THE IMPACTS OF COFFEE PRODUCTION ON LOCAL PRODUCERS

Ву

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Research Proposal

The western culture of coffee is rapidly expanding. For many needing their morning fix of caffeine but in addition a social network forms around this drink. As the globalization of coffee spreads, consumers and corporations are becoming more and more disconnected from the coffee producers. This research project will look at examples of 'sustainable' coffee and the effects the production of coffee beans has on local communities. The research will look at specific case studies of regions where coffee is produced and the positive and negative impacts of coffee growth. In addition, the research will look at both sides of the fair trade industry and organic coffee on a more global level and at how effective these labels actually are. In doing so, the specific effects of economic change of coffee production on children in Brazil will be examined in "Coffee production effects on child labor and schooling in rural Brazil". The effects explored on such communities in Costa Rica, Southeast Asia and Africa will be economic, social and environmental. In "Maximizing sustainability of the Costa Rican coffee industry", the coffee production in Costa Rica to see the socio- economic results of the industry in order to improve their sustainability. "Fair Trade Labeling" discusses the Fair Trade labeling processes and exams the actually benefits of fair trade farming. The ultimate goal of this research project will be to find examples of coffee production with the least negative effects on communities and how these examples could possibly be projected onto other regions.

Annotated Bibliography

Glazer, Sarah. Fair Trade Labeling, CQ Researcher 30. 2007, pp433-456

Glazer discusses the current issues with Fair Trade Labeling but accumulating recent research done on the topic. Three of the issues Glazer covers are whether or not fair trade improves the lives of small farmers, the process of certification and if trade reforms would be more beneficial. One issue Glazer covers in her article are whether or not fair trade improves life significantly for the farmers. While some researchers point to the technical skills and development that the farmers receive, the secured contract and fixed prices, others argue that the prices paid for fair trade products. This is an example of how Glazer approaches the major issues within fair trade. This article is beneficial for my thesis since it gives a broad outline of the issues with fair trade, which holds a great portion of influence in the market of sustainable coffee and the article also discusses fair trade products impacts on local producers.

Lyon, Sarah. Evaluation fair trade consumption: politics, defetishization and producer participation. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 30, 5. 2006, pp452-464

Lyon argues that fair trade relies on a majority of Northern support and conviction, creates a connection between the consumers and conditions producers live in (what she terms defetishization) and should produce just trade relations. Through Lyon's research she also shows that the fair trade co-op also reinforces the leveled, producer- consumer gap and continues to put some farmers in a low level farming relationship and fair trade fails to transform the coffee market. Lyon's ethnographic research of Guatemalan fair trade coffee co-ops provides specific evidence of the life and involvement of coffee producers and shows the realties of what is considered to be a more producer- friendly coffee label.

D. D'haeze et al. Environmental and socio-economic impacts of institutional reforms on the agricultural sector of Vietnam Land suitability assessment for Robusta coffee in the Dak Gan region. *Agriculture, Ecosystems and Environment.* 105, 2005. Pp59-76

D'haeza and others' research offers an in-depth perspective on the impacts of coffee production on the Dak Gan region of Vietnam. The case study shows that the reason for the rapid expansion of coffee production in the region were because of the resettlement of the region, the liberalization and development of a free market economy and also the opportunity of legal land ownership. The article also shows the impact of the coffee production on the regions economy, ethnic tensions and the decline in sustainable production of the region. This paper is an ideal case study showing the direct and long term effects coffee production has on a specific region of the world.

Sick, Deborah. Coffee, Farming Families and Fair Trade in Costa Rica. *Latin American Research Review*. 43, 2008. Pp 193-205

Sick highlights both the negative and positive effects of Fair Trade coffee production in three regions of Costa Rica. An overall benefit to fair trade coffee is the fixed price that is well above the international market for coffee. Sick also points out how the Fair Trade market provides longer partnerships and a more stable market. Some of the negative impacts that the article outlines are that the demand for fair trade coffee is low therefore fair trade producers still must sell some of their coffee to the conventional market. In addition, Sick explains how the structure of fair trade keeps the farmers uneducated about the benefits of fair trade, therefore leaving many farmers unwilling to pay the high cost of certification. Sick's article clearly states the general effects of fair trade coffee on the producers and also shows the specific outcomes in Costa Rica.

Kruger, Diana I. Coffee production effects on child labor and schooling in rural Brazil. *Journal of Development Economics*. 82. 2007. Pp 448-463

Krugar uses empirical data to show how an increase in coffee production in Brazil negatively affects the poor children of the country. Krugar shows how as the increase in wealth in the coffee market, the amount of time poorer children are pulled out of school to work increases. Therefore Krugar shows how the production of coffee in this region is affecting the amount of education the youth are receiving. This article will provide further evidence that coffee production affects not only the farmers themselves but also their families and the future leaders of the countries.

Golding, K. and Peattie, K. In Search of a Golden Blend: Perspectives on the Marketing of Fair Trade Coffee. *Sustainable Development*. 13. 2005. Pp 154-165

This article focuses mainly on the marketing of Fair Trade coffee. Golding and Peattie show how the Fair Trade market depends greatly on consumer behavior, therefore Fair Trade's ability to benefit the producers relies on the marketing of the product. This article will give my paper further information on Fair Trade coffee and how the lives of the producers and choices of consumers are greatly intertwined.

Waston, K. and Achinelli M. Context and contingency: the coffee crisis for conventional small-scale coffee farmers in Brazil. *The Geograpical Journal*. 174. 2008, pp 223-234

Watson and Achinelli explore the effects of the globalization and liberalization of the coffee market on small-scale coffee farmers in Brazil. The article shows how the changes in the coffee market have forced the farmers to expand their production, which causes the degradation of the soil, therefore throwing the farmers into a cycle of unsustainable practice. Waston and Achinelli also show how the reactions and effects of small-scale farmers are engrained into their livelihoods and ability to provide for themselves and their families. This article will provide for my paper specific and unique research in Brazil, providing both historical context and current situation of the local producers in Brazil.

Gary, H. Justice is brewing in Guatemala. U.S. Catholic. Aug. 2004 pp 30-34

This article gives account to one coffee co-op in Guatemala that is organized by the Catholic Church. Gary tells of how the group offered hope to about 500 families including promising prices and assurance of future business. The story also tells the conditions and what the families would face as coffee farmers if they were not participating in this fair trade co-op. This article will provide a hopeful situation and promising side to the condition to small-scale coffee farmers and showing how fair trade can have a positive effect on the grassroots level.

Kamola, I. The Global Coffee Economy and the Production of Genocide in Rwanda. *Third World Quarterly*. 28. 2007. Pp.571-592

Kamola argues the idea that the Rwandan genocide was caused by ethnic conflict by showing that a cause of the violence was also economic, mainly rooted in the coffee economy. The article gives a historic account, from colonialism to the genocide, showing how the rise and fall of international coffee prices gave power to few and caused political and class instability. This information will provide my paper with a unique and perhaps extreme account of how the production of coffee can greatly affect a nation's stability.

Eakin H. et al. Responding to the coffee crisis: a pilot study of farmers' adaptations in Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras. *The Geographical Journal*. 172, 2006 pp.156-171

Eakin and others discuss the adaptations of farmers in Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras to the changing coffee market. The article gives a brief history and context to each country. The impacts and lives of farmers in each country are then described. This article will be helpful for my research because it give historical context and avoids the generalization of Latin America. The article gives specific case studies of the regions and also highlights general history.

Outline

1. INTRODUCTION

- -Global scope of the coffee market
- -Impacts of producers at a local level
- A. A broad history and the coffee crisis
 - -History of colonialism turning coffee into a cash crop
 - -International Coffee Agreement attempting to control production
 - -Coffee crisis of 1989 causing major price drops
 - -Liberalization of coffee market causing inequalities

2. CASE STUDIES

A. Brazil

- -Growth outside of colonial rule
- -Invested infrastructure, second largest producer
- -Market liberalization → unequal access to resources
- -Farmers forced to use unsustainable practices
- -Way of life for small scale producers
- -Child labor

B. Other Latin American Countries

- -Industrialization of agricultural practices
- -Coffee crisis effects

C. Vietnam

- -Colonial history
- -Government reforms of coffee market
- -Marginalized Hill Tribes due to coffee production
- -Hill tribes lack access to resources

D. Rwanda

- -Colonial history brings coffee production and favors Tusti, exploits Hutu
- -Hutu take power and control of coffee market
- -Corrupt elite use coffee for own benefit
- -Coffee crisis, tensions explode

-Money and weapons from coffee market help fund genocide

3. FAIR TRADE

- -Parameters of Fair Trade
- -Positive impacts: gives access to marginalized, security, price premiums, co-ops
- -Guatemala example
- -Negative impacts: fails to help poorest farmers, drives price down further, too much structure

4. CONCLUSION

- -Impacts in lives of farmers
- -Colonial impacts to inequalities
- -Fair Trade imperfect, must not give up
- -Everyone involved must be educated

INTRODUCTION

Coffee is increasingly becoming a part of Western culture; for many it has become a daily routine and coffee shops are now a common social meeting ground. Since coffee shops are springing up at every half block in one's local downtown, it may not be surprising that coffee has become the second largest traded commodity next to oil (Pendergrast 1999). As the consumer steps up to the register and orders their four-dollar latte, it is most likely that they will not think of the more than "25 million people around the world [that] base their livelihoods on its production" (Watson and Achinelli 2008 pp.223). The producers of these coffee beans are often small-scale farmers who are reliant on faceless consumers, large corporations and an ebbing market for their income and resources. With coffee being one of the world's most traded markets, it is important for both consumers and producers to understand the impact the production of coffee is having on the farmers at a local level. In reality, as globalization expands so does the gap between coffee farmer and consumer. Even movements that seek to remove this veil, such as the Fair Trade organization, are perceived by the consumer to only be a more expensive pound of coffee with a different label. This paper will explore the impacts of coffee production on local producers by examining case studies in the growing regions. In addition, the research will also look at attempts, such as Fair Trade, to provide more stable lives for the farmers and more sustainable practices.

The conditions of coffee farmers varies from region to region, but generally the farmers are "at a disadvantage in global markets and often receive low prices for their products" (Sick 208 pp.194). The farmers have to not only deal with the unpredictable force of Mother Nature, but also with "the boom and bust cycles in commodity prices,"

limited economic resources and political control (Sick 2008 pp.194). Often the analysis of the coffee market can be sweeping and focused on economic efficiency rather than the local impacts of market changes which often result in "the marginalization of small-scale farmers, increased environmental degradation, and overall rural decline and poverty" (Watson and Achinelli 2008 pp.224). With market shifts, not only are the changes seen on an economic level, but the farmers' lives are also changed at the local level. Coffee farmers must consider the value of their crops since their access to education, healthcare, meals and their total livelihood relies on their crop's production.

Globally, coffee farmers now sell a pound of coffee for the market price of about one dollar, which can retail for around ten dollars (Glazer 2007). Although this price seems low, the market price for coffee has dropped even lower since the coffee crisis that began in 1989. Before exploring the drastic impacts of the coffee crisis, it is first important to look at the global history of the coffee industry. Each region of coffee production has a unique history with coffee, some of which will be explored with the following case studies. There has also been a general and broad history consistent with the expansion and changes in the coffee market. Understanding the global history of the coffee market will provide a better context for the changes in the coffee farmer's lives.

Some General History, the International Coffee Agreement and the Coffee Crisis

The vast majority of coffee production has its roots in colonialism, during which missionaries or colonialists usually imported the plant. Coffee then became a "cash crop, planted and harvested by serfs or wage laborers on large plantations, then exported to imperial countries" (James 2000 pp.11). Governments, ethnic relations and general ways of life were changed in these countries because of the shift to the new reliance on coffee

production. With the growth of the U.S. economy, the market for exporting coffee also expanded. Therefore, coffee became a major source of income for many countries in Central and South America, Africa, and South Asia where colonialism was present and the environment was ideal for coffee trees. As the countries in these regions gained independence, the reliance on coffee production continued to expand. In the 1950's the market suffered from "stockpiles, over-production and the growing popularity of African *robusta* varietals" which sent the coffee prices into a rapid down spiral (Kamola 2007 pp580). This crisis led to the signing of the International Coffee Agreement (ICA) in 1962 during the UN conference. The ICA was an attempt to "stabilize the global coffee market by imposing quotas and price controls on...99% of the world coffee market" (Kamola 2007 pp.580). After the ICA fixed prices, the international price of coffee and the market continued to expand, thus coffee production became a way of life for many.

The largest coffee crisis (typically *the* coffee crisis) began in 1989 when the most influential coffee producing nations called for renegotiation of quotas, which ultimately caused the ICA to collapse. This caused drastic drops in the price of coffee and the "regulation of coffee production and quality [to be] left to each individual producer country" (Eakin et al. 2006 pp.158). Within two months after the ICA failed, the price of coffee lost two thirds of its value (Kamola 2007 pp.584) and "country after country flooded the market with coffee reserves which pushed prices lower and lower" (Watson and Achinelli 2008 pp.227). In addition, there was a "lack of increased demand in the United States and Europe" which caused the price of coffee to continue to drop (Watson and Achinelli 2008 pp.2.27). As seen in Figure 1, there were dramatic drops in the prices

of coffee years after the initial coffee crisis began (Orosio 2002 pp.1). In 2003 the price of coffee hit an all time low, about 50 US cents per pound.

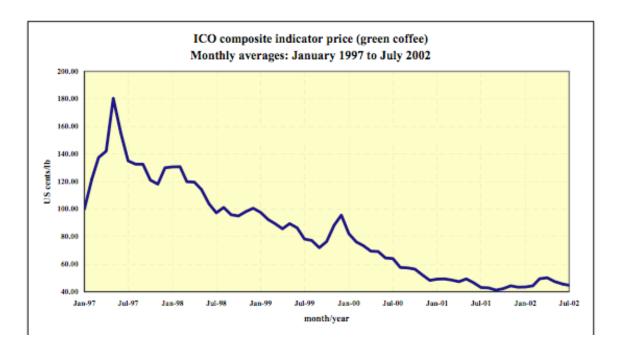


Figure 1: International price of coffee from 1997 to 2002 retrieved from Orosio 2002 pp.1

The simultaneous processes of deregulation, privatization and liberalization of the agricultural production process have also hit the coffee crisis, only "exacerbating the uncertainties faced by the coffee farmers" (Eakin 2006 pp.158). Rather than open farmers up to more freedom with their crops, the market liberalization has allowed "corporate interests to gain a greater share of coffee's global export revenues – meaning less profit and less power for producers, particularly small-scale farmers" (Watson and Achinelli 2008 pp.227). These drastic changes in the market and in the structure of coffee production have caused many to abandon their crops, diversity with other export crops, work on larger plantations as wage laborers and/or turn to other means of providing.

The impacts have been vast as coffee has dramatically altered the lives of hundreds of thousands of small scale farming families and although many of the impacts have been similar there have also been "specific impacts of coffee production on smallholders and laborers [that have] varied from region to region" (Sick 2008 pp.195). It therefore becomes important to examine case studies from varying regions to understand the contextual impacts of coffee production, at the same time keeping the broad history of the international coffee market in mind. This paper will follow case studies in Latin America, Vietnam and Rwanda to show how different farmers have coped with the coffee crisis and how small-scale farmers and their communities have been affected. Additionally a major international reaction to the coffee crisis, the Fair Trade movement, will be explored to show both the negative and positive effects it has had on farmers.

CASE STUDIES

Brazil

Brazil's history with the coffee industry has been longstanding, beginning with the crop's entry in 1727 from French Guiana and entering the international coffee market in 1822 when Brazil gained independence from Portugal's colonial rule (Watson and Achinelli 2008). Brazil has now developed into the largest coffee producing country. Even though Brazil's history is rooted in colonial rule like so many other coffee producing nations, the country's circumstance "differs from other Latin American coffee-producing nations" (Watson and Achinelli 2008 pp.225) because the growth of the coffee market in Brazil increased mostly after colonial rule. As an independent nation, from the 1850's to the 1960's, coffee already made up 55% of all the Brazilian export revenue (Kruger 2007). The crop was largely produced in the Southern states due to their

mountainous landscape, ideal climate and availability of African slave labor to work on the labor-intensive coffee farms (Watson and Achinelli 2008). The wealthiest Brazilian coffee producers at the time lobbied for infrastructure in these Southern states including "railways, public services (ports, shipping, etc.) and roads" (Kruger 2007 pp.454) instead of using their power for personal gain. This investment greatly increased the future success and stability of the coffee market. In addition, the Brazilian government was highly involved in developing and supporting the production of coffee. The value of investing in Brazilian coffee production continued into the 1970's as the state provided research on high producing, disease resistant trees, technical advances in production and credits and subsides to support coffee farmers (Watson and Achinelli 2008).

Structural changes occurred in Brazil in the 1980's as the country went from being a "closed state-supported economy to a liberalized, market-based economy" (Waston 2008 pp226). The state began to cut taxes on exports, decreased credits and subsides for farmers and cut back on "research and development programs, extension services and rural development initiatives" (Waston 2008 pp.226). The liberalization and restructuring of the market resulted in corporations gaining greater control in the country, and "less power and less profit for producers, particularly small-scale producers" (Watson and Achinelli 2008 pp.227). Exports continued to rise, even as the coffee crisis devastated the international price of coffee. Corporations' control gained them access to the rise in wealth, whereas the small-farmers experienced losses and the inequality gap increased. In many ways, Brazil is an example of how revenue and monetary profit for the state does not necessarily mean a benefit in quality of life for all. Most coffee farmers

in Brazil are marginalized, small farmers who, in spite of the profit the state has experienced, continue to live in poverty (Watson and Achinelli 2008).

Minas Gerais is the state that produces the most coffee Brazil and coffee makes up 70% of agricultural production in the state. Farmers in the area are often dependant on the production of coffee alone and will use all their resources to produce coffee leaving little for subsistence crops. The state is in a mountainous region that has very nutrient rich soil but the agricultural practices in this region place the natural richness of this area in jeopardy. Coffee farmers in Brazil have been encouraged to practice sungrown coffee production, which is a high yielding practice. The coffee trees are planted very close together and in rows that, in some steep terrains, will be planted vertically. Combined with heavy rainfall, soil erosion is rapidly accelerated. The vertical, bare slopes usually end up in the hands of small farmers, which become the hardest hit by the effects of soil erosion. These conditions reduce the average life of coffee trees to about half (15 years) of what they are in other regions of Latin America. Even though the sungrown coffee trees are initially high yielding, it is temporary. After 15 years time, the plantations are often abandoned or the land is turned into cattle farms. The farmers then must search out new, fertile soil, which is becoming hard to find. "The need for increased land in the face of perpetual declines in soil fertility and declining incomes puts pressure on small-scale farmers to clear forest" (Watson and Achinelli 2008 pp.228). Small-scale farmers are forced to slowly burn down the once plentiful forests in the region, which only perpetuates the cycle of soil erosion that hits the poorest farmers the hardest. (Watson and Achinelli 2008)

Today, coffee continues to be the most important crop in Brazil and the government continues to give incentives to small farmers to produce coffee. In a "município" of Minas Gerais, Rosário da Limeria, farmers are offered loans and services if they only produce coffee. As with the state in general, Rosário da Limeria "promotes a monocrop model of high-yielding sun coffee and is not active in measures to sustain soil fertility" (Watson and Achinelli 2008 pp.229). As opposed to the structure of coffee production pre-1980's, the government has little involvement besides these incentives to grow coffee beans. Therefore, small-farmers and large—scale producers both exist in the region with little restrictions. Thus, the contrast of life and effects of coffee production can be seen between the poor farmers and those farmers with wealth and resources (Watson and Achinelli 2008).

The move towards market liberalization in Brazil increased profits overall, as the restructuring did in Rosário da Limeria, but this does not mean that all producers benefited. In fact, "the restructuring of the global coffee market has led to declining returns for small-scale producers in Rosário da Limeria, while profit margins increase for local dealers and other intermediaries" (Waston 2008 pp.229). Even though the gap of inequality and loss of sustainable practices is growing and apparent, the government has done little to intervene. Conflict is rising over the availability of resources, especially land. In Minas Gerais, 20% of the landowners occupy 60% of the land area. Large coffee plantations, over 100 hectares(ha), take up the most ideal land areas, those without steep inclines and the most access to resources such as water and roads. Therefore, small-scale farmers are left to "marginal lands often growing on steep slopes" (Watson and Achinelli 2008 pp. 230) which as discussed earlier, means these farmers are more susceptible to the

onsets of soil erosion and their crops will most likely not last as long as those built on horizontal ground. (Watson and Achinelli 2008)

Not only are the small-scale farmers' crops affected by their situation, but their way of life is also impacted. Rosário da Limeria is made up mostly of small-scale farmers who own 9ha or less. The farmers live in small homes they build themselves, most do not have electricity or running water, and the farmers own very few possessions. Farmers in Rosário da Limeria are uneducated as only 66% have completed primary school and Rosário da Limeria has the lowest literacy rates in the state. Even though Brazil invested in infrastructure for coffee farming, this is not fully experienced by farmers in Rosário da Limeria. The roads are unpaved and schools are typically "one-room classes with mixed age groups" (Watson and Achinelli 2008 pp.230). Transportation is also lacking in the area, often forcing families to share a horse and cart. After the farmers harvest their coffee, they must immediately sell their beans, while the large-scale producers have the luxury of waiting until the international prices are best. At times the large farmers also act as "local dealers, buying unprocessed coffee from small scale producers at very low prices" (Watson and Achinelli 2008 pp.231). Because small farmers often lack the education, transportation and technology, they are often unaware of market prices and are forced to sell beans by whatever means they can. In order to make enough pay, some small-scale producers work on the large farms as wage laborers. Not only does this provide the farmers with less time to devote to their own deteriorating farms, it also hurts their pride as farmers. Farmers often express the value in owning and operating their own farms. The small-scale coffee farmers throughout Brazil and other developing nations must constantly weigh the benefits of investing in long-term benefits of sustainable practice, investing in technology, and time on their own land verses high-yielding temporary practices, relying on wage labor and any means to make a living (Watson and Achinelli 2008).

Entire families feel the impacts of coffee production and the trickle down effect is expected. In Rosário da Limeria, whole families work on the coffee farm, which includes tending to the soil, planting and caring for the coffee trees, picking the coffee berries and at times processing the berries (Watson and Achinelli 2008). This labor-intensive work requires even relatives and friends to participate in the harvest season. Children in Rosário da Limeria will dry beans, which is work that takes place of the children's education (Watson and Achinelli 2008). This pattern is seen across Brazil; the economic conditions cause parents to remove their children from school to work on the coffee farms. In Diana Kruger's study on coffee production's effects on child labor and schooling, she demonstrates that in Brazil, child labor occurs even outside economic hardship. In fact, her research shows quite the opposite, that during an economic boom in the coffee market, poor parents will remove their children from school to help on the family coffee farm (Kruger 2007). When parents have a sudden economic increase in income from their coffee farms, the whole family takes advantage of the opportunity, including the children and work together to harvest as many coffee beans as possible. Kruger found that this event does not extend beyond the lines of economic income and that "poorer children are less likely to attend school and more likely to work, those from higher-income families are not negatively affected" (Kruger 2007 pp462). Therefore, the poorer children are not fully receiving their education, which can only perpetuate a cycle of undereducated youth living at poverty levels. Not only is economic growth failing to improve the lives of small coffee farmers, it is inhibiting education of the farmer's children (Kruger 2007).

Brazil's history and current situation with the coffee industry sheds light on the complex effects of market changes that often tend to trickle down to the coffee producers. The need for improvement seems not only to be at the policy level of government involvement but also at a local level. This includes educating producers on the environmental impacts they are having and investments in such simple technologies such as crop diversification and shade growing practices. With Brazil being the leading country in coffee production, it seems logical to invest in improvements in a country that could be an example to other coffee producing nations.

Other Latin American Countries

As with Brazil, coffee entered into the rest of Latin America through the introduction of the crop into the Caribbean in the early 1700s and became of economic importance in the mid 1800s (Rice 1999). It has been in the last thirty years or so that the practices and economy of coffee in Latin America has seen the greatest change as technification, modernization and dependence on coffee production has grown. Today, it is estimated that around 67% of coffee land in northern Latin America has been affected by the intensification of the land. The coffee land in Latin America is becoming increasingly industrialized. The traditional practices of coffee production in Latin America were much more like gardening; "with a pair of shears, workers clip lateral branches or upright shoots on individual coffee shrubs" (Rice 2007) and the plants were traditionally shade grown. The current movement is to mass harvesting, mass pruning, high yielding plants, fertilizer and insecticides, sun-grown shrubs and closely planted

trees. Farmers have been trained to think that these are the processes that secure themselves in the international market and many of their governments encourage them to technify their farms. (Rice 1999)

Many countries in Latin America were hard hit by the coffee crisis, and the producers' adaptations to the loss of income were varied. In Mexico between 1989 and 1993, farmers lost 70% of their farming income. NGO's and other 'grassroots' organizations reached out to Guatemala in particular to provide support and encourage crop diversification and development of organic coffee. Compared to many other Latin American countries, Honduras has a weak central government and infrastructure so the expansion and encouragement of coffee production has been quite recent. Many farmers in these three countries sell their beans to intermediaries and thus have become dependant on these middlemen to decide the price of coffee and to sell their beans. The producers then have little knowledge or control of the prices of their beans. Intermediaries will most often not buy based on bean quality, so farmers are not rewarded for growing better quality coffee (Eakin et al 2006).

The impacts of coffee production in Latin America are as varying, as they are vast. The methods of production and adaptations to a volatile and changing market have common themes of both negative and positive outcomes. Regions such as Guatemala do provide a general idea that the local changes and crop diversification have improved stability for farmers' lives.

Vietnam - Dak Gan Region

As the second highest producer of coffee next to Brazil, Vietnam is a country that shows the effects of the rapid expansion of coffee production. In the Dak Gan region,

which is located in the Central Highlands in the Dak Lan province, this has meant "soil erosion, water scarcity and social inequality resulting in conflicts between migrants and the indigenous tribes" (D'haeze et al. 2005 pp59). These effects have immediate implications for the producers while jeopardizing the longevity of coffee production in Vietnam (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005).

Vietnam also has a long history with coffee production as French missionaries brought the plants in 1857 and focused on producing coffee in the country's highlands. Even though coffee has been grown in Vietnam for quite some time, the rapid expansion of Vietnam's coffee production occurred more recently. The 1980's brought a lull in coffee yields but in the nineties coffee production helped cause a 12% average economic growth rate in the Dak Lak region alone. This illustrates a different story than the other case studies in other regions that saw more of a decline during the coffee crisis (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005).

One of the changes Vietnam saw with the expansion of coffee was the ethnic make up of the Dak Lak region. The Dak Lak region was once home to a large population of local hill tribes. In 1943 the hill tribes made up 93% of the population in Dak Lak. After the Vietnam War the government mandated some poorer farmers to move into the central highlands but soon after that the migration to the Dak Lak region became voluntary. "Infatuated by the high economic return of Robusta coffee, the period of sharpest increase in spontaneous migration was between 1991 and 1995" which resulted in a massive change in the dispersion of the indigenous population (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005 pp60). The ethnic make up of the region was becoming less diverse as in 1997 when minorities that once made up 48% of Dak Lak's population made up only 20%; whereas

the Kinh, the ethnic Vietnamese, made up 70% of the population. The explosion of population in the Dak Lak region was mainly due to the migration of farmers to produce such cash crops as rubber, cashews, and of course, coffee. Due to the rapid influx of population, the economic boom followed (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005).

The economic growth in the 1990s was accompanied by governmental reforms and, as with many other coffee producing countries in the nineties, the government put into place privatization laws. These laws changed the way of life and ideals of the indigenous people. Before the eighties, the traditional practice of the hill tribe farmers did not include a concept of land ownership. Instead they belonged to co-operatives that collectively owned the land. Then in 1981 the government put in place a series of laws that would change traditional ways for farmers. This included a ban on collective land ownership, declaring traditional land up for redistribution and a ban on nomadic slashand-burn techniques. This forced the hill tribes in the Dak Lak region to no longer practice the traditional nomadic way of life and to settle down. Prior to the 1990s farmers were organized into state owned farms, but with the reforms the land became owned by family farms. Farmers had flexibility over their crops, they only had to produce a quota determined by the reform, and the rest was for personal profit. Even though this gave farmers more control and security, it also "went hand in hand with increased immigration and uncontrolled development of the coffee sector" (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005 pp 61). Before 1993, 3ha was the maximum amount of land ownership allowed per farmer but the country recognized that "high-skilled or wealthy households would be able to gain more benefit" (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005 pp61). In 1993 a few wealth coffee farmers became large-scale producers in Vietnam, allowing the country to become the second most important coffee producer. This meant small-scale farmers, indigenous populations and environmental stability would have to be sacrificed on the altar of consumerism (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005).

In the Dak Gan region, the indigenous hill tribes began to be literally pushed to the fringes of society. Hill Tribes sold their land to the immigrating Kinh and moved into the forests. As discussed earlier, coffee was becoming the export of choice and many Kinh continued into the region due to the attraction of initial high profits for the farmers. It was the new Kinh immigrants who were the ones to reap the benefits of coffee production as they had purchased the best land from the hill tribes. The migrants were becoming increasingly wealthy while hill tribes were forced to farm coffee on low quality, cheep land where they could no longer practice the tradition of slash and burn agriculture (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005). Land that had once belonged to the indigenous residents was in the hands of newcomers. This also resulted in an "unequal distribution of high quality basalt soils" which are the soils most efficient for producing coffee and other cash crops (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005 pp74). The hill tribes were experiencing a loss of what was once theirs, the inability to practice traditional agriculture and an "unbalance income distribution between local hill tribes and the new Kinh settlers" (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005 pp73). Since 2001, the amount of hill tribes protesting against the central government has continued to increase and there has been growing hostility between the newcomers and the hill tribes. Reforms are necessary because when the global price of coffee drops, it is the poorest populations, in this case the hill tribes, are the ones that suffer the most. (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005)

The privatization laws of the nineties intended to control land allocation the organizational systems failed to correctly implement the laws. The case is the same with the laws intended to provide some form of environmental sustainability of the coffee

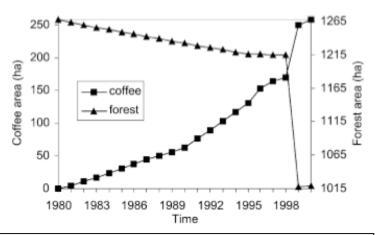


Figure 2: Expansion of coffee area and declining of forest area in Dak Lak retrieve from D'Daeze et al.

production in Vietnam.

In practice, there is little control of the production of coffee, which is having both immediate and long-term effects on the farmers and their neighbors. The rapid

expansion allowed the immigrants to the Dak Gan region to spread their coffee plantations as immigrant farmers saw fit, including converting forest areas into Robusta plantations. As can be seen in Figure 2, in the Dak Lak region, the area of forests present decreases dramatically with the rise of coffee plantations (D'Dhaeze et. al 2005 pp.60). The implications of deforestation are vast; some include massive soil erosion, run off and soil degradation. In addition, in Dak Gan, 60% of the coffee plantations are on lands with a slope of over a 15%. This combined with the fact that coffee trees require an enlarging of the planting hole as they grow means a greater "increase [in] soil erosion and the risk for siltation of downstream water reservoirs" (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005 pp73). Soil erosion and landslides mean "higher management costs and revenue losses" for coffee producers while the farmers downhill experience "maintenance costs to repair planting holes" (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005 pp73). Therefore, soil erosion is currently affecting the coffee

producers and those near them by increasing their costs. This is not to mention what long term effects soil erosion will have on the longevity of coffee plantations. In addition to soil erosion, in the Dak Gan region, farmers also experience the effects of water scarcity. Ground water makes up 56.6% of irrigation water in the region and the area is under "extreme over-irrigation" (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005 pp73). Many farmers consider the ground water to be an endless resource and continue to dig wells deeper and deeper. These wells are considered an open resource in Vietnam and the number of wells per farm and extraction of water is not enforced. As with soil erosion, "over-extraction of ground water and siltation of downstream reservoirs results in inequitable access to water between upstream verse downstream farmers and even between farmers within a given locality by the end of the dry season" (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005 pp73). There have been conflicts in countries before over the access to water and it seems that this should be a concern not only for the productivity of the coffee plantations, the prices obtained by the farmers but also to prevent any potential violence (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005).

Trade reform in Vietnam has left many farmers free to exploit the forest, soils, water reserves and even the hill tribes to make a profit in the suddenly booming industry of the coffee market. Coffee producers are being confronted with not only daily changes in coffee prices but also with extra costs due to soil erosion and water scarcity. Hill tribes in Dak Gan are in danger of dropping below the poverty line and have little resources to better their coffee production. With Vietnam being the second largest coffee exporter in the world, it clearly has an important place in history and the future of the coffee industry. Although Dak Gan is a telling situation that "policy reforms at national level and global initiatives have largely benefited to consuming countries, while producing

countries experience a socio-economic downturn" (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005 pp74). The benefits of coffee production are not being equally received; some lack the education of how to improve their livelihood, some lack the resources to keep up in a volatile economy. Vietnam has a need, as with many producing nations, for "market regulation and public intervention [in order] to solve environmental and socio-economic issues resulting from trade liberalization" (D'Dhaeze et al. 2005 pp74).

Rwanda

Perhaps one of the most extreme examples of effects of coffee production is the case of Rwanda and the cash crop. Isaac A. Kamola argues that Rwanda's ties with coffee production played a role in the infamous Rwandan 1994 genocide. In Kamola's research on the Rwandan genocide he points out that many discuss that the genocide occurred, "during an economic crisis brought on by the collapse of international coffee prices" but academics rarely consider the coffee crisis as a cause. Rather "they often treat this crisis merely as a backdrop against which essentially ethnic violence played out" (Kamola 2007 pp.572). Through his article, Kamola shows Rwanda's "century-long integration into the coffee economy" as overlapping and an integrated part of the ethnic tension leading to the death of over half a million people (Kamola 2007).

Missionaries and German colonial forces first brought coffee to Rwanda in 1905. By the 1920s competition with Brazil's coffee market caused African colonies to rapidly increase their coffee production. In Rwanda, colonialists aggressively pushed for further production. In 1931, policies were put into place that allowed chiefs to force their subjects to cultivate coffee for export. The colonialists especially encouraged the Tutsi to exploit others using the authority given to them using a traditional myth that says Tutsi's

are naturally superior to Hutus. This included the Tutsi enforcing those below them to pay a labor tribute so the responsibility then fell onto the non-Tutsi Hutus. Therefore the Hutus were becoming an "increasingly impoverished agricultural class" (Kamola 2007 pp578) and were forced to pay taxes in addition to working on the local chief's coffee plantation. Coffee exportation became one of the means for the higher class to control those with less access (Kamola 2007).

The rift between the Hutus and Tutsis expanded until the mid-century when "the inequalities caused by forced labor, asymmetrical accumulation and ethnic segregation became impossible to ignore" (Kamola 2007 pp578) The Hutus became quite vocal about the injustices they experienced. The domestic community became quite concerned with the brewing tensions and the UN felt the pressure to aid the Hutus. As a result, educational and political opportunities were more accessible to the Hutus and they were becoming a newly educated and internationally supported class. Amid the aid to the Hutus, a Catholic priest formed a coffee co-op called Trafipro which would provide "economic and leadership opportunities for the emerging Hutu counter elite" (Kamola 2007 pp579). A year afterwards in 1957, the first Hutu president was elected and a drive for ethnic unity between the Hutus and against the Tutsis was strengthened. Even though the Hutu's began to move together as an ethnic unit and receive education and aid, the political and economic inequalities remained mostly unchanged. Even though Trafipro was intended to provide assistance to the poor Hutu coffee farmers, Tutsis held a majority of the membership and board positions. Therefore, when Rwanda coffee sales soared, Tutsis reaped the economic benefits. The power that the Tutsis held began to shift when the Hutus centralized control in the government as they declared a 'Hutu Revolution' in which violence broke out and tens of thousands were killed. Even as Hutus seized land and possessions, the Hutu majority still "did little to ease the deprivation experienced by the impoverished Hutu" (Kamola 2007 pp580). The real shift began when Rwanda's coffee became the primary source of foreign currency and the Hutu ruling class began to control its production (Kamola 2007).

With the signing of the ICA and the rise of international coffee prices, the Hutu elite saw the power behind the coffee market. The Hutu desired to control of Rwanda's coffee so the current president made Trafipro state run in 1966. This former coffee co-op became known as "the backbone of an authoritarian regime" and to prevent regional disputes between Hutus, Tutsis became the common enemy and scapegoat. The increase in coffee prices provided the political elite with the power and control to cause ethnic tensions to rise and even a means to carry out violence against the Tutsis (Kamola 2007).

In the 1970's the new president, Habyarimana, in a move to gain Western support, abolished Trafipro. As in many countries, liberalization of the coffee market began in Rwanda. As opposed to opening the control of coffee to both Hutus and Tutsis, the privatization of coffee only brought further inequalities. Wealthy farmers now bought land that was once owned by small farmers so that "by 1991 43% of the land was held by 16% of the land owners" (Kamola 2007 pp582). Coffee was becoming an increasingly important part of Rwanda's economy and by 1986, coffee exports made up 82% of the total income from exports. With this rise, Habyarimana restructured the coffee economy to benefit the northern Hutu elite and at the same time offered incentives for rural farmers to convert their crops into coffee farms. As coffee boomed in the 1980's, "the rural population grew more coffee, the political elite prospered" (Kamola 2007 pp582). The

gap in inequalities increased along ethnic and regional lines, with the Tutsis and southern Hutus continuing to live in poverty. In addition, the economic practices of the government were unstable and lacked infrastructure and food investment. Instead the elites spent the money earned by coffee producers lavishly and carelessly. These contradictions remained relatively unexposed until 1989 when the coffee crisis and a drought devastated Rwanda simultaneously. Due to the lack of food reserves and increased debt, famine spread throughout the country, "child malnutrition surged and malaria cases increased by 21%" (Kamola 2007 pp584). State owned enterprises such as health and educational services went bankrupt. Rwanda's stability was so dependant on their production of coffee that once the market began to collapse, so did their ability to function as a country. Many Tutsis fled the country, political tensions resurfaced and a climate of civil war emerged between the north and south. In order to divert tension, the northern elites turned to the Tutsi as the "common enemy". As violence increased on both sides, Rwanda was on the eve of genocide. The real push that allowed the Rwanda genocide to take place was the availability of weapons, were themselves tied to the coffee economy (Kamola 2007).

The World Bank and IMF attempted to aid Rwanda's economy by loaning the country large sums of money intended to revive the Rwandan coffee market. Instead of using the money to "rejuvenate the obliterated coffee economy," Habyarimana used the money to purchase firearms and arm his troops. At the same time, "major players in the coffee industry were busy supplying the hoes axes and machetes" to anyone who desired weapons (Kamola 2007 pp586). In fact, the largest importer of machetes, infamously the weapon used in the genocide, was a wealthy coffee exporter. Then on April 6th, 1994,

Habyarimana's plane crashed and genocide erupted, resulting in the slaying of "more than a half million Tutsis and moderate Hutus" (Kamola 2007 pp587).

One thing that is clear with Rwanda's history is that the events leading up to the horrific genocide are complicated and there cannot be just one cause of the mass killings, in fact, there were many. Rwanda's colonial ties to coffee are deep and the country's economy is clearly dependant on the global coffee market. With the ups and downs of the market, political and economic instability was either fueled or revealed. Crashes in coffee prices were a factor in causing malnutrition as farmers were punished for planting subsistence crops over coffee trees, which resulted in a major lack of food reserves. In addition the coffee economy of Rwanda was used as a means of political control; those in power would often force the opposing ethnicity to become coffee producers, therefore placing them in a lower socioeconomic class. The political elite would then reap the benefits of hard labor of the farmers and the increased amount of coffee production did not bring economic relief to those who needed it most. Effects such as food scarcity, poverty, crash in government systems and political corruption were precursors to perhaps the most shocking outcome of Rwandan's coffee production: genocide. This is not to say coffee production directly caused such horrific events, but drastic history never has a direct cause-effect relationship. Rather, the dependency on this cash crop, along with ethnic, religious and political differences all help explain how a country could turn so brutally violent. The effects of coffee production are often hidden from the consumer. I doubt that one person wondered as they bought their pound of coffee if this coffee could one day help catalyze mass killings (Kamola 2007).

Some might conclude that all westerners should protest coffee and businesses that support its production, but this would be a hasty conclusion. Rwanda's economy has grown dependant on the coffee economy. To uproot up all of their coffee trees would only cause further instability, as can be seen with events leading up to the events of April 6 1994. Rather, Rwandan coffee farmers need direct aid and control of their crops. There exist coffee co-ops that support fair prices for the farmers, technological development and even crop diversification.

FAIR TRADE

Fair Trade is a system that developed largely in response to the coffee crisis. The general idea behind the organization is to provide just what the name suggests: fair prices for producers. Fair Trade coffee represents a small portion of the coffee market but the sales of Fair Trade products are rapidly expanding (Sick 2008). In 2003 there was a 30% increase in annual sales of Fair Trade products and this rate is steadily increasing (Lyon 2006). As of 2000, 500,000 farmers in 300 cooperatives located in 20 countries are benefiting from Fair Trade (James 2000). The exact benefits of Fair Trade are just recently being seen, as it is such a new organization. Overall, "Fair Trade is a form of alternative trade that seeks to improve the position of disempowered producers by ensuring that they are paid fair prices for their goods and that financial benefits are used to promote sustainable development in their communities" (Lyon 2006 pp.452).

One main component of Fair Trade is only buying products from certified small farmers. The importers must also offer a long-term contract to the small farmers that is mutually beneficial to the importer and farmer. The farmers are also paid a premium price that is always above the market value and receive an additional premium if their

product is also certified organic. The producers must be small, family farmers and they must be organized into democratic associations. The producers must also seek to be conscious in their practices (Lyon 2006). These requirements are in place to ensure stability for small farmers in a very unstable market. The premiums are meant to provide for the farmer's livelihoods and encourage their economic practices. These requirements are specific goals of Fair Trade, but there are also implied goals. These include:

Promoting educational consciousness-raising among consumers, assuring historical trade relationships, serving as an alternative to both free trade and protectionism, ensuring public accountability and safe and healthy working conditions, fostering changes in conventional international trade and contributing to the United Nations Millennium development Goals. (Lyon 2006 pp.454)

These extensive goals are bold and in line with many moral standings of consumers. The support of consumers is what is crucial to maintain Fair Trade and the benefits producers receive from the contract.

Fair Trade producers are also organized into co-operatives with other Fair Trade farmers. Fair Trade Co-operatives function as democratic institutions in where the producers can voice their options. Co-ops indeed farmers to make their own decisions and to not allow agribusiness to control the producer's choices. The co-ops work to include "marginal producers, including women" and provide avenues where "members have equal voting power, regardless of the size of their landholdings" (Sick 2008 pp.197). These co-ops offer more opportunities and democratic decisions than many local producers would ever imagine. The coffee producers also are offered training and

technical skills to become more profitable and help farmers to diversify their crops to other products besides coffee (Glazer 2007).

Fair Trade is highly advantageous to small farmers. Producing for Fair Trade offers these farmers stability in a market where farmer usually must cope with unstable prices. In the global market, small farmers face "limited economic resources and political power" and therefore will receive the lowest prices (Sick 2008 pp.194). Not only does the long-term contract of Fair Trade ensure small farmers business but it can give individuals more peace of mind in attempting to support their families. For example, a Nicaraguan coffee farmer named Estrada was able to send her eldest daughter to college to study medicine, the first of her neighbors to do so, and this was possible because of the social premiums Estrada receive from Fair Trade (Glazer 2007). The Fair Trade premiums allow some farmers to invest in education for their children and provide food on the table. The regulations of Fair Trade give producers "the means of improving conditions within both their household and their communities" (Sick 2008 pp.194). These struggling farmers who had no place in the international sector before Fair Trade, now have a fixed contract that other non-Fair Trade farmers do not.

Some coffee farmers in Guatemala are benefiting from the Fair Trade program and the program's investors. With the crash of coffee prices in 1989, farmers in Guatemala were receiving approximately 95 quetzales, about \$12 US, for 100 pounds of coffee. Then, three years later, a Fair Trade co-op started with about seven families. In 2004, 500 families belonged to the co-op and would sell their beans for 200 quetzales, double what they normally would receive. A local Catholic Church funds the program, and offers land, stability and a high wage to those farmers who normally would not

benefit from such forgotten luxuries. This co-op is just one of the many examples of the lives changed by coffee farmers in many regions and hopefully there are more stories to come (Gary 2004).

With this rapidly increasing market, the Fair Trade Organization (FTO) must hold true to its requirements and values since Fair Trade its own credibility as a producer beneficial product. If there is a disconnect between the representation of the Fair Trade label and the lived experience of producers, Fair Trade products could lose their market value. Studies have dealt with at least five main issues with Fair Trade: whether or not the price is worth it for consumers, the co-ops, that Fair Trade not reaching the poorest farmers, certification and the market being flooded with products.

While improving the lives of many small, family farmers, Fair Trade "doesn't help the very poorest farmers" due to the fact that Fair Trade assists only land owning farmers (Glazer 2007 pp.436). Because of this, Fair Trade ends up discriminating against those who may need the most assistance. In addition, many of the poorest farmers cannot afford the fees of certification or are unable to form into co-ops. Fair Trade organizations do admit that their goal is not to help the poorest farmers. So the problem remains that this could be an inconsistent communication of the label, where many consumers would assume Fair Trade benefits would assist the producers who need it the most.

Even though the Fair Trade farmers are benefiting from prices above the global price of coffee, other farmers may be adversely affected. By raising the Fair Trade price of coffee, more have entered into the market and have further driven down the price of non-Fair Trade coffee (Glazer 2007). Therefore, not only are non-Fair Trade farmers not experiencing the benefits of Fair Trade, their situation seems to be worsening because of

it. In addition, Fair Trade is also causing inequalities within its organizations, which can be contributed to Fair Trade's focus on "North/South trade" instead of focusing on the local sustainability (Lyon 2006). Much of the structure of Fair Trade attempts to connect coffee farmers with the coffee distributors and allowing the farmers business decisions with their 'higher ups'. Thus the focus is on further connecting the South coffee farmers with the corporate /consumer North. Little structure of Fair Trade strives to improve the legal rights and infrastructure of the coffee farmers' unique local regions.

There are significant positive impacts of Fair Trade that producers and their surrounding communities are experiencing, but there needs to be changes made in the issues of the programs, or else these positive effects will no longer be experienced. Fair Trade greatly depends on its own credibility, in fact the organization's credibility of helping producers is its commodity. Fair Trade products market the ability to remove the veil between consumer and producer, by forming "transparent trading partnerships" and selling "social equity and environmental welfare in developing countries" (Golding and Peattie and Peattie 2005 pp.155). Therefore any incongruities in Fair Trade's impacts cause the product to lose value and Fair Trade "depends strongly on consumer' willingness to differentiate in favour of [Fair Trade] products" (Golding and Peattie and Peattie 2005 pp.154). Research informing the issues with the Fair Trade organization should lead to improvements and changes in the structure of the company. Doing so would allow coffee farmers to experience more benefits from the label that is attempting to improve their lives.

CONCLUSION

Even though the presence and growth of coffee may seem like a recent phenomenon to many Westerners, coffee producing countries realize the long history of this cash crop. With the spread of industry, promotion of free markets and price crashes, coffee farmers have had to suffer the impacts and adapt to changes. As seen in just a few case studies, coffee production can heavily influence the lives of farmers and their families. In the face of such an unstable coffee market, producers have been forced to uproot up their coffee trees, attempt to work on larger competitor's farms or find other means to survive. Whole countries, like Rwanda, have become dependant on the economy of coffee and without structure, profit can end up in the hands of the powerful rather than the hands of the farmers themselves. As with Brazil, governments often encourage farmers to put into place unsustainable practices in order to yield more coffee from their crops. Unsustainable practices put the longevity of the coffee producer's farm and the surrounding land in jeopardy. Most coffee producers are small families that are struggling to earn a living day by day and are often faced with the contradiction of wealthy large-scale producers next door. The coffee producing nations have unique cultures and diverse impacts the farmers experience from coffee production

The impacts of coffee production in each region all stem from a similar root. Brazil, Rwanda, Vietnam and other coffee producing nations have a history of colonialism. The imperial colonialists' motivation in introducing coffee production into these regions was not to advance the ingenious populations or provide them with more opportunities; rather, the colonialists desired to gain profit. These mountainous regions

and the availability of cheap labor provided the colonialists the means to gain wealth. Colonialists put systems in place that encouraged the spread of the cash crop's production and a structure on which whole populations depended. As each region gained independence from their respective colony, the systems of coffee production remained. The impoverished indigenous coffee farmers lacked the means to control the coffee system; they knew only to produce coffee and to keep trying to produce more. A few indigenous elite gained control, and only further weakened the small farmers ability to control their own business. The result in the coffee producing nations was an increasing gap between the powerful few and the powerless small farmers.

In the face of such massive inequality and negative impacts, it is easy to lose hope that there can be change. Examples such as the interventions of NGOs at the local level and Fair Trade at a large level provide some light in a mostly dark history. Fair Trade has changed farmer's lives, not by removing them from the industry, but by providing them with security and education how to improve. The research shows that none of these organizations are without fault but the organizations themselves represent efforts to change nonetheless. In order to invoke sustaining positive change for small coffee farmers, policy makers, governments, organizations and consumers must become educated about the impacts of coffee production. Fair Trade Labeling has many inconsistencies, but the label has made consumers realize that there is purchasing power when they buy a pound of coffee. Consumers and policy makers must move from thinking in purely global and economical terms. Instead consumers and policy makers need to come closer to thinking of the Brazilian farmer uprooting their crop or the Vietnamese Hill Tribesman forced to give up their traditional practices. Issues in coffee

producing regions and Fair Trade labels should be public knowledge so that the companies and policies are held responsible to change the structures causing poverty for coffee farmers.

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