

# CONSTRUCTING DISTANT GEOGRAPHIES OF CARE: THE EXAMPLE OF FAIRTRADE IN HORSHAM

By Mary McLaren

I certify that this dissertation is entirely my own work and no part of it has been submitted for a degree or other qualification in this or another institution. I also certify that I have not collected data nor shared data with another candidate at Exeter University or elsewhere without specific authorisation.

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27<sup>th</sup> April 2011

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank Paul Cloke and Patrick Devine Wright for all their help and guidance which they gave me throughout this piece of work. They have been particularly calming influences during times of great worry!

I would also like to thank all those that helped with my research, namely Gaynor, John, Babara, David, Sue and Miss Quint.

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my Mum and Dad, who apart from giving me the opportunity to study at such a fantastic University, have believed in my academic ability throughout my life even when I doubted it.

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**Abbreviations:**

FTT – Fairtrade town

FTF- Fairtrade foundation

R.E.C- The Real Eating Company Cafe

## **ABSTRACT**

*"As geographers, academics, researchers, students and parents we are connected to people in distant places, on a daily basis, through consumption." (Hatwick:2000:1178)*

There is a sense in which our greater ability to *act at a distance* (Thompson:1995) has arisen in a renewed responsibility to care for those spatially distant. Although much empirical work has been conducted on care for the intimate "Other" within Human Geography, little has been said on how care is extended to distant places. Furthermore, studies that have focused on this area have largely focused on how distant care is implemented within cities rather than on smaller spaces such as towns.

This paper will utilise the example of Horsham, a Fairtrade town, to understand the dynamic and complex ways that care has become embodied by different social networks within local spaces. The paper goes on to consider the impact that varying geographical imaginations, associated with ethical places and spaces of the "Self", have had on constructing these distant geographies. Findings reveal that Fairtrade reconstructs Horsham as a space of significance by attaching value and purpose to places of consumption.



# 1.Introduction

## 1.1 Fairtrade

The FTF is not only intriguing to geographers because it re-connects the consumer and producer in "*equitable, more meaningful...ways*," (Transfair USA:2002) but also because of its aim to entreat, "*moral connections and responsibilities all along the commodity network*" (Goodman:2004:903). Indeed the FTF, which focuses on the progress of alternative forms of trade, (Friedberg:2003, Rice:2001) has been branded a "*market-orientated social movement*" (Wilkinson:2007:219), emphasizing its contested political stance towards neoliberal practices. (Linton et al:2004).

## 1.2 Fairtrade Town campaign

First established in 2002, this campaign had been deemed highly successful. It is hoped that by establishing Fairtrade in local towns or cities, the consumer's individual decision becomes overridden by a collective decision for positive social change. (Low and Davanport:2005:506). Nicholls and Opal argue that this initiative is of interest to geographers and policy makers alike because it: "*ties the movement's ethical marketing stance to particular places*". (2005:173). (See figure 1.2). There are five requirements needed to achieve Fairtrade status (see table below). In particular, a local Fairtrade steering group must be formed to ensure continued dedication to the FTC status.

## **1.2 Criteria required to achieve Fairtrade status**

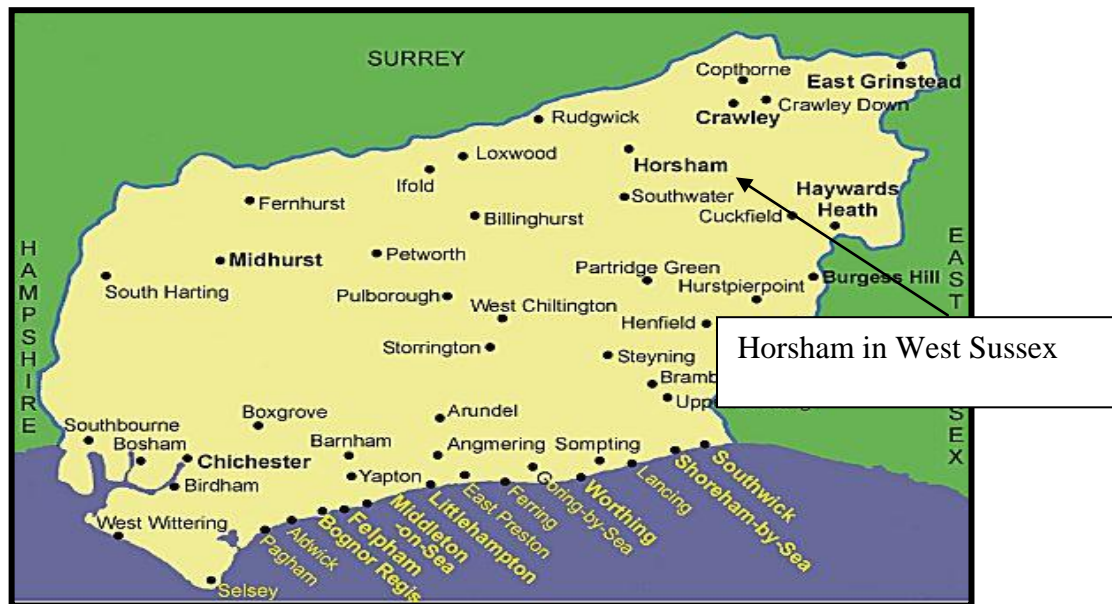
Criteria
1. A resolution must be passed by local authority to support Fair trade and serve Fair trade tea and coffee at its meetings.
2. A range of Fair trade products must be made available in a specified number of shops and cafes
3. Fair trade products must be used in a specified number of local work-places and community organisations
4. Significant media coverage for the campaign must be maintained, in order to keep the campaign in the news
5. A local Fair trade steering group must be established

*Source: Barnett et al. 2011: 186*

## **1.3 Fairtrade in Horsham**

Horsham (my hometown) is a medium sized town located in West Sussex (see figure 1.1) and was awarded Fairtrade status in 2005. (figure 1.2). The *Fairtrade Horsham* steering group was initially formed by Gaynor Cooper but quickly brought together a range of other civic activists within the town. The steering group relies on both individual activists and "*spatially extensive networks*" in order to retain its status. (Cox 1998:1). In 2010, Horsham celebrated its five year FTT anniversary by holding a tea party, which I was lucky enough to attend. (See figure 1.3).

**Figure 1.1 Locating Horsham**



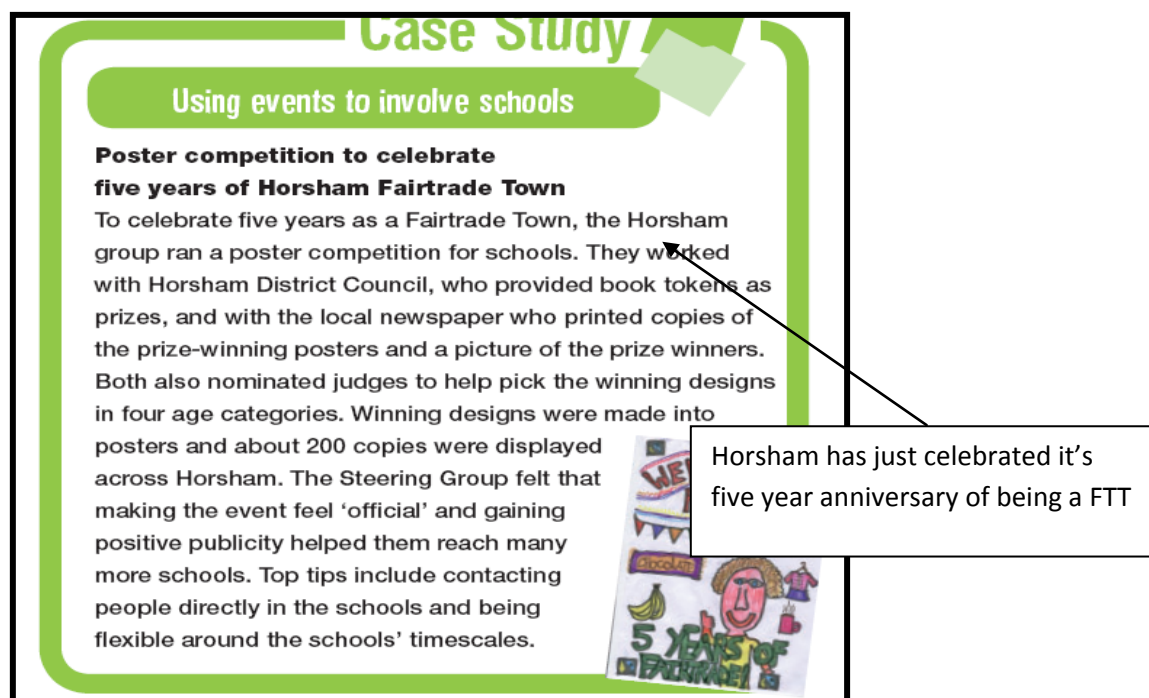
Source: <http://www.propertysurveying.co.uk/WESTSUSSEX/WESTSUSSEXINDEX.html>

**Figure 1.2 Fairtrade Towns**



Source: <http://www.leamingtonspatowncouncil.gov.uk/?c=38>

**Figure 1.3 Horsham's five year Fairtrade anniversary**



Source: <http://www.caterersearch.com/Articles/2010/10/20/335561/Are-hospitality-businesses-embracing-fair-trade.htm>

#### 1.4 Relevance for Human Geography

Geographers have mostly concentrated on care for the intimate "Other", arguing that *`moral concern would reach its highest intensity where knowledge of the other is at its...most intimate.'* (Bauman:1993:166) This paper will attempt to expand on recent publications within Human Geography concerned with caring at a distance, whilst also taking a fresh perspective on why people conduct relations of care for people distant to them. As my dissertation is specifically focused on a small local area it will also fulfil the need to understand *"the heterogeneous local arrangements involved in procuring care"* (Raghuram et al:2009:7 ). It is particularly relevant to contemporary geographical research because it will contribute to and enrich recent work on moral geographies.

The overall objective of this dissertation is to understand the multiple ways that geographies of distant care become **constructed** within Horsham, acknowledging the different practical and theoretical approaches to the consumption of Fairtrade.

The research aims are:

1. **What are the different spatial relations that become inscribed within Fairtrade towns?**
2. **How does the process of caring for the "Other" become inscribed on spaces of the "Self"?**
3. **Does distant caring within Fairtrade towns contribute to ethical place-making?**

### 1.5 Dissertation structure

Following on from this introduction a literature review and research methodology will contextualize wider academic concerns and explain how the research was undertaken. The research questions will be explored in turn in chapters 4,5 and 6, where the analysis will combine research from both the interviews and focus group before a conclusion is drawn together in chapter 7.

Chapter 4 will discuss the inherent spatial cross over's within Fairtrade towns and the fractures that are born out of this.

Chapter 5 will begin by exploring the self-serving nature of Fairtrade consumption before examining whether Fairtrade affects imaginaries of the "Other", using an **image observation analysis**.

Chapter 6 will explore the different versions of Fairtrade before discussing how activists re-imagine Fairtrade towns in various ways.

## 2.Literature Review

*"Distance is usually understood to be a medium of moral harm or indifference"*

(Barnett: 2005:5)

### 2.1 Moral Geographies

The "moral turn" in human geography, mobilised by an era of radicalism in the 1970's, has prompted an outpouring of work on ethics. (Smith:2000, Lawson:2007, Cloke:2002).

Linked to the postmodern theoretical stream within the discipline (Smith:2000), academics have become increasingly concerned with issues of inequality, difference and ultimately the unfair treatment of the "Other." As a result, research on geographies of care and responsibility has flourished, with *Social and Cultural Geography* (2003 and 2004) and *Ethics, Place and Environment* (2003) being two of the key journals which have published this line of thinking.

#### 2.1.2 Geographies of care

Gilligan (Noddings:1982) first deployed the term "*ethic of care*" to illustrate gendered differences in caring. However, recent work has focused more on how people adopt an attitude towards others that is characterised by feelings of compassion. (Popke:2007).

Indeed, Mckie et al (2002) uses the term "*Caringscapes*" to describe the various social and institutional landscapes in which care is taking place. Thus, geographers have focused on a variety of intimate spaces of care, ranging from mental health facilities (Gleeson and Kearns:2001), elderly care facilities (Milligan,2003), hospitals (Fannin:2003) to the complex spaces of care in the home. (Pratt:2003). However, publications such as Smith's

*How far should we care?* (Smith:1998) have questioned the extent to which care should also extend towards the distant "Other". This dissertation will respond to Smith's work by exposing the spatial effectiveness of care (Lawson:2007) from a specific scale, that of Horsham..

In line with Smith, Silk recognises that relations of care also need to be looked at on a wider scale as "*our lives are radically entwined with the lives of distant strangers.*" (Silk:1999:8). Tronto sees this understanding as largely based on a theory of justice, where care is based on a universal application of impartiality and therefore "*expressed as equality*" (1993:171). As a result of this work on care, a wealth of writing on geographies of responsibility has also been mobilized (Barnett and land:2007, Corbridge:1993, Smith,2001). It is argued that a sense of obligation has arisen as people have become increasingly aware of their own entanglement into destructive systems of production and consumption. (Massey:1991). By taking responsibility for the "Other", the "Self" is said to be engaged in a place of "*accountable positioning.*" (Viswesworan in Cloke:2002:9).

## **2.2 Ethical Consumption**

One way that care has become increasingly spread out is through "*Ethical purchase behavior*" (Smith:1990:178), which is used to describe consumers who consider issues associated with unfair trading practices and environmental deterioration. Indeed, Whatmore (1997) has coined the term "*relational ethic*" to describe the intimate relations which exist over distance between laborers and consumers as a result of both green and fair trade consumption. For this reason, Brown and Mussell articulate that anti-consumerism groups have produced "*communities of affiliation*" where people challenge, through their own understandings of consumption and production, agri-businesses and the practices of trans-



national corporations. (1984:11). Indeed, Klein's (2000) popular thesis "*No logo*" illustrates academic's growing interest into the dynamic and multiple spaces which these anti-globalisation movements now occupy. (Jackson:2000).

However, Renard (1999) argues that whilst creating solidarity at the global scale, the affluence that contemporary ethical consumption now requires can create socio-cultural differentiation at local scales. My research will adopt Renard's (2006) contention to expose the fractures that are created within local consumption spaces. However, rather than focusing on affluence this study will explore how recognition and misrecognition, more than anything, leads to discourses of exclusion. Indeed, networks of knowledge, to do with working conditions and unequal pay, have become critically linked to the discursive practices of consumption. (Shaw and Clarke in Szmigin and Carrigan:2006:611).

Moreover, Harvey highlights another problem of ethical consumption by suggesting that there is little knowledge surrounding "*the intricate geography of production*." (1990:422). He goes on to pinpoint the difficulty in understanding whether the food on our plate has been made by happy labourers in Italy or suffering farmers in the South. Moreover, MacDonald and Marshall pinpoint the environmental and cultural tensions which are produced within local spaces as a result of the clash between different ethical initiatives, namely local and international trade. (2010:64). My study will draw MacDonald and Marshall and Harvey's arguments together to argue that care does not follow such a linear path but rather is characterised by a series of spatial cross-over's and negotiations. However, in contrast to MacDonald and Marshall, this dissertation will also investigate how caring towards the proximate "Other" can aid motivations to care over distance.

Controversies within the literature have further been created in relation to the motivations behind these social practices. Millier (2001) argues that ethical consumption is inherently linked to attitudes of care and love. Indeed, in a study on caring for homeless people, Cloke et al (2005) argue that these practices involve a, "*going beyond the self*" (2005:287) in the sense that one leaves the comfortable spaces of the "Self" in order to enter the unknown universe of the "Other". They argue that this illustrates a form of "*selfless responsibility*." (Cloke et al:2005:387). At the other extreme, Allahyari has used the notion of "moral selving" to argue that one can create oneself as a more virtuous person through the practice of consumption. (Allahyari, 2000:4). Ethical consumers have therefore arguably become "*identity shoppers*," (Bondi and Davidson:2004:19) because not only do they buy into a "*better world*" (Harrison et al:2005) but also into a particular ethical lifestyle. (Bondi and Davidson:2004:19). Indeed, geographers have begun to acknowledge that altruism and benevolence are alone not enough to stitch consumers into these ethical networks of care. With this in mind, my dissertation will extend these ideas by considering how both morality and selfhood become involved in constructing these geographies. As Taylor has argued, self identity and the good are, "*inextricably intertwined themes*." (Taylor:1989:3)

However, whilst these arguments pinpoint two extremes, other academics have also pointed out the variety of motives for caring. Gecas, in particular, (1991:1799) argues that moral agency becomes linked to personal integrity in three different ways:

1. Self esteem- to feel good about oneself
2. Self efficacy- understanding oneself as causal agent
3. Authenticity- to find meaning

Coles (1997:2) further complicates this argument through "*rethinking the politics of generosity*" where he suggests that Christians that act ethically do so either because of a desire to convert others or alternatively because their faith requires them to serve those in need. The idea of channeling one's faith onto others through consumption links to Barnett et al's notion that some persuasive actors within the church become re-cast as "evangelists." (2010:103). Unlike other studies, my dissertation will extend these theoretical arguments by exposing the myriad of aesthetic pleasures gained from sharing spaces with the distant "Other". Indeed, Soper has coined the term "alternative hedonisms" to argue that we need to consider new ways of thinking about human pleasure and self realisation.(2007). For this reason, I would argue that Allhayari's belief that ethical consumption is merely based on selfish motivations is anachronistic.

### **2.3 Fairtrade and Geography**

It is hoped that through the act of consumption Fair trade products may aid marginalised farmers in the South, releasing them from their economic and social plight. (Bryant and Goodman:2004:358). Goodman argues that Fair trade has therefore created a moral economy whereby networks of people, products, knowledge and meanings become joined together (Goodman:2004). Drawing on this idea, Trentman (2007) argues that the changing moral economies of the modern world have also contributed to the changing moralities of these trading networks.

Linking to these ideas on networks of morality, Goodman argues that the re-connection between producer and consumer is accomplished through the "*material and semiotic commoditization processes that produce Fair trade commodities.*" (2004:891). He argues that this illustrates the presence of a "*political ecological imaginary,*" (2004:891) which

will be explored with my research. However, academic consideration has largely focused on the presence of unequal power relations within Fairtrade networks, arguing that the consumer becomes re-cast as a hero. Cook et al (2004) contend that the commercial images used of local farmers render producers as indigenous and exotic "Others". Varul extends this argument to suggest that the producer becomes a particular type of post-colonial commodity, (2008:662) correlating with Hooks' notion that there is an, "*Eating of the Other*" (Hooks:1992). However, my dissertation will argue that this argument ignores how images are interpreted in a myriad of ways by consumers. Indeed, this project will also consider whether Fairtrade consumption creates a sense of postcolonial responsibility (Blunt and McEwan:2002) amongst consumers.

Controversy within the academic literature has been further created as a result of Fairtrade within business spaces. Smith argues that supermarkets, for example, can either help to expand Fairtrade through the process of commercialisation or alternatively undermine meanings of justice. (Smith:2010) (Low and Davenport: 2005). Indeed, Whenham et al argue that the meanings behind Fairtrade, "*involve intangible social and psychological benefits that are difficult to portray in the media.*" (2003:213) By placing Fairtrade products in "*ethically questionable*" business and trading spaces, it is argued that the symbolic and moral undertones of Fairtrade have become "*barstardized.*" (Barrientos and Smith:2007:57). My dissertation will expand on these argument to question not only the moral value emplaced on business spaces but also other local networks, examining whether Fairtrade produces a moral hierarchy of different social networks.

## 2.4 Good cities

Studies of ethical places have not only focused on place as an important site for us to constitute ethical relations (Sack:1997 in Barnett, 1995), but also have noted how these practices contribute to the re-construction of place. (Agnew:2003 in Nicholls and Opal:2005). It is argued that ethical forms of knowledge move along geographical networks to inhabit certain spaces, drawing on specific imaginative geographies which are unraveled to create new symbolic meanings for these places. (Crang:2005). In Darling's study of Sheffield, he demonstrates how the social movement "City of Sanctuary" has instigated the re-imagining of the city, "*as a space of refuge and welcome towards asylum seekers and refugees.*" (2010:125). However, this dissertation will consider the complexity of this re-imagination, focusing on how place is re-worked in different ways by different actors. Indeed, Amin and Thrift have pointed to the diversity of social ties and networks that inhabit the city, which they argue have created a whole array of actors with "*different statuses, geographical ties and mobilities.*" (Amin and Thrift:2002:72–3).

### 2.4.1 Relational theory

The consensus view within academic literature that the process of time-space compression is causing the "*annihilation of space by time*" has become central to the way that places have become re-conceptualised. (Harvey:1990:418) Relational theory, in particular, has been used to explore how spaces knock into other spaces so that, "*space is frequently being imagined as a product of networks and relations.*" (Jones:2009:487) For example, Massey has used the concept of "*place beyond place*" to explain how we begin to re-imagine these cities as other places become part of the city and the city also becomes part of other spaces. (2007). This dissertation will expand on Massey's theory by arguing that ethical places are

not only re-imagined through the linking of places but also through the moral values which we place on those other places. Indeed, it is important to bear in mind Valentine's contention that one should think about, "*how we mobilize a sense of sameness with others*". (Valentine:1999:48)

#### 2.4.2 Fairtrade Cities

Massey's notion of place beyond place has also been linked to Fairtrade cities. Barnett et al (2007) have used the term "*Fairtrade Urbanism*" to argue that place identity has become an integral element in Bristol's Fairtrade city campaigning. They go on to suggest that these cities begin to demonstrate qualities of fairness and thus, "*Fairtrade works for the city as much as the city works for Fairtrade.*" (2007:639). The same scholars have also produced work on more specific sites within the city. In a study about a school in Bristol, Barnett et al (2010) argue that Fairtrade now encompasses, "*the everyday spaces of the curriculum.*" (Barnett et al:2010:491). Whilst Barnett et al have largely focused on the re-imagination of Fairtrade cities, this study will focus on the heterogeneous ways that Fairtrade towns are re-articulated in light of their changing status. Moreover, rather than simply focusing on the status of the town, this study will provide new evidence for how smaller processes, such as the events, also have a significant role to play in the re-imagination of place.

Overall, this dissertation will be structured around the work of the following three scholars but as stated above will expand on their studies in various ways:

1. Massey's (2007) concept of "*place beyond place*" will be discussed in relation to whether Fairtrade creates a deeper understanding of other places and indeed the linking between space

2. Allyhari's concept on "*moral selving*" will be explored.
3. Lastly, Barnett et al's (2010) work on the re-imagination of Fairtrade places will be considered.

### **3.Methodology**

#### **3.1 Field site**

The suitability of Horsham for a study on distant geographies of care is emphasised by its status as a FTT. By using the example of a town as opposed to a city, this location also ensured originality in research. Moreover, having just celebrated its five year anniversary as a FTT, Horsham provided a suitable temporal framework through which changes to place could be analysed.

#### **3.2 Method**

In their study of caring for the homeless, Cloke et al argue that a qualitative approach is most suitable for analysing discourses to do with values and ethics. (2005:386). Therefore, this method was adopted in order to understand how care is valued in different ways. In line with the feminist approach, this type of research allowed for an exploration of the complex emotions that a person upholds to a particular issue; importantly recognising their "*multiple subjectivities*." (Clifford and Valentine:2003:4). My research yielded both data sources (interviews, focus group) and source material (promotional material).

The research process involved three phases. Firstly, to collect a reliable and detailed overarching view of the progression and enactment of Fairtrade within the town, a focus group with the steering group "*Fairtrade Horsham*" was carried out. Secondly, based on the results from the focus group, the three most active social networks within the town were identified and key activists within these communities were then interviewed. These networks were identified as the churches, schools and businesses. However, having completed both the focus group and interviews, it became clear that the research had not



gained the opinions of the general public. Moreover, a gap within the research was highlighted in relation to consumer's imaginations of the "Other". Images are a key element within FTT campaigns and as argued by Shwartz and Ryan it is: "*through photographs, we see, we remember, we imagine: we picture place*" (2003:1). It was for this reason that it was imperative, in the final stage, to undertake an image analysis using commercial Fairtrade material. Two Fairtrade café's were therefore selected due to the accessibility of the public within these spaces and because they included commercial Fairtrade material.

### **3.3 Focus group**

A focus group was carried out with the steering group *Fairtrade Horsham* not only to gain the opinions of those most actively involved with Fairtrade but to also gather reliable data on the differences between the three social Fairtrade networks. In total, five members of the group attended the session. The sessions was based at Gaynor's house (where the group's meetings were usually held) to provide familiar surroundings. As the participants within the group already knew each other, conversation flowed easily and participants were relaxed enough to share information.

Focus groups are advantageous because they intend to be non-directive and so participants may engage with the topic from "*as many angles as they please.*"(Clifford and Valentine:2003:4) Indeed, smaller issues were exposed within the larger topic that had not previously been considered. However, some structure was implemented as a list of questions with subsections were prepared before the session commenced. For the focus group and subsequent interviews, participants were contacted before the interview took place, and permission was granted to use a recorder so that no notes needed to be taken.

(Longhurst:2003). This was decided to ensure full interaction with the interviewee. (See appendices for description of participants within focus group).

### **3.4 Interviews**

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the most notable networks identified from the focus group; churches, schools and businesses. Two people were selected within each group and individuals were chosen based on their involvement with Fairtrade, allowing for optimum understanding of the different versions of Fairtrade within the town. As Cook points out, "*it is not the sheer number of people approached which matters, but the quality and positionality of the information that they can offer.*" (1997:11). For example, interviews were undertaken with the "Fairtrade officer" Sue, from St Mary's church and the "officer" of the Quakers church, Anne. Indeed, within each network, I chose at least two different institutions allowing me to attain a diversity of opinions whilst also ensuring that I worked within the time constraints. Moreover, in order to obtain the opinion of someone in a political position, an interview was undertaken with local councillor David

The style of this interviewing also allowed for both a predetermined and conversational structure, permitting the participants to expand on the topic of conversation.

(Dunn:2005:80). Interviews were held at the participant's houses to provide a familiar setting, allowing conversation to flow easily.

### **3.3 Interviewees**

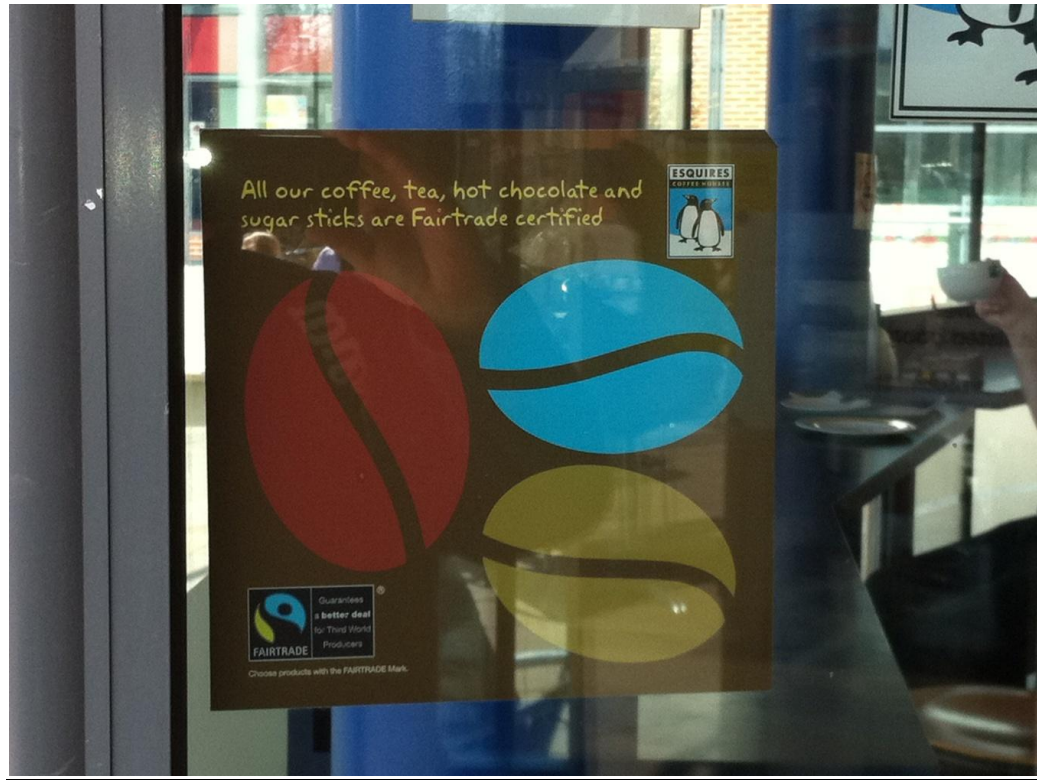
<b>Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Locality</b>
Sue	54	Female	Fairtrade officer at St Mary's church	Church
Audrey	68	Female	Fairtrade officer at the Quakers church	Church
Michael	35	Male	Manger at Esquires cafe	Business
Lawrence	45	Male	Manager at the Real Eating company cafe	Business
Miss Quint	59	Female	Teaches about Fairtrade in PSHE lessons	School
Lesley	43	Female	Teaches about Fairtrade in Geography	School
David	51	Male	Local district councillor, involved with deciding whether Horsham should become a Fairtrade town.	Local council

### **3.5 Image Observation**

Using the leaflets within two Fairtrade Café's, (figure 3.1, 3.2) customers were asked to discuss whether the images within them influenced their attitudes towards distant "Others". The same leaflet was used in each cafe. (figure 3.3). Following Frisette, the method of "*audiencing*," was used, whereby one considers how others reinterpret or renegotiate an

image's meaning (in Rose:2001). Particular attention was paid to how customers experienced these images, concentrating on how they felt and act and even produced their own "*distinctive geographies*".(Bartham in Valentine et al:2003:157). Below is the leaflet and the two images that were focused upon in the analysis.(see figure 3.4 and 3.5). Before asking questions, permission was granted from each customer to use a recorder and to ensure confidentiality; customer's names were not used in the final report.

**Figure 3.1 Esquires Cafe**



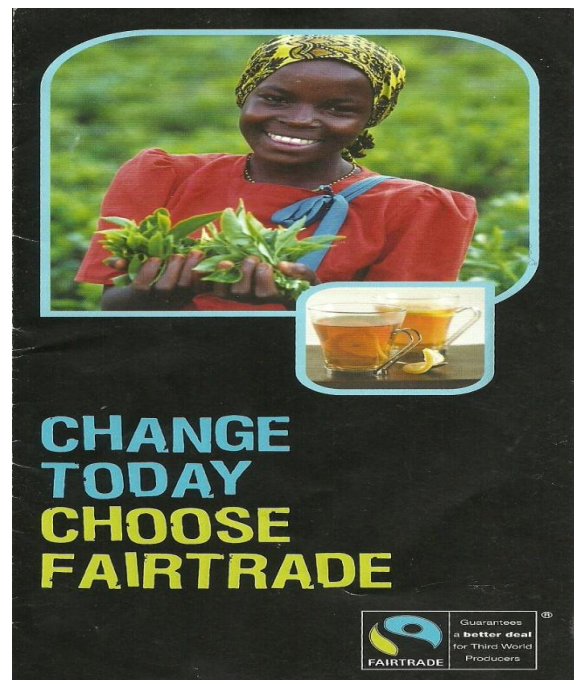
*Source: McLaren: 2010*

**Figure 3.2 Real Eating Company Cafe**



*Source: McLaren: 2010*

**Figure 3.3 Leaflet found in both cafes**



*Source: Fairtrade leaflet found in Cafe*



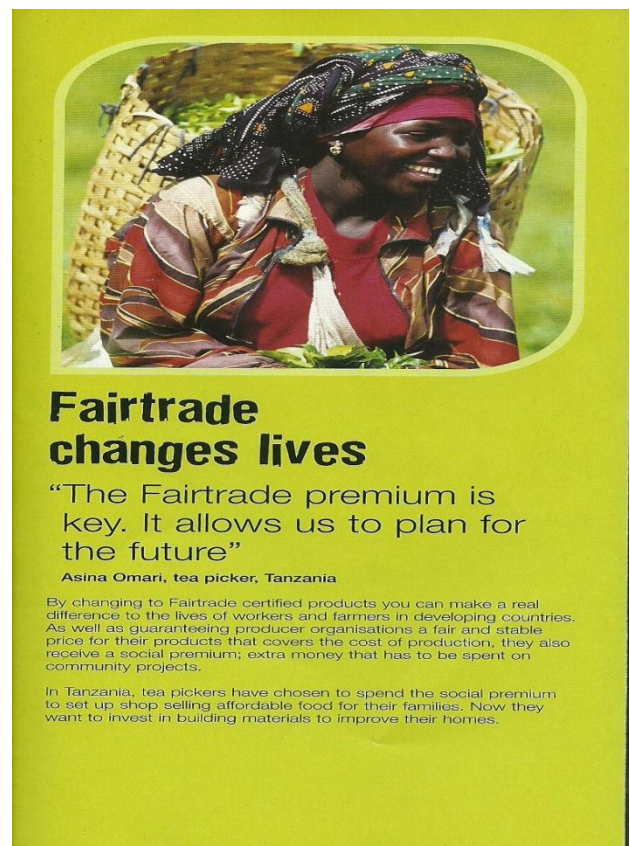
**Figure 3.4 Image A**



*Source: Fairtrade leaflet found in Cafe*

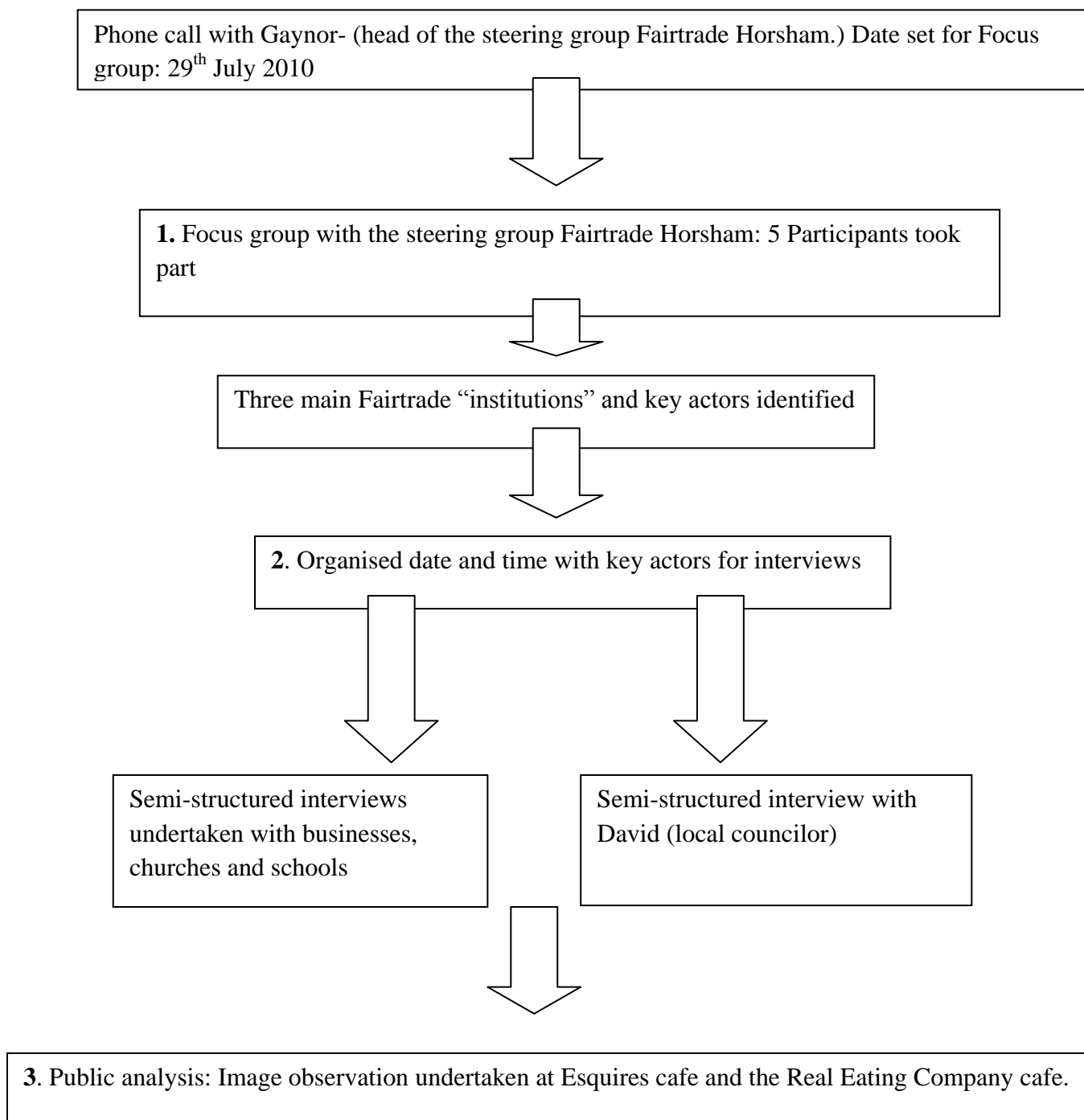
**Figure 3.5 Image B**

Images within Fairtrade leaflet,  
which were focused upon in  
analysis.



*Source: Fairtrade leaflet found in cafe*

**Figure 3.6 Administrative process of Methodology**





### **3.6 Ethics**

A "research alliance" (Hammersley and Atkin's:1995) was carried out between me and the participants to ensure that the research was ethically acceptable. This involved dealing with issues of privacy by reminding people to only share things *"they would feel comfortable about being repeated outside the group"* (Cameron:2000:90). Before interviewing took place, permission was asked from each participant whether I could use their real name within the final report. However, a few disagreed and therefore pseudonyms have been used for the identities of these individuals. During the interviews and focus group it was also important for me to identify with my own positionality by understanding how as the researcher my identity might affect the interactions with the participants.

(Valentine:1997:113). In line with Kreuger and Cassey, I made sure I remained non-judgemental through the process of interviewing in order to create *"a comfortable environment for people to share."* (2000:xi). Moreover, it was imperative for me to acknowledge my position as a "local", making sure that my knowledge of the area wasn't used to pre-determine who was interviewed.

### **3.7 Data Analysis**

Interviews and the focus group were subjected to transcript analysis. Following Strauss, coding was used to create categories and sub-categories, allowing for the break-down of inaccessible data. (Strauss:1987) This then allowed for themes to be recognized and cross-referencing of material to occur. (see appendix 2)

## **4.ANALYSIS**

**What are the different spatial relations that become inscribed within Fairtrade towns?**

### **4.1 Caring over distance**

Smith argued that if we spin our "*web of relationships widely enough*" then an ethic of care can reach distant "Others". (2000:97). Interviewees agreed that participating in the consumption of Fairtrade could in some way contribute to lessening global inequality. However, this chapter will explore how Fairtrade is differentially embodied as a result of the interaction between local and global spaces.

#### **4.11 Networks of knowledge**

*Fairtrade Horsham* placed the greatest emphasis on global injustice, arguing that this focus was the major driving force behind their motivations to care. In the focus group they argued that consumers should support Fairtrade because it allows, "*the farmers to get a fair wage and the premium has many benefits.*" (Barbara, Focus group). Here, Fairtrade consumption was linked to a direct and emotional relationship with the distant producer. Castree argues that this ethic stems from networks of knowledge as subjects begin to recognise their entanglement in global webs of accumulation and commodification.(Castree:2001). This point was emphasised in the focus group:

**Gaynor:** *"The world is after all an interconnected unit and if you damage one part of it you damage the lot of it in the end."*

**John:** *I think people feel guilty for the poor trading practices and the export of pollution to other countries and that's why people are willing to buy Fairtrade."*

**Piers:** *Well, the television shows us all the time the effects of our poor buying practices and I think people want to do something about it."*

*(Gaynor, John and Piers, Focus group)*

As Whatmore argued, this conversation suggests that ethical consumption is linked to an understanding of the intimate relations that exist between different people and places.

(1997:49). John's argument, in particular, exposes the belief that Fairtrade consumption will directly help to eradicate the problems produced by the global North. For these individuals therefore, distance became the very grounds for caring (Barnett:2005).

#### 4.1.2 **Fractures**

However, simply being bound in networks with distant "Others" was not always enough to make individuals care over national boundaries. In recalling a moment from last year's Fairtrade Christmas Market, Frank stated that he, *"was standing by the stall in the Carfax, and a lady said "I only care about my family."* (Frank, Focus group). Clearly, an ethic of care did not always install a sense of responsibility towards unknown "Others."

(Popke:2007:507). As argued by MacDonald and Marshall (2010), participants also expressed a concern towards local producers:

*"I don't agree with flowers from Kenya because it's clearly not carbon neutral... I will buy home grown in preference to Fairtrade. When I buy some flowers I would like to know that it hasn't been all round the world"*

*(Sue, St Mary's church, Interview)*

Here, Sue questioned the negative environmental consequences of Fairtrade global networks, which suggests that even Fairtrade supporters have difficult ethical decisions to navigate around. Care is therefore characterized by spatial cross-over's, which exposes how Fairtrade was only be partially embodied by consumers within Fairtrade towns.

## **4.2    Spatial imaginaries**

Section 4.1 investigated the tensions that are created out of spatially extensive networks of care. However, in his interview, David, argued that attitudes of care towards unknown others can be sometimes drawn out of more intimate relations:

*"the suicide rate is now phenomenal amongst farmers in the UK, it's not the business to be in at all and so I suppose, the fact that that's happening to our own farmers in our country helps me to relate to what's happening in the third world."*

*(David, local councilor, interview).*

Here, David uses his geographic imaginary to gain knowledge about the producer's lives. Indeed, imaginaries were used by participants to understand Fairtrade's arguably incomprehensive global networks. (Auge:1994) In pointing towards the similarities that

exist between "*us*" and "*them*" (Rorty:1989 in Whatmore:1997), David suggests that the tension that exists between intimate and distant caring does not always have to be at odds with each other.

However, Harvey argued that we can never truly engage with "the myriad of social relationships" involved in these global networks. (1990:422). This was partly proved in the research as participants' imaginaries were undermined by a hidden geography. In her interview, Sue stated, "*we don't know who is collecting the money and we don't know where the money goes.*" (Sue, St. Mary's church, Interview). Similarly, Frank argued that there were citizens who doubted whether Fairtrade was "*a good thing or bad thing*" because there "*are issues surrounding what happens in practice.*" (Frank, focus group). This pinpoints another problem which is created when a "range of spatialities" (Darling:2010:125) come together within Fairtrade Towns, reflecting the disjointed process of caring at a distance.

Yet despite this hidden geography, Fairtrade practices continued to be imagined as more virtuous than other global practices of trade. For instance, in the focus group Piers felt:

*"It's all good and well when these great big lumps of money come from America but this is no good if it comes in huge great quantities. I think trade is good for a community but you know Fairtrade is much better than anything."*

*(Piers, Focus group)*

By imagining that Fairtrade spaces of production are morally superior spaces, Piers importantly places a metaphysical ethic onto a physical space. In this way, Fairtrade imaginaries were not only used to gain knowledge but also to justify and indeed moralise the act of Fairtrade consumption. In her interview, Sue felt that Fairtrade was the "*right thing to do*" because she imagined that it allowed farmers in Africa "*to immediately plough*

*their profits back into the community" and "sending the children to school and things like that."* (Sue, St. Marys Church, Interview). The consumption of Fairtrade within local places cannot just be associated with materializing wealth in distant underdeveloped communities because, as the above statements suggest, Fairtrade within Horsham also created specific imaginaries about global spaces. Indeed, underlining these imaginaries, there is a sense in which consumers subconsciously re-cast themselves also as good global citizens.

### **4.3 Fairtrade as a "vehicle for public education"**

Through, *"Fairtrade sermons, school projects, newsletters, newspaper articles and stalls"* Gaynor argued that *Fairtrade Horsham* had become a *"vehicle for public education."* (Gaynor, Focus group). Here, the hope has been to facilitate an understanding of how places link together by thinking "beyond the bounds of place." (Massey:2007). This illustrates the context of caring where consumers are motivated to care through an understanding that one place comes to constitute another place and vice versa. Indeed, as noted earlier *Fairtrade Horsham* were motivated through their understanding that Fairtrade within Horsham would directly improve the conditions for those in the Global South.

However, when asked when they became aware of poverty in distant places, the focus group pointed out that they were *"already very aware of this... it's why we started Fairtrade Horsham."* Yet they also agreed that Fairtrade had expanded their awareness *"of the actual growing and processing practices and international trading"* because Fairtrade forced them to *"research these more carefully"*. Rather than being the primary reason for people's awareness of other places, Fairtrade has arguably contributed to creating a more specific dialogue of these places, embellishing existing understandings. This was also echoed later in the focus group where the group noted that they had put on a Fairtrade film

entitled, "*Black and Gold*" at the local cinema. They argued that this film had furthered their understanding of the problems in particular regions and the role that Fairtrade plays in these specific regions.

#### **4.3.1 Global feelings of care**

Conversely, the majority of interviewees were not only motivated by an understanding that Horsham was linked to other places but rather by imagining space as a network of ethical places. Michael claimed that as a result of Fairtrade he had come to realise that "*the world is full of caring people.*" (Michael, the manager of Esquires café, interview). This illustrates the enjoyment gained, as Valentine argued, from a sense of sameness, but in this case with other caring people. (Valentine:1999). Thus, relational theory helps us not only to understand how spaces become formed but more significantly it embellishes preferable understandings of the "Self". (May:1996:57). Likewise, Audrey felt that Fairtrade had highlighted to her that, "*people all over the world are moved to come and help*" (Audrey, the Quakers church, interview). This suggests that "*local networks of global feeling,*" (Barnett et al:2011:153) can also inspire one to care over distance. By imagining that Fairtrade embeds places within networks of morality, these activists suggest that the consumption of Fairtrade not only attaches meanings to far way places but also back at home.

Thus, whilst the steering group linked the consumption of Fairtrade to the context of caring, other activists focused more on their personal imaginaries concerning the moral status of Fairtrade production spaces and global networks of caring consumption spaces. Indeed, under the broad brush of imaginaries where ethics exists as normatively "good", individuals also bought into more specific imaginaries.

Now that this chapter has discussed the specific imaginaries associated with global spaces, the next chapter will discuss how Fairtrade can also produce new imaginaries for the **Self**.



## **5. How does the process of caring for the "Other" become inscribed on spaces of the "Self"?**

### **5.1 Self caring**

Allayhari defined "moral selving" as the practice through which a consumer re-casts the "Self" as a moral "Self". (2000). "Self" identity was shown to be equally important as ethical obligations in terms of motivation. In her interview, Audrey argued that her motivation stemmed from her assumption that *"it makes you feel so much better inside."* (Audrey, the Quakers church, Interview). Likewise, in the focus group, Frank argued that the rising support for Fairtrade within Horsham was based largely on the fact that, *"you get something for what you give, and is not really a big sacrifice."* (Frank, Focus group) To some degree then, caring for the "Other" became linked to *"what kind of Self"* the participants hoped to be. (Dewey:1960 in Allayhari:2000:111)

However, in contrast to Allayhari, the research exposes that notions of self worth were insufficient alone to motivate consumers. Indeed, *"Moral selving"* was framed as just one part of a broad repertoire of motivations. In her interview, Sue argued that her role as a Fairtrade officer was largely due to:

*"if your friends are (Fairtrade consumers) then you're more likely to be. When other people say they're buying Fairtrade you stop and think maybe I should be too, I should be doing this!"*

*(Sue, St. Marys Church Interview)*

Here, Sue confirms Bondi and Davidson's notion that there is a "reflexive project of the self" (2004:19), where questions such as "am I like that? Could that be part of me?" are played out. However, Sue's motivation is not grounded on purely selfish dispositions but rather is linked to the self-gratifications gained from sharing a similar lifestyle to one's friends. Audrey alternatively argued:

*"Well it gives you a bit of hope! Not just sitting there and not doing anything and just saying oh dear look how terrible it is, actually getting up and doing something about it."*

*(Audrey, the Quakers church, Interview)*

This account characterizes ethical consumption as still largely based on theories of justice, suggesting that there is sometimes a genuine drive to create a fairer deal for third world producers. (Raynolds:2002). However, this statement also correlates with Gecas' analysis that the "Self", through the act of consumption, assigns itself purpose and meaning in the world. (1991:1799). Conversely, the ability to display nodes of knowledge gave participants within the focus group great pleasure:

*Piers: "5 years ago you were almost trying to explain that Fairtrade wasn't a manufacturer, it was a high quality stamp for the farmers. And although there still is some confusion, I'd like to think we have got the message across!"*

*John: We have made great progress because we continuously send things out to all the groups. We've got to keep pushing."*

*(John and Piers, Focus group)*

Clearly, as well as helping to reduce poverty in distant communities, this group also articulated their enjoyment from containing a superior "*epistemological capacity*"

(Barnett:2005:7) to act as key Fairtrade agents. The variation between these self-gratifications is not only suggestive of varying identities that come together within ethical spaces but also that Fairtrade consumption is understood differently by different activists. Here, Fairtrade has embellished understandings of the "Self" by helping subjects to explore their everyday personal hedonism. These hedonistic pleasures further expose the value that is attached to Fairtrade towns. However, 5.2 will engage with the geography of exclusion which is also mobilized when this value is created.

## 5.2 Evangelists

Some participants conveyed a "*Fairtrade Self*" more visibly than others. In particular, the teachers openly recognized the vital nature of their role as educators (Cloke et al:2010):

*"I think parents are so busy now that they don't talk to their children about these issues. You know it's not always the message at home so we need to do that a bit more as role models I guess."*

*(Lesley, Geography teacher at Tanbridge House School, interview)*

Here, Lesley suggests that teachers have a greater ability than other individuals to raise issues of injustice to their pupils. The "*personal, ethical and professional*" (Cloke et al:2010:495) commitments of teachers were therefore seen as a crucial element in enrolling students into this kind of ethical practice. Likewise, Miss Quint stated, "*Some teachers are as passionate as me. But one of the first things we have got to try and do is get the staff on board.....*" (*Miss Quint, teacher at Millais School, Interview*) Here, being situated within spaces of knowledge leads to the imagination that one is placed in very influential spaces. Clearly, these teachers have responded to such an understanding by re-constructing their identities, seeing themselves as key actors or "evangelists." Whereas Barnett et al

(2010:105) have applied this term to faith based networks, these statements suggest that teachers also re-configure their identities as "*energetic and persuasive*" individuals.

Interestingly, this idea was further echoed within the focus group:

*"We don't have any Fairtrade schools yet and I think the passionate teachers, well they are so critical aren't they! Because the children are not organised enough, especially in the younger schools"*

*(John, Focus group).*

Here, teachers have become critical to *Fairtrade Horsham* because there are no Fairtrade schools yet within Horsham. Thus, not only do these teachers re-position themselves in accordance to how they believe they should be placed but also because there is maybe an adjusting of the Self in response to how others imagine teachers should be situated. It could be argued that Horsham articulates its status not through the physical evidence of the status, such as events, but rather through the driving roles which these evangelists play. It is people rather than space that make up Horsham's identity as a Fairtrade place.

Moreover, on discussing other effective actors within the town, *Fairtrade Horsham* highlighted those who partook in the Fairtrade Christmas market, "*They all know each other because they go to other Christmas markets. They are real Fairtrade people.*" (John, *Focus group*). John's assumption that there are *real fairtrade* people implies that there are also others who are excluded from this title. This suggested the existence of "*Fairtrade club*". (Brown and Mussel:1984:11). Indeed, in an interview with David he felt that "*you have to be in touch with the whole Fairtrade thing to know that Horsham is a Fairtrade town*". (David, local councilor, Interview). David suggests that those positioned in spaces of misrecognition are cast outside central activist spaces. Thus, differentiations between

groups were not predominately linked to class (Renard:1999) but rather on a hierarchy of knowledge. Fairtrade towns can therefore not be examined without considering unequal power relations, which here has importantly exposed Horsham's fractured caring landscape. Now 5.2 has discussed how Fairtrade affects "Self" understanding, 5.3 will explore different imaginaries of the "**Other**".

### 5.3 Public image Analysis

The image analysis clearly illustrates that the "*material and semiotic*" commoditisation of Fairtrade products did influence consumer decisions. (Goodman:2010:111). One customer noted that, "*I always notice the Fairtrade images and think twice about my coffee choice*" and another stated that, "*Poverty usually seems so far away but looking at these images, well it makes me feel more personally connected.*" These statements concur with Goodman's argument that images offer a discursive narrative through which the commodities we consume gain ethical meaning. (Goodman:2004). The connection between the consumer and producer was indeed made more visible through these leaflets as they provided knowledge about specific farmers and the positive influence that Fairtrade has had on their lives. (See figure 3.5)

#### 5.3.1 Power relations

However, whilst the shrinking of space had occurred for some, others argued that these images invoked a greater distance between the "Self" and "Other". Romanticised notions of the producer were highlighted when one customer noted that Image A (figure 3.4) depicted: "*More of a backward society, they seem to rely on the earth and nature.*" Questions of identity and difference were also emphasised "*Well they are not as rich as us but they seem happy*". This suggests that images used established colonial notions to render the lives of

producers as commodities. (Wright:2004,). To some degree then, these images opened up the presence of unequal power relations, where the consumer's taste for the "Other" as an exotic stranger is served rather than issues of trade justice. (Varul:2008:655).

### **5.3.2 Postcolonial responsibility**

Conversely, customers also acknowledged the manipulation of these images, undermining Varul's claim. One consumer noted, *"Unfortunately I find it difficult to accept that these images are an accurate reflection of most of the producers in the 3rd world."* Here, these images were understood to construct rather than represented reality. (Woestenburg and Graaf:2006). Another customer stated, *"I suspect there are a lot of hardships and these images don't convey the hardships that people are going through."* The skepticism that is raised here suggests that Fairtrade consumption within Horsham is underlined by a postcolonial responsibility. (Blunt and McEawan:2002). Indeed, these findings contradict Varul's argument that these images re-cast the consumer as "the savior" but rather as one customer noted about image A, *"Thank you"... well that doesn't seem right that they should have to say that."* The importance of this responsibility can be seen by how customers constructed their own reality:

*"In some areas workers will of course not be as happy as those in the photograph, (in reference to Image B) I mean the picture is obviously staged through necessity but I reckon that some people do enjoy their work."*

In this way Fairtrade within Horsham cannot be separated from the idea that, *"post-colonial responsibility and care fold up, and reopen, space in complicated ways"* (Madge et al:2009:9). It could be argued therefore that commercialised Fairtrade images can also create new ways of seeing the distant "Other". Thus not only does Fairtrade adds value to

spaces of consumption through embellished understandings of the "Self" but also through a greater sense of postcolonial responsibility.

Whilst chapter 4 and 5 have discussed why subjects have become embedded within Horsham's Fairtrade networks of care, chapter 6 will go on to discuss how this contributes to the re-imagination of **place**.

## **6.Does distant care within Fairtrade towns contribute to ethical place-making?**

### **6.1 Schools**

Developing feelings of empathy rather than sympathy for third world producers had become a major focus within schools. (Barnett et al:2010:494).This was achieved through role-plays where students were encouraged to put themselves in the position of a disempowered farmer. Miss Quint, discussed the benefits of these games:

*"We look at a bar of chocolate and I get them to think about well if you were the coco farmer, what do you think you deserve...the reality is well that's not fair. And they start to realise that."*

*(Miss Quint,teacher, Millais School,Interview)*

Here, education becomes a critical site for developing alternative subjective dispositions to contemporary consumption. Certainly, Lesley pinpointed the success of these games because students begin to *"understand the injustice and so they start to think OK well what can we do?"*(Lesley,teacher,Tanbridge House school,interview). These reflections imply a specific imaginary concerning age as a key factor for ethical motivation in terms of understanding young people as having a greater capacity to change society for the better. (Clope et al:2010).

This was reinforced by Frank who argued that after visiting the local college he was, *"more aware of moral indignation than in any other situation."*(Frank, Focus group). Barbara felt that for this reason schools had become critical localities within wider Fairtrade networks:



*"We had a Fairtrade chocolate stall at the local college, and someone was saying to the youngsters, do you buy Fairtrade chocolate? And someone there said oh no, its much too expensive but then one boy stepped forward and said do you know why it's a few pence more? And they said no and he told them, "the farmers get a fair wage and the premium has many benefits for the community". And they all signed up for Fairtrade!"*

*(Barbara, Focus group)*

This exposes young people's exceptional ability to influence other consumer choices, (McNeal:1992) exposing their, as Nicholls and Cullen argue, "pester power" (2004:75). Schools were thus imagined as Fairtrade "*hot spots*." (Barnett et al:2007). Moreover, in the focus group Piers argued that alongside academic league tables, parents were now asking questions about:

*"how caring this school is...how involved it is with community ideas, and particularly if it is linked to poorer countries."*

*(Piers, Focus group)*

The focus group pointed out that since Fairtrade had been established within the town parents had become increasingly interested in whether schools made connections to underdeveloped communities. Clearly, some spaces have become re-imagined in the light of the town's changing status as a Fairtrade town. Indeed, imaginaries about education, young people and the moral value of Fairtrade have contributed to re-working the School's identity as a more meaningful place. In contrast to Trentman, the "*changing moralities of space*" is not only apparent in trading networks but within local spaces of consumption. (Trentman:2007:4).

## **6.2 Businesses**

In contrast, businesses were labeled as ethically problematic spaces. *Fairtrade Horsham* felt that the mainstreaming of Fairtrade had led to the demoralisation of the commodity's real meanings: (Gould:2003:342) :

*Piers: "...they don't seem to promote it, everyone is pressurising the shops and the retail outlets to put these goods in the aisle but I've yet to see these products.*

*Barbara: It was the same when I went into Sainsbury's and talked to the manager. I said what's happening with Fairtrade fortnight and he said it's up to the head office, we can't do anything about it."*

*(Barbara and Piers, Focus group)*

This sequence of talk suggests businesses were imagined to degrade the moral value of Fairtrade within the town because of its ineffective activism. Excluded from the imagined central activist spaces, these statements suggest the existence of a moral hierarchy of consumerist spaces. Indeed, the "*watering down of the Fairtrade message*" was confirmed by the managers of the Fairtrade cafés. (Low and Davenport:2005:498). When asked to consider why Esquires had become a Fairtrade cafe, Michael stated, "*We get a few customers coming in and before they even order a coffee they will ask if it is fair-trade.*" (Michael, Esquires, Interview). Similarly, Lawrence argued that Fairtrade had helped her business to compete with other businesses because it, "*promotes a positive image of Esquires.*" (Lawrence, R.E.C, Interview). Clearly, these cafés have used people's imaginaries of Fairtrade spaces as good spaces and turned these into a physical entity through the selling of Fairtrade coffee, allowing people's ethical motivations to be achieved in practice.

However, the benefits of converting Fairtrade principles into consumer behaviors (Strong:1997) also became highlighted:

*"Last year we did a promotional loyalty card, so if you bought a fair-trade drink you would get a double stamp instead of one so people would come in and buy more fair-trade produce. People got really involved."*

*(Lawrence, REC, Interview)*

In line with Moore and Beadle (2006) this suggests that the process of mainstreaming can extend the Fairtrade message out to new customers, making business spaces very effective Fairtrade spaces. (See figure 6.1,) This exposes a discrepancy between how civic activists imagined these spaces and their actual significance. However, key actors continued to imagine that businesses were "ethically questionable" therefore still rendering these spaces as immoral. Indeed, when considering how these localities are imaginatively positioned within Horsham's landscape of care, their effectiveness remained irrelevant. Thus, the re-imagination of place was not based on imaginaries of Horsham as a whole but rather from the moral status attached to individual localities.

**Figure 6.1 The mainstreaming of Fairtrade: Esquires cafe**



Source: McLaren: 2010

### **6.3 Churches**

Churches were highlighted as the most significant Fairtrade activists. Indeed, Geoff noted that there are, *"22/23 churches in Horsham and 20 of them are Fairtrade churches!"* (Geoff, Focus group). (See also figure 6.3)

Following Coles (1997), Fairtrade was shown to allow Christians to outwardly express their Faith, providing them with a channel to materialize their beliefs; love and a concern for the "other" were key themes highlighted. On discussing the Quakers' stance to Fairtrade, Audrey noted that, *"we have always felt that the whole world are our brothers and sisters."* (Audrey, the Quaker's church, Interview). However, when asked why she individually supported Fairtrade, Audrey articulated:

*"I personally am against any kind of violence, I don't support any wars. And the way to encourage people to develop is to help them to trade. I feel very passionate about it."*

*(Audrey, the Quaker's church, Interview)*

**Figure 6.2 Church activists outside St. Marys Church**



**Source:**<http://www.caterersearch.com/Articles/2010/10/20/335561/Are-hospitality-businesses-embracing-fair-trade.htm>

Conversely, Sue from the Anglican Church articulated her belief in a slightly different way:

*"I just became really concerned that people were buying tea really cheaply and enjoying it at the expense of other people, it was just so wrong."*

*(Sue, St. Mary's church, Interview)*

These statements illustrate how ethical motivations operate over multitude scales; from an individual in a church congregation to the wider church community. Therefore not only is there spatial specificity of ethical motivations between sites but also between individuals within these sites

Although faith based networks were deemed highly active by *Fairtrade Horsham*, interviews with Sue and Audrey revealed the opposite:

*"we did have this Fairtrade stall every month but it became rather overwhelming, people just stopped doing it... in the end it almost didn't seem worth doing."*

*(Sue, St Marys Church, Interview)*

*"It's not easy to persuade people in the church to buy Fairtrade , to show them that is "good"*

*(Audrey, the Quakers Church, Interview).*

Faith based networks can therefore not always be assumed to be the most active. Indeed, this highlights the tenuous links within Horsham's faith spaces as some church-goers did not commit to the Fairtrade banner as much as others, highlighting discrepancy even within the same network. Here, Horsham's distant ethic of care is constructed from a "one foot in, one foot out" policy whereby the embodiment of Fairtrade is only partially enacted.

Whilst 6.1 has discussed individual Fairtrade localities, 6.2 will evaluate the networking between these sites.

## **6.4 Networking**

Faith based networks were the most reliant on existing networks. It was noted that the group *"Horsham churches together"*, meant that *"all the churches involved with Fairtrade already know each other."* (Geoff, Focus group). Moreover, the recruitment of citizens from already established social networks were highlighted. In an interview with David, a local councilor and a member of the Baptist church, he stated that he was *"regularly asked to give talks on Fairtrade in the church services."* (David, local councilor, interview). Whilst this points to the social diversity and capacity to care within church spaces it also suggests that even single scales of care can contain multiple components to them.

However, Fairtrade consumption also created new social relations:

*"But you know it has created greater cohesion. They (the churches) talk together about it (Fairtrade) all the time...the lady that does the tradecraft at the Methodists brings her stalls to the quakers."*

(Audrey, the Quakers church, Interview)

*John: "If you go around this group and see what other areas everyone is involved with, you'll find that Geoff is involved with the churches, Frank with the World Development movement and so on."*

(John, Focus group)

Here, Fairtrade within Horsham cannot just be conceptualised as motherhood or apple pie by bringing different actors together in solidarity whilst also helping those most in need. Rather, Fairtrade serves to attach value to these places by creating new social relations, networking and by serving consumer's imaginaries about how some localities should be re-

cast as more meaningful spaces than others. Section 6.3 will also discuss how value is created through the re-imagination of Horsham as **whole**.

### 6.5 Place identity

*"I think that the basic word is whether you care. I'd like to say that Horsham is a caring town."*

*(Frank, Focus group)*

In agreement with Frank, Barbara argued that, *"A Fairtrade town has people who sort of care about other people, it's a friendly society."* (Barbara, Focus group). These reflections confirm Barnett et al's argument that the establishment of Fairtrade has created Horsham not only as a place that promotes trade justice but also as a space that has become recreated symbolically to become a fair place. (Barnett et al:2007). Indeed, for *Fairtrade Horsham* the *"extension of Fairtrade certification beyond commodities to various localities,"* became a reality.

However, this argument was not expressed amongst interviewees as surprisingly many of them were unaware of Horsham's Fairtrade status:

*"A lot of students don't even know what a Fairtrade town is. I'm not sure I know what it's all about, I just try to promote it within the school."*

*(Miss Quint, teacher, Interview)*

*"I didn't know Horsham was a Fairtrade Town, they should advertise it more."*

*(Michael, Esquires Café, Interview)*



These statements expose the separation that exists between the steering group and the on-the-ground activists. However, despite their lack of recognition these activists still partook in the *"urbanization of Fairtrade."* (Barnett et al:2007). Most notably, consumers recognised and even partook in small Fairtrade events throughout the year including "the Fairtrade Christmas market", and Fairtrade fortnight events. Thus, the civic re-imagination of Horsham was shown not to be based through the physical status of the town but rather through the accompanying events. Indeed, Sue argued, *"if I drove past Dorking and saw the sign that says we are a Fairtrade town it wouldn't particularly change my mind on the place"* (Sue, St. Marys, interview). David argued that in this way the physical status of the town becomes irrelevant because its:

*"The process of getting there, it is the publicity that is crucial, it raises the issues and gives the Fairtrade issues a platform to stand on."*

*(David, local councilor, Interview)*

Here, it is the smaller events where Fairtrade consumption takes root, which evokes a subconscious re-imagination of place. Although individuals did not consciously recognise these discursive networks, they still became unconsciously embedded within them. Through the everyday act of ethical consumption, consumers therefore drew on a wide repertoire of discursive meanings and transformed these *"to create places as contexts."* (Sack:1988:642). In contrast to *Fairtrade Horsham*, these activists did not therefore re-imagine Horsham through the significance it creates by helping the distant "Other" but rather through the purpose that it attaches to home.

## **7.Conclusion**

This study has used the example of Fairtrade within Horsham to explicitly illustrate how the consumption of Fairtrade, more than anything else, has a purpose within spaces of consumption. This moves away from the singular analysis of care as either a fashioning of "solidarity in difference" (Goodman:2004:891) or as a framework for "self efficacy" (Gecas:1991:1799). Rather, the heterogeneous interactions between people and space have created a multitude of specific imaginaries which have contributed to embellished understandings of "Self" and place. Thus, an ethics of distant care can not only be linked to place situated relations but also to the layered and differentiated imaginaries which are born out of these.

### **7.1.1 What are the different spatial relations that become inscribed within Fairtrade towns?**

A care ethic did not just derive from an understanding that "*the outside dwells with the city's identity*" (Barnett et al:2007:635) or indeed, that places become constituted through the linking to other places (Massey:2007). Under the broad brush of imaginaries where ethics exists as normatively "good", participants also bought into the idea that Horsham had become part of a globalised network of caring landscapes. Fairtrade has therefore contributed to the re-creation of Horsham as a more purposeful place. Despite MacDonald and Marshall's contention that spatial cross over's can produce an inherent tension between local and globalised attitudes towards care, which was partly proved, (2010); these moral imaginaries were enough to inspire individuals to participate within Horsham's Fairtrade networks.

### **7.1.2 How does the process of caring for the "Other" become inscribed on spaces of the "Self"?**

"Moral selving" (Allayhari:2000) was framed as just one element in a broad repertoire of hedonistic pleasures. However, some individuals re-articulated themselves as more significant "Fairtrade selves" than others, based on the assumption that recognition led to moral superiority. Thus, although caring for the "Other" became inherently linked to spaces of the "Self", it also became associated with discourses of exclusion within these very same spaces.

Commercialised Fairtrade images were not just interpreted in a way that led to the "Romanticisation of the "Other," (Varul:2008:654) but rather the research exposed the myriad interpretations of these images. Most significantly, consumers ironically re-negotiated the meanings of the images to initiate their own sense of postcolonial responsibility.

### **7.1.3 Does distant caring within Fairtrade towns contribute to ethical place-making?**

To *Fairtrade Horsham*, the town did become more characterized by notions of "*Fairness, worthiness, support and commitment*." (Barnett et al:2007). However, the re-imagination of school based networks as more virtuous spaces than businesses illustrated the importance of an imagined moral hierarchy of Fairtrade consumption spaces. Indeed, the research suggested that ethical places are not always re-imagined as one space but rather the imagined re-construction of smaller localities within these spaces became much more significant.

Whereas Darling argues that "*it is the very constitution of place...within a series of global connections... that compels us to take responsibility*,"(2010:125) this study has emphasised that the creation of social networks, publicity and events which Fairtrade attaches to local places also inspires people to take responsibility for those spatially distant.

## 7.2 The partial embodiment of Fairtrade within Horsham

This study has pinpointed the personal and varied ways that distant geographies of care become constructed. However, this dissertation has also contributed to the discipline by suggesting that there are two very contradictory ways of caring at a distance, which can be seen to materialise a series of tensions within FTT's. Activists from the group *Fairtrade Horsham* linked the consumption of Fairtrade to a direct, emotional and connected relationship with the distant producer. Thus, for these individuals Fairtrade was constructed as revolutionary. Conversely, the majority of citizens within Horsham did not focus on this direct and emotional connection but rather on the set of specific imaginaries concerning global consumption spaces of care, *Fairtrade selves* and the moral status of Fairtrade localities. These differentiated embodiments produced discourses of exclusion particularly for those who did not conform to the way "*real Fairtrade*" (John, Focus group) people are imagined. But more significantly, this tension has lead to the tenuous nature of support for Fairtrade, where distant caring is constructed from a one foot in, one foot out policy. In other words, the consumption of Fairtrade is characterized by a series of partial attachments, both in terms of differentiation between groups (for example, those who only cared for the intimate "Other") and the internal conflicts which each individual must negotiate (such as the environmental issues that were raised by Sue). This raises the

question: can the embodiment of Fairtrade within FTT's ever be completely enacted by consumers? If the question is focused on Horsham, then the answer is most certainly no.

### 7.3 Research limitations

The main limitation to my dissertation was that not enough individuals within each local network were interviewed. However, as the research has already proved even individuals within the same network have their own imaginaries of Fairtrade which differ to others within the same network, suggesting that Fairtrade is a personal rather than collective geography. Even so, a wider representation within each Fairtrade network was required in order to engender more depth in my analysis.

### 7.4 Future research

My study has emphasised the need to understand the construction of distant care as a more nuanced set of geographies, which is becoming increasingly important as ethical consumption takes on new spatially expansive forms

Indeed, further research could be guided by the notion that FTT's now inhabit multiple countries all over the world. Comparisons could be made between these spaces to investigate whether national identity is an important element within Fairtrade campaigning. Questions could be posed such as are countries with pre-colonial ties to spaces of production, such as England, more reliant on colonial imaginations of the "Other" in their constructions of care.

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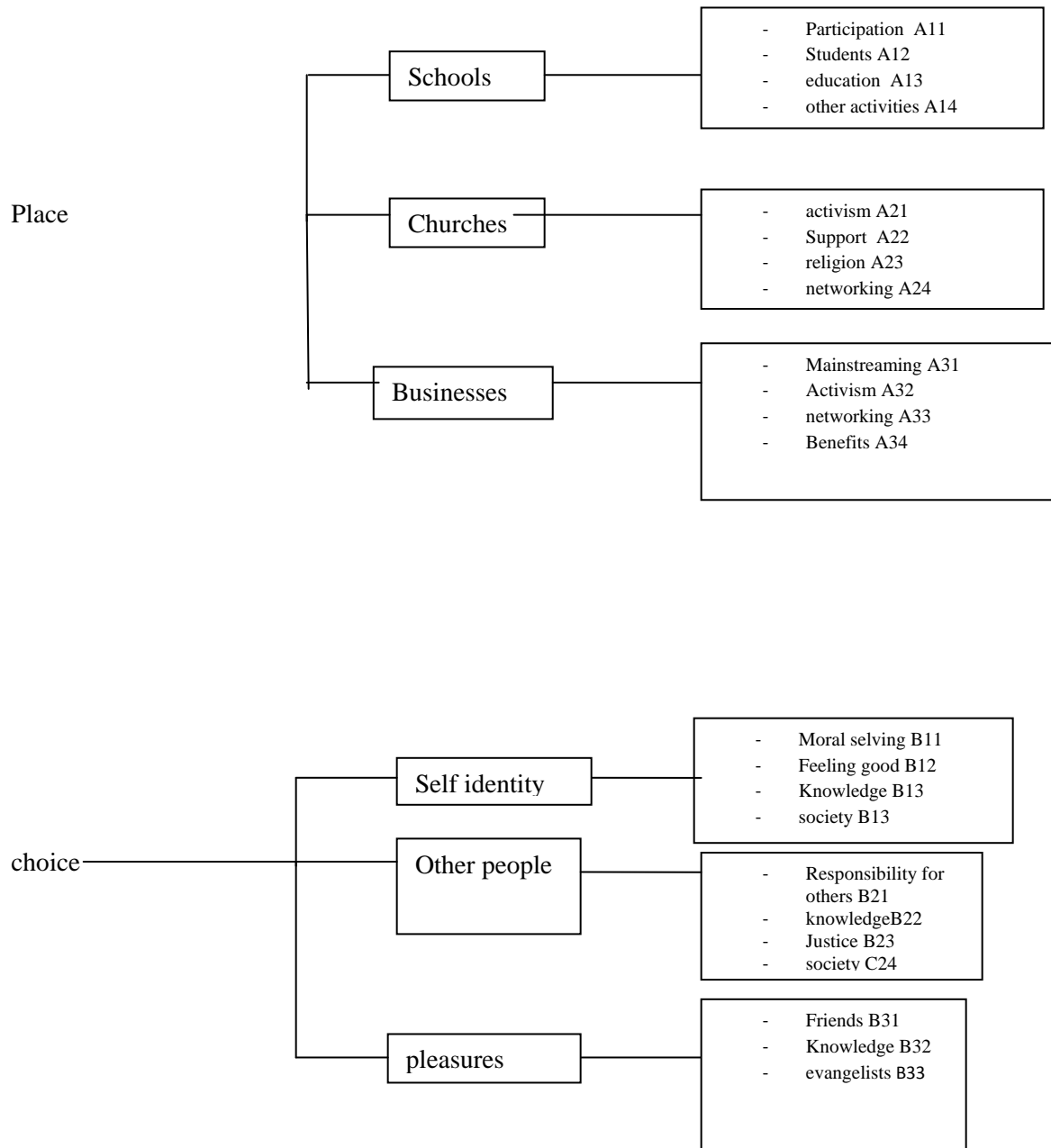
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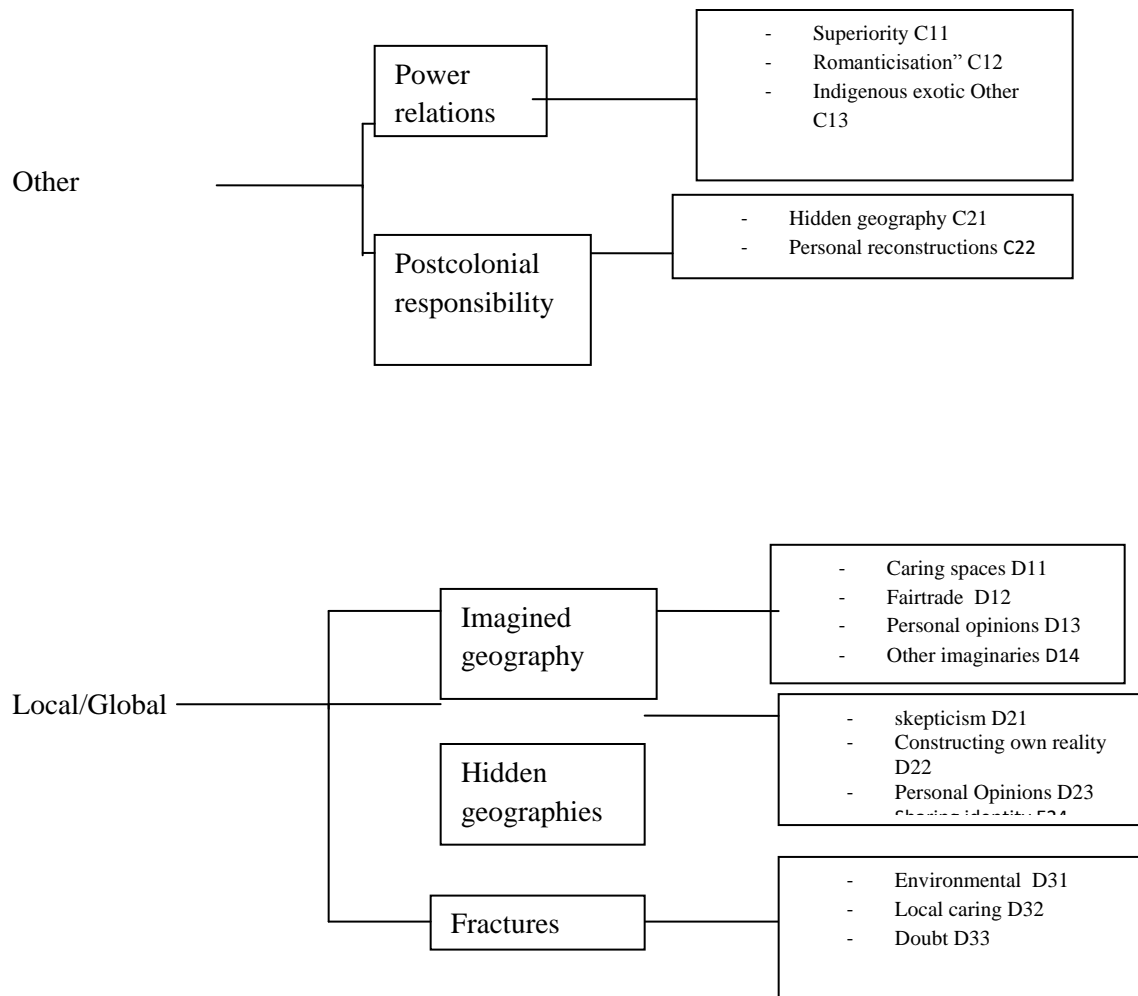
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## **APPENDICES**

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### Appendix 1 Fairtrade Horsham focus group Coding Index





## **Appendix 2 Description of members within Focus group**

### **Barbara- 68 female**

Barbara has been involved in Fairtrade Horsham for 3 years. Barbara works very closely with the nurseries and schools, to ensure that Fairtrade issues are raised here. She has also done a lot of campaigning with businesses such as Sainsburys and Marks and Spencers, to ensure that Fairtrade is publicised within these spaces.

### **John- 54 Male**

John is Gaynor's husband and only joined the steering group in 2008. John has recently worked very closely with Millais school to push for Fairtrade status.

### **Frank- 65 Male**

Frank was initially part of the local World Development movement and still supports this organisation. Frank joined the steering group when it was initially formed by Gaynor.

### **Gaynor- 54 female**

Gaynor founded the steering group. She has been pushing Horsham to go Fairtrade for a long time and has always been passionate about issues of injustice and inequality in the third world. Gaynor does not have a full-time job and spends much of her time raising awareness and publicity within the town centre.

### **Piers-53 male**

Piers joined the steering group in 2007. Like Barbara, Piers has also done a lot of campaigning with businesses.

### Appendix 3 Extract from annotated transcript of focus group with Fairtrade Horsham

Focus group transcript with Fairtrade Horsham, 29.07.10, 6pm, Gaynor's House

Me: Why and how did you get involved with FT?

John: I'm Gaynor's husband, we were always looking to Fairtrade, seven years ago she (Gaynor) started to talking to Frank. I've always been in the background, I have only just been in the committee in the last year and a bit, where wherever there has been an event I've always been there helping out, the website, the minutes of the meetings, so that's my role. We've always been looking towards Fairtrade, Um as a policy, so that's where I've been coming from.

Frank: I think we could go further back than that, I think my first encounter with this was when we were at Lincoln, and someone from our church, after every service would organise a Fairtrade stall, that often happened in churches B2

John: when would that be?

Frank: 1980

Me: Linking onto that, do you think that churches are most pro-active when it comes to Fairtrade and trying to publicise it?

Barbara: They should be!

John: They are the easiest to guilt into it.. because basically you say why aren't you Fairtrade?

Don't you care for the wider population? A3

Geoff: The short answer is that there are 22/23 churches in Horsham, 20 of them are Fairtrade

churches, I suppose I came into the Fairtrade because we were already involved in Christian aid and trade justice, and I'm a lefty! B2

Me: something that is very interesting about Horsham, is that there are not FT schools.

Barbara: not yet!

Me: why do you think that is?

John: No, we don't have any Fairtrade schools yet and I think the passionate teachers, well they are so critical aren't they! Because the children are not organised enough, especially in the

→ church - the most active?!  
→ to do with how they use FT for their purposes.  
→ proves they are the most committed.

→ teachers as evangelists. - seem to be v. important to FT HORSHAM.

→ Gaynor - key point.

younger schools" It's difficult with schools, I think, Gaynor's the one that's been looking after schools, um but certainly places like Collyers is two years, the second year is a short year and the students are all working very hard in their second year, so you don't get this handing over from first to second year, like you might at University, to get things going.

Barbara: They have altered the criteria recently and it takes a year for schools to become Fairtrade, which is partly why it's a problem with Collyers because you know you're only there for a year and half really. Umm I know that Southwater Infant school, for example, is very nearly Fairtrade, I mean its... any minute now. And there is one in Horhsam as well... Robert Southwell, and I think Millais is interested.

- Although no schools - some keen to be interested.

John: Yes they are working towards it. Well Southwater applied but rejected, wasn't it?

Barbara: They finished everything as far as I know, no they weren't rejected. There was something they hadn't filled in. It was the same with the Robert Southwell schools, there was something else they had to add to it.

Me: I guess because schools are so preoccupied with other things.

John: There is a lot on, yes and the criteria is quite difficult but I don't know what its like in other places, where there are other schools....

Barbara: I don't know. You've got to have two members of staff that are really keen I think, otherwise it fizzles out, you've got to have someone leading it, Like the schools that I mentioned...Southwater, so has castlewood, are holding because they have so much on, that this is the problem they have so much on their coursework and...B3

- It is very difficult to get FTT status in schools.

John: It is part of their coursework, so it shouldn't be as difficult as it is in someways, it seems to be easier to get certain types of offices, it's easier with the dentists and things, the medical centres to um to be Fairtrade because it's easier for them, they are a small unit, they just have to buy ft stuff. B3

Barbara: and yet children themselves, children are extremely keen because they hate anything that's not fair, and um you know I've done little plays with them, where one gets a lot of money and the other doesn't for doing exactly the same amount of work. They are acting out the part of

Imagined self about age?

farmers and that's when they say, well that's not fair! Whereas two or three years ago they didn't know what it was. B1

Pat: When we put a stall on at Christmas, children come up and they will tell you that's not fair! 3 years ago when we were in the Carfax, it would be the children that would come up and say oh yes i know all about that. And they collect things for their project. B1

Frank: When they say these teachers are enthusiastic i immediately thought of the, we've been involved with the World development movement in Horsham for nearly 17 years now but um at one time we were right down, and in total about 18 people arrived, and most of them were teachers who were really passionate about issues of trade justice... they were just interested in Fairtrade, and it was soon after that they joined the WDM C2

other networks involved?

Me: One thing I'm really interested in is the different groups that are involved, so you've got the businesses, schools and churches, do they tend to work together on any kind of ft event, or not at all, is there any networking going on? Or are they more focused on communicating with FT Horsham?

John: Um not necessarily, some of them are only communicating with FT organisation, especially the schools But if you go around this group and see what other areas everyone is involved with, you'll find that Geoff is involved with the churches, Frank is involved with the World Development movement... and um everyone is involved with many organisations... you find that like 70% of the population within Horsham is involved with several groups.

Barbara: Well I know when I was, we had the backing of Horsham district council and they were right behind it including one man who was against it which seems quite funny actually, he voted in favour because everyone else voted, so it was an anonymous vote but they've actually got FT machines in there, you know the vending machines are all FT but I don't think there is any connection between

Piers: I always say, in fact, going around town distributing post and that there was no contact between the outlets that are ft, they don't sort of like have a ft business circle, or anything like that, it's partly a marketing coy, to attract the people in, we're going to attract a new set of people into out coffee shop, or restraints so I'm just wondering there. Some people just do it

Businesses not working together.



## Appendix 4 Extract from annotated transcript of interview with Sue

Interview with Sue, St Mary's church, 14/08/10 4pm at Sue's house

Me: How did you get involved with ft and why?

Sue: Basically in our house group, we have one member of FT Horsham and one of the other members of the housegroup was asked by Jerry to run FT for the church. I suppose it seems fair to pay a decent price so that people can earn. You know the more you read about it- if this was happening here we would be going on a strike. *I just became really concerned that people were buying tea really cheaply and enjoying it at the expensive of other people, they were getting exploited, it was just so wrong.* I guess I imagine that it is the "right thing to do" it allows farmers in Africa to *immediately plough their profits back into the community, sending the children to school and things like that.*

Me: What has the Church of England/ St Marys done to support FT?

Sue: Well we did have this stall every month but it became rather overwhelming- people stopped doing it. So basically it was getting more difficult and there are so many suppliers in town... Oxfam, Sainsburys, Waitrose.. it almost didn't seem worthwhile doing it so what we do now is we have once a year a FT cake stall I fair-trade fortnight and the actually the proceedings went to the two Lent charities as opposed to Fairtrade. *"we did have this Fairtrade stall every month but it became rather overwhelming, people just stopped doing it... in the end it almost didn't seem worth doing."*

*Not doing very much for fair-trade, finding it difficult to become part of the network. B1*

Me: Is Fairtrade mentioned in any of the services?

Sue: Umm well I don't think they have ever had fair-trade prayers specifically, we have themes every week and we try to keep to that. But in fair-trade fortnight, I suppose we do but it wasn't obvious to me. B1

Me: Do people work together within the church to support Fairtrade?

Sue: Well our housegroup is very much involved, I mean one of the members of the committee is in it. And Caroyne was asked to do, another lady in the housegroup is very involved with the fair-trade foundation itself and then Caroyne asked me to help but when she found she was too busy I

took over from her. But in turn over housegroup members have joined...the housegroup is key to these networks of care within the church B1

Me: Do you think that we should support Fairtrade over local producers?

You know I don't agree with flowers from Kenya because it's clearly not carbon neutral... I will buy home grown in preference to Fairtrade. when I buy some flowers I would like to know that it hasn't been all round the world to us. - Local / Global conflict.

Sue: I think there is a problem there because you can only buy too much because we only know so much about the ins and outs of the third world country, we don't know who is collecting the money and we don't know where the money goes. A1 In this country, its easier to get the information And things like coffee and tea, we don't really grow in this country. And you know if I can't see sugar grow in the UK on the shelf I will not buy Fairtrade. I will buy home grown in preference to Fairtrade. You know when I buy some flowers I would like to know that it hasn't been all round the world to us. A3 Because we can't see those in the third world we feel skeptical about undertaking these distant relations of care, we feel that perhaps it would be better if we cared for those closer to home - where we know what is going on. I don't think though in general there has been any conflict over that issue. When I looked into fair-trade, you don't actually have to sell fair-trade in the church to belong to the fair-trade churches. But what you do have to do is promote it, have committee meetings.. to show that you're a fair-trade church and I think that that is a good principle. Its not easy to persuade people to buy fair-trade, to show them that it is "good". You know that's the real problem, we don't know who is collecting the money and we don't know where the money goes.

Me: So does St Mary's work anyone else on Fairtrade?

No not really, I mean Fairtrade Horsham do sometimes get in touch with me. And I did go to the Fairtrade tea part a couple of months ago as a representative of St Marys so yes we do have a little involvement but it is a problem of where to spend your time. As a church, we're not the sort of people that say well you must buy this and do that but little things like making cakes is a good idea but to promote it is a really hard thing. B2 The businesses are really bad, trying to get them to push them I know has been a challenge. But Wittards and Twinings seem to be good.

Businesses as ethically problematic.

Hidden copy

Again local / Global - representations over among activists.

-> Not easy to persuade people in the church - discrepancy even within the same network.

## Appendix 5 Annotated transcript of interview with David

Interview with David, Local councilor, 15/08/10, 2.30pm, David's house

Me: Can you tell me what your role is within the council?

David: I have two council positions, a district councillor and a county councillor. I have been doing that for nearly 8 years.

Me: So were you around when Horsham became a FT town?

Yes, well I was around, helping on the inches to get that in place. But I can't actually remember when that was.

Me: It was in 2005

David: oh yes so I would have been on the council. It was just about lobbying to make sure that people made the decision, it was really simple things. You know 5 opposition isn't very much. The first thing is that the council has to make the decision and you know getting the right percentage of shops and on eof the simple things is to get the council t serve FT tea and coffee. The timing was actually reasonably good to the point that sustainability group were keene on making some of those changes anyway. There was a good deal of support for the principles of FT, as with these thing invariably the hardest thing was to get FT tea and coffee at the meetings. Something I was never successful at getting was FT biscuits, just because they were more expensive. Its all to do with perception though but tea and coffee are the most mature of the products, FT tea and coffee have been around for a while, tea was revolting but it has moved on a lot in the last 30 years. So tea and coffee are the simple ones but biscuits.... You know you can't do cash and carry.

Me: Were people supportive of Horsham becoming FT, or were there conflicts?

David: I think there were a few people who thought we should be concentrating on local produce. But why do they need to be in conflict. At the same sort of time that Horsham was debating the FT town, there was just starting a local produce festival and has now become a major part of the H calendar but at the time it was just starting out, it was pretty badly attended and there were several comments made "oh you know its all very well that you stand up and talk about third world producers but when it comes to an event that supports local famers, no one really shows up" So there was a real sense, not that FT was wrong but that its only one aspect of it. Some would even go as far as saying that well you should be concentrating on this, forget the international.. focus on the local, that's what we're here for as local councilors. We're not here to change the world, we're here to change the district! But over the years, I think people have grown to see you can do both. As you say, you don't grown tea and coffee here and we don't buy... well Ok there are some things that are grown here that are also grown over there. Buying FT flowers, for example, seems very odd. But I guess at the end of the day I guess if you're giving a producer a healthy income then maybe yes. Where you're actually creating a conglit with FT is the environmental issues, if you're deliberately going out and buying FT flowers from Kenya, whereas you could buy them locally then.. well probably you should be thinking about local rather than international.

B3

Overall presumed to be good

- Once again highlights local / global  
- partial attraction  
- ?



Me: Do you remember any specific councilors that were against Fairtrade?

David: Yes! I can remember one, in specific that was against it. I don't think he's against FT but I think he's against the international focus. There were two that I can recall. One that thought it was a waste of time and one that actively spoke against the international cause.

M: Is the district council pushing for West Sussex to become a FT council?

David: yeah we had a motion about four or five months ago to look into it and see what could be done. Ever since then, I've been trying to see who is actually trying to do something. The cabinet member for the environment is actually head. For some bizarre reason, it was the finance cabinet member. We are at the right place now and it's a case of moving that forward..... because there are what.. 12 FT towns in West Sussex... so its not a difficult thing for West Sussex to become a FT county. The rest of the building blocks are probably in place. - *linking to other corp spaces*

Me: Does the council stay in contact with the steering group, FT Horsham?

David: Well yes, one of the other councilors has been actively involved in Ft Horsham and he..... I don't know who own it from a district council perspective, actually that is a good question. It probably ought to come on economy or maybe environmental waste, that's really around waste collection and local recycling. We don't really have district councilor that would cover FT's portfolio.

Me: How aware do you think people are that H is a FT town?

David: *it is minimal.* I think you have to be in touch with the whole FT thing to know that Horsham is a FT town. I think a lot of people know about FT, and that's been a result of Ft fortnight... and certainly the first time only a few people showed any interest... if they heard about it most of them had a weird preconception that it was about helping farmers in the first world. But now, well the majority of people you talk to have heard of FT and a good number actively buy FT products. How many of them actually know that H is a FT town ... I would think would be relatively small. B CONNECTED TO C

Me: You're also involved with FT in the baptist church... have they done anything to support Ft?

David: Not specifically, I've talked about FT in services, the tea and coffee is FT, it gets mentioned from time to time and obviously we've got Gaynor in the church, she's key and from time to time. And is someone is talking about Christians and responsibility in the global economy, they will mention FT. And I think we have had a FT stall, promoting FT... and educating. Sometimes there is a particular sermon. There is a lot of misunderstanding among church members however. I had quite a long conversation with one of the leaders quite a while ago now about whether FT was a good thing or a bad thing but probably the questions that are coming then are quite different from what you might get on the street, they have some issues around how it actually happens in practice A1 AND B1... mmm whether its really working out.

*points to the importance of key actors.*