

Is Fair Trade a fair tool for implementing CSR in different contexts?

Birgitta Schwartz, Associate professor

Mälardalen University, School of Sustainable Development of Society and Technology,
P.O. Box 883, 721 23 Västerås, Sweden.

E-mail: birgitta.schwartz@mdh.se

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Abstract

The paper is based on a study of how a Swedish Fair Trade textile company interplays with other organizations such as business customers, Fair Trade suppliers in India and NGOs and how they act for changing the situation in India regarding to social and environmental issues. The paper discusses how the idea of Fair Trade is interpreted by the actors and how they translate Fair Trade into practical actions in relation to the contexts of Sweden and India. The study shows that the diffusion and translation process of Fair Trade and sustainability issues in India is dependent on actions driven by the actors' contextualized values and norms. The Swedish actors focus on Western management models such as standards and certifications since they see control and legitimacy as important. The Indian Fair Trade supplier adapts to the standards and certifications and utilizes them for making business outside India. This adaption could also be seen as postcolonial coercive forces that maintain asymmetrical power relations when Swedish and European customers also make their own controls of the suppliers compliance to the CSR standards. A Fair Trade paradox could be seen as the Swedish Fair Trade companies in the Indian context are forced to make business in the profit maximizing logic, a logic that they as change agents for Fair Trade try to change due to its utilization of workers.

Keywords: institutionalism, context, postcolonialism, legitimacy, control, Fair Trade, standardization

1. Introduction

Fair Trade is mostly seen as a tool for consumers and NGOs to help farmers and employees in low income countries to reach a better life. But, seldom are we discussing this Fair Trade idea from a critical perspective at least not from the low income country perspective. This paper is based on an empirical study¹ of the Swedish Fair Trade company Oria producing Fair Trade and organic certified cotton clothes and bags in India and the companies and organizations Oria is interplaying with both in India and in Sweden. The aim of the paper is to critically discuss how the idea of Fair Trade is interpreted by the actors and how they translate Fair Trade into practical actions. This is shown in the paper regarding to that actors are situated in different contexts such as Sweden and India. Some actors are sometimes also dominating other actors which could be discussed as postcolonial power. This raises the question if Fair Trade is a fair tool for implementing CSR in different contexts such as Sweden and India. The paper relates to the conference theme Critical perspectives on management ethics and corporate social responsibility in relation to how management ethics and CSR, here seen in the example of Fair Trade, serve as reinforcing discourses that maintain and reinforce asymmetrical power relations at the organizational and institutional levels.

2. Method

The paper is based on a research project where I study the Swedish Fair Trade company Oria and how the Fair Trade idea is used as a tool to diffuse and translate sustainable development such as social and environmental responsibility between different contexts as Sweden and India. The method is qualitative where data collected by 16 interviews and 14 observations were made from September 2009 to June 2010. The concept of Fair Trade is seen as socially constructed in the organizational field and regarding to the aim how the different actors define and construct the concept of Fair Trade a qualitative method suits well in order to collect different actors' experiences and views of Fair Trade. In the study personal interviews with persons from different organizations and companies were made such as, the CEO of the Swedish Fair Trade textile company Oria, the CEO of an Indian Fair Trade textile supplier, Oria's customers such as a purchaser at a Swedish food retailer and the purchaser at the Swedish Church, an investigator at the NGO the Swedish Fair Trade Center organization and

¹ The research which the paper is based on has been financed by The Knowledge Foundation in Sweden and has been worked out in the research program Organizing Societal Entrepreneurship (OSIS), www.osisinsweden.com.

the CEO of the Swedish Fair Trade Certification Organization. These companies and organizations were chosen because of their interactions with Oria and defined as important actors by the CEO of Oria. It was also important to choose persons from the companies who were practically involved and working with Oria and its CEO such as the purchasers. They are the persons who take the final decisions if they should cooperate with Oria and buy the company's Fair Trade and organic products or not. It was important for me to understand how they evaluated and interpreted the Fair Trade idea in their decision making. Each interview was app. 1-2 hours long and was recorded and afterwards transcribed.

Also participating observations were made where I followed the CEO of the Swedish company Oria to six fairs and six business meetings. Three of the fairs were related to Fair Trade issues where Oria's CEO also sold the company's products and participated in Fair Trade network meetings. Another fair was a business fair specialized in children products where a few of the other companies were selling Fair Trade products to retailers. The main part of the companies at that fair was not selling Fair Trade or organic products. I also attended four seminars/conferences where CSR and Fair Trade issues were discussed in relation to different kinds of industries. In this paper interviews and some of the conferences is the base for the empirical material discussed. Standardization, control, coercion, legitimacy, influencing other actors were some of the themes I recognized in the analytical work.

3. Theoretical framework

In institutional theory organizations could as an analytical construction be seen as acting and interacting in organizational fields where ideas and practices are diffused by coercive pressure, normative forces or imitation (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). In this study the organizational field includes the studied companies and organizations which act and interplay regarding the Fair Trade idea. They are all important actors determining how institutions, which can be explained as norms and values regarding specific issues such as CSR and Fair Trade, develop when organizations interplay with each other. For example in the creation of Fair Trade markets not only companies are involved, these markets are also created by NGOs with their aim of improving human rights and living conditions for people in low income countries. In the diffusion of ideas by imitation between organizations, there is a tendency of organizations to implement the latest ideas (Sahlin-Andersson, 1996; Sevón, 1996). Ideas, such as Fair Trade, travel with actors as standardization organizations, consultants, media, and academics and are translated into organizations by transformation of the original idea (Sevón,

1996; Czarniawska and Joerges, 1996). In the study the idea of Fair Trade is one expression of Sustainable Development or CSR which could be seen as a master idea which is translated into a Fair Trade label and standard.

The continuous interaction between actors and the context in which they are embedded is also of importance regarding to Mair and Martín (2006). The individuals' actions are decided by the organizational context which states rules for their behaviors (Hjort and Johannisson, 1998). But, it is also important to see the connection between the global and the local contexts (as in this paper both in Sweden and in India) as a glocal logic seen from a Western perspective as well as from the low income country perspective (Abrahamsson, 2008 referred in Gawell, Johannisson and Lundqvist, 2009). An adverse context may often lead some actors to seek to change the context itself, as often the social problem is deeply embedded in contextual factors. (Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern, 2006). This wish to change contextual factors could be recognized by the NGOs but also among companies focusing on Fair Trade and environmental issues.

But, this need for change and the methods for change are often based on and developed from a Western context and consequences in another context, such as a low income country, are not put in highlight and are often of no interest for actors in the West (Kahn, Munir and Willmott, 2007). This could be discussed in relation to postcolonialism or colonialism. The colonial rhetoric of civilizing mission was based on the conception of the Western society as superior regarding moral, culture, society structure, science, and technology (Conklin, 1997 referred in Gregersen, 2010). The European colonizers saw their responsibility or duty to "civilize" or "enlighten" people in foreign countries by their own norms (Mann, 2004 referred in Gregersen, 2010). Banerjee and Prasad (2008) discuss neocolonialism as a continuation of direct Western colonialism with elements of political, economic and cultural control. Also the word Western is a bit problematic and according to Gregersen (2010) it is a historical and cultural construction rather than related to a specific geographic territory. The idea of the Western is based on a society which is secular, industrialized, capitalistic, and modern (ibid.). As we will see in this paper the Western society and its ideas is represented by several actors both in Sweden as in India.

In the following chapters the empirical findings of the study will be discussed in the perspective of how the actors define and interplay with each other regarding to Fair Trade in relation to the contexts in Sweden and India. We will see how different actors interpret the

Fair Trade idea and how the idea is diffused from Sweden to India and how the idea is translated by the actors regarding to how they relate to their different contexts.

4. The Fair Trade idea

The Fair Trade idea and market could be seen as an answer on demands from NGOs and customers in Europe and the US for a fairer trade with low income countries. On this market several organizations and companies work for and present an alternative to a profit maximizing logic where products produced in low income countries and sold in Europe and the US should be produced with higher salaries and with better working conditions. A Fair Trade label has been developed which is based on the International Labor Organization's criteria for indigenous people on human and labour rights² and farmers will be paid a minimum price and a premium for their products (for example cotton, cacao, coffee). The farmers decide how to invest the premium and often act together when they invest the premium in schools, water wells, health care institutions etc. in their local societies. The aim of the Fair Trade label idea is to help poor farmers in low income countries to develop their societies and be able to make a reasonable income.

The Fair Trade standard setting or certification organization is responsible for the Fair Trade label. They develop Fair Trade criteria³ for different products, control farmers and producers and promote the Fair Trade label with campaigning (Fair Trade organization's conference, March 2010; www.rattvisemarkt.se). The Fair Trade certification is also linked to the Fair Trade production in the whole supply chain where producers could be licensed as Fair Trade producers if they follow the Fair Trade criteria of the Fair Trade certification organization (www.rattvisemarkt.se). The Fair Trade criteria include minimum wages which is also stated by the Indian law. Regarding to NGOs as Fair Trade Center this is not enough for workers and they are instead promoting living wages which are higher and more possible for people to reach life's basic necessities (interview, Fair Trade Center, 2009-11-24).

² The ILO criteria are; elimination of forced labour, abolition of child labour, elimination of discrimination (www.ilo.org)

³ The Fairtrade criteria are; premium for products sold, minimum price for products, minimum wages at same level or higher as the national law, the right to organize in labour unions, democratic organizational structure, health and security, environmental awareness, no child labour (www.rattvisemarkt.se)

The Fair Trade idea and its translation is in the following two chapters discussed from the example of how the Fair Trade textile company Oria in Sweden and its Indian Fair Trade supplier interplay with other organizations such as their customers, suppliers and NGOs.

5. Oria: to make business of a social and environmental engagement

Oria is a Swedish company selling organic and fair trade produced cotton bags to large retail companies, cotton clothes for children and profile clothes such as t-shirts to adults, cotton bedclothes for children and cotton towels. The products are produced by organic GOTS⁴-certified and Fair Trade certified cotton and produced by Indian companies which are registered as Fair Trade producers at the Fair Trade certification organization. This means that it is not only the raw material cotton which is certified according to the criteria of GOTS and Fair Trade also the production with several stages as cleansing, spinning, coloring, knitting and sewing are done according to organic principles and Fair Trade principles based on ILO's conventions. The combination of both organic and Fair Trade certified textile products is not common in Sweden; often the products are either organic or Fair Trade. Oria was established in 2006 and the CEO is the only employed but since 2009 she now and then has help with temporary employees.

The CEO of Oria has a personal engagement in environmental and human rights issues and is also a member of Amnesty International and other NGOs related to human right issues. Since 1995 she has worked with Fair Trade issues. At first she worked for the teachers union in their international engagement during her occupation as a teacher. Later on she voluntarily started a World Shop⁵ in the Swedish town Västerås in order to push the Fair Trade issues but she felt that there was not enough force in the World Shop concept. One of the problems was that all the staff was working voluntarily which made it difficult to rely on the shop staff would come to their scheduled work or not. The work load was also heavy when she was taking care of the shop due to; campaigning activities, coordination of the financing organizations, purchase and sales of Fair Trade products etc. at the same time as she worked full time as a school teacher. She decided to start her own business relating to Fair Trade issues instead of putting so much

⁴ Global Organic Textile Standard (GOTS) is a standard for organic products.

⁵ The Swedish World Shops' Association was mainly supported by the Swedish Church when it started in 1969. The aim is to sell craft and food products from small-scale producers in developing countries that have been produced regarding to specific Fair Trade criteria based on WFTO's Fair Trade principles. The association also works with information and campaign activities (www.varldsbutikerna.org).

energy for other organizations, she says, “now I do this for myself so I can get something out of it” (Interview, CEO Oria, 2009-10-06). She felt restrained as voluntarily employed and started her own business in order to also take part of the revenues and to have an income from her work. The CEO realized her social ideas about human rights and environmental responsibility through a business initiative (Sundin, 2009). But, there is a moral dilemma according to the CEO. As a Fair Trade company in Sweden there is a moral limit for how large profit you can make on the Fair Trade products since the workers in India will still have a low wage and the gap between Oria’s profit on each product and the workers’ salary should not be too large. She is of the opinion that the requirements and demands on the Indian Fair Trade producers could be stronger such as the criterion of minimum wages which is too low regarding to her. The situation for the workers at the Fair Trade suppliers are, although much better than normally in India.

6. The interpretation and translation of Fair Trade

6.1. Standardization as coercive demands

One of Oria’s Indian Fair Trade suppliers who has been interviewed produces cotton bags, clothes/uniforms to restaurants, t-shirts etc. to customers in France, Germany, England and Sweden. The supplier purchases the cotton raw material from certified Fair Trade and Organic farmers in India. In the beginning of the supplier’s business he did not know what the label Fair Trade was but the company was following the Indian law (where several requirements correspond with the Fair Trade criteria), and with even better wages than the law stated, but this was not formalized with labels and certifications. He says,

“we had the procedure but if you asked me to proof some documentation it may not be there but I was following the law of the land. But, I could not prove it to you, I could not say for sure that this is absolutely perfect. And that is what the certification and the standards taught us”. (Interview, CEO Indian supplier, 2009-11-09).

It seems that the standards are not the reason for the company to take a social responsibility rather the standards fulfill the need for proving the social responsibility to the European customers according to the Fair Trade certification idea developed in the Western society.

On the supplier's business card are all the standards and labels shown that the company use; Fairtrade, Global Organic Textile Standard (GOTS), SA 8000⁶, OHSAS 18001⁷, ISO 9001⁸, ISO 14001⁹, UKAS Quality Management¹⁰. The supplier sees the opportunity of adapting to the standardized management approach and is also focusing on only European customers. According to the CEO the standards have helped the company to make the customers realize that the company is serious and that the customers have confidence for his company.

In this respect the need for Fair Trade standards and certificates are also stressed by Orias large customers in Sweden, a large food retailer and the Swedish Church, as they stress that this is an important control instrument for purchasing Fair Trade products from Asia. How they could otherwise be sure of that the products have been fair produced, they say. The standard will reduce their uncertainty. But it seems as the uncertainty among the European customers remains as we will see later on in the paper.

The standards seem to be very important as formalizing the Fair Trade issues in the Indian supplier's company and are also legitimizing its social responsibility for the employees to the European customers. The standards are for the Indian supplier very important in relation to his European customers and could be explained that standards are viewed as seeking legitimacy from the surrounding world (Jacobsson, 2000).

This is also the case for Oria. When the CEO started Oria her goal was to be the first licensee at the Fair Trade certification organization. She reached this goal in 2006 and that was the reason how a large Swedish retailer found Oria through their contact with the Swedish Fair Trade certification organization. The retailer ordered a large amount of cotton bags from Oria. These bags were sold in food stores as an alternative to plastic bags. Oria does still get new customers due to being a Fair Trade licensee and the CEO is now working to be the first getting licensed for the Swedish organic label Bra Miljöval (Good Environmental Choice)

⁶ SA 8000 is a voluntary international management standard on social accountability applied to working conditions based on several international human rights conventions (Social Accountability International, 2008).

⁷ OHSAS 18001 is a health and safety management standard.

⁸ ISO 9001 is a quality management standard.

⁹ ISO 14001 is an environmental management standard.

¹⁰ UKAS Quality Management...

which is hosted by the NGO Naturskyddsforeningen (The Swedish Society for Nature Conservation).

It seems as it is necessary for the Indian supplier who chooses to focus on European customers to embrace the management model with its logic of standards developed by companies and organizations in the European context. The Fair Trade issues and other sustainability issues such as health and environmental issues are in that sense diffused and translated as certifications and management standards. The customers' demands are coercive (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) and force the Indian supplier to implement the Fair Trade certification standard and other sustainability standards since the economic logic that the customer is the king is strong in India and he says,

“the customer is the king, the customer tells you, you gone do it, you have to do it”

and he explains how his French customer asked him to get licensed for Fair Trade. Therefore the Indian supplier does not either question the implementation of the different standards or the customers' additional demands on the workers' rights and the customers' own controls and audits. In this interaction the European customers are controlling the Indian supplier which influences the institutional framework of the organizational field of Fair Trade (Czarniawska-Joerges, 1992; Schwartz, 1997; 2006/2009) and management standards and controls are institutionalized as a common practice.

The CEO of Oria experiences of making business with Indian Fair Trade producers is regarding to her that she as a customer can influence regarding labour rights because for Indian producers all customers are important and the producers want to take all orders. For example when she did her first order she asked for information about labour rights which influenced because the supplier needed to be able to show this. She says,

“only that you ask for contact information if there is a labor union. We want to know if there have been any meetings about the union, how it is possible to know your rights, have there been any meeting about this...only that you raise these questions” (Interview, CEO Oria, 2009-10-06).

But, her experience is that it is only a few people employed at the Indian Fair Trade producers that have the knowledge of what Fair Trade is and that push it to the customers. It is mainly the directors who are familiar with the Fair Trade concept. In India companies have a

hierarchical organization according to Oria's CEO and as an employee you should know your part and not make any claims for anything more. As a comparison, Sapre (2000) describe the organizational culture within Indian educational institutions as hierarchical with a highly centralized structure where subordinates are encouraged to neither identify needed changes nor propose improvements. The conclusion of Oria's CEO is that many Indian suppliers see their Fair Trade license as PR which mainly could give them the possibility to sell their products to foreign customers.

6. 2. Mistrust and control as postcolonial power

Another consequence that is related to Western countries postcolonial power in framing, interpreting and addressing the issue of CSR in low income countries (Kahn, Munir and Willmott, 2007) is recognized in the relation between the European customers and the Indian suppliers. The importance of the context is present in the mistrust Swedish and European companies show suppliers and Fair Trade suppliers in India. This is shown when European companies don't trust Fair Trade certifications and audits and also put large resources in building up their own parallel control systems. The purchaser at the Swedish retailer explains,

“We do both, because it is possible to copy a paper (certificate) or to buy it”
(Interview, purchaser, 2010-01-14).

Earlier scandals make European companies afraid of future scandals and they will interpret all suppliers in India as potential risks. Even if the Indian supplier makes all the necessary audits with a third part some customers still make their own audits on site. He says,

“so we have independent audits like some customers, we tell them that we got certified, but they still send their auditors to audit...and because that...our factory is open 24 hours for customers to come check and see. They want to do it themselves, so they have the satisfaction of seeing it with their own eyes. But, there is nothing new that they do or not any extraordinary.” (Interview, CEO Indian supplier, 2009-11-09).

So, there are a lot of controls of the supplier's compliance to the standards. The customers' demands for own controls could be explained as to exert control over the supplier by power and dominance (Mir, Banerjee and Mir, 2008) and the customers seem to be suspicious about the supplier's ability to follow the standards. Would they do this for certified suppliers in Europe, one could question. Why don't they trust the suppliers and auditors in India?

According to Oria's customers, the reason is that regularly mass media reveal scandals when investigations by NGOs show that producers in Asia selling products to large Western companies are using child labour or have poor working conditions for employees. This happens even if the national law prohibits this and the Western companies use codes of conduct in order to prevent these problems. The Swedish companies are afraid of these scandals in order to lose legitimacy and customers. Another big problem in India according to the Indian supplier is that the law states minimum wages for workers but mostly the Indian companies, which are not Fair Trade companies, do not follow this law and use child labour and poor working conditions with low wages. In this respect producers with different definitions of sustainable development could view European companies as infusing their values in the Asian context (Egels-Zandén, 2006).

6.3. CSR standards mainly customer demands on the European market

Even if the Fair Trade demands seem to be customer demands from European companies after a while the Indian supplier seems to see the advantages with taking more care of the workers. They remain in the company and regarding to the supplier he feels better as a person when he sees that they raise their living standard and the local society develops. But, the Fair Trade certification and the other standards for quality, environmental issues, health and safety etc., seem mainly to be a business opportunity for the Indian Fair Trade supplier at the European market due to the Indian market is not yet ready for the Fair Trade ideas and certainly not this kind of standards. The awareness among the Indian public is low and he says,

“the common man don't have the disposable income to pay a premium to Fair Trade farmers and have no interest when he cannot afford things for himself... The premium does not go well with the Indian mentality because there are a lot of poor people” (Interview, CEO Indian supplier, 2009-11-09).

Sapre (2000) discusses this phenomenon and argue that issues which shape the 21st century such as the emphasis on ethics, morality and values in private and public life, human rights, empowerment etc. surfaced first in the industrialized countries and are foreign and, therefore, irrelevant to India, since large sections of the Indian people cannot identify with them.

Also the CEO at the Swedish Fair Trade company Oria sees the Fair Trade label as important for the business since Oria could reach new customers who specifically demand Fair Trade

products. Since the European customers will also be granted greater legitimacy and self-satisfaction by a social standard (Schwartz and Tilling, 2009) as Fair Trade.

6.4. The Fair Trade paradox

According to the CEO of Oria the Swedish Fair Traders who act with a social engagement and will to help the workers in India have sometimes problems with the Indian Fair Trade producers who are few and skilled businessmen and take advantage of their lack of business experiences. They want high prices, they don't keep the delivery times, they make faults in products, they don't want to write agreements with small customers so if there are faults the customer needs to place a new order and pay again. The opinion of the CEO is that the Fair Trade producers in India are quite few and take advantage of their position and are confident that their customers wait for their products since the European importers will do everything they can to be able to supply to their customers in Europe. These problems are also according to the CEO expressed in Fair Trade seminars by other Fair Trade importers in Sweden dealing with other products than textiles.

The Swedish Fair Trade companies are in the Indian context forced to make business in the profit maximizing logic, a logic that they as change agents for Fair Trade try to change due to its utilization of workers. The Fair Trade paradox shows that Fair Trade is framed in the economic discourse despite what the Fair Trade companies in Sweden want. The economic discourse has its roots in the Western ideology of industrialization but is well adapted by companies in the Indian context. The Indian Fair Trade producers are embedded in the Indian context and may be conditioned by the very institution and therefore not consider changing existing rules (Holm, 1995 referred in Mair and Martín, 2006). This consequence of the Fair Trade business for Fair Trade companies in Sweden is according to the CEO of Oria not either taken up by the NGOs such as the Fair Trade certification organizations. They are focusing on producers in low income countries and do not support the Swedish Fair Trade companies in business matters. Consequences like these are seldom discussed regarding the Fair Trade issues in Sweden.

6. 5. Standards are not enough

Regarding the European customers own controls of the Indian Fair Trade supplier the customers largely are looking at the ethical part of his business, he explains. That is if the company is paying the workers properly, is looking after them, giving them their own freedom of bargaining, if the company have a union, or workers committee, what issues are

raised by the workers and how does the company solve them. Many of these issues are not included in the standards and are additional demands from the customers which they also control in meetings with the workers. This indicates that the standards implemented by the Indian Fair Trade supplier are not enough to handle the issues of workers' rights. This could be explained as standards are spread very rapidly compared with norms, which develop by socialization processes, over long times, and require particular social conditions to emerge at all (Brunsson and Jacobsson, 2000). This is recognized when NGOs now are stressing the importance of labour unions which could empower the workforce to change their own situation and improve their working conditions.

Standards and codes of conduct as means for changing the workers situation in low income countries was also discussed in several of the conferences I attended and is also stressed in reports from NGOs (Bjurling, 2004; Fair Trade Center, 2008; Wingborg, 2009). A message from Han Dongfang at China Labour Bulletin at the conference Fair Christmas gifts (2009-12-03) was that the standards and codes of conduct cannot do the whole job, the change in low income countries for workers situation must be done by themselves putting demands through Unions and this is becoming more common in China today. Also the Fair Trade Center organization stresses beyond auditing, which means that standards and auditing can make some changes but it is necessary to empower the workers through labour unions in order to make the workers situation really fair (Interview, Fair Trade Center, 2009-11-24). At the conference MakeITfair (2009-10-26) the company SonyEricsson expressed the shortage of improving working conditions with standards and auditing at their Asian suppliers. In order to really change the workers situation the company has its own staff on daily basis at suppliers' factories. Their own staff on site could better understand how to implement improvements for the workers. This could be compared to the knowledge transfer within multinational corporations where new knowledge are received in multinational corporation subsidiary in India (Mir, Banerjee and Mir, 2008)

7. Conclusions

To understand how the idea of Fair Trade is interpreted by the actors and how they translate Fair Trade into practical actions it is important to discuss this from the perspective of contextualization in order to understand how the actors act and interplay. From the study we could see that the Swedish actors such as the Swedish food retailer uses Fair Trade standards and also make own audits of Indian suppliers due to that the retailer sees legitimacy and

control as important when it translate the Fair Trade idea into action. This could be seen as postcolonial tendencies to force the European management view on Indian companies. But, it could also be explained as the food retailer acts in relation to the values and norms in the Swedish context where management standards and control systems are popular management methods and legitimated practices in companies. The institutional logic in the Swedish context determines which solution is the focus of management's attention (Thornton, 2002). This could also be explained as the Swedish company repeats the routines of management standards for social issues in the same way as they do for environmental issues when using environmental standardization as ISO 14001. This repetition or imitation of a company's earlier behavior could be explained as automorphism (Schwartz, 1997; 2006/2009). Also the importance of being a good citizen and being legitimate in the eyes of Swedish customers decides the actions of the food retailer and its interest for Fair Trade. The actions are driven by contextualized values and norms.

Another example of contextualized values and norms is that Swedish Fair Trade companies act from a Swedish solidarity perspective when they want to change the business society in India which makes it difficult for them to handle the Indian business context. When they meet the Indian Fair Trade producers this solidarity value is challenged in the profit oriented Indian business society and they are forced to make business regarding to values and norms in the Indian context. The study shows that the actors in Sweden and India and their actions are dependent on which values and norms they are familiar with and driven by. This shows that Fair Trade when translated by the actors also maintains asymmetrical power relations when some actors interplay in another context. The larger Swedish and European companies acting in India set their standard of control and use their power as customers as well as Swedish Fair Trade companies are in a weak position against Indian Fair Trade suppliers. In this perspective Fair Trade is not a fair tool for implementing CSR but in the view of the workers in Indian Fair Trade companies the answer is the opposite. Their situation has been improved since the demand for the Fair Trade label and its criteria for better working conditions have increased from customers in Sweden and Europe.

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