



A Fair Trade approach to community forest certification? A framework for discussion

Peter Leigh Taylor*

Department of Sociology, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, CO 80523, USA

Abstract

Forest certification has gained growing attention as a market-based instrument to make globalizing markets a force for mitigating rather than fostering environmental degradation. Yet in practice, market mechanisms currently appear to encourage concentration of forest certification in Northern temperate and boreal forests, rather than in the tropical forests certification originally aimed to protect. At the same time, the share of tropical and other Southern forests under community management is increasing dramatically. Utilizing a comparative analysis of coffee and wood products commodity chains, a preliminary framework is proposed for exploring the obstacles and the possibilities of a “Fair Trade” approach to community forest certification. Obstacles include the structure of conventional wood products commodity chains, common wood product characteristics, certification’s current commitment to conventional market logics and practices, and informal governance influences favoring powerful economic actors. The paper argues, however, that other features of forest certification, especially in the FSC scheme, are potentially supportive of a Fair Trade community forestry approach.

© 2005 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

Forest certification and labeling gains growing attention today as a market-based instrument that makes globalizing markets a force for mitigating rather than fostering environmental degradation. By 2002 about 3% of the world’s 3.6 billion hectare forest had been certified as sustainably managed under diverse labeling schemes (Atyi and Simula, 2002, p. 19; Bass et al., 2001, p. 42). Yet though forest certification emerged in the early 1990s in the wake of mass consumer movements against tropical deforestation (Counsell and Terje Loraas, 2002, p. 12), today most certified areas are found in government and industry-owned boreal and temperate forests of the North rather than the natural tropical forests of the global South. Moreover, the communities which own or manage a rapidly growing share of Southern forests face significant barriers to accessing certification and its benefits. If certification is to be a

more effective instrument for protecting threatened forests in the global South, the obstacles community forest operators face in accessing certification and certified product markets need to be addressed. Several authors have called for consideration of a Fair Trade version of forest certification aimed at community-based forestry in the global South (i.e., see Bray et al., 2002; Bray and Merino Pérez, 2002; Kruedener, 2000; Molnar, 2003).

This paper emerges from my participation in collaborative research with the CSU and North/South Fair Trade Research Groups on the Fair Trade Coffee initiative (Murray et al., 2003)¹ and my involvement with the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) scheme as a member of interdisciplinary certification teams evaluat-

¹This Ford Foundation-supported study was conducted by the CSU Fair Trade Research Group in collaboration with a team of independent researchers. The year-long study surveyed the experiences of seven case study Fair Trade cooperatives in Mexico, Guatemala and El Salvador. For more information and complete texts of final report, individual case studies and supporting documents, see <http://www.colostate.edu/Depts/Sociology/FairTradeResearchGroup>.

*Tel.: +1 970 491 6043; fax: +1 970 491 2191.

E-mail address: Pete.Taylor@Colostate.edu.

ing the management of community-owned Mexican forests. The Fair Trade coffee experience appears to provide useful insights for community forest certification.² Utilizing a comparative analysis of coffee and wood products commodity chains (Taylor, 2005), I propose a framework below for exploring the obstacles and the possibilities of a “Fair Trade” approach to community forest certification.

2. A comparative commodity chain approach to certification

This paper’s discussion of the possibility of a Fair Trade forest certification builds on global commodity chain (GCC) approaches to international trade. According to Hopkins and Wallerstein (1986), a commodity chain refers to “sets of interorganizational networks clustered around one commodity or product, linking households, enterprises, and states to one another in the world-economy” (Gereffi et al., 1994, p. 4). The GCC framework has been complemented in recent years by related global value chain (GVC) approaches (see Gereffi et al., 2005; Humphrey and Schmitz, 2001), whose focus is principally on industrial manufacturing. GCC research, however, emphasizes relatively undifferentiated “commodities” (Kaplinsky, 2000, p. 144). It has an explicit international emphasis and directs attention to power relations among competing social actors along the commodity chain (Gereffi, 2001, pp. 1621–1622). These characteristics make the GCC approach particularly apt for the analysis of sectors in which actors in North and South face unequal opportunities in the market. Gereffi’s concept of “buyer-driven commodity chains” is particularly useful for the study of coffee and wood products commodity chains. Buyer driven commodity chains involve decentralized production and trading networks typically originating in the global South, and organized and largely controlled by large retailers, brand-name merchandisers and other international trading companies (Gereffi, 1994).

Recent research has drawn on GCC and related literature to analyze the structural and symbolic factors shaping the experience of alternative production and trade schemes such as Fair Trade and forest certification. Relevant structural factors include the material interests of diverse actors along a commodity chain which shape the distribution of benefits of certification, and the technical features of commodities as products which may or may not facilitate direct ties between end consumers and producers. Renard (1999) argues that Fair Trade in coffee represents an “interstice” in the global chain, facilitated by small specialty coffee

roasters with a direct interest in promoting the participation of Southern growers. Renard (1999, p. 490) and Reynolds (2002a, p. 404) also underscore the importance of the symbolic dimension of Fair Trade, in which trade relations are infused with an alternative set of moral values or civic norms, including fairness, trust and equality among consumers and producers.

This paper also draws on recent economic sociology discussions of the “embeddedness” of economic action, as Beckert (2003, p. 769) describes it—the “social, cultural, political and cognitive structuration of decisions in economic contexts”. Granovetter (1985) and Swedberg (1990) were among the first sociologists to argue for a new economic sociology that would draw on Karl Polanyi’s insight that an economy is an “instituted process”, a “collection of culturally determined institutional arrangements by which the different social groups satisfy their material needs and secure their social reproduction” (Polanyi quoted in Rodrigues, 2004, p. 192). Recent theorists, such as Altvater and Mahnkopf (1997, p. 450), have often argued that current stages of global capitalism work to “disembed” the economy from society, with economic forms taking on a “fetishized life of their own”. Indeed, Somers and Block (2005, p. 261) write of the pervasive power today of “market fundamentalism”, a contemporary vision of what Polanyi termed economic liberalism’s “stark utopia”, that society as a whole should be subordinated to a system of self-regulating markets. Somers and Block (2005, p. 263), nevertheless, point out that the great insight of Polanyi-inspired economic society holds that all markets, “even free markets—are always embedded in rules and institutional arrangements”.

This paper’s comparative commodity chain analysis and its discussion of a Fair Trade model for forest certification builds on recent work that analyzes the embeddedness of alternative production and trade initiatives. Reynolds (2002a, p. 389) points out that commodity networks are not static in time or space, but are continually ideologically and materially constructed, maintained and transformed by individual and collective actors. Renard (2003, 2004) discusses the potential for Fair Trade to be reabsorbed by the dominant logics and powerful actors of conventional markets. In related fashion, Reynolds (2004) and Taylor (2005) suggest that alternative commodity initiatives are shaped by the social and political relations not only of their alternative frameworks, but by those of the conventional markets in which they operate. As will be discussed below, Fair Trade coffee’s recent “mainstreaming strategy” has produced rapid growth, but has also awakened concern about its potential cooptation by powerful conventional corporate actors interested in participating in “fair” trade (Renard, 2003, 2004; Reynolds, 2002a; Taylor et al., 2005). In the decade since FSCs founding, forest certification has benefited most directly temperate and

²See Robinson (2000) for one of the earliest systematic comparisons of Fair Trade and FSC forest certification.

boreal forest owners and operators in the global North, a trend significantly shaped by its commitment to working mainly within conventional markets, where large global retailers exercise significant control over the demand for and commercialization of certified wood (Taylor, 2005).

The Fair Trade coffee experience suggests that attention be paid to relevant structural and symbolic dimensions of the wood products commodity chain, including the material interests of participants at key stages of the commodity chain, the possibility of an “interstice” favorable to community forest operators, and the capacity of forest related products to sustain the symbolic content required by more direct end consumer and producer ties. I begin with a discussion of the current experience with forest certification, focusing in particular on the FSC. Though communities are gaining increasing importance as owners and administrators of forests worldwide, they face significant obstacles to successful certification, including the high cost of certification, the lack of a price premium, and lack of reliable access to certified wood markets. I then briefly discuss the Fair Trade coffee initiative, including some of the structural characteristics of the coffee commodity chain which facilitate the scheme’s considerable success. Significant obstacles to a Fair Trade community forestry scheme exist, including the structure of conventional wood products commodity chains and common wood product characteristics, forest certification’s current commitment to conventional market logic and practices, and informal influences on governance which favor powerful actors in the conventional commodity chain. Nonetheless, I argue that a Fair Trade community forestry certification and labeling approach might successfully highlight the link between conservation and local economic development in the global South; emphasize communities’ role as stewards of threatened forests; identify and develop wood products compatible with more direct “Fair Trade” trade relations; and pursue a dual commercialization strategy that simultaneously creates more direct ties between Northern consumers and Southern producers and selectively enlists larger institutional buyers.

3. Certification as a market-based instrument for addressing environmental degradation

Bass et al. (2001, p. 2) describe certification as a “procedure by which a third party provides written assurance that a product, process or service conforms to specified standards, on the basis of an audit conducted to agreed procedures”. Certification is widely viewed as a market-based mechanism for change as it is based on a presumption of consumer willingness to translate social or environmental values into purchases of products

compatible with those values.³ Producers of such products presumably receive price premiums or improved market access in exchange for the value their superior practices add to the product (Bass et al., 2001, p. 21). Forest certification allows consumers to identify forest products which come from field operations that follow a minimum standard of good practices, including sustainable harvesting of forest resources (Molnar, 2003, p. 1).

The FSC is an independent, non-profit organization which develops guidelines for sustainable forest management and accredits and audits third party certification agencies (FSC, 2005a; Gerez Fernández and Alatorre Guzman, 2005, p. 74). Though numerous other forest certification programs now exist in addition to FSC,⁴ FSC’s performance-based standards are widely considered the most rigorous. For example, Principle Six of FSC’s 10 global principals evaluates the environmental impact of forest activities, Principle Seven requires an ecologically sustainable management plan, Principle Eight governs effective monitoring and assessment and Principle Nine ensures maintenance of High Conservation Value Forests (FSC, 2005a).

Yet though it is most well known as an environmental conservation instrument, FSC certification also emphasizes the social and economic foundations of sustainable forest management (Molnar, 2003, p. 1; Bass et al., 2001; Rametsteiner and Simula, 2002, p. 97). For example, Principle Two safeguards the legal or customary tenure or use rights of local communities in forest resources. Principle Four ensures that local communities benefit from forestry through employment, services and training and requires adequate conflict resolution when tenure disputes arise (Kruedener, 2000, p. 16). A related FSC Chain of Custody process guarantees that certified materials are carefully tracked from point of production to point of purchase (FSC, 2005a).

Forest certification worldwide has grown dramatically in the 10 years since FSC’s founding. By mid-2002, over 109 million ha of forest had been certified under all schemes, representing about 3% of the world’s 3.6 billion hectare forest and some 18% of the 600 million hectares expected to produce wood in the next two or three decades (Atyi and Simula, 2002, p. 10; Van Dam, 2003, p. 3). As of January 2005, over 50 million ha of forest had been certified by FSC, with 671 certificates

³Ribot (2004) suggests, however, that certification schemes be conceptualized as “regulatory” rather than as market-based mechanisms as they establish alternative rules and procedures for governing the organization of commodities in a global market system. See Taylor et al. (2005) for a discussion of the governance challenges facing the Fair Trade coffee initiative.

⁴These include Pan-European Forest Certification (PEFC), Sustainable Forestry Initiative (SFI), American Tree Farm System (ATFS), Canadian Standards Association (CSA) and nearly twenty national forest certification programs (Bass et al., 2001, p. 7).

held in 60 countries (FSC, 2005a). Researchers have recently estimated the certified wood supply at 243 million m³ per year. Certified wood represents as much as 5% of some European markets and 1% in the US (Atyi and Simula, 2002, p. 19; Bass et al., 2001, p. 42). Molnar (2003, p. 1) writes that over 10,000 certified wood products exist in the forest product market. More than 600 companies have joined Worldwide Fund for Nature-promoted certified wood buyers' groups, which account for over half the demand for certified wood products. Many of the network's companies, which include retailers such as B&Q in the UK, IKEA in Scandinavia and HomeDepot and Lowes in the US, have expressed a preference for FSC certified products (Atyi and Simula, 2002, p. 17).

In 1996, 70% of all certified forests were found in developing countries; today, developed countries in North America and Europe have the vast majority of certified forests (Atyi and Simula, 2002, pp. 8 and 10). Its origins in public concern about tropical deforestation notwithstanding, forest certification currently favors the temperate and boreal forests of the North over the tropical and other natural forests in the South, and large-scale industrial forestry over enterprises operated by communities and indigenous peoples. Including all certification programs, only 0.2% of the world's tropical area is certified under any scheme and only 3% of all forest management certification occurs in tropical and subtropical broadleaf forests (Molnar, 2003, p. 1). Temperate and boreal forests now represent the vast majority of FSC certified areas, with tropical forests in 2002 representing only 12% (Simula and Eba'a Atyil, 2002). In January 2005, 79% of FSC certified forests were found in North America and Europe, with Sweden, Poland and the US and Canada representing over 55%. Thirty-eight percent of FSC's certified area today is held privately, 56% is publicly owned, and 5% is communally owned or administered (FSC, 2005a).

4. Community-based forestry and certification

White and Martin (2002, p. 2) report that an estimated 60 million highly forest dependent indigenous people live in the rain forests of Latin America, West Africa and South East Asia. Another 400–500 million people are estimated to be directly dependent on forest resources for their livelihoods. Today as much as one-fourth of the forests in developing countries are community owned or managed (White and Martin, 2002; Molnar, 2003). According to Molnar (2003, ii, p. 30), communities in 2002 owned or administered 377 million ha or 11% of the 3.6 billion ha global forest. If developed countries in which government owned forests predominate are excluded, the community share of the global forest increases to 25%. These figures represent a

doubling over the last 15 years and are likely to double again in the next 15 years.

This recent growth of community forest ownership and management has occurred for several reasons. First, governments have devolved responsibility to communities as they have begun to recognize legitimate claims of indigenous peoples. Second, the positive link between local economic development and environmental protection has become clearer. Third, governments have recognized that they have often not exercised good stewardship (White and Martin, 2002, pp. 2 and 3). Finally, devolution has been driven by the progressive downsizing of states and their activities worldwide in last two decades: part of free market restructuring. Molnar (2003, ii) estimates that with continued devolution, communities may in future control 700–800 million ha of forest worldwide.

Community-based forestry, not surprisingly, has attracted growing attention as a regime of common property management that pursues sustainability by linking local people's social and economic interests with forest conservation. Community-based forestry actually represents tenurial and usufruct arrangements including legal ownership of forests as in Mexico (Bray and Merino Pérez, 2002), government-granted management concessions as in Central America (Gómez and Méndez, 2005) and collaborative or consultative administration between state agencies and local people as in the US and Indonesia (Baker and Kusel, 2003; Peluso, 1992).

White and Martin (2002, p. 2) argue that community-based entities are as good and often better managers of forests than federal, regional and local governments. Indeed, experience with community-based forestry over the last two decades has shown that with proper support, communities can be highly effective stewards of their resources. In Latin America, for example, forest communities have shown themselves capable of effectively governing access to common pool resources and organizing themselves for the sustainable use of forests. In Michoacan, Mexico, the community San Juan Nuevo Parangaricutiro represents successful integration of scientific forestry, customary non-timber forest product extraction and community logging (Klooster, 2000). In Quintana Roo, Mexico, forest communities still shaped by the Forestry Pilot Plan instituted in the late eighties have maintained a long term commitment to sustainable forest management, even when conservation imperatives have led them to lower their own harvest volumes (Taylor and Zabin, 2000). In Guatemala, the communities and organizations associated with the Association of Forest Communities of the Petén (ACOFOP) have held forest management concessions for 10 years, with positive local development and conservation impacts (Gómez and Méndez, 2005).

Nevertheless, forest communities confront serious challenges to their capacity to manage their natural resources for development and conservation. They often face serious internal difficulties, including organizational inefficiencies, lack of appropriate knowledge and commercialization expertise, and out-dated technology (Bray and Merino, 2002; Merino, 1997; Taylor and Zabin, 2000). Forest communities also face ongoing external pressures, as the sector in which they operate is embedded (Polanyi, 1957) in the social and political relations of an increasingly globalized and competitive economy. Once initial struggles for access to the forest are won, forest communities often continue to struggle for authentic control of their resources (Klooster, 2000). State policies favoring community tenure may waver or offer ambiguous support (Ekoko, 2000; McCarthy, 2000). Communities face ongoing competition from a broad range of economic, political and cultural actors claiming stakes in forest-related resources (Chapin, 2004; Gómez and Méndez, 2005; Gauld, 2000). Finally, survival in forest sectors increasingly shaped by global market logics compels communities not only to develop new areas of knowledge and skill but to embark on difficult transitions to organizational models based on business as well as political imperatives (Gómez and Méndez, 2005; Taylor, 2003).

Ideally, forest certification could lend crucial support to community based forestry's social and environmental objectives by building strong, more direct ties to a new economic and political constituency of consumers in the North. Indeed, FSC has consistently demonstrated a strong commitment to certification of communally owned forests, unlike most of its competitor certification schemes. FSC's 2003 Social Strategy observed that "the state of the world's forests and forest-dependent communities are intimately interlinked. Many argue that strong, healthy communities must be encouraged to ensure healthy forests for the future" (FSC, 2003a). Nevertheless, the overall communal share of certification raises concern given the growing importance communities are attaining in managing the world's forests. Thus far, according to Molnar (2003, ii, p. 30), certification has reached less than 1% of community forests.

Community-based forest operators face significant obstacles to success with certification. They experience the same barriers to competition in the international market as before they were certified, including organizational inefficiencies, lack of knowledge of the international market, and difficulty in satisfying international buyers' demands for certain species, specifications and volumes (Gerez Fernández and Alatorre Guzman, 2005). Moreover, certification is costly. Producers are responsible for paying the cost of forest certification. Madrid and Chapela (2003, p. 5) estimate, for example, that under Mexican conditions the combination of

average direct evaluation and monitoring costs with indirect costs of prescribed corrective actions can reach as much as \$US 60,000 over 5 years. Community forest certification in Mexico, Guatemala and elsewhere has been significantly subsidized until now by international donor, forest industry and government grants (Molnar, 2003; Taylor, 2005) but such subsidies are unlikely to continue indefinitely.

Certification was originally expected to provide incentives such as a price premium, access to new markets and improved market stability (de Camino and Alforos, 2000, p. 25). Yet for the most part, forest certification has delivered neither direct income for producers nor access to new markets. Most of the value added generated by certification is appropriated elsewhere in the commodity chain. With few exceptions (see Bass et al., 2001, pp. 31 and 71; Atyi and Simula, 2002, p. 32; Molnar, 2003), a price premium for certification has not appeared. Instead of opening new markets for new participants, certification increasingly becomes part of buyers' minimum expectations of "quality" and a condition for market entry (Rametsteiner and Simula, 2002, p. 93), thereby favoring producers already enjoying market access.

Madrid and Chapela (2003, p. 7) point out that forest certification was not originally designed to produce economic benefits to forest communities. It may not be appropriate for many small and community forest operations (Dawn Robinson, personal communication, 2003). Nevertheless, as White and Martin (2002) point out, millions of poor people live in and around many of the most biologically valuable forests in the world. Experience with forest degradation in the developing world has shown that in addition to commercial logging, mining and oil exploration and road-building, poverty is an important pressure for land use change, as people encroach upon forests to feed their families through agricultural and animal-raising activities. The solution, however, cannot simply be to remove people from endangered forests. Bans and other attempts to sever local peoples' relationship to the forest have produced increases rather than reductions in illegal felling and forest degradation, often by outsiders (Merino, 1997). Forest conservation solutions in the global South are more likely to be effective if they include oversight and participation by local communities.

FSC has had an historic commitment to help protect threatened Southern forests since its founding. Yet currently, as Van Dam (2003, p. 6) remarks, forest certification paradoxically relies on the market to function, but is actually disassociated from the market in the sense that it lacks consistent economic incentives for the value added by certification. The lack of a price premium or assured market in return for the producer's investment in certification makes it difficult for communities to pursue certification on their own. Molnar

(2003, p. ii) observes that “with no changes to certification schemes, [certification] is unlikely to reach more than 2% of all community forests in the next decade. This is worrisome because of the very significant contribution that forest communities can make to sustainable forestry”. If certification is to be a more effective instrument in protecting Southern forests increasingly in community hands, a scheme needs to be developed by which certification can more directly serve community-based forest operators. As will be argued below, a “Fair Trade” approach might offer a means for community forest operations to compete in international markets from their strengths rather than from their weaknesses.

5. Fair Trade coffee⁵

Fair Trade may provide lessons useful in rethinking the way certification serves forest communities and helps protect their natural resources. Fair Trade is “a trading partnership which aims at sustainable development for excluded and disadvantaged producers (Robinson, 2000, p. 21)”. The Fair Trade movement “seeks to create more egalitarian commodity networks linking consumers in the global North with marginalized producers in the global South (Raynolds, 2002a, p. 404)”. Fair Trade’s roots go back 40 years to Alternative Trade organizations (ATOs) which promoted partnerships between non-profit importers and retailers in the North and small-scale producers in developing countries (Zonneveld, 2003). Today, Fair Trade also offers products in large mainstream distribution channels under a combined label managed by an international NGO, the Fair Trade Labelling Organizations International (FLO). FLO currently encompasses numerous Fairtrade initiatives including commodities such as coffee, bananas, fresh fruit, cocoa, tea, rice, sugar, honey and others (FLO, 2005).

Coffee is the Fair Trade commodity with the longest history and highest sales (James, 2000, p. 23). Coffee is one of the five most important world commodities. It is also mainly produced by poor, small-scale farmers in the global South. According to Fitter and Kaplinsky (2001, p. 12), Fair Trade accounted in 2001 for about 1% of total global coffee sales. In 2004, nearly 200 Fair Trade coffee grower associations were registered with FLO, representing some 670,000 small-scale growers in Latin America, Africa and Asia (FLO, cited in Raynolds et al., 2004, p. 1112). Fair Trade coffee imports in Europe in 2002 registered sales of 27 million pounds worth over \$300 million dollars. In the US and Canada in 2000,

Fair Trade coffee sales of 4.7 million pounds worth \$US 64 million were registered (Giovannucci, 2001; O’Brien, 2002).

5.1. The coffee commodity chain

The conventional coffee market is a buyer-driven commodity chain (Ponte, 2002, p. 1107) dominated by large roasters, including some of the world’s largest corporations. Roasters are increasingly concentrated, with five giant agro-food corporations shaping the world retail market (Waridel, 2002, p. 53). Since the 1989 collapse of the International Coffee Agreement, prices have fallen to their lowest level in a 100 years. Millions of small farm families have suffered the loss of their livelihoods (Murray et al., 2003, p. 3; Oxfam, 2002). Yet despite coffee prices well below production costs, the TNCs buying and roasting most of the world’s coffee are making unprecedented profits (FLO, 2005; Oxfam, 2002, p. 21).

The coffee sector’s giant corporations generally use in-house purchasing organizations or multinational dealers to collect their coffee (Renard, 2003, p. 494). Multiple intermediaries exist between small-scale producers and end consumers which ordinarily appropriate the largest proportion of the final price of the coffee (see Waridel’s basic “coffee route” in Fig. 1). Yet Renard (1999, 2003) points to a growing number of small roasters which make possible an “interstice” in the

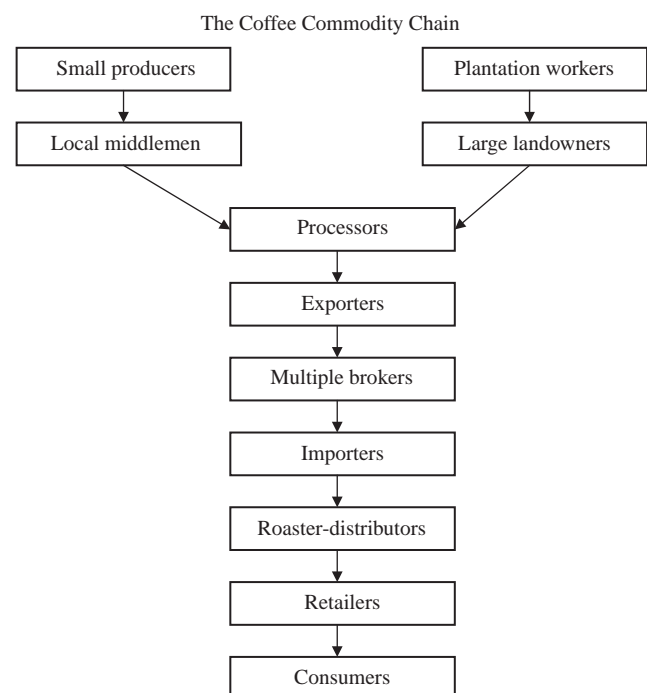


Fig. 1. The coffee commodity chain (Waridel 2002: 43).

⁵The discussion of coffee and wood products commodity chains in the following two sections draws from the comparative framework developed in Taylor (2005).

global coffee market where small-scale producers can enter a shortened supply chain under more favorable conditions (also see Ponte, 2002, p. 1111). The number of these small roasters has increased rapidly with the dramatic growth of the specialty coffee market (Oxfam, 2002, pp. 25 and 26; Fitter and Kaplinsky, 2001). These small roasters have more direct contact with both producers and end consumers of coffee. They represent, therefore, a more favorable niche for “sustainable” coffees like Fair Trade, organic and shade grown products (Giovannucci, 2001; Fitter and Kaplinsky, 2001, p. 12).

Unlike forest certification, which aims mainly to influence forest management and production conditions, Fair Trade aims explicitly to alter trade relations in conventional markets. To be Fair Trade certified, coffee producers’ operations must be small-scale and be organized into politically independent democratic associations. Fair Trade coffee growers must also pursue ecological goals, conserving natural resources and minimizing the use of chemical inputs. Indeed, the Fair Trade coffee system is strengthening its commitment to environmental sustainability by strongly encouraging growers to convert to organic production (Murray et al., 2003, pp. 5 and 11). Coffee buyers, for their part, must agree to purchase directly from grower organizations with contracts extending beyond one harvest cycle in order to promote greater financial stability for growers. They must also meet the FLO minimum price of \$US 1.21 per pound (Arabica coffee) and pay a social premium of \$0.5 per pound (Murray et al., 2003, pp. 6 and 20). Contrary to forest and most other certification schemes worldwide, traders, producers and other participants in Fair Trade share the cost of FLO certification and monitoring (FLO, 2005). Moreover, much of this cost is passed up the commodity chain, where end consumers pay a premium for fair certified coffee.

End consumers demonstrate willingness to pay a premium for Fair Trade because of the additional value added by the scheme’s certification and monitoring. Renard (1999, p. 490) writes that with Fair Trade coffee, “moral and ideological considerations are added to the value of the product itself. Consumers are conscious of their participation in humanitarian or charitable actions when they buy a certain product over another (also see Ponte, 2002, p. 1110)”. Smith (1996, p. 506) suggests that specialty coffee consumption is linked to a larger trend in the North toward designer products that contain symbolic qualities that call attention to the way “consumption of this particular product marks the consumer as someone different, exceptional, and indeed superior”. This “identity marketing” among end consumers has since Fair Trade’s ATO origins been supported in large part by the scheme’s capacity to establish and sustain direct

links between Northern consumers and Southern producers.⁶

5.2. *Coffee’s characteristics and symbolic consumption*

Coffee is particularly suited to identity marketing strategies that personalize consumption in socially and environmentally responsible ways and make concrete a relationship ordinarily made abstract by time, distance, geography, culture and class. Coffee is a relatively simple product, far less complex than manufactured products combining highly diverse components from multiple sources. According to Talbot (1996, p. 61), despite having a large number of intermediaries, the coffee commodity chain is a relatively simple one with few side branches. “Green coffee is a semi-processed raw material that is used to make only a few final products—roasted, brewed, or instant coffee for final consumption. Very few other inputs are used in the growing or processing of green coffee or its manufacture into final consumable forms”. At the same time, because coffee is produced exclusively in the Third World, it lends itself to Fair Trade exchange relations with Northern consumers (Brown, 1993, p. 181).

Coffee, therefore, allows a direct link to be more readily established back to the beverage’s source, where its producers can be visualized as real people in real social, political and economic contexts. That coffee is often consumed in a social setting reinforces its effectiveness in consumers’ identity construction. Finally, coffee consumption involves low cost, low risk purchasing strategies by end consumers. Fair Trade’s price premium, though a significant proportion of cost per unit, involves less outlay in absolute terms than products such as certified lumber. Consumers purchase coffee in relatively small lots; a decision to purchase a cup or several pounds of coffee to make a value statement to social peers is less risky and long lasting than a decision to purchase costly durable goods such as furniture.

6. Obstacles to a Fair Trade approach to community forest certification

Given the characteristics of the coffee commodity chain described above, significant obstacles appear in the way of developing a Fair Trade approach to community forest certification and labeling. The wood products commodity chain is often highly complex and the growing certified market is dominated by giant

⁶The relationship between the symbolic dimension of consumers’ choices (Bourdieu, 1984) and the commodity chain structure of Fair Trade and other certification schemes merits a more systematic analysis than is possible in the present paper.

retailers who may have little interest in generating additional grassroots demand for certified wood. The characteristics of many wood products themselves make establishing direct ties between end consumers and producers problematic. Moreover, FSC's organizational approach to certification has been shaped by its commitment to work mainly within conventional markets, an approach which has over time led to the predominance of stronger, Northern-based participants. Indeed, intense competitive pressures from other certification schemes currently push FSC to seek larger scale state and industrial suppliers in order to satisfy its buyers' demands.

6.1. The wood products commodity chain

In contrast to coffee, which involves almost entirely South–North production and trade flow, wood production and trade are both dominated by Northern countries.⁷ If exports and imports are combined, ten countries, all industrialized nations except for China, account for over 2/3 of the value of world trade in forest products. About 3/5 of total wood product trade occurs within regions. North America and Europe, for example, obtain 80% or more of their imports from within their own regions (Peck, 2001, pp. 101 and 131).

Like that of coffee, the international wood products market is undergoing concentration (Rice et al., 2000, p. 30). Almost half the annual global wood harvest is now processed by 50 forest products companies, with the top 50 users of wood consuming 10% of the total (WWF, 2001a). Nevertheless, the rest of the wood products sector is quite fragmented, with the wood commodity chain varying greatly by country and type of wood product (WWF, 2001a; Peck, 2001, p. 157). Contrary to the relative simplicity of the coffee commodity chain, complete wood products chains can involve hundreds of individual companies, many stages of processing and transportation and multiple changes in product ownership (Lawrence, 2002, p. 101; Peck, 2001, pp. 126 and 154). The two middle links in the simplified diagram of the basic wood products commodity chain (Fig. 2) in particular are highly complex and varied.

The certified wood products commodity chain currently lacks an “interstice” which would facilitate an alternative model of production and trade. The chain lacks an economic actor analogous to Fair Trade coffee's small roaster, which would have a strong interest in promoting market access by small and community-based forest operators. The certified wood products market increasingly resembles a buyer-driven

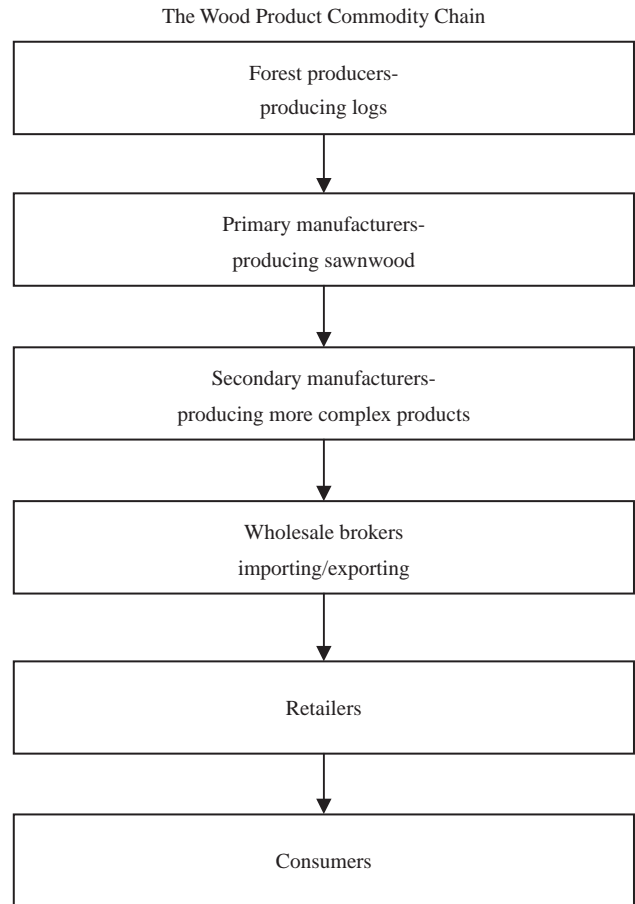


Fig. 2. The wood product commodity chain (adapted from Bass et al., 2001: 45; Lawrence 2002: 101).

commodity chain like that of conventional coffee. Bass et al. (2001, p. 72) observe that most important commercial successes in placing certified wood have occurred in the DIY (Do-It-Yourself) where large global retailers like B&Q, IKEA, HomeDepot and Lowes are the key actors. Unlike the specialty coffee market's small roasters, the markets controlled by these giant retailers are not readily accessible to small-scale or community-based forest producers in the South. Large retailers may have little interest in small scale or community-based certification or in developing direct end consumer–producer relationships analogous to those of Fair Trade coffee. Similarly to the conventional coffee sector's large roasters, large wood products retailers tend to seek large-scale suppliers best capable of providing them with raw material of consistent quality, specifications and timing.

These large wood product retailers appear to appropriate the greatest share of the benefits of certification's value added relative to producers. Significant demand for certified wood has developed without the appearance of a systematic price premium or new markets for most certified producers. Retailers have consistently resisted paying a premium, arguing that end consumers are

⁷Despite their geographic location in the Southern Hemisphere, New Zealand, Japan and South Africa are economically, culturally and historically part of the “global North.” My gratitude to an anonymous reviewer for raising this point.

unwilling to pay more for certified wood products. Though the evidence on consumers' willingness to pay is mixed, several studies suggest that Northern consumers would be prepared to pay a significant premium (Vlosky et al., 1999; WWF, 2001b; Rametsteiner et al., 1998; Thornber, 1999). In reality, there is little evidence of significant, systematic investment in developing end consumer awareness of and demand for certified wood products. Bass et al. (2001, p. 64) suggest that retailers may lack serious interest in generating growth in end consumer demand for certified wood. Large retailers' main interest in certification stems from its contribution to their risk management and reputation enhancement strategies as certification helps protect them from criticism by environmental groups and regulatory agencies. One executive of UK retailer B&Q, for example, stated that "we weren't ever going to have customers demanding sustainable timber in our stores. But we knew that if our name, B&Q, was associated with destruction of tropical forests or even temperate forests, our brand name... would be damaged (quoted in Counsell and Terje Loraas, 2002, pp. 12 and 13)". In addition, these giant retailers may also be understandably reluctant to awaken greater grassroots interest in certified wood which might generate new criticism of their uncertified wood products.

6.2. Wood product characteristics and symbolic consumption

A media advertisement on behalf of FSC recently announced, beneath a photograph of Pierce Brosnan, the world's latest James Bond, that "You don't have to be a movie star to be an action hero" (Freris and Laschefeski, 2001, p. 40). This suggests that FSC and its supporters have understood Fair Trade's lesson about the power of harnessing alternative marketing to consumers' notions of personal identity. This "James Bond" marketing strategy does attempt to personalize the consumer's relationship to far away forest production conditions (though not a relationship to other human beings in those forests). Yet little systematic effort has been invested thus far in developing grassroots end consumer demand for FSC certified products.

Unfortunately, unlike coffee, the characteristics of many wood products do not easily lend themselves to personalized symbolic consumption strategies. Peck (2001, pp. 99 and 293) observes that "...of all the commodities of importance in international trade, wood products are one of the most complex and diversified, ranging from basic raw materials straight from the forest to sophisticated manufactured products. One has to talk about markets in the plural for wood products rather than a single market". The world wood products market includes five major subsectors: paper and paperboard (33%), wood raw material (14%), sawn-

wood (23%), wood-based panels (11%) and woodpulp and waste paper (19%).

Most of these wood products arrive to end consumers as complex combinations of natural and synthetic materials sourced from multiple locations worldwide. Manufactured products also often require quite specific species, specifications and dimensions that are difficult to match with available certified wood supplies. FSC has recognized this difficulty by instituting a percentage-based policy in which assembled wood products can carry the FSC logo if the product contains 70% or more wood from certified sources (Counsell and Terje Loraas, 2002, p. 21).

Many wood products, furthermore, do not offer the consumer the low cost, low risk purchasing decisions associated with coffee consumption. Supporting a Fair Trade premium for high value non-perishable goods such as lumber or furniture requires a significant outlay by consumers. And unlike coffee, consumption of many wood products, such as construction materials, may not occur in public, and thereby may not provide the same range of social opportunities for consumers' identity work.

6.3. FSC's commitment to conventional wood products markets

While its social standards recognize the link between conservation and poverty alleviation, FSC's principal commitment has been to promote sustainable forest management via certification of wood production conditions. It has never aimed to modify existing trade relations but on the contrary has worked mainly through conventional market channels. In recent years, moreover, competitive pressures on FSC have encouraged a focus on large-scale suppliers and buyers. While once all certified forests were FSC certified, today, FSC has 23% of the competitive "certification market".⁸ Atyi and Simula (2002, pp. 11 and 17) estimate that 2/3 of the demand for FSC labeled products comes from WWF's Global Forest and Trade Network, whose members include giant global retailers. Critics fear that high demand for FSC products by major retailers and competition with other schemes push FSC to expand rapidly with a strategy favoring large suppliers. Indeed, an FSC-commissioned Change Management Team remarked in 2001 that "with the growing acceptance of the FSC as the preferred brand by a number of major retailers (e.g., IKEA, B&Q, and the Home Depot) the pressure is on to FSC to deliver. Should FSC fail to respond to the market demand for labeled products, an

⁸The PEFC has the largest share, with 38% of certified forests. National schemes in North America, including SFI, ATFS and CSA together account for 25% of the world's certified forests (Atyi and Simula, 2002, p. 11).

ever increasing number of competing certification schemes stand ready and able to overtake FSC” (quoted in Counsell and Terje Loraas, 2002, p. 26). Bass et al. (2001, p. 86) argue that such pressures have encouraged FSC’s evolution from an NGO concerned with addressing degradation and deforestation, particularly in Southern forests, to a “buyer-driven preoccupation with delivering large quantities of certified wood products, which has naturally led to a focus on those big producers who already have well managed forests and can readily supply the produce”.

Rather than directly challenging the organization of conventional markets, as with Fair Trade coffee, many of the key assumptions underlying FSC certification are compatible with conventional approaches to market organization. For example, FSC’s standards and principles are explicitly designed to operate globally (though in some regions, national and regional standards are developed to respond appropriately within the overall framework). This insistence that all participants be subject to uniform rules is consistent with a *laissez faire* presumption that individuals enjoy equal opportunities to compete in the market. In similar fashion, the “producer-pays” practice of covering certification and monitoring costs is coherent with conventional market assumptions that all participants benefit as individuals and therefore should assume risks as individuals. Nevertheless, the predominance in FSC certification after 10 years of state and industry controlled temperate and boreal forests relative to tropical and community forests suggests that certification’s participants do not operate on equal ground. Large economic actors at both production and retailing stages of the wood products commodity chain have helped shape a forest certification without a systematic price premium or significantly enhanced market access for small-scale and community-based forest operators. Finally, forest certification schemes have tended to presume implicitly that the “invisible hand” of the market will without intervention translate consumers’ values into supply of social and environmental services. Rather than encourage investment in difficult-to-control end consumer demand, forest certification has relied heavily on large retailer demand.

The lack of an already existing “interstice” in the certified wood products chain analogous to that made possible in coffee by Fair Trade’s small roaster, characteristics of wood products which complicate the creation of direct ties between Northern consumers and Southern producers, competitive pressures encouraging FSC to seek large suppliers, and elements of its own organizational strategy consistent with conventional market organization are all features which make a Fair Trade approach to forest certification problematic. Nevertheless, as will be argued below, other features of forest certification, particularly in the FSC scheme,

are potentially supportive of a Fair Trade community forest certification approach.

7. A Fair Trade approach to forest certification

Rather than developing a completely new forest certification framework, a Fair Trade approach to forest certification should build on the FSC experience. In addition to having rigorous performance-based environmental standards, the FSC scheme includes the strongest social standards and historical commitment to community-based forestry.⁹ The above obstacles notwithstanding, conditions favorable to a Fair Trade approach to community forest certification do exist. First, a Fair Trade approach would be consistent with FSC’s historic pursuit of social as well as environmental objectives. Since its founding, FSC has recognized the link in the developing world between conservation and the well being of the people living in and around forests. Indeed, FSC, its certifiers, and its donors “have aggressively supported community certification” (Molnar, 2003, p. 1). Today, FSC’s Social Strategy charts out an explicit social agenda for forest certification (FSC, 2003a). FSC has been working recently to improve access to certification by less powerful actors in the South. For example, new certification procedures for Small and Low Intensity Managed Forests (SLIMFs) are being designed and field tested which observe FSC’s global principles and criteria while recognizing the special problems of such operations related to unfavorable economies of scale, organizational inefficiencies and difficulties accessing international markets (FSC, 2005a; Robinson and Brown, 2002). Other measures FSC has been exploring include group and stepwise certification which would be more accessible to small-scale operations (Molnar, 2003, p. 16). FSC has also been responding to criticisms of its Social Chamber’s weakness relative to other interests represented in its General Assembly (Counsell and Terje Loraas, 2002, pp. 7, 8 and 32) by restructuring to promote a better balance of influence and interests (Bass et al., 2001, p. 94). Though FSC has in the past consciously avoided direct involvement in the commodity chain beyond the forest, affiliated organizations are developing assistance programs for certified communities and other small-scale operations. For example, the WWF is now developing producers groups (Bass et al., 2001, p. 87). Rainforest Alliance’s Smartwood Program is supporting a new organization called TREES, which provides marketing and other assistance to certified community-based forest

⁹Significantly, FSC met in May 2005 at the Timber Trade Federation in London with representatives of NGOs, the private sector, and research institutions to explore how to introduce Fair Trade principles into the timber trade supply chain (FSC, 2005c).

producers (Rebecca Butterfield, personal communication, 2003).

Second, a Fair Trade approach to community forest certification could arguably be consistent with FSC's existing practice of making its global standards and principles appropriately responsive to local ecological and geographic conditions. There is much evidence to show that in the global South, as one Mexican rural activist put it in an interview, one cannot talk about conservation without talking about poverty (Taylor, 2003, p. 655). To appropriately and effectively protect threatened forests in the South, the livelihood needs of local people must be addressed. FSC's SLIMF initiative suggests that it recognizes that achieving its overall goal of sustainable management in the developing world requires an approach adapted to the unique conditions under which small-scale and low intensity operations occur.

Third, a specialized Fair Trade project, either within or outside of FSC, would not necessarily compete directly with FSC's existing larger scale suppliers or buyers. On the contrary, a Fair Trade community forest certification could result in a new market niche, bringing new buyers into certification, including some who currently avoid wood entirely by using synthetic materials (see Peck, 2001, p. 158). Conventional buyers and retailers of certified wood may discover that, accompanied by adequate public promotion, Fair Trade community forest certification could increase overall certified wood sales because of increased end consumer awareness of forest certification. Conventional buyers and retailers fearing that a Fair Trade community forestry would undermine the legitimacy of their non-certified products in the public eye could find reassurance in recent corporate participation in Fair Trade coffee. The commitment by global corporations such as Starbucks and Carrefour to supply a portion of their coffee from Fair Trade sources has not resulted in significant undermining of the public legitimacy of their non-Fair Trade products. Indeed, some observers fear that these corporate actors may be benefiting from Fair Trade with only a token commitment to the schemes' principles (Murray et al., 2003; Reynolds, 2002a; Renard, 2003).

A Fair Trade approach to community forest certification would highlight the importance in conservation of "forest steward communities" in the global South which work together to secure adequate livelihoods today and for their children's' futures by ensuring the sustainability of their natural resources. Much like Fair Trade's emphasis on democratic associations of small coffee producers, an important feature of these forest steward communities' sustainable management would be their systematic attention to inclusiveness and equity in the management of forests and in the distribution of forest-related benefits. This focus on inclusiveness and equity

would be compatible with FSC's social standards, which stress the importance of including local stakeholders in decision making and benefit distribution.

In addition to attention to the technical and social dimensions of community forest management, a Fair Trade approach would also aim to modify the social relations of its certified wood product chain. It would, for example, seek to guarantee more equitable ways of sharing costs of certification, a modification of responsibilities coherent with a key principle of community forestry that parties with a stake in healthy forests should not only participate but also invest in sustainable management. In addition to forest dwellers, stakeholders in the health of Southern forests include the international community. Rather than assigning total financial responsibility for certification and monitoring to community-based producers, other actors in a Fair Trade wood commodity chain might help cover certification costs. Given the lack of systematic investment in awakening end consumer interest in certified wood thus far, it cannot yet be established that consumers are unwilling to support a price premium. Possible cost sharing arrangements therefore, could include a price premium paid by end consumers, and agreements among multiple actors to share costs, including producers, buyers at various nodes of the commodity chain, and other parties involved in marketing Fair Trade certified wood products.¹⁰

For a Fair Trade approach to community forest certification to operate successfully, significant effort and resources would need to be invested in developing new specialized market niches for certified community wood products. Such specialized markets could be developed via a dual commercialization strategy. First, end consumer demand could be promoted with grassroots campaigns that seek to develop direct ties between consumers and producers of certified wood. These could highlight both the role of forest steward communities in protecting threatened Southern forests and provide end consumers with a means to share responsibility for sustainable forest management. These campaigns could learn from the experience of the ATO movement and organizations such as Equal Exchange and Global Exchange which have promoted Fair Trade coffee by personalizing the link between end consumers and producers. Moreover, a Fair Trade forest certification scheme could seek to build new domestic markets in large Southern markets such as Mexico and Brazil. Fair Trade coffee cooperatives in Mexico, for example, have begun to collaborate in developing a domestic Fair

¹⁰Though Fair Trade coffee certification and monitoring costs were originally covered by buyers and end consumers (Reynolds, 2002b), FLO has recently implemented a new policy in which producers and traders contribute toward the scheme's costs via certification or registration fees (FLO, 2005).

Trade system within that country (Comercio Justo, 2005).

The successful creation of those personalized end consumer–producer ties would require identifying and developing certified wood products with appropriate characteristics. To be appropriate for Fair Trade, products would need to facilitate end consumers' symbolic identity work while minimizing economic risk per unit purchased. One such product might be certified paper products, for which, Bass et al. (2001, pp. 56 and 58) observe, a high demand exists. Paper manufacturer's wood fiber sources are typically numerous, constantly change with market fluctuations and are difficult to track. Nevertheless, recycled paper products have long been successfully marketed among end consumers with labels indicating a percentage of guaranteed "post-consumer material". FSC has adopted a similar method to make certification and labeling possible in such cases, by allowing chip and fiber products to carry the FSC logo with at least 17.5% certified material (FSC, 2003b). Other products possibly amenable to community forest certification and labeling might include furniture (a product already often sold via ATO outlets despite its relatively high cost and associated Fair Trade premium),¹¹ packaging materials, light construction materials for household projects such as particle board, plywood, molding and veneer, and more complex manufactured items combining wood with synthetic materials. If development of such products were accompanied by sufficient grassroots promotion to awaken public awareness of community wood certification, the capacity of even higher value-added products to facilitate consumers' symbolic identity strategies could be enhanced.

A second, related dimension of a dual commercialization strategy could selectively target institutional buyers. FSC is currently participating in discussions of public procurement of wood products (FSC, 2005a). In related fashion, large organizational buyers such as local governments, universities, church groups, voluntary organizations and even corporations could publicly demonstrate their commitment to community stewardship of Southern forests by agreeing to include certified community materials in their large-scale purchases of office, construction materials and other supplies. Fair Trade coffee promoters have been experiencing significant success in persuading such institutional buyers to commit to "responsible purchasing" policies.

At the same time, nevertheless, Fair Trade coffee's own "mainstreaming strategy" has awakened concern that large, powerful participants may serve themselves without an authentic commitment to Fair Trade principles. The proliferation of corporate designed

"fair" coffee schemes outside of FLO's Fair Trade network underscores concerns about how the changing social and political relations of the initiative's commodity chain pose new governance challenges (Murray et al., 2003; Renard, 2003, 2004; Taylor, 2005; Taylor et al., forthcoming). A Fair Trade community forestry commercialization scheme targeting large institutional buyers, therefore, would call for careful attention to creating governance structures that ensure that other actors in the commodity chain genuinely support the scheme rather undermining it.¹² However, the recent experience in the coffee sector with corporate support for reform of the international coffee system (Oxfam, 2002), including the recently launched Common Code for the Coffee Community (GTZ, 2004), suggests that even large powerful economic actors benefiting from the status quo can recognize that a system requires reform to survive in the longer run. Similar to the Fair Trade coffee experience, large powerful market actors in the wood products sector may well acknowledge that they too, can benefit from trading relations that promote greater fairness and inclusiveness in addition to environmental sustainability.

8. Conclusion

Forest certification has clearly been successful in terms of its rapid recent growth in the number of participants, the area of forests certified, and the increasing availability of certified wood products in the market. It has been less successful in following through on its initial aim to protect tropical forests in the global South. Community-based forest operations, in particular, face barriers to certification despite their growing importance in managing the world's forests. In addition to internal obstacles to international competitiveness, the lack of a price premium for certification and significant new markets for most participants now make it difficult for communities to adopt certification as a rational management strategy.

This paper has proposed that a Fair Trade-like approach to community forest certification and labeling could enhance certification's capacity to respond to the social and environmental requirements of sustainable management in the developing world. A Fair Trade community forest scheme could build on the highly successful experience of FSC, the certification scheme with the strongest historical commitment to community

¹¹Significantly, FSC (2005a) highlights the example of FSC certified Inspiration Furniture in South East Asia.

¹²That FSC is taking seriously its own governance challenges is illustrated by a Task Force Group draft proposal for new governance arrangements circulated in mid-2005. The draft proposal stated that FSC's success "is not based exclusively in our ability to write better standards, but in our ability to create a series of diverse and strong relationships among our stakeholder groups" [author's translation] (FSC, 2005b).

certification. This paper has argued that a Fair Trade approach would be highly compatible with key principles and objectives of FSC as currently structured.

A preliminary framework has been proposed for assessing both the problems and the significant potential of developing such a Fair Trade community forestry approach. A Fair Trade community forestry certification would require an explicit commitment to modify trade relations in the conventional certified wood market, a commitment not previously assumed by forest certification. A Fair Trade approach would almost certainly require a price premium, and broader support for certification costs and the development of new markets. The organization of certified wood commodity chains would need to be explored carefully to identify and develop an “interstice” where community forest operations might enter under more favorable conditions where their unique social and economic characteristics enhance rather than weaken their competitiveness. Certified wood products would need to be identified or developed that could sustain more direct ties between Northern end consumers and Southern community forest producers. And, systematic attention and investment would need to be devoted to developing appropriate commercialization strategies which might effectively enlist both end consumers and selected institutional buyers.

Communities are assuming growing importance as stewards of the world's forests. One of the key lessons of community forestry has been that when people with a stake in a common pool resource have real access and genuine opportunities to participate in decision-making, they can be highly effective stewards of their resources. A corollary principal is that stakeholders should invest in sustainable management as well. As a stakeholder in the health of the global forest, the international community's support of community forest stewards in the South can be viewed as a logical co-investment in sustainable management rather than as a subsidy. A Fair Trade community forest certification could represent a potentially highly effective instrument for bringing together an unprecedented range of stakeholders across North–South boundaries in cooperative pursuit of sustainable solutions to global problems.

Acknowledgments

I am greatly indebted to Doug Murray, Dan Klooster, Tad Mutersbaugh, Marie Christine Renard, and three anonymous reviewers for insightful and helpful comments on previous versions of this paper, and to the Ford Foundation-supported CSU and North/South Fair Trade Research Groups for sharing their experience and insights. I also thank the many Mexican coffee and timber producers and their leaders

who have shared with me both their successes and their challenges with certification and labeling. All errors of fact and interpretation are, of course, my responsibility.

References

- Altwater, E., Mahnkopf, B., 1997. The world market unbound. *Review of International Political Economy* 4, 448–471.
- Atyi, R.E., Simula, M., 2002. *Forest Certification: Pending Challenges for Tropical Timber*. International Tropical Timber Organization.
- Baker, M., Kusel, J., 2003. *Community Forestry in the United States: Learning from the Past, Crafting the Future*. Island Press, Washington, DC.
- Bass, S., Thornber, K., Markopoulos, M., Roberts, S., Grieg-Grah, M., 2001. *Certification's Impacts on Forests, Stakeholders and Supply Chains*. Instruments for Sustainable Private Sector Forestry Series. International Institute for Environment and Development, London.
- Beckert, J., 2003. Economic Sociology and embeddedness: how shall we conceptualize economic action? *Journal of Economic Issues* 37, 769–787.
- Bourdieu, P., 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Bray, D.B., Pérez, L.M., 2002a. *The Rise of Community Forestry in Mexico; History, Concepts, and Lessons Learned from Twenty-Five Years of Community Timber Production*. The Ford Foundation.
- Bray, D.B., Sánchez, J.L.P., Murphy, E.C., 2002b. Social dimensions of organic coffee production in Mexico: lessons for eco-labeling initiatives. *Society and Natural Resources* 15, 429–446.
- Brown, M.B., 1993. *Fair Trade: Reform and Realities in the International Trading System*. Zed Books, London.
- Chapin, M., 2004. A challenge to conservationists. *World Watch*, November/December. <http://www.worldwatch.org/> [accessed June 2005].
- Comercio Justo México, A.C., 2005. *Pérfil*. <http://www.comerciojusto.com.mx> [Accessed January 2005].
- Counsell, S., Terje Loraas, K., 2002. *Trading in Credibility: The Myth and Reality of the Forest Stewardship Council*. The Rainforest Foundation.
- de Camino, R., Alforos, M., 2000. Certification in Latin America: experience to date. *Forest, Trees and People Newsletter* (43), 25–27.
- Ekoko, F., 2000. Balancing politics, economics and conservation: the case of the Cameroon forestry law reform. *Development and Change* 31, 131–154.
- Fairtrade Labelling Organizations (FLO), 2005. www.fairtrade.net [accessed March 2005].
- Fitter, R., Kaplinsky, R., 2001. Who gains from product rents as the coffee market becomes more differentiated? A value chain analysis. *IDS Bulletin Paper*.
- Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), 2003a. *FSC social strategy; building and implementing a social agenda*. <http://www.fsc.org> [accessed June 2003].
- Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), 2003b. *FSC policy on percentage-based claims*, 15 May 2000. <http://www.fsc.org> [accessed June 2003].
- Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), 2005a. <http://www.fsc.org> [accessed June 2005].
- Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), 2005b. *Grupo de Trabajo de Iniciativas Nacionales (Task Force Group). Borrador del Informe de Recomendaciones*. Mimeo, Junio 2005.
- Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), 2005c. *FSC news and notes—May 2005 Issue* <http://www.fsc.org>.

- Freris, N., Laschefeski, K., 2001. Seeing the wood from the trees. *The Ecologist* 31 (6).
- Gauld, R., 2000. Maintaining centralized control in community-based forestry: policy construction in the Philippines. *Development and Change* 31, 229–254.
- Gereffi, G., 1994. The Organization of buyer-driven global commodity chains: how US retailers shape overseas production networks. In: Gereffi, G., Korzeniewicz, M. (Eds.), *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism*. Praeger, Westport, CI, pp. 95–122.
- Gereffi, G., 2001. Shifting governance structures in global commodity chains, with special reference to the internet. *American Behavioral Scientist* 44, 1616–1637.
- Gereffi, G., Korzeniewicz, M., Korzeniewicz, R.P., 1994. Introduction: global commodity chains. In: Gereffi, G., Korzeniewicz, M. (Eds.), *Commodity Chains and Global Capitalism*. Westview, Boulder, CO, pp. 1–14.
- Gereffi, G., Humphrey, J., Sturgeon, T., 2005. The governance of global value chains. *Review of International Political Economy* 12 (1), 78–104.
- Gerez Fernández, P., Alatorre Guzman, E., 2005. Challenges for forest certification and community forestry in Mexico. In: Bray, D.B., Merino-Pérez, L., Barry, D. (Eds.), *The Community Forests of Mexico: Managing for Sustainable Landscapes*. University of Texas Press, Austin, pp. 71–87.
- Gesellschaft fuer Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), 2004. Common code for the coffee community. http://www.sustainable-coffee.net/code_of_conduct/ [accessed November 2004].
- Giovannucci, D., 2001. Sustainable Coffee Survey of the North American Specialty Coffee Industry. The Summit Foundation, The Nature Conservancy, North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation, Specialty Coffee Association of America, The World Bank.
- Gómez, I., Méndez, V.E., 2005. Análisis de Contexto: el Caso de la Asociación de Comunidades Forestales del Petén (ACOFOP). PRISMA, San Salvador, El Salvador.
- Granovetter, M., 1985. Economic action and social structure: the problem of embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology* 91, 481–510.
- Hopkins, T.K., Wallerstein, I., 1986. Commodity chains in the world-economy prior to 1800. *Review* 10, 157–170.
- Humphrey, J., Schmitz, H., 2001. Governance in global value chains. *IDS Bulletin Paper* 32.
- James, D., 2000. Justice and Java: coffee in a fair trade market. *NACLA Report on the Americas* 34 (2), 11–14.
- Kaplinsky, R., 2000. Globalisation and unequalisation: what can be learned from value chain analysis? *Journal of Development Studies* 37, 117–146.
- Klooster, D., 2000. Community forestry and tree theft in Mexico: resistance or complicity in conservation? *Development and Change* 31, 281–305.
- Kruedener, B.V., 2000. FSC certification: enhancing social forestry developments? *Forest, Trees and People Newsletter* (43), 57–62.
- Lawrence, J., 2002. Case study 5: FSC chain of custody certification; dim light at the end of the tunnel. In: Counsell, S., Loraas, K.T. (Eds.), *Trading in Credibility: The Myth and Reality of the Forest Stewardship Council*. The Rainforest Foundation, pp. 100–106.
- Madrid, S., Chapela, F., 2003. Forest certification in Mexico: the cases of Durango and Oaxaca. Annex 3. In: Molnar, A. (Ed.), *Forest Certification and Communities: Looking Forward to the Next Decade*. Forest Trends.
- McCarthy, J.F., 2000. The changing regime: forest property and Reformasi in Indonesia. *Development and Change* 31, 91–129.
- Merino, L. (Ed.), 1997. *El Manejo Forestal Comunitario en México y sus Perspectivas de Sustentabilidad*. UNAM, SEMARNAP, CMSS, WRI, Cuernavaca, Mexico.
- Molnar, A., 2003. *Forest Certification and Communities: Looking Forward to the Next Decade*. Forest Trends.
- Murray, D., Reynolds, L.T., Taylor, P.L., 2003. *One Cup At a Time: Poverty Alleviation and Fair Trade Coffee in Latin America*. The Ford Foundation.
- O'Brien, C., 2002. 2002 Report on Fair Trade Trends in the US & Canada. Fair Trade Federation.
- Oxfam, 2002. *Mugged: Poverty in Your Coffee Cup*. Oxfam International.
- Peck, T., 2001. *The International Timber Trade*. Woodhead Publishing Limited, Cambridge, UK.
- Peluso, N., 1992. *Rich Forests, Poor People: Resource Control and Resistance in Java*. University of California Press, Berkeley, CA.
- Polanyi, K., 1957. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Times*. Beacon Press, Boston.
- Ponte, S., 2002. The 'Latte revolution'? Regulation, markets and consumption in the global coffee chain. *World Development* 30 (7), 1099–1122.
- Rametsteiner, E., Schwarzbauer, P., Juslin, H., Kärnä, J., Cooper, R., Samuel, J., Becker, M., Kühn, T., 1998. Potential Markets for Certified Forest Products in Europe. European Forest Institute, Joensuu, Finland: <http://www.efi.fi> [Accessed June 2003].
- Rametsteiner, E., Simula, M., 2002. Forest certification—an instrument to promote sustainable forest management? *Journal of Environmental Management* 67 (1), 87–98.
- Reynolds, L.T., 2002a. Consumer/producer links in fair trade coffee networks. *Sociologia Ruralis* 42 (4), 404–424.
- Reynolds, L.T., 2002b. Poverty alleviation through participation in fair trade coffee networks: existing research and critical issues. Background Document Prepared For D. Murray, L.T. Reynolds, P.L. Taylor. *One Cup At a Time: Poverty Alleviation and Fair Trade Coffee in Latin America*. The Ford Foundation.
- Reynolds, L.T., 2004. The globalization of organic agro-food networks. *World Development* 32, 725–743.
- Reynolds, L.T., Murray, D.L., Taylor, P.L., 2004. Fair trade coffee: building producer capacity via global networks. *Journal of International Development* 16, 1109–1121.
- Renard, M.-C., 1999. The interstices of globalization: the example of fair coffee. *Sociologia Ruralis* 39 (4), 484–500.
- Renard, M.-C., 2003. Fair trade: quality, market and conventions. *Journal of Rural Studies* 19, 87–96.
- Renard, M.-C., 2004. La Certificación de la Calidad Como Un Recurso Colectivo: El Caso del Comercio Justo. Presented at the Tenth biennial conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property (IASCP), Oaxaca, Mexico, August 9–13, 2004.
- Ribot, J.C., 2004. Discussant remarks for the panel: social and environmental product certification: bringing the global commons into the global market. Tenth biennial conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property (IASCP), Oaxaca, Mexico, August 9–13, 2004.
- Rice, T., et al., 2000. *Trade Liberalisation and its Impacts on Forests: An Overview of the Most Relevant Issues*. Fern Foundation.
- Robinson, D., 2000. *The Actual and Potential Impacts of Forest Certification and Fair Trade on Poverty and Injustice; the Case of Mexico*. The Ford Foundation, Community and Resource Development Unit, New York.
- Robinson, D., Brown, L., 2002. *The SLIMFs Initiative: A Progress Report*. Forest Stewardship Council.
- Rodrigues, J., 2004. Endogenous preferences and embeddedness: a reappraisal of Karl Polanyi. *Journal of Economic Issues* 37, 189–200.
- Simula, M., Eba'a Attil, R., 2002. Forest certification: pending challenges for tropical timber. Plenty of work needs to be done before certification becomes common in the tropics. *ITTO Newsletter* 12 (3).

- Smith, M.D., 1996. The empire filters back: consumption, production, and the politics of starbucks coffee. *Urban Geography* 17 (6), 502–525.
- Somers, M.R., Block, F., 2005. From poverty to perversity: ideas, markets, and institutions over 200 years of welfare debate. *American Sociological Review* 70, 260–287.
- Swedberg, R., 1990. *Economics and Sociology—Redefining Their Boundaries: Conversations with Economists and Sociologists*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Talbot, J.M., 1997. Where does your coffee dollar go? The division of income and surplus along the coffee commodity chain. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 32, 56–91.
- Taylor, P.L., 2003. Reorganization or division? New strategies of community forestry in Durango, Mexico. *Society and Natural Resources* 16, 643–661.
- Taylor, P.L., 2005. In the market but not of it: fair trade coffee and forest stewardship council certification as market-based social change. *World Development* 33 (1), 129–147.
- Taylor, P.L., Zabin, C., 2000. Neoliberal reform and sustainable forest management in Quintana Roo, Mexico: rethinking the institutional framework of the forestry pilot plan. *Agriculture and Human Values* 17, 141–156.
- Taylor, P.L., 2005. New Organizational Strategies in Community Forestry in Durango, Mexico. In: Bray, D.B., Merino-Pérez, L., Barry, D. (Eds.), *The Community Forests of Mexico: Managing for Sustainable Landscapes*. University of Texas Press, Austin, pp. 125–149.
- Taylor, P.L., Murray, D.L., Raynolds, L.T., 2005. Keeping trade fair: governance challenges in the fair trade coffee initiative. *Sustainable Development* 13, 199–208.
- Thornber, K., 1999. Impacts of certification on forests, stakeholders and markets—case study: bainings ecoforestry project. *Instruments for Sustainable Private Sector Forestry Project Series*. IIED.
- Van Dam, C., 2003. *La Economía de la Certificación Forestal: Desarrollo Sostenible Para Quien?* Paper presented at the Congreso Iberoamericano de Desarrollo y Medio Ambiente: ‘Desafíos Locales Ante la Globalización’, Quito, Ecuador.
- Vlosky, R.P., Ozanne, L.K., Fontenot, R.J., 1999. A conceptual model of us consumer willingness-to-pay for environmentally certified wood products. *Journal of Consumer Marketing* 16 (2), 122–136.
- Waridel, L., 2002. *Coffee with Pleasure: Just Java and World Trade*. Black Rose Books, Montreal, New York, London.
- White, A., Martin, A., 2002. *Who Owns the World’s Forests? Forest Tenure and Public Forests in Transition*. Forest Trends and Center for International Environmental Law.
- World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), 2001a. *The Forest Industry in the 21st Century*. World Wide Fund Forests for Life Campaign, Godalming, Surrey, UK.
- World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), 2001b. WWF position statement, March 14, 2001.
- Zonneveld, L., 2003. 2001–2002: the Year in Review. FLO International <http://www.fairtrade.net>.