

# Uncovering the Gender Agenda

The Impacts of Fair Trade on Gender Relations in Chile

By

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## Abstract

Neoliberalism has perpetuated social inequality on a global scale. Augusto Pinochet's neoliberal experiment would have significant repercussions on Chilean society. The evolution of export agriculture propelled Chile to economic success; a pioneer for the Latin American region. Unfortunately, macroeconomic advancements did not correlate to improvements in social equality. Fair trade, an alternative economic model, emerged in response to these growing inequalities. The movement promotes a more equitable distribution of wealth, despite operating within the neoliberal economy. Furthermore, the movement represents a promise of improved livelihoods to the producers and communities which have been marginalised by the predominant neoliberal system. The application of fair trade across Latin America has been extensive. In response to increased consumer demands, the range and volume of fair trade initiatives has continued to flourish. Chilean fair trade has demonstrated incredible potential through promoting improvements in labour conditions and community development. Furthermore, the low numbers of fair trade participants have proven beneficial in minimising opportunities for corruption. However, a lack of awareness has remained the largest barrier to future fair trade expansion in Chile. One of the most significant, yet controversial consequences of the export evolution was the emergence of the *temporera* labour force. Despite associations with severe labour abuses, *temporera* employment has improved significantly over the past thirty years. The *temporeras* of El Palqui have attributed these remarkable improvements to increased government support and union representation. Unfortunately, gender inequality continues to plague Chile, both within agriculture and on a national scale. Fair trade's clauses on gender equality have demonstrated incredible potential to influence and improve gender relations in Chile. Collaboration between fair trade, alternative ethical trading initiatives, civil society and government appears to be particularly promising. Cooperation between these institutions holds the potential to transform opportunities for female exploitation into opportunities for their empowerment.

**Keywords:** *Chile, neoliberalism, agriculture exports, gender relations, fair trade, temporeras*

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## Glossary of Spanish Terms

<i>Contratado:</i>	One of two employment categories in Chile. This category refers to secure, contracted employment.
<i>Contratistas:</i>	Contractors who represent the middle actors between producers and <i>temporeras</i> .
<i>Machista:</i>	“The prevailing gender ideology which, in Chile, informs the basis of the division of labour and leads to a differentiation between the status of men and women” (Bee & Vogel, 1997).
<i>Pueblo:</i>	A small town.
<i>Reconversión:</i>	The “insertion of small-scale producers into global value chains” (Murray, Chandler, & Overton, 2010, p. 89)
<i>Temporada:</i>	The harvest season.
<i>Temporera:</i>	Agricultural “waged workers without stable employment who work in the fields and packing plants during the temporada” (Bee & Vogel, 1997, p. 85).
<i>Temporero:</i>	Male temporary agriculture workers.
<i>Voluntantrindos:</i>	The second of two employment categories in Chile. This category refers to casual labour.



## Table of Acronyms

AFN:	African Fairtrade Network
ANAMURI:	Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Rural e Indigenas
ASOEX:	Asociación de Exportadores de Frutas de Chile, A.G.
CCC:	Credit-Consignation-Contract
CEDEM:	Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo de la Mujer
CLAC:	Coordinadora Latinoamericana y del Caribe de Pequeños Productores y Trabajadores de Comercio Justo
CORFO:	Corporación de Fomento de la Producción
ECLAC:	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ETI:	Ethical Trading Initiative
FTO:	Fair Trade Organisation
FTRG:	Fair Trade Research Group
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
HDI:	Human Development Index
HEC:	Human Ethics Committee
ILO:	International Labour Organization
INDAP:	Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario – Institute of Agricultural Development
LEDCs:	Less Economically Developed Country
MEDCs:	More Economically Developed Countries
MDGs:	Millennium Development Goals
NAPP:	Network of Asia and the Pacific

NFO:	National Fairtrade Organizations
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisations
PET:	El Programa de Economica del Trabajo
RP:	Research Participant
SIMAPRO:	Sistema de Medición y Avance de la Productividad
SDGs:	Sustainable Development Goals
SERNAM:	El Servicio Nacional de la Mujer – The National Women’s Service
SNA:	Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura
SAN A.G.:	Sociedad Agrícola del Norte Asociación Gremial
UOC:	Confederación Nacional Unión Obrera Campesina de Chile – National Confederation Peasant Workers’ Union of Chile
WFTO:	World Fair Trade Organization
WFTO-LA:	World Fair Trade Organization Latin America

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# Chapter 1

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## THESIS INTRODUCTION

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### 1.1 Research Context

This study has examined the evolution of export agriculture in Chile, its impact on women and the potential of fair trade to improve gender relations. Chile's agricultural export boom began in the 1970s after a military coup saw President Augusto Pinochet ascend to power and instigate a dramatic neoliberal regime in the previously socialist Latin American nation. This thesis has explored how neoliberal reforms and the agricultural export boom has contributed to both the empowerment and the oppression of women in Chile. Furthermore, this thesis has examined fair trade in Latin America and whether this alternative economic network demonstrates the potential to challenge *machista* gender relations in Chile.

The evolution of agricultural exports represents an important aspect of Chilean neoliberalism and macroeconomic growth. A significant proportion of Chile's neoliberal success can be attributed to non-traditional fruit exports, with Chile boasting the title of largest fruit exporter in the Southern hemisphere (Murray, 1998). Notably, table grapes have emerged as the dominant commodity, monopolising non-traditional agriculture. This thesis critically examines the implications of this economic growth on social inequality, notably gender inequality. To what extent has fair trade been applied in Chile? Through a series of case studies, this thesis has examined the outcomes of this application in the Chilean context.

Through the *temporera* case study in El Palqui, this thesis has described how gender inequalities operate at local levels of analyses. The *temporeras* remain one of the most significant, yet controversial, consequences of the agricultural export evolution. Predominantly characterised as casual labour, the position has offered an opportunity of employment to women, particularly in rural areas where opportunities are scarce. Undeniably, the role encumbers difficult working conditions and the women have not often been protected by national work regulations. However, remuneration potential

continues to be alluring to those women who wish to provide additional income to their families.

Through a series of case studies, this thesis has investigated whether Fair Trade demonstrates the potential to influence and improve gender relations whilst continuing to support the Chilean economy. Are there examples of fair trade organisations which have specifically targeted female empowerment? How has Chile aligned with fair trade's clauses on gender equality and empowerment? In distinction to fair trade, have any other alternative ethical trading initiatives emerged from the Chilean context?

This study applies social constructivist and feminist ideologies to the Chilean context. Social constructivism emphasises the importance of acknowledging perspective diversity and subjectivity. Perception of the research themes will be contingent on personal experiences which in turn are particularly influenced by social and historical constructs (Creswell, 2009). This philosophical worldview is particularly in accordance with Chile's unique social, historical and economic circumstances. Analysis of gender relations comprises a significant component of this study. Consequently, the study was also influenced by a degree of feminism.

## 1.2 Research Aim and Questions

### **1.2.1 Research Aim**

To explore the application of fair trade in the Chilean context and, through a series of case studies, investigate whether this application has demonstrated the potential to influence and improve gender relations. Through this aim, this thesis attempts to deconstruct the political, social and economic contexts which have maintained gender inequalities and facilitated the evolution of export agriculture and the *temporeras*.

### **1.2.2 Research Questions**

In order to realise the research aim, this thesis has been categorised according to four research questions as follow:

1. To what extent has fair trade been applied in Chile and Latin America?
2. Based on case studies, what have been the outcomes of this application in Chile?
3. With reference to the *temporeras*, how has the evolution of export agriculture impacted gender relations in Chile?

4. Based on expert opinion and current trends, what is the future potential of fair trade to influence and improve gender relations in Chile?

### 1.3 Thesis Outline

This thesis has taken the structure of the Andean charango, a famed guitar-like instrument found in Chile. Akin to the broader body of the instrument, the thesis starts at the macrocosmic level, discussing the global economic models of neoliberalism and fair trade, before sharpening the focus to fair trade in a Latin American and Chilean context. As the instrument narrows into the neck of the charango, this thesis subsequently narrows the examination to neoliberalism in the Chilean context, outlining the political contexts surrounding Chilean agricultural exports and the impacts on social inequality, particularly gender inequality. Continuing the analogy, the thesis reaches its most precise frame in the exploration of fair trade and its potential to improve gender relations in the Chilean context.

Chapter Two explains the methodological techniques utilised throughout field research, justification of research location and participant selection, concluding with a critical reflection of the research process. The subsequent three chapters constitute the literary analysis. Chapter Three explores neoliberalism and the motivations for an alternative, fair trade economy. Chapter Four directs analysis to neoliberalism in the Chilean context, the impacts on gender equality and the rise of the *temporeras*. Chapter Five draws analysis towards the gender specific clauses of fair trade and explores whether these clauses hold potential in Chile. The following chapter, Chapter Six, outlines the findings from field research, paying particular attention to agricultural exports, gender inequalities and the application of fair trade in Chile. Subsequently, the ensuing three chapters address the fundamental research questions. Chapter Seven explores the application of fair trade in Latin America and Chile and, based on case studies, the outcomes of this application in Chile. Through the lens of the *temporera* case study in El Palqui, Chapter Eight investigates gender relations in Chile. Chapter Nine sharpens the focus to fair trade case studies which promote female empowerment and discusses whether alternative pathways may be more effective at improving gender relations. The thesis concludes with a reflection on research in the Chilean context. This final chapter addresses the research questions and explores the theoretical, policy and academic implications of these findings.

## Thesis Outline Analogy



*Figure 1 The Andean Charango*

Source: (Marmaluk-Hajioannou, 2013)

## Chapter 2

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### METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

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#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the methodological foundations and philosophical underpinnings which have provided the framework for this thesis. Firstly, the chapter outlines social constructivism and the theoretical lenses which have been utilised to inform the study. Secondly, the chapter provides the justification for the selection of the field work location and participants. Subsequently, this section outlines which methods have been utilised, followed by critical reflections of data collection.

#### 2.2 Philosophical Worldview

##### **2.2.1 Social Constructivism**

The research was constructed according to a social constructivist epistemology. A constructivist lens acknowledges that researcher and participant interpretations of the world are subjective. Perception is contingent on personal experiences, which in turn are particularly influenced by social and historical constructs (Creswell, 2009). There are multiple meanings of the world. Experiences manipulate and transform the lens through which we view truth and meaning of the world, “[m]eaning is constructed, not discovered” (Gray, 2013, p. 20). Variation within Chilean communities and similar institutions revealed a myriad of perspectives. Constructivism acknowledges this heterogeneity and emphasises the importance of diversity in seeking understanding of a particular issue. A constructivist research design acknowledges the importance of negotiation with participants and relying “as much as possible on the participants’ view of a situation, typically forged in discussions or interactions with other persons” (Creswell, 2009, p. 8). Pivotal to the inductive nature of the study, no preconceived assumptions should be made with regards to the nature of fair trade and its potential implications on gender relations. The theory generation element of social constructivism satisfies this requirement, alternatively providing an opportunity for the data to metamorphose the study’s underlying theory. In accordance with Chile’s unique social,



historical and economic circumstances, a social constructivist theoretical framework appropriately informed the study.

## 2.3 Theoretical Lens

The study combines the ideas of multiple observations. I utilised an amalgamation of theoretical approaches as I felt that not one approach in isolation would sufficiently encompass the data that I sought.

### **2.3.1 Interpretivism**

Firstly, interpretivism acknowledges that social realities differ between individuals in response to the “culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social-life world” (Gray, 2013, p. 23). This approach further suggests that researcher understanding is derived from participant experiences and the subsequent perspectives attributed to their social realities. The diverse social realities between rural women and urban institutions generated a broader understanding of the implications of export agriculture and fair trade on gender relations. Gray’s literature confirmed my decision, indicating that “in terms of epistemology, interpretivism is closely linked to constructivism” (Gray, 2013, p. 23).

### **2.3.2 Critical Inquiry**

Secondly, a critical inquiry lens was also applied to the study. This approach “questions currently held values and assumptions and challenges conventional social structures” (Gray, 2013, p. 27). This technique was particularly applicable to the socially constructed gender relations and societal hierarchy elements of the research. Pivotal, critical inquiry addresses the influence of power relations in the production of research and ideas. It suggests that mainstream research often perpetuates inequalities, such as gender oppression.

### **2.3.3 Feminism**

Analysis of gender relations comprised a significant component of this study. Consequently, the study was also influenced by a degree of feminism. A notably desirable aspect of the feminist lens was the concept that women “have a less distorted social experience” and “access to a deeper reality through their personal experiences” (Gray, 2013, p. 27). This was particularly appealing with regards to my desire for an in-

depth understanding of the impacts of fair trade on communities and the marginalised demographics it is purportedly assisting. Feminism aligned with my research values in emphasising the acknowledgement of potential biases and promoting active research reflexivity. However, not all aspects of feminism aligned with the nature of the study. A foundational pillar of feminism suggests that women are disempowered. I aimed to minimise preconceptions concerning the status of female empowerment in ethical value chains.

## 2.4 Research Approach

An inductive approach was utilised for this investigative study. The inductive approach advocated the construction of meanings from data as opposed to pre-generating a hypothetical preconception. Through this data, I attempted “to establish patterns, consistencies and meanings” and to subsequently divulge whether these patterns alluded to any relationships between variables (Gray, 2013, p. 18).

## 2.5 Methodology

A qualitative methodology provided a suitable approach for exploring participant perspectives. In recent years, qualitative methodologies have continued to garner respect with respect to research quality and validity, emerging as a robust technique. Supporting my decisions to investigate Chilean *temporeras*, this technique promoted the use of small case studies in order to produce “thick descriptions of people’s experiences and perspectives within their natural settings” (Gray, 2013, p. 30).

## 2.6 Timeframe

The field work investigation transpired across two months in Chile. Methodology integrated both longitudinal and cross sectional elements. The longitudinal elements of the study were inspired and derived from previous comparable studies conducted by my supervisor, Warwick Murray, and his previous master’s student, Tony Chandler. Both academics chose to conduct field research in the same locality.

## 2.7 Methods

A combination of interviews and focus groups were utilised for data collection. Field research transpired in Santiago and Coquimbo, the fourth region of Chile. Within Coquimbo, data was collected from La Serena, Ovalle and El Palqui.

## 2.8 Selection of Field Area

Chile has flourished under the influence of neoliberal policy. Often regarded as a miraculous economic success story, the expansion of non-traditional<sup>1</sup> fruit exports has received commendation. Regrettably, macroeconomic successes have not necessarily correlated to socioeconomic improvements in inequality indices. Antithetically, despite neoliberalism's idyllic promise of promoting development, social inequality has appeared to worsen in Chile (Kennedy & Murray, 2012). The disconcerting circumstances have prompted questions of sustainability, both environmental and social, as Chile continues its attempts to meet Northern capitalist demands. As Chile was thrust into the global economy, deepening inequalities have emphasised the need for more ethically oriented value chains and contributed to the establishment of Chile's niche fair trade market. In regards to fair trade, the Chilean context offered a unique, almost paradoxical case study. Ideologically, fair trade is targeted at 'developing' nations. However, macroeconomic success has evidently distinguished Chile from other developing nations. Alternatively, has the persistence of social inequality advocated a need for further development of fair trade? If field research indicates an absence of fair trade, are alternative ethical value chains established? These questions provided the incentive for selecting Chile as an appropriate case study location.

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<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this thesis, non-traditional agriculture refers to exported commodities whilst traditional agriculture refers to commodities produced for the domestic market.

## Map of Chile



Figure 2 Map of the Administrative Divisions of Chile

Source: (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 2009)

### **2.8.1 El Palqui**

In alignment with the qualitative nature of the study, which emphasised the importance of “gathering information personally,” the local context was particularly important (Creswell, 2009, p. 8). As aforementioned, Chile has experienced notable success in the exportation of table grapes. Literature has specifically alluded to the success in El Palqui, a region in the Monte Patria commune, Coquimbo, Chile, which “ exports close to 20 per cent of the Chilean grape export total” (Murray, 2002, p. 202). Geographically, El Palqui provided an interesting site of investigation. Throughout the 1970s, El Palqui was subject to various agrarian reforms (Murray, 2002). Agricultural export success has predominantly been attributed to these land reforms and the significant competitive advantage that exists in the area. Invaluably, El Palqui has access to the Limarí water well system, located within the Guatalume Valley (Chandler, 2006). Climatically, fruit harvests in Monte Patria have aligned with the counter-seasonal demands of Northern markets, “from mid-November to mid-February,” allowing the region to “command excellent prices” (Murray, 2002, p. 200). Furthermore, El Palqui’s favourable microclimate and fertile land has proven particularly advantageous for table grape export production which has subsequently thrived (Murray, 1998). Additionally, the Credit-Consignment-Contract (CCC) system, credit offered by agribusiness companies, has been particularly influential in El Palqui, assisting the small locality to evolve from traditional agriculture to “one of the most rapidly transformed exporting areas in the whole of Chile” (Chandler, 2006, as cited in Murray, 2002, p. 17). Previous research in this region has addressed the evolution of table grape exportation and the emergence of the *temporera* workforce. Therefore, this region provided a fertile platform for investigations into the gendered dimensions of fair trade and ethical value chains.



## Map Demonstrating the Locations of La Serena, Ovalle and EL Palqui

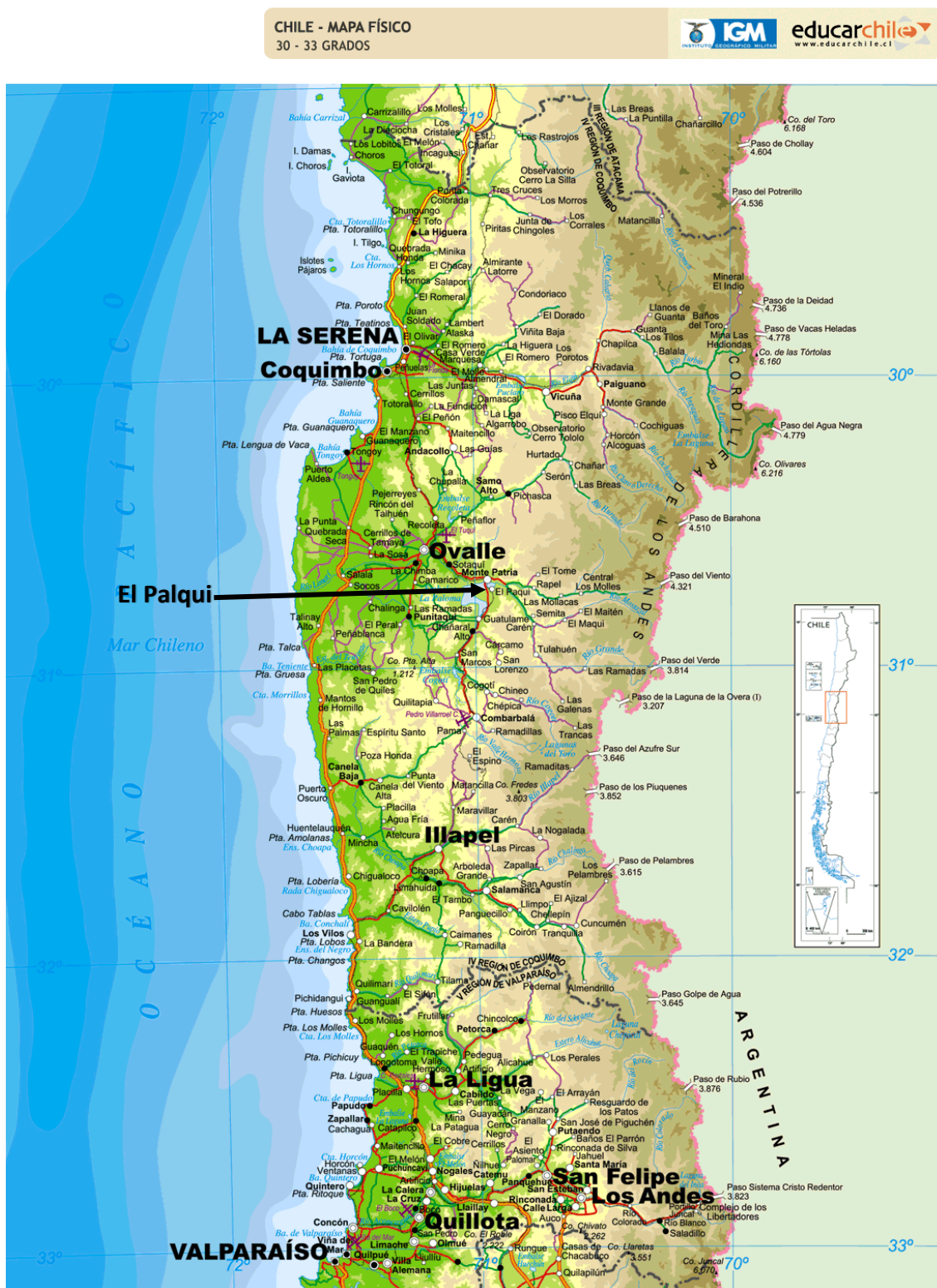


Figure 3 Map of the Coquimbo Region

Source: (Instituto Geográfico Militar, 2007)

### **2.8.2 Why Temporeras?**

As counter-seasonal demand from Northern markets continued to increase, the corresponding need for seasonal agricultural workers also respectively increased (Murray, 1998). The *temporeras* would come to comprise a significant proportion of the seasonal labour in the non-traditional agricultural export sector. Impelled by personal interests in gender equality, the evolution of the *temporera* workforce confirmed my desire to investigate the Chilean context. In light of the expansion of non-traditional agriculture, how has the '*machista*' society responded to the evolution of this female workforce? Is there evidence of fair trade or alternative ethical value chains in the agricultural sector? If established, do these alternative trade networks hold potential for the *temporeras*? I expected my female positionality to prove an asset in data collection, facilitating the establishment of strong relationships with female participants.

## **2.9 Research Design**

### **2.9.1 Participant Recruitment**

Thirty-six participants were involved in this investigation. I conducted twenty-eight semi-structured interviews, involving twenty-nine participants, and two focus groups, involving three and four participants respectively. The number of participants involved was contingent on participant interest, availability and participant connections to additional contacts. Literature had indicated the importance of selecting a large volume of participants. With respect to more objective data, a larger volume was effective in corroborating experiences (Chandler, 2006). Additionally, this volume was essential for illustrating the diversity and heterogeneity of subjective experiences.

Participants were predominantly Chilean. Accordingly, most interviews were conducted in Spanish, with the exception of six semi-structured interviews conducted in English. All focus groups were conducted in Spanish. Participant information sheets and consent forms were all translated into Spanish. Many interviews at the institutional level were established through email contact. These interviews were predominantly conducted in Santiago and La Serena. This purposeful recruitment of participants was conducted thematically according to my research questions. It involved rigorous research to discern who were the most influential actors involved with fair trade value chains, table grape export agriculture, *temporeras*, and gender relations or, alternatively, any combination

of these themes. Occasionally, email contact proved difficult, a consequence of either not being able to locate an email address or the absence of a publicly available contact. Participant selection techniques evolved accordingly. In these instances, I directly approached the physical office of the respective organisations and explained the theme of my investigation. In most cases, I was met with positive, rewarding responses. In addition, several interviews were also arranged through the connections of other participants or email contacts who were personally unable to offer information but knew of acquaintances who were able. As expected, institutional representatives were linked to a myriad of invaluable contacts. I had hoped that these networks would prove useful beyond the institutional field, additionally extending into *temporera* networks for the focus groups. Fortunately, my desires were realised as consultation with institutional representatives proved successful in connecting me to *temporeras* in the rural community of El Palqui. Interestingly, the ‘snowball’ recruitment technique proved effective beyond institutional contacts. Specifically, the second focus group materialised as a direct consequence of the *temporera* contacts established from the initial focus group.

### **2.9.2 Semi-Structured Interviews**

In alignment with the social constructivist lens, semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to maintain a degree of discussion control whilst providing flexibility for participants to express their perspectives and offer their own questions. Previous researchers have indicated the viability of semi-structured interviews as a methodology given my limited articulation in Spanish (Chandler, 2006). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with institutional representatives, both male and female. These institutions included governmental organisations, fair trade organisations (FTOs), academic institutions, non-governmental organisations, unions, agricultural organisations and agricultural exportation companies. Interviews of this nature were predominantly conducted in Santiago. However, interviews were also conducted in La Serena, Ovalle and El Palqui, districts located in the Coquimbo region. Interviews varied in length, ranging from fifteen minutes to one and a half hours. Discussion was loosely focussed around the research questions. An interview schedule can be found in the abstract section. Importantly, the nature of semi-structured interviews allowed participants to offer information that they considered relevant, but which I had not



thought to address. Consequently, this malleable nature contributed to the maturation of my interview techniques and questions across the duration of field research, albeit the questions retained the same fundamental themes for consistency. Through these interviews, I aimed to investigate how fair trade has been adopted in Chile. To what extent has fair trade been applied in Chile? Is Chilean fair trade perceived differently across the various case studies and institutions? If yes, is this a thematic response to the institution and their affiliated objectives? Furthermore, what is the situation of gender relations in Chile? If participants indicated that this situation remains problematic, did they perceive that fair trade held the potential to influence and improve relations? Additionally, these interviews contributed to the micro level of analysis, with regards to the *temporera* case and study gender relations within the agricultural export sector.

### **2.9.3 Focus Groups**

Similarly to semi-structured interviews, focus groups were selected as an appropriate methodological technique as they allow the researcher to maintain a degree of control whilst providing flexibility for participants to talk in a relatively candid manner. A particularly appealing aspect of this technique was the promotion of intra-participant engagement. Focus groups were exclusively conducted with *temporeras* from El Palqui, the rural '*pueblo*' or, town, I selected as a case study for this investigation. These women were all seasonally employed within the table grape sector of export agriculture. The two focus groups were held across two consecutive days and included four and five women, respectively. These numbers were contingent on participant interest and availability. I conceived that perspectives would differ significantly across individual and community hierarchies. In alignment with constructivism, considerable care was taken to recognise each individual perspective as unique and, furthermore, to not assume these perspectives were a complete representation of the community. As emphasised by Brockington, "in many cases rural communities in fact may just be geographical juxtapositions of people with little else in common apart from their local geography" (2003, p. 12). Two separate focus groups were conducted with the expectation of uncovering this diversity. Expectedly, this approach provided a more holistic understanding of the impacts of non-traditional agricultural exportation and the potential mitigation that fair trade could offer. Similarly based upon the fundamental research questions, there was indubitably thematic overlap in questions between semi-

structured interviews and focus groups. However, additional, more personal questions were asked of focus group participants. Consequently, focus groups offered greater insight into more intimate, personal perspectives which were pivotal to the *temporera* case study. By contrast, perspectives obtained from semi-structured interviews were predominantly a representation of their affiliated institutions. Invaluably, focus groups provided the opportunity to observe participant interactions, both verbal and non-verbal. This powerful combination allowed for a deeper level of analysis than was afforded by the semi-structured interviews. This technique facilitated the opportunity to observe the emergence of dominant personality traits, particularly in regards to more sensitive discussion topics. A particularly attractive aspect of this interaction was the opportunity for participants to stimulate and encourage elaboration from other participants who either may not have felt comfortable voicing this perspective or, alternatively, not have formerly conceived it. The responding assent or dissent from other participants provided a degree of validity in the responses. This interactive aspect facilitated more in depth responses. Consequently, to a greater degree than semi-structured interviews, focus groups provided a further degree of flexibility in interview structure. The observance of non-verbal cues proved valuable in supporting understanding, with regards to my Spanish proficiency.

#### **2.9.4 Coding of Research Participants**

Research participants (RP) were categorised according to the following group codes:

- CSG – Central Study Group (El Palqui Case Study)
- GOV – Government Group
- NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation Group
- FTO – Fair Trade Organisation Group
- AGO or AGX – Agricultural Organisation or Agricultural Export Company Group
- UNI – University Group

In this thesis, participants are referenced according to these codes. For example, RP1-CSG refers to research participant one, who has been categorised into the central study group.

Please refer to the ‘Summary of Research Participants’ tables below for further information.

### **2.9.5 Summary of Research Participants**

***Table 1 CSG - Central Study Group (El Palqui Case Study)***

RP Code	Name	Organisation	Location	Date
RP1-CSG	Paula	Manos Abiertas, Agrupación de <i>Temporeras</i>	El Palqui	06/07/2016
RP2-CSG	Focus Group 1	<i>Temporeras</i>	El Palqui	11/07/2016
RP3-CSG	Focus Group 2	<i>Temporeras</i>	El Palqui	12/07/2016

***Table 2 GOV - Government Group***

RP Code	Name	Organisation	Location	Date
RP4-GOV	Hernan	INDAP	Ovalle	29/06/2016
RP5-GOV	Javier	INDAP	Ovalle	29/06/2016
RP6-GOV	Patricio	Ministry of Agriculture	La Serena	19/07/2016
RP7-GOV	Patricio	SERNAM	La Serena	19/07/2016
RP8-GOV	Fabiola	Ministry of Agriculture	Santiago	21/07/2016

***Table 3 NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation Group***

RP Code	Name	Organisation	Location	Date
RP9-NGO	Angélica	CEDEM	Santiago	21/07/2016
RP10-NGO	Valentina	RIMISP	Santiago	26/07/2016
RP11-NGO	Olga	UOC	Santiago	26/07/2016
RP12-NGO	Mafalda	ANAMURI	Santiago	28/07/2016

**Table 4 FTO - Fair Trade Organisation Group**

RP Code	Name	Organisation	Location	Date
RP13-FTO	Maria	Mal Paso	Ovalle	05/07/2016
RP14-FTO	Gerardo	Proqualitas	Santiago	22/07/2016
RP15-FTO	Ingrid	CLAC Fairtrade	Santiago	25/07/2016
RP16-FTO	Fernanda	Emprediem	Santiago	25/07/2016
RP17-FTO	Marietta	Viñedos Emiliana	Santiago	26/07/2016
RP18-FTO	Hector	Corporación GAIA Chile	Santiago	27/07/2016
RP19-FTO	Cristian	Mi Fruta Chile	Los Andes	27/07/2016
RP20-FTO	Ana	Hebras del Alma	Santiago	29/07/2016

**Table 5 AGO or AGX - Agricultural Organisation or Agricultural Export Company Group**

RP Code	Name	Organisation	Location	Date
RP21-AGO	Daniela	Sociedad Agrícola del Norte Asociación Gremial	La Serena	18/07/2016
RP22-AGO	Francisco	Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura	Santiago	22/07/2016
RP23-AGO	Rodrigo	Agrocap	Santiago	29/07/2016
RP24-AGX	Martin	Comfrut	Santiago	22/07/2016
RP25-AGX	Nicolas	RIOblanco	Santiago	25/07/2016
RP26-AGX	Rodrigo	Fruticola	Santiago	28/07/2016

**Table 6 UNI - University Group**

RP Code	Name	Organisation	Location	Date
RP27-UNI	Carlos	Universidad de La Serena, Agronomy	La Serena	20/07/2016
RP28-UNI	Érico	Universidad de La Serena, Commerical Engineering	La Serena	20/07/2016
RP29-UNI	Hector	Universidad de La Serena, Agronomy	Ovalle	01/07/2016
RP30-UNI	Anonymous	Anonymous	NA	21/07/2016

### **2.9.6 Interview Recording**

Video recordings have received considerable scrutiny with regards to ethical issues, such as participant misrepresentation (Pink, 2001). Similarly, the additional time required to transcribe both the audio and visual data was inappropriate for the scope of a master's thesis. I attempted to avoid writing notes during both the semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Writing notes throughout the interviews would have significantly hindered interactions with participants, pertaining to eye contact and non-verbal gestures, "writing while people are speaking is off-putting" (Brockington, 2003, p. 4). Therefore, this technique would be inappropriate as the construction of strong relationships was pivotal to data collection. Brockington emphasised the importance of actively engaging with people, suggesting that if "meetings are characterised by good listening, and conversation, we will have much to learn about the world in which we live" (2003, p. 25). The physical environment also contributed to my decision to not use this technique as writing during data collection was not always plausible. Interviews were predominantly conducted in an office setting, an environment which conceivably would have been conducive to this recording technique. However, focus groups were conducted in participants' homes and on the street, a far less practical environment. Correspondingly, semi-structured interviews and focus groups were recorded on an

audio voice recorder to allow greater engagement with participants (Edwards & Holland, 2013). Audio recordings were partially transcribed, summarised and subsequently translated into English.

### **2.9.7 Data Analysis**

Interviews and focus groups were transcribed within a two-day timeframe. I discovered that this was the most efficient and effective technique, ensuring an accurate and detailed recollection. Considerable care was taken during transcription and the subsequent analysis of data. Discrepancies in individual positionalities, between researcher and participants, may have led to the production of information which was conceptually quite different to the meaning intended by participants. This notion was supported by Brockington, who emphasised “in writing up we need to be suitably but pragmatically wary of transforming and transmuting rich multi-textured field experiences into the written word” (2003, p. 25). I attempted to minimise this issue. Upon completion of data transcription, participants were provided with a summary of their interview or focus group transcripts if they had indicated their desire for this in the consent forms. Through providing an opportunity for review, I aimed to ensure that my personal interpretation was in alignment with participant expectations. Adjustments were made accordingly, with the exception of focus group participants. Due to the unique circumstances of the focus group methodology, individual perspectives cannot be edited in isolation without impacting the group summary. However, these participants were appropriately made aware of these regulations, in the ‘Focus Group Information Sheet,’ prior to group commencement. In signing the consent forms, these participants agreed to these conditions. Data was analysed using NVIVO software. This software assisted in the thematic categorisation of data. Through this categorisation, I was able to divulge emerging patterns as the data began to shape the thesis’ underlying theory. Participants who wished to remain confidential were assigned pseudonym codes, allowing their information to be used throughout this thesis without revealing their identity. With such a specific, niche case study investigation, I was particularly cautious with the use of identifiers which could reveal confidential identities. All other participants were identified by their name, organisation and position within their affiliated organisation.

### **2.9.8 Ethical Considerations**

Ethical approval was received prior to data collection. In accordance with the Victoria University Human Ethics Committee (HEC), research involving human participants must “conform to ethical standards,” (Victoria University of Wellington, 2015b, p. 1). Correspondingly, approval from the HEC ensured protection of both potential participant interests and myself as the researcher (Victoria University of Wellington, 2015b). In relation to the Chilean context, I acknowledged the potential ethical issues surrounding translation from Spanish to English. Despite my Spanish competence, it was my responsibility to minimise biases and potential miscommunications, particularly regarding data transcription. All collected data was securely stored in accordance with the New Zealand Privacy Act 1993 (Victoria University of Wellington, 2015a). Personal information will be destroyed or returned to participants upon fulfilment of research objectives.

### **2.9.9 Positionality**

Relating to emerging themes, social constructivism invoked investigation into how the researcher’s experiences may influence data interpretation (Creswell, 2009). Particularly alluding to the literature and data analyses, these experiences ineludibly metamorphose what the researcher decidedly characterises as significant (Haalboom & Palomino-Schalscha, 2015, September 24). Chacko stimulated me to ponder how I would define my own positionality and what advantages, or disadvantages, this could expectedly pose, “I use frames of positionality to understand the impact of explicit and implied power structures on the research process, the relationships between the researcher and those researched, and the transfer of knowledge” (2004, p. 51).

I am a twenty-three year old New Zealand European female from a relatively middle class background. This position had notably implications in the Chilean context, where I was perceived as a foreigner. I am fortunate to have a moderate degree of travel experience. This experience had indubitably provided me with invaluable insight and fostered an appreciation for foreign cultures. Fortuitously, most of my travel had been throughout Latin America. This experience provided applicable cultural exposure and insight into the cultural differences, and commonalities, between Chile and New Zealand. With respect to language, I am a native English speaker. Appropriately, I had

developed an intermediary level of conversational Spanish prior to my arrival in Chile. This skill was characterised by a degree of duality. My intermediary proficiency at times proved problematic, hindering my ability to communicate with participants. This hindrance was particularly cumbersome with regards to contextual jargon and thematic discourse. However, my efforts to communicate in the participants' native language evidently assisted me in establishing relationships.

Additionally, as expected, my position as a master's student had significant impacts on my field research. Similarly to my language ability, my academic position proved both advantageous and a hindrance. This academic position afforded me the opportunity to connect with university contacts affiliated with my supervisor. Furthermore, I perceived that this position granted me a degree of respect from participants at the institutional and academic levels. However, I also felt that this status contributed to the construction of distorted power relations. This phenomenon was particularly prominent in the rural case studies. I was concerned that this position may have impaired relationships or limited information sharing with participants who had not been afforded the same educational opportunities. I was particularly apprehensive in this regard as I anticipated that these rural women would form a significant element of my research. I expected my positionality as a female to prove particularly advantageous. Focus groups were exclusively conducted with women. Utilising my femininity, I was able to construct mutually beneficial relationships with participants. Furthermore, I perceived that our shared femininity assisted me in developing a more profound understanding of participant perspectives. I believe that this positionality asset allowed me to appear less intimidating, thus maximising research potential by allowing me to become a trusted vessel through which these women could voice their experiences. Throughout the research process, conflicts of interest may arise due to positionality divergences. These divergences hold significant potential to produce unequal power relations between myself and participants. Unfortunately, these dynamics may distort research, influencing participant participation and, accordingly, the information participants choose to divulge (Haalboom & Palomino-Schalscha, 2015, September 24). My approach to acknowledging and minimising these discrepancies significantly influenced the degree to which they impacted relationships, information exchange and consequently the overarching research.



### **2.9.10 Reflection**

Throughout data collection, I encountered a myriad of challenges which had significant potential to impact my thesis. Irrefutably, the degree to which these impacts metamorphosed my investigation was contingent upon my ability to adapt and develop effective techniques to minimise the negative impingements. Language proved to be the most significant challenge faced during field research. Prior to conducting field research, I believed myself to have a relatively competent level of Spanish conversational skills. Nonetheless, as a native English speaker, I anticipated language would be a significant barrier. I was deeply concerned that a lack of Spanish proficiency would cause me to miss pivotal information shared by participants. Furthermore, my greatest concern was not having an appropriate response to information shared by participants, due to misunderstanding. Data collection was contingent on a relationship of trust and respect between myself and participants. An inappropriate, or seemingly apathetic, response to potentially sensitive information could have significantly impaired the relationship and prevented future interaction. Despite the Latin American context, I anticipated that several of my Santiago participants would have an understanding of English. I discovered that this was a naïve expectation and very few participants demonstrated English proficiency. This error in judgement could perhaps be attributed to my Western positionality. At the beginning of interviews and focus groups, I explained that I was still learning Spanish. Gratefully, I found that most participants were understanding, supportive and accommodating. Furthermore, with regards to the difficulties of Chilean colloquialisms, I discovered that mutual humour about its difficulties proved to be an effective and recurring icebreaker. Coincidentally, I discovered that my decision to conduct focus groups towards the end of my field research proved advantageous with respect to language. By this stage of my research, not only did I feel more confident conducting interviews, but my Spanish proficiency had significantly improved. This proved essential to focus group success as I discovered that rural Chilean Spanish was represented a further degree of difficulty. Upon reflection, the aspect which facilitated the greatest Spanish improvement was interaction with locals. Sourcing accommodation with local families invaluablely enriched my language skills and provided deep insights into Chilean culture.

I had intended to recruit the assistance of a translator to assist me during data collection. I perceived that the presence of a translator would be pivotal to reducing language barriers. My desire for the assistance of a translator did not materialise. Initially, I was deeply concerned with the potential negative consequences on data collection. However, upon reflection, the absence of a translator forced me to quickly adapt to Chilean, a style of Spanish thwart with colloquialisms. My obvious efforts helped foster positive relationships with participants who both acknowledged and appreciated my attempts. Retrospectively, I believe that the presence of translator would have altered my relationship with participants, contingent upon the compatibility of the translator's positionality.

I expected cultural divergences would prove to be an additional challenge in Chile. Fortunately, I feel that this limitation did not hinder relationships to the extent that I had anticipated. I attributed this success to my previous exposure to the Latin American culture. Additionally, my evident passion for the Chilean culture was well received by participants and facilitated stronger relationships. This experience demonstrated that contextual knowledge and understanding of culture is pivotal before attempting to conduct research in a foreign context. One cultural aspect that I struggled with was the delayed response to email correspondence. This proved particularly frustrating when attempting to establish a timetable for meetings. However, this forced me to travel directly to offices and request assistance in person. Although this required significantly more effort on my behalf, this method proved to be far more successful at establishing contacts and fostering positive relationships.

Chile is relatively safe when compared to other Latin American nations. Predominantly, I had been received with kindness by Chileans. Nonetheless, safety was another limitation of considerable concern. This limitation was more attributable to the Latin American region as opposed to the Chilean culture. These safety concerns were of greater significance in rural areas, particularly Ovalle. Consequently, all interviews and focus groups were conducted in locations which were negotiated as mutually secure. I felt incredibly restricted during my time in Ovalle as many locals advised me it was not safe to venture through the streets after dark. Unfortunately, this restriction impacted heavily on my mental health as I experienced feelings of isolation. Importantly, to combat this limitation I sought connections with hotel staff and actively engaged in

enjoyable activities during daylight hours. Whilst staying with local families in Santiago, I did not experience these challenges.

Initially, I had perceived that two months would prove sufficient to conduct research. However, my network of contacts continued to expand significantly across the course of my field research. Upon my return to Santiago, for my final week and a half, I found myself almost overwhelmed by contacts and potential interviews. Unfortunately, I was unable to conduct interviews with all contacts, albeit I attempted to incorporate as many as was possible. I felt disappointed by this. Due to the time constraints of a master's thesis, extending field research was not plausible.

Focus groups, as anticipated, proved to be a pivotal methodological technique. As aforementioned, establishing the necessary contacts with these rural women proved difficult. More so than with interview contacts, establishing contact with the *temporeras* demonstrated the importance of local connections. I am certain these focus groups would not have been possible without the network of local connections that I had worked hard to actively construct. Upon completion of the focus groups, I was reassured that efforts had not been in vain. The novel perspective offered by this group interaction proved invaluable. Furthermore, the observation of non-verbal group interactions provided a deeper insight into *temporera* life than had been afforded by interviews alone.

I had intended to integrate narrative analysis into my methodological repertoire. Similarly to the translator, this intention did not materialise. It proved particularly difficult to establish connections with the *temporeras*, the women I had hoped to recruit for both the focus groups and narrative analyses. These women generously donated their valuable time to participate in focus groups. It was not ethically appropriate for me to ask more of their time when they were engaged with other responsibilities.

I had intended to produce complete transcriptions of all interviews and focus groups. However, within the first week of data collection it became apparent that complete transcriptions were not an efficient use of my time. Alternatively, I made the decision to only write detailed summaries, supplemented with directly transcribed quotes where appropriate. This decision was in accordance with the ethical consent forms which

offered the option for participants to receive a detailed summary if they had indicated their desire for this.

Towards the end of field research, I felt incredibly fatigued and exhausted. I had not anticipated this mental strain; an accumulation of several factors which included living in a foreign country, talking in a foreign language, travel, establishing contacts, and conducting interviews. In particular, by the end of the day I was mentally exhausted from speaking and trying to understand Spanish.

## Chapter 3

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### NEOLIBERALISM AND MOTIVATIONS FOR FAIR TRADE IN CONTEXT

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#### 3.1 Globalisation, Neoliberalism and the Promise of Development

This chapter outlines the evolution of unequitable neoliberal markets and the expansion of fair trade in the Latin American context. The first section discusses the inception of neoliberalism and its impact on global social inequalities. The following section examines the origins of fair trade, its fundamental guiding principles and criticisms that the movement has received. The final two sections explore the application of fair trade in the Latin American and Chilean contexts. Understanding of the origins of fair trade are crucial for conceptualising its importance in the context of Latin American and Chilean development.

##### **3.1.2 Origins of Neoliberalism**

To understand fair trade in the Chilean context, pertinence must be directed to the evolution of fair trade on a global scale and the conditions which motivated its establishment. The process of global economic restructuring has elicited changes of monumental proportions, altering patterns of capital accumulation, consumption and social hierarchies (Murray & Overton, 2015)

Since its debut in the 1970s, neoliberalism's characteristic free market and reduction of fiscal policies facilitated the opening of global markets. Orthodox economists promoted market access as a developmental tool, a scheme which, through the promotion of trade, could incorporate the Global South into the international market (Gibbon, Sliwa, McArdle, & Thomas, 2012). Through targeted mechanisms, such as government deregulation, promotion of the private sector and export-led growth, neoliberalism was promoted as a promise of benefits for all. These market policies were promoted "as the most efficient route to both economic and social development" (Barrientos, 2000, pp. 559-560). Neoliberalism, and the commodity chains that subsequently evolved, have led to unfair trade. Economic liberation was not the panacea promised. An unequitable

pattern had emerged corresponding to the disparate roles. Had economic actors opened a Pandora's Box? Many affiliated benefits from these capital commodity chains are derived from the manufacturing stage. However, primary production of raw materials predominantly transpires in Less Economically Developed Countries (LEDCs), whilst most secondary processing is reserved for More Economically Developed Countries (MEDCs) with manufacturing resources. An unequitable pattern of profit accumulation has continued, perpetuating the hierarchical status between developed and developing nations. Academics have debated if neoliberalism could ever truly integrate development and address equality for marginalised groups. Fundamentally focussing on economic growth, the economic model has become affiliated with increasing concerns over beneficiaries and the uneven distribution of wealth between socio-economic demographics. Against the intentions of key orthodox economists, the inequality gap persisted, with some authors going so far as to suggest neoliberalism thrives on inequality (Murray & Overton, 2015). Particularly detrimental to those already marginalised, the question was posed as to whether this pawn of globalisation was merely capital exploitation (Barton & Murray, 2009)?

### 3.2 Motivations for Fair Trade

Fair trade emerged in response to the global inequalities perpetuated by neoliberalism. This section elaborates on the motivations for fair trade, providing a brief history of the movement and the criticisms which have led to debates over its effectiveness in promoting development.

#### **3.2.1 Inequality in Global Trade**

Unfortunately, in confirmation of aforementioned fears, "social and economic problems in many developing countries have increased" and the world continues to be plagued by the persistence of inequality and an uneven distribution of wealth (Barrientos, 2000, p. 560). Of particular concern is the impact that the expansion of non-traditional agricultural exports, a faction of neoliberalism, has had on small farmers, labourers and labour conditions in LEDCs (Murray, 2006). Are globalised markets an opportunity for development or an opportunity for exploitation? To address these concerns, several multinational corporations, and other powerful actors, have established corporate labour codes. However, there is further concern that the instigation of these corporate

labour codes has re-structured the nature of employment in many of these LEDCs. Rather than comply with these full time employment standards, a loophole has emerged with increasing numbers of workers employed on contractual or seasonal employment (Barrientos, 2008). This is especially poignant as research has indicated that labour conditions amongst contract workers, particularly those employed through a third party, were notoriously poor; the “poorest working conditions were found amongst contract workers” (Barrientos, 2008, p. 980). Furthermore, the nature of these codes has assumed workers have contracts. Responding to mounting “pressure for greater corporate social responsibility,” there was an evident need for change (Barrientos, 2000, p. 560). How can society necessitate a shift “to a more democratic and egalitarian world” (Barrientos, 2014, p. 392)?

### **3.2.2 An Alternative to Profit Maximisation**

In response to this need for corporate social responsibility, the global economy witnessed the inception of ethical value chains as “alternatives to profit maximisation” (Bidwell, Murray, & Overton, 2015, p. 1). In particular, this movement precipitated the conditions for the evolution of fair trade; a reaction to unequal consumption patterns and an attempt to “protect the livelihoods of small farmers” (Bidwell et al., 2015, p. 1). Literature indicated differing perceptions on ethical trade<sup>2</sup> in relation to globalisation. Barrientos argues that although ethical trade arose “in the context of globalisation,” by nature it is a paradox (Barrientos, 2000, p. 559). Barrientos’ viewpoint has suggested that the persistence of global inequality, exacerbated by neoliberalism, provided the fertile medium for ethical value chains to evolve. Despite globalisation origins, emphasis has been placed on these ethical value chains as alternatives to the predominant neoliberal economy. However, not all academics have shared this perspective. Another principle argument contends that ethical value chains exist as a niche market within these dominant globalised markets. Regardless of the relationship between neoliberalism and ethical value chains, direct participation in the neoliberal economy does not necessarily beget profit (Barrientos, 2000). Fundamentally, the development of alternative, ethical value chains provided an opportunity to address the inequalities

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<sup>2</sup> The ethical trade movement is distinct to the fair trade movement. Ethical trade refers to the social commitment of buying companies to ensure respect for workers’ rights. It is not restricted to LEDCs and there is no certification (Ethical Trading Initiative, 2017).

which arose from neoliberalism. In particular, the inadequate remuneration, poor labour conditions and low adherence to policies which support environmental sustainability (Barrientos, 2000).

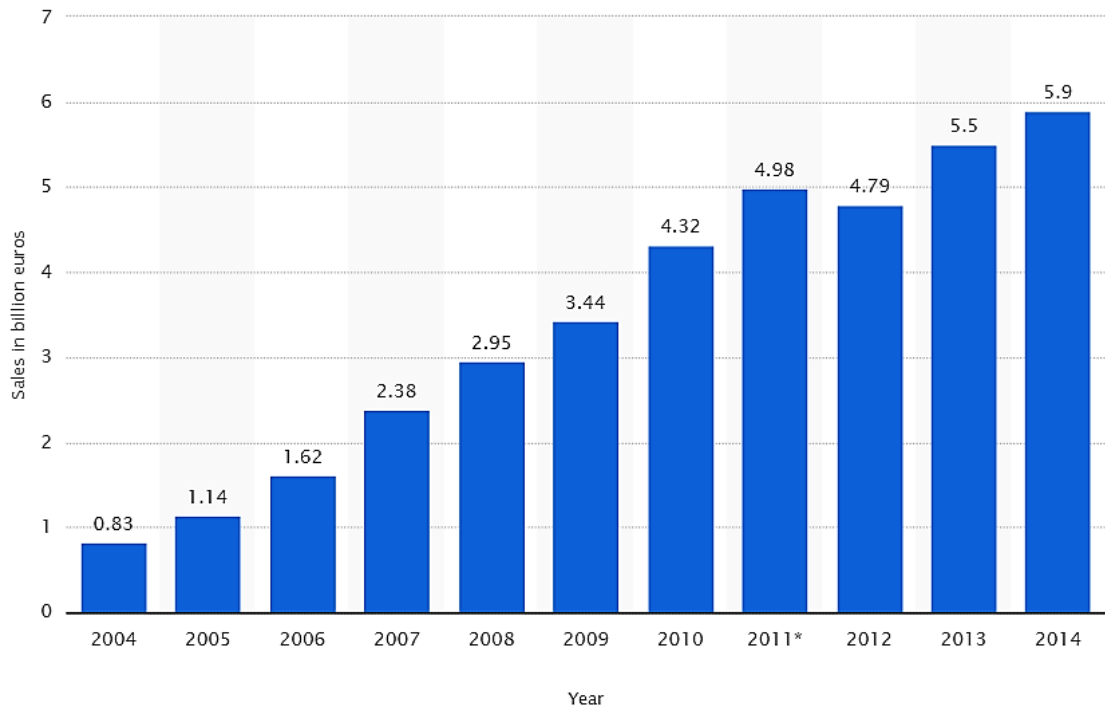
### **3.2.3 Fair Trade History**

*"Fair trade is a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect, that seeks greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development by offering better trading conditions to, and securing the rights of, marginalized producers and workers – especially in the South"* (World Fair Trade Organization, 2016a, para. 1).

Fair trade is a global movement which has continued to garner momentum (Dalvai, 2012). Fundamentally, the movement aims to establish a more equitable distribution of wealth. Established in the late 1940s, fair trade has continued to evolve across the course of a short, yet colourful, history (Dalvai, 2012). Emphasising "[a]n alternative approach to conventional trade," fair trade is one of many alternative, ethical value chains that were established in response to persisting global socio-economic inequalities (Fairtrade International, 2016a). The ethos of fair trade seeks to minimise the extortion of marginalised groups through establishing economic, yet 'ethical' partnerships and assisting them in gaining access to global markets. However, fair trade standards go beyond corporate labour codes and standards. The movement has integrated social aspirations to improve the livelihoods of marginalised groups and, through economic partnerships, help them overcome socio-economic barriers (Dalvai, 2012). Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the fair trade movement continued to grow, influenced by the increased involvement of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and ethically conscious individuals. Originally, the movement targeted small farmers and promised to provide "a better deal and improved terms of trade," allowing "them the opportunity to improve their lives and plan for their future" (Fairtrade International, 2016c, Introducing Fairtrade, para. 1). However, the product base has swiftly expanded to integrate include handicrafts, cotton, wine and food products such as coffee, tea, fruit and cocoa. Recently the range has extended even further to include sports equipment (Fairtrade International, 2016c). Negotiations have been held to determine whether fashion also holds potential to be integrated within this framework.



### Estimated Sales of Fairtrade Commodities



*Figure 4 Estimated retail sales of Fairtrade International products worldwide from 2004 and 2014 (in billion euros)*

Source: (Statista, 2014)

The above graph indicates that Fairtrade International sales have risen significantly from 2004.

The diversity of actors engaged in fair trade is remarkable. Participants include producers, supermarkets, corporations, NGOs, ethically conscious consumers, governments, FTOs and fair trade networks, notably Fairtrade International and the World Fair Trade Organization (WFTO). Despite obvious distinctions in power relations, this diverse collection of actors has demonstrated collaboration towards a common goal; cooperation in fair trade to promote market access and improved livelihoods for marginalised producers. Fair trade certification networks have undergone many transformations. There has been considerable debate over who should represent the voice of fair trade. Demands for democratic negotiations motivated the establishment of EFTA in 1987, followed by WFTO in 1989. In alignment with this democratic ethos, regional networks were also established in an attempt to address specific regional needs. In 2009, Fairtrade International and WFTO created the Charter of Fair Trade Principles, a “single international reference point for fair trade,” (Fairtrade International,

2016c, The Charter of Fair Trade Principles, para. 1). The charter has emphasised the “common vision” of these networks but has also outlined their “distinct approaches to fair trade” (Fairtrade International, 2016c, The Charter of Fair Trade Principles, para. 1). These networks arguably represent the largest actors in the fair trade movement. Consequently, their collaboration is pivotal to the effective continuation of global fair trade.

Extending beyond NGOs and ethically conscious consumers, fair trade’s considerable potential for change began to match its growing popularity as it increasingly featured “on the agenda of policy makers throughout the world” (World Fair Trade Organization, 2016b, Awareness raising, campaigning and advocacy, para. 5). One of the most appealing aspects of fair trade is its guarantee of a minimum price, “when the market price is higher than the Fairtrade minimum price, the buyer must pay the higher price” (Fairtrade International, 2016c, Fairtrade Minimum Prices, para. 2). However, in distinction to neoliberalism, fair trade has extended beyond a promise of international economic access and stable market prices. This distinction is embodied as the Fair Trade Social Premium, an additional ‘extra’ designated for investment in producer development (Nelson, Said-Allsopp, & Tallontire, 2014). Ideologically, the benefit is administered by a democratic community committee and has been targeted towards more subjective indicators, such as “empowerment for workers and communities” (Nelson et al., 2014, p. 66). Funded projects are varied and contingent on the needs of the community. The provision of safe drinking water and establishment of childcare facilities for female employees have been areas of investment interest (Gibbon et al., 2012; Nelson et al., 2014). Training and educational workshops, targeted at increasing worker capacitation, are of particular importance. These projects hold potential to extend benefits beyond the individual and work environment, permeating further to families and the community.

Fair trade networks have established their own hired labour standards. As a sector of the globalised economy notorious for labour extortion, Fairtrade<sup>3</sup> has issued policies which specifically address non-traditional agriculture workers. These standards have attempted to address temporary worker empowerment, advocating clauses such as “enhanced job security and freedom of association” (Nelson et al., 2014, p. 67).

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<sup>3</sup> Fair trade refers to the movement whilst Fairtrade specifically refers to Fairtrade International.

Enforcing standards such as social development and freedom from discrimination, the Fairtrade Standard for Hired Labour has sought to ensure that employers “pay decent wages,” permit trade union membership and protect the safety of their employees (Fairtrade International, 2015b, p. 3).

#### **3.2.4 Fair Trade Certification**

Fair trade certification arose from a need to determine whether actors were upholding fair trade principles? Notably, there was an evident need to standardise labour conditions across developing countries (Barrientos, 2000). Certification standards should be internationally applicable whilst also maintaining cultural sensitivity at the local context. The development of fair trade certification standards in turn necessitated a need to develop monitoring and evaluation criteria to verify whether these principles were being upheld. This need culminated in the establishment of the Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI), formed in 1998, which sought to develop, unify and apply these verification procedures on an international scale (Barrientos, 2000, p. 561).

### **3.3 Criticisms of Fair Trade**

Fair trade originated due to a heightened awareness that the North’s economic priorities were occurring at the social and cultural expense of the producers (Challies & Murray, 2011). It arose as a need to address the deepening inequalities and developmental issues that neoliberalism had failed to resolve. The ethical movement has been presented as a “stark contrast to the rational economic model of global trade” (Gibbon et al., 2012). However, has fair trade truly arisen as an alternative to globalisation and neoliberal capitalism (Bidwell et al., 2015)? The movement has received considerable scrutiny. Despite attempts to adhere to ethical principles, fair trade is not a panacea for development (Barrientos, 2000). In many developing countries, socio-economic issues have increased since its inception. Additionally, despite principles addressing gender discrimination, gender inequality remains a fundamental issue. These concerns are not directly correlated to fair trade. However, the impact of fair trade on neoliberal inequalities has evidently been insufficient. Does fair trade certification protect all actors engaged in the value chain? Has Fairtrade International’s ‘hired labour’ standards ensured benefits extend to labourers and not producers alone. Literature has suggested that, too often, employees affiliated with fair trade expressed a misunderstanding in

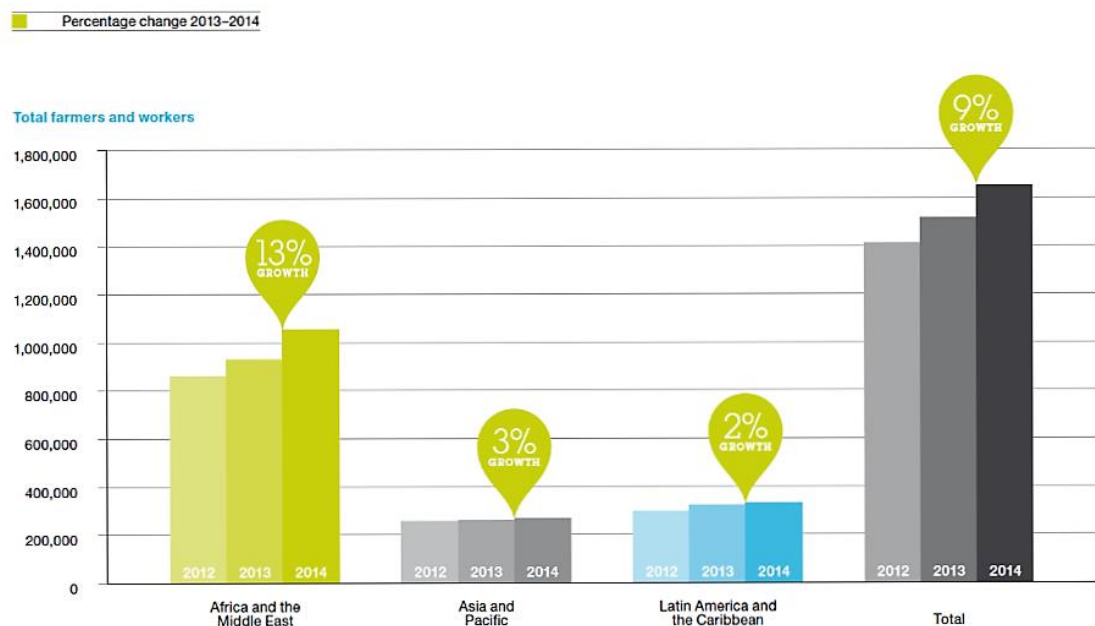
regards to fair trade standards and the significance of certification for themselves and their communities. Evidently, there is an absence of transparency across employment hierarchies as information about fair trade has not filtered between management and labourers. Literature has specifically alluded to a misunderstanding of the purpose of the Fair Trade Social Premium. Despite ethical intentions and promising policies, there is unfortunately no guarantee that these benefits will be equitably distributed amongst the community, particularly in relation to women (Nelson et al., 2014). Concern has also emerged in regards to the Fair Trade Social Premium committees. These committees were established to delegate premium funds according to community interest. However, have these committees been elected democratically to ensure representation of community interest? In communities where unequal gender ideologies persist, have women been given an opportunity to participate? Nelson et al. has indicated that contextual cultural norms can hinder female participation, rendering the women too timid to raise their voice and share their perspectives, "it has proved tricky to ensure sufficient female participation... as women have been reluctant to stand for election due to cultural norms" (2014, p. 70). These issues draw attention to the importance of addressing local contexts, "it is important for Fairtrade practices to recognize and engage with local norms and practices, particularly unequal gender relations, so that the benefits of Fairtrade can be enhanced" (Nelson et al., 2014, pp. 75-76).

As fair trade continues to garner momentum and popularity, there is concern that the proliferating standards and fair trade certifications may be overwhelming for consumers (Nelson et al., 2014). There is uncertainty over what each label represents and whether all of them are equally valid. Furthermore, a growing body of evidence has suggested exploitation of the certification system itself. Certain corporations have attached themselves to the fair trade label whilst only meeting a bare minimum of standards or selectively satisfying certain elements and neglecting others. Particular contestation surrounds the often expensive certification process. Despite indisputable benefits, such as market security, certification could prove an additional hindrance for producers to overcome. Are there alternative ethical value chains that are more appropriate than fair trade? Could these alternative ethical value chains reduce or bypass these additional hindrances?

### 3.4 Fair Trade in Latin America

This section explores the characteristics of fair trade in a Latin American context. Understanding of Latin American fair trade is essential to understanding Chile's position within this context. Continentally speaking, Latin America remains of “the most unequal on earth” (Kennedy & Murray, 2012, p. S22). Despite attempts at ‘development,’ predominantly by Western actors, inequality continues to plague the region as demonstrated by Latin America's relatively slow improvements in Human Development Index (HDI) indicators in comparison with other OECD countries (Kennedy & Murray, 2012). However, since the 1960s, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) has reported significant progress in Latin American quality-of-life indicators (Kennedy & Murray, 2012).

#### **Fairtrade Growth in Latin America**



*Figure 5 Growth in the Numbers of Fairtrade Farmers and Workers 2012-2014*

Source: (Fairtrade International, 2016b, p. 18)

The figures above indicate that although the growth of Fairtrade in Latin America has been slow compared to ‘Africa and the Middle East’ and ‘Asia and Pacific.’

#### **3.4.1 Organisation of Fair Trade in Latin America**

One of the most significant and well-established governance structures in Latin American Fair Trade Networks is the Latin American and Caribbean Network of Small

Fair Trade Producers (CLAC). Established in 1994, the CLAC “network was created to represent small producers” (Peña, 2014, para. 3). Gaining co-ownership of Fairtrade International in 2012, CLAC represents one of many National Fairtrade Networks (NFOs). Other major NFOs include the African Fairtrade Network (AFN), established in 2005, and the Network of Asia and the Pacific (NAPP), established later in 2014 (Fairtrade Africa, 2016; Fairtrade Asia Pacific, 2014). Fifty percent of Fairtrade International’s ownership is composed of approximately twenty-three NFO’s, with CLAC accounting for fifty percent of this figure (Peña, 2014). Evidently, CLAC represents a powerful actor in fair trade, not exclusively across Latin America, but on an international scale. Despite CLAC’s stakeholder position, only “approximately 1% of the System’s overall budget goes to CLAC,” (Peña, 2014, pp., para. 6). Based in El Salvador, the regional office has ensured that international fair trade standards are met whilst catering to the heterogeneous demands of fair trade producers across Latin America and the Caribbean. However, CLAC only represents the Fairtrade International network. There are many other FTOs established throughout Latin America which are affiliated with other networks. World Fair Trade Organization Latin America (WFTO-LA) represents the regional office for WFTO in Latin America and comprises a network of “63 members from 13 countries in Latin America” (World Fair Trade Organization Latin America, 2016, para. 1). WFTO-LA has outlined its mission to “contribute to improving the living conditions of small producers in Latin America, according the principles of fair trade” (World Fair Trade Organization Latin America, 2016, para. 3).

Fair trade in Latin America has becoming increasingly organised. Latin American fair trade appears to be predominantly characterised by organisation into cooperatives. Although representation at the continental level has represented innovative progress in the evolution of fair trade, there has been further advancement. CLAC has attempted to strengthen its connection of networks through establishing organisational links beyond the continental level, “we should be organized not only at the continental level, but also at the level of products and countries” (Peña, 2014, para. 8). CLAC has coordinated to establish an extensive network of Product Networks and National Networks. Nations formally part of CLAC’s National Networks are Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Ecuador, Honduras, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Haiti, El Salvador, Brazil and Paraguay (CLAC, 2016e). However, CLAC has also coordinated with

Argentina, Belize, Cuba, Guyana, Windward Islands, Jamaica, Panama and Uruguay (CLAC, 2016c). These networks have proven particularly important as “only UNITY will allow us to reach even higher goals, and unity as a continent is what has led to our success thus far” (Peña, 2014, para. 8). Commodities included in Product Networks are “Coffee, Honey, Bananas, Cocoa, Sugar, Quinoa and Fresh Fruit Juices” (CLAC, 2016f, para. 2). CLAC has also maintained markets with additional commodities not aligned with a network, including oil, nuts and seeds, fresh fruit, dried fruit, wine, crafts, tea, flowers and other vegetables (CLAC, 2016c). Importantly, CLAC has acknowledged that although “[s]ome Product Networks and some National Networks have developed more than others,” “we can all learn from them” (Peña, 2014, para. 8). Providing a further avenue of support, in 2015 CLAC established the Network of Fairtrade Workers in Latin America and the Caribbean. Incorporating workers from certified plantations across Latin America, the network has provided a platform for labourers to discuss their concerns. Fundamentally, the network has aimed to “achieve empowerment through coordination and representation, allowing their voices to be heard in the Fairtrade system” (CLAC, 2016g, para. 1).

In demonstration of the evolution of fair trade, Latin American nations displayed their commitment to World Fair Trade Day, May 14<sup>th</sup> 2016. Fair trade exhibitions were held in Ecuador and El Salvador whilst the national Guatemalan newspaper published an article which “highlighted the importance of fair trade for small producers” (CLAC, 2016a, para. 6). Costa Rica organised a ‘Health and Well-being’ forum, “promoting initiatives like fair trade, which is focussed on the well-being and solidarity of humanity” (CLAC, 2016a, para. 9). In Brazil, one of Latin America’s largest fair trade economies, events were held to “promote the consumption of Fairtrade coffee” (CLAC, 2016a, para. 5).

Evidently, fair trade represents an opportunity for small-scale producers in Latin America. With specific reference to coffee farmers, the Fair Trade Research Group (FTRG) explained that “small-scale producers are surviving the coffee crisis, staying in their communities and even experiencing a degree of prosperity” (Murray, Raynolds, & Taylor, 2006, p. 179). However, workers in certified plantations have emphasised the need for a greater “understanding of the Fairtrade system and CLAC’s role within Fairtrade, consultations on new standards that directly affect workers, and how to

better demonstrate the impact of fair trade plantations in order to assure a market for their products” (CLAC, 2015, para. 4).

### **3.4.2 Benefits of Fair Trade in Latin America**

The FTRG investigated the impacts of fair trade across Latin America. Their research revealed that the “benefits of fair trade to Latin America’s small-scale coffee farmers were both more significant and more complex than previously understood” (Murray et al., 2006, p. 180). Economic profits represent the most obvious benefit of fair trade participation (Murray et al., 2006). However, the benefits of fair trade have been demonstrated across various levels of analyses. FTRG has categorised these according to individual producers, families of producers, communities and organisations. Notably, not all benefits are quantifiable per economic indices.

At the individual producer level, fair trade represented “greater economic and social stability” (Murray, Raynolds, & Taylor, 2003, p. 7). This stability is not exclusively embodied as a premium price, but also in the form of access to credit and pre-financing which has enabled farmers to manage agricultural expenses. FTRG referenced the Las Colinas cooperative, in El Salvador, which “receives up to 60% pre-financing for its fair trade coffee at half the interest rates of national banks” (Murray et al., 2003, p. 9). From both a social and development perspective, certification has also facilitated the “development of new networks of contacts among participants” (Murray et al., 2003, p. 8). Producers participating in fair trade have experienced “access to training and enhanced ability to improve the quality” of their products (Murray et al., 2003, p. 8). In Mexico, the Majomut cooperative’s technical advisors “provide members with a minimum of six training courses yearly in coffee tree management” (Murray et al., 2003, p. 8). A more subjective outcome, the increased security and success has been attributed to an “increase in self-esteem” (Murray et al., 2003, p. 8).

Secondly, the benefits of fair trade have also extended to producers’ families. The most pronounced impact has been the improved standard of living achieved through an increased family income. Drawing from the Majomut cooperative, a case study revealed “a 100-200 percent increase in overall income” (Murray et al., 2003, p. 9). Of great significance is the contribution of fair trade “to improving children’s education” (Murray et al., 2003, p. 9). A further interesting benefit to have arisen is evidence of increased



family stability. The competitive neoliberal market has stimulated significant urban migration as people leave rural areas in search of urban employment. In comparison, fair trade has offered farmers an opportunity to stay with their families and continue farming (Murray et al., 2003).

At the third level, fair trade has demonstrated benefits to the wider community. “In Latin America, rural public services are frequently limited. Community social networks in many ways take the place of formal governmental structures, providing support, protection and representation of individual needs and concerns” (Murray et al., 2003, p. 10). At this broader level, the Fair Trade Social Premium has emerged as one of the most significant benefits, funding an extensive variety of social projects. In Mexico, the UCIRI cooperative has utilised the Fair Trade Social Premium “to create a training centre for women’s literacy” (Murray et al., 2003, p. 3). In promoting more sustainable agricultural practices, many producers have reverted to traditional, indigenous techniques. In Mexico, the UCIRI cooperative “reported that fair trade promotes a “recuperation of pride in being indigenous”” (Murray et al., 2003, p. 11). Indirectly, fair trade has evidently contributed to cultural preservation.

At the organisational level, fair trade has revealed an incredible support network amongst Latin American producers. In stark contrast to the individualistic competition in conventional markets, certified producer groups have remarkably shown “support for entry of other groups into fair trade networks” (Murray et al., 2003, p. 13). The FTRG specifically referenced Mexico, where there has patterns have emerged of certified producers assisting newer groups to become established and gain access to fair trade markets. FTRG concluded that “fair trade practices reflect a commitment to solidarity and a moral obligation of mutual support” (Murray et al., 2003, p. 13).

#### **3.4.3 Issues Affiliated with Fair Trade in Latin America**

Despite evident benefits, fair trade in Latin America has also encountered multiple issues. CLAC acknowledged that despite the network’s strengths, the organisation has “not yet been able to reach all countries,” as “needs are always greater than the resources we have” (Peña, 2014). Limitations of fair trade in Latin America have similarly been distributed across various levels of analysis. Notably, “[m]any of the problems are largely inherent to the combination of Third World export agriculture and small-scale

farmer cooperative organizations, and are not the result of fair trade participation *per se*" (Murray et al., 2003, p. 14).

A critical issue, which has emerged across both Latin American and global fair trade networks, is the limitation of the Northern markets. The number of producers interested in fair trade is significantly higher than market availability. Additionally, several certified producers have demonstrated that only a certain proportion of their produce was sold on the fair trade market (Murray et al., 2003). "If the benefits of fair trade are to be realised by a larger number of people in Latin America, steps need to be taken to increase participation in this alternative trade network" (Murray et al., 2006, p. 184). Although new strategies are being developed to target these market ceilings, there is concern that the "currently expanding U.S and Canadian markets will reach a market ceiling similar to that in Europe" (Murray et al., 2003, p. 15). Idled market growth will have serious implications for producers in Latin America. Unfortunately, expanding participation has proven to be particularly problematic. Firstly, "lowering the guaranteed price" in the hope that "lower prices will lead to greater consumption in the North" does not represent a secure guarantee (Murray et al., 2006, p. 185). Similarly unreliable is the proposition to establish "rules that limit the amount of time that any particular organization can participate in fair trade" (Murray et al., 2006, p. 185).

Initially, fair trade ideally focussed on the benefits to producers as opposed to the product itself. However, as fair trade continued to garner popularity, increasing requirements have emerged for an assurance of product quality, "as fair trade moved from a rather small niche to the mainstream markets, quality became a critical issue" (Murray et al., 2006, p. 184). Subsequently, FTRG revealed a concerning lack of fair trade knowledge amongst Latin American producers, despite increased interest in certification. To many workers, fair trade appeared to be considered "an abstract concept...carried out at higher levels in the cooperative" (Murray et al., 2006, p. 187). Some producers received a lump sum from cooperative management, a combination of income generated from fair trade and conventional sales (Murray et al., 2006). This has contributed to awareness concerns. However, marketing developments in themselves have also presented issues. After receiving training, some producers have sought to "develop their own direct marketing and labelling initiatives" (Murray et al., 2006, pp. 186-187). Although this can be perceived as a "positive development" for the producers,

movement away from fair trade carries significant risks and the potential to undermine fair trade itself (Murray et al., 2006, p. 187).

The evolution of export agriculture in Latin America has incited concern over commodity dependence among producers. Correspondingly, “[a] central goal of the fair trade movement is to reduce the historical dependence of Southern producers on individual agro-exports” (Murray et al., 2003, p. 26). There has been encouragement for Latin American producers to expand into other areas, including artisanal crafts, which also support cultural preservation. However, further investment into product diversification is warranted. These dilemmas must be mitigated if fair trade is to hold future potential for Latin America’s marginalised demographics.

#### **3.4.4 Future of Fair Trade in Latin America**

Fair trade has predominantly been characterised as Northern consumers and Southern producers. Interestingly, there has been an increasing desire to establish a fair trade market in Latin America. A domestic market would significantly reduce transportation costs. However, the income inequalities between the North and the South proves a barrier to this notion, “[o]ur consumer remains those in the developed world because they can obviously afford to pay a little more” (Balch, 2013, Making it in America, para. 7).

### **3.5 Fair Trade in Chile**

Fair trade in Latin America has proven to be incredibly effective, albeit not exempt from criticism. This section narrows the scope of investigation to specifically explore the establishment of fair trade in Chile. An understanding of the application of fair trade in the Chilean context is pivotal to determining whether this movement holds potential to influence and improve gender relations. Chile’s climatic advantages have proven advantages in mainstream neoliberal markets. However, has this success been conducive to success in the fair trade economy?

#### **3.5.1 Organisation of Fair Trade in Chile**

Certified by WFTO, the FTO ‘Comparte’ represented the “first fair trade company in the country” (Comparte, 2016, para. 3). Established in 1988, the organisation has collaborated with Chilean artisans who have sought economic development and the

opportunity to improve their quality of life (Comparte, 2016). Assuming the title of “pioneers of social innovation,” the organisation has prided itself on assisting artisans to gain market access whilst allowing them to express their identity and traditions through their hands (Comparte, 2016, para. 3). As aforementioned, CLAC has represented a significant proportion of fair trade governance across Latin America, Chile inclusive. Established in July 2015, the National fair trade Network for Chile represents “a national platform that promotes fair trade at the local level” (2016b). Fundamentally, the Chilean network has attempted to promote awareness and consumer responsibility, organising initiatives which work “towards a more fair distribution of wealth” (CLAC, 2016b). Notably, despite the earlier establishment of Comparte, the formation of Chile’s National fair trade Network was considerably later than the networks of many other Latin American nations. Chilean fair trade is characterised by a selection of fair trade commodities, predominantly attributable to agriculture. These commodities have included “pecans, cranberries, raspberries, prunes, grapes and raisins” (CLAC, 2016b). Although not officially aligned with CLAC’s Product Networks, wine and fruit have demonstrated particular potential for success in the Chilean context. Additionally, artisan crafts have become increasingly on the agenda of FTOs in Chile.

### **3.5.2 Benefits of Fair Trade in Latin America**

Although fair trade in Chile was established later than many other Latin American nations, it has continued to evolve and expand. Fair trade expert and co-developer of Comparte, Gerado Wijnant, expressed his incredulity at the progress of Chilean fair trade, “[i]t’s extremely gratifying to see how much consumers’ awareness has grown...the existence of a market for fairtrade here in our own country would have been impossible to think about 15 or 20 years ago” (Balch, 2013, South American future for fairtrade, para. 9). One significant benefit to have arisen is the increasing number of workshops and events aimed at increasing awareness of fair trade and its potential opportunities for Chileans. Similarly to other Latin American nations, Chile also demonstrated commitment to fair trade through participation in the aforementioned World Fair Trade Day. Participation was embodied as an agreement between the National fair trade network and the Autonomous University of Chile to establish professional courses “designed for professional and producers who are working within fair trade organisations” (CLAC, 2016a, para. 4). These courses have aimed to increase

producer capacitation and awareness across the spectrum of fair trade actors. In August 2016, a fair trade event was held in an effort to discuss the potential of fair trade honey in Chile (CLAC, 2016d). Additionally, Chilean fair trade actors have worked towards “establishing formal links with organisations working in the area of fair trade crafts” and creating a “strategy to increase visibility and increase attention to fair trade nationally” (CLAC, 2016b, para. 6).

### 3.6 Chapter Summary

Neoliberalism was promoted by orthodox economists as a developmental tool, a promise of opportunity for all. Although the economic model obviously produced significant profit, only a select minority reaped the fruit of the neoliberal harvest. Fair trade emerged in response to the growing inequalities perpetuated by the neoliberal economy. The movement has promoted a more equitable distribution of wealth, albeit residing in the neoliberal economy itself. Invoking valid criticisms, fair trade has not produced an infallible alternative. However, the undeniable benefits have suggested a promising future. In Latin America, fair trade has evolved substantially, incorporating extensive national and product networks. Although fair trade was established later in Chile, the nation has demonstrated incredible potential through an expanding range of commodities. Awareness has appeared to be the largest threat to Latin American fair trade. This issue warrants mitigation if the alternative ethical movement is to evolve.

## Chapter 4

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### REVIEW OF CHILEAN NEOLIBERALISM, SOCIAL INEQUALITY AND RISE OF THE *TEMPORERAS*

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#### 4.1 Globalisation, Neoliberalism and Neostructuralism

This chapter reviews the evolution of agricultural exportation under neoliberalism and the impacts and social inequalities which emerged in Chile. The first section discusses the ascension of Augusto Pinochet and the experiment of Chilean neoliberalism. The subsequent section investigates the macroeconomic success of agricultural exportation in Chile and the social inequality which was perpetuated by this success. The final two sections explore the specific impacts on gender relations and the emergence of the *temporeras*.

##### **4.1.1 Pinochet's Coup and Chilean Neoliberalism**

Motivation for fair trade arose in response to inequalities in the neoliberal economy. It is important to investigate the political and economic situation which provided the medium for social inequality and to understand the cultural context which perpetuated it. In 1973, Chile was confronted with a military junta instigated by Augusto Pinochet. Pinochet subsequently ascended to the position of president of Chile, a reign he would occupy until 1990 (Murray, 2002). Under Pinochet's dictatorial wing, the inception of a right-wing, free market economy was realised (Von Werlhof, Chossudovsky, & Marshall, 2010). Pinochet's practical implementation of Friedman's free market ideology was an "economic liberalisation" (Murray, 2002, p. 190). Enforced by Pinochet's military dictatorship, Chile was a "neo-liberal experiment...the first of the developing countries to experience neo-liberal 'shock' treatment" (Murray, 2002, p. 191). Notably, this experiment constituted a shift from inward to outward-oriented development (Murray et al., 2010). Alluring promises of economic reform and social development saw neoliberalism swiftly ascend to global dominance and the emergence of Chile as the "most neoliberal economy in the world" (Kennedy & Murray, 2012, p. S22). Chile has often been cited as the economic 'miracle' of neoliberalism (Bee, 2000). In particular,

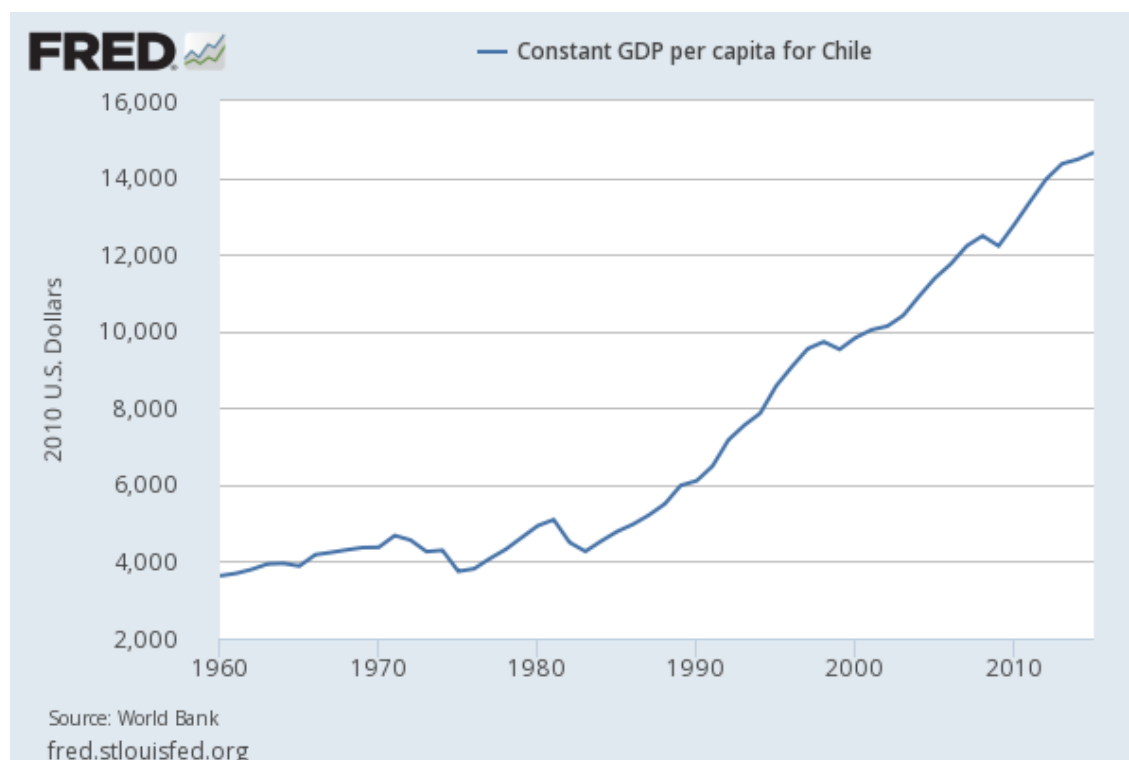
the evolution of non-traditional agriculture and the “development of Chile’s fruit export sector represents the most resounding ‘success’ of neo-liberal restructuring” (Murray, 1998, p. 209). The severe economic policies produced extensive impacts across Chilean society. In stark contrast to the regime of Pinochet’s socialist predecessors, Eduardo Frei and Salvador Allende, Pinochet’s neoliberal regime was repressive in nature, imposing the “elimination of unions...the integration in the international market...the privatization of education, health and social security” (Cárcamo, 2013, p. 317). Despite an unrelenting militaristic approach, Pinochet’s impetus of Chile into the globalisation arena has been regarded by some academics as “highly fortuitous timing” for an economy which was in “profound trouble” (Murray, 1998, p. 207; Murray, 1998, p. 207, as cited in Bosworth, Dornbusch, & Laban, 1994).

#### **4.1.2 Democracy and the Residing Taste of Economic Success**

In 1988, the majority vote in the plebiscite demanded an end to Pinochet’s dictatorship (Valenzuela & Constable, 1988). Relinquishing power in 1990, Pinochet’s dictatorial regime ended with the restoration of the democratically elected President Patricio Aylwin (Silva, 1991). The 1990s marked a return to democracy, but not a dismissal of the neoliberal economic model (Murray, 2002). Subsequent presidents have cited policies, particularly agrarian, which have attempted to address the inequalities exacerbated by Pinochet’s regime. Post-dictatorship discourse has notably targeted the Chilean peasantry, a demographic which had been particularly marginalised (Murray, 2006). Nonetheless, the alluring macroeconomic success of neoliberal policies remained undeniable, a bittersweet aftertaste on Chile’s economy. A desire to encourage further success on the global market stage remained a priority. Only a slight variant of its economic predecessor, the ‘neoststructural’ model retained characteristics of the neoliberal framework but denounced Pinochet’s militaristic approach and human rights abuses. However, economic policies diverged with the acknowledgement that neoliberalism had been too oppressive. The ‘neoststructural’ model recognised that a certain degree of state intervention was necessary. Additionally, through the integration of the peasantry, the model attempted to incorporate social elements which targeted poverty reduction and advocated “growth with equity” (Murray, 2006, p. 647). ‘Neoststructuralism’ represented “[n]eoliberalism with a human face” (Murray et al., 2010, p. 88). Thereupon, neoliberal reform was largely continued “under successive

democratic Concertación<sup>4</sup> governments since 1990” (Murray et al., 2010, p. 86). Chile’s market remained open to the world and Chile has developed a reputable reputation in international exports (RP22-AGO; RP24-AGX).

### **GDP per Capita in Chile**



*Figure 6 GDP per Capita in Chile, 1960-2010*

Source: (OECD, 2015)

The above graph indicates the steady growth rate of GDP per capita for Chile between 1960 and 2010.

## **4.2 Non-Traditional Agricultural Exports**

Agricultural exportation undoubtedly represents one of the most significant markets to have arisen from Chile’s “neo-liberal experiment” (Murray, 2002, p. 191). The first section examines the historical situation which promoted the evolution of agricultural exportation, particularly the agrarian land reforms which facilitated the emergence of fruit exportation and the success of the table grape ‘boom.’ Understanding of

<sup>4</sup> Concertación refers to the democratic governments in Chile which succeeded Pinochet’s dictatorial rule (Murray et al., 2010).

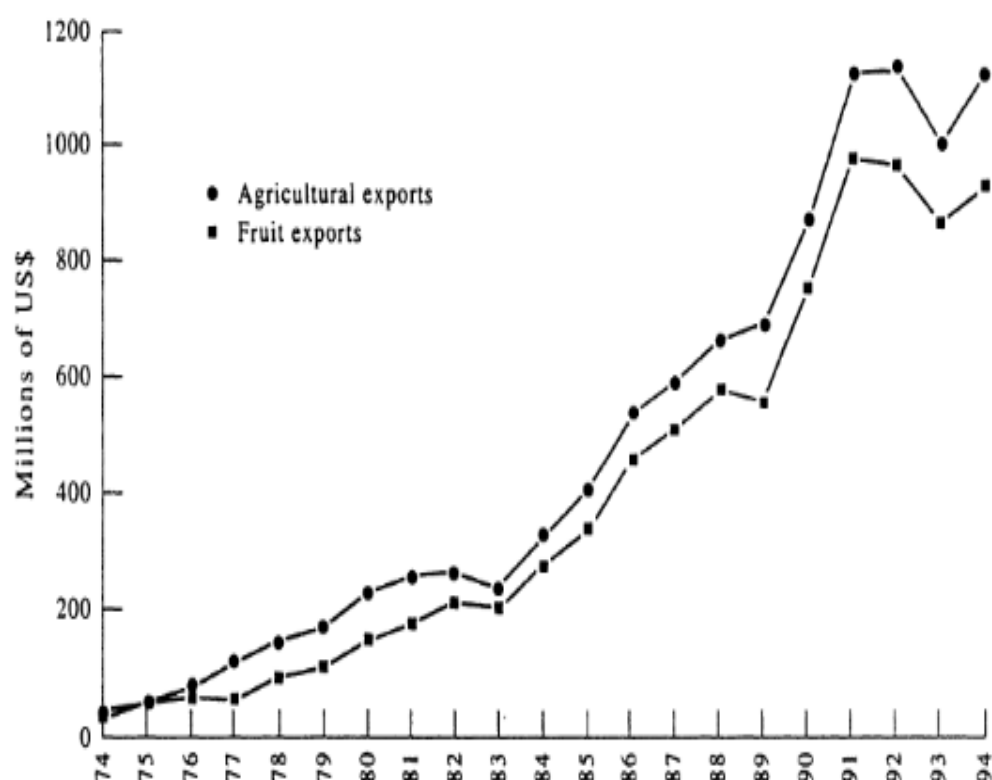


agricultural exportation is fundamental to understanding the social inequalities which arose from it.

#### **4.2.1 The Evolution of Agricultural Exports**

Chile has been regarded as “the most ‘successful’ example of a Southern Hemisphere non-traditional fruit exporting country” (Murray, 1998, p. 201). The success and growth of non-traditional exports has predominantly been attributed to neoliberalism (Murray, 1998). In macroeconomic terms, Chile has led the Latin American frontier. A niche market emerged from opening the Chilean economy; non-traditional agricultural exports. The “emergence of the dynamic agro-export sector” displayed particular promise, contributing to Chile’s economic success within global markets (Bee & Vogel, 1997, p. 84). In 1994, agricultural exports accounted for approximately eleven per cent of total exports (Murray, 1998). Regarded by Murray as the export “boom,” the fruit export sector displayed remarkable expansion within the fertile neoliberal soil and has been regarded as one of the most dramatic consequences of neoliberalism (Murray, 1998, p. 202). Affirming its reputation as an economic miracle, Chile’s non-traditional exports grew by 222% between the mid to later 1980s (Bee & Vogel, 1997). In monetary terms, the value of fruit exports increased dramatically from US\$30 million to US\$949 million between 1974 and 1994 (Murray, 1998). For export giant RIOblanco, 95% is for export, with the remaining 5% deemed commercial quality and sold on the national market (RP25-AGX). Of these fruit exports, the predominant commodities to have emerged are table grapes and apples, with table grapes specifically representing “one of Chile’s largest agricultural exports” (RP22-AGO). However, wine, cherries, mandarins, oranges, kiwis and blueberries are also of export importance (RP25-AGX). In 1994, grapes accounted for fifty percent of total fruit exports, followed by apples at twenty per cent. However, these exports experienced a period of stagnation between 1986 and 1984. Although copper mining has remained the largest export sector, agriculture is an important part of the Chilean culture and represents a more social income that cannot be measured on export value alone (RP25-AGX). On a national and international scale, agricultural exportation has emerged as a dominant economy and has granted Chile the reputation as “leader in the Southern hemisphere” (Murray, 2002, p. 197).

### Evolution of Chilean Fruit Exports



*Evolution of Chilean Fruit Exports, Nominal Value in US Dollars, 1974–1994. (Agricultural exports excluding forestry exports)*

*Figure 7 Global Fruit Export Markets*

Source: (Murray, 1997, p. 45)

The above graph displays the evolution of fruit exports in Chile, for the period 1974–1994.

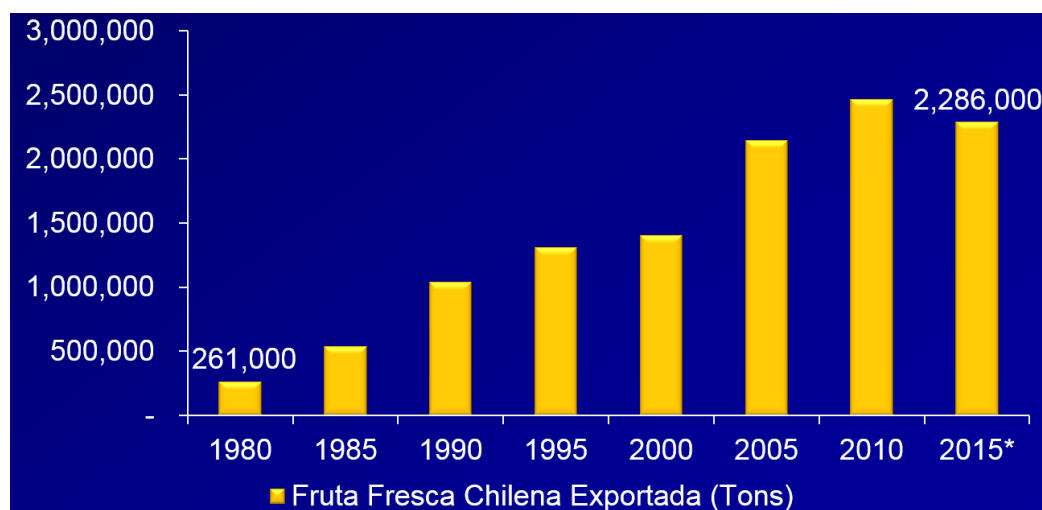
#### 4.2.2 Chile's Comparative Advantage and Agrarian Reform

Chile provided the medium for this fruit boom at several levels of analyses, geographically, climatically, economically and socially. One of the main foundations for Chile's success has stemmed from its climatic advantages and seasonality. Chile has utilised its wealth of natural resources and counter-seasonality to precipitate "a major boom" (Murray, 2002, p. 197). Counter-seasonality refers to Chile's alternating seasons to Northern markets, particularly the United States (U.S.), which has put Chile's produce in high demand (RP24-AGX). A fundamental foundation of the neoliberal framework, success has been predominantly associated with Chile's significant comparative advantage, "de-regulation and opening of the economy along these neo-liberal lines" (Murray, 1997, p. 44). As a nation with significant comparative advantage in fruit

exports, Chile has utilised the opportunity provided by the neoliberal economy (Murray, 1998). This has culminated in a dramatic metamorphosis of Chile's agrarian landscape (Bee & Vogel, 1997).

Pinochet's emphasis on capitalism and economic growth have contributed to the growth of export agriculture (RP24-AGX). However, agrarian reform and trade negotiations were already occurring prior to the military junta (RP22-AGX). Prior to Pinochet's rule, land reforms had been integrated into the government agenda in response to "concern with exploitative social relations of production and rural poverty" (Murray, 2002, p. 193). Throughout the 1960s, Frei developed irrigation development programmes, promoted agrarian reform and commenced trade liberalisation negotiations with the North (RP23-AGO; RP29-UNI). Frei and Allende's attempts to address economic problems and rural poverty were marked by land-redistribution, Frei's National Plan for Fruit Development and collectives referred to as "agrarian reform centres" (Murray et al., 2010). Under Frei and Allende's governments, prices were fixed by the government. Although these policies had attempted to address rural inequality, agricultural production decreased as small profits left incentives dwindling (RP22-AGO). The subsequent social discontent provided the medium for Pinochet's military coup (Murray, 2002). To stabilise the economy, Pinochet opened Chile's markets, reversed agrarian reforms and removed the restrictions and protections for Latin American trade (RP29-UNI). The neoliberal agrarian reforms promoted a capitalist mode of farming and incorporation of the agricultural-export model (Cárcamo, 2013). This process was referred to as *reconversión*, "the insertion of small-scale producers into global value chains" (Murray et al., 2010, p. 89). These reforms represented a transition from traditional to non-traditional agriculture, particularly fruit exportation. Additionally, the movement integrated the abolition of cooperatives and promoted utilisation of Chile's comparative advantage, "Chilean exports are considered the engine of the economy, making up 37 per cent of GDP" (Cárcamo, 2013, p. 321, as cited in BCC (Banco Central de Chile), 2013). It has been argued that this phenomenal economic growth could not have been achieved through internal market mechanisms alone.

### **Growth of Fresh Fruit Exports**



*Figure 8 Growth of Chile's Fresh Fruit Exports (tons exported).*

Source: (López, 2015, p. 9)

The above graph indicates the growth of Chile's fresh fruit exports.

### **4.3 Growing Social Inequality and the Need for Ethical Value Chains**

An extraordinary success story of the neoliberal experiment, Chile's economic transformation has been undeniable (Friedman, 1991). Chile's agricultural export sector represents one of the most significant transformations. An essential element of this thesis, this section examines who has benefitted from this macroeconomic success and whether economic opportunities have been distributed equitably across Chilean society.

#### **4.3.1 Macroeconomic Development and Social Inequality**

Extending development theory beyond Northern roots, Latin America has contributed to the inception of several economic development schemes. Most notably, the Chicago Boys and the implementation of neoliberalism provides an indication of the potential influence LEDC's can wield (Silva, 1991). To a greater degree than other Latin American nations, Chile appears to have made significant macroeconomic advancements. According to the United Nations Human Development Reports, Chile is ranked 42<sup>nd</sup> on the Human Development Index, correlating to very high human development (United Nations Development Programme, 2015). Within the Latin American context, this achievement has placed Chile second to Argentina (United Nations Development Programme, 2015). From a macroeconomic perspective, the country has procured itself a reputation as one of the most 'developed' countries in Latin America. According to the

2015-2016 World Economic Forums' Global Competitiveness Report, Chile was globally positioned 33<sup>rd</sup> out of 144, cementing its economic stature as "the most competitive country in Latin America and the Caribbean" (World Economic Forum, 2015, p. 27). According to this report, Chile's success can be attributed to "a stable macroeconomic environment" and "well-functioning markets" (World Economic Forum, 2015, p. 27).

The development of export agriculture has continued to be fundamental to development in Chile, "in Chile, agricultural exportation is development" (RP29-UNI). Technological advances within this sector have allowed Chile to insert itself into a globalised economy (RP1-CSG). Particularly important in regional development, agriculture has generated employment (RP4-GOV). However, as aforementioned, this macroeconomic development has not been equitably distributed. Kennedy and Murray have asserted that despite macroeconomic success, inequality has worsened in Chile (Kennedy & Murray, 2012). As indicated in the United Nations Development Report, "[e]conomic growth alone does not automatically translate into human development progress" (United Nations Development Programme, 2013, pp. E-3-1). A paradoxical asymmetry has emerged between Chile's macroeconomic success and social equality as the gap between economic beneficiaries and marginalised groups has continued to widen (Kennedy & Murray, 2012). A power imbalance has emerged as not all have experienced the benefits of the neoliberal economy (Murray, 2002). The subordination of the peasantry, as a consequence of agricultural exports and neoliberalism, has been observed throughout Latin America (Cárcamo, 2013).

#### **4.3.2 Impacts of Neoliberalism on Small-Scale Farmers**

Under Pinochet, Chile was subjected to "economic shock treatment" (Murray et al., 2010). The social implications of this treatment were diverse. However, "cutting public expenditure in half" was particularly severe for women and socio-demographics dependent on welfare (Murray et al., 2010, p. 87). Despite an end to Pinochet's governance, the neoliberal framework has continued to have negative repercussions on Chilean peasantry. According to Murray, "neoliberalism is by its very nature antagonistic to the peasantry" (Murray, 2006, p. 647). The profits of neoliberalism have not been distributed equitably. Specifically, the impacts of non-traditional fruit exports have been experienced differently across Chile's socio-economic hierarchy. Despite a significant increase in rural employment, inequalities have been exacerbated. Cárcamo extends the

argument further to state that peasantry dispossession had actually been “essential for the implementation of neoliberal reforms in the Chilean agricultural sector” (2013, p. 315). Literature indicates that rural Chileans in particular experienced the negative repercussions of the expanding economy and non-traditional export sector (Gómez-Barris, 2016). “In the agrarian sector, land reform was brought to an abrupt halt. Political activity was forbidden, wages cut, subsidies to small farmers terminated, and food prices allowed to rise” (Murray et al., 2010, p. 87).

Allured with the promise of market access, many small-scale farmers have engaged with multinational export corporations who have offered ‘marketing,’ ‘technology adoption, adaptation and transfer’ and ‘provision of finance for growers’ (Murray, 1997, pp. 47-48). In return for this credit, small-scale farmers have had to “follow a strict timetable” of production goals (Murray, 1997, p. 47). Although evidently a risk, these corporations offer credit that small farmers have been unable to obtain from other sources, such as banks. However, the impacts of increased competition on small-holder farmers are often negative and this demographic is particularly vulnerable to extortion by these large, multinational corporations. Despite reconversion and small-farmer attempts at integration into the global economy, producers who are financially unable to maintain their contracts are often forced to mortgage, or sell their land, and work as labourers in order to repay their debt. As the fruit sector expands and corporations gain access to more land, inequality has been increasingly evident as benefits have lined multinational company pockets whilst Chilean peasantry have experienced “marginalisation, landlessness, and eventual proletarianisation” (Murray, 1998, p. 213). Unfortunately, this appears to be the “nature of power relations, which tilt heavily in the favour of export companies” (Murray, 1997, p. 43).

#### **4.3.3 Agricultural Export Competition**

The evolution of export agriculture in Chile has generated remarkable economic success. Chile is much more economically open than its Latin American neighbours and agricultural exports are incredibly competitive (RP25-AGX). However, the severe policies, instated by Pinochet, have ultimately contributed to this displacement of thousands of rural Chileans. Despite undeniable macroeconomic success, the neoliberal regime has not been “conducive to growth with equity” (Chandler, 2006, p. i). Chandler has indicated that the future does not look promising for the Chilean peasantry (2006).

Furthermore, Murray has highlighted that “globalisation in the Chilean countryside greatly exacerbated inequalities” with one quarter of Chile’s rural population in poverty (Murray et al., 2010, p. 89). Problems of competition ensued for traditional crop growers who were competing against agricultural exports. Unfortunately, this process of competition has significantly increased rural poverty (Bee & Vogel, 1997). Literature has indicated that many rural Chileans were forced to seek employment in the export agricultural sector. The restoration of democracy has been marked by the implementation of policies which have attempted to assist small-scale farmers and address rural poverty. The process has involved providing small-farmers with an incentive to convert land into orchards, produce fruit for the non-traditional export sector and therefore gain access to the “competitive global market” (Murray, 1998, p. 212). However, overall, the agrarian policies have changed little (Murray, 2002).

A social dichotomy is evident. The enviable nature of Chile’s macroeconomic success has occurred on the backs of the most disadvantaged socio-demographic groups. The Chilean government has a responsibility to implement social policies which address this perpetuation of “extreme spatial and socio-economic inequalities” (Murray, 1998, p. 213). The Ministry of Agriculture and organisations, such as Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura (SNA), have worked towards protecting employees from abuse and establishing a more equitable employment sector (RP22-AGO). Despite continuing to advocate the importance of export-led growth, Michelle Bachelet, Chile’s current president, has also promoted social integration (Murray et al., 2010). However, what degree of state intervention is possible if agricultural exports are predominantly managed by private or multinational companies (Murray et al., 2010)?

## 4.4 Gender Inequality

The exacerbation of social inequality in Chile has resulted in significant hardship for marginalised demographics. At the core of this demographic lies women, particularly rural. This section specifically examines the situation of gender inequality in Chile, an aspect which is pivotal to the understanding of this thesis.

### **4.4.1 Marginalisation of Women and Gender Inequalities in Employment**

Unequitable gender hierarchies frequent across Latin America. Men have predominantly occupied leadership roles and political representation in particular has

been disproportionate (Cosgrove, 2010). A myriad of factors have contributed to female subordination, with “margins created by gender discrimination, racism, poverty, and other forms of social exclusion” (Cosgrove, 2010, p. 2). These factors perpetuated cultural expectations in Latin America, where women are often regarded as ‘housewives.’ Of particular concern, “[d]ue to gender inequalities throughout Latin America, women experience higher levels of poverty and discrimination than men” (Cosgrove, 2010, as cited in Craske, 2003). Targets to address this inequality should focus on “education, health, and income generation” (Cosgrove, 2010, p. 3). Cosgrove acknowledged the risk and sacrifice made by Latin American women, whose contributions to national development have often remain unacknowledged (Cosgrove, 2010). However, Cosgrove also brought “attention to the power, courage, and commitment of women civil society leaders at the grassroots and national levels” (Cosgrove, 2010, p. 2). Civil society organisations evidently play an important role in addressing gender divisions and attempting to provide opportunities for women. Furthermore, despite marginalisation, there has also been evidence of empowerment. In accordance with rejecting certain elements of the feminist worldview, this empowerment needs to be further investigated at the grassroots levels of analysis to understand its significance.

The neoliberal economy indisputably generated opportunities for employment, particularly in the agriculture sector. Women have continued to experience unequal remuneration when compared to men; although women work longer hours, they often have fewer remunerated hours (RP10-NGO). In 2005, regarding formal urban employment in Chile, women earned 77 cents for every dollar earned by men (Valdés, Céspedes, Donoso, & Muñoz, 2005). However, these figures have neglected to portray the significantly disproportionate earnings in the informal sector where marginalised women have often found employment (Cosgrove, 2010). As one of the “lowest paid sectors of the economy” the informal sector, which includes casual agricultural labour, represents a sector where women have been frequently underpaid, or not paid at all (Cosgrove, 2010, p. 4). Cosgrove emphasised the importance of acknowledging both the objective, measurable aspects of gender divisions as well as the additional, more subjective elements. For example, government regulation of wages does not address the double workload of women who are expected to simultaneously maintain



employment and domestic duties (Cosgrove, 2010). Additionally, a juxtaposition has emerged in regards to political power and the integration of women. Although the division is shrinking at the national level, it has appeared to be increasing at the local levels (Cosgrove, 2010).

#### **4.4.2 Historical Roots and *Machista* Ideologies**

International campaigns have recognised the importance of addressing gender equality in social development. However, literature has suggested that changes must be implemented at the policy level to generate tangible improvements. In exhibition of the aforementioned social asymmetry, Chile was ranked a relatively low 70<sup>th</sup> out of 144 with regards to the Global Gender Gap Index, also published by the World Economic Forum (World Economic Forum, 2016). The report highlighted that Chile has significant progress to reach with regards to economic participation and opportunity. Bee and Vogel have frequently alluded to the “prevailing gender ideology” which “informs the basis of the division of labour and leads to a differentiation between the status of men and women” (1997, p. 84). This ideology and resulting social structure has proven particularly prominent in rural areas (Murray, 1998). Alterations in gender labour divisions have had profound implications on household and gender relations. Literature has referenced Chile as a patriarchal, *machista* society. The emergence of novel female labour demands has challenged the “machista ideology” or, men’s perceived role as the sole income earner for the household (Bee & Vogel, 1997, p. 89). Although the employment impacts of neoliberalism have challenged this division, Chile remains far from an depiction of gender equality (Kennedy & Murray, 2012). Pinochet’s neoliberal policies have particularly neglected the needs of female agricultural workers (Gómez-Barris, 2016). Despite the end of the military dictatorship and the reestablishment of democracy, the implications of Pinochet’s economic policies have continued to permeate modern Chilean society. Women comprise a significant proportion of the Chilean labour force. However, often devalued and labelled as housewives, these women “represent an exploited sector of the labour force” (Bee & Vogel, 1997, p. 85).

#### **4.4.3 Women in Agriculture**

In 2005, there were approximately 800,000 field workers in Chile (Estrada, 2005). Of these, “half of them are seasonal labourers during the October-April season” and,

furthermore, of those half, “250,000 are women” (Estrada, 2005, para. 3). The National Association of Rural and Indigenous Women (ANAMURI) have argued that these labour conditions are akin to slavery, and that Chilean agribusiness corporations have been taking advantage of their workers (Estrada, 2005). Murray has further stipulated that the fruit export sector has been plagued by a non-ubiquitous distribution of benefits. The Chilean government has a responsibility to implement social policies which address this exacerbation of “extreme spatial and socio-economic inequalities” (Murray, 1998, p. 213). Guided by the words of Chile’s former President Ricardo Lagos, “we cannot hold our heads high in the world at the cost of sacrificing our workers” (Estrada, 2005, para. 18).

#### **4.4.4 Female Empowerment**

Literature has suggested that potential for female empowerment resides in the policy and civil society sectors. Women, particularly those in rural localities, hold an asymmetrical representation amongst marginalised groups (Stephen, 1992). The extent of gender division is contingent upon local contexts, generated through a conglomerate of different factors, notably culture, customs and socio-economic status (Cosgrove, 2010). These factors should be addressed in policy development. Civil society has increasingly been advocated as a medium through which gender divisions can be addressed, “[c]ivil society organizations...are making significant contributions in determining the direction of development priorities in Latin America” (Cosgrove, 2010, p. 7). “Women are the backbone of a wide range of social movements in Latin America,” however, in order to change these gender divisions and stereotypes, more women must be integrated into leadership roles (Cosgrove, 2010, p. 7). In the absence of sufficient supportive policies to assist marginalised women, NGOs and civil society have assumed a degree of responsibility through attempting to address these concerns (Gómez-Barris, 2016). Fair trade needs to interact with civil society in order to promote female leadership and distribute the wealth of Chile’s macroeconomic successes more equitably.

## 4.5 Rise of the *Temporeras*

*“[T]emporary agricultural employment is among the most precarious and the lowest wage in all employment generated by export activities”<sup>5</sup>* (Valdés Subercaseaux, 2012, p. 2).

The evolution of non-traditional agriculture has been fundamental to the development of Chile’s export economy. This section examines the labour force which facilitated this success, the *temporeras*. The *temporeras* have shaped a significant proportion of this thesis. Therefore, it is important to understand their position and to question whether this represents an opportunity for women or an opportunity for their exploitation.

### **4.5.1 Definition of *Temporera***

Considered one of the most “dramatic phenomenon of the neoliberal model in Chile,” non-traditional agricultural export growth has had significant repercussions on patterns of female employment (Bee & Vogel, 1997, p. 84). ‘*Temporera*,’ a term attributed to this female workforce, is somewhat ambiguous. A comprehensive definition, offered by El Programa de Economica del Trabajo (PET) has interpreted *temporeras* as “waged workers without stable employment who work in the fields and packing plants during the temporada” (Bee & Vogel, 1997, p. 85). In this context, *temporada* is interpreted as the harvest season. However, simpler terminology defines *temporera* as a “temporary agricultural worker” (Gómez-Barris, 2016). Although ‘*temporeros*,’ or male temporary workers certainly exist, the terminology has often been reserved to describe the women who occupy this unstable employment. For the purpose of this thesis, I will be using the PET definition, but restricting the investigation to females only. The *temporeras* undoubtedly represent a distinct yet pivotal niche in the agricultural labour force. Genesis of the *temporeras* can be attributed to the rural displacement that occurred in response to Pinochet’s severe economic policies. The subsequent increase in rural poverty impelled previously unemployed women to engage with formal employment in order to support their household (Bee & Vogel, 1997).

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<sup>5</sup> This quote has been translated from Spanish.

#### **4.5.2 Benefits of *Temporera* Employment**

In *temporera* discussion, emphasis should be directed towards the temporary nature of the casual employment. As indicated by Murray, the benefits associated with the fruit sector are contingent upon employment status and gender, factors particularly pertinent for *temporeras* (1998). The seasonal nature of agricultural exports has corresponded to changes in labour demands throughout the year in alignment with the various harvest seasons. Seasonality implications extend to employees of both genders. However, literature suggests that the negative impingements, such as job insecurity, are predominantly experienced by rural women (Gómez-Barris, 2016).

Despite hard working conditions, notably long hours, job instability, and little social protection, “working as a *temporera* is a desirable employment for women” (Bee & Vogel, 1997, p. 83). One of the most significant benefits to have arisen from *temporera* labour is the emergence of paid employment opportunities, which had previously been absent. Alluringly, women can potentially earn more in this sector than in traditional domestic service employment (Bee & Vogel, 1997). *Temporera* employment holds potential for a myriad of opportunities that may not otherwise have been offered, “[w]ithin export agriculture, there emerged a demand for specifically female labour, providing rural women with employment opportunities that had not previously existed” (Bee & Vogel, 1997, p. 84). However, it is important to consider the heterogeneity that exists within this agricultural labour force, a factor which has made the impacts of this employment difficult to generalise.

#### **4.5.3 Implications on Gender Relations**

As aforementioned, the rise of the *temporeras*, and attributed paid female employment, was historically and socially significant on a phenomenal scale. The position represented a formal acknowledgment of the female workforce and their contribution to the Chilean economy (Bee & Vogel, 1997). This work had previously been undervalued and underestimated, particularly in traditional agriculture. Chilean society and gender relations have continued to be influenced by the *machista* ideology, the same ideology that is prominent throughout Latin America. However, *temporera* employment may provide potential opportunities for “empowerment and the re-working of household relations” (Bee, 2000, p. 256). Particular weight has been placed upon this element as a

pathway to improve the gender relations which have restricted Chilean women (Murray, 1998). A notable opportunity associated with this labour is a degree of economic independence and autonomy. The power to purchase has provided women with the opportunity to be involved and consulted in household financial decisions. In some instances, academics have reported that despite an initial opposition to *temporera* employment, the experience of supplementary income and additional financial security has led husbands to acknowledge and tolerate their spouse's engagement in formal employment (Bee & Vogel, 1997). Somewhat contradictory to the *temporera* definition, an interesting phenomenon has arisen in the emergence of 'permanent *temporeras*' (Bee & Vogel, 1997). Women with experience are "valued for their speed and skill" (Bee & Vogel, 1997, p. 88). Perceived as particularly valuable, these women have challenged gender relations through negotiating wages, contracts and other employment conditions (Bee & Vogel, 1997). A position of power has evidently been achieved by these women. Furthermore, reports suggest that these experienced women may also be in a position of power to negotiate employment conditions on the behalf of other women (Gómez-Barris, 2016). Evidently, support networks between these women exist, a further contestation to *machista* ideologies.

#### **4.5.4 The Persistence of Inequality**

*Temporera* employment offers women formal opportunities that had previously been limited. However, informality persists in the form of unstable working conditions and few formal contracts being issued to protect these women. Of particular concern is the proportion of workers without formal employment contracts, approximately sixty percent in 2005 (Estrada, 2005). This has increased their vulnerability to abuses such as long hours, unjust wages, job insecurity, and child labour. The instability of the *temporera* position has predominantly been attributed to the seasonal nature of employment, which depends upon the harvest season of agricultural commodities (Bee & Vogel, 1997). The resulting economic insecurity is difficult if the women have no access to supplementary income outside of harvest season, particularly if these women are the sole provider for their family (Murray, 1998). Regardless of gender, temporary seasonal labour has been associated with lower wages than employees who hold permanent employment contracts. Temporary workers have characteristically been paid by productivity as opposed to a set hourly rate or salary. These characteristics have

been exacerbated in regards to female temporary workers, the *temporeras*. These women have been faced with gender discrimination in the form of lower remuneration than their male counterparts. Consequently, these women often have to work additional hours to maximise potential earnings and balance their earnings with men (Murray, 1998). The aspect of additional hours, at lower remuneration rates, has been particularly appealing to the agricultural corporations (Bee & Vogel, 1997). Corporations' desire to reduce costs has been characteristic of neoliberalism. Depending on the woman's life-cycle position, some *temporeras* have had the opportunity to pursue alternating seasonal work throughout the year according to consecutive harvests. This opportunity has provided the potential to earn income beyond one harvest season, albeit it does not necessarily correspond to increased job security. It should additionally be noted that the migration of women to rural areas, in pursuit of *temporera* employment, has had significant impacts on household and family relations (Bee & Vogel, 1997).

*Temporera* roles have been characterised by tasks attributed with 'female characteristics,' tasks which require "manual dexterity and passivity" (Bee & Vogel, 1997, p. 86). Roles have included fruit picking, packing and cleaning, tasks in alignment with the perceived "'traditional' female role" (Bee & Vogel, 1997, p. 86). An interesting perspective, offered by Bee and Vogel, has suggested that the role may in fact be another, more subtle form of control (Bee & Vogel, 1997). The patriarchal cultural norms and conformities have not been exclusively enforced by the men of the community, but by other women also. Literature has alluded to the occurrence of women expressing their disapproval towards female peers who participate in formal employment. This sentiment was confirmed by RP16-FTO who described the situation of women perpetuating ideologies against other women. With regards to women occupying leadership roles, positions which challenge the gender ideology have not easily been accepted by either gender (Gómez-Barris, 2016). The seasonal basis of *temporera* employment has excluded these women from many of the employment benefits and protections afforded to workers with more stable, permanent contracts. These benefits include social security allowances, job security and regulated wages. Additionally, literature has indicated that in some circumstances, despite union legality, those affiliated with unions are blacklisted and excluded from employment opportunities

(Gómez-Barris, 2016). Despite this precarious situation, reports have indicated that less formal associative bodies have developed as alternatives to unions (Gómez-Barris, 2016).

The impacts of formal employment have extended beyond the labour environment, into the domestic realm. Women have expressed difficulties in maintaining domestic responsibilities, particularly childcare, during periods of formal employment. Literature has suggested that informal groups, kin and friendship connections have emerged as pivotal support networks in mediating some of the hardships that *temporeras* have experienced (Gómez-Barris, 2016). Literature has indicated that if these support networks are not available, negative implications often arise. In particular, Bee and Vogel have alluded to older children's absence from school in order to assist with childcare responsibilities of their younger siblings (Bee & Vogel, 1997). Beyond social implications, Bee and Vogel have also indicated that the *temporera* role has been attributed to a myriad of health issues (Bee & Vogel, 1997). With reference to pesticide and fertiliser exposure, *temporera* employment has a notorious reputation for unprotected conditions.

#### **4.5.5 Temporera Diversity**

Importantly, the experiences of a select few should not be homogenised to represent the experiences of all Chilean women. Bee has acknowledged that employment impacts are contingent on a myriad of factors, including household situation, type of production, life-cycle position, working conditions and the availability of alternative employment opportunities (2000). Bee and Vogel have emphasised the importance of acknowledging this diversity (1997). Despite evident imperfections, literature has suggested that progress continues to be made in Chile. In particular, the establishment of organisations, such as the Seasonal Workers Union, holds particular potential in addressing concerns such as gender discrimination and the "traditional gendered divisions of labour" (Bee, 2000, p. 256). Perspectives of *temporeras* and opportunities offered are contingent upon either the unique, individual experiences of the women or the positionality of the academic. Insufficient academic studies have investigated these impacts at the individual, microcosmic level. However, literature has acknowledged this notable absence. Studies have advocated the need for investigations in this area in order to

construct a picture of how *temporera* employment has influenced gender relations. The implications and degree to which these opportunities extend should to be investigated.

#### 4.6 Chapter Summary

Pinochet's neoliberal experiment in Chile proved a macroeconomic success. The evolution of the agricultural export industry has propelled Chile ahead of other Latin American nations, measured in GDP per capita terms. Through the export of fruit in particular, Chile has ascended to a pedestal as one of the most successful exporters of fruit. This macroeconomic success has not been without social consequence. In paradox to Chile's economic success, social inequality has worsened. This has had considerable impacts on gender inequality, a notion that was already deeply rooted in Chile's *machista* ideologies. Agricultural exportation undeniably provided a pathway to formal employment. However, has this *temporera* position represented an opportunity for women, or an opportunity for their exploitation?



## Chapter 5

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### FAIR TRADE AND GENDER - THE MISSING LINK

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#### 5.1 Investigating the Missing Link

This chapter combines foci from the previous two chapters, fair trade and gender inequality in Chile. The first section explores available literature on fair trade and gender. The following section examines the discernible absence of fair trade research which addresses gender. The final section narrows the scope of investigation to the Chilean context, discussing whether fair trade demonstrates potential to influence and improve gender relations in Chile's *machista* society.

#### 5.2 Fair Trade and Gender

Fair trade arose as a need to combat social inequalities. There is an abundance of literature on this theme. However, my positionality as a female provoked investigation into a specific aspect of social inequality, gender inequality.

##### **5.2.1 Promotion of Female Development**

There has been an increasing international acknowledgement that development goals need to integrate female development if tangible, widespread social improvements are to be achieved, "gender equality and the poverty of women in LDCs must be central to any justice movement if global inequality is to be effectively addressed and developments achieved" (Rice, 2010, p. 42). Literature has alluded to the importance of integrating women in strategies which tackle development and global inequality. However, a recurring theme throughout the literature was the inability of women to perceive their potential power as agents of change. This reluctance can be attributed to societal norms, dictated by the local context, and gender relations integrated within these norms, "[w]omen's ability to perceive themselves as agents of change was limited" (Nelson et al., 2014, p. 70). Gibbon et al. has indicated that power relations influencing women's positions have operated at four different levels, the household, the community, the market and the state. Consequently, in order to truly target female empowerment and gender equality, development strategies should address each level

(Gibbon et al., 2012, p. 280). Development goals, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the current Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), sought to acknowledge this through directly establishing gender elements in their foundational frameworks. The United Nations further elaborated that “[e]nding poverty means ending feminized poverty” (United Nations Development Programme, 2006, p. 6). Specifically, goal three of the MDGs, which advocated gender equality and female empowerment, attempted to address gender disparities in the “labour market and wages” (United Nations, 2016, para. 5). More recently, goal one of the SDGs has aimed to target the enactment of “gender-sensitive development strategies” to target poverty eradication (United Nations, 2015, Targets & Indicators, para. 1.B).

### **5.2.2 Impacts of Neoliberalism on Women**

Despite being cited as a development tool, neoliberalism did not implement strategies which specifically addressed gender equality. Academics, such as Gibbon et al., have claimed that “women are marginalised in the process of economic development” (Gibbon et al., 2012, p. 280). As aforementioned, a fundamental element of neoliberalism is a socio-economic reduction in government involvement (Barrientos, 2000). The reduction of the nation states role in social policy produced significant consequences for women in particular, with many negatively impacted by reductions in social welfare (Rice, 2010). Are fair trade markets the panacea to addressing these gendered inequalities? “Can fair trade address inequality in LEDCs in its pursuit of social justice and development goals” (Rice, 2010, p. 42)? These questions have provoked acknowledgement of the importance of a “bottom-up and context driven approach” and the need to investigate the impacts of fair trade at the context-specific, ground level of analysis (Fairtrade International, 2015a, p. 2). Fairtrade has spoken of the need to develop more efficient methods for monitoring and evaluation of fair trade impacts (Fairtrade International, 2015a). Evidently, gender specific evaluation standards must also be established to evaluate these impacts on women.

### **5.2.3 Gender Strategies in Fair Trade**

Fair trade has been promoted as an alternative market strategy to assist marginalised groups, particularly in developing countries. However, it has been questioned whether or not this strategy can “effectively advance gender equality and alleviate the poverty

of women” (Rice, 2010, p. 42). Accordingly, is there any literature to suggest that fair trade has helped women? Have any gender specific guidelines or clauses been integrated into the fair trade framework? Gender derived positionalities expectedly produce different social experiences. Therefore, it is important for these divergences to be addressed in fair trade. As inequality continues to plague our world, marginalised groups have continued to be extorted at the hands of a seemingly apathetic neoliberal system. Neoliberal profits have continued to accumulate in the pockets of a selected minority at the expense of these marginalised groups. A disconcerting concept to have emerged from the literature is the significant proportion of female representation within these marginalised groups. Fairtrade International has sought to “increase gender equality and empowerment” as exemplified in the recently launched ‘Gender Strategy 2016-2020’ (Fairtrade International, 2015a, p. 2). This strategy has demonstrated an attempt to integrate gender discourse into fair trade strategies and assimilate “gender mainstreaming in the Fairtrade system” (Fairtrade International, 2015a, p. 1). Through the incorporation of gender clauses throughout all stages of the Fairtrade value chains, the strategy has sought to increase female participation and empowerment. Additionally, these gender clauses have attempted to address any underlying cultural issues which have perpetuated gender equality and prevented women from experiencing the benefits of fair trade. As aforementioned, gender inequalities are often attributed to culturally sensitive gender norms and divisions, influenced by factors “such as race, class, religious or ethnic identity and disability” (Fairtrade International, 2015a, p. 2). Fairtrade has acknowledged that these gender and “social issues encompassed in agricultural value chains differ according to region, country and local context” (Fairtrade International, 2015a, p. 2). However, it should also be acknowledged that these cultural norms are not static, rather they are fluid and evolving. Therefore, gender strategies in fair trade should also be evolve to accommodate this fluidity.

#### **5.2.4 The Fair Trade Social Premium**

The Fair Trade Social Premium has been viewed as particularly promising in encouraging gender equality and female empowerment. Democratic committees established to delegate premium funding appoint representatives from both the community and the affiliated FTO. Adhering to the democratic ethos, the committees themselves should

also incorporate female representatives. Expectations are that these premiums will be partly directed towards female development and women's changing practical needs (Nelson et al., 2014). Importance has been placed upon funding projects such as child facilities and educational workshops, projects which benefit women beyond the workforce context, additionally permeating through to household and community development. Fair trade research conducted in Kenya demonstrated that "when women were given the power to influence the agenda, the kinds of projects that resulted were ones that were of benefit to the community as a whole" (Nelson et al., 2014, p. 72). Unfortunately, there is concern that not all premium committees are democratic and investment does not always represent the desires of the collective community. This concern is likely a consequence of male dominance and cultural norms which have dictated that power given to women within the community. This situation has emphasised the importance of challenging underlying power relations foremost if fair trade is to benefit women.

### 5.3 Absence of Fair Trade Research on Gender

#### **5.3.1 A Literary Lacuna**

A notably literary lacuna protruded from fair trade literature. Many networks and FTOs have cited policies and ambitions which seek to reduce discrimination and promote gender equality. Specifically, FTO Comercio Justo has advocated that fair trade accreditation "guarantees that there is no discrimination in the company in question (race, sex, religious beliefs, etc.)"<sup>6</sup> (Comercio Justo, 2016, Algunos Beneficios de la Acreditación en Comercio Justo). Similarly, WFTO has also incorporated commitments to gender equality; Principle Six has advocated "Commitment to Non Discrimination, Gender Equity and Women's Economic Empowerment" (World Fair Trade Organization, 2013, Principle Six). However, scant literature exists to indicate whether these objectives have been translated into tangible benefits for women. Fairtrade International has admitted that the gender analyses have been detrimentally neglected from studies which investigate the impacts of Fairtrade, "gender issues is long overdue in the Fairtrade system" (Fairtrade International, 2015a, p. 2). Consequently, there is insufficient evidence to derive the specific impacts of Fairtrade on females. This absence

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<sup>6</sup> This quote has been translated from Spanish.

does not portend that fair trade does not have impacts on women, only that there is no substantive literary evidence to demonstrate the nature of these impacts. Gibbon et. al has addressed this “extant research” and drawn attention to “the need for more systematic and longitudinal research into the impact of fair trade on women in producer communities” (Gibbon et al., 2012, p. 277). Literature indicated that a feminist analysis on the impacts of fair trade is warranted (Barrientos, 2014). Are these alternative ethical value chains detrimental to women and development? Alternatively, is there evidence to indicate that women have been empowered by these international market systems? These questions are in alignment with the feminist lens of this thesis.

#### 5.4 Potential of Fair Trade to Improve Gender Relations; a Chilean Case Study

Fair trade has been advocated as an alternative market which seeks to help those marginalised by the predominant neoliberal economy. Beyond market access, fair trade has promoted an opportunity to improve lives. Women represent one of the most marginalised demographics in Chilean society, with marginalisation particularly exemplified in the *temporeras*. Does fair trade hold the potential to influence and improve gender relations in Chile? Fair trade is often viewed as a pathway to community empowerment. Officially, women account for approximately “25 percent of the smallholder farmers and workers involved in Fairtrade” (Fairtrade International, 2015a, p. 2). Has this statistic translated into the Chilean agriculture sector? How has fair trade specifically addressed the women with Chilean communities? The absence of literature has indicated a need to investigate the gender specific impacts of fair trade in Chile.

#### 5.5 Chapter Summary

Fair trade offers an alternative, ethical trading system to the predominant neoliberal economy. Despite integrating gender policies into its framework, there are few studies which have investigated the specific impacts of fair trade on gender. Nestled within a culturally defined *machista* society, Chilean women, particularly the *temporeras*, have presented a unique opportunity to investigate the impacts of fair trade on gender relations.

## Chapter 6

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### AGRICULTURAL EXPORTATION, GENDER INEQUALITY AND FAIR TRADE; A CHILEAN CASE STUDY

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#### 6.1 Case Studies and Findings

This chapter outlines the information collected from field research in Chile. It seeks to provide a basic understanding of the fundamental results. A detailed discussion of this information can be found in the subsequent chapters.

#### 6.2 Agricultural Export, Neoliberalism and Pinochet

*“Overall, Chile’s agricultural exports are ahead with respect to the rest of Latin America” (RP29-UNI).*

##### **6.2.1 Importance of Agricultural Exports in Chile**

RP24-AGX explained that “Chile has three main industries; agriculture, mining and fisheries.” “Mining is the largest part of the Chilean economy, particularly copper (RO22-AGO). Despite the capitalist and neoliberal policies attributed to agriculture, RP22-AGO does not believe that agriculture was the predominant reason for Chile’s economic success as agriculture exports only account for “one to three percent of GDP” (RP22-AGO). However, despite mining’s dominant position, RP25-AGX explained that agriculture represents “a much more social income that isn’t just measured,” elaborating that “agriculture is definitely a big part of Chilean culture” (RP25-AGX). RP30-UNI emphasised that “mining prices can be very volatile.” Consequently, “organisations, such as PASO, Pro Chile and CORFO, have been pushing agriculture as an alternative” (RP30-UNI). Many government initiatives have been started, such as “financing export credits” from INDAP (RP30-UNI). RP4-GOV confirmed that “agricultural exports are very important to Chile.” Chile is ahead of Latin America, with agricultural success attributed to “favourable climatic conditions” and the “comparative advantage” Chile holds over other regions (RP4-GOV). “In Chile, agricultural exportation is development” (RP29-UNI). Invaluably contributing to this development is Chile’s

alternating harvest seasons to the Northern Hemisphere (RP29-UNI). Chile can produce grapes when the United States and the Northern Hemisphere demand them, “Chile’s harvest season for grapes, November, coincides with Christmas and high demand from European markets” (RP29-UNI). This “allows Chile to command a premium price” (RP29-UNI). This economic philosophy, in combination with climatic factors, facilitated El Palqui’s boom in grape production (RP29-UNI). However, inequitably, in El Palqui “the majority of the land is owned by three of four large companies” (RP29-UNI). Chile has developed a reputable reputation within the fruit economy of the non-traditional agriculture sector (RP28-UNI). Ninety-five percent of agricultural products are destined for export, with significant volumes to the USA and Europe (RP5-GOV). Renowned for safety and quality, Chile’s “agricultural industry is continuing to grow” (RP24-AGX). The industry has been protected by proximity to the Andes Mountains, the Pacific Ocean and by strict biosecurity laws (RP24-AGX). In terms of commodities, “table grapes and apples are the two largest agricultural exports” (RP5-GOV). However, the “the margin of these two items has become so small. It is very easy to lose money on these items” (RP25-AGX). “RIOblanco is a growing export company, specialising in grapes” (RP25-AGX). The company also exports other berries and citrus. Incredibly, “Ninety-five percent is export” (RP25-AGX). The majority of produce is exported to the USA. However, Chile also exports to Europe, Asia and other Latin American nations. Importantly, Chile has attempted to establish a greater market in the Chinese economy (RP25-AGX). Comfrut, another fruit export company based in Chile, has exported grapes and berries to New Zealand, Australia and the USA, and indicated “wine is also a large export” (RP24-AGX).

### **6.2.2 Agriculture Success not Due to Pinochet Alone**

Pinochet’s “economic philosophy to remove all restrictions and open the market” have been important in Chile’s development (RP29-UNI). RP24-AGX believed that agricultural growth was helped by Pinochet’s emphasis on capitalism and neoliberalism. However, “agricultural investments have been integrated by various governments” (RP29-UNI). Conversely to RP24-AGX, RP5-GOV believed that “success can be attributed to the development of irrigation systems,” as opposed to Pinochet’s economic policies. Agricultural development began prior to Pinochet as the “process of agrarian reform, which began in the 60s,” pathed the way for Chile’s potential development and “joining international trade” (RP26-AGX). Reforms were instigated by Frei and Allende (RP22-

AGO). However, fixed prices had led to a decrease in agricultural production, creating social discontent and “Chile had to import food” (RP22-AGO). Neoliberalism has undoubtedly played a part in the “development of the Chilean economy” (RP21-AGO). Chile’s open economy has led to several international trade agreements (RP24-AGX). In particular, the Free Trade Agreement has allowed Chile to “export more easily, avoiding high costs that are impractical” (RP21-AGO). International businesses have increasingly invested in Chile, which is viewed as safe, stable and less influenced by corruption when compared to other Latin American nations (RP24-AGX). However, RP23-AGO personally believed that the Chilean market was too open and that “many farmers have lost money.” An “economic policy of free trade” and “exportation continued with the return to democracy” (RP24-GOV). The open neoliberal markets, predominately attributed to Pinochet, have certainly helped Chilean fruit exports. Consequently, these policies have been continued with the democratic Concertación government (RP23-AGO). However, this later version included a “visible respect for human rights” (RP4-GOV).

### **6.2.3 Agriculture Labour Demographics and Working Conditions for the *Temporeras***

In northern Chile, “Coquimbo is very important for agriculture and therefore the economy” (RP21-AGO). In this region alone, “agriculture employs about 45,000 people” (RP21-AGO). In export agriculture, there has been a marked preference for “casual labour” and delicate “female characteristics” (RP5-GOV). Consequently, women engaged in agriculture are being inserted into trade (RP30-UNI). This temporary work has encompassed “incredible conditions.” The work is “very hard and difficult working hours and labour conditions” (RP13-FTO). RP8-GOV explained that the government has sought to improve labour conditions in the agricultural sector.” RP26-AGX affirmed that the government has attempted to establish “a social dialogue between workers and employers” and “give a legal status to seasonal workers” (RP26-AGX). Officially, “all paid work must have a legal contract” and “agricultural employers who hire many seasonal people must ensure the conditions of safety and respect are met” (RP8-GOV). RP26-AGX emphasised that this dialogue has been particularly important for women, as “in the fruit sector, most of the labour is women,” who have been perceived as “more delicate with the fruit” (RP26-AGX). SNA, a national agricultural union, was established in 1838 (Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura, 2016). RP22-AGO explained that the main goal of the organisation “is to improve ethics” and build capacity through establishing “technical



schools and training throughout the country” (RP22-AGO). Sociedad Agrícola del Norte Asociación Gremial (SAN A.G.) is a “trade organisation with small farmers” which has administered “more than 6000 members” (RP21-AGO). Established in 1907, “the main objectives are to raise the voice of the farmers and their needs within the region” (RP21-AGO). Although not a union, AGROCAP has participated in the agricultural sector as “a non-profit institution used to coordinate the training of the workers of the company.” Established in 1999, the company has acted as a middle connection “between the trainers, and the company, and the Ministry of Labour” (RP23-AGO).

#### **6.2.4 Issues Facing Agriculture Exports**

Today agriculture is met with many problems, predominantly relating to “energy, labour and water.” “Twenty years ago, these problems did not exist” (RP21-AGO). RP23-AGO confirmed that “table grapes are the biggest of the fruit exports.” However, grapes are making “less profit each year” (RP23-AGO). Of concern was the emerging pattern of farmers moving away from labour intensive produce, “grapes are very labour intensive. Many have changed to walnuts which need less labour” (RP25-AGX). RP22-AGO highlighted the growing concerns regarding agricultural labour shortages as “people are moving away from the country into the city.” Similarly, RP25-AGX explained that “today we have a big labour issue,” as agriculture has continued to lose workers to mining. Consequently, Chile has to “import labour from Peru and Bolivia” (RP25-AGX). This labour demand is “driving wages up...but it’s a dangerous game because we can’t change the market prices” (RP25-AGX). Chile has experienced increasing competition from Peru, who also produces high quality grapes (RP29-UNI). Additionally, it has proven difficult for small farmers to produce the required export volumes whilst still maintaining the reputed high quality (RP25-AGX). RP23-AGO explained that although fair trade holds promise for small farmers, larger companies have alternatively been influenced by “international pressure and regulations, especially from the UK.”

### **6.3 Fair Trade in the Chilean Context**

#### **6.3.1 Application of Fair Trade in Chile**

In both an international and Chilean context, fair trade aimed to promote relationships and transparent negotiation between producer and consumer (RP14-FTO). Including regulations on environmental sustainability and labour conditions, the system has

aimed to ensure a quality product whilst also improving the lives of producers (RP14-FTO). Despite these regulations, fair trade is “not the opposite of capitalism,” alternatively representing “trading and a profit, but with a conscience” (RP14-FTO). RP15-FTO, regarded as one of the most informed experts in Chilean fair trade, emphasised that fair trade certification “should be an advantage,” not simply adherence to the minimums standards “required by Chilean law and ILO.” Notably, “it’s a prerequisite of Fairtrade to have a union within the company” (RP15-FTO). Interestingly, RP15-FTO explained that Fairtrade had previously been “directed towards the consumers.” However, there has now been recognition that “products are just a medium;” Fairtrade is “about love” and “trying to do the right thing when the market’s trying to get the opposite” (RP15-FTO). RP18-FTO defined the Fair Trade Social Premium as an “additional profit” to promote community development. Expanding on this definition, RP15-FTO defined the premium as “remuneration for participation,” articulating that decisions regarding premium allocation should ideally “involve a democratic process.” fair trade expert RP15-FTO further explained that according to third party regulators of Fairtrade producers, “ninety percent are complying” with premium regulations in Chile.

### **6.3.2 Issues in Chilean Fair Trade**

RP14-FTO confirmed that “fair trade does exist in Chile. In the past the majority of the fair trade products were exported. Now, this is changing and a fair trade market is being created here in Chile” (RP14-FTO). However, a lack of awareness has held back the progression of fair trade (RP18-FTO). This absence was evident at both the producer and consumer levels. Demands of Northern consumers have had a powerful influence on the alternative market. Nonetheless, RP18-FTO emphasised that Northern consumers also have a responsibility “to educate themselves about product origins.” Fairtrade represents “a niche market” (RP15-FTO). Despite growing interest, Fairtrade Chile only has “one cake.” Therefore, accepting more producers would equate to smaller ‘pieces,’ or profits, for those already participating (RP15-FTO). Consequently, producers have been turned away unless they have already established connections with a market. Consultants who are ill informed of this situation have created a bad reputation for Fairtrade, advertising Fairtrade as the solution for all when only limited opportunities exist (RP15-FTO). Interestingly, RP9-NGO explained that although “fair trade as a

proposal is good,” she holds “doubts about how good proposals are won in a globalised world” (RP9-NGO). Simply, RP10-NGO emphasised that “fair trade is not fair here.” Specifically, in Chile there have been “examples of producers who may not be going beyond the minimum standard of fair trade or not completely committing” RP14-FTO. RP14-FTO elaborated that one particular producer only certified twenty percent of its products, yet maintained fair trade certification and affiliated benefits.

### **6.3.3 Is Fair Trade Appropriate in Chile?**

Chilean producers have established a sophisticated reputation on the neoliberal market stage and resulting macroeconomic success has been undeniable. Consequently, international fair trade actors have questioned “whether Chile still needs fair trade” (RP15-FTO). RP15-FTO emphasised the “need to convince them that fair trade is still needed here...still social inequality despite economic success” (RP15-FTO). Despite issues, RP15-FTO reiterated that she feels great satisfaction in her role, which has allowed her to “see the real positive difference that Fairtrade can have on people’s lives.” However, “it would be so nice to have a national movement. There are ‘South’ markets in Mexico, also in Brazil. There is also a Fairtrade movement in Argentina” (RP15-FTO). FTO GAIA specifically outlined future plans to establish the first fair trade market of Chilean producers to further promote greater awareness (RP18-FTO).

### **6.3.4 Fair Trade in Chile Case Studies**

Chilean fair trade products are less established when compared to other Latin American countries (RP19-FTO). However, the expanding range includes include dried fruit, wine, nuts, eggs and honey (RP14-FTO). RP18-FTO noted that artisan crafts have emerged as a particularly important fair trade commodity in Chile.

#### **Case Studies**

##### **RP13-FTO, Mal Paso**

Mal Paso has been certified fair trade with WFTO for three years. As a family business “with more than 90 years,” the brand is already “well known here in Chile.” Mal Paso decided to become “fair trade certified in the hopes that this would open up more markets” and provide the opportunity to command “a more premium price.” However, pisco, a Chilean spirit produced from grapes, “is quite specialised,” and Mal Paso has yet

to see the benefits of certification. Specifically, although certification outlines labour specifications, RP13-FTO believes that the company “already had good working conditions.”

#### RP17-FTO, Emiliana

Similarly certified by WFTO, Emiliana works “in collaboration with a range of organic and fair trade small producers” to produce wine for the fair trade market. The company prides itself on going beyond the minimum standards set by the WFTO network. Emiliana acknowledged that although “fair trade is very expensive,” the winery is utilising it to promote “growth here in Chile,” offering producers remuneration at “approximately thirty percent higher than the standard market price.” Notably, the winery has “a family focus,” providing health insurance and education programmes to improve the lives of the worker and their family. However, Emiliana does not participate in the domestic market. All Emiliana wines are exported, with export countries including United States, Japan, Sweden, England, Germany and China.

#### RP19-FTO, Mi Fruta

Mi Fruta, certified Fairtrade by Fairtrade International, represents the only Fairtrade table grape company in Chile. Similarly to other Chilean fair trade groups, “the majority of fair trade products are exported.” For Mi Fruta, the majority of these exports are sold in England. RP19-FTO explained that the Fairtrade premium has been directed towards increasing employee capacity, supplementing wages and purchasing tools to improve production. Additionally, Mi Fruta has also assisted employees seeking financial credit.

### 6.4 Fair Trade and Gender

*“When a woman receives her own income, she increases her bargaining power” (RP9-NGO).*

#### **6.4.1 Gender Relations in Chile**

In terms of gender inequality, “Chile is one of the worst in South America” (RP12-NGO). RP7-GOV, who is currently undertaking a master in gender relations, explained that the “gender situation in Latin America is a very complex situation. It is very rooted in a patriarchal and machismo ideology that has historically been built at the expense of women” (RP7-GOV). RP7-GOV described the “many complex forms of

violence...physical, economic, psychological and sexual.” From an economic perspective, the market has led “to a number of inequalities for women, in the field of decision making, access to employment, opportunities in attitude and political exercise opportunities” (RP7-GOV). In the labour context, women have continued to experience discrimination in access to jobs, remuneration and leadership promotion (RP7-GOV). Expected to maintain domestic duties, double workload for women has continued to persist, with RP7-GOV exclaiming “this is the reality of Latin America and Chile.” “Although women work longer hours, they often have fewer remunerated hours. This is the typical pattern seen in Latin America” (RP10-NGO). However, the “situation of equality depends on the economy of the place” (RP10-NGO).

RP9-NGO explained that Chilean “women now have much more power than perhaps their grandmothers.” Despite persisting issues, RP10-NGO asserted that “the situation of inequality, including gender inequality, is changing.” Consequently, RP9-NGO has observed that women are increasingly “interested in having an economic autonomy.” The government has attempted to “develop policies and programmes on gender which seek to promote the participation of women” (RP7-GOV). This has been achieved through the “implementation of childcare programmes,” both formal and informal, and policies which have promoted increased male participation in domestic responsibilities (RP9-NGO). RP10-NGO emphasised that “gender inequality cannot be achieved without involving men.” RP9-NGO perceived that if Chilean fair trade were to be implemented on a larger scale, it could have a significant positive impact on women (RP9-NGO). ANAMURI, a Chilean “organisation for rural and indigenous women” did not share this perspective (RP12-NGO). RP12-NGO explained that as “fair trade is the decision of the company,” the movement is “unable to reach many of these women,” who “can be fired for discussing this.”

#### **6.4.2 Fair Trade and Gender Case Studies**

##### **RP20-FTO, Hebras del Alma**

Hebras del Alma is a WFTO certified artisan craft FTO. Exclusively employing women, RP20-FTO explained that “when these women work, it helps their children, their family and their community.” Unlike agriculture, crafts have allowed “the women to work at home and stay with their children” (RP20-FTO). Beyond the social community context,

RP20-FTO described the pride these women have with their products, pride which has extended to their family as evident in their husbands support. Interestingly, “the majority of the women working with Hebras del Alma were previously *temporeras*” (RP20-FTO). However, RP20-FTO believes that “this organisation is a better opportunity for these women.

#### RP16-FTO, Emprediem

In Chile, gender inequality can be seen across all social levels. However, these inequalities have been less obvious at the higher levels of Chile’s social hierarchy, “so subtle but differences very powerful” (RP16-FTO). RP16-FTO explained that “the *machista* ideology is held by both men and women in Chile, perhaps even more so by women” (RP16-FTO). Specifically, “mothers who work are not seen well by other mothers” (RP16-FTO). Similarly to Hebras del Alma, Emprediem is a WFTO artisan craft FTO. Despite not working exclusively with women, Emprediem has engaged in several projects which specifically target women. ‘MujeresON,’ supported by SERNAM, is “trying to empower women” through entrepreneurship as studies have shown that “women with their own business can be independent from their husbands” (RP16-FTO). The programme has been “targeted at women who are the main income earner” (RP16-FTO). ‘Programa Jefa Igual’ similarly promotes entrepreneurial initiatives which have allowed women to stay at home with their children. Additionally, the ‘Pack Social’ project works to promote artisan products “from all over Chile,” with each pack containing “at least four products from four different producers, men and women” (RP16-FTO). RP16-FTO explained that although “many of these women don’t have the education to find proper jobs,” Emprediem has provided them with an “opportunity...provide for the children” (RP16-FTO).

### 6.5 The *Temporeras*; an El Palqui Case Study

#### **6.5.1 Agriculture Exports and the Impact on Women**

Chilean society has been transformed by neoliberalism. The evolution of agricultural exportation would not have been possible without the cheap labour these women have provided. A contributor and perpetuator of gender inequality, for women “agricultural exports have led to more negative than positive” (RP12-NGO). Disconcertingly, “many of these women don’t have social benefits,” such as health or retirement” (RP12-NGO).

For those women working under *contratistas*, or contractors, union membership has often been forbidden and many have discovered that their social contributions have disappeared (RP12-NGO). RP12-NGO explained that “across the course of the last thirty years, these conditions have changed very little” and “the majority of women in the country are still experiencing subhuman conditions.” Despite long hours, “workers earn no more than US\$300 per month” (RP12-NGO). “Women are paying the hidden costs of fruit exports” and many have suffered health conditions later in life, such as repetitive motion injuries. Employment in agriculture has remained particularly difficult for those who have to migrate away from their children (RP1-CSG). ANAMURI is “encouraging these women not to work in agriculture” (RP12-NGO).

### **6.5.2 Gender Relations in El Palqui**

RP5-GOV has asserted that “El Palqui is one of the areas in Chile where gender relations are relatively equal.” In affirmation, RP1-CSG believed that in El Palqui, approximately “forty percent of men are now helping the women at home.” This has provided indication that although gender relations in Chile are still “not equal, there is positive change” (RP1-CSG). Working as a *temporera* has provided these women with extra money and “the majority of the money is directed to their children” (RP12-NGO). RP1-CSG described her personal *temporera* experience as positive and emphasised that more women have been having a similar experience. Despite these improvements, “*temporera* work is declining” as more women have chosen to engage in other areas of work. Additionally, now that these women have the power to send “their children to university,” they “don’t want their children working as *temporeras*” (RP1-CSG).

### **6.5.3 Temporeras of El Palqui**

In El Palqui, the majority of *temporera* work has been with table grapes (RP2-CSG). All focus group participants have worked as *temporeras* for the past twenty to twenty-five years, with previous generations of family members also having engaged in this sector (RP2-CSG; RP3-CSG). Justifying their reasoning for engaging in this area of employment, the women explained that agriculture represented an “opportunity to earn money and support the family,” and that “there are no other options here” (RP2-CSG). Although other employment opportunities have emerged for women, the women insisted that agriculture pays more (RP3-CSG). However, focus group participants concurred that

“working is a sacrifice because you have to leave the children in the hands of others” (RP2-CSG).

#### **6.5.4 Support for *Temporeras* in El Palqui**

‘Manos Abiertas’ established in 2007, is “an organisation to help protect women against abuse.” RP1-CSG believed that *temporera* employment has provided an opportunity to develop as a woman (RP1-CSG). There have been changes to the law to support *temporeras*. Embodied as access to water, bathrooms and other improvements in labour conditions, the participants explained that positive changes have already begun for *temporeras* and women (RP2-CSG). In El Palqui, improvements have included access to social benefits, such as health insurance, and a “retirement scheme is compulsory” (RP3-CSG). Furthermore, “most *temporeras* work with an official contract” (RP3-CSG). Previously, only the men would work, however the “family now recognises that it’s an important source of money.” The women believed that “men and women are more equal now in employment, receiving the same pay” (RP2-CSG). Increasing their visibility, representation is one of the main things that has improved the situation for *temporeras* throughout Chile (RP2-CSG). Representation provides them with information on their rights and speaks on their behalf (RP2-CSG). Additionally, improvements can be attributed to the work and safety standards that have been implemented by the government (RP2-CSG). Optimistically, the women stated that “the future for women in Chile looks positive if the situation continues in the same way” (RP3-CSG).



## Chapter 7

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# THE ADOPTION AND GROWTH OF FAIR TRADE IN LATIN AMERICA AND CHILE

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### 7.1 The Practice of Fair Trade in Latin America and Chile

This chapter discusses the adoption and growth of fair trade in Latin America and Chile. The first section evaluates how research participant accounts of this application compare to literary accounts explored in Chapter Three. An understanding of fair trade in the Latin American context is pivotal to understanding how Chilean participants have perceived the application of fair trade in Chile. The subsequent section specifically explores the characteristics of fair trade in the Chilean context and, based on case studies, the outcome of this application.

### 7.2 Fair Trade in Latin America in Practice

#### **7.2.1 Demand from the 'North'**

International markets have been transformed by a growing emphasis on social and environmental sustainability. Facilitated by the increased demands of 'Northern' consumers, the application of fair trade across Latin America has been extensive. The majority of Latin America's fair trade products are traded in Europe and North America (RP18-FTO). Demands have particularly originated from supermarkets in the USA and the UK, which have been responded to growing numbers of ethically conscious consumers (RP25-AGX). Despite literature suggestions that fair trade has moved its focus to product quality, these demands have indicated a continued desire for assurance of product origins. Consequently, these Northern demands have predominantly dictated which commodities have become available on the fair trade market. As fair trade popularity continued to develop, Latin American producers have faced increasing pressure for their products to bear fair trade labels. Despite amicable intentions, these pressures could further marginalise producers who are unable to afford certification. As an alternative, RP25-AGX has suggested that Latin American producers could potentially receive more direct benefits through engaging in markets which do not request this

certification, such as China, albeit these markets offer less security. Field research has indicated that commodity expansion is essential to overcome market ceilings and market saturation. However, this innovation may prove difficult in contexts where resource availability may not necessarily meet consumer demands.

### **7.2.2 Variation and Competition between Fair Trade Commodities**

The range and volume of fair trade initiatives has continued to grow. Across Latin America, there is considerable variation in fair trade commodities, albeit similarities certainly exist. In confirmation of FTRG research outlined in Chapter Three, RP14-FTO explained that fair trade is distinctly larger in countries which produce ‘traditional’ fair trade commodities, notably coffee and cacao. However, research suggests that a variety of lesser known fair trade commodities have begun to emerge from Latin America. In confirmation of earlier CLAC reports, RP14-FTO confirmed that wine from Chile and Argentina has particularly garnered increased global interest. Commodity variability has predominantly been attributed to variations in resource availability. Climatic and geographical differences have particularly contributed to agricultural variations. Countries with climatic conditions conducive to the production of ‘traditional’ fair trade products have obviously been more recognised in the fair trade market. With regards to social resources, varying numbers of fair trade producers, staff and key actors are available across Latin America. RP15-FTO described the situation in Peru, where a low staff to producer ratio has proven inefficient, with one person managing more than two hundred producers.

As aforementioned, the innovation of novel commodities emerged in response to increased consumer demand. However, this diversity has also been attributed to increased competition within fair trade’s niche market. To what extent have shared fair trade markets constituted competition between Latin American nations? Have affiliations with capitalist markets rendered competition unavoidable? Despite alternative principles, fair trade should be realistic with the demands of the international market; it would be naïve to ignore the ongoing importance of marketing tools (RP16-FTO). For example, RP15-FTO alluded to the similarities between Chile and Argentina, which both produce fair trade wine and honey. Is this competition harmful? Many participants explained that fair trade operates within the neoliberal system itself. Consequently, competition appears unavoidable. It has been difficult to determine

whether this competition will produce further marginalisation of vulnerable demographics. Further confirming that the market systems are not mutually exclusive, RP15-FTO elaborated that fair trade is half and half within the capitalist system. Competition, a characteristic of neoliberalism, has evidently plagued fair trade networks.

### **7.2.3 Modes of Production and National Markets**

RP15-FTO drew attention to the differing “cultures of production” across Latin American. Co-operative’s frequent across many Latin American countries. However, Chile operates on a more individualistic mode of production. Perhaps this can be attributed to Chile’s rigid ascription to the neoliberal economy (RP15-FTO). These modes of operation have dictated certain aspects of fair trade, such as the delegation of premium funds. In a co-operative, premium funds have more frequently been delegated to support community objectives as opposed to individual needs. Perhaps this indicates that whilst individual modes of production facilitate neoliberal success, cooperatives are conceivably more conducive to community development and success in fair trade.

Support for domestic markets and value for local products revealed themselves to be important factors in the application of fair trade. Across many Latin American countries, support for local markets is an important aspect of local culture. In these instances, fair trade has acted as an affirmation that these markets have progressed in the right direction (RP16-FTO). This affirmation was demonstrated in the World Fair Trade Day events described earlier in Chapter Three. Latin America has witnessed an emerging development of national movements. RP15-FTO particularly alluded to the national markets promoted in Mexico, Brazil and Argentina and expressed hope for similar markets to emerge from Chile. These movements represent a glimpse of the power these nations hold. In combination with the international market connections garnered from fair trade, the potential for Latin America to direct its own ‘development’ appears promising. Cultural changes have emerged from Chile, a country which had previously been exempt from this pattern; Chileans considered their national products to be of lesser value than products imported from the North (RP16-FTO). Through encouraging these cultural changes, the application of fair trade holds credible potential for social ‘development’ in Chile. RP18-FTO provided insight into GAIA’s plans to create a fair trade market in the South for the South. A Southern market is certainly appealing. However,

as aforementioned, Balch outlined the difficulties with this goal; the developed world can afford to pay a little more (2013). Consumers in the South may not be able to afford fair trade's premium prices. Therefore, is it ethical to raise awareness in light of these restrictions?

### 7.3 Fair Trade in Chile in Practice

Chile offered a unique case of investigation. In comparison to other Southern and Latin American nations, the application of fair trade in Chile is relatively recent. However, fair trade expert Gerardo has heralded the advancements of fair trade in the neoliberal miracle (Balch, 2013). This section explores the application of fair trade in the Chilean context and outcomes of this application based on case studies.

#### **7.3.1 Chile's Interpretation of Fair Trade**

According to RP14-FTO, one of Chile's leading fair trade experts, fair trade can be defined as "one of many alternative trading systems." There is a fundamental focus on sustainability and improving the lives of producers whilst also ensuring a quality product (RP14-FTO). RP15-FTO, also a renowned expert in Chilean fair trade, emphasised that fair trade is fundamentally about love and "promoting human rights." The system represents trying to do the right thing when the market is doing the opposite (RP15-FTO). Importantly, RP15-FTO emphasised that fair trade should represent achievement beyond the minimum standards required by Chilean Law and the International Labour Organisation (ILO). These minimum standards alone, which include access to unions and bathrooms, should not entitle fair trade certification. In confirmation of literature, RP15-FTO outlined that fair trade had previously been directed at the consumer level, with regards to marketing and information. This has contributed to the lack of awareness of fair trade across Latin America. This pattern has begun to change with the acknowledgment that fair trade is "not just about the product" (RP15-FTO). Fair trade represents relationships of "transparency and democracy," creating dialogue and improving the lives of real people (Rp15-FTO). Fair trade products themselves should only represent the medium through which this empowerment can manifest. These ideologies, offered by Chile's fair trade experts, have aligned with the international goals of fair trade outlined in Chapter Three.

Despite evidently existing within the capitalist network, fair trade undoubtedly represents a distinct set of fundamental ideologies. It represents an acknowledgement that perhaps the capitalist market represents both the root of, and solution to, global inequality. Neoliberalism, a competitive, profit driven economic strategy, has evidently perpetuated social inequality and environmental degradation, both globally and in Chile. RP14-FTO explained that capitalism advocates the development of market strategies which produce “higher profits at lower costs.” Imperative to the understanding of this thesis, despite seemingly antithetic values, fair trade is “not the opposite of capitalism” (RP14-FTO). Fair trade represents an alternative, more sustainable market which co-exists within the predominant capitalist system. The alternative market similarly alludes to profit, however, fair trade diverges with the notion of “profit but with a conscience” (RP14-FTO).

### **7.3.2 Application of Fair Trade in Chile**

In alignment with earlier literary accounts, field research confirmed the expanding, yet limited application of fair trade in the Chilean context. Pockets of fair trade operations are found across Chile, although to a lesser extent than in other Latin American nations. RP15-FTO outlined that although there are thousands of Fairtrade International certified Fairtrade producers, only approximately twenty-five of them are located in Chile (RP15-FTO). Additionally, RP20-FTO confirmed approximately seven examples of WFTO certified fair trade producers in Chile. Although other organisations exist in Chile, the scope of this master’s research was predominantly restricted to these actors. Fair trade commodities in Chile have been classified as either agricultural or artisanal. In confirmation of CLAC reports in Chapter Three, RP14-FTO explained that although Chilean fair trade is predominantly wine, commodities such as fruit, nuts, free range eggs and honey are also notable (RP14-FTO). RP19-FTO affirmed numbers of fair trade initiatives have continued to increase. It appears that fair trade rhetoric has begun to be incorporated into national economic standards. The expansion of fair trade appears to have had positive influence on social inequality in Chile. Despite prevailing issues, several participants indicated that the situation of social inequality is changing, albeit slowly, “things are changing slowly, but there are positive changes here in Chile with fair trade” (RP14-FTO). However, these commendable benefits have not been without cost.

These issues will need to be resolved if fair trade is to successfully expand in the Chilean context.

The ‘miraculous’ macroeconomic success of agricultural exports has provoked debate amongst fair trade actors over whether application of fair trade in Chile is appropriate. However, as confirmed by several participants, social inequality continues to plague Chile (RP12-NGO; RP15-FTO). The agricultural export ‘boom,’ which proved so fortuitous to some, has exacerbated these social divisions. In particular, the *temporera* labour force has been subject to unacceptable conditions, including restrictions to social insurance benefits, long hours and inadequate remuneration. RP15-FTO emphasised that Chile has a responsibility to convince consumers that fair trade is still necessary, you “don’t need to go very far to see that people are living in very bad conditions; fair trade is definitely still needed.” Despite an aura of macroeconomic sophistication, inequality persists. Based on current trends, fair trade holds potential to reduce persisting social inequalities.

### **7.3.3 An Absence of Awareness**

*“If you were to talk to twenty Chileans, it is likely that only one of them would have awareness or knowledge about fair trade” (RP18-FTO).*

Inequitable consumption patterns have resulted in a veiled awareness of fair trade and its potential benefits. In confirmation of literature reports, field research presented a lack of awareness as the greatest threat to fair trade in Chile. This phenomenon has been documented across Latin America and the Global South. This absence of awareness was confirmed both directly, through fair trade experts, and indirectly, by those who admitted a fragmented knowledge of fair trade. According to RP18-FTO, an absence of awareness has predominantly been attributed to unequal production-consumption patterns; the majority of fair trade products are produced in the South but exported for Northern consumption. Despite production in Chile, “the majority of Fair Trading occurs in Europe and North America” (RP18-FTO). Although fair trade represents an alternative, equitable economy, the division has appeared to mirror the inequitable North-South consumptions patterns which have plagued the predominant neoliberal system. RP20-FTO explained that although some Chilean consumers may be interested in alternative markets, such as fair trade, they are often unsure of where to purchase these products.

This distorted pattern of ‘development’ has limited the potential of fair trade to support marginalised groups across Latin America. This pattern has demonstrated a need for further investment into the educational and awareness aspects of fair trade at the grassroots. In order to expand fair trade in Chile, “there needs to be more marketing of fair trade products in order to raise awareness” (RP14-FTO). Fortunately, FTOs have recognised this issue and have attempted to make fair trade more equitable, “now this is changing and a fair trade market is being created here in Chile” (RP14-FTO). RP18-FTO specifically alluded to GAIA’s plans to create a fair trade market day in Chile in October 2016. This will contribute to the larger ambition of creating “fair trade in the South for the South” (RP18-FTO). Furthermore, Miguel Torres, a winery based in Chile, has commercialised a select range of fair trade wines in supermarkets on the domestic market; albeit the fair trade element is not well advertised (RP14-FTO). RP14-FTO explained that the “increase in fair trade is related to an increase in consumer consciousness.” However, due to this divergent market economy, awareness of fair trade has not necessarily reached the targeted demographic, marginalised Chilean producers. Consequently, transformation of effective marketing strategies needs to be achieved in order to promote fair trade effectiveness in Chile.

#### **7.3.4 Fair Trade as a Niche Market**

Fair trade evidently represents an opportunity to address the social concerns which arose from globalisation. Notably, it has promised an opportunity for adequate remuneration and market access within the highly competitive neoliberal sphere. However, as indicated in Chapter Three, fair trade also represents an elite niche market. RP15-FTO re-iterated this concern of fair trade’s limited “umbrella.” Although expanding, the range of fair trade commodities has remained small, targeted at an elite group of ethically conscious consumers. As consumer interest in fair trade continues to expand, there has been a responding increase in producer desire to participate in this niche market. However, can a market on the verge of saturation expand to accommodate additional participants? There is limited opportunity in Chilean fair trade, particularly in the fair trade wine sector, and fair trade is unable to accommodate all producers who are interested. RP15-FTO explained that CLAC is only able to support producers who have already aligned an interested buyer. Analogous to a cake, dividing the fair trade economy into smaller pieces would not be fair on those already engaging

within the niche market (RP15-FTO). This appeared to be the paradoxical reality of fair trade. Potential for this niche market to expand lies in stimulating consumer interest and diversifying the range of fair trade commodities. It cannot lose its fundamental values or it will lose distinction from the mainstream market it has advocated protection from.

### **7.3.5 Fair Trade Social Premium and Community Development**

As aforementioned, the Fair Trade Social Premium represents a fundamental aspect of fair trade. This particular element has distinguished fair trade markets from other ethical value chains and neoliberalism. RP14-FTO described the premium as a form of “remuneration for participation” whilst RP18-FTO elaborated that it represents an additional profit to be reinvested into community development. Profoundly different to the individualistic nature of neoliberalism, the premium is an appropriate demonstration of fair trade objectives to translate economic profits into social benefits. If Fair Trade Social Premium funds are directed towards improving production, the producers are provided with an opportunity to further improve the quality of their product and potentially receive a higher price. This reinforces the benefits of the fair trade economy. To what extent have Fair Trade Social Premium objectives been satisfied in Chile? What outcomes have been achieved? Occasionally, delegated funds have neglect to integrate a gender element (RP14-FTO). However, RP14-FTO emphasised that this does not necessarily convey corruption. This sentiment was supported by RP17-FTO, who explained that occasionally there was a gender imbalance in the committee. However, this occurrence has often been a result of a gender imbalance in that sector as opposed to a conscious neglect of gender equality. RP15-FTO indicated that she believed ninety percent of certified Chilean producers comply with premium regulations. Additionally, RP15-FTO explained that CLAC employs the services of a third party to ensure that premium funds have been distributed democratically and in alliance with the premium’s intended purpose.

Speaking to certified fair trade producers directly, it was possible to understand the tangible outcomes that have been achieved through the Fair Trade Social Premium. RP19-FTO particularly emphasised the positive impacts that the premium has had on Mi Fruta employees. In alignment with fair trade’s guaranteed premium price policy, the Fair Trade Social Premium has been used to supplement wages if market prices prove



volatile. Promoting future development, the company has additionally supported credit loans and re-investment. Mi Fruta has assisted its employees in obtaining financial credit, which employees may have difficulty obtaining from a bank. Additionally, reinvestment of the premium into material development has helped to improve product quality, a cyclic demonstration of the positive impacts of Chilean fair trade. In further demonstration of successful fair trade application, RP17-FTO of Emiliana Vinyards described the democratic process of distributing premium funds, “each meeting has seven people present. Four people to represent the workers, two people to represent the business, two people must be women.” These case studies have certainly been in accordance with the fair trade objectives outlined in Chapter Three.

### **7.3.6 Sustainability and Improved Labour Conditions**

Chilean fair trade has sought to promote dignity for marginalised demographics, notably small famers. The alternative movement has promoted dignity in the form of sustainable livelihoods and access to a living wage, which allows participants to support themselves, their families and their communities. Government agencies CORFO, INDAP and SERNAM have already implemented policies which similarly seek to address this marginalisation. Therefore, fair trade collaboration with the Chilean Government could be an effective route to provide access to the alternative niche economy. However, expansion of the niche market should be addressed prior to this collaboration. According to RP14-FTO, Chilean fair trade represents a sustainable economy, both environmentally and socially. In accordance with government attempts to promote worker rights, fair trade has integrated notable clauses which advocate protection from discrimination. Social inequality indices of particular concern in Chile are the unequal distribution of health and education benefits. For workers participating in fair trade, certification has represented a promise of improved labour conditions, adequate living wages and access to these aforementioned social benefits (RP23-AGO). Despite evident benefits to Mi Fruta employees, RP19-FTO acknowledged that benefits to the wider community were limited as the company employs a small workforce. Based on these trends, certification holds potential to reduce social inequalities in Chile. However, Chilean fair trade needs to be applied to a larger scale if it is to realise this potential. Despite evident imperfections in the application of fair trade in Chile, the benefits outlined above indicate that fair trade has progressed in a positive direction. The movement has

attempted to improve lives and challenge the societal hierarchies that have contributed to the marginalisation of vulnerable demographics. With ample personal experience in the field, RP15-FTO confirmed that “despite some controversy, I am happy in my role because I can see the real positive difference that Fairtrade can have on people’s lives.”

### **7.3.7 Corruption and Concerns in Chilean Fair Trade**

The application of fair trade in the Chilean context has demonstrated many positive outcomes. However, to what degree has corruption restricted the extent of these outcomes? Whilst acknowledging the presence of corruption across fair trade internationally, fair trade representatives RP14-FTO and RP20-FTO did not believe that corruption was a significant problem in Chile. This success was paradoxically attributed to the small numbers of certified FTOs operating in Chile; a small volume of producers has allowed more stringent regulation (RP20-FTO). Research suggested that although corruption in Chilean fair trade was low, there were most certainly issues in the Chilean context. RP14-FTO explained that despite meeting the minimum fair trade standards required for certification, certain organisations either did not display interest in progressing beyond this minimum, or, alternatively, only certified select products from their commodity range. Specifically, RP14-FTO alluded to a Chilean company which, despite only certifying twenty percent of their products, qualified for fair trade certification. However, not displaying complete commitment does not necessarily convey corruption, as these companies have continued to operate within the minimum fair trade standards. RP14-FTO strongly believed that those who participate in fair trade should engage whole-heartedly.

Despite low levels of fair trade corruption, there is concern that the potential benefits have not reached the targeted demographics. RP25-AGX explained that high volumes of Northern consumers lack a realistic understanding of the conditions where the product was produced. There is disconnect between the consumers and the fair trade producers, “if a buyer in the UK has never been to a farm,” they cannot comprehend “all of the extra costs or the loss” (RP25-AGX). Consumers have a responsibility to extensively question product origins and sustainability, including those products certified fair trade (RP25-AGX). RP25-AGX elaborated that although the consumer may feel good about their fair trade purchase, they should determine what impacts their purchase will have on the producer. Several participants indicated that expensive certification has proven

a barrier for producers wanting to access fair trade markets. RP25-AGX explained that producers need to ascertain whether they will receive substantial benefits from this certification. Or, alternatively, will these producers benefit more from trading with markets which do not demand this certification, such as China (RP25-AGX). Of particular concern is the number of dissatisfied fair trade producers who have withdrawn from fair trade. RP15-FTO alluded to the situation of small farmers who have not received fair trade benefits, notably market access, despite having paid certification costs. Consequently, these producers have denounced fair trade as a broken promise. RP15-FTO has contested this unfortunate occurrence, arguing that it is not the fault of fair trade, rather the fault of unqualified consultants who have wrongfully advocated fair trade as a panacea. A notable example is Mal Paso, a fair trade pisco company in Ovalle, Chile. Despite engaging in fair trade for three years, Mal Paso has yet to experience the benefits of certification, notably access to Northern markets (RP13-FTO). However, this is expectedly a result of the commodity, pisco, which is not in high demand outside of Peru and Chile. It remains uncertain whether Mal Paso will continue to participate in fair trade.

Another concern to have emerged from Chile is the notion that fair trade has been guided by profit as opposed to the morale principles it was founded upon. RP24-AGX expressed his concern, “fair trade is becoming a business...moving away from the values of fair trade.” Monitoring and evaluation is important to ensure fundamental values are adhered to. In Chapter Three, monitoring and evaluation regulations focussed on the product as opposed to the producers. Therefore, perhaps more effective monitoring and evaluation regulations are warranted.

### **7.3.8 Collaboration between Fair Trade Networks**

Fair trade should focus on improving lives of marginalised producers and facilitating market access. However, as fair trade evolves to integrate more FTOs, there is an evident need for stronger collaboration between organisations. After all, fair trade should be focussed on producer development, not on economic profit for the organisation. Literature indicated that there have already been attempts, between Fairtrade International and WFTO, to create consistency in standards. This was embodied as the Charter of fair trade Principles referred to in Chapter Three. Theoretically, this is an admirable concept. However, field research indicated an absence of collaboration in

practice. Interviews with fair trade experts demonstrated a lack of communication between the various networks responsible for certification. This has resulted in a fragmented picture of fair trade in Chile; FTOs were unaware of producers certified by the other. Ideally, all of these organisations should be aiming to achieve the same goal of producer empowerment. A united front would be more efficient and cause less confusion for both consumers and producers, especially in regards to the proliferating standards described in Chapter Three. Although Comfrut is not fair trade certified, RP24-AGX shared his personal perspective on this issue. RP24-AGX elaborated to say that although he agrees with fair trade in principle, he does not agree with the increasing variation of fair trade standards emerging across the expanding number of fair trade certifying bodies. He explained that multiple standards create difficulties for producers who are attempting to achieve them (RP24-AGX).

## 7.4 Chapter Summary

The application of fair trade across Latin America has been extensive. In response to increased consumer demands, the range and volume of fair trade initiatives has continued to flourish. Although fair trade has advocated support for domestic markets and local products, the competition which has emerged between Latin American countries has created cause for concern. Field research confirmed that although fair trade in Chile is limited, the movement has continued to expand. Chilean fair trade has demonstrated incredible potential through promoting improvements in labour conditions and community development. Furthermore, the low numbers of fair trade participants have proven beneficial in minimising opportunity for corruption. However, a lack of awareness has remained the largest barrier to future fair trade expansion in Chile. Realistically, it is not possible to eradicate inequality completely, in Chile or anywhere. However, the success of fair trade in Chile provides hope that the alternative movement can minimise these inequalities and contribute to a more equitable world.

## Chapter 8

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### GENDER INEQUALITY THROUGH THE *TEMPORERA* LENS; A CASE STUDY OF EL PALQUI

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#### 8.1 Analysis of *Temporera* Employment

This chapter examines the characteristics of *temporera* employment in Chile, exploring the benefits and costs attributed to this opportunity. Chapter Four described the emergence of this labour force. However, this chapter explores modern day perceptions of these women. The section initially explores a broader analysis of this workforce across Chile before narrowing the scope of investigation to the *temporeras* of El Palqui case study.

#### 8.2 *Temporera* Employment in Chile

Agricultural work has undoubtedly generated many jobs and opportunities in Chile (RP29-UNI). As aforementioned, the *temporeras* represent one of the most significant, albeit controversial, workforces to have arisen from the agricultural export revolution. Seemingly appearing overnight, the workers and working conditions, emerged from the Pinochet regime and the extreme neoliberal transformations (RP12-NGO). These transformations conveyed the desire for cheap agricultural exports (RP12-NGO). *Temporeras* have been particularly important in Chile's fruit export sector (RP29-UNI). Agricultural work has shown a marked preference for women (RP5-GOV). Female delicacy is valued, particularly for export fruits such as blueberries and table grapes (RP21-AGO). The majority of *temporera* work is concentrated in warehouses during harvest season (RP13-FTO).

##### **8.2.1 Characteristics of *Temporera* Employment.**

Employment in Chile can be categorised as either '*contratado*' or '*voluntantrindos*' (RP16-FTO). *Contratado* refers to stable employment whilst casual labour, the *voluntantrindos*, have predominantly been found in the export agriculture sector (RP5-GOV). Characterised by less job security, *temporera* employment falls under this latter category as employees are paid according to production, not by the hour (RP17-FTO).

Under this second category, employees are expected to “put aside your own saving for social security... however, they may not know that they have to put money away” (RP16-FTO). Two sub-categories reside within *temporera* employment, the *temporeras* who have chosen to work for a singular harvest period, and those who choose to rotate contracts across multiple harvest seasons throughout the year (RP29-UNI). Many women have sought *temporera* employment during the summer months, when their children are on vacation. However, the trend has also been observed in student demographics as students work throughout the summer to pay for tertiary study (RP19-FTO). This short-term labour can prove problematic to employers, particularly companies who lose employees in March when labour is most needed, “for us, March is a very tough month because that’s probably the peak of harvesting and that’s when school begins and our workers drop.”

The term *temporera* is heavy with connotations, both from those concerned for their well-being and those who consider themselves to be of a higher social status. The often negative connotations have provoked the question of why women would choose to participate in this employment. RP16-FTO explained that the “main reason *temporeras* become engaged in that work is because they live in very rural areas with little communication where you can’t find or sell anything.” Prevailing gender roles have divided jobs between men and women (RP30-UNI). Employment opportunities for women are limited, particularly in the rural areas, and women participate in what is available to support themselves and their families. RP17-FTO supported this claim by explaining that seasonal agricultural work may be a good option as jobs are harder to access in the rural areas. *Temporeras* working during the summer harvest, a period of demand, can earn two to three times the remuneration (RP19-FTO). Throughout the rest of the year, many of these women are expected to maintain domestic duties (RP20-FTO). Remuneration remains one of the most obvious and significant benefits of *temporera* employment. Fundamentally, additional income has provided the women with an opportunity to support their families, a consideration particularly pertinent for single mothers. Furthermore, engagement in formal employment also has personal benefits, such as a sense of economic autonomy and increased power in family decision making.

### **8.2.2 Temporera Employment Synonymous with Difficult Conditions**

Field research suggests that *temporera* employment has been synonymous with incredibly difficult conditions (RP13-FTO). Regrettably, national work regulations don't apply to seasonal and agricultural workers and these women have often been excluded from social benefits, such as health and education (RP21-AGO). Concerns have emerged surrounding seasonal employment and its impacts on government subsidies to low income classes in Chile. Subsidies are calculated from monthly wages and include money for water, electricity and children's education (RP23-AGO). Calculations based upon remuneration rates from the harvest season can cause reductions in these subsidies, despite the singular harvest season representing income for the year. Furthermore, concerning examples have emerged of women who have paid social contributions, yet have not received the benefits, such as health care. These contributions have appeared to be kept by the contractors (RP23-AGO). As many of these women do not have formal contracts, this situation has proven difficult to regulate. Women fear that they may lose their job if they confront the contractor or contest the terms of their agreement. These unfortunate circumstances depict a "vicious cycle" of extortion and insufficient support for *temporeras* (RP23-AGO).

### **8.2.3 Temporera Support Networks**

Diverging perspectives have emerged with regards to labour conditions in agricultural export corporations. A representative of the Ministry of Agriculture asserted that commitment to social responsibility has more frequently been observed in small and medium businesses (RP8-GOV). However, RP12-NGO debated that international agricultural export companies have implemented better working conditions due to international social pressure. The Chilean labour laws and the International Labour Organization (ILO) require basic conditions to be met (RP15-FTO). In affirmation of literature, participants outlined steps taken by the government, civil society and other organisations to improve conditions for *temporeras*. The Ministry of Agriculture has implemented regulations to protect employers against abuse, "agricultural employers who hire many seasonal people must ensure that the conditions of safety and respect are met" (RP8-GOV). In demonstration of attempts to increase accountability, the government has created a *temporeras* register, albeit figures only represent a rough estimation (RP8-GOV). In further attempts by the government, to "promote good

agricultural practices...all workers are subject to audit by the Labour Directorate” (RP8-GOV). The Labour Code affiliated with these practices “requires all contracts for all workers by their employer” (RP8-GOV). RP8-GOV explained that the benefits and social provisions stipulated in the contract are agreed upon by the employer and employee. Those found working without contract are liable to the Department of Labour. *Temporeras* who chose to accept work without a contract do so at their own risk (RP8-GOV). Nonetheless, there have been particular concerns over an absence of contracts where *contratistas* are involved. *Contratistas*, or contractors, represent the middle actors between producers and *temporeras*. Larger export companies, such as RIOblanco, often recruit *contratistas* for efficiency, “we don’t have time to look for people and labour” (RP25-AGX). However, in these situations, the contractors hold the employment contracts as opposed to the *temporeras* directly (RP29-UNI). NGOs and unions have attempted to fill the gaps left by the government. Union organisations, such as Sociedad Agrícola del Norte, have attempted to represent and “raise the voice of farmers” (RP21-AGO). Other organisations, such as Sociedad Nacional de Agrícola and Agrocap have promoted technical training to agricultural labourers to increase employee capacity. The ‘System of Measurement and Advancement of Productivity’ organisation (SIMAPRO), has facilitated negotiation between employers and employees, offering employees an opportunity to share their perspectives. Fundamentally, this organisation is working on changing cultural mentalities (RP23-AGO). The ‘Association of Chilean Fruit Exporters,’ ASOEX, has also released a safety manual outlining minimum standards in agricultural labour (RP8-GOV). Providing an interesting contrast, the improved labour benefits have not always been received in a positive light. A representative of RIOblanco explained that some women have chosen to participate in *temporera* employment for the sole purpose of extorting social subsidies, “there are a lot of young girls who take advantage of it” (RP25-AGX). Women who fall pregnant are eligible for these subsidies, despite no intention of working.

### 8.3 *Temporeras*; an El Palqui Case Study

El Palqui has a large *temporera* population and thereby provided an appropriate case study location. The majority of employment is during the table grape harvest, a pattern attributable to the region’s optimal climatic conditions and literature accounts of the table grape ‘boom’ (RP3-CSG). In alignment with the literature in Chapters Four and Five,



participants affirmed that gender inequalities persist in Chile. However, RP5-GOV contested that in El Palqui specifically, gender relations are relatively equal. Whilst there remains a degree of differentiation between men and women, with regards to physical characteristics, “generally men and women temporary workers receive the same pay and are treated the same” (RP5-GOV). Superficially at least, “ethical trade and good practice is happening in El Palqui” (RP5-GOV). However, this government perspective alone has not verified that fair trade has been applied in this region.

### **8.3.1 Temporera Union of El Palqui; Manos Abiertas**

Across Chile, *temporeras* have continued to endure field abuses, such as long working hours (RP1-CSG). The persisting need to mitigate these abuses facilitated the establishment of unions, such as Manos Abiertas, and other organisations of support. One of the primary responsibilities of Manos Abiertas, or ‘Open Hands,’ is to provide a voice for the *temporeras*. Despite this representation, difficulty has remained in encouraging these women to voice their concerns. These women are often afraid to denounce abuses for fear of dismissal, a fear perpetuated by the popular belief that working abuses are normal in temporera employment (RP1-CSG). These cultural beliefs have proven difficult to change and, despite union support, job insecurity has remained. The union president announced that although labour conditions in El Palqui have improved, “fair trade is not fair here” (RP1-CSG). Droughts across El Palqui and Northern Chile have further threatened job security, resulting in substantial employment losses across the agricultural sector (RP1-CSG).

RP1-CSG explained that she herself has, and continues to, engage in *temporera* employment, asserting that she has had “good experience” as a *temporera* and emphasised that more women are sharing a similar experience, at least in El Palqui. Despite the persistence of abuses across Chile, significant improvements in gender equality indices and *temporera* working conditions in El Palqui have been undeniable. Unions have “helped make a lot of changes to the system, including protection against abuse” (RP1-CSG). Including rest days and bathroom access, labour conditions have particularly improved in the past fifteen years as *temporeras* continue to increase their capacity for negotiation (RP1-CSG). From a political perspective, improved policies and laws have been established to protect the *temporeras* and other marginalised groups in the agricultural sector. RP1-CSG indicated that, as a child, she worked alongside her

*temporera* mother. However, Chilean law has since passed strict prohibitions against child labour (RP1-CSG). In support of *temporera* rights, SERNAM has established a remarkable programme in El Palqui to assist with childcare (RP1-CSG). The programme is an afterschool arrangement which provides children with study support and extracurricular activities. This afterschool programme represents incredible progress in *temporera* rights and gender equality, allowing women to continue engaging in formal employment. Despite persisting job insecurity, the *temporeras* of El Palqui have been able to convert seasonal employment into a year-long source of income. Many *temporeras* are able to work throughout the year on rotating agricultural harvests, predominantly table grapes and mandarins (RP1-CSG). This demonstration in El Palqui is in confirmation of literature accounts of *temporeras* who have been able to transform their '*voluntantrindos*' role into a more permanent, albeit not necessarily more stable, employment.

In an interesting development, despite marked improvements in *temporera* rights, "*temporera* work is declining" as more women have sought employment in other sectors (RP1-CSG). Perhaps this transition represents progress in opportunities for female empowerment and gender relations. Evidently, women are increasing their employment capacity and have been encouraged to push the boundaries of their potential. On a cultural level, these improvements represent a changing mind-set. RP1-CSG additionally explained that *temporeras* are not wanting their children to follow in their footsteps, alternatively pushing the next generation to pursue alternative, more secure employment sectors. Furthermore, increasing numbers of *temporeras* are wanting their children to pursue higher education and university qualifications (RP1-CSG). These changes are particularly significant as they break historical patterns of generational employment and represents an opportunity to break free from rural poverty.

### **8.3.2 Temporeras of El Palqui**

This section explores the perspectives of women engaged in *temporera* employment in El Palqui. These case studies are important as they portray the often undocumented perspective of rural Chilean women. In alignment with social constructivism, it is essential to understand how their self-perceptions have differed from the perceptions of *temporeras* at the institutional levels. Investigation into these perceptions is a pivotal aspect of the social constructivist worldview which has informed this thesis.

As aforementioned, El Palqui agriculture predominantly consists of table grapes. Although mandarins have offered an alternative harvest period, some women have continued to migrate to other areas of Chile in search of employment. Contingent upon the location, some women may have to leave for fifteen to twenty days at a time (RP16-FTO). This inconvenience correlated with one of the largest concerns voiced by the *temporeras*, leaving their children. The *women* emphasised the “serious crisis” that is happening with regards to the children of *temporeras* (RP2-CSG). These women often have to leave their children for weeks at a time, leaving them in the care of neighbours or family. The El Palqui *temporeras* emphasised that this was a particularly difficult sacrifice to make (RP2-CSG).

Evidently, *temporera* employment remains controversial. What has motivated El Palqui women to engage in this employment? The El Palqui *temporeras* asserted that employment options in El Palqui were exceptionally limited (RP2-CSG). Despite the controversy, *temporera* employment has undoubtedly offered women a significant opportunity to enter formal employment, gain economic autonomy and support their families; a particularly attractive notion for single mothers (RP2-CSG). In the past, Chile has been very *machista* (RP3-CSG). The cultural expectation was that men provided the only income and resistance to female employment was strong (RP2-CSG). Those women who chose to engage in formal employment were expected to also maintain their domestic ‘duties’ (RP2-CSG). Agriculture has offered a pathway to formally participate in the economy and provide for their families (RP2-CSG). Furthermore, limited educational opportunities have solidified *temporera* employment as one of the only options available (RP2-CSG). The *temporeras* of El Palqui explained that although they have explored other employment sectors, particularly secretarial, they have returned to the agricultural sector which offers higher remuneration (RP3-CSG).

All women perceived that positive changes in *temporera* employment have already materialised (RP2-CSG). Conditions have markedly improved from those endured by previous generations of *temporeras*. Improvements include access to water, a place to wash hands, bathrooms, regulations on working hours, provisions of protective clothing and improved remuneration (RP2-CSG; RP3-CSG). In particular, bathroom access and protective clothing has confirmed accounts from the institutional level. In an interesting development, an additional income has facilitated changes in historical gender roles.

Despite previous resistance to female employment, families have recognised the economic benefits (RP2-CSG). With regards to challenging the *machista* ideology, a novel pattern has emerged of men assisting with domestic duties and childcare (RP3-CSG). This is particularly significant as it indicates progress in gender relations at the cultural level.

The *temporeras* of El Palqui unanimously agreed that representation was one of the most significant aspects to have promoted improvements for *temporeras* throughout Chile (RP2-CSG). Increased representation, through civil society organisations and unions, including Manos Abiertas, has increased *temporera* visibility. These organisations have provided the *temporeras* with a voice, information on labour laws and representation if these standards are not met (RP2-CSG). The unions have also been working to ensure that all women have contracts and receive social benefits such as health insurance and superannuation (RP3-CSG). An attribute obviously drawn from the manager's personal experience in *temporera* employment, an aspect which has made Manos Abiertas so successful is they "understand *temporeras*" (RP2-CSG). In addition to representative organisations, the Chilean government, notably the Ministry of Agriculture, INDAP and SERNAM, have implemented policies aimed at protecting the rights of *temporeras*. The participants emphasised that the Ministry of Labour in particular has established regulations and policies which have sought to control work standards and safety, working hours and remuneration (RP3-CSG; RP2-CSG). Specifically, the women all spoke highly of current President Michelle Bachelet, who they perceived to be making positive changes in supporting women (RP3-CSG). The positive incentive behind these policies has demonstrated significant progress towards gender equality and protecting the rights of women. However, the *temporeras* of El Palqui remarked that these regulations remained difficult to enforce without the full support and commitment of the community; police alone cannot be responsible for regulating these (RP3-CSG). This situation has emphasised the importance of addressing culturally sensitive norms at both community and national levels of policy development.

The *temporeras* explained that, in terms of improved labour conditions, trade in El Palqui is 'fair.' This indication of ethical trade alone did not satisfy fair trade certification requirements. However, perhaps this form of trade was more contextually appropriate and therefore wields greater potential to support the *temporeras* and challenge gender

relations in El Palqui. Notably, case study *temporeras* have likely received the positive benefits of union membership that not everyone is able to enjoy.

### **Temporera Monument in El Palqui**



Figure 9 Temporera statue in El Palqui

Source: (Banic, 2014)

The above figure displays the *temporera* monument erected in dedication to the *temporeras* of El Palqui.

## **8.4 Chapter Summary**

The *temporeras* remain one of the most significant, yet controversial workforces to have arisen from the agricultural export revolution. Predominantly characterised as casual labour, the position has offered an opportunity of employment to women, particularly in rural areas where opportunities are scarce. Undeniably, the role encumbers incredibly difficult working conditions and the women are often not protected by national work

regulations. However, remuneration potential has continued to allure those women who wish to provide additional income to their families. Interestingly, *temporera* employment appears to be declining as an increased income has allowed these women to offer improved educational opportunities to their children. Education has offered future generations an opportunity to challenge social inequalities. The *temporeras* of El Palqui have indicated that union representation and government policies have led to significant improvements in labour conditions. In contrast to institutional accounts, the El Palqui *temporeras* provided an additional dimension in affirming that they were genuinely happy in their positions. However, the El Palqui case study revealed that if gender relations are to be influenced on a national scale, there needs to be more stringent policies and regulations targeted at the smaller, community levels of analyses.

## Chapter 9

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# FAIR TRADE AND GENDER EQUALITY – THE POTENTIAL IN CHILE

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### 9.1 Fair Trade and Gender

This chapter explores the potential of fair trade to improve gender relations in Chile. The first section explores case studies of FTOs in Chile which specifically target women. The subsequent section evaluates the impacts of these organisations and whether fair trade has demonstrated the potential to improve gender relations. The final section evaluates whether alternative pathways may be more effective than fair trade at improving gender relations in the Chilean context.

### 9.2 Fair Trade and Gender Case Studies

Hebras del Alma and Emprediem are WFTO certified artisan craft FTOs. Whilst Emprediem employs both female and male artisans, Hebras del Alma exclusively employs women.

#### **9.2.1 Projects Targeted at Women and Female Empowerment**

Emprediem has established two programmes which specifically address gender equality and the promotion of visible female participation in the economic and public spheres (RP16-FTO). Particularly targeted at single mothers, the programmes ‘MujeresON’ and ‘Programa Jefa Igual’ have targeted female empowerment through entrepreneurship (RP16-FTO). Although not exclusively directed at women, the ‘Pack Social’ project has proven to be particularly successful as a result of reinventing a traditional Christmas gift, ‘Caja de Navidad’ and taking advantage of a popular demand already nestled within corporate Chilean culture (RP16-FTO). Prior to their employment with Emprediem, the majority of the Emprediem’s employees were restricted in vocational opportunities due to limited qualifications (RP16-FTO). Emprediem’s entrepreneurial projects have aimed to increase the overall capacity of these women to engage in the competitive neoliberal economy, albeit in a niche sector of it. Projects which have invited particular investment

include workshops on commercialisation, product design, adequate remuneration evaluation and “how to take full advantage of technology” (RP16-FTO). Distinct from Hebras del Alma, none of the female employees were previously *temporeras* (RP16-FTO). Alternatively, many were involved in similar artisan enterprises yet without the connections to enter the corporate market.

### **9.2.2 Fair Trade and Breaking Cultural Barriers**

One of the most significant implications to have arisen from engagement in these organisations is a distinct, albeit small, change in cultural perceptions of gender relations. Many Hebras del Alma employees have continued to engage in a double workload, maintaining domestic responsibilities whilst also participating in fair trade. Evidently, the organisation has not yet managed to break this cultural barrier. However, positive progress has been made (RP20-FTO). Despite the continued double workload demands on women, RP20-FTO indicated that most husbands have been supportive of their wives involvement in this organisation. Moreover, many of the workers’ husbands have acknowledged their appreciation for the skills involved, to the extent that they have supported their wives with domestic duties (RP20-FTO).

### **9.2.3 Benefits Extend Beyond the Individual**

The benefits of engaging with these FTOs has extended beyond the individual women, additionally permeating through to their families and the wider community, “when women work, it helps their children, their family and their community” (RP20-FTO). Chapter Five emphasised the importance of promoting female empowerment in development strategies. Evidently, integration of fair trade’s gender clauses holds the potential to extend beyond gender relations and additionally promote community development. The case study in El Palqui emphasised the sacrifice that many *temporeras* have had to make; having to leave their children if they choose to seek formal employment (RP2-CSG; RP3-CSG). Hebras del Alma has offered women a favourable alternative, an opportunity to engage in formal employment whilst remaining with their children (RP20-FTO). Employment within this organisation has provided women with a degree of flexibility that has not often been observed in the agricultural sector. Employees can choose their working location, including an option to work from home (RP20-FTO). Notably, this flexibility may only be applicable to artisan producers; the



same flexibility may not apply to women engaged in other fair trade commodities, such as agriculture. Additionally, as aforementioned in Chapter Three, a pivotal benefit of fair trade engagement is the guarantee of a premium price. This guarantee was demonstrated in both gender case studies. Obviously, more sales generated a higher income for employees. However, the women were also guaranteed a minimum wage in the event of no sales (RP20-FTO).

Interestingly, RP16-FTO emphasised that the goal of Emprediem was not to maintain relationships with producers indefinitely. Alternatively, the organisation sought to increase producer capacity to the extent that employees developed the skills and confidence to maintain direct market access independently, “our biggest dream is that they will no longer need us” (RP16-FTO). RP16-FTO elaborated to say “we want to help the women but also want them to look for different opportunities.” This approach has provided the opportunity for Emprediem to support other women. One incredible success story involves Eliana, who produced marmalade for Emprediem, “when we met her she was selling marmalades in a small town, Los Andes” (RP16-FTO). Now, Eliana “is in licitation with LATAM, the biggest airline in Chile” (RP16-FTO). This success has demonstrated the incredible potential Chilean women can wield when provided with an opportunity from fair trade. On a more subjective note, the women participating in these fair trade ventures have spoken of the valour and pride that they hold for their products (RP20-FTO). The products represent a skill that they have been able to give to their children. Despite facing criticism from those who hold to the *machista* ideology, including other Chilean women, participation with Emprediem has offered an “opportunity for the children to be proud of their mother, proud of what she is able to produce...in order to provide for the children” (RP16-FTO).

#### **9.2.4 Fair Trade Opportunities for *Temporeras***

##### **RP19-FTO, Mi Fruta**

Mi Fruta is an agricultural export company in Los Andes, a locality slightly North of Santiago. Similarly to Emprediem, Mi Fruta has integrated both male and female employees. However, in differentiation to the two aforementioned organisations, Mi Fruta is certified by Fairtrade International. Mi Fruta has addressed a fundamental aspect of this thesis; can *temporeras* benefit from fair trade? Although Emprediem and

Hebras del Alma demonstrated the benefits for women who participate in artisanal fair trade, can these benefits also be extended to woman who chose to stay within the agricultural sector? In accordance with Fairtrade International's standards, *temporeras* employed by Mi Fruta have experienced security and protection from discrimination (RP19-FTO). RP19-FTO believed that fair trade has represented an opportunity to improve gender equality in Chile, noting that he has already observed changes in gender relations. Specifically, RP19-FTO explained that women have been arriving in groups to negotiate their conditions of employment, demonstrating their collective negotiation capabilities and demand for equal opportunities. Despite extending positive benefits to *temporeras*, the extent of these benefits have been limited as the employment capacity of the small initiative is restricted to a select few.

### 9.3 Fair Trade and Gender; Discussion

#### **9.3.1 Fair Trade and Female Empowerment**

As discussed in Chapter Three, fair trade represents only one of many alternative, ethical value chains. This sentiment was confirmed by RP14-FTO who emphasised that although other ethical trading initiatives exist, fair trade remained unique as “the only alternative market which addresses the topic of gender” (RP15-FTO). Unfortunately, as aforementioned throughout this thesis, integration of clauses which address gender equality have not necessarily translated into tangible improvements in gender relations. This translation has been made particularly difficult in Chile where gender relations have remained a delicate situation. However, the situation for women has evidently progressed in Chile. There is power in decision making (RP18-FTO). Opportunities for empowerment have emerged from participation in fair trade initiatives, such as Emprediem, Hebras del Alma and Mi Fruta. The economic autonomy achieved through this engagement contributed to a metamorphosis of the *machista* ideology, albeit slowly.

#### **9.3.2 Gender Relations and the Fair Trade Social Premium**

Nelson et al. explained that the Fair Trade Social Premium is designated for investment into producer development (2014). RP14-FTO emphasised that ideally, the Fair Trade Social Premium should incorporate a move towards gender equality. For Emiliana, this has translated to each meeting being comprised of seven representatives, with at least

four people to represent the workers and two, the business (RP17-FTO). Aligned with the context of this thesis, two of these representatives must be female (RP17-FTO). This commitment to female representation has been incredibly important. If women have a voice, they are able to enact social changes which not only benefit themselves, but other women in their community. In contrast to this account, other participants expressed concern with the delegation of Fair Trade Social Premium funds towards gender development. Specifically, investments may not necessarily promote gender equality. However, these investments may not necessarily portend producer corruption. Alternatively, it may instead be an indication of a male dominated industry (RP14-FTO). Furthermore, although not directly targeted towards gender development, the case studies revealed Fair Trade Social Premium funds were often nonetheless invested in other notable sectors, such as children's education (RP14-FTO). These educational projects similarly held promise for community development. However, further research is warranted to determine whether the girls of the community received equal access to these educational opportunities. Another concern to have emerged was whether women were able to attend committee meetings and participate in fair trade decisions. The *machista* ideology has continued to influence prescribed gender roles in Chile; women may be expected to maintain their domestic duties when these meetings are being held (RP10-NGO).

### **9.3.3 Need for Greater Female Representation in Fair Trade Leadership**

Chapter Five revealed that progress in gender relations has been hindered by an absence of women in positions of leadership and political representation. Cosgrove has commended the power of female leaders in civil society and has emphasised that more women must be integrated into leadership roles (Cosgrove, 2010). However, Gómez-Barris has alluded to the continued resistance against positions which challenge the gender ideology in Chile (Gómez-Barris, 2016). Similarly, RP7-GOV confirmed that women have continued to experience discrimination in leadership promotion. Field research revealed that fair trade was not exempt from this misrepresentation. Although there is evidence of women in managerial positions, a concerning pattern has emerged. These women have often been replaced by male colleagues after a short term (RP15-FTO). However, Agronuez Choapa, a Fairtrade International certified walnut cooperative in Illapel, Coquimbo, has challenged this gender division (RP15-FTO). The female general

manager has occupied the role for an extended period of time and has subsequently developed a reputable reputation. Perhaps this is an indication of the dawn of positive changes in this sector and a representation of visible fractures in the ‘glass ceiling.’ Fairtrade expert RP15-FTO has emphasised that in order to align with clauses of gender development, more women need to be promoted to positions of leadership in FTOs.

#### **9.3.4 Fair Trade and the Social Commitment of Employers**

Chapter Three revealed the ethical foundations behind the establishment of fair trade. However, as indicated by RP12-NGO, fair trade certification remains the decision of individual companies. Certification incentives, such as a guaranteed minimum price, are certainly appealing. However, there are obviously no policies which enforce producers to pursue fair trade or meet its strict criteria. Employees in insecure employment conditions may face retribution from employers for pursuing improved worker rights. Therefore, how is fair trade supposed to reach those vulnerable women who risk losing their jobs for making inquiries into fair trade or union membership (RP12-NGO)? Fair trade support appears restricted to women who work for employers that already demonstrate the empathy to seek fair trade certification. Furthermore, fair trade certification has required employees to have access to unions (RP15-FTO). Those employers who permit union membership have clearly displayed a greater social commitment and are more likely to seek fair trade certification; the “impacts on women depend on the social responsibility of the boss” (RP8-GOV).

### **9.4 Potential to Influence and Improve Gender Relations**

If applied effectively, fair trade represents an opportunity to influence and improve gender relations in Chile. Throughout field research, the majority of participants confirmed this potential. Citing principles of gender equality and an emphasis on supporting women, the fair trade movement represents a pathway to provoke cultural changes and improve gender relations. Emiliana Vineyards, which advocated female representation on Fair Trade Social Premium committees, has demonstrated that cultural changes have already begun. Furthermore, there appeared growing support to ensure that a proportion of the Fair Trade Social Premium fund is invested towards projects which promote gender equality. However, regulations should be enforced in the future to ensure this aspiration is realised. Notably, fair trade participation has

invoked strict regulation from international governing bodies to ensure that targets, such as female empowerment, have been enacted. However, participation from local governing bodies was evidently required to influence the cultural changes needed to achieve these targets. This collaboration was particularly warranted at the community level and particularly in rural communities where cultural *machista* ideologies have held strong. Explored earlier in this chapter, FTOs and producers in Chile have specifically targeted female empowerment and development. Unfortunately, women have continued to be criticised for seeking formal employment. Women who are forced to migrate from their children have received scrutiny. The El Palqui case study *temporeras* expressed the emotional strain of this sacrifice. Notably, the majority of women participating in Hebras del Alma were previously *temporeras*. Although fair trade agriculture does exist, for example Mi Fruta, RP20-FTO perceived fair trade artisan employment as a more promising opportunity for these women. FTOs Hebras del Alma and Emprediem have offered women the opportunity to work from home with their children whilst earning a guaranteed minimum wage. In further demonstration of positive cultural changes, FTO Hebras del Alma representative RP20-FTO explained that many of their employees have received acknowledgement from their husbands with regards to their financial contributions. This appreciation of the additional income has represented a significant cultural shift, particularly in regards to those husbands who have subsequently assisted with domestic duties. Fair trade in Chile appeared to be predominantly operating on a small scale. If the model were to be implemented on a larger scale, it could have a more significant impact on women (RP9-NGO).

## 9.5 Alternatives to Fair Trade

Evidently, fair trade holds considerable potential to influence and improve gender relations in Chile. However, fair trade does not represent the only pathway to achieve these positive changes in gender relations. Although influential, fair trade has insufficient resources to independently influence Chile on a political scale. Collaborations with civil society, NGOs and government bodies, such as SERNAM, would create a more authoritative voice with greater potential to influence gender relations.

### **9.5.1 Alternative Ethical Value Chains**

RP14-FTO emphasised that there were many ways to operate within the neoliberal economy. Fair trade, although promising, represents an elite brand of ethical trading and is only “one of many alternative trading systems” (RP14-FTO). However, lesser known brands may also hold potential to influence gender relations. Chile has borne witness to an emerging economy of greater consciousness as consumers are wanting to build a more sustainable world (RP14-FTO). The establishment of Chilean fair trade has been limited. However, numerous examples have emerged of alternative ethical trading movements (RP22-AGO). Alternative ethical value chains have demonstrated incredible potential to improve gender relations in the Chilean context. Notably, this pathway has bypassed the expensive fair trade certification costs that many Chilean producers are unable to bear the expense of. However, these alternative value chains have proven difficult to regulate, particularly those which have not necessitated certification standards. These alternative ethical value chains have appeared to be contingent on the social commitment of the employer alone, a relatively insecure concept to rely upon.

The ‘National Confederation of Peasant Workers’ Unit of Chile’ (UOC) provided an example of this alternative ethical trading. Although not certified fair trade, the organisation had certainly promoted ethical practice beyond minimum labour standards (RP11-NGO). UOC has focussed on establishing a national market to help small producers obtain a fair price (RP11-NGO). However, the organisations’ ethos has extended beyond economic principles, additionally promoting social principles and increasing the capacity of its employees (RP11-NGO). In alignment with the gender focus of this thesis, UOC producers are predominantly women. Evidently, participation in UOC represents an opportunity for women to challenge gender relations in Chile (RP11-NGO). In another demonstration of ethical trading, the *temporeras* of El Palqui spoke of significant improvements to labour conditions which have arisen from union membership. Although not certified fair trade, these improvements are no less significant as these women have evidently experienced greater protection.

### **9.5.2 Unions and Civil Society**

A myriad of union, NGO and civil society actors have attempted to promote the empowerment and participation of women in Chile. The incorporation of women into

these sectors has demonstrated success in achieving gender equality, as these sectors have placed emphasis on creating shared spaces for both men and women (RP28-UNI). As mentioned throughout this thesis, women who hold positions of leadership in civil society organisations are particularly powerful. This power can be directed towards raising the voice of women, increasing their representation and initiating further cultural changes. Social movements enacted by these groups have strived to increase awareness of the feminine plight, promoting the need for more active gender policy in Chile (RP27-GOV). Unfortunately, as aforementioned, these unions and organisations are not available to all women. Efforts need to be directed towards women who have otherwise been neglected through fear of employment termination.

### **9.5.3 Government Action**

The Chilean government has established its own route towards gender equality. The government has continued to implement policies targeted towards labour reform and women's rights, "Chilean law is spearheading the improvement of labour practices" (RP18-FTO). Beyond employment regulations, the government has pushed for improvements in other aspects of life, such as access to education. Notably, there have been attempts to achieve greater female participation in social security programmes, such as health and retirement schemes. One of the most revolutionary improvements is the requirement for employers to establish a nursery if more than twenty women are employed (RP8-GOV). This represents a substantial acknowledgement by the government; women are valuable in the economy and should accordingly be supported and made visible. SERNAM has continued to push the gender equality agenda through collectively promoting the rights of both men and women. This agency has helped Chile to push ahead of other, similarly patriarchal nations in Latin America. In alignment with this thesis, the government has specifically attempted to establish minimum labour conditions for the *temporeras*. However, despite integration into Chilean law, it has proven difficult to regulate these conditions or hold contractors accountable (RP29-UNI).

### **9.5.4 Other Networks of Support**

In a relatively unforeseen circumstance, the competition for labour has dramatically raised labour standards for women in agriculture (RP25-AGX). In these circumstances,

women have demonstrated greater capacity for negotiation, particularly *temporeras* who have proven employment experience. One of the most intriguing alternatives to have arisen from research is the utilisation of cell phones to facilitate employment negotiations (RP23-AGO). This utilisation of technology has represented an incredible grass roots, community led movement. Women across different companies have utilised resources available to communicate and compare rates of remuneration. These women have utilised their collective negotiation power to take control of and promote their economic autonomies.

Larger businesses in Chile have faced greater public scrutiny than their smaller competitors. Consequently, there has emerged a pattern of large businesses adopting policies of good labour practices and transparency (RP14-FTO). The adoption of social commitment holds potential for Chilean women, albeit not necessarily applicable for those women employed by companies of a smaller scale. Despite the improvements that this pathway has generated, it does not represent a strong alternative to promote sustainable gender equality on a national scale. Internationally based alternatives have particularly displayed potential to improve gender relations. International pressure and requirements of the international market have prompted dramatic changes in labour conditions. If Chilean export businesses do not comply, they risk losing the export market (RP23-AGO). Whilst this alternative does not specifically target female empowerment, improvements to labour standards could expectedly benefit female employees.

## 9.6 Chapter Summary

The *machista* ideology has continued to limited opportunities for female employment and equality. Fortunately, fair trade has demonstrated significant potential to influence and improve gender relations in Chile. Projects targeted at female empowerment, such as Emprediem's 'MujeresON,' have demonstrated a commitment to increase female capacity and create opportunities for women to gain access to the economy. Embodied in the Mi Fruta case study, Fair Trade has specifically demonstrated potential to improve labour conditions for the *temporeras*. However, I fear that the movement lacks the authority to extend these benefits to women on a national scale. The most effective opportunity appears to lie in cooperation. Collaborations with civil society, NGOs and



government bodies, such as SERNAM, would create a more authoritative voice with greater potential to influence gender relations.

## Chapter 10

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### CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

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*“If a women is empowered, her children and her family will be better off. If families prosper, the village prospers” (Allende, 2007, para. 29).*

This thesis sought to explore the application of Fair Trade in the Chilean context and, through a series of case studies, investigate whether this application has demonstrated the potential to influence and improve gender relations. Earlier chapters have discussed the application of Fair Trade in Chile and have attempted to deconstruct the political, social and economic contexts which have maintained gender inequalities. The purpose of this chapter is not to reiterate this discussion. Alternatively, it represents an opportunity to evaluate the implications of research findings at theoretical, policy and academic levels of analyses. This chapter will focus on connecting research to philosophical worldviews, policy contributions, practical suggestions and future opportunities for research.

#### 10.1 Theoretical Contributions

##### **10.1.1 Neoliberalism and Fair Trade**

Fundamentally about solidarity and “promoting human rights,” fair trade emerged in response to the inequalities perpetuated by the neoliberal economy (RP15-FTO). Neoliberalism was promoted as a developmental tool, a promise of opportunity for all. Pinochet’s neoliberal experiment in Chile proved a macroeconomic success. The evolution of the agricultural export industry in particular propelled Chile ahead of other Latin American nations. Unfortunately, not all Chileans were in a position to reap the fruit of the neoliberal harvest. In paradox to Chile’s macroeconomic success, social inequality has worsened. The ethical concerns which arose from this mainstream market engendered the need for an alternative economy which not only addressed these inequalities but sought to reduce them. My thesis sought to investigate the application of fair trade in the Chilean and Latin American contexts. Through case studies, research has demonstrated that Chilean fair trade is established to a limited extent in Chile.

Although the movement appeared more established in other Latin American nations, such as Brazil and Peru, fair trade in Chile has continued to expand in response to a growing consumer consciousness.

Case studies revealed that this expanding application has produced differentiated outcomes across Chilean producers. Positively, fair trade in the Chilean context has predominantly appeared to align with the international motivations of fair trade that were outlined in Chapter Three. Application of this movement in the Chilean context has displayed evidence of improving lives and challenging the social hierarchies which have contributed to the marginalisation of vulnerable demographics. In particular, the effective application of the Fair Trade Social Premium has demonstrated incredible benefits to participating producers and their communities. These benefits have provoked investigation into whether fair trade demonstrates the ability to dilute the economic benefits of neoliberalism. Alternatively, are economic successes and social inequality intrinsically linked? Research revealed an absence of awareness to be the greatest concern to fair trade in Chile; a phenomenon documented across Latin America. This absence was attributed to the majority of fair trade products being produced in the South but exported to consumers in the North. Although fair trade represents an alternative, equitable economy, the division has appeared to mirror the inequitable North-South consumptions patterns which have plagued the predominant neoliberal system. However, I argue whether it is ethical to promote further awareness of a niche market on the verge of saturation. Further expansion of fair trade in the Chilean context is evidently contingent upon commodity expansion and utilisation of the comparative advantage that proved successful in the neoliberal economy. The investment into fair trade wine demonstrates particular potential as Chile already holds a reputable international reputation for this particular commodity.

### **10.1.2 Social and Gender Inequalities in Chile**

This thesis feeds into discussions on the impact of neoliberalism and agricultural exportation on gender relations in a *machista* context. My thesis has questioned whether economic benefits can be distributed more equitably throughout Chile? Does fair trade hold this potential to influence and improve gender relations in Chile? Research revealed divergent perceptions on the situation of gender relations in Chile compared to other nations in Latin America. Whilst the majority of participants

perceived that gender relations were comparable to other Latin American countries, ANAMURI attested that the situation of gender equality in Chile was “one of the worst in South America” (RP12-NGO). Through the *temporera* case study in El Palqui, this thesis has described how gender inequalities operate at local levels of analyses. The *temporeras* remain one of the most significant, yet controversial, consequences of the agricultural export evolution. Predominantly characterised as casual labour, the position has offered an opportunity of employment to women, particularly in rural areas where opportunities are scarce. Undeniably, the role encumbers difficult working conditions and the women have not often been protected by national work regulations. However, remuneration potential continues to be alluring to those women who wish to provide additional income to their families. The *temporeras* of El Palqui have indicated that there have been exceptional improvements in labour conditions and support networks, both as a result of union representation and improved state policies.

Case studies sought to determine whether fair trade held the potential to influence and improve gender relations in Chile? How has Chile aligned with the fair trade’s clauses on gender equality and empowerment? Projects targeted at female empowerment, such as Emprediem’s ‘MujeresON,’ have demonstrated a commitment to increase female capacity and create opportunities for women to gain access to the economy. Case studies particularly sought to investigate whether fair trade represented a viable option for *temporeras*, as one of the most marginalised demographics in Chilean society. An interview with Mi Fruta revealed that fair trade options exist in casual agricultural employment sectors. The *temporeras* employed by Mi Fruta have experienced increased job security and subsequent confidence to negotiate their employment conditions. However, FTO Hebras del Alma supported ANAMURI’s claims that the greatest potential for women lies in abandoning agricultural employment until the government has enforced greater regulations and offered greater protection. These case studies demonstrated that fair trade holds significant potential to influence and improve gender relations in Chile. However, research also revealed that labour conditions for Chilean women are largely contingent on the social commitment of their employer (RP8-GOV). The majority of women do not have access to fair trade opportunities as their employers have not sought this expensive certification. The question remains, how can women in vulnerable demographics seek fair trade or union membership without compromising

their employment? Does Chile have a responsibility to utilise its respected neoliberal networks to expand fair trade and lead a gender equality movement through *machista* Latin America?

## 10.2 Policy Contributions

I acknowledge that this research does not attempt to offer solutions to gender inequality in Chile's *machista* society. However, the information collected has engendered me with the confidence to offer practical suggestions, both short and long term.

This thesis has asserted that fair trade, the Chilean Government and civil society all hold integral pieces of the puzzle to unlock improved gender relations in Chile. Research has indicated the importance of addressing gender inequalities at the cultural level in order to influence sustainable improvements in gender relations at the community level. Although slow to change, these cultural ideologies appeared to hold the key to promoting the progression of women. Accordingly, fair trade, the government and civil society all need to integrate cultural discourse into gender strategies. These policies will be ineffective without the integration of males into the gender equality rhetoric.

At the community level of analysis, increased participation in public and political arenas has been cited as essential for future progress. Civil society should direct efforts towards promoting women to positions of leadership in response to the increased numbers of Chilean women who have sought economic autonomy and empowerment. It should be acknowledged that these groups may not receive sufficient resources to be effective in implementing changes. Have cultural ideologies prevented these groups from supporting women?

Secondly, on a larger, national level of analysis, research has demonstrated that the Chilean Government has already demonstrated a commitment to improving gender relations. Through raising "awareness of discrimination against women and promoting legal reforms," the government has attempted to increase female participation in the political arena (RP7-GOV). Notably, the establishment of SERNAM and Chile's signature of commitment to the United Nations 'Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women' have demonstrated this commitment (RP7-GOV). Furthermore, SERNAM has demonstrated support to fair trade initiatives which target female empowerment, including Emprediem's 'MujeresON.'

The government, notably the Ministry of Agriculture, INDAP and SERNAM, have implemented policies aimed at protecting the rights of *temporeras*. Translated into SERNAM's childcare programmes and a *temporeras* register, these policies have acknowledged the value of female employment and demonstrated incredible progress in the field of gender relations. However, research has demonstrated that stricter regulations and stronger support networks are warranted to influence employers to establish respectful labour conditions. Additionally, further changes at the policy level need to be implemented to ensure women do not lose government subsidies when engaging in *temporera* employment. Reductions in subsidies have only contributed to greater vulnerability, as women have avoided signing contracts to remain 'invisible' to the government. With regards to economic policies, the government has a responsibility to evaluate whether current neoliberal policies are sustainable. Are there alternative economic models, such as fair trade, which could dilute macroeconomic success more equitably across Chilean society?

Lastly, this thesis has demonstrated that changes are also warranted at the international level of analysis. Research has indicated that fair trade should establish improved international monitoring and evaluation standards. Specifically, gender specific evaluation indices are warranted to evaluate the impacts of fair trade on women. These modifications at the international level are needed to more effectively support fair trade at the local level and promote gender equality in Chile. This thesis has described an absence of awareness as the greatest hindrance to fair trade in Chile. Evidently, greater investment should be targeted towards improved marketing strategies to support the expansion of fair trade in the Chilean context. However, expansion of a national fair trade market may not be economically plausible as the premium prices may prove too expensive to be sustainable. Alternatively, perhaps government support should be directed towards other ethical trading initiatives which support local producers but do not construct the same financial barriers. These alternative initiatives could represent the first step towards social commitment which could, at a later stage, progress into fair trade certification. As a final suggestion, research revealed that greater collaboration was warranted between Fairtrade International and WFTO organisations. The networks have already established the Charter of Fair Trade Principles. However, their actions need to be in greater alignment with this charter to promote the fundamental goal at

the heart of the fair trade, cooperation to promote market access and improved livelihoods for marginalised producers.

Fair trade has demonstrated significant potential to improve gender relations in Chile. However, I fear that the movement lacks the influence to extend these benefits to women on a national scale. The most effective opportunity appears to lie in collaboration. Fair trade, in cooperation with a combination of the aforementioned alternatives, particularly ethical trade and government intervention, offers the greatest potential to improve gender relations in Chile.

### 10.3 Academic Contributions

This thesis sought to reveal a snapshot of a predominantly absent perspective of fair trade; a feminine perspective. Numerous studies have been conducted on the impacts of fair trade. However, few have directed the scope of investigation to the impacts on women. Nestled within a culturally defined *machista* society, Chilean women, particularly *temporeras*, offered a unique opportunity to investigate the impacts of fair trade on gender relations.

#### **10.3.1 Broadening of the Charango and Opportunities for Future Research**

The El Palqui case study emerged as the greatest strength of this research. This case study provided the opportunity to present the voice of one of Chile's most marginalised demographics, the *temporeras*. Through this relatively undocumented perspective, I was able to demonstrate a unique dimension on the current situation of gender relations in Chile. Although interviews with these *temporeras* proved difficult to establish, their voice proved invaluable in enriching research beyond the institutional perspective. Conversely, the greatest limitation of this research proved to be the time constraints of a master's thesis. This research had demonstrated further opportunities for fair trade case studies. Unfortunately, these time constraints prevented me from pursuing further research.

After convening at its most narrow point, the body of the charango again begins to broaden. Similarly, the findings of this thesis have demonstrated opportunities for future research. Notably, further investigation on the impacts of fair trade on gender relations is evidently warranted. The interest received for this research has indicated

that the government and civil society would support similar studies in this sector. Future research should integrate case studies from other regions to greater represent the diversity of Chile. Specifically, as the *temporeras* of El Palqui were members of Manos Abiertas, future research should seek the perspectives of *temporeras* who are not in a union. An opportunity for a longitudinal comparative study has also emerged from this thesis. El Palqui should be revisited as a site of investigation to determine whether gender relations have continued to improve in an area which has been deemed “relatively equal” (RP5-GOV). Additionally, future research should investigate whether a declining trend in *temporera* employment has continued.

Fundamentally, this thesis sought to examine fair trade and gender relations in Chile, whilst drawing comparisons to the trends observed throughout Latin America. This research has inspired consideration into gender relations in other countries in the Global South and whether the application of fair trade has produced similar results.

#### 10.4 Final Remarks

Revisiting the structure of the charango, this thesis has converged to address the fundamental research aim; has the application of fair trade in the Chilean context demonstrated the potential to influence and improve gender relations? Through a series of case studies, fair trade has evidently demonstrated potential in this sector. This thesis has emphasised the importance of investigating the undocumented perspective and providing a voice for those who have been marginalised. Encapsulated by Chilean novelist Isabel Allende, “[i]f a women is empowered, her children and her family will be better off. If families prosper, the village prospers” (Allende, 2007, para. 29). Case studies revealed that Chilean women hold valuable knowledge and skills which could enrich the Chilean economy and promote development of the Latin American region. If provided the opportunity, through avenues such as fair trade, these women evidently hold the potential agency to influence and improve changes in gender relations in Chile.



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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet and Semi-Structured Interview Schedules



#### *The Impacts of Fair Trade on Gender Relations in Latin America*

##### INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for your interest in this project. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to take part, thank you for considering my request.

##### Who am I?

My name is Jasmin Chapman and I am a Masters student in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

##### What is the aim of the project?

This project aims to understand the impacts of Fair Trade agricultural export production on gender relations in Chile. Focussing on table grape exports, the project will investigate how Fair Trade has been adopted in Chile. Has table grape export agriculture changed female working conditions or altered gender relations in Chile?

My research aims to investigate the unique experiences of individual Chilean women who are involved in table grape exports.

##### How can you help?

If you agree to take part I will interview you in a public place, such as a café. I will ask you questions about Fair Trade, table-grape exports and the impacts on Chilean women. The



interview will take thirty minutes to one hour. I will record the interview and write it up later. You can stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. You can withdraw from the study up to four weeks after the interview. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

### **What will happen to the information you give?**

If you agree to take part, the research can be made confidential at your request. If you agree to non-confidentiality, you agree to being named in the final report.

However, if you wish, the information given by you can be made confidential. In this instance, I will not name you in any reports, and I will not include any information that would identify you. Only my supervisors, transcribers and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed five years after the research ends.

### **What will the project produce?**

The information from my research will be used in my Masters report. If you have asked for confidentiality, you will not be identified in my report. I may also use the results of my research for conference presentations, and academic reports. I will take care not to identify you in any presentation or report.

### **If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?**

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study up until four weeks after your interview;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of your interview recording (if it is recorded);
- read over and comment on a written summary of your interview;
- agree on another name for me to use rather than your real name;

- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

**If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?**

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

**Student:**

Name: Jasmin Chapman

University email

chapmajasm@myvuw.ac.nz

**Supervisor:**

Name: Warwick Murray

address: Role: Professor

School: Geography, Environment and  
Earth Sciences

Phone: +6444 463 5029

warwick.murray@vuw.ac.nz

**Human Ethics Committee information**

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convener: Associate Professor Susan Corbett. Email susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 5480.



## ***El impacto del comercio justo en las relaciones de género en América Latina***

### **HOJA DE INFORMACIÓN PARA LOS PARTICIPANTES**

Gracias por su interés en este proyecto. Lea esta información antes de decidir si debe o no tomar parte. Si decide participar, gracias. Si decide no participar, gracias por considerar mi solicitud.

#### **¿Quién soy?**

Mi nombre es Jasmin Chapman y yo soy un estudiante de Maestría en Estudios del Desarrollo de la Universidad Victoria de Wellington. Este proyecto de investigación es el trabajo hacia mi tesis.

#### **¿Cuál es el objetivo del proyecto?**

Este proyecto tiene como objetivo comprender los impactos de la producción agrícola de exportación de comercio justo en las relaciones de género en Chile. Centrándonos en las exportaciones de uva de mesa, el proyecto investigará cómo el comercio justo ha sido adoptado en Chile. ¿Ha cambiado de uva de mesa agricultura de exportación las condiciones de trabajo o las relaciones de género femenino alterados en Chile?

Mi investigación tiene como objetivo investigar las experiencias únicas de las mujeres chilenas individuales que están involucrados en la exportación de uva de mesa.

#### **¿Cómo puedes ayudar?**

Si acepta participar os entrevistar en un lugar público, como una cafetería. Yo le hará preguntas sobre el comercio justo, las exportaciones de uvas de mesa y los impactos en

las mujeres chilenas. La entrevista se llevará a treinta minutos a una hora. Voy a grabar la entrevista y escribirlo más tarde. Puede detener la entrevista en cualquier momento, sin dar una razón. Puede retirarse del estudio hasta cuatro semanas después de la entrevista. Si se retira, la información que ya ha proporcionado será destruido o devuelto.

### **¿Qué pasará con la información que proporcione?**

Si acepta participar, la investigación puede hacerse confidencial a petición del cliente. Si está de acuerdo con la no confidencialidad, usted se compromete a ser nombrado en el informe final.

Sin embargo, si lo desea, la información dada por usted puede hacerse confidencial. En este caso, no voy a nombrar en ningún informe, y no voy a incluir cualquier información que pueda identificarlo. Sólo mis supervisores, transcriptores y que van a leer las notas o transcripción de la entrevista. Las transcripciones de entrevistas, resúmenes y las grabaciones se mantendrán de forma segura y destruyeron cinco años después de que termine la investigación.

### **Lo que producirá el proyecto?**

La información de mi investigación será utilizada en mi informe maestría. Si ha solicitado a la confidencialidad, no se le identificará en mi informe. También podrá utilizar los resultados de mi investigación para presentaciones de la conferencia, y los informes académicos. Voy a tener cuidado de no identificar al usuario en cualquier presentación o un informe.

### **Si acepta esta invitación, ¿cuáles son sus derechos como participante en la investigación?**

Usted no tiene que aceptar esta invitación si usted no desea. Si decide participar, usted tiene derecho a:

- decide no responder a ninguna pregunta;
- pedir la grabadora que ser apagado en cualquier momento durante la entrevista;
- retirarse del estudio hasta cuatro semanas después de la entrevista;

- hacer preguntas sobre el estudio en cualquier momento;
- recibir una copia de la grabación de la entrevista (si está grabado);
- leer una y comentar un resumen escrito de la entrevista;
- ponerse de acuerdo sobre otro nombre para que yo use en lugar de su nombre real;
- ser capaz de leer los informes de esta investigación por correo electrónico a la investigadora para solicitar una copia.

**Si usted tiene alguna pregunta o problema, que se puede contactar?**

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta, ya sea ahora o en el futuro, no dude en ponerse en contacto con cualquiera de los dos:

**Estudiante:**

**Supervisor:**

Nombre: Jasmin Chapman

Nombre: Warwick Murray

Universidad dirección de correo Oficio: Professor  
electrónico: chapmajasm@myvuw.ac.nz

Escuela: Geografía, Medio Ambiente y  
Ciencias de la Tierra

Teléfono: +6444 463 5029

warwick.murray@vuw.ac.nz

**Información Comité de Ética Humana**

Si usted tiene alguna preocupación acerca de la conducta ética de la investigación, puede ponerse en contacto con la Universidad Victoria de HEC Coordinador: Profesor Asociado Susan Corbett. Email [susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz) o teléfono + 64-4-463 5480.

### **Semi-Structured Interview Questions**

#### **1. Do you think that ethical or fair trade has had an impact in Latin America?**

- If yes, have they been positive, negative, neutral, or a combination?
- Do you think that there have been any impacts on gender relations in Latin America, as a result of ethical or fair trade?
- What future trends do you perceive for gender relations in Latin America?

#### **2. Do you think that Chile is an equal society?**

- Has social equality changed in Chile?
- Do you think that ethical or fair trade has had particular impacts in Chile? If yes, have they been positive, negative, neutral, or a combination?
- What types of ethical or fair trade is present in Chile?
- What do you know about ethical or fair trade in the agriculture sector?
- Does ethical or fair trade have a future in Chile?

#### **3. Agricultural growth has prompted the evolution of the *temporera* labour force.**

- What do you think about Chile's agriculture export sector?
- What do you know about the *temporeras*? What are their working conditions like?
- Do you think that ethical or fair trade has had impacts on *temporera* working conditions? If yes, have they been positive, negative, neutral or a combination?
- What were female conditions like before the introduction of ethical or fair trade?

#### **4. What do you think is the current situation of gender relations in Chile?**

- Have gender relations changed?
- Has ethical or fair trade changed gender relations in Chile?
- Have there been any changes in gender relations in the agricultural export sector?
- Do you think that ethical or fair trade holds potential to further change gender relations in Chile's future?

- What changes do you predict and what would you like to see?
- Do you think that more action is needed to change gender relations in Chile?  
What action would you suggest?

## Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet and Focus Group Schedules



### *The Impacts of Fair Trade on Gender Relations in Latin America*

#### INFORMATION SHEET FOR FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for your interest in this project. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to take part, thank you for considering my request.

#### **Who am I?**

My name is Jasmin Chapman and I am a Masters student in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

#### **What is the aim of the project?**

This project aims to understand the impacts of Fair Trade agricultural export production on gender relations in Chile. Focussing on table grape exports, the project will investigate how Fair Trade has been adopted in Chile. Has table grape export agriculture changed female working conditions or altered gender relations in Chile?

My research aims to investigate the unique experiences of individual Chilean women who are involved in table grape exports.

#### **How can you help?**

If you agree to take part the group discussion will focus on Fair Trade, table-grape exports and the impacts on Chilean women. The focus group will take thirty minutes to one hour. Focus groups will include between five to fifteen women. I will record the group discussion and write it up later. All participants will have confidentiality. The subsequent recording and transcript will not highlight any individual and discussion points will not be



attributed to a particular participant. You have the right to leave the group discussion at any time, without giving a reason.

**Focus groups rules:**

1. All participants must be treated with respect.
2. No personal attacks will be tolerated, verbally or physically.
3. If participants feel uncomfortable, they have the right to leave the focus group.
4. The moderator reserves the right to change the course of discussion if the topic has significantly diverted away from the targeted discussion points.

**What will happen to the information you give?**

If you agree to take part in this research project, all information given will remain confidential. I will not name you in any reports, and I will not include any information that would identify you. Only my supervisors, transcribers and I will read the notes or transcript of the focus group. The focus group transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed five years after the research ends.

**What will the project produce?**

The information from my research will be used in my Masters report. I may also use the results of my research for conference presentations, and academic reports. I will take care not to identify you in any presentation or report.

**If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?**

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the meeting;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of the focus group summary;

- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

**If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?**

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

**Student:**

Name: Jasmin Chapman

University email

chapmajasm@myvuw.ac.nz

**Supervisor:**

Name: Warwick Murray

address: Role: Professor

School: Geography, Environment and  
Earth Sciences

Phone: +6444 463 5029

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**Human Ethics Committee information**

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convener: Associate Professor Susan Corbett. Email susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 5480.



## ***El impacto del comercio justo en las relaciones de género en América Latina***

### **HOJA DE INFORMACIÓN PARA LOS PARTICIPANTES EN LOS GRUPOS**

Gracias por su interés en este proyecto. Lea esta información antes de decidir si debe o no tomar parte. Si decide participar, gracias. Si decide no participar, gracias por considerar mi solicitud.

#### **¿Quién soy?**

Mi nombre es Jasmin Chapman y yo soy un estudiante de Maestría en Estudios del Desarrollo de la Universidad Victoria de Wellington. Este proyecto de investigación es el trabajo hacia mi tesis.

#### **¿Cuál es el objetivo del proyecto?**

Este proyecto tiene como objetivo comprender los impactos de la producción agrícola de exportación de comercio justo en las relaciones de género en Chile. Centrándonos en las exportaciones de uva de mesa, el proyecto investigará cómo el comercio justo ha sido adoptado en Chile. ¿Ha cambiado de uva de mesa agricultura de exportación las condiciones de trabajo o las relaciones de género femenino alterados en Chile?

Mi investigación tiene como objetivo investigar las experiencias únicas de las mujeres chilenas individuales que están involucrados en la exportación de uva de mesa.

#### **¿Cómo puedes ayudar?**

Si acepta participar del grupo de discusión se centrará en el comercio justo, las exportaciones de uvas de mesa y los impactos en las mujeres chilenas. El grupo de enfoque se llevará a treinta minutos a una hora. Los grupos de discusión incluirán entre cinco a quince mujeres. Voy a registrar la discusión en grupo y escribirlo más tarde. Todos los participantes tendrán la confidencialidad. La grabación y la transcripción posterior no destacarán cualquier individuo y puntos de discusión no se atribuye a un participante en particular. Usted tiene derecho a salir de la discusión del grupo en cualquier momento, sin dar una razón.

**Enfoque reglas grupos:**

1. Todos los participantes deben ser tratados con respeto.
2. No ataques personales serán tolerados, verbal o físicamente.
3. Si los participantes se sientan incómodos, tienen el derecho a salir del grupo de enfoque.
4. El moderador se reserva el derecho de cambiar el curso de la discusión si el tema ha desviado significativamente lejos de los puntos de discusión dirigidos.

**¿Qué pasará con la información que proporcione?**

Si acepta participar en este proyecto de investigación, toda la información proporcionada será confidencial. No voy a nombrar en ningún informe, y no voy a incluir cualquier información que pueda identificarlo. Sólo mis supervisores, transcriptores y que van a leer las notas o transcripción del grupo de enfoque. Las transcripciones de grupos focales, resúmenes y las grabaciones se mantendrán de forma segura y destruyeron cinco años después de que termine la investigación.

**Lo que producirá el proyecto?**

La información de mi investigación será utilizada en mi informe Masters. También podrá utilizar los resultados de mi investigación para presentaciones de la conferencia, y los informes académicos. Voy a tener cuidado de no identificar al usuario en cualquier presentación o un informe.

**Si acepta esta invitación, ¿cuáles son sus derechos como participante en la investigación?**

Usted no tiene que aceptar esta invitación si usted no desea. Si decide participar, usted tiene derecho a:

- decide no responder a ninguna pregunta;
- pedir la grabadora que ser apagado en cualquier momento durante la entrevista;
- retirarse del estudio hasta cuatro semanas después de la entrevista;
- hacer preguntas sobre el estudio en cualquier momento;
- recibir una copia de la grabación de la entrevista (si está grabado);
- leer una y comentar un resumen escrito de la entrevista;
- ponerse de acuerdo sobre otro nombre para que yo use en lugar de su nombre real;
- ser capaz de leer los informes de esta investigación por correo electrónico a la investigadora para solicitar una copia.

**Si usted tiene alguna pregunta o problema, que se puede contactar?**

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta, ya sea ahora o en el futuro, no dude en ponerse en contacto con cualquiera de los dos:

**Estudiante:**

**Supervisor:**

Nombre: Jasmin Chapman

Nombre: Warwick Murray

Universidad    dirección    de    correo    electrónico: chapmajasm@myvuw.ac.nz

Oficio: Professor

Escuela: Geografía, Medio Ambiente y Ciencias de la Tierra

Teléfono: +6444 463 5029

warwick.murray@vuw.ac.nz

**Información Comité de Ética Humana**

Si usted tiene alguna preocupación acerca de la conducta ética de la investigación, puede ponerse en contacto con la Universidad Victoria de HEC Coordinador: Profesor Asociado Susan Corbett. Email [susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz) o teléfono + 64-4-463 5480.

### **Focus Group Questions**

Questions were according to the semi-structured interview schedule, with an additional element.

#### **1. Personal experience as a *temporera*.**

- For how long have you engaged in *temporera* employment?
- What has motivated you to engage in this employment? Have you engaged in other employment sectors?
- Have any family members engaged in this employment? If yes, have labour conditions changed since your family members were employed?
- Have labour conditions for *temporeras* changed significantly in El Palqui? What has facilitated these changes?
- How do these changes compare to other areas in Chile?
- Does the future look positive for *temporeras*?

## Appendix 3: Consent Form for Semi-Structured Interview Participants



### *The Impacts of Fair Trade on Gender Relations in Latin America*

#### CONSENT TO INTERVIEW

This consent form will be held for five years.

Researcher: *Jasmin Chapman, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington.*

- I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to take part in an audio recorded interview.

I understand that:

- I may withdraw from this study up to four weeks after the interview and any information that I have provided will be returned to me or destroyed.
- The information I have provided will be destroyed five years after the research is finished.
- Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher, the supervisor and the transcriber. I understand that the results will be used for a Masters report and a summary of the results may be used in academic reports and/or presented at conferences.



- My name will not be used in reports, nor will any information that would identify me.
  
- |   |                          |                          |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>[OR]</i> I consent to information or opinions which I have given being attributed to me in any reports on this research: | Yes                      | No                       |
|   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
  
- |   |                          |                          |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| I would like a summary of my interview: | Yes                      | No                       |
|   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
  
- |   |                          |                          |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email address below. | Yes                      | No                       |
|   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Signature of participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Contact details: \_\_\_\_\_



## *El impacto del comercio justo en las relaciones de género en América Latina*

### CONSENTIMIENTO PARA ENTREVISTA

Este formulario de consentimiento se llevará a cabo durante cinco años.

Investigador: Jasmin Chapman, Escuela de Geografía, Medio Ambiente y Ciencias de la Tierra de la Universidad Victoria de Wellington.

- He leído la hoja de información y el proyecto se ha explicado a mí. Mis preguntas han sido contestadas a mi satisfacción. Yo entiendo que puedo hacer más preguntas en cualquier momento.
- Estoy de acuerdo en participar en un audio entrevista grabada.

Entiendo que:

- Es posible que retirarse de este estudio hasta cuatro semanas después de la entrevista y cualquier información que he proporcionado será devuelto a mí o destruidos.
- La información que he proporcionado será destruido cinco años después de la investigación ha terminado.
- Cualquier información que proporcione será confidencial con el investigador, el supervisor y el transcriptor. Yo entiendo que se utilizarán los resultados de un informe Masters y un resumen de los

resultados se pueden utilizar en los informes académicos y / o presentados en congresos

- Mi nombre no será utilizado en los informes, ni ninguna información que identificaría a mí.
  
- |   |                                 |                                |
|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| [O] Doy mi consentimiento a la información o las opiniones que he dado que se atribuyen a mí en cualquier informe sobre esta investigación: | Yes<br><input type="checkbox"/> | No<br><input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
  
- |  |                                 |                                |
|--|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Me gustaría tener un resumen de la entrevista: | Yes<br><input type="checkbox"/> | No<br><input type="checkbox"/> |
|--|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
  
- |   |                                 |                                |
|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Me gustaría recibir una copia del informe final y he añadido a mi dirección de correo electrónico a continuación. | Yes<br><input type="checkbox"/> | No<br><input type="checkbox"/> |
|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|

Firma del participante: \_\_\_\_\_

Nombre del participante: \_\_\_\_\_

Fecha: \_\_\_\_\_

Detalles de contacto: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 4: Consent Form for Focus Group Participants



### *The Impacts of Fair Trade on Gender Relations in Latin America*

#### CONSENT TO FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

This consent form will be held for five years.

Researcher: *Jasmin Chapman, School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington.*

- I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to take part in a focus group discussion.

I understand that:

- The information I have provided will be destroyed five years after the research is finished.
- Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher, the supervisor and the transcriber. I understand that the results will be used for a Masters report and a summary of the results may be used in academic reports and/or presented at conferences.
- My name will not be used in reports, nor will any information that would identify me.

- |   |   |                                 |                                |
|---|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| • | I would like a summary of the focus group meeting:  | Yes<br><input type="checkbox"/> | No<br><input type="checkbox"/> |
| • | I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email address below. | Yes<br><input type="checkbox"/> | No<br><input type="checkbox"/> |

Signature of participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of participant: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Contact details: \_\_\_\_\_



## *El impacto del comercio justo en las relaciones de género en América Latina*

### CONSENTIMIENTO PARA Discusión de Grupo

Este formulario de consentimiento se llevará a cabo durante cinco años.

Investigador: Jasmin Chapman, Escuela de Geografía, Medio Ambiente y Ciencias de la Tierra de la Universidad Victoria de Wellington.

- He leído la hoja de información y el proyecto se ha explicado a mí. Mis preguntas han sido contestadas a mi satisfacción. Yo entiendo que puedo hacer más preguntas en cualquier momento.
- Estoy de acuerdo en participar en un grupo de discusión.

Entiendo que:

- La información que he proporcionado será destruido cinco años después de la investigación ha terminado.
- Cualquier información que proporcione será confidencial con el investigador, el supervisor y el transcriptor. Yo entiendo que se utilizarán los resultados de un informe Masters y un resumen de los

resultados se pueden utilizar en los informes académicos y / o presentados en congresos

- Mi nombre no será utilizado en los informes, ni ninguna información que identificaría a mí.

- |   |   |                                 |                                |
|---|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| • | Me gustaría tener un resumen de la entrevista:  | Yes<br><input type="checkbox"/> | No<br><input type="checkbox"/> |
| • | Me gustaría recibir una copia del informe final y he añadido a mi dirección de correo electrónico a continuación. | Yes<br><input type="checkbox"/> | No<br><input type="checkbox"/> |

Firma del participante: \_\_\_\_\_

Nombre del participante: \_\_\_\_\_

Fecha: \_\_\_\_\_

Detalles de contacto: \_\_\_\_\_