained a strong following within Sweden but posed an ideological challenge to many of the existing organic farmers because they were more focused on self-sufficiency than markets (Broberg 2007).

Around this time Rundgren also became involved in actions taken to develop a national farming organization. A number of individuals, including Staffan Åhrén, Gunnar Rundgren, Inger Källander, Kalle Källander, Kari Örjavik, Henry Karlström and Åke Persson¹⁶⁴ began to discuss the need to create a national organic farming organization to represent the interests of organic farmers and develop national organic standards (Källander pers comm. 2007). This was in response to the increasingly national nature of the organic market in Sweden (Rundgren pers comm. 2007). Pressure was also being exerted by the Swedish Cooperative Union (KF), which was interested in stocking organic products in its supermarket outlets (Broberg 2007). The decision to form a national organization was initiated also in response to the organised nature of conventional agriculture sector. As Mattsson (Mattsson & Fredricksson pers comm. 2005) has argued there was ‘a need to get organised and communicate in one voice and that was very strong’ to counteract the power of the dominant conventional agriculture sector.

¹⁶³ Kari Örjavik is now a consultant with Grolink.

¹⁶⁴ According to Mattsson/Fredricksson (pers comm. 2005) organizations, such as the ARF, benefited from the influx of young professionals from the urban green movements who had good organizational skills, were politically adept and ‘...saw a need to get organised and communicate in one voice’.

The first organization to emerge from this process was called *Alternativodlarnas Riksförbund* (The National Association of Alternative Farmers – ARF, now called *Ekologiska Lantbrukarna*, the Swedish Ecological Farmers Association – EFL). One of the first actions of the ARF was to establish a national certification organization to develop standards and enable third party certification of organic agriculture in Sweden and Rundgren was again at the centre of these activities.

The new certification organization was called *Kontrollföreningen för Alternative Odling* (Control body for Alternative Agriculture - KRAV) and was founded by Gunnar Rundgren, Kalle Källander and Bengt Carlsson (Källander pers comm. 2007). By creating a national standard, this ensured that organic farmers would be able to gain market access through consumer cooperative supermarket retail outlets, such as the ones owned by KF (Mattsson/Fredricksson pers comm. 2005; Sjödahl Svensson pers comm. 2005).

Rundgren was at the centre of activities to develop ARF and KRAV taking on important leadership roles in these organizations¹⁶⁵.

As I can't keep my mouth shut and have certain leadership abilities, I became vice-chairman of the Farmers association and the first chairperson of KRAV. Later on, the Executive Director.

Rundgren pers comm. 2007

Rundgren's participation in these two organizations gave Rundgren an opportunity to shape the direction of the organization, learn valuable skills and shape the development of the organic movement and sector in Sweden.

As a pioneer of the development of certification and inspection procedures in Sweden, Rundgren soon became involved in activities to promote cross border trade. Rundgren's engagement in international certification came as a result of the rapid growth of the organic sector in Sweden, which necessitated the development of certification procedures to allow imports from other countries. Eventually this led to Rundgren's engagement with IFOAM.

¹⁶⁵ Rundgren acted as the Executive Director of KRAV between 1985 and 1993 (TOS 2003).

The work in KRAV led to engagement in IFOAM, primarily as Sweden was importing a lot of organic products and KRAV needed to find ways to accept other standards and certification bodies. IFOAM was and is the best platform for this.

Rundgren pers comm. 2007

Rundgren had his first contact with IFOAM at a workshop on inspection held in Germany in 1987 (Rundgren 1998) and became more directly involved in the activities of IFOAM when he was elected Chair of IFOAM's International Accreditation Program Board (IAPB) in 1992¹⁶⁶ (Guelph 2002; IOAS 2005).

Rundgren was also involved in administering and developing international certification and inspection for KRAV in the 1990s. When SwedeCorp contracted KRAV to certify the organic cotton export project in Uganda in 1994, Rundgren was the responsible KRAV agent.

The initial Sida project was developed in consultation with me, at that time I was still working for KRAV. KRAV, and later GroLink, was involved in the inspection of the EPOPA projects up to 1999. This gave me and others a lot of experience in Uganda.

Rundgren pers comm. 2007

As KRAV became increasingly engaged in certification in the Global South, particularly because of the EPOPA program, a decision was eventually made to establish a subsidiary company called GroLink.

GroLink was formed to focus specifically on certification and inspection outside of Sweden and it was Rundgren who managed this company from 1994 to 1998 (TOS 2003).

GroLink was established when I left my position as Executive Director in KRAV. Initially it was a subsidiary of KRAV mainly working with the assistance to emerging certification organizations and performing international inspections for KRAV.

Rundgren pers comm. 2007

¹⁶⁶ It was through the IOAS that Rundgren came to meet van Elzakker from Agro Eco and where Rundgren was able to pass on the details of the Swedecorp organic cotton project to van Elzakker (van Elzakker pers comm. 2005).

The reason for setting up GroLink as a subsidiary company was a practical one. It was perceived that there would be potential financial risks involved in performing international certification and inspection services, particularly as KRAV had no previous experience in this.

The daughter company [GroLink] was founded so that we could have the Swedish part [KRAV] somehow protected because it's a bigger risk to do international certification and inspection.

Sjödahl Svensson pers comm. 2005

Aside from performing international inspections for KRAV, GroLink was also engaged in activities setting up new certification companies in developing countries (Sjödahl Svensson pers comm. 2005). GroLink was engaged, for example, to assist in the development of the Lithuanian organic certification organization *Ekoagros*¹⁶⁷.

In the same way that van Elzakker decided to follow the path of consultancy over certification, Rundgren too had the same moment of truth. The work being carried out through GroLink, setting up certification agencies, eventually came into conflict with GroLink's primary task of performing international inspections. It was decided that another organization, KRAV Kontrol AB, would be formed to handle international inspections in place of GroLink and that GroLink would become an independent consultancy company.

Around 1998 or 1999 this daughter company [GroLink] was split because one saw the problems that the same company was working with inspection and also with the assistance in building a new certification bodies. It would be more straight-forward to have the inspections and perhaps even the certifications in a separate daughter company and then GroLink would work independently as a consultancy part.

Sjödahl Svensson pers comm. 2005

¹⁶⁷ This project, funded by Sida, aimed to establish certification capacity in Lithuania to enable organic farmers to meet the regulations for export into other countries markets. Work on this project was completed between December 1998 and December 2000 by GroLink after it became an independent consultancy organization (GroLink 2009).

Rundgren bought GroLink from KRAV with some colleagues and set it up as a private company specialising in providing consultancy to the organic sector (Rundgren pers comm. 2007).

Since this time GroLink has been engaged by a wide range of organizations to either set up specific export projects or develop certification and inspection capacity in countries located primarily in the Global South.

7.3.2 Competing Social, Environmental and Economic Interests

As it was in the case of van Elzakker and Agro Eco, GroLink's modus operandi is a reflection of the interests and values of its founder and director Gunnar Rundgren. As it was stated by Rundgren's colleague Eva Mattsson,

GroLink is pretty much Gunnar Rundgren from the start to the end. The thing is he is really good at building organic production from the bottom to the top, making standards all the nitty gritty things, matrix of documents etc. That's the strength in GroLink.

Mattsson & Friedricksson pers comm. 2005

GroLink, much like Agro Eco does for van Elzakker, represents a means to satisfy the competing social, economic and environmental concerns held by Rundgren.

While the existence of competing social, economic and environmental interests and values have been alluded to above in tracing Rundgren's pathway to founding GroLink it can also be demonstrated in a number of comments made by Rundgren about organic agriculture. As the following quote from the 2003 IFOAM Annual Report demonstrates, Rundgren has strong concerns about the impact of agricultural systems on the environment.

The change of climate is a threat to all of us and to farming in general. It is clear that the major reason for climate change is the abusive use of fossil fuels. Therefore, actions against the green house effect must target reduction in the use of fossil fuels. Other measures are likely excuses to not deal with the fundamental problem. Agriculture also plays a role in the cycle of green house gases. The energy efficiency in modern agriculture is deplorable. We put in much more energy in agriculture than we get out from it, most of this energy as oil.

Rundgren cited in IFOAM 2004c:3

This sentiment is reiterated in the 2002 IFOAM Annual Report, where Rundgren's strong environmental values appear to portray an anti-trade stance.

Organic agriculture in the industrial world is largely built on un-sustainable energy use. And the food distribution system of organic is to a large extent the same crazy circus of products shipped back and forth.

Rundgren cited in IFOAM 2003c:2

Yet, while Rundgren has made statements like the one above portraying a strong environmental ethic, as the next quote, taken from a keynote speech given by Rundgren at the UK Soil Association Annual Conference in 2004, demonstrates, Rundgren clearly has other competing concerns, which influence his decision making that are in conflict with his environmental concerns.

Personally, I believe we do not need less globalisation – we need more globalisation. Globalisation has many bad sides, but it also has a number of good sides. The globalisation of certain values means that human rights are respected in countries that never did that before. The globalisation of information flow means that oppression and injustice is exposed to international pressure and has also assisted tremendously in environmental awareness and for that case also with the spread of organic farming.

Rundgren 2004:2

In this statement, Rundgren is signalling an acceptance of international trade, due to the potentially positive social impact that this might achieve.

Aside from these comments, there are others which indicate that Rundgren has difficulty reconciling his competing concerns, much like van Elzakker. In a special issue of IFOAM's *Ecology and Farming*, Rundgren expresses how it is difficult to promote the international trade of organic products because the international trade of organic products raises environmental and social concerns (Rundgren 2003).

Rundgren has acknowledged that there are inherent difficulties facing the organic movement in mediating between competing social, economic and environmental concerns, writing in the 2001 IFOAM Annual Report.

Also within the *sector* it is important that the *movement* is playing a leading role. I do not think it is productive to try to work out any clear distinction between the sector and the movement, and in many cases persons and organizations have double roles. The same farmer that sells her organic products in the open market for the highest possible price and thereby supplies mainly wealthy people often living far away, may very well have another vision of how she really wants things to be, such as a living farm closely involved with a similarly vibrant local community. We need to promote and develop different aspects of organic agriculture simultaneously. Organic agriculture is much more than just markets and standards.

Rundgren cited in IFOAM 2002:1

In a speech to our General Assembly in Victoria (BC, Canada), I spoke about *deep organic*, representing the wish to further develop a real organic food system and to incorporate social justice and *wide organic*, representing the wish to spread organic all over the world, to all farmers, in every supermarket and to public policy. For some these two approaches are not possible to combine, and I can admit that there are a lot of tensions there but for me combining these two perspectives makes organic interesting.

Rundgren cited in IFOAM 2003c:2

Statements, such as these, indicate that Rundgren is highly aware of the tensions inherent in promoting organic agriculture in the Global South, because of the dependency on trade and the negative environmental impacts that trade might bring.

7.4 Implications of van Elzakker and Rundgren's Actions

There are important implications flowing from van Elzakker and Rundgren's respective decision to create Agro Eco and GroLink as means to satisfy competing social, economic and environmental concerns. By creating companies that provide consultancy services to the organic agriculture sector, this has provided van Elzakker and Rundgren with opportunities to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South, which they have done through implementing and managing programs, such as EPOPA.

The success of programs like EPOPA can, in part, be attributed to the willingness of van Elzakker and Rundgren to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of potential participants (farmers, exporters, etc) and external constituents (donor agencies). As it was shown above, van Elzakker clearly has a view that the international trade of organic products provides an important tool for promoting social and economic goals in the Global South.

Now days it's [organic agriculture] very much sponsored by, how can you say, by development agencies. The 'development' world sees that the promotion of trade is one of the best ways or important ways to stimulating economies, stimulating development. Stimulating trade is one way of making sure that things develop.

Van Elzakker pers comm. 2005

This perspective has been inscribed, as it was shown earlier, in Agro Eco's literature promoting services that they offer.

Van Elzakker and Rundgren's decision to create Agro Eco and GroLink as consultancy companies, which actively promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South, contributes not only to the material uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South but also to changes in the meanings ascribed to organic' agriculture. By framing the trade of organic agriculture as contributing to economic and social development in the Global South van Elzakker and Rundgren can be said to be actively engaged in *frame extension* and *alignment* processes in the wider organic agriculture movement.

As it was noted in Chapter Three, frame extension is a process in which the principles of a social movement are extended to encompass actors whose interests sit outside existing movement goals and objectives. By framing organic agriculture as having clear social and economic benefits for actors located in the Global South, van Elzakker and Rundgren help to mobilise participation in the production of organic products in the Global South. Frame extension processes are not only critical to mobilising new participants, but also critical to convincing external constituents to supply resources for activities that stimulate movement mobilisation. Because the production of organic products has been framed as promoting economic and social development within the EPOPA program, this has enabled van Elzakker

and Rundgren to contribute to the mobilisation of resources from government agencies within the Swedish development cooperation sector.

A flow on effect of these actions is that, through their active participation in administering and managing programs such as EPOPA, van Elzakker and Rundgren have been granted selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy, which they use to participate in other activities where they can further support the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. To demonstrate this, I will briefly discuss some of the different activities that van Elzakker and Rundgren have been involved with that directly and indirectly impact on the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

7.4.1 Van Elzakker

Van Elzakker's involvement in Agro Eco has afforded him with selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy, which has enabled him to participate in a wide range of activities through which he can promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This has been achieved by actively framing organic agriculture as resonant with the interests and values of both movement adherents, who believe in the objectives and goals of the movement, and constituents, who are willing to contribute resources to the movement activities¹⁶⁸.

Van Elzakker has been a long term and active member of the IFOAM Accreditation Programme Board (IAPB) and its successor, the IFOAM Organic Accreditation Service (IOAS). Van Elzakker has held a number of roles with this organization¹⁶⁹ including the role of vice chairman of the IAPB from 1993 – 1997 and the role of the IOAS President in 1997. The IAPB/IOAS is an accreditation service which offers organic certification organizations the opportunity to be accredited to the IFOAM Basic Standard and promotes harmonization in the standards of certification services around the world to facilitate organic trade (IOAS 2001; IOAS 2005).

Aside from actively participating in the IAPB and IOAS, van Elzakker has participated in a range of other activities as a representative of IFOAM or IOAS. Van Elzakker has acted as a

¹⁶⁸ As President of the IOAS, van Elzakker gives his time to the IOAS on a pro-bono basis (Agro Eco 2008).

¹⁶⁹ Van Elzakker has also been a member of the IOAS Accreditation Committee (IOAS 2005).

member of the IFOAM Government Relations Committee, a member of the FAO/IFOAM/UNCTAD Task Force on Harmonization and Equivalence in Organic Agriculture and a member of the International Social and Environmental Accreditation and Labelling (ISEAL) Alliance. In all of these roles there is a strong focus on certification, which ultimately promotes market access and stimulates the further development of trade.

As noted in the previous chapter, van Elzakker has also been intimately involved in activities to develop a common approach to Smallholder Group Certification (SGC) procedures. Van Elzakker was responsible for organising workshops and drafting various summary reports and recommendations emerging from these workshops (Bowen & van Elzakker 2002; van Elzakker and Reikes 2003). Participation in these workshops further exposes van Elzakker to arguments for promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South because it is within these processes that the barriers faced by smallholder to access export markets have been raised.

Van Elzakker has also participated in a number of forums where the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South was of central interest. As a participant in the FAO Working Group on Environmentally and Socially Responsible Horticulture Production and Trade, van Elzakker has been able to make representations to support the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Van Elzakker has made a number of presentations, such as one entitled 'Regulations for the Importation and Labelling of Organic Foods in the EU' in August 2001 (FAO 2003b). These meetings help to expose FAO staff to arguments supporting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South and provide opportunities to mobilise resources so that members of the organic movement in the Global South can contribute to framing processes within the organic movement¹⁷⁰.

Van Elzakker has also had the opportunity to take part in workshops aimed at developing national organic sectors in the Global South, such as the Participatory Networking Workshop on Organic Chain Development held in Ethiopia in 2007. Agro Eco was one of the organisers of this event, which had as a primary aim a goal to stimulate the development of organic

¹⁷⁰ The Third Expert Meeting on Socially and Environmentally Responsible Horticulture Production and Trade received funding from Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation (CTA). As well as from IFOAM's I-GO program, which enabled experts from the Global South to participate and express Global South interests (FAO 2003b).

agriculture in Ethiopia. Aside from being part of the organising team, Van Elzakker was actively involved by giving two presentations.

In the first presentation, van Elzakker outlined the suitability of SGC procedures in facilitating smallholder access to markets. In the second presentation, van Elzakker presented a closing statement entitled ‘The Way Forward’ in which he iterated the importance of using development cooperation support to develop the organic sector in Ethiopia.

Mr van Elzakker concluded by noting that there is a strong interest from foreign assistance to help develop this sector. There is also a world of experience outside Ethiopia. Some of the information is free, but other has to be obtained through subscriptions, etc. He felt Ethiopia could learn a lot from integrated development programmes like EPOPA (Export Promotion of Organic Products from Africa). There were also specifically business-oriented programmes such as that of USAID, PPP (public-private partnerships), and PSOM. Some banks were also interested in providing green funds for what they consider environmentally friendly activities.

Rieks & Edwards 2007:35

This particular workshop was made possible because of support and resources mobilised from the Swedish Society of Nature Conservation (SSNC), Cordaid Regional Office in Kenya and Horn of Africa – Regional Environmental Network/Centre (HoA-REN/C) (Rieks & Edwards 2007).

7.4.2 Rundgren

The selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy afforded van Elzakker have also been afforded to Rundgren and enabled him to participate in a range of activities to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Having worked in the organic industry for many years in Sweden, first as a farmer and then as a standard maker, Rundgren’s (pers comm. 2007) ‘inability to keep [his] mouth shut’ and ‘leadership abilities’ eventually led him to stand to be elected in key leadership roles in IFOAM, first as the IFOAM vice-President in 1998, and later as the IFOAM President in 2000 (Rundgren pers comm. 2007).

Similar to van Elzakker, Rundgren has been able to take on these opportunities because his participation in ARF, KRAV and Grolink offered him selective incentives, career

opportunities and legitimacy to overcome the expenditures of time and money required to participate in formal SMOs¹⁷¹ and, as such, this has given Rundgren the capacity to participate in activities to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of adherents and constituents.

In taking on the role of IFOAM President, Rundgren has been able to make statements about organic agriculture, such as the ones quoted earlier, which reflect his own interests and values and ultimately his desire to satisfy competing environmental, social and economic concerns. As it was noted earlier, for example, Rundgren was able to use his key note address at the UK Soil Association Annual Meeting in 2003 to advocate for more, rather than less globalization as a means of manifesting social and economic development.

As IFOAM President Rundgren is also able to make statements in official documents which can promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South by framing it as providing positive impacts. An example of this, are comments made by Rundgren in the 2000 IFOAM Annual Report, where he stated the following.

We see a tremendous growth in the organic sector: both the market for and production of organic produce is growing in the range of 20-25 percent per year. This growth is not only restricted to the so-called developed countries. In developing countries organic agriculture is a tool for rural development, for biodiversity conservation, for income generation and for food security.

Rundgren cited in IFOAM 2001:2

Rundgren's experience in setting up certification in Sweden is undoubtedly a factor in being chosen to edit an IFOAM document commissioned to give guidance to the setting up new national certification programs. This document (much like the document co-authored by Rundgren and discussed in Chapter Six) is clearly aimed at promoting the development of organic agriculture in the Global South and a direct response to the growth of the international trade of organic products.

¹⁷¹ The selective incentives offered to Rundgren from working as a consultant are particularly advantageous for the IFOAM Presidency because this position is voluntary.

The background [to the document] is growing domestic and international trade in products from organic agriculture. This expansion, particularly in international exchange, creates a need for harmonisation and standardisation of organic production standards and certification all around the world.

Rundgren cited in Rundgren 1998:4

Rundgren was also the author of another important IFOAM document which is intended to demonstrate the applicability of organic agriculture in the Global South by highlighting the positive impact of organic agriculture on food security (Rundgren 2002b).

Rundgren's position as IFOAM President has afforded him opportunities to participate in key meetings and forums where stimulating support for the organic agriculture in the Global South has been a central concern. In 2001, Rundgren was a member of the IFOAM delegation at the 8th session of the FAO Committee for Sustainable Development (CSD). In 2002, Rundgren was a member of the delegation to the World Food Summit (WFS) in Rome, in which the IFOAM dossier on food security, that Rundgren wrote, was widely distributed (IFOAM 2003c).

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the role of individual movement entrepreneurs in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has been more closely examined by focusing on two movement entrepreneurs intimately involved in this process. Focusing on Bo van Elzakker and Gunnar Rundgren, it was demonstrated how these two individuals have actively promoted the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South because this satisfies competing social, environmental and economic concerns held by these two individuals. This was demonstrated by analysing a range of statements made by or about van Elzakker and Rundgren and by tracing the life histories of both of these actors.

It was demonstrated that van Elzakker and Rundgren each had experiences, which helped to shape the development of their competing concerns, and how both created consultancy companies, providing advice and services to the organic sector, as the primary means of satisfying their competing social, economic and environmental concerns. Creating their consultancy companies afforded van Elzakker and Rundgren with selective incentives, career

opportunities and legitimacy, which they used to participate in a range of movement activities where they could further promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South by framing organic agriculture in ways resonant with the interests and values of movement adherents and constituents.

These two case studies, when taken together with the evidence presented in the previous two case studies in Chapter Five and Six, clearly demonstrate the value of combining concepts and insights from the framing analysis and RMT literature in the analysis of the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Individual movement entrepreneurs clearly play a role in facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South by actively framing organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of new adherents located in the Global South. Individual movement entrepreneurs also clearly play an important role in facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South by framing organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of constituents. As it was shown, by outlining the EPOPA program, individual movement entrepreneurs play a role in mobilising economic resources from external constituents that can be used to fund activities which facilitate the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

There is one important question that all of this raises for the future sustainability of the organic movement. If the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has been dependent on actions taken to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with the interests and values of adherents in the Global South and constituents with a goal of promoting economic development in the Global South, what occurs if the interests and values of organic movement adherents come into conflict due to frame extension.

This is the subject of the next chapter, where a last case study is examined of a specific event demonstrating conflict that can occur when frame extension is utilised as a means to promote movement mobilisation. In this chapter, a consultation process initiated by the UK Soil Association is described and examined to demonstrate the outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. As it is detailed in this chapter, the extension of symbolic frames used to mobilise new movement adherents located in the Global South creates tensions for the wider organic movement as conflicts emerge between

movement adherents holding different interests and values. The chapter demonstrates the processes by which this particular intramural conflict was resolved.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Intramural Conflict

8 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South by examining the challenges facing the organic movement as it engages in frame extension as a means to mobilise new movement adherents and constituents. As it has been argued throughout this thesis, the uptake of organic in the Global South has been facilitated through symbolic framing processes. As part of these framing processes it was argued that elements within the wider organic movement have engaged in frame extension as a primary means of promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Frame extension, as it is argued in the framing analysis literature, involves the extension of the symbolic frames to encompass concerns outside of the symbolic frames held by existing movement adherents to recruit new adherents or capture resources (Benford & Snow 2000).

While the use of frame extension has been an important process used to stimulate movement mobilisation in the Global South, this is not without its problems. As it is noted in the framing analysis literature, social movements risk losing existing movement adherents if the interests and values of new adherents come into conflict with the interests and values of existing adherents (Benford & Snow 2000). If a movement extends its frames to encompass a greater range of interests and values, it can face the potential problem of *frame overextension* and loss of support from its existing movement base. As it is shown in this chapter, frame overextension is a significant issue for the organic movement as it attempts to stimulate the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

This chapter examines the process of frame extension by examining an intramural conflict arising within the organic movement over the use of air freight to transport organic products. As it was noted in the case study presented in Chapter Five, air freight is the only way that perishable products, such as fresh pineapples, can reach distant markets embodying product quality characteristics desirable to end consumers. Without the use of air freight, smallholders mobilised to participate in the organic movement through their production of organic products for export would not be able to participate in these relations because these relations

would cease to be viable¹⁷². While air freight plays a critical role in enabling the delivery of benefits to smallholders participating in these relations, as this will demonstrate, some organic movement adherents do not believe that it is acceptable to use air freight as a means to transport organic products. The primary reason for this, is the negative impact that transporting organic products by air has on the environment.

Concern over the environmental impact of transporting organic products has led some adherents within the organic movement to question whether it is acceptable to use air freight to transport organic products. As it will be demonstrated in this chapter, this led the peak organic standards body, the UK Soil Association (Soil Association), to initiate a consultation process to ascertain whether organic standards should be put in place to regulate the use of air freight in the transportation of organic products.

The consultation process that transpired provides a useful bookend to the thesis and the case studies already presented. It not only provides an opportunity to discuss the outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South but also highlights the issues faced by the organic movement as it relies on frame extension processes as a means to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

Drawing on the work of Murdoch (1998), it is argued that the consultation process initiated by the Soil Association created spaces of negotiation and prescription through which the interests and values of the Global South have been further incorporated within the organic movement.

As will be shown, though, the incorporation of the interests and values of adherents in the Global South is heavily dependent on the capacity of individual and organizational actors to deploy symbolic frames, which highlight the positive social and economic benefits of organic agriculture on the Global South and the negative social and economic impacts of any ban on air freight on the Global South.

¹⁷² As it was shown in the case of pineapple exports from Uganda, the landlocked nature of the country combined with the perishable nature of the product and the long distances required to reach viable markets negate the use of shipping by land or sea.

Evidence is drawn primarily from a range of documents related to the Soil Association's air freight consultation process and supplemented by information gathered through correspondence with actors engaged in this process.

8.1 The UK Soil Association

The Soil Association is the oldest and largest organic farming organization in the UK. The Soil Association initiated the development of standards, certification and labelling in the UK, and is currently responsible for certifying the largest share of organic farms and 80% of the organic products sold in the UK (Reed 2001; Soil Association 2009a). As part of its ongoing operations, the Soil Association regularly updates its standards and receives feedback on standards from its members, licensees and organic consumers (Melchett pers comm. 2010).

In May 2007, the Soil Association Standards Board decided to review whether it needed specific regulation regarding the use of air freight to transport organic products. The consultation was initiated as a direct result of feedback from consumers questioning the acceptability of transporting organic products using air freight¹⁷³.

One of the issues raised most frequently with the Soil Association by organic consumers, Soil Association members and licensees is the contradiction they see between air freighting organic food and some core elements of the organic principles.

Soil Association 2007a:2

We get many requests for information from members of the public every day, raising a wider range of issues. Our public information department keeps a record of these and reports back so that all of us know what issues concern people most, at any given time. As a result of several of these routine reports, we recognised that this issue is of particular concern to the public who buy organic food.

Peter Melchett pers comm. 2010

It is clear from these comments that a number of consumers of organic products in the UK had a conceptualisation of organic agriculture that did not equate with the use of air freight as an acceptable means by which organic products could be transported.

¹⁷³ Similarly supermarkets Tesco and Marks and Spencer have responded to the issue of 'food miles' by labelling air freighted produce (Hunt 2007).

The emergence of the debate over climate change has undoubtedly contributed to concerns over the use of air freight to transport food products. While planes enable perishable agricultural products to be quickly moved from the site of production to far away sites of consumption, whilst minimising damage to desirable biotic qualities, air freight results in a significant level of pollution, primarily in the form of the gas carbon dioxide. As a non-human actor in this conflict, carbon dioxide or more specifically the threat of increased concentrations of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is perceived by most environmentalists as a significant threat to the future sustainability of the Earth's systems.

For issues such as this, the Soil Association has a standard process by which it considers changes to its standards as a way of prescribing a coherent and consistent conceptualisation of organic agriculture practices (Melchett pers comm. 2010). The Soil Association's independent Standards Board was responsible for coordinating this process and making recommendations for new and changed standards. To do this it initiated a comprehensive consultation process, believing that 'an open debate about the issues is the best way to consult on the future relationship between organic standards and air freight' (Soil Association 2007a:2).

8.1.1 Air Freight Green Paper

The first step in the consultation process was commissioning a Green Paper entitled *Should the Soil Association tackle the environmental impact of air freight in its organic standards?* The Green Paper was an important inscription device used to communicate to movement adherents, constituents and bystander public the various issues surrounding the air freight of organic products. The Green Paper put forward several arguments regarding the environmental impacts and social benefits of using airfreight to transport organic products.

The first argument against the use of air freight put forward in the Green Paper was that air freight contributes disproportionately to climate change when compared to other forms of transportation. Using information from a 2005 Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs report entitled *The validity of Food Miles as an Indicator of Sustainable Development* and a 2006 International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) report entitled *Sub-Saharan African Horticulture Exports to the UK and Climate Change: A literature*

review, the Green Paper outlines the levels of pollutants, primarily CO₂, emitted when using air freight to transport agricultural products.

The second argument against the use of air freight put forward in the Green Paper is the potential future decline of oil reserves, again reliant on evidence from previous studies.

The air freight stage of a supply chain represents a disproportionately large fraction of the fossil fuel consumption for the life cycle of imported food. Research into green beans imported to the UK from Kenya and Guatemala found that the kerosene burnt in the air freight stage of the supply chain accounted for 80% of the non-renewable resources expended in production, distribution, storage and packaging (Sim, 2006).

Soil Association 2007a:7

This argument is predicated on the idea that oil reserves are diminishing and that the price of oil and oil products will increase as a result of their rapid use.

The third argument regarding the use of air freight to transport organic products is positive in that it discusses the beneficial contribution that air freight makes to the development of the UK market as a whole.

Arguably, air freight has bolstered growth of the organic market and supported UK producers by improving continuity of supply and ensuring certain organic products are on supermarket shelves at all times of the year.

Soil Association 2007a:7

This argument seeks to tie the success of the organic market to the continued use of air freight to supply a more accessible range of organic products for consumers.

The fourth argument put forward in the Green Paper is also positive in that it builds an argument that air freight makes an important contribution to social and economic development in the Global South.

Air freight has played a central role in opening up international markets in high value fresh fruit and vegetables to developing countries. The difficult task of diversifying to supply the European market with fruit and vegetables has, in some cases, only been possible through air freight. The countries that have achieved this not only benefit from the greater value of the produce in comparison to traditional commodity crops, but also from greater market stability, more opportunities to add value at source and improved participation by small and medium scale enterprises (FAO, 2004).

Soil Association 2007a:7

In this argument it is pointed out that the amount of produce transported using air freight is extremely low but is the only option for transportation of many of these products¹⁷⁴. To reinforce this argument the Green Paper provides examples of Soil Association licensees engaged in air freight noting their dependence on air freight and their delivery of social and economic benefits to farmers.

In the conclusion of the Green Paper, the UK Soil Association attempts to simplify the consultation process and make the process of gaining feedback more manageable by offering five distinct options that could be taken by the Soil Association to resolve the issue. Option one was to take no action limiting or prohibiting air freight; option two was to introduce a general ban on airfreight; option three was to impose a selective ban on airfreight; option four was to label products that are freighted by air; and option five was to introduce carbon offsetting for air freighted products. With each of these options the Green Paper lists the risks and benefits associated.

By producing the Green Paper, the Soil Association has attempted to frame the arguments for and against the use of air freight and demonstrate the complexity of the issue. In framing debate the Green Paper acts to inform movement adherents, constituents and bystander public of the efficacy of different options open to the Soil Association. As a document that is freely available within the public sphere the Green Paper serves to resonate with the interests and values of potential respondents and mobilise their participation in the consultation process.

¹⁷⁴ As the Green Paper has stated 'Highly perishable fruits and vegetables constitute the majority of products air freighted. For those products that can be grown either in the UK or in Europe at certain times of the year, air freighted produce largely supplies the out-of-season market. However, at certain times of the year they do compete with fruit and vegetables produced locally or regionally'.

To generate wider interest in the consultation the Soil Association also produced a media release, which attempted to provide a summary of the complexity of the situation, in terms of the need to balance environmental, social and economic goals.

“As awareness of climate change has grown, concerns have been raised about the damage caused to the environment by air freight. However, when reducing our impact on the world's climate, we must carefully consider the social and economic benefits of air freight for international development and growth of the organic market as a whole. Through a public consultation, the Soil Association Standards Board is taking a lead role in tackling this complex issue.”

Anna Bradley cited in Soil Association 2007

Yet, despite the Soil Association's attempts to frame the debate in a balanced way, the consultation process was portrayed in the media as an attempt to ban air freight and thus disadvantage poor farmers in the Global South. Media headlines included ‘Effort to curb climate change may hurt African farms’ and ‘Organic farmers face ruin as rich nations agonise over food miles’ (Clayton 2007; Hunt 2007). In some ways, this was fortuitous for actors within the organic movement with an interest in promoting the continued uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

The early media focus on an outright ban encouraged organisations and individuals opposed to this option to engage with the consultation. Organisations that are broadly in favour of a ban are harder to engage in the discussion, because they believed the outcome was not in doubt.

Soil Association 2007b:9

The negative media surrounding the consultation helped to spur a range of organisations from the development sector, such as NGOs and organic farming groups, to oppose any decision to ban air freight (Soil Association 2007b).

8.1.2 First Round of Consultations

As part of the standards review process involving the issue of the applicability of air freight in transporting organic products, the Soil Association requested from interested parties written responses regarding the air freight issue. They received and took into consideration over 200 written submissions of which 130 were from the general public, 24 were from NGOs, 28 from industry and 5 from government and international organisations.

Discussions were also held with industry, government, NGOs, consumers, experts and Soil Association staff and members. This included formal consultation meetings and seminars. There was strong representation in the consultation process from NGOs, international organisations, and government agencies. Representations from these and industry were made during face-to-face consultations and also through written submissions.

According to the Soil Association's own account, feedback provided to the Soil Association in what was the first round of consultations varied (Soil Association 2007b). Most government agencies indicated that they were unsupportive of a ban of any sort because of the detrimental social and economic impact. Many environmental NGOs wanted the Soil Association to curb air freight (some believing it irresponsible to encourage farmers to be reliant on climate sensitive industries). Development organisations advocated for unrestricted trade for disadvantaged farmers in Global South. Consumer and food and agriculture NGOs viewed that it was suitable to balance environmental impacts with socio-economic benefits. Industry, including retailers, fresh produce packers and exporters, did not want to disadvantage farmers in the Global South but were keen to ensure there are measures that ensured the integrity of organic products. Feedback from Soil Association staff, committees and council showed a preference for a selective ban that would enable the perceived economic development advantages of organic to continue in the Global South.

8.1.3 Second Round of Consultations

As a result of the first round of consultation the Soil Association Board recommended a second round of consultation. The Soil Association Board hoped to gain comment, in this second round of consultation, on a series of recommendations formulated from the first round of consultations. The primary of these recommendations was that 'any organic food air

freighted to the UK also meets the Soil Association Ethical Trade standards or equivalent fair trade standards'¹⁷⁵ (Soil Association 2007b:3).

Although many of the organic businesses that air freight have exemplary social initiatives, these benefits are not well recognised. Requiring Ethical Trade standards be met would ensure businesses air freighting organic products have a positive social, economic and local environmental impact. Being able to demonstrate compliance with Ethical Trade standards would be a transparent and robust way of balancing the environmental impact of air freight with clear social benefits.

Soil Association 2007b:5

This, along with several other recommendations, was the preferred course of action from the first round of consultation. It sought to balance the competing environmental¹⁷⁶ and social concerns associated with air freight of organic products in a way in line with existing processes of verification. As the summary document shows there were strong arguments that,

Development should be a consideration when deciding what to do about air freight.

Across the spectrum, many respondents specifically stated the importance of promoting organic agriculture in developing countries as a means of both alleviating poverty and preventing environmental degradation... Organisations and individuals in all groups highlighted the problem of disadvantaging farmers in developing countries by disallowing such a trade and the high risk that they would turn to non-organic agriculture as an alternative.

Soil Association 2007b:4 (**original emphasis**)

In the summary report specific mention of the International Trade Centre (ITC) commissioned report was made highlighting the dependence of producers on markets in the UK and their reliance on air freight to reach these markets (Soil Association 2007c).

¹⁷⁵ The Ethical Trade/fair trade option was raised at a consultation held in London in July 2007 and also later in the written submission provided by Oxfam (Soil Association 2007c).

¹⁷⁶ Around half of the public submissions were in favour of some sort of ban on air freight to be implemented in the Soil Association standards (Soil Association 2007c) presumably because of the environmental impacts of this activity.

New research prompted by the consultation shows 80% of the air freighted produce coming into the UK is grown in low or lower-middle income countries. There aren't alternative markets or industries into which producers in these countries can diversify. The high value products and the type of opportunities to add value at source are unique to the export in fresh fruit and vegetables.

Soil Association 2007b:4

The summary report also stated that,

There is a risk that any action at all could create barriers to the market, inhibit the positive influence the organic agriculture industry is having in developing countries and restrict the growth of organic agriculture and the whole organic market ... Encouraging organic farming in developing countries provides very significant environmental and human health benefits for local people, a fact widely acknowledged in responses to our consultation document

Soil Association 2007b:5

During the second consultation a number of supplementary questions were put out for comment.

Despite entering the consultation with several clear proposals for change to Soil Association standards the Board approved only one change – a requirement that records be kept of the type, quantity, country of origin and port and date of entry of air freighted goods by relevant companies (Soil Association 2009b). The Board resolved not to make ethical or fair trade certification a condition of using air freight in response to the consultations.

According to the consultation summary report, there was enough 'significant concern' raised about the practicalities and costs of requiring ethical or fair trade certification to rescind this proposed requirement. It was argued that the requirement to have air freight comply with ethical or fair trade would create a barrier to trade for farmers who had little other market opportunities. During consultations with representatives from East Africa it was argued that it was fundamentally wrong to impose social and ethical standards developed in the UK, particularly when the benefits of organic had already been shown.

It became apparent from these discussions and the consultation that there may be a more suitable solution than requiring air freight meet Ethical Trade standards. Through the summer, the Standards Board therefore deferred making a decision on their original recommendations, to allow the Soil Association and the Kenyan Organic Agriculture Network (KOAN) to consider an alternative approach. In Oct 08 the Standards Board decided not to make ethical trade a requirement of organic air freight in favour of working more closely with colleagues in East Africa to address climate change and development issues relevant to food and farming.

Soil Association 2008:2

In its place the Soil Association Board resolved that it would be more appropriate to develop ‘a regional equivalent to Ethical Trade that is owned and administered by East African organic organisations’ using the ‘Soil Association’s core principles of Ethical Trade’ as a starting point for developing ‘equivalent Standards’ (Soil Association 2008:3). In agreeing to this alternative approach it was declared that the Soil Association ‘should work with partners in East Africa on a project to further capture and communicate the development benefits of organic agriculture in developing countries’¹⁷⁷ (Soil Association 2008:3).

With regard to the Soil Association Board’s decision to reject the proposal that air freighted goods be certified under ethical and fair trade standards and accept the proposal that the Soil Association Board work closely with the East African community to develop culturally appropriate standards, it is argued that the overall impact of the consultation process, and in particular the experiences of Soil Association representatives conducting consultations in East Africa as part of the second round of consultations¹⁷⁸ had a significant impact on the final decision of the Soil Association Board. It is important to discuss this to understand how the organic movement resolved the intramural conflict.

8.1.4 Mobilisation of Resistance to the Air-Freight ban in the Global South

The participation of organizations external to the movement advocating against a ban on the use of air freight are critical to note. As it will be shown in this chapter, external organizations are critical in resolving the intramural conflict occurring from frame extension

¹⁷⁷ The proposal to link air freight with ethical trade is claimed to be part of longer-term strategy to integrate ethical trade in organic standards and the consultation process has provided an impetus to work more closely on this.

¹⁷⁸ ‘It became apparent from these discussions and the consultation that there may be a more suitable solution than requiring air freight meet Ethical Trade standards’ (Soil Association 2008:2).

because they provide movement adherents in the Global South with resources to enable them to advocate for their interests and against any ban on air freight.

One organisation which acted against the proposal to ban the use of air freight to transport organic products is the ITC. The ITC is joint initiative of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the United Nations. ITC was established to promote trade from developing and transition countries (ITC 2009a). Since 2005, ITC has followed a policy goal entitled 'Aid for Trade', which is an attempt by the WTO to direct Official Development Assistance (ODA) to activities that promote trade as a means of stimulating economic development (WTO 2009).

The ITC became engaged in the Soil Association air freight consultation as a result of the actions taken by Alexander Kasterine, a Senior Market Development Adviser at the ITC. Kasterine (pers comm. 2010) advocated for the need to fund a research project assessing the impact of a ban on air freight to ITC Directors. The ITC Directors agreed to provide funding to ascertain 'the economic impact of the SA's proposal and the life cycle issues around the food trade (i.e. whether food miles were a valid argument /approach)' because this was in line with its mandate to promote trade as a means to promote economic development in developing and transition countries.

The outcome of the ITC's actions was the publication of a paper published by the Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS) and authored by two consultants Peter Gibbon & Simon Bolwig (Gibbon & Bolwig 2007). This research paper provided the ITC with an intellectual basis from which it could argue against the introduction of a ban on the use of air freight to transport organic products. As it was noted by Kasterine (pers comm. 2010) the DIIS paper acted as the basis for the ITC argument that: 'air freighted trade supported the livelihoods of many thousands of poor people'; 'trade barriers would threaten those livelihoods'; and 'that carbon pricing ... was the fair and effective way to deal with the high GHGs from airfreight'. Accordingly, it was argued that the withdrawal of certification on the grounds of air freight would have serious impacts on organic sector in Africa, particularly for landlocked countries, of which Uganda is one clear example.

The ITC was able to communicate the arguments made in the DIIS research paper to the Soil Association (and the wider public) through several means. The first was in a seminar held

during the first round of the consultation process, in which the ITC¹⁷⁹ and the UK Department for International Development (DfID) made presentations advocating against any ban on air freight involving the UK Minister for Trade and Development, Gareth Thomas MP. The second was in a formal submission made collectively by ITC, UNCTAD and UNEP to the second round of consultation. In this submission it was argued that: ‘ethical’ or ‘fair trade’ certification was inappropriate because organic agriculture is already delivering poverty reduction and environmental benefits; that the proposed policy that air freighted goods must be also certified under ethical or fair trade standards was discriminatory; and that the Soil Association consultation process was not transparent (ITC 2009b). The third means of communicating dissatisfaction with the proposal to ban or regulate the use of air freight was an official statement released by the ITC on 17 September 2007 urging against any ban on air freight (Gibbon & Bolwig 2007). The fourth means of communicating the position of the ITC was in a presentation made at the Biofach Congress in 2008 (refer to Image 1, below) (Kasterine & Bolwig 2008).

**Image 1: Slide of Presentation made by Alexander Kasterine at the Biofach Congress 2008, NürnbergMesse, Nuremberg, Germany, February 21-24, 2008
(Source Kasterine & Bolwig 2008)**



Aside from mobilising a range of NGOs and government agencies to advocate against any ban on air freighted organic products, the consultation process also mobilised movement

¹⁷⁹ ITC is a joint initiative of UNCTAD and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and is responsible for promoting international trade.

adherents from countries within the Global South. Of particular note, were the actions of movement adherents in East Africa, who engaged in activities to convince the Soil Association of the negative impacts of banning the use of air freight to transport organic products. What is important in this is that these adherents have been given support from external development agencies and NGOs, which have enabled them to create spaces of negotiation and prescription where they have framed organic agriculture as providing social and economic benefits in the Global South and a ban on the use of air freight as having negative social and economic impacts in the Global South.

The Soil Association's consultation process over the use of air freight in the transportation of organic products was first formally raised at the East African Organic Conference in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania on 28th May to 1st June 2007. It was at this conference that participants voiced a concern about the emerging debate about food miles and the impact that this might have on organic exports from the region. Importantly, it was a representative from the ITC, Alexander Kasterine, who was credited in the summary report of the conference that disseminated the Soil Association's Green Paper to delegates and encouraged all members of the conference to give feedback to the Soil Association consultation (Stevenson & Taylor 2007).

Soon after this, the position of movement adherents from East Africa began to communicate their position on the Soil Association's consultation process in statements, which were reprinted in news articles. In these statements, the negative impact associated with the introduction of a ban on the use of air freight were articulated by a number of movement adherents, associated with key organic movement organisations in East Africa.

An example of this were comments made by Eustace Kiarrii (cited in Hunt 2007), who at the time was the National Coordinator of the Kenya Organic Agriculture Network (KOAN), in an article for the Reuters news service,

Right now we fear the ban will be implemented by other EU countries, causing a severe economic and social impact on the livelihood of our farmers, and risking the survival of our own organic market.

A second means of communicating the position of movement adherents in the East African region was through formal written submissions made to the Soil Association. An example of this can be seen in the formal submission provided by KOAN on behalf of the wider organic movement in Kenya, which came in the form of a petition advocating against a ban on air freight. Again, as the quote below demonstrates, organic agriculture is framed as providing social and economic benefits and a ban as undermining these benefits particularly to small scale farmers.

We the undersigned, representing the organic and horticultural stakeholders in Kenya request Soil Association and European retailers, environmentalists, farm groups and consumers to withdraw the proposed carbon friendly measures relating to air freight of organic and horticultural products from developing countries. Let us find a better way of addressing carbon emissions without **KILLING THE ORGANIC SECTOR IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND LIVELIHOODS OF THE SMALL SCALE FARMERS.**

KOAN 2007 (ORIGINAL EMPHASIS)

Another means of communicating the position of the East African organic agriculture community against the banning of air freight was that a formal invitation was sent to the Standards Board requesting that they participate in two key events where the regulation of the use of air freight to transport organic products would be indirectly and directly discussed.

The Chair of the Soil Association Board and a Soil Association staff member attended these two events in 2008, one in Tanzania and the other in Kenya. Here they met a number of representatives from the East African organic agriculture sector, representatives from multilateral organisations and representatives from international NGOs and organic sector organisations.

The first event was a pre-UNCTAD XII event entitled ‘Making Sustainability Standards Work for Small-scale Farmers’, held in Arusha, Tanzania on the 7 – 9 April 2008. The second was a consultative meeting to discuss food miles and ethical standards held in Nairobi, Kenya on 6th June 2008 hosted by Kenya Organic Agriculture Network (KOAN) (Hewlett pers comm. 2010; KOAN 2008). Both of these events demonstrate how actions to facilitate the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South have created spaces of negotiation and

prescription in which conceptualisations of organic agriculture are negotiated and prescribed and the importance of external constituents in providing resources to facilitate the inclusion of organic movement adherents in the Global South.

8.1.5 Making Sustainability Standards Work for Small-scale Farmers

The pre-UNCTAD XII event ‘Making Sustainability Standards Work for Small-scale Farmers’ was organised by UNCTAD in cooperation with the UNEP, FAO, ITC, International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD), IFOAM, TOAM, IED, ISEAL Alliance and EPOPA. The event received funding assistance from the Austrian and Norwegian governments and DFID. The objective of the event was to,

...analyze the impact of Sustainability Standards (SS) on smallscale farmers (SSF), particularly in Africa and their links to markets, and identify effective strategies to minimize the costs and maximize the benefits for smallholders of this persistent and important global trend.

UNCTAD 2008:1

The participation of Soil Association representatives in the pre-UNCTAD XII event has acted as a means to further communicate to the Soil Association the importance of air freight in providing social and economic benefits to smallholder farmers in the Global South.

As it can be seen in Table 14, below, there were a number of presentations made at the conference. In many of these presentations it was argued that there are clear social and economic benefits associated with smallholder participation in the production of organic products for export.


**Table 14: List of presentations made at the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting Arusha, Tanzania 2008
(Source: UNCTAD 2009)**

Organization	Speaker	Title
ISEAL	Elisabeth Guttenstein	Small Holder Accessibility to Social & Environmental Standards
Biospartners	Steve Homer	Participation of smallholders in sustainable products trade – perspectives
Fresh Produce Exporters Association	Stephen Mbithi	Sustainability Standards: Any Chance for Participation by African Small Scale Farmers? Horticulture Perspective
Association of Kilimanjaro Specialty Coffee Growers (KILICAFE)	Adolf Kumburu	Sustainability Business Model for Smallholder Farmers
Biofresh	Sonia Madwime	Working with Small Scale Farmers. The Biofresh Experience
UNCTAD	Ulrich Hoffmann	Framing the Issue. Making sustainability standards work for small-scale farmers
Green Dreams Ltd	Su Stephanou	Local marketing of small scale organic farmers produce in Nairobi Kenya
Grolink	Gunnar Rundgren	Organic Policy Recommendations
Eboku and Kiarii	Eboku and Kiarii	Public-Private Partnerships – The East African Organic Standard and Mark
IFOAM	Hervé Bouagnimbeck	Overview on Organic Agriculture in Africa
TanCert	Leonard Mtama	Small-Scale Farmers Organic Certification: Tanzania experience
NOGAMU and Ministry of Agriculture (MAAIF)	Moses Muwanga/ Okaasai Opolot	Organic Agriculture Development in Uganda
EPOPA/Agro Eco	Alastair Taylor	Small Holder farmers and Sustainability Standards Export Promotion of Organic Products from Africa. Successful?
UNCTAD	Sophia Twarog	Organic Agriculture: A Trade and Sustainable Development Opportunity for Developing Countries
Sustainable Commodity Initiative	n/a	Promoting Sustainable Commodity Sectors: Through multi-stakeholder approaches
Africa-Observer Project	Johannes Kern	Africa-Observer Project
UNCTAD	Ulrich Hoffman	UNCTAD activities on Sustainability Standards

In a presentation made by Sonia Madwime, the director of the export company Biofresh outlined in Chapter Five, it was argued that there were significant social and economic


benefits accruing to smallholder farmers from their participation in the production of fresh tropical fruits (Refer to Image 2, 3, 4 and 5 below). While Biofresh exports to Germany, this presentation was a particularly relevant presentation to make in the presence of the Soil Association representatives as Biofresh's operations, as it was noted in Chapter Five, are dependent on the use of air freight to enable the products bought from smallholders to reach markets in Europe embodying the product qualities demanded by end consumers. As it is shown in the Slides below, Madwime's presentation provided an opportunity to demonstrate the social and economic benefits accruing to farmers from their participation in the production of organic products using air freight as a means of transportation and thus an opportunity to reinforce framings about organic agriculture as a social and economic development tool.

**Image 2: Slide from Presentation made by Sonia Madwime at pre-UNCTAD XII meeting
Arusha, Tanzania 2008
(Source: Madwime 2008)**

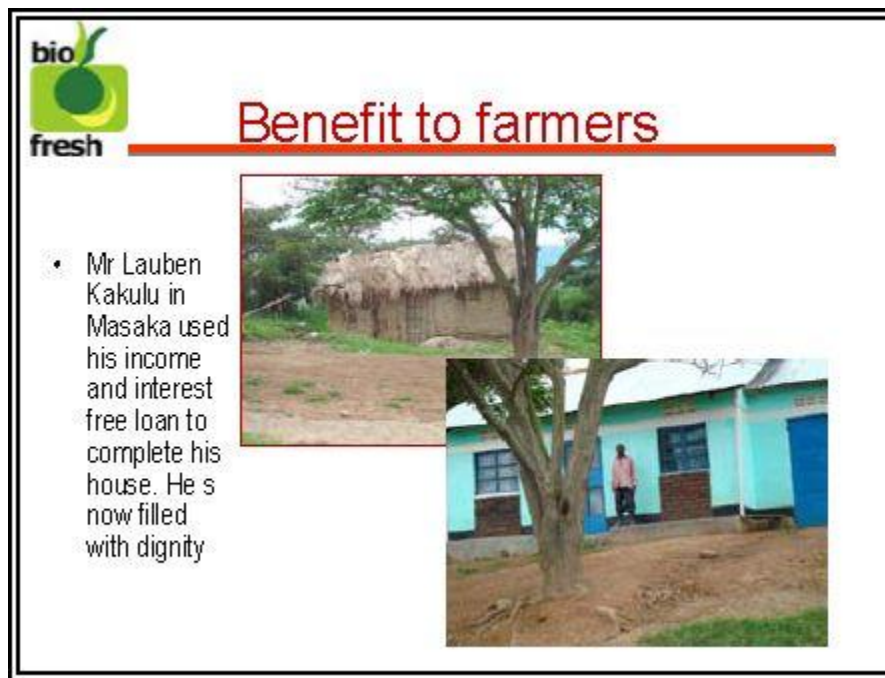


Benefits to the Farmer

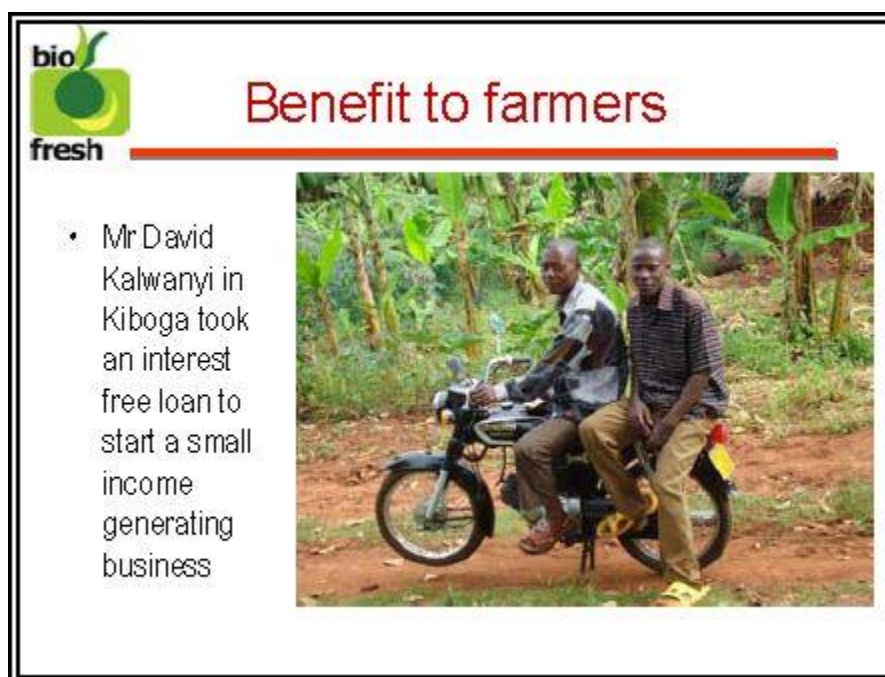
- Pay certification costs
- Collect at farm gate
- Pay cash as we collect
- Premium prices paid -50 to 200% higher than local prices
- 25% of our sales turnover goes to farmers:-
- 2006 was US\$ 60,972
- 2007 was US\$ 114,722



**Image 3: Slide from Presentation made by Sonia Madwime at pre-UNCTAD XII meeting
Arusha, Tanzania 2008
(Source: Madwime 2008)**



**Image 4: Slide from Presentation made by Sonia Madwime at pre-UNCTAD XII meeting in
Arusha, Tanzania in 2008
(Source: Madwime 2008)**



**Image 5: Slide from Presentation made by Sonia Madwime at the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting
Arusha, Tanzania 2008
(Source: Madwime 2008)**



Presentation of the social and economic benefits of organic agriculture was not just communicated by representatives from export projects but also by representatives of multilateral organisations. As a representative of UNCTAD, Sophia Twarog argued that organic agriculture provides a range of social and economic benefits to delegates in her presentation at the meeting (Refer to Slides 6, 7 and 8). This is important as it demonstrates how the efforts to frame organic as providing social and economic benefits, such as food security, by organisations, such as IFOAM, have been taken up by and then communicated through multilateral organisations with a high degree of legitimacy in the international arena. This legitimises the development of export markets for organic products in the Global South and stimulates multilateral organisations, such as UNCTAD, to contribute resources to events such as pre-UNCTAD XII through which the social and economic benefits of organic agriculture can be communicated to organisations, such as the Soil Association, responsible for setting organic standards.

**Image 6: Slide from Presentation made by Sophia Twarog at the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting
Arusha, Tanzania 2008
(Source: Twarog 2008)**



**Image 7: Slide from Presentation made by Sophia Twarog at the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting
Arusha, Tanzania 2008
(Source: Twarog 2008)**



**Image 8: Slide from Presentation made by Sophia Twarog at the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting
Arusha, Tanzania 2008
(Source: Twarog 2008)**



Many of the presentations at the pre-UNCTAD XII event also communicated the difficulties facing export projects from the presence and proliferation of onerous certification requirements. This is particularly important given that the Soil Association's Standard's Board recommended, from the first round of consultation, that all air freighted organic products be certified under ethical or fair trade standards. In a presentation by Gunnar Rundgren¹⁸⁰, for example, it was argued that 'compulsory regulation demanding certification should be avoided' and that 'Certification absorbs a lot of resources in the sector' (Rundgren 2008).

The difficulties arising from the proliferation of onerous certification requirements was echoed in a presentation by Dr Stephen Mbithi, Chief Executive of the Fresh Produce Exporters Association of Kenya (FPEAK) (refer to Slide 9, below). Mbithi (2008) claimed that 'Certification **is not** a sustainable way of proving compliance' and that 'Certification is **more expensive** than Compliance' (**original emphasis**). It was also noted, as can be seen in

¹⁸⁰ This was part of a presentation of the findings of a document produced as an output of the International Task Force on Harmonization and Equivalence (discussed in Chapter Six), entitled 'Best practices for organic marketing regulation, standards and conformity assessment: Guidance for developing countries'.

the slide from Mbithi's presentation reproduced below that 'Small scale cannot survive proliferation of standards, multiplicity of checks, or complex procedures'.

A presentation by Ulrich Hoffmann from UNCTAD also raised concerns about the proliferation of standards and the difficulties facing smallholders in compliance with these standards. Hoffmann highlighted the excessive costs and reporting demands associated with standards and certification procedures and called into question whether these instruments added any benefit to smallholder farmers (Hoffmann 2008).

**Image 9: Slide from presentation made by Dr Stephen Mbithi at the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting in Arusha, Tanzania in 2008
(Source: Mbithi 2008)**



It is important to note that the negative impact of the proliferation of standards and certification procedures was one of the primary conclusions emerging from the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting. It was argued that the 'proliferation of environmental and social standards' poses a challenge for small scale farming because this 'increases certification costs', 'can lead to confusion' and creates 'high certification costs' UNCTAD 2008. Another recommendation to come out of the meeting was that if standards are to be used that they are developed with adequate consultation with those who would be affected and reflect local conditions and realities.

It was concluded that, SS [Sustainability Standards] should adequately reflect local conditions and development needs and developing country producers should have direct and substantive input in the development of SS, on a par with other users of the standards.

UNCTAD 2008c:1

Standard-setting processes and the main actors in the development and implementation of sustainability standards should: Confirm their commitments to sustainability and codes of good standard setting by ensuring effective consultation with all affected stakeholders, including SSF, in the standard-setting process.

UNCTAD 2008c:3

While it cannot be determined whether there is a direct cause and effect relationship between these recommendations being made and the Soil Association's decision to abandon the proposed requirement for air freighted organic products to be certified under ethical or fair trade guidelines it is argued here that the presence of Soil Association representatives at the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting and their exposure to these arguments has undoubtedly impacted on the final decision of the Soil Association Board. Aside from the pre-UNCTAD XII meeting, one other important event, creating spaces in which the interests and values of movement adherents in the Global South become integrated into the wider organic movement was the Consultative Meeting on Food Miles and Ethical Standards in Kenya in June 2008.

8.1.6 Consultative Meeting on Food Miles and Ethical Standards

The second opportunity organised to enable representatives of the East African organic movement to input into the Soil Association's consultation on the applicability of air freighted organic products was a face-to-face consultation organised by representatives of the Kenyan organic sector in Kenya. This included a consultative meeting on food miles and ethical standards held in Nairobi and visits to farms involving representatives from the Soil Association and the Kenyan organic sector.

The consultative meeting was held on the 6th June 2008. It was organised by the Kenya Organic Agriculture Network (KOAN), an organic movement representative organisation,

and Organic Africa Consultancy (OAC), a private consultancy company specialising in services to the African organic sector. Funding to organise the event was provided by the Dutch development cooperation NGO Hivos, which has been actively engaged in funding organizations, such as the National Organic Agriculture Movement of Uganda (NOGAMU), involved in promoting organic agriculture in East Africa. Attending the meeting were two representatives from the Soil Association – the Chair of the Standards Board, Anna Bradley, and a Standards Officer, Kenneth Hayes. Present at the meeting were 30 representatives from the Kenyan organic movement. During the meeting, a number of presentations were given by various representatives from the Kenyan organic sector and from the Soil Association.

In a presentation from the Managing Director of FPEAK, Dr Stephen Mbithi squarely framed organic agriculture in terms of economic development. Mbithi claimed, for example, that that organic is a ‘development issue’ because there is a lack of alternative local markets. Mbithi also claimed that restrictions or regulation of the use of air freight for organic products would: reduce investment in the organic industry and have negative implications for local livelihoods.

The Soil Association Ethical standards route is considered as part of a multiple certification issue resulting in added cost and time consuming exercise to the producers. In fact many producers are seeing Certification schemes as a bigger business than production. While the SA Ethical Trading Standards (ETS) is seen as a good indicator of social and economic aspects, locally the perception is that it is as an added cost and a market access denial tool

In a presentation from the National Coordinator of KOAN, Eustace Kiarrii, organic agriculture was again framed in terms of economic development, arguing that there were important ‘development gains’ associated with smallholder participation in organic production and that these must be taken into account in the Soil Association’s decision about air freight. Kiarrii claimed that what is needed was a better understanding of these ‘development gains’ and that the Soil Association’s ethical standards would have to be refined to be more applicable to the local context. Kiarrii requested that the Soil Association work together with the local organic movement to find ways to tackle issues of climate change and to better communicate the development benefits of organic agriculture.

In response to this, Anna Bradley from the Soil Association claimed that the consultation process has been a learning exercise for the Soil Association and that within the Soil Association attitudes about the issue of air freight have changed as a result of the consultation process. Bradley claimed that it is the Soil Association's responsibility to ensure the integrity of organic products in a climate in which there is significant public scrutiny of claims made about food. Bradley argued also that there was greater awareness that local food is more sustainable and growing concern about the impact of air freight on climate change.

In addressing air freight the Soil Association were aware that they were neglecting in studying other offenders in the green house emissions supply chains but to the concerned consumers there is an apparent contradiction between sustainability of the agricultural systems and the environment, pressuring for action to be taken to remove the contradiction. The Soil Association felt these concerns had to be addressed.

Bradley cited in KOAN 2008

Bradley also acknowledged at the meeting that consumer pressure on the Soil Association over the air freight issue was uneven.

Many consumers in the West shop at multiple supermarkets and purchase occasional organic produce. The Air plane label has not changed their habits. But the smaller but more committed organic consumers are concerned about these issues and they are the activists.

Bradley also noted that consumers were unaware of the social and economic development benefits of organic agriculture and unaware of the reality of the relationship between air freight and environmental impact.

Many UK organic consumers are not aware of the development benefits from organic agriculture and the relation to the carbon footprints. Quite a number have indicated they have been wrong on the debate. They have seen the Airplane label and though it does not tell them anything, it is viewed as a warning.

Bradley also acknowledged that given the right information about the development benefits of organic agriculture that this will positively impact on their consumption habits.

Western consumers will respond positively to development benefits As long as there is a mechanism for describing them. What are they? How can we describe them? There is a market advantage on these based on food purchase decisions made by consumers.

Bradley cited in KOAN 2008:7

In making these statements it can argued that Bradley is acknowledging that the grounding of organic agriculture in market relations through standards opens up organic agriculture to alternate conceptualisations of organic and that these conceptualisations are mediated by the actions of standard setting organisations and those involved with product branding.

In summarising the air freight consultation process, Bradley noted that a main focus of the submissions made to the Soil Association highlighted the positive social and economic benefits of organic agriculture in the Global South. Bradley argued that there was a need to better understand the social and economic benefits of organic agriculture in the Global South and that this was the basis for the Standards Board recommendation to make ethical trade or fair trade certification a condition of using air freight.

At the end of the meeting it was suggested that actions be taken to adopt a culturally appropriate fair trade standards that are developed with input from representatives from the local and regional organic movements in East Africa. It was argued also that methodologies be developed to gain a clearer understanding of the positive development benefits of participation in organic agriculture production for export (KOAN 2008).

8.1.7 Final Outcomes of the Consultation

At the end of two rounds of consultation the Soil Association released a Feedback Statement, press release and information on its website regarding its final decision on the air freight issue. In the end, the Standards Board decided to modify its original recommendation that air freighted organic products require Ethical Trade or equivalent fair trade certification.

In Oct 08 the Standards Board decided not to make ethical trade a requirement of organic air freight in favour of working more closely with colleagues in East Africa to address climate change and development issues relevant to food and farming.

Soil Association 2008:2

Recognition that required a plan to reduce air freight would be costly to implement and unlikely to contribute to a reduction in the use of air freight. Many businesses already proactively try to reduce the amount they air freight.

Soil Association 2008:3

It is clear that the end result of the consultation process was a product of efforts by a number of actors with direct and indirect links to the organic movement in the Global South to frame participation in the export production of organic products as accruing economic and social development benefits to the Global South.

The air freight consultation has highlighted the positive role for organic farming in development. It has provided a vehicle for the Soil Association and others to establish a shared understanding between development and organic interests and so provide a platform for joint work going forward.

Soil Association 2008:3

Clearly the direct participation of Soil Association representatives in the two meetings held in East Africa in the second round consultation were an important part of this process and the Soil Association acknowledged this in its final report on the consultation process.

Through the summer, the Standards Board therefore deferred making a decision on their original recommendations, to allow the Soil Association and the Kenyan Organic Agriculture Network (KOAN) to consider an alternative approach.

Soil Association 2008:2

Efforts by some organic movement adherents to curb the use of air freight by framing a stronger environmental conceptualisation of organic agriculture have in the long run been deemphasised because the organisation responsible for prescribing what is meant by organic agriculture, in the UK at least, with assistance from external constituents created spaces in

which conceptualisation of organic agriculture can be reconceptualised. Furthermore, by initiating the consultation process, this will potentially have broader implications for the future development of the organic agriculture movement and conceptualisation of organic in the future. As it was stated in the consultation summary report,

The air freight consultation has highlighted the positive role for organic farming in development. It has provided a vehicle for the Soil Association and others to establish a shared understanding between development and organic interests and so provide a platform for joint work going forward. We hope the project will be a model for similar initiatives in other parts of the world

Soil Association 2008:3

8.2 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South creates new challenges for the organic movement as it attempts to encapsulate the diversity of interests and values held within the wider movement. By examining the consultation process initiated by the UK Soil Association it has been demonstrated how the frame extension processes facilitating the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South have created intramural conflict within the organic movement as alternative framings have come into conflict.

While the consultation process could be, and in fact was, portrayed as undermining the Global South's capacity to access markets in the Global North, this chapter argues, alternatively, that the consultation process acted as a catalyst for greater support for the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. By initiating the consultation, the Soil Association created new spaces of negotiation and prescription in which movement adherents in the Global South have had their interests and values further incorporated within the wider organic movement.

As it was shown, the consultation process enabled a range of actors to participate in activities where organic agriculture could be further framed as providing social and economic benefits to the Global South. Many of these actors, it was argued, were not adherents of the organic agriculture movement but external constituents, such as multilateral organizations. The call

for written submission provided adherents and constituents with an opportunity to durably frame their opposition to any ban without having to participate in face-to-face consultations and to be able to make their opposition publicly available. Constituents also supported the framing efforts advocating against any ban on the use of air freight by actively engaging in the spaces provided through the consultation process and by providing economic resources which could be used by adherents in the Global South to frame organic agriculture as providing social and economic benefits to the Global South.

Given that capacity of the organic movement to accommodate the interests and values of the Global South relies in part on the support given by external constituents, and that the mobilisation of these external constituents relies on the capacity of the organic movement to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonate with these external constituents, then it is clear that the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has relied on considerations of how to resonate with the interests and values of both adherents and constituents in the Global South and North.

An important issue that arises from this is one of future sustainability in the face of changing interests and values. If the capacity of the organic movement to mobilise existing and new adherents to the broader organic movement relies on efforts to frame organic agriculture in ways that resonant with their interests and values, what happens when the values and interests of movement adherents and constituents change over time? How can the organic movement continue to mobilise adherents and constituents in the future when, as it is argued in the framing analysis literature, framings must continue to be credible and salient in the eyes of movement adherents and constituents (Benford & Snow 2000; Snow & Benford 1988).

As it is noted in the framing analysis literature, for a framing effort to remain credible the actions of a movement must be congruent with a movement's values and the claims made by a movement (*frame consistency*). Any actions taken in the future by the organic movement, which appear to contradict framings made about social and economic benefit to the Global South, will potentially undermine confidence in movement participation. While the Soil Association has decided not to regulate, at least in the short term, the use of air freight it is entirely possible that this situation may change in the future. Furthermore, the UK is only one of the destination markets available to producers in the Global South. As such it is entirely

possible that if countries choose to limit the use of air freight this contradiction within the broader organic movement may undermine mobilisation efforts in the Global South.

Framings offered by a movement must also be readily observable through direct observation or evidence (*frame credibility*). In terms of ongoing movement mobilisation, it must be noted that claims made about the social and economic benefits of organic agriculture must be readily observable by the actors who are supposed to be receiving these social and economic benefits. There is evidence to suggest, for example, that not every farmer engaged in the production of organic products for export receive the economic benefits that are suggested in the broader literature. Further work needs to be undertaken in this regard to quantify the delivery of benefits through organic agriculture and mechanisms need to be put in place to ensure that fair economic returns are being delivered.

There is also an important ongoing issue. For framings to continue to mobilise adherents and constituents that actors articulating these framings must have credibility, status or perceived expertise (*credibility of frame articulators*). If those involved in framing organic agriculture as providing social and economic benefits to the Global South have no legitimacy then this will undermine mobilisation efforts in the future. This issue could be problematic for the organic movement if those responsible for framing organic agriculture as providing social and economic benefits to farmers are disconnected from farmers or are seen to be receiving disproportionate benefits.

As it is also noted in the framing analysis literature, framings made by movement actors must rank high in the values and beliefs of a potential supporter (*centrality*). If the framings offered by a movement to justify participation in the movement activities are of low hierarchical salience with the values and beliefs of movement adherents then this weakens the mobilising potential of a framing effort. This may cause problems for the organic movement in the future if the values and beliefs of movement adherents change over time. If the ranking of movement adherents values and beliefs change over time, such that environmental concerns rank more highly and concerns about economic development in the Global South rank more lowly amongst consumers in the Global North, this may cause them to agitate to change the current stance of organizations, such as the UK Soil Association, regarding the use of air freight.

Because framings must also have resonance with the everyday experiences of a mobilisation target (*experiential commensurability*) this could be problematic for ongoing mobilisation. If, for example, farmers located in the Global South do not experience ongoing social and economic benefits from their participation in the production of organic products then their willingness to participate in the production of organic products may diminish.

Furthermore, the requirement that framings resonate with the 'stories, myths, and folk tales' associate with a person's life (*Narrative or cultural fidelity*) in order to stimulate mobilisation, might also provide problems in the future. If the organic movement fails to tie framings into broader cultural stories then this may undermine efforts to promote movement mobilisation in the future. If farmers receive ongoing economic benefits from their participation in the production of organic products and this alters the social relations within communities this may create a source of conflict for farmers attempting to reconcile different socio-economic models.

As the case study presented in this chapter clearly demonstrates, there will be ongoing difficulties facing the wider organic movement as a result of efforts to expand organic agriculture into the Global South. These difficulties stem from the complex array of interests and values held by adherents and constituents and constituents in both the Global South and North. In order to continue to stimulate the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South it is the organic movement that will need to continue to create spaces of negotiation and prescription in which the interests and values of the Global South can be incorporated into the wider organic movement. Central to this will be the continued mobilisation of external constituents, who provide legitimacy to arguments about the social and economic benefits of organic agriculture and economic resources used to create spaces of negotiation and prescription for interest and value incorporation. The wider organic movement will also have to provide opportunities to ensure that framings claiming social and economic benefit materialise for adherents in the Global South. This is especially important for farmers whose continued support for the organic movement depend heavily on the delivery of tangible social and economic benefits.

In the final chapter of this thesis the arguments made within this thesis are summarised and the implications of combining the various theoretical concepts deployed are discussed along with ideas for future research.

CHAPTER NINE

Concluding Remarks

9 Introduction

This thesis has undertaken the task of examining the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Specifically, the thesis has sought to understand how organic agriculture has come to be taken up within the Global South and what, if any, are the outcomes of this uptake process.

To do this, the thesis examined four discrete yet interrelated case studies. Each of these case studies represent examples of different actor-networks implicated in the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This included a specific set of market exchange relations; a specific Social Movement Organization (SMO); two individual movement entrepreneurs and an intramural conflict within the organic movement. The four case studies demonstrate the value of combining from Actor-Network Theory (ANT), Resource mobilisation Theory (RMT) and framing analysis to the research problem.

The first case study presented in Chapter Five examined a specific set of market exchange relations involving the production, trade and consumption of fresh organic pineapples. Law's (1994) 'modes of ordering' concept was applied to demonstrate how the construction and maintenance of market exchange relations are best understood as being discursively organised by 'strategic logics' or 'ordering scripts'. This showed how market exchange relations are organised as a result of reflection on the interests and values of the complex array of actors.

It was argued that four particular ordering scripts – 'fairness', 'quality', 'organic' and 'efficiency' – discursively organise the specific set of relations in the case study. In order to deliver fair economic returns to smallholders, exchange relations were organised to produce and deliver pineapples embodying characteristics, such as quality and organic, which are desirable to consumers whilst simultaneously minimising the excessive costs associated with their production and trade.

Applying the ‘motivational framing’ concept from framing analysis (Snow & Benford 1988) to the case study demonstrated how market exchange relations are a critical actor-network involved in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Market exchange relations, it was argued, provide a flexible mechanism to mobilise new movement adherents into the wider organic movement.

As it was also argued, market exchange relations have the capacity to mobilise new adherents into the organic movement because they involve and are mediated by non-human actors. Non-human actors, such as money and commodities, have the capacity to mobilise participation in exchange relations because their identity and characteristics are relational effects. Their subjective nature enables them to resonate with a diversity of interests and values held by the participants.

Non-human actors, it was argued, are particularly critical to the global trade of fresh organic pineapples. Non-human actors, such as technologies of telecommunication and transport enabled these long distance relations to operate because their capacity to compress time and space reduce the deterioration of the natural qualities desired by end consumers.

In the case study presented in Chapter Six, attention shifted to focus on the role of another type of actor-network, Social Movement Organizations (SMOs), in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Drawing on insights and concepts from ANT, RMT and framing analysis, Chapter Six examined the role of the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM) in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

Drawing on Murdoch’s (1998) ‘spaces of prescription’ and ‘negotiation’ concepts, it was argued that IFOAM has played a significant role in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South because this actor-network provides spaces through which the interests and values of actors in the Global South can be incorporated into organic agriculture movement. This was particularly important because of the key role played by IFOAM in defining the principles, standards and laws, which determine who can or cannot participate in the production, trade and consumption of organic agriculture.

Combining Murdoch's (1998) spaces of prescription and negotiation concepts with framing analysis (Benford & Snow 2000) and RMT (McCarthy & Zald 2001), it was argued that IFOAM has created various spaces which have been used to promote the mobilisation of new adherents, constituents and resources. Within these spaces organic agriculture has been framed as providing social and economic benefits to farmers in the Global South. This strategy has enabled IFOAM to mobilise economic resources from externally located movement constituents within the international development cooperation sector. These resources have, in turn, been used by IFOAM to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

A key tool used in this endeavour was the production of specific texts or inscriptions to support these framings. As actors in their own right, these technologies of inscription provide IFOAM with a means of making framings durable. As physical and electronic documents these inscriptions can be transported and transmitted to adherents, constituents and bystander public around the world.

In the case study presented in Chapter Seven, attention was shifted to explore the role of another type of actor-network, individual movement entrepreneurs, in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. This was done by examining the life histories of two individual movement entrepreneurs, Bo van Elzakker and Gunner Rundgren, directly involved in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

Examining the life histories of van Elzakker and Rundgren, it was argued that these two individual movement entrepreneurs have participation in a range of activities, including the creation of consultancy companies specialising in providing services to the organic agriculture sector. It was argued that these activities provide van Elzakker and Rundgren with a means of negotiating between and satisfying competing social, environmental and economic interests and values.

As it was shown, van Elzakker and Rundgren supported the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South through their management and implementation of projects, such as the Export Promotion of Organic Products from Africa (EPOPA) program, and by participating

movement activities, such as their participation in the activities of IFOAM and other related meetings and events.

Drawing on RMT, it was argued that van Elzakker and Rundgren's participation in these activities supply them with selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy (McCarthy & Zald 2003), which in turn afford them opportunities to participate in various activities to support and promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. As it was demonstrated, van Elzakker and Rundgren have engaged in a range of activities where they have actively framed organic agriculture as providing social and economic benefits to farmers in the Global South in line with their own interests and values.

In Chapter Eight, attention was focused on a case study of a fourth specific actor-network. This case study was chosen to demonstrate one of the important outcomes emerging from the actions taken to promote the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South. Informed primarily by framing analysis, the case study examined a specific set of relations involved in a consultation process, initiated by the UK Soil Association, to discuss the applicability of using air freight to transport organic products.

Chapter Eight was an important bookend to the thesis. It demonstrated how actions taken to mobilise new movement adherents located in the Global South has created intramural conflict within the organic movement. It was argued that actions taken to broaden the organic movement, by appealing to the interests and values of new adherents and constituents, represented instances of 'frame extension' and 'frame overextension' (Benford & Snow 2000).

While the use of air freight is a necessary means to mobilise new adherents located in the Global South, as it was shown in Chapter Five, the use of air freight to transport perishable and highly valued organic products creates conflict within the organic movement. This is because the use of air freight is at odds with the interests and values of some existing adherents, namely consumers located in the Global North. While the consultation process could have readily become a point through which the continued participation of farmers in the Global South could be blocked, it was shown that the consultation process provided

spaces of negotiation and prescription (Murdoch 1997) through which to inculcate the interests of smallholder farmers within the organic movement.

But as it was also argued, this only occurred because of the capacity of actors to participate in activities where the interests and values of farmers could be advocated. While this was due to the existence of strong local movement networks in East Africa, the capacity of these actors to participate in these activities relied on previous attempts to mobilise constituents and resources from the international development cooperation sector. The case study also highlighted the importance of texts as key non-human actors involved in framing the interests and values of farmers in the Global South.

9.1 Implications of the Theoretical Model

This thesis adopts a novel theoretical approach. It has applied insights and concepts from Actor-Network Theory (ANT), Resource mobilisation Theory (RMT) and framing analysis in a way that has not been done previously. It is important therefore, at this juncture, to reflect on the implications of adopting this unique approach. How does this approach relate to broader social theory and has this approach been successful in meeting the thesis' stated aims.

Given that the aim of this thesis has been twofold, to understand how organic agriculture has been taken up in the Global South and to explore the outcomes of these processes, this novel theoretical approach has been highly useful as it focuses attention on the processes by which social relations are constructed and maintained. Underpinning each of these three approaches is a common concern for understanding how social relations are constructed and maintained. Understanding how social relations are constructed and maintained is essential to explaining how organic agriculture has come to be taken up within the Global South.

ANT was a useful approach to apply to the research. It provided the thesis with a flexible vocabulary to encapsulate the complex nature of social relations. ANT's insistence that empirical reality not be predetermined (Latour 1999), was a useful counterpoint to theories which classify the phenomena within social reality. If RMT, for example, had been adopted as the primary theoretical lens within the thesis, this would have focused attention on SMOs and individual movement entrepreneurs but neglected the role of market based actors and market exchange relations in promoting the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South.

Conversely, if a Marxist political economy approach had been adopted, this would have focused attention on supply chains and the actors within supply chains but neglected the role of SMOs and individual movement entrepreneurs. In one sense then, it is true that ANT is a method ‘a way for social scientists to access sites’, yet in another sense it is theoretical in that it reorients the lens of the social scientist so that he/she can ‘go about systematically recording the world-building abilities of the sites to be documented and registered’ (Latour 1999:21).

ANT was particularly important as it enabled the thesis to conceptualise actors and networks as intimately entwined and co-constructed (Lee & Brown 1994). Essential to this conceptualisation is the acknowledgement that social reality is heterogeneous. According to Law (1992), non-human actors play a significant role in the construction and maintenance of social reality, shaping and defining the identity of other actors through association. Acceptance of this proposition has led this thesis to conceive, that the identity or characteristics of the various phenomena associated with organic agriculture – including organic principles and practices, movement organisations, individual actors, commodities, etc – are relational effects. Methodologically this focused attention on the role of non-human actors in the construction and maintenance of social relations.

Yet, as it was argued earlier in Chapter Three, the co-constructionist symmetrical approach fails to accurately reflect the socio-natural world. This is because humans, having language, are distinctively different from other natural entities. As Murdoch (2001:123) has argued, by portraying human and non-humans as co-constructions this makes it difficult to understand ‘how and why humans develop their beliefs and execute their actions’. To account for the unique language abilities of human actors, this thesis adopted the position that meaning is prefatory to action from framing analysis. This focused attention on the importance of meaning and interpretation in the construction and maintenance of social relations. More specifically, though, this necessitated that attention be paid to the meanings ascribed to non-human actors.

There was another important limitation in applying ANT in this thesis. One of the difficulties that arises from applying ANT is knowing when to stop collecting empirical evidence. At some point in the process of gathering empirical evidence boundaries have to be drawn to

make the process manageable. Whilst this thesis has selected case studies of specific actor-networks as a means of doing this, the act of bracketing social reality in this way makes ANT no different from any other method of enquiry. No methodology can fully represent the world 'out there' without obscuring parts which may be analytically relevant. It would have been useful, had time and resources permitted, to have gained a greater understanding of the lived experiences of the smallholders and other supply chain actors, for example. This would have enabled the thesis greater understanding of the nature of the relations in which they were embedded and as, therefore, a better understanding of the interests and values held by specific actors. Unfortunately, such insight was beyond the scope of the thesis.

Adopting RMT was also an important, although potentially controversial, innovation in this thesis because it enabled the thesis to argue that the construction and maintenance of social relations is a rational process. This is somewhat at odds with New Social Movement Theory and scholars, such as Melucci (1996), who adopts a critical view of rationality. Adopting RMT has enabled the thesis to argue that individual actors are mobilised to participate in specific social relations because doing so delivers to them incentives, which resonate with their interests and values.

This should not be taken to imply that an actor is free to choose his or her own interests and values, as an actor's interests and values are effects produced through association. As Callon & Law (1982:622) have argued interests are 'temporarily stabilized outcomes of previous processes of enrolment'. This view of agency, that individuals are 'socialised [and] ... orientated to roles and practices that are culturally and socially given' is one which both an elementary position of sociology and one which is also, according to Lukes (2005:97) inherent within the so called 'ultra-radicalism' of Foucault.

Whilst it is consistent with ANT to talk of interests as effects, as Callon & Law (1982) do, understanding how social relations are constructed and maintained requires a clear set of conceptual tools. Combining RMT and framing analysis provided the thesis with a useful set of generalised conceptual tools, used to understand how social relations are formed. By combining these two theories, the thesis conceptualised the construction and maintenance of social relations as relying on the delivery of incentives, which resonate with the interests and values of participants.

It is crucial to restate, at this juncture, the definition of ‘selective incentives’ used in this thesis. The term ‘selective incentives’, which is used interchangeably with the term ‘incentives’ in this thesis, does not refer strictly to tangible and divisible material incentives as was posited by Mancur Olson (Fireman & Gamson 1979). In this thesis it also refers to intangible and indivisible moral, status and solidarity incentives. As it was noted in Chapter Five, participation in market exchange relations relies on the capacity of these relations to communicate intangible moral, status or solidarity incentives to participants. This is not to say that the exchange of tangible materials is not important because clearly they are. What this thesis argues is that the tangible materials exchanged in these relations have intangible identities or characteristics which appeal to the interests and values held by participants.

The decision to combine framing analysis and RMT to understand the processes and outcomes associated with the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South has been useful for other reasons. In focusing attention on the role of individual movement entrepreneurs in stimulating movement mobilisation processes (Jenkins 1983) in Chapter Seven, this highlighted the importance of selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy in enabling individual movement entrepreneurs’ to participate in framing activities used to promote the interests and values of farmers in the Global South. This raises important questions about who gets to participate in framing activities.

If, as it is argued in Chapter Seven, individuals with access to selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy have access to opportunities to frame organic agriculture in certain ways, what does this mean for those who do not have such access? As it was noted in Chapters Six and Eight individuals without access to selective incentives, career opportunities and legitimacy rely on the existence of spaces through which their interests and values can be incorporated into the movement. But as it was also demonstrated, in Chapter Seven and Eight, actors without access to these spaces of negotiation and prescription (Murdoch 1998) rely on the actions of others operating on their behalf, holding similar interests or values.

In adopting ANT’s focus on the importance of non-human actors in constructing and maintaining social relations, this thesis has shown how the organic movement creates a number of texts or inscriptions which define what organic agriculture is or is not. These

technologies of inscription, particularly those associated with organic standards, have the capacity to define who can or cannot participate in the practices of organic agriculture. As effects, inscriptions are produced by human actors. This raises important questions about who can or cannot participate in the crafting of such documents.

Aside from issues about who can or cannot participate in the crafting of these durable objects there is also an important point to note with regard to the role of texts in constructing and maintaining social reality. On the one hand, texts are devices which discipline behaviour because the act of interpretation prescribes to the reader applicable actions. On the other hand, texts are also productive in that by adhering to the text and following certain prescribed actions an actor defines his or her own identity. In some sense this is similar to Foucault's view on power (Clegg 1989; Lukes 2005) and Jamison's (2005) view that social movements produce new forms of knowledge.

Another important implication raised by the application of ANT, RMT and framing analysis relates to the way that organic agriculture is conceptualised. Given that this thesis adopts ANT and its position that social reality and the identity and characteristics of the elements that make up social reality are effects, constructed through the ongoing interactions of complex and heterogeneous networks of relations, it is argued that the characteristics and identities of the various elements associated with organic agriculture will continue to evolve and change over time as new associations are formed. This is not to imply that organic agriculture means anything to anyone, but to merely note the 'performative' (always in the making) nature of social relations (Whatmore 1997) or 'dialogic' character of social movements (Holland *et al* 2008).

The approach taken in this thesis has some similarities to the work of Melucci (1996) who has proffered a view of social movements, which focuses on the importance of identity in supporting movement mobilisation. As with Melucci (1996), this thesis argues that culture and everyday life are important factors in the formation of social movement activity. In this vein, it is useful to recognise that a movement is not a unified actor because its identity 'may be comprised by place-based processes outside of ... the control' of movement leaders (Holland *et al* 2008:99), such as the everyday activities involved with the production, trade and consumption of food. In recognition of this, the thesis has attempted to balance its

analysis of the more strategic actions of movement organizations and leaders with the everyday activities involved with market exchange relations.

While it is true that actors within the organic movement have traditionally gone to great lengths to differentiate organic agriculture from industrial agriculture, defining it as healthy and industrial agriculture as unhealthy (Conford 2001), it is clear from this thesis that there are multiple meanings attached to the organic agriculture concept. Conceptualisations of organic agriculture as healthy are but one of a number of framings or ‘rationale[s] for action’ deployed to mobilise movement adherents. This point was well made in Chapter Two where the existence of a variety of motivations, interests and values underpinning organic farmer or consumer behaviour was duly noted.

Given that market exchange relations are an important part of the movement mobilisation process, there are important questions about the influence these relations have on the identity of the organic agriculture movement. As it was noted in Chapter Two, a number of commentators, such as Allen & Kovach (2000), Allen & Sachs (1993), Buck *et al* (1997) Clunies-Ross (1990), Clunies-Ross & Hildyard (1992), and Guthman (1998, 2003, 2004a, 2004b), have been sceptical of the capacity of organic agriculture to represent an alternative to industrial agriculture, as it is traditionally conceived, as it becomes increasingly embedded in market exchange relations. The scepticism of these authors emerges from their grounding in Marxian political economy, which posits that market exchange relations inevitably lead to price competition. This price competition, it is argued, ultimately limits the capacity of farmers to pursue practices which promote sustainable practices eroding the health of farming systems and broader social and ecological systems. It is an argument which has been conceptualised as the conventionalisation thesis.

The case study presented in Chapter Five provides an important contrast with such economically deterministic arguments because it supports the findings of a range of studies informed by the cultural ‘turn’ in sociology, such as those outlined in Chapter Two, which have argued that market exchange relations are not ordered solely by economic considerations (Banks & Bistrow 1999; Barham 2002; Darnhofer 2005; DuPuis 2000; Goodman & DuPuis 2002; Knickel & Renting 2000; Marsden & Smith 2005; Marsden *et al*

2000; Pugliese 2001; Murdoch & Miele 1999; Murdoch *et al* 2000; Rosin and Campbell 2009; Sage 2003).

What the case study presented in Chapter Five demonstrated was that market exchange relations are ordered to appeal to an array of considerations. The importer's desire to provide development opportunities for smallholders, for example, was shown to be a product of his religious faith and experiences in Tanzania. His desire to deliver fair economic returns to farmers was mediated by his capacity to construct and maintain relations that could deliver products displaying quality characteristics, desirable to downstream, wholesalers, retailers and consumers. Clearly there are many other factors contributing to the construction and maintenance of these relations than simply economic rationality.

Whilst the case study in Chapter Five presents an optimistic view of the capacity of market exchange relations to respond to complex social concerns through the delivery of fair economic returns to smallholders in the Global South and products appealing to a range of material and cultural desires held by consumers, it should be noted that this is only one case study. The experiences of these farmers, it is argued, may not necessarily be representative of the experiences of all farmers located in the Global South who are engaged in producing organic products for export. There are reasons for being sceptical of reading too much into the results presented in Chapter Five.

The first relates to the nature of the commodity being traded. The network of relations analysed in Chapter Five are specific in that they involve the production and trade of a specific product – fresh organic pineapples. Market exchange relations will differ when they involve different commodities because different commodities have different natural characteristics which impact on the nature of the relations and the types of actors involved in their production, trade and consumption. The natural characteristics of products undoubtedly impacts on the capacity of specific market exchange relations to extract and deliver premium prices to farmers. Coffee, for example, is a potentially a less lucrative prospect, because the relative ease with which coffee can be transported increases the level of market competition, lowering capacity of the product to attract a premium price on the market.

The second relates to the interests and values of the various actors mobilised in these relations. As it was shown in the case study presented in Chapter Five, the commitment of the importer and his export company partners to promoting fair economic returns to farmers is not a universal concern amongst other similar actors. The commitment of the importer to pay farmers a premium price was, it is argued, the product of his religious background and his personal experiences living in Tanzania. It could not be expected that other importers (or exporters, wholesalers, retailers and consumers) would have the same interests and values guiding their decision making processes. Therefore, it should not be expected that all such actors would choose to act in ways that provide fair economic returns to farmers. Doing so may conflict with their interests and values, which, as it known from ANT, are effects of their location within particular networks of relations.

A third reason to be sceptical of the stability of these relations is that the actors engaged in a particular set of market exchange relations do not engage in these relations in isolation. The actors engaged in these relations are embedded within a range of other networks of relations, which influence their decision making processes when it comes to participating in the production, trade or consumption of organic products. As one of the retailers mentioned during an informal conversation, his interest in buying tropical fruits from Africa was informed from his personal connection to Africa through a close relative. As another retailer noted, they did not purchase organic pineapples from Kipepeo when local fruit was being sold on the market, as the lower prices for local in season produce influenced consumer decision making.

The complex and evolving nature of social relations offered by combining ANT, RMT and framing analysis in this thesis, poses important questions for the stability of market exchange relations established to produce and export organic products. For example, this thesis raises a number of such questions about the relations outlined in Chapter Five. What happens if the capacity of consumers to pay a premium price for the organic pineapples declines? What occurs if a cheaper source of fresh pineapples displaying the same quality characteristics becomes available to consumers? What happens if consumers become concerned about the impact of air freighting pineapples as debates about climate change progress? What happens if the expectations of the organic pineapple farmers change as a result of changing social, environmental or economic conditions in Uganda?

While the complex and reflexive nature of social relations raises a myriad of potential disruptions, which threaten to destabilize market exchange relations involving organic products, it should be remembered that social relations are also productive. Ongoing participation in specific sets of market exchange relations has the capacity to consolidate the identity and characteristics of the actors involved.

As it was demonstrated in Chapter Five, the importer and exporter's insistence that smallholders be paid a fair trade premium, when combined with the importer's actions to label or brand pineapples as providing farmers with fair trade premiums, sends a clear message to consumers of a reason why they should purchase these items, beyond simply the natural characteristics of the products. Even if the consumer does not initially care whether the purchase of the item provides fair economic returns to smallholders, by appealing to consumers' desire for items displaying certain desirable quality characteristics, the importer has created an opportunity to expose the consumer to ideas about supporting economic and social development in the Global South.

Over time this may inculcate a desire within the consumer to purchase products in the future if this identity is reinforced through other associations. As one of the retailers interviewed for the case study in Chapter Five noted (De Prato pers comm. 2005), the publicising of fair trade products by the German government during the coalition between the German Greens and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) stimulated increased demand for fair trade products in Germany.

What will also be important are other activities to promote the idea of providing social and economic benefits to smallholders through the purchase of organic products. This will rely on a myriad of other actions taken to portray the identity of organic products and smallholders in certain ways. Much of this work does not occur solely within the market exchange relations but also in the various interactions of everyday life.

As it was shown in Chapters' Six, Seven and Eight, the uptake of organic agriculture in the Global South is not solely a result of the activities undertaken within market exchange relations but also the result of actions taken by individual movement entrepreneurs and Social

Movement Organizations (SMOs). It is within these dedicated movement spaces where understandings about what organic agriculture is and does are developed and communicated to a wider audience. Whilst the meanings generated in these spaces are communicated to consumers, producers and other market exchange relations they are, as it has been shown communicated to external movement constituents who have the capacity to contribute resources to promote mobilisation.

The difficulty in this for the organic movement, is balancing the interests and values of the various adherents as the movement grows larger and the types of actors that participate becomes more varied. This is not to say that farmers in the Global North do not consider the delivery of economic and social benefits as important or that farmers in the Global South do not consider environmental sustainability as important. It is simply a cautionary tale; a recognition of the evolving nature of the movement.

As it was noted in Chapter Eight, through the application of concepts of frame extension and overextension (Benford & Snow 2000) the extension of movement frames to mobilise new adherents opens the movement to conflict. Intramural conflict will be a perennial battle for the movement if it is to continue to expand. This is but one of a range of significant findings emerging from the application of this novel theoretical and methodological approach. It is hoped that the lessons learnt here will be enlightening to the organic agriculture movement, other movements and future social movement research.

9.2 Future Research

A number of questions emerge as a result of this research. How difficult will it be for the organic movement to mobilise new adherents in the future if the contrast between organic and industrial agriculture become obscured due to the need to accommodate a greater diversity of interests and values? How well will the movement hold together in the future if and when broader changes to society, the economy and the environment take hold? Will the incorporation of the interests and values of smallholders into the organic movement provide a mechanism for greater solidarity between the Global North and South? Does the growing association between organic and fair trade have the capacity to inculcate new understandings about sustainability within the wider community?

Aside from these obvious follow up questions, it would be useful to conduct research to ascertain and quantify the costs and benefits associated with smallholder participation in the production of organic products for export. As it was alluded to above, there is anecdotal evidence that the positive experience of the pineapple farmers presented in Chapter Five is not the experience of other farmers in the Ugandan context. If evidence about the positive benefits to farmers could be sustained through research, this would provide support to the framings about the positive social and economic benefits to farmers.

Complimentary research should also be undertaken to analyse the full complexity of specific market exchange relations. Such research should delve deeply into the situation of each of the actors along the supply chain to map out and analyse the networks of relations surrounding each type of actor. It would be useful to gain a greater understanding of the decision making processes and behaviour of producers, exporters, importers, wholesalers, retailers and consumers, in terms of the complex network of relations in which these actors are embedded (familial, personal and professional). Such research should also take specific note of the relationships between human and non-human actors. This requires that attempts be made to better understand the meanings ascribed to non-human actors by different actors within these relations.

It is important to note the constraints in undertaking such research. The first is locating resources with which to pay professional researchers to undertake such research. Such research is extremely time consuming and complicated, particularly when involving multiple research sites involving actors with different languages. The second is one of access. As it was noted earlier in Chapter Four of the thesis, there are significant difficulties, in attempting to ascertain detailed information about market exchange relations. The capacity of a researcher to access the myriad sites and actors required to undertake in-depth analysis of market exchange relations requires a willingness of a large number of actors to provide open access to their social world. This is particularly problematic when economic survival may be impacted by such research.

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Appendix 1: List of Interviews/Correspondence

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