修 士 論 文

Under pressure to be fair?
How attitudes and subjective norms affect fair trade consumption in Japan and the West

公平さへの圧力
日本と欧米におけるフェアトレード商品の消費における人々の態度と規範

東京大学院　新領域創成
科学研究科
国際協力学専攻
47-116823

Christopher Malcolm

1

本論文は、修士 (国際協力学) 取得要件の一部として、
2013 年 7 月 16 日に提出され、
同年 7 月 25 日の最終試験に合格したものであることを、
証明する。

2013 年 7 月 25 日

東京大学大学院　新領域造成科学研究科
環境学研究系　国際協力学専攻

主査＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

＿＿

2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, consumers in several affluent countries around the world have bought into markets for so-called 'ethical' and 'fair trade' products. Such products are characterized by the guarantee they hold that they have been produced under 'ethical' conditions that, for example, do not result in deforestation, or human rights infringements. Fair trade products in particular are meant to assure consumers that their producers are receiving a wage that can sustainably support their livelihoods even when market prices for commodities fluctuate. They do this through improved dialogue with small-scale producers to improve transparency, and ensuring producers a sustainable living wage. However, such assurances come with increased supply costs and hence higher product prices, meaning consumers must reconsider how they define the 'value' of their purchase. Although fair trade products have rapidly penetrated several affluent western markets[1], they continue to struggle in Japan despite its high per capita GDP. Existing literature on fair trade in Japan is primarily focused on describing fair trade campaigns and marketing strategies (i.e. Nagasaka, 2008; Sato, 2011; Watanabe, 2010; Kiyomizu, 2008,) or the economic rationale and impacts of fair trade (i.e. Tsujimura, 2009; 2013,) while few attempts have been made to explain the relative lag of fair trade in Japan's market from a cross-national perspective. Moreover, attempts that do exist are arguably either inaccurate or incomplete.

Inaccuracy comes in the form of, for example, defining what motivates western consumers to overcome barriers such as price and consciously purchase fair trade instead of non-fair trade products. Specifically, Japanese commentators have highlighted characteristically western factors such as Christian values, and historic

---

[1] I use the term 'west' or 'western' in this study to refer to markets that have significant numbers of Europeans or European immigrants, are commonly used in studies by the FLO, and have highly developed fair trade markets relative to Japan. They are located in Western Europe (Ireland, Switzerland, UK, Finland, Luxembourg, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Norway, Netherlands, Belgium, France, Italy, Spain,), North America (Canada, USA), and Oceania (Australia and New Zealand.) Although there are clearly various differences amongst these countries, they nevertheless share higher sales of fair trade goods, and more similar histories, cultures, and values between themselves than they do with Japan. Relevant exceptions, such as Spain and Italy, are highlighted individually throughout this study.

ties to colonialism.[2] However, recent research reveals only a weak connection between Christian values and fair trade purchases (e.g. Doran & Natale, 2010,) while research by Varul (2009) indicates that fair trade consumers situate their choices less on their ties to overseas producers and more to how they are perceived as morally good in their own societies. This study argues that a more nuanced understanding is necessary of how these factors relate to fair trade purchasing. Thus, the first question this study aims to answer is: Are western fair trade purchasing motives misinterpreted in Japanese fair trade literature, and if so, how? This study argues that Christian values and colonial histories have been exaggerated in Japanese fair trade literature as factors that directly motivate fair trade purchasing.

Incomplete explanations of the gap in fair trade engagement between Japan and the western markets in Japanese literature are revealed in how much emphasis is put on the role of civil society organizations in western countries, particularly the EU, in spurring on the fair trade movement, while providing little analysis of how Japan's own civil society has been slow to develop. In other words, a trend in the Japanese literature on fair trade is to focus on what the consumers of western countries have been given, without reflecting on what Japanese have had taken away. Without contrasting the strengths of western civil societies with the weaknesses of Japan's, the gap in fair trade engagement could inaccurately be attributed to Japanese cultural apathy towards the issues that fair trade engages. Importantly, several scholars highlight how Japanese civil society stands out due to its strict bureaucratic regulations (e.g. Schwartz, 2004; Pekkanen, 2006.) Hence NPOs - key proponents of fair trade in the west - have had ongoing difficulty funding their operations (i.e. Chan, 2008.) Therefore, the second question this study aims to address is: How has Japan's civil society hindered the development of fair trade in Japan? This study argues that the way civil society has been governed, rather than elements of Japanese culture, have severely limited opportunities for NPOs to establish. Because NPOs have played a strong role in western markets for spurring on fair trade, this weakness in Japan thus represents the key reason why fair trade remained small. Specifically, through media penetration, participation in public events, and advocacy, civil societies create stronger normative pressure that acts on consumers to purchase fair trade products. I

---

[2] See IDE-JETRO (2009) and Ando (2011) with regards to colonialism. This was also suggested by several students interviewed in this study, as well as in a personal interview with the former president of Alter Trade Japan.

therefore argue that that absence of this strong normative influence provides a significant reason for the slow development of fair trade in Japan.

Combining the influence of civil society and historical considerations, the third question this study asks is thus: do attitudes towards fair trade product purchases differ between Japan and the western fair trade markets, and if so, why?

Given the vastly different historical and cultural background of Japan, analyzing how attitudes towards fair trade in Japan have developed provides not only greater insight into the potential for fair trade to expand as a new form of political expressionism in Japan, but also increasing understanding of what motives inspire fair trade consumption more broadly.

1.1 What is Ethical Consumption?

Although fair trade has penetrated the markets of several countries around the world, it finds its foundation in a broader field of ethical consumption, which has aimed to address, through market-based means, several of the world's most troubling issues, from poverty to climate change. Despite gradual improvements in the lives of billions around the world in recent decades, there nevertheless remain over 1 billion people living on less than $1.25 a day (World Bank, 2010.) Although a complex array of factors contribute to poverty, poor governance and corruption have been provided as important factors. For example, Gupta et. al (1998) link corruption to increased income inequality and poverty, and the World Bank highlights the importance of labor law enforcement in poor countries to encourage social and economic improvement in poor regions (World Bank, 2004.) However, businesses have also been blamed for profiting off of corrupt or unstable political institutions:

> With the support of the state, corporations have pursued higher profits by participating in wars, genocide, racism, slavery and repression…In the search for competitive advantage, they seem to be willing to indulge in price-fixing, bribery corruption, money laundering, tax avoidance/evasion and a variety of anti-social activities that affect the life chances of millions of citizens (Sikka, 268-269.)

Moreover, the rapid expansion of transnational corporations (TNCs) that have thrived amidst the deregulation of global trade is undoubtedly one of the reasons the public and academics alike have recently highlighted their influential power[3]. Indeed, at one point the combined wealth of the largest 200 TNCs accounted for over a quarter of world economic activity (Anderson and Cavanagh, 2000.) Factors such as these have arguably elevated the monitoring of corporate activities. However, while a survey of academic management literature also reveals increased discussion of corporate responsibility and poverty alleviation, highlighting bottom of the pyramid (BoP) businesses and corporate social responsibility (CSR), there is also apparent hesitation to fully and directly engage with these issues (Bruton, 2010.) Businesses have also pointed their fingers at self-interested consumers who demand lower priced goods at whatever cost to the environment or society at large. Thus consumers, like businesses, have also started to re-examine how their own behavior can produce positive or negative outcomes.

The result has been a plethora of 'ethical' products appearing in recent decades, including everything from rainforest-friendly chocolates, organic vegetables and free-range chickens, to dolphin-safe tuna, animal cruelty-free cosmetics, conflict-free diamonds, and fair trade coffees. In the U.K., the world's strongest market for ethical consumer goods, it is estimated that ethical consumption has more than tripled since 1999 and now comprises 3% of overall GDP (The Co-operative Group, 2012,) while more than half of the bananas sold in Switzerland are labeled Fair Trade (Engineers without borders, 2008.) Ethical products are therefore rapidly gaining increasing recognition as a means for local consumers to express their discontent with business as usual and make a positive impact globally. One cross-national consumer poll highlights this discontent, revealing that 86% of consumers believe business needs to place, "At least equal weight on society's interests as on business' interests," while only 28% believe businesses are performing well in addressing societal issues (Edelman, 2012:15,16.) The idea of ethical consumerism has been around for some time, but it has been spurred on in recent decades. Although the reasons behind this are still debated, academics in the field point to increased media coverage, increased levels of information, greater availability of alternative products, and the evolving mindset of consumers in affluent societies who, freed of basic needs, become more

---

[3] e.g. Lodge & Wilson, 2006; O'Neill, 2007; Boyle & Boguslaw, 2007 for a review.

responsible for their behavior (Newholm & Shaw, 2007: 254.) Indeed, various forms of media including magazines, non-fiction books, Internet websites, and most recently smart phone applications, have enabled consumers to make more informed decisions by putting into question ethical business practices[4]. The 'ethical consumers' supporting these movements are, broadly defined, highly aware of ethical issues, and willing to act on an individual basis to ensure that such issues are addressed by voting with their wallets. Amidst this burgeoning market, fair trade products stand out as one the widest reaching, most successful, and perhaps most innovative, examples of ethical consumerism.

1.2 Why Fair Trade?

In its 2009 charter, the World Fair Trade Organization (WFTO) described fair trade as "Fundamentally, a response to the failure of conventional trade to deliver sustainable livelihoods and development opportunities to people in the poorest countries of the world" (WFTO, 2009:5.) While statements from leading fair trade organizations differ in some respects, its proponents do share certain core principles[5]. Fundamentally, fair trade organizations (FTOs) offer a new model of trade that aims to strengthen the relationship between consumers and producers through direct purchasing and long-term contracts agreed upon through ongoing dialogue, mutual respect, and transparency, agreed minimum prices, and an agreed social premium for development purposes (Nicholls & Opal, 2004:33.) This contrasts with conventional transactional relationships where the maximization of profits and shareholder value garner top priority, whereas the well being of producers are appreciated only in so far as they meet this goal[6]. By strengthening such relationships, fair trade organizations

---

[4] Examples include the social activist magazine "Adbusters", the online activist network "Avaaz", Naomi Klein's highly successful book "No Logo," and the smart phone application "Barcoo" which allows shoppers to scan barcodes in-store using their smart phone in order to gather information about the company's environmental policy and labor codes.

[5] For example, variations include Fair Trade USA's focus on enabling, "Sustainable development and community empowerment by cultivating a more equitable global trade model that benefits farmers, workers, consumers, industry and the earth," and Alter Trade Japan's (2006) aim to support small producers, encourage environmental sustainability, and promote mutual support and respect between producers and consumers.

[6] This may imply that all conventional trade is somehow 'unfair.' However, it is my opinion that to accuse non-fair trade labeled products as 'unfair' on the whole is, itself, an unfair accusation, and that businesses do deserve the benefit of the doubt as agents for good. Moreover, what is 'fair' and 'unfair' differs by the consumer. Nevertheless, because ethical consumerism and fair trade have fundamentally grown out of consumer dissatisfaction with business practices, and increased demand for greater

can maintain human, rather than purely economic, relationships with their producers. This helps to alleviate market failures such as producers' lack of access to markets, information asymmetries, inability of producers to efficiently respond to market forces, and weak legal systems (see Nicholls & Opal, 2004: 33-40 for a review.) A key element of fair trade, and perhaps the most controversial element, is its innovative financial system.

By entering into a fair trade agreement, producers can secure a stable income irrespective of fluctuations in market prices, while also obtaining a social premium that is set aside for projects that local cooperatives implement for community development. Taking the example of coffee, this means that even if market prices suddenly dive, coffee farmers are paid not in accordance to this market price, but according to the pre-determined income level necessary to sustain their livelihoods as coffee farmers. However, when market prices rise above the point whereby they can earn a standard living wage, the same coffee farmers gain extra income in accordance with the increasing market price. In addition, farmers are paid a slightly higher wage by complying with social and environmental terms stipulated in agreements with FTOs.

While the roots of fair trade can be found in political solidarity and cooperativism that extend back decades, the contemporary market-based approach involving labeling came with the establishment of the Max Havelaar fair trade labeling scheme in Holland in 1988. The founders of Max Havelaar brought fair trade mainstream by targeting coffee companies and supermarkets, and by applying a seal to roasted coffee that represented its status as a certified fair trade product (Linton, 2012: 6-7.) The brand's success led to the establishment of fair trade brands in other western European markets such as the U.K., Germany, and Switzerland, with further expansion into Japan in 1993, Italy in 1994, and the U.S. in 1998. To coordinate the expanding efforts of fair trade organizations worldwide, the Fairtrade Labeling Organization (FLO) was established in 1997, and the FLO certification label standardized in 2003. Complementing the FLO, the World Fair Trade Organization (WTFO) brings together fair trade organizations that demonstrate a 100% commitment to fair trade. Sales of fair trade products have grown considerably over

---

transparency and ethical accountability, rather than accusing the conventional model of trade as 'unfair, fair trade products essentially present a form of moral peace of mind for ethically minded consumers that wish to avoid uncertainty about under what conditions their products have been produced, and what business model their own purchases are perpetuating.

time, and by 2011 there were approximately 1,200,000 producers in 63 countries (FLO, 2012). According to the Fairtrade Labeling Organization (FLO), fair trade has consistently achieved double-digit growth annually for FLO certified Fairtrade products, amounting to a market of 4.9 billion euros in 2011 (FLO, 2008 – 2011). In addition to the economic successes of fair trade over the last ten years, as documented by Nelson & Pound (2009,) Le Mare (2012) has more recently highlighting its effect on reducing corruption and poor business practices, and Linton (2012: 21-22) provides insight into the social and psychological benefits of fair trade on communities. Finally, an estimated 7.5 million people – including farmers, workers, and their families – are directly benefitting from fair trade (Fair Trade Towns, 2013.) Uniquely, given that fair trade does not attachment itself to a specific product (i.e. diamonds) or issues (i.e. deforestation), but to an ethical framework, makes fair trade standout in its unique potential to affect change at a broader level. In response, millions of fair trade consumers are even joined by over 1100 fair trade towns (Fair Trade Towns, 2013) in addition to numerous universities (Linton, 2012) that have pledged their commitment to the fair trade principles.

Fair trade products can be found on the shelves of several types of stores from world shops, which sell ethnic goods from various countries around the world, to large supermarket chains. Fair trade products worldwide are recognized primarily by any one of the following labels:

Figure 1: Commonly used fair trade labels left to right: Fairtrade Labeling Organization, World Fair Trade Organization, Alter-trade Japan, Zensho Fair Trade.

Although this study commonly refers to 'fair trade' products, there is an important distinction to make between products that have been certified as fair trade by the Fairtrade Labeling Organization (FLO), and those that obey the principles of fair trade but do not carry the FLO certification mark. However, the World Fair Trade Organization deems these products fair trade. For the purposes of this study, I have defined fair trade as the aggregate of both of these types of fair trade products.

Despite its success and good intentions, the fair trade movement has not gone without significant criticism. For instance, there is noticeable variability in how much extra money makes it into the hands of producers (see Nichols & Opal, 2004:51 for a summary). Moreover, critical analyses highlight several weaknesses: the inflated fair trade price potentially creates dependency by producers on a market that does not viably exist (LeClair, 2002; 2003); fair trade is not always necessarily more 'fair' than free and protectionist trade (Maseland & De Vaal, 2002); simply handing over money directly to producers represents, in some cases, a more efficient and effective method for transferring wealth and improving lives (LeClair, 2002.)[7] Finally, there is evidence that the benefits of fair trade do not necessarily trickle down to those who need it most (Davenport & Low, 2012.) Proponents of fair trade, on the other hand, have responded to many of these criticisms (e.g. Nicholls & Opal, 2004: Ch.2,) while emphasizing that these are temporary setbacks in a system that has only recently taken off, is constantly evolving, and provides greater benefits than harm. Overall, there are several areas with which to debate the fair trade movement's track record, strengths, and weaknesses, but these are beyond the scope of this paper (for a summary of the arguments by both supporters and critics, see Watanabe, 2010:Ch.10-11; Nichols & Opal, 2004:Ch.2.)

More importantly, in spite of the critiques, fair trade is proving to be a worthy challenge to conventional trade systems, and consumer support continues to grow. Far from simply redistributing money from rich consumers to poor producers, fair trade aims to improve supply chain transparency, eliminate the various market failures noted above, and involve everyday consumers in a 'conversation' on development that is often dominated by academics, government officials, and business elites. Fair trade is, in other words, ultimately validated as a method for the common consumer to reflect upon, and fundamentally connect, their everyday choices to some of the world's most pressing issues, while providing negative incentives for businesses and governments to engage in questionable business practices.

Despite the rapid growth in worldwide sales of fair trade products in the world's most affluent nations, with increasing sales in newly emerging economies, they still have an extremely small presence in Japan.

---

[7] There are, however, studies that support the efficiency of fair trade as an efficient way to improve welfare (Hayes, 2006) or provide a donation (Reinstein & Song, 2012.)

1.3 The Japanese Fair Trade Market

Watanabe (2010:48) traces the origin of fair trade in Japan to the international development NGO Shaplaneer, which was established in 1972 to assist the recovery of newly independent Bangladesh by selling handicrafts made by Bangladesh women. However, the modern fair trade movement came later with the establishment of Alter Trade Japan in 1986, Nepali Bazaro in 1990, Fairtrade Labeling Japan in 1993, and People Tree in 2001. The inclusion of fair trade products by major retailers such as Aeon, Muji, and Zensho Holdings in the 2000s represents the time when fair trade began to experience a relative 'boom' in Japan, but they nevertheless remain a rarity relative to the more developed western markets. A report by DAWS estimated that Japan's fair trade market contributed a mere 1.7% of the global fair trade market (Krier, 2008.)

Characteristic of the Japanese market relative to western markets is the weak presence of products affixed with the Fairtrade Labeling Organization (FLO) certification label. While one might find FLO certified fair trade products flying off the shelves in numerous western contexts, the products certified in Japan by their sister organization here, Fairtrade Labeling Japan (FLJ), remain rarely seen. In fact, 2011 sales estimates by the FLO reveal that the Japanese spend merely €0.15 per person on FLJ certified products, a mere fraction of Switzerland (€33.5), U.K.(€23.8), Finland(€19), Sweden (€14.3), Netherlands (€8.8), Canada (€5.8), and the USA (€3.3). On the other hand, alternative trade products not certified by FLO fair much better, capturing approximately 80% of the market as of 2007 (Nagasaka, 2008.) Nevertheless, sales in Japan remain but a mere fraction of world totals, with relatively slow market expansion year on year. However, the introduction of larger supermarket chains and retailers has raised the outlets for fair trade products into the thousands.

1.4 Objectives of This Study

This study aims to provide a critical analysis of the linkages between civil society, consumer attitudes towards fair trade, and the success of the Japanese fair trade market. This study aims to correct Japanese perceptions of western fair trade consumers, provide a more complete analysis of the influence of civil society on fair

trade in Japan, and answer the question: How do attitudes towards fair trade consumption differ between Japanese and western consumers?

Broadly this study also aims to provide additional insight into how different cultures perceive fair trade and ethical consumption. Two of the most comprehensive reviews of ethical consumerism and fair trade research highlight the need for greater diversity in cross-national perspectives, noting that cross-national studies are often among EU countries, or between EU and North American countries (Andorfer & Liebe, 2012:427; Newholm & Shaw, 2007:259.) In other words, several studies are among the so-called 'western' countries. This study therefore provides greater insight into how attitudes towards fair trade and ethical consumption may differ between these western countries and an East Asian country. Because fair trade success has been found primarily in affluent nations worldwide, Japan stands out as the most suitable country in a comparative study of fair trade given its relatively high GDP. However, as this study will discuss, affluence is not necessarily the only factor in creating fair trade consumers.

1.5 Introduction to the Analytical Framework:

As a guide for comparing attitudes between Japanese and western consumers, this study draws on a theory that has been widely used in consumer behavior research, and more recently in analyses of fair trade purchasing behavior: the theory of planned behavior. This theory is an extension of the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975,) which explained behavior as the result of intentions that are formed by one's own beliefs about a certain behavior, combined with the influence of others about the behavior in question. Ajzen modified the model to include one's perception about whether or not a behavior can effectively be carried out. The result is the theory of planned behavior:
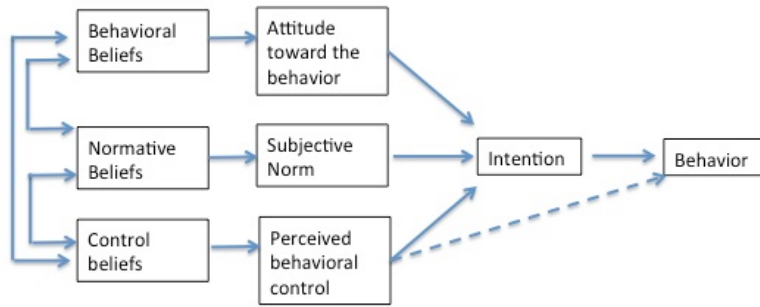
Figure 2: Theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991).

This theory was designed to understand an individual's intent to engage in a behavior at a particular place and time, and to inform behavioral change interventions. The theory has found validity in several psychology, sociology, marketing studies, and been applied to analyze behavioral patterns in everything from internet usage, problem solving in schools, healthy eating, AIDS prevention, and more recently, ethical and fair trade product consumption and purchasing[8]. Although relatively rare, the theory has found generalizability in several cross-national comparisons (e.g. Malhotra & McCort, 2001; Godin et al., 1996; Blanchard et al., 2003,) comparisons involving Japanese respondents (e.g. Hodge et al., 2009; Bresnahan et al., 2007) and studies involving only Japanese subjects (Underwood, 2012.) This study is based on the framework provided by the theory of planned behavior for several reasons. First, Armitage & Conner (2001) have shown, through meta-analysis, the theory to be robust for predicting several behaviors.

Defining the model above, behavioral beliefs link the behavior of interest to expected outcomes. In the context of fair trade, if the expected outcome were poverty alleviation, this would relate to how strongly one links the purchasing of fair trade products with actual poverty alleviation. The second item, normative beliefs, relate to how one perceives that people important to them (i.e. family, friends, teachers) feel about their behavior. For example, if a parent shows interest and positive attitudes towards fair trade, it may influence their student's or child's attitudes. Finally, control beliefs, which relate to the perceived presence of factors that may help or hinder the performance of a behavior, feed into one's perceived control over actually performing the behavior. For fair trade, such barriers include price, the distance needed to travel to a store, and whether or not desired fair trade products are commonly in stock.

---

[8] See Ajzen (2011) for a list of nearly one thousand studies involving the theory of planned behavior.

These three elements of the model feed into one's intention to act, which ultimately acts on whether or not they actually carry out a particular behavior. In other words, if a person sees a behavior as favorable, believes their peers also view it as favorable, and perceive that they are able to carry it out, they are more likely to engage in the behavior in question. In this study I therefore draw on this model as a guideline for exploring how Japanese attitudes towards fair trade have been formed through their own personal desired outcomes, through society's norms, and their ability to actually purchase or promote fair trade. This model also provides a framework for structuring interviews with Japanese students involved in fair trade activities in Tokyo.

　Chapter two begins with a review of literature of fair trade in Japan before introducing the theory of planned behavior. Chapter three first presents the findings from interviews conducted with 15 students in fair trade student groups in Tokyo before utilizing these findings to provide a comparative perspective with findings in literature on western fair trade consumers' beliefs and attitudes. Chapter three concludes by outlining the strong statist nature of Japanese civil society in comparison to western civil societies. Chapter four provides a discussion of the findings, a re-examination of the theory of planned behavior models, and provides implications of the findings in this study.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

2.1 Approaches to the study of fair trade

Andorfer and Liebe (2012) have summarized research on fair trade into six different approaches: Economic approaches, social psychological approaches, and sociological approaches. Economic approaches are primarily concerned with determining consumers' willingness to pay for fair trade products.

Social psychological approaches are concerned with consumer attitudes towards fair trade, how information and communications attract fair trade consumers, and what consumer values link to the consumption of fair trade products. Several studies of consumer attitudes utilize the theory of planned behavior to link beliefs, attitudes, and actual purchasing behavior (e.g. De Pelsmacker & Janssens, 2007; Chatzidakis et al., 2007; Nicholls & Lee, 2006). Information and communications approaches are often used to determine consumer segments and devise ways to

influence consumer purchases from a marketing perspective. Value oriented studies commonly draw on Schwartz values theory (Schwartz, 2004) to determine the value structures of fair trade consumers.

Finally, sociological approaches analyze how social identities link to the purchase of fair trade products. Specifically, sociological research on fair trade has pointed at fair trade being a form of voting (Shaw et al, 2006), and fair trade being a means to enable one's desire to be perceived as a moral person (Varul, 2009, 2010.)

Given the exploratory nature of this study concerning attitudes, it is not concerned with economic approaches. In addition, it does not draw heavily on information and communications approaches commonly used in marketing studies. Instead, this study primarily concerns both social psychological approaches, specifically using the theory of planned behavior to analyze consumer attitudes, and sociological approaches are incorporated to gain greater insight into how Japanese consumers perceive fair trade, and how this links to the gap in fair trade engagement between Japan and the west.

2.2 Level of Fair Trade Awareness in Japan

Watanabe (2010:48) traces the origin of fair trade in Japan to the international development NGO Shaplaneer, which was established in 1972 to assist the recovery of newly independent Bangladesh by selling handicrafts made by Bangladesh women. However, the modern fair trade movement came later with the establishment of Alter Trade Japan in 1986, Nepali Bazaro in 1990, Fairtrade Labeling Japan in 1993, and People Tree in 2001. The inclusion of fair trade products by major retailers such as Aeon, Muji, and Zensho Holdings in the 2000s represents the time when fair trade began to experience a relative 'boom' in Japan. The reason for the recent growing conversation not only on fair trade in Japan[9], but also on issues such as ethical consumerism and consumer education[10] has been not only because more and more people are catching on to the idea, but also because despite the increase in interest, there nevertheless exists a very distinct gap between Japan and other fair trade countries in terms of awareness and knowledge.

---

[9] This is exemplified by the boom in Japanese literature on fair trade between 2005 – 2010 (e.g. Nagasaka, 2008; Watanabe, 2010; Nagao, 2008; Minney, 2008; Kiyomizu, 2008; Murata, 2005; Tsujimura, 2009)

[10] e.g. Delphys, 2012; Cabinet Office of Japan, 2008

While it is difficult to pin down exactly how many Japanese are familiar with fair trade at any given time, a 2008 Cabinet survey of consumer awareness in Japan and Norway found 15% of Japanese expressed at least some accurate knowledge of the concept. In contrast, Norway revealed a similar level of knowledge among 61% of Norwegians (Cabinet Office of Japan, 2008.)[11] A 2008 Internet survey conducted by Choco-revo also found that 17.6% of respondents knew the term fair trade and associated it with poverty and the environment[12]. Meanwhile, a follow-up survey conducted in mid-2012 by Fair Trade Town Japan found that this figure had increased only slightly to 20.4%. Interestingly, while 20.3% of respondents in the 2008 study stated they had seen the fair trade label, only 17.2% did so in the 2012 survey. Although this may simply point to methodological or sampling errors, it does also indicate that awareness of fair trade has made only slow progress in public awareness. Finally, a 2011 Internet based survey conducted by the market research firm GMO found that 17.8% of Japanese knew the meaning of fair trade well, while 31.2% stated that they had heard of fair trade. Compared to a survey conducted by FLO that showed knowledge of the FLO product label falling between 20%-75%, awareness in Japan appears to be lower than most, if not all, other fair trade countries[13].

2.3 Japanese Discourse on Fair Trade

Although there exists a sizeable number of books and studies on fair trade in Japan, they are commonly limited to descriptions of market trends, levels of awareness, and unique campaigns overseas in order to help domestic retailers and fair trade organizations devise marketing strategies. For example, Nagasaka (2008) relays the state of Japan's fair trade market, and presents the results of interviews with Japanese fair trade storeowners and other proponents of the movement. Sato (2011) acts to legitimize fair trade by introducing readers to the fair trade concept and its impacts, and Watanabe (2010) outlines the fair trade concept, fair trade activities and

---

[11] While fair trade knowledge was particularly low, it should also be noted that this study revealed a general lack of knowledge among Japanese for all categories compared with Norway. While this reflects differing levels of consumer awareness, because respondents provided self-evaluations, it could, as noted in chapter 3, also reflect differing cultural standards of what constitutes 'sufficient' knowledge.

[12] Given the nature of this survey, this percentage may over exaggerate their actual level of knowledge.

[13] Important to note, however, is that FLO tested recognition of the fair trade label rather than fair trade in general. Thus, the gap in awareness between Japan and other countries is estimated to be even larger.

criticisms, while providing some insight into the state of the Japanese market. Although there exist some attempts at explaining the gap in awareness cross-nationally between Japan and western consumers, I am aware of only student reports (i.e. Ando, 2008; Yamamoto, 2011), journalistic reports (i.e. Kitazawa, 2006), and online discussions (i.e. OKWave, 2006,) among comments strewn about in more general introductions to fair trade. Although these types of literature are important for understanding the perceptions of a variety of people in society, none of them provide comprehensive attempts to understand how historical pathways may have created a particular way of thinking about fair trade or, more broadly, civil engagement. Specifically, fair trade literature offers little more insight than stating, for instance, that attitudes towards citizenship, the empowerment of citizens, and initiatives have a weak history in Japan, thus hindering this sort of bottom-up reform (Iwano & Takumi: 53). Tsujimura similarly provides only a passing comment: "One reason for the lack of diffusion of fair trade products in Japan is little interest in, or awareness of, fair trade products, or few consumers that feel fair trade products that 'assist producers' are attractive" (2009: 169). A cross-national study of East Asian markets that found awareness of fair trade was lowest in Japan also concluded, "This highlights the seriousness of Japan's 'inward-thinking'. However, none of these comments provide support in the form of interviews, or insight into how these attitudes came to be.

As a matter of discourse, explanations like this that point to some sense of Japanese apathy towards the issues inherent in fair trade often highlight what Europe has and what Japan lacks, rather than what Europeans have been given and what Japanese have had taken away from them. For instance, while Watanabe (2010:146-160) insightfully outlines the evolution of how fair trade penetrated the level of the national governments of the EU, he does not provide a comparable story of how the postwar "development at all costs" Japanese government actively resisted what was, at one point, a large body of activists and protestors. In other words, I contend that while European civil societies have flourished under governments that have largely supported participation, Japanese have been at a severe disadvantage, and I argue that this has resulted in differing attitudes to participation. More than long-running cultural traits of a unique Japan, many of the existing differences between Japan and other fair trade nations thus arguably stem from a fundamental difference in the development of their respective civil societies.

In particular, Iwano & Takumi are right to explain how Japan has historically been weak at bottom-up movements, but this ignores a period whereby Japan went through a particularly violent phase of civil society activism in its postwar period, For instance, hundreds of thousands gathered in civic protests outside the diet in the summer of 1960 (Avenell, 2010:70.) Protests and bottom-up movements in response to vast environmental destruction in the 1960s and 1970s have also been documented (e.g. Hasegawa, 2004; Broadbest, 1999.) More recently, demonstrations involving tens of thousands of anti-nuclear protestors have echoed through the corridors of Tokyo, and reverberated worldwide. While it may be correct that bottom-up civil society movements, protests, and demonstrations are small compared to Europe, I emphasize that this is not necessarily related to a fundamental difference in culture stemming from established religious beliefs, or any sort of culturally unique aversion to conflict or politics, but rather the logical outcome of a state that has quashed attempts for such groups to establish.

Thus, a broader perspective is needed to understand both how Japanese political fervor has been lost over time in contention with a strong patriarchal Japanese government, just as much as how interest in fair trade has been fostered among western fair trade consumers. To focus on the western development of fair trade while omitting details of how Japan has evolved in the last 50 years only acts to further reinforce a feeling that the state of fair trade in Japan is strongly related to what commentators commonly highlight: fundamental differences in attitudes due to religious and colonial histories.

2.4 The Role of Christianity

"One of the reasons behind the spread of fair trade in Europe is their religious background…fair trade is linked to religious morals and thus has been spread by Christian NGOs in Europe." (Mori, 2011)

Mori (2011), Andou (2008) and personal interviews with students and fair trade proponents have pointed to Christian values and its 'charitable ethic' as key driving forces of western civil societies. In other words, the logic goes, this ethic encourages helping the poor and making charitable donations to religiously affiliated organizations which support fair trade, enabling greater marketing, membership, and

the ability to improve the diffusion of fair trade products. Indeed, differing religious values undoubtedly feed into individual and society-wide differences in multi-national comparisons at some level, but this perspective must be placed in a broader context.

In discussions of fair trade, and more broadly of activism, civil society, and the establishment of NPOs in general, Japan has been pegged as a culture that does not value charitable donations or philanthropy. While it is easy to tie this to cultural arguments that involve a Christian ethic, several scholars have also pointed to Japan's relatively hostile tax environment for donations and the civil society organizations that rely on them (e.g. Ouchi, 2004; Salamon et. al, 1999:259). This is combined with one of the toughest sets of legislation for the establishment of NPOs among affluent nations (Schwartz, 2003:10.) Thus there exist fewer incentives to donate, and the result is a wide network of civil society organizations that are struggling to stay afloat[14]. When tying this to the influence on fair trade, while philanthropy appears somewhat weaker in Japan, the reality is that most revenue of civil society organizations is generated primarily through the public sector and through fees rather than philanthropy:
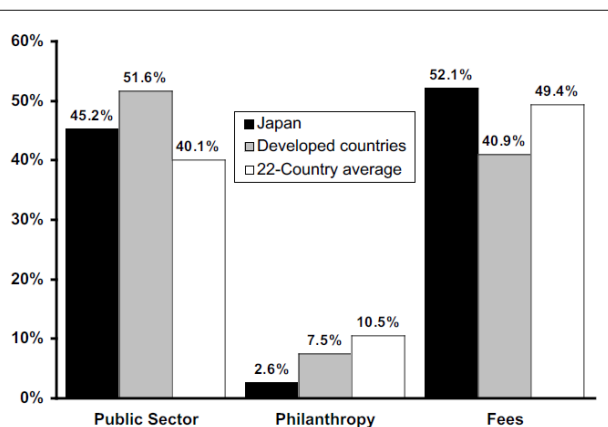
Figure 3: Sources of cash revenue, Japan, developed countries, and 22-country average, 1995 (Salamon et. al, 1999: 255.)

The relationship between philanthropy and civil society appears to be weak, but what about the impact of Christianity on a broader scale? Salamon et al (1999) do point to several cases where Christian groups laid the foundation for philanthropy and the nonprofit sector (289, 332, 451,) while also emphasizing that religious congregations affect the overall size of nonprofit sectors by less than 10% (13). It

---

[14] For example, Chan (2008) highlights the severe financial situations of several activist organizations in Japan.

may be that certain values have been perpetuated by Christianity, but Salamon et al (2009:4) also emphasis the reasons for rapid expansion in nonprofit activities as related to the questioning of traditional welfare policies in the developed North, disappointment over state-led development in the South, the collapse of state socialism in Central and Eastern Europe, and concerns about environmental degradation which have widespread implications for human health. Closer to the issue of fair trade, we must ask: how does this so-called Christian ethic relate to fair trade consumption?

Interviews with western fair trade consumers reveal only a weak connection to Christian values at the individual level, and there is even evidence to suggest that other religious groups and the non-religious are even more avid fair trade consumers than Christians (Doran & Natale, 2010). A book by Nicholls & Opal (2004), which has been printed in Japanese and is frequently referenced by Japanese fair trade researchers, does emphasize the importance of Christianity in establishing the Fairtrade Foundation in the UK, GEPA in Germany, Cafedirect in Europe, and various outlets for fair trade crafts in the USA. On the other hand, they also note how the charitable ethic conflicts with fair trade's rejection of charity in favor of empowerment through trade and development, and highlight how fair trade proponents even outwardly express the irrelevance of religion despite their promotion of fair trade through Christian organizational channels:

> Well, my mother brought me up to be caring and it's in the genes. I just have a feeling for justice. When I first got on the BandAid bandwagon, religion did not come into it and I did it just because such poverty is immoral." (Nicholls & Opal, 2004:62)

Shaw & Clarke (1999:114) were also intrigued by one respondent that showed disappointment at the disconnect between Christian morals and ethical consumption:

> I work for the Church of Scotland, and you would assume that the church would be highly motivated, but yet there are loads of people there who have got little interest in these things.

 The link between Christianity and fair trade consumption thus appears to be less a conscious connection between one's identity as a charitable Christian who is an active agent for good, and more to do with the fact that Christian groups are better established to fund the activities that help expand fair trade. In fact, only 35% of UK residents represent themselves as Christians, while those who do not associate with any religion make up 50% and are predicted to grow in numbers (British Social Attitudes, 2012.) On the other hand, Spain and Italy present interesting examples of countries where roughly 95% of the population are self-proclaimed Roman Catholics, a subset of Christianity which defines charity as the, "Theological virtue by which we love God above all things for his own sake, and our neighbor as ourselves for the love of God" (Vatican, 2013). In both cases, per capita sales of FLO certified fair trade products are relatively low compared to the UK[15]. In terms of values, however, World Values Survey data in Spain's case show Spanish attitudes towards helping others in society and in less developed countries as comparable, or even higher, in many ways to other flourishing fair trade countries (WVS, 2009.)

While religion may have once contributed to shaping the attitudes of consumers on both a conscious and unconscious level, the fact that fair trade continues to grow rapidly despite the gradual decline of religion in the UK, and in fact most of Europe (Ames, 2013,) increases the complexity of the argument that a key explanation of the difference in fair trade consumption between Japan and the west is a difference in religious values. In terms of contemporary attitudes, Christianity appears to be at most weakly connected to actual purchasing behavior. At a broader level it could be argued that while the Christian ideas of charity, philanthropy, and 'saving the poor' may have lost much of their original meaning, they nevertheless remain traditions in several western societies. Thus it is possible that this ethic has encouraged participation in the form of organizations that carry out similar welfare functions but do not necessarily associate with religion per say. However, what this study asserts is that Christianity has been less of a conscious force influencing the purchase of fair trade, and, moreover, the level of Christian establishment in a country does not necessarily translate to higher fair trade engagement as the cases of Spain and Italy exemplify.

---

[15] In Italy's case, this is complemented by relatively high sales of non-FLO certified products, much like Japan, thus raising total fair trade sales considerably, although exact statistics are difficult to come by. Spain, on the other hand, has low fair trade sales all around (Krier, 2008: 82-83, 98-99)

2.5 The Effects of Colonialism and Collective Guilt

Similar to comments regarding Christianity, commentators have also pointed to the differing histories of Japan and many of the former imperial powers in the west. The following quote is representative of the link between fair trade and colonialism that can be found not only in more academic papers (I.e. Andou, 2008; Yamamoto, 2011), but also in general public discourse and in interviews with Japanese fair trade proponents:

> Britain has a long history of colonialism, and given the impoverished state of former colonies, many people have some sort of feeling of guilt in the way that 'we must somehow save the poor people in developing countries'. (JETRO interview)

Multiple Japanese fair trade retailers also echoed this historical relationship between the UK and Africa in the context of fair trade chocolate (Usugami, 2009:7,10). I should first note that there is no particularly clear fair trade connection between any former western ruler and fair trade with its former colony. The breadth of British rule does show through in Table 1, but the variety of sourcing countries is more reflective of the proportion of European expansion more generally. In fact, if the connections between rulers and former occupied lands were significant, we would see fair trade as a highly significant issue in Japan given that Japan sources over 85% of its fair trade goods from Asia, including from former occupied territories such as the Philippines (Nagasaka, 2008: 85.)

Table 1: Product and source countries for UK fair trade products.

Product	Source Countries (former ruler in parentheses)
Bananas	Windward Islands (English); Dominican Republic (Spanish)
Citrus	South Africa (English)
Beauty Products	Burkina Faso (French); Dominican Republic (Spanish); Malawi (English)
Coffee	India (English); Costa Rica (Spanish); Ethiopia (never colonized, Italian occupation); Guatemala (Spanish); Tanzania (Germany); Uganda (English)
Cocoa	Belize (Spanish); Dominican Republic (Spanish); Cote D'Ivoire (French)
Cotton	India (English); Mali (French)
Dried Fruit	Pakistan (English)
Flowers	Kenya (English)
Gold	Peru (Spanish)
Grapes	South Africa (English)
Mangoes	Burkina Faso (French)
Nuts	Malawi (English)
Pineapples	Ghana (English)
Rice	India (English); Thailand (never colonized)
Sugar	Malawi (English)
Tea	Uganda (English)
Vegetables	Kenya (English)

However, I will return to why this may not affect Japan as much as it has affected several western countries in the final chapter. Important to note here is that the mobility of business and the diversity of global supply chains suggest historical relations on an individual country basis do not appear to be major drivers or barriers to the establishment of western fair trade. Fair trade USA, for instance, sources products from 70 developing countries across Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean (Fair Trade USA, 2010.) In light of this, how do fair trade consumers feels about these historical ties and the relation to their own purchasing choices?

While there do appear to be lingering feelings of guilt and frustration towards issues of socioeconomic inequality among various members of the affluent western societies, Varul (2009) rejects the colonial connection, attributing fair trade consumerism instead to a particular need by consumers to be unique, or to belong to a niche group of consumers. In other words, Varul finds that a feeling of guilt stemming from disparity between affluent and poor nations is less important than the hedonistic desire to be seen as moral among those in one's home country. Moreover,

Brenton (2013:5) concludes in a study of political motivations for ethical consumption:

> Most 'ethical' consumers are not making consumption choices for reasons that are first and foremost oriented towards the welfare of nominal 'beneficiaries', such as workers or communities directly regulated by certification schemes. Ethical-labeling organizations may find it beneficial to further adopt strategies of commercial brands in emphasizing identity and lifestyle aspects.

Diaz-Pedregal and Ozcalgar-Toulouse (2011:658) find that French fair trade consumers have strong negative feelings towards capitalism, expressing not guilt, but rage or even disgust at contemporary society, pity for poor people, and feelings of inadequacy or powerless in the face of economic and social inequalities.

These studies suggest that fair trade consumption motives derive more from an individualistic identity as a fair trade consumer rather than a direct response to colonial history. This is further supported by numerous consumer behavior studies. For example, studies find identity to be important to fair trade consumers (e.g. Ozcalgar-toulouse, et. al, 2006; Shaw et. al, 2000,) fair trade consumers have been identified as self-directed individuals (e.g. Shaw et al. 2005; de Ferran and Grunert 2007) and they have an apparent desire to present their integrity and morality through fair trade (Adams and Raisborough 2010, Shaw & Newholm, 2002). The individualistic element of this is important, given that cultural studies have placed several of the western fair trade countries opposite a collectivist Japan on the individualist – collectivist dimension of culture (Hofstede, 2001.) Meanwhile, Tafarodi & Marshall (2004) find that Japanese are more cautious about standing out compared to Canadians. However, Noguchi (2007) cautions that cultural definitions of 'individualistic' and 'collectivist' are often nuanced and depend on how one constructs these terms, but he also concludes in his study that Japanese were more likely to take into account the viewpoints of others. Finally, Miyuki et al (2008) also conclude that Japanese students are more conforming and less deviant than Americans, while also finding that this compliance is not attributed to strong bonds to conventional society Thus there may be some cultural basis for why Japanese may not necessarily attach fair trade to their individualistic identities as 'ethical consumers. However, what this signals is not necessarily that western fair trade consumers have

an absolutely higher interest in fair trade, but that they may have differing reasons behind why they choose to engage fair trade. In the Japanese case, the above studies suggest that subjective norms would have a larger effect in influencing fair trade consumption.

What is important to remember in this section is that western consumers do not appear to connect their fair trade consumption to historical issues such as colonialism as they do with contemporary failings of capitalism, inequalities in their own society, or inequalities between their own country and countries elsewhere, regardless of colonial connections. Moreover, despite the claims that Japan is more conformist and collectivist in several ways, there are also exceptions to this rule.

2.6 When Fair Trade Organizations Don't Cooperate

Watanabe (2010) points to a general lack of cooperation among fair trade organizations as an explanation for the gap in fair trade knowledge and sales between Japan and elsewhere. This is illustrated in part by a high ratio of FLO Certified fairtrade sales as a percentage of all fair trade sales in Europe and the U.S., as well as EU-wide coordination that has reached the government level. By contrast, Japan's fair trade market is more fragmented despite FTOs largely overlapping in their ideologies. It could be argued that this fragmentation results in differing messages to consumers, resulting in less coherence of the fair trade concept, and inspiring less confidence in the movement as a unified whole. Watanabe (2010) has argued that each fair trade organization continues to operate under its own 'aesthetic,' thus making it more difficult to achieve cooperation under a standardized scheme that encourages the movement to achieve greater momentum, increase awareness, and ultimately drive sales (Watanabe, 2010). For instance, Muji and Aeon sell FLO certified fairtrade goods, Zensho Holdings sells coffee tagged with its own original 'fair trade' logo and certified by its own system, and Alter Trade Japan displays its own 'ATJ' logo. This may be surprising given the above views of Japan as a conformist, collectivist nation. On the contrary, Iwano & Takami (2010:54) suggest anti-conformity may be a unique trait of Japanese managers, although the articles they cite are nearly forty years old.

Aside from management practices, the lack of cooperation extends also to ideological disagreements in how to diffuse fair trade in Japan. On one side are those that argue that the diffusion of fair trade is first necessary to gain awareness among

potential consumers before pushing for their deeper commitment to the movement's core values. On the other side are those that oppose such a surface level diffusion and instead argue for greater understanding of core values and greater commitment, before spreading more gradually (for an overview of these approaches, see Watanabe, 2010b).

Regardless, these are hardly issues unique to Japan, as Opal and Nicholls (2004:138-143) and Engineers without Borders (2008:17,21) allude to. In terms of the battle between certified and non-certified fair trade products, Nagasaka (2008:13) points to the late entry of businesses as the reason for the disparity, but personal interviews suggest the issue also involves financial concern. Given that significant costs are incurred in order to acquire FLO certification, some companies, like Zensho, and Nepali Bazaro have decidedly avoided the FLO label and/or employed their own in-house certification scheme[16]. It is true that once recognition of the FLO label reaches a certain threshold, investment in its labeling may be more justified by increased financial return, but the same financial constraints that plague Japan's civil society organizations also arguably limit the attractiveness of risking financial resources for FLO certification. Thus, while it is certainly true that greater cooperation would push the movement forward, there remains the greater underlying issue of reaching a certain threshold to gain credence in the public's eye, which would then further inspire interest by corporations. What this ultimately derives from is the inability of organizations to drive forward sales and increase civil engagement in postwar Japan. More significant than a cultural difference relating to managers, as Iwano & Takami (2010) point out, I argue that the lack of cooperation and search for a fair trade identity is a natural part of the process of developing the fair trade market until it can be more firmly established, and civil society is a significant driving force.

2.7 Civil Society, the State, and Fair Trade in Japan

The slow spread of fair trade knowledge has been linked to a lack of common understanding of, and market research on, Japan (DAWS, 2008: 117), a lack of Christian values and colonial guilt in Japan (Andou, 2008; IDE-JETRO, 2009), and rivalries among different proponents of fair trade (Watanabe, 2009). Moreover,

---

[16] Personal interviews with company representatives revealed that avoiding payment for the FLO label was an intentional choice in both cases.

Nagasaka, Watanabe, and others have highlighted the role of non profit organizations in spreading fair trade in Europe and elsewhere. However, analysis of fair trade in Japan tends to focus on the present state of affairs, while placing relatively little attention on how civil society has evolved in postwar Japan. Without this historical background, it may be easy to denounce Japanese consumers as apathetic, or unwilling to act out on the issues of fair trade. This section thus aims to bring attention back to the factors that limited the breadth of Japan's civil society. Given the strength of NPOs in promoting the messages not only of fair trade, but also of messages pertaining to complementary issues of human rights, inequality, environmental destruction, and animal rights in Europe and elsewhere, civil society organizations have arguably had the most pronounced effect on spreading fair trade. The Japanese civil society sector that has struggled for decades thus rationalizes why fair trade engagement, and in fact engagement with several related issues, are lower.

From Activism to Symbiosis

Although one could argue that civil society movements also depend on willing individuals, and that Japanese have presented a more passive nature to civil engagement, we are, nevertheless, reminded of numerous social movements that have shaken Japan's postwar history. In 1960, 540,000 Japanese gathered to protest, while 2.5 million participated in the eighteenth united action of the National congress in June. Maclachlan (2002: 134,137) even points to a time when the frequency of protests by consumer organizations seeking greater political recognition led them to be widely ignored by the media and in general; they were no longer newsworthy. However, several scholars have highlighted how the state demobilized and quashed discontent during environmental movements in the 1960s and 1970s (Broadbent, 1999), and during the *shimin* (citizens) movements that once heavily criticized governmental policies, but whose leaders turned to local mobilizations and non-contentious activism (Avenell, 2010:9). Maclachlan (2002: 236) also documents how consumer groups were reluctant to take legal action, in part due to the stance of the court denouncing their right to do so. Kiddler & Miyazaka (1993:624) describe a similar experience among villages that were forced to adapt to inefficient courts, and inadequacies of the Japanese legal system when protesting environmental issues. What this partially reflects is that the mentality of the post-war Japanese government,

which focused on 'development at all costs' in an effort to 'catch-up' to the west, often gave economic producers higher priority over consumer and other civil society groups. Hence, to go against the grain socially, and more importantly, legally, were tall orders. Machlachlan (2002:236-237) emphasizes this in cross-national perspective, arguing that Japanese consumer groups experienced relative difficulty in affecting change at the national level when compared to a more accessible judicial system in America, and a British bureaucracy that was more receptive to the pleas of these consumer organizations. In this way, Japanese civil society researchers highlight several reasons to suggest that the Japanese government played a large role in preventing the growth of such bottom-up movements and even instilling a sense of futility:

> Consumer advocates were also deterred by a weak sense of political efficacy under LDP rule. Because they usually associated the party with business interests, why should they waste precious resources on lobbying politicians who would only turn a deaf ear to their demands - assuming, of course, that they would even agree to meet with advocates in the first place? (Maclachlan, 2002: 131.)

Yamada (in Obuchi, 2007:21) similarly asserts, "They stubbornly believe that Japanese society has an unfair structure which benefits only one portion of the population, and feel a political impotence, namely that reform would be difficult to accomplish." Moreover, Avenell (2010) provides a bottom-up perspective that indicates how activists gradually changed their civil society mentality from one of confrontation and criticism to cooperation in the face of the developmental state. When Iwano & Takami (2010:53) conducted interviews on fair trade, they found that interviewees felt, "The notion of citizenship, empowerment of the citizens, attitudes to take initiatives from the general public is historically weak in Japan. Consequently, a bottom-to-top reform such as that which has occurred in Europe is hard to expect." Indeed, it has been hard to expect under the established legislation, but Avenell's account reveals strong voices of dissent that nevertheless chose to adopt a new strategy of symbiosis in the face of an overbearing state. The result was a response to 'failed' activism that fostered civil society activities built on the notion of 'proposal', 'symbiosis', and 'constructive' activism. This highlights a generational gap, or at least differing opinions on the activist *shimin* of the 1970s, and the *shin-shimin*, or 'new-

citizens' whom Ogawa (2010: 159) explains, are, "Expected to be apolitical and to collaborate with authority."

It is safe to say that the relative newness of a civil society that is still finding its identity is one explanation for its weaknesses relative to several western countries, but government policies have also clearly maintained these weaknesses. Far from actively supporting the spread of civil society groups, particularly those that encourage engagement with large, sweeping issues, various bureaucratic procedures have kept civil engagement more localized, and issue-specific while also creating negative incentives to donation to non-profits..

Regulating Japanese Civil Society

Any comparison of civil societies between Japan and the west should first note that civil society, as westerners see it, is a relatively new concept to Japan. As Hasegawa (2004:201) points out, the concepts of 'public' and 'private' in English are not quite like those in Japanese whereby the conception of 'public' traditionally refers to the 'nation' or 'state' rather than the interests of the general populace (243). Rather, the words now commonly used for 'society', 'public', and civil society (*shimin shakai)* did not appear commonly until the postwar era (Schwartz, 2003:43.) Thus one can rightfully argue that there is a distinct difference in the culture of civil action in Japan that stems from a pre-war state composed of subjects of the emperor rather than rights-holding citizens. However, various scholars also point to how Japan has maintained this top-down structure. Schwartz (2004:10) sees Japan's as, "One of the strictest of all advanced industrial democracies in regulating the incorporation of NGOs." For example, in order to get approval as a public interest corporation prior to 1998, NGOs were required to have an annual budget of at least 300 million yen to gain recognition as having a "sound financial base" (Pekkanen, 2004:122). Not incorporating meant missing out on certain tax benefits and being severely limited in everyday operations, while the tax system even for incorporated groups arguably has inhibited philanthropy in Japan (Pekkanen, 2006.) An additional problem is the lack of a legal framework for the establishment of civil society groups, which leaves room for a greater deal of bureaucratic discretion over who becomes a public-interest non-profit organization in Japan. Estevez-abe (2004:171) argues that this bureaucratic discretion, in conjunction with intermediate associations that represent the interests of

society, have effectively segmented the policy process into smaller, more private debates, ultimately resulting in a "managed democracy." Mason (1999:198) also concludes, with regards to environmental NGOs, that they have few entry points into the national policy-making process, and when challenges do make it to the supreme court, the high court tends to side with government policies. Pekkanen (2004) also asserts that the Japanese state has, "Structured incentives to promote this pattern of development because it seeks to nurture social capital-type civil society groups and to discourage pluralistic, lobbying-type civil society groups." Indeed, the offices of Greenpeace, World Wildlife Fund, and other large lobbying type organizations in Japan maintain but a fraction of staff per capita compared to their offices overseas.[17] Japan's characteristically small, localized groups that contribute to social capital are weak relative to large organizations, Pekkanen asserts, because large groups have the ability to maintain professional staff with a core of full-time employees that are more capable of developing expertise, institutionalizing movements, and influencing policies to change the political landscape (2004: 117). In other words, it is difficult to gain momentum and affect change when such barriers to high-level organization and advocacy are in place.

In a comparative perspective, Reimann (2010) similarly argues that two key factors – the legal and fiscal codes regulating the non-profit sector, and financial support via state subsidies and funding schemes – have been very strict in Japan. Relative to other selected OECD countries, Japan has traditionally had a very tough legal structure until 1998, with few tax deductions, only modest NGO grants and subsidies, and a relatively closed political system for international NGOs (Reimann, 2010:19). These scholars point out that the regulatory environment is primarily responsible for the relative difficulty in establishing civil society organizations. I argue that this negatively affects the diffusion of, and engagement with, fair trade.

By Reimann's account, the regulatory environment for NGOs in Italy has also been relatively strict, perhaps adding to the explanation why Italy also has a relatively limited fair trade market, while Spain, with a similarly locally-focused civil society (Fernandes, 2012:3,) also shows a relatively low degree of per capita sales. Finally,

---

[17] To give a striking example, Greenpeace Japan maintains a membership of roughly 5000 members (1 for every 24,000 Japanese, roughly 0.25% of the world total) while Canada has approximately 89,000 (1 for every 370 Canadians). It should also be noted that 80% of Greenpeace Japan's funding is subsidized by Greenpeace international. Although this does not discount the possibility of extremely low interest in Greenpeace activities, the World Wildlife Fund also has relatively few members in Japan (1.6% of the world total)

He (2009) concludes that Korea, despite its many parallels to Japan's model of development, "Boasts of a significant presence of civic and advocacy activism in its NGO sector" while in Japan the civil society "Lacks sizable professional groups that influence the public sphere and policy making." In terms of FLO certified fair trade sales, Korea, too, has exceeded Japan on a per capita basis, and appears to have a greater awareness of, and willingness to purchase, fair trade products (GMO, 2011: 5.) despite its lower per capita GDP.

While Japan's civil society is typically seen as weaker than most developed countries in comparative studies of civil society (e.g. Salamon & Anheier, 1996), Haddad (2007:35) cautions us that many comparative studies of civil engagement overlook participation in organizations that are in embedded relationships with the government, such as PTAs. By this account, she finds that Japanese volunteerism is actually higher than the United States. This suggests there exists the will to participate, but given the violent protests of the 60s and 70s[18], many of the older generation may place higher importance on government legitimized organizations rather than purely independent, civil society organizations. The implication for fair trade is that the movement would spread much more fluidly if the Japanese government at a national level would help legitimize and further highlight fair trade, ethical consumerism (aside from 'environmentally friendly' or 'eco' products), as well as issues of inequality and human rights that are in line with the goals of fair trade.

2.8 Summary

This section has provided a summary of literature on fair trade in Japan and the west. These sections have attempted to answer this study's first research question: Are western fair trade purchasing motives misinterpreted in Japanese fair trade literature, and if so, how? I have attempted to demonstrate that several Japanese fair trade supporters highlight the importance of Christianity and colonial history in motivating western consumers to purchase fair trade products, and thus spurring on the success of fair trade in those markets. However, I have argued that these factors are over exaggerated in Japanese research. Studies by Varul, Adams and Raisborough,

---

[18] Also undoubtedly contributing to this was the terrorist incident involving the Aum-Shinrikyo. Despite many placing them outside of the status of a 'civil society organization' given their intent to harm, this certainly did not help the image of activists and civil society organizations.

Brenton and others suggest that fair trade consumers are more concerned with general inequality, the failings of capitalism, and with affirming their own ethical selves. Similarly, I draw on research by Doran, as well as demographic data of Christianity in several areas of Europe to argue that the role of Christianity has also been over exaggerated in Japanese literature. While there may be some validity to the notion that colonial histories and Christian values have shaped attitudes on a broader scale, they are not frequently acknowledged in consumer testimonials. Therefore, I argue instead that the relatively favorable civil society legislation in several western countries provides an avenue for Christian-based groups and other non profits to voice their concerns over the capitalist system, human rights issues, and issues of poverty and inequality. The flipside of this is the strict governance of Japan's civil society.

Japanese researchers recognize the abilities of citizens in western civil societies to promote fair trade, but provide little insight into the barriers to do the same in Japan. Therefore, this section has attempted to begin to answer this study's second research question: How has Japan's civil society hindered the development of fair trade in Japan? I argue in this section that the newness of civil society in Japan, and the controlling influence of a developmental state have hindered the abilities of not for profit groups to establish themselves beyond local initiatives and thus propel the fair trade movement forward. Moreover, there appears to be some validity to the idea that this has led to general passiveness or futility towards political issues as Maclachlan, and Avenell have pointed out. For example, when asked how often political matters are discussed with friends, Japanese respondents consistently ranked lowest among fair trade countries' respondents in four surveys conducted over 20 years. While approximately 60% of Japanese responded that they at least occasionally discuss political matters, the numbers for most other fair trade countries fall in the 70-80% range (WVS, 2009). Meanwhile, in terms of how keenly they persuade friends, relatives or fellow workers of their beliefs, Japanese also ranked relatively low in the 'often' category. This might imply a general lack of interest in politics, but survey data also reveals that the level of political interest among Japanese respondents is comparable to other fair trade countries. This is reflected in views of the political world, whereby 75-80% of Japanese respondents in national surveys taken since 1978 answered that they would either express political dissatisfaction by taking it into account when they vote or do nothing, while few responded that they would take legal

action (Takashi et al. 2008, Sakamoto et al. 2007, 2000). World Values Survey responses similarly found a lack of willingness to participate politically.

To further understand the low degree of engagement with fair trade in Japan, it is thus important to understand not only how Japan's historical pathway has shaped people's beliefs, attitudes, and intentions towards the purchase of fair trade products in comparison with western fair trade countries, but also how these attitudes have emerged today. To provide insight into differing attitudes towards fair trade, this study adopts a commonly utilized framework for guiding western research on fair trade consumers: the theory of planned behavior.

2.9 Introducing the Theory of Planned Behavior

The complexity of individual consumers means the myriad studies of fair trade consumption cannot conclusively determine their exact motives when purchasing fair trade. Price may be a large concern to one person, while distance to a store may deter others. A strong sense of obligation may guide one person, while the attractiveness of a fair trade product's packaging may inspire another. However, what the above research of western fair trade consumers does indicate is that strong normative influences encourage the purchase of fair trade, while several traits are also common among fair trade consumers. Those who are more independent, socially responsible and globally aware, and those who feel the need to express themselves as fair trade consumers are relatively more willing to overcome the various barriers inhibiting fair trade purchases. Moreover, they seek a certain level of individuality through their purchases and appear to value the improved image they gain as a fair trade consumer.[19] In fact, researchers have attempted to construct and modify models to better understand how each of these factors contributes to overall purchasing behavior.

Market research in any field fundamentally revolves around the question of 'What makes us buy what we buy?' Information and communication approaches in

---

[19] For example, Kim et. al, (1999), Goig, (2007), and Nijssen & Douglas, (2008) identify fair trade consumers as socially responsible, globally oriented, and world-minded. Shaw et al. (2005); de Ferran and Grunert (2007) find that self-direction (related to independence) is common among fair trade consumers. Varul (2009, 2010), Shaw & Newholm (2002) and Adams and Raisborough (2010) find that expressions of morality are important to fair trade consumers in the UK and Germany. These are arguably the traits that motivate customers to overcome price or availability concerns, as Tanner & Kast (2003) and De Pelsmacker & Janssens (2007) have found.

the literature have attempted to dissect how to best pick out the most likely fair trade consumers, how to appeal to them through labeling, packaging, and product quality, and how advertise to them. This has seen fair trade evolve from a small movement well-grounded in ethical principles to a more widespread movement that competes based on its product quality, design, and ideology. However, while there are some weak indications that middle-aged women are more likely to purchase ethical products than younger men in Japan (i.e. Delphys, 2012; Riley et. al, 2012,) defining a market of fair trade consumers remains a challenge. Therefore, this study approaches the analysis of fair trade from a consumer attitude perspective by utilizing a common tool for analysis in consumer behavior studies: the theory of planned behavior. As noted in the introduction to this study, this theory has been taken up also in research on fair trade both in western settings, cross-nationally, and involving Japanese subjects. With regards to fair trade, it has been used to overcome the lack of a clear fair trade demographic and build a framework on which to study how attitudes, instead, may affect purchasing behavior[20].

The theory of planned behavior is an extension of the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), which explained behavior as the result of intentions that are formed by one's own beliefs about a certain behavior, combined with the influence of others about the behavior in question:
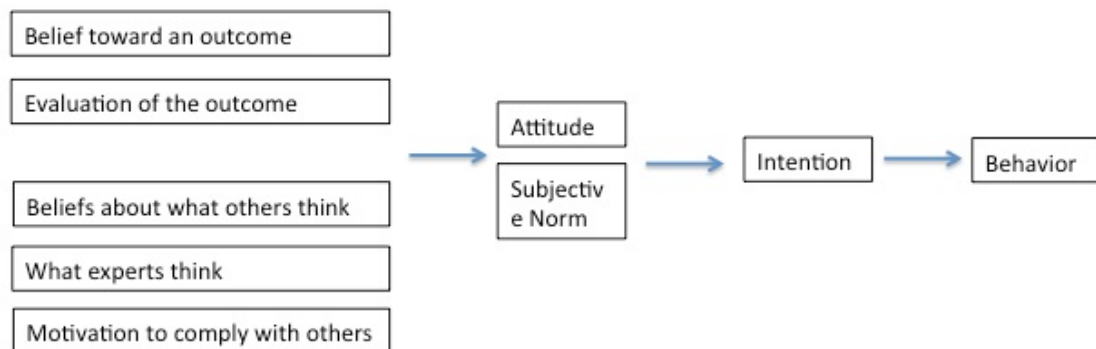

Figure 4: Theory of Reasoned Action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980.)

Simply put, the theory posits that how one evaluates an outcome and how others evaluate this outcome leads to the creation of specific attitudes and norms about the outcome in question which lead to intentions of performing the behavior that will lead to the outcome in question. An example may be the purchase of an

---

[20] See, for instance, Shaw et. al (2000), Shaw & Shiu, (2002a, 2002b), Osgalcar-Toulouse (2006), Ma (2007).

exotic sports car. However, because the theory of reasoned action leaves out environmental factors that may hinder the ability of an actor to carry out a certain behavior, i.e. money to purchase the car, or availability of the car in one's own market, Ajzen modified the model to include one's perception about whether or not a behavior can effectively be carried out. The result is the theory of planned behavior:
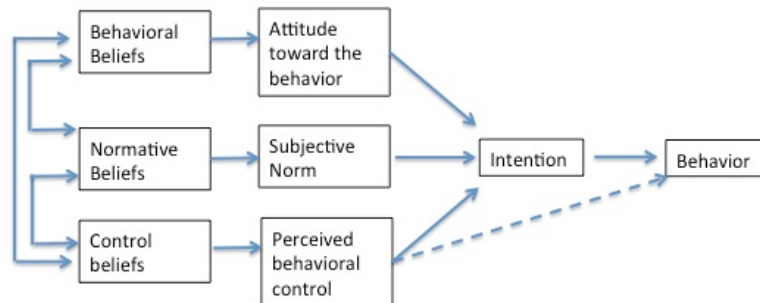

Figure 5: Theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991.)

Behavioral beliefs link the behavior of interest to expected outcomes. In the context of fair trade, if the expected outcome were poverty alleviation, this would relate to how strongly one links the purchasing of fair trade products with actual poverty alleviation. On the other hand, if one's expected outcome were the favorable opinions of others as an ethical person, owning and consuming fair trade products may be a means to display this characteristic. As the model suggests, this drives one's attitude regarding whether or not to engage in the behavior. The second item, normative beliefs, relate to how one perceives that people important to them (i.e. family, friends, teachers) feel about their behavior. These social expectations, combined with the individual's willingness to obey or respond to these expectations, determine the subjective norm, or social norm influencing whether one does or does not engage in a certain behavior. In the case of fair trade, promotions and advertising in the media can indirectly relate to this subjective norm, but more significantly, the model suggests that teachers, family members, and/or friends who are interested in fair trade and willing to share their interest can have a powerful affect. Examples of this would include teaching of fair trade in high schools, and informing peers of one's fair trade purchases and why they might wish to do the same. Similarly, the efforts of civil society organizations' presence at public events, in the media, and in the community are a strong force for shaping these subjective norms. Finally, control beliefs, which relate to the perceived presence of factors that may help or hinder the

performance of a behavior, feed into one's perceived control over actually performing the behavior. For fair trade, such barriers include price, the distance needed to travel to a store, and whether or not desired fair trade products are commonly in stock. These three elements of the model feed into one's intention to act, which ultimately acts on whether or not one actually carries out a particular behavior.

In other words, if a person sees a behavior as favorable, believes their peers also view it as favorable, and perceive that they are able to carry it out, they are more likely to engage in the behavior in question.

2.61 Adapting the Model to Fair Trade Purchasing

Multiple researchers have attempted to adapt the model to the purchase of fair trade products. Ozcaglar-toulouse (2006) added an element of ethical concern and ethical obligation based on research that found fair trade consumers were concerned with self-identity and ethical obligation (Shaw et al., 2000; Shaw and Clarke, 1999).
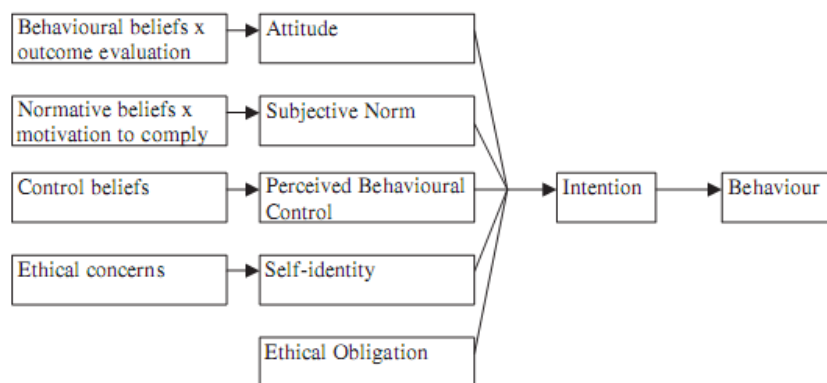

Figure 6. Modified Theory of Planned Behavior (Ozgalcar-Toulouse, 2006.)

Ozgalcar-Toulouse found the modified model improved upon Ajzen's original model, but also discovered that regular fair trade consumers were influenced by different factors than rare fair trade consumers. Specifically, frequent consumers of fair trade were most influenced by attitude, perceived behavioral control and self-identity, while those who infrequently purchased fair trade were significantly influenced by subjective norms and ethical obligations (Ozgalcar-Toulouse, 2006:510.) In other

words, the researchers conclude, the frequent purchases have established attitudes that go beyond influence by significant others.

Ma (2007), has modified Ajzen's model by incorporating Schwartz' research on values, and by including the influence of past behavior with fair trade purchases:
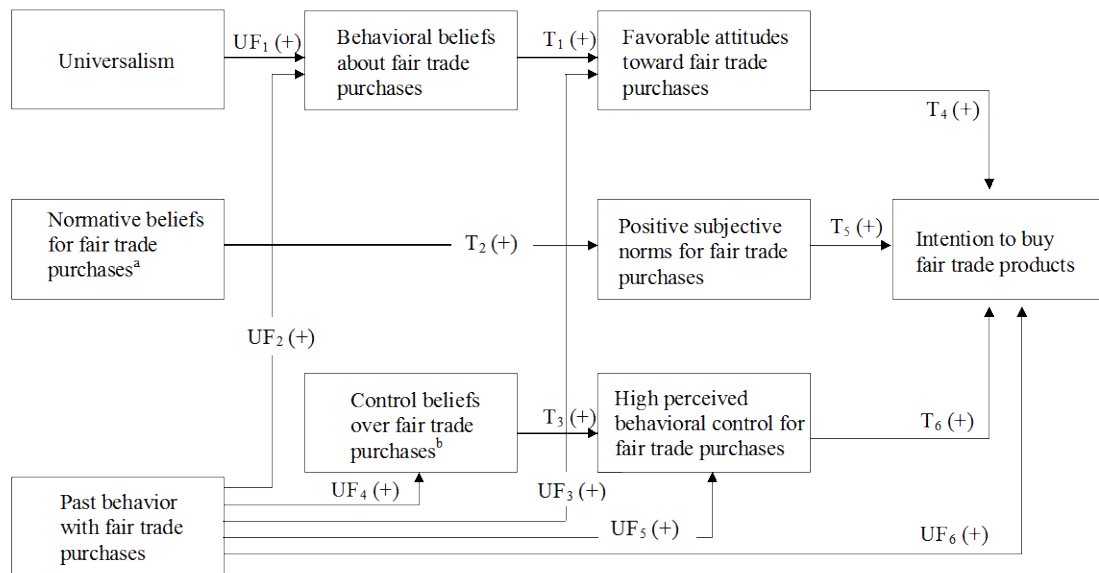

Figure 7. Model of Young consumer's fair trade purchases for non-food products Ma, 2007.)

In her research, Ma confirmed the linkages between the core elements of Ajzen's model when applied to fair trade purchases of non-food products (2007:77-78). However, she included the element of 'universalism' which is a value in Schwartz' research which links with understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of *all* people and for nature (1994:22.) The positive correlation between these values found in survey respondents and their fair trade purchasing behavior suggested those who placed higher importance on equal opportunities, protection of environmental resources, and social justice had more positive beliefs about fair trade products and business practice (Ma, 2007: 78.) Finally, the model added the element of past fair trade purchasing behavior and found that past experience with purchases did indeed influence future purchases, agreeing with studies by Belk et al (2005), and Auger et al (2004) above.

Both of the models used by Ozcaglar-toulouse and Ma were tested using questionnaires sent out to a large number of respondents. While Ma utilized a random sample, Ozcaglar-Toulouse sent questionnaires to subscribers of an ethical consumer

magazine in order to gain information from respondents whose ethical views are accentuated.

2.62. The Theory of Planned Behavior and fair trade in Japan

While the above models and the acquired survey results provide a framework for understanding why consumers purchase, or avoid, fair trade products, they nevertheless remain vulnerable to intricate complexities of individual situations that are better understood through interviews. Specifically, interviews allow a high level of flexibility rather than boxing respondents into predetermined questions. Moreover, they afford respondents the chance to provide perspectives that the researcher may not have considered beforehand. Finally, given that the focus of this study is on attitudes and ethical obligations towards fair trade, interviews are an excellent way to gauge people's level of fascination and passion towards fair trade in person. Moreover, interviews were chosen over surveys in this study given the well-documented incidences of social desirability bias in fair trade and ethical consumer research, whereby respondents answer in a way that is socially desirable in the presence of a researcher (Auger-Devinney, 2007.) Thus, there is often a gap between stated intention to purchase fair trade and actual purchasing behavior. To test these models in the Japanese market, semi-structured interviews were conducted with students involved in fair trade activities around Tokyo. Similar methods have been employed in theory of planned behavior studies with Japanese subjects (e.g. Underwood, 2012) and in studies of attitudes towards fair trade (e.g. Chatzidakis et al, 2007; Nicholls & Lee 2006.)

As the purpose of this exploratory study is to gain greater comparative insight into the attitudes of fair trade consumers in Japan, members of fair trade student groups around Tokyo were called upon for interviews. Interviews were carried out in 3 focus group sessions involving multiple students (6, 4, 2) with 3 additional personal interviews. Focus groups lasted approximately 90 minutes each, and all members were encouraged as much as possible to answer the same questions. However, discussions between respondents were also allowed to carry on if I judged them to be related to the initial question. Personal interviews lasted approximately 45-60 minutes and were more linear. The purpose for selecting students with established knowledge in fair trade was three-fold.

First, I wanted to test whether or not student attitudes were similar to those found among fair trade consumers in western studies. Reconstructing the purchasing motives and attitudes of Japanese highlights differences that may exist between Japanese and western attitudes. Second, I wanted to test how fair trade proponents understood fair trade, and importantly, how they identified with it. Several western studies seem to reveal a strong connection between fair trade engagement and personal identity as an ethical consumer, as noted above. Thus, I wanted to see how students engaged in fair trade identified with the fair trade movement. Moreover, I wanted to understand how they perceived western fair trade markets. Specifically, I wanted to know how students perceived the influence of colonial history and Christianity on fair trade in western markets. These interviews complement several surveys of students (e.g. Be Leaf, 2006; Yamamoto, 2011) and retailers (e.g. Nagasaka, 2008) that already exist. This study therefore focuses on qualitative responses.

While interviews were also undertaken with retailers, many of which had their own opinions about the spread of fair trade, students gave a decidedly more personal perspective. Moreover, fair trade surveys have shown students to be particularly interested in the issues relating to fair trade (Nagasaka, 2008). Based loosely on the theory of planned behavior, interviews with students started with simple questions about their personal interest in fair trade, their feelings about the fair trade movement, what their peers think of their fair trade activities, and their ability to physically purchase fair trade products, gradually progressing toward extracting more general attitudes about the importance of fair trade, their personal feelings and obligations regarding fair trade, and about their personal actions to increase awareness outside of club activities. While it may be impossible to completely avoid social desirability bias, comments by the interviewer were limited and/or agreeable with the interviewees in order to bring out lengthier opinions. By using a looser format, interviewees were able to direct the conversation and reveal perspectives that the interviewer had not considered beforehand which is important considering the cross-cultural nature of the study. Questions about historical matters such as Japanese imperialism were approached sensitively but did garner interesting comments. Drawing on these discussions with members of fair trade university groups, as well as a wide range of secondary sources, the next sections aims to reconstruct how attitudes

towards fair trade have been shaped among western and Japanese consumers, respectively.

3. COMPARING WESTERN AND JAPANESE ATTITUDES TOWARDS FAIR TRADE PRODUCTS

Ajzen's theory of planned behavior states that consumer attitudes link a certain behavior to an expected outcome. In the case of fair trade, a key example of such behavior is simply the purchase of a fair trade product. By casting one's economic vote, so to speak, the expected outcome is that a producer somewhere in the world benefits in some small way, while corporations recognize a shift towards ethical consumerism and further perpetuate the perceived positive outcome. Another behavior could be the promotion of fair trade to others in order to have them purchase fair trade products and affect similar change. As noted, however, studies have also found that fair trade is commonly linked to the 'warm glow' felt when acting morally. Thus, one's behavioral beliefs could also be linked to the desired outcome of presenting one's morality or integrity. Complementing this part of Ajzen's model is one's perceived behavioral control, or one's perceived ability to actually carry out a specific behavior. In the case of fair trade, this includes the high price, low availability, and any other barrier that might hinder the behavior in question from being carried out. What these two pieces of Ajzen's model have in common is the element of control. Although the subjective norm, the third element of Ajzen's model, certainly interacts with, and complements these two elements, it also involves a greater element of external influence and is thus less under the control of the person contemplating a behavior. Dividing the model up this way, this chapter begins by analyzing fair trade purchasing behavior from the perspective of attitudes and perceived behavioral control, before looking more broadly at how the subjective norm influences potential fair trade consumers. To gain insight into the mindset of fair trade proponents, this chapter starts by introducing the results of interviews with 15 students involved in fair trade student groups at universities in Tokyo.

3.1 Interviews student fair trade organizations

Given the exploratory nature of this study, students that already had knowledge of fair trade were chosen in order to reconstruct the attitudes and ways of thinking held by Japanese proponents of fair trade in comparison with western studies. The following is a summary of the 15 interviewees:

	Location of fair trade organization	Type of organization	Male / Female
1	Tokyo	university fair trade club 1	female
2	Tokyo	university fair trade club 1	female
3	Tokyo	university fair trade club 1	female
4	Tokyo	university fair trade club 1	female
5	Tokyo	university fair trade club 1	female
6	Tokyo	university fair trade club 1	female
7	Tokyo	university fair trade club 2	female
8	Tokyo	university fair trade club 2	female
9	Tokyo	university fair trade club 2	male
10	Tokyo	university fair trade club 2	male
11	Tokyo	university fair trade club 2	male
12	Tokyo	fair trade student network	female
13	Kyoto	university fair trade club 3	female
14	Kyoto	university fair trade club 3	female
15	Kyoto	university fair trade club 4	male

Table 2: Summary of interviewees.

Interviews with students involved in fair trade student groups at universities in Tokyo revealed first that they carried out a range of promotional activities related to fair trade. One student group sets up a booth at a bazaar on a monthly basis, one group visits local convenience stores with suggestions to include fair trade chocolate on a stand next to the cashier, while another group includes among its various activities handing out flyers to shoppers outside of a large supermarket chain, and setting up and attending lectures on fair trade. In terms of attitudes, while there were a variety of perspectives on fair trade products, interviews did reveal several unique perspective.

High importance placed on design and product characteristics

Although fair trade promotion and education were key activities of the club, one unexpected finding was the almost universal reluctance of actual fair trade

purchasing among respondents. The three respondents that did answer positively noted that they had previously purchased ethnic clothing, Nepalese spices, and dry mangos, respectively. Those who purchased these products cited product quality as the rational for purchase: ethnic styling in the case of clothing, and taste in the case of the spices and mangos. Students who had not purchased these products also speculated that a product's quality and organic nature are extremely important. Interestingly, there was overall agreement that a product's design was highly important. One male student explained, "Fair trade chocolate only comes in bar form and it's a bit boring. With so many beautifully packaged chocolates with interesting shapes and sizes in Japan, I can't help but go for ones with better designs." Although seemingly a trivial thing, this response does replicate survey responses that suggest Japanese consumers bought fair trade products for the design almost as much as for their ethical qualities (Fair Trade Town Japan, 2012:12.) This contrasts largely with American consumers who reportedly placed very little value on design (Alter Eco, 2008: 28.)[21] Two student respondents with commerce backgrounds in particular felt that the gap in design between fair trade and conventional consumer chocolates, for instance, was too large. This speaks to two differences between Japan and elsewhere.

First, the level of design, and the value placed on design is extraordinarily high in Japan. It is broadly accepted that Japanese companies pour vast amounts of money into marketing, resulting in frequently changing labels, beautiful product designs, flavors for consumable goods rotating on a seasonal or even monthly basis, and movie stars frequently pushing products on TV. This further highlights how cash flow might be a significant barrier for organizations promoting fair trade. However, more importantly, it reveals a difference in what drives purchasing motives, and moreover, what factors consumers will openly admit influence their choices. For instance, Varul (2009) found that the act of buying fair trade goods for anything but ethical reasons was a foreign concept to German interviewees, while British citizens tended to put a bit more value into design. Moreover, French consumers chose fair trade more as a new way of consuming rather than a specific affection for the products on offer (Caillebi & Casteran, 2010.) By comparison, Japan seems to place more importance on design and less on the ethical issues inherent in fair trade

---

[21] Specifically, in the Japanese survey, 48% of those who had previously bought fair trade products stated they bought it because "it was attractive," while 55% bought it because they "thought it would alleviate poverty." By comparison, in the American study, only 7.6% stated they purchased fair trade because of its "attractive packaging."

products. It is not uncommon for westerners to criticize the high value that Japanese place on product design and perfection as a shallow form of materialism, particularly with concern to what they believe to be over packaged Japanese products. Thus, the relative importance placed on design by Japanese consumers would almost certainly be criticized as surprisingly materialistic or shallow when juxtaposed with the nature of fair trade products, provided that fair trade appeals to consumers to make their spending decision based not on these sorts of materialistic desires, but based on higher notions of ethics, justice, and the greater good. Given that value for design comes into direct conflict with many of the discourses surrounding purchasing ethical and fair trade goods, this does highlight a particularly interesting and robust difference. The reasons behind this are surely complex, but overall it suggests a more light-hearted attitude towards fair trade that is based more on subjective opinions of the physical qualities of a product (i.e. design, taste, organic) rather than their attachment to ethical issues.

On a related note, several students in one fair trade student organization did state that their reason for joining the fair trade club was to 'get involved in international cooperation', and that fair trade seemed an attractive outlet with which to do this. Thus it is possible that Japanese students find the 'international' element of fair trade relatively more intriguing than the 'ethical' element, suggesting that personal identities were formed more around being 'international' rather than being 'ethical.' If this were true, it would explain why actual ethical product purchasing may be less important than participation in an international movement like fair trade. Overall, this portion of the interview responses suggested that fair trade purchases in Japan are less attached to issues of identity and being perceived as ethical consumers when compared to subjects of studies in the UK, Germany, or US. When relating this back to the importance of civil society and not for profit organizations, this suggests that there are weaker normative influences encouraging these students to exert their ethical or political selves as they have in several western settings. In other words, to be apolitical or unaware of certain ethical quandaries may be met with less criticism here given the low level of experience with such issues due to a weak presence of NPOs.

Low Availability of Fair Trade Products

Student respondents were quick to note the low level of availability of fair trade products in stores where they lived. Notably, large supermarkets in Japan have been slow to pick up fair trade products, although there are various channels through which to purchase them. Aeon, one of Japan's largest retailers, has sold fair trade products since 2004 under it's TOPVALU brand, although this does not guarantee that one will find fair trade in every store selling TOPVALU.[22] Muji, one of Japan's most highly successful retailers of daily life goods started selling fair trade coffee from October 2006, but now sells fair trade chocolate and tea as well. Zensho Holdings, parent company of Sukiya and other popular fast food chains has converted nearly all of the coffee in its various restaurants and fast food chains to fair trade coffee. Meanwhile, Alter-trade Japan operates via consumer cooperatives around the country. While some students knew of these outlets, it was concerning that many did not, despite being in a position to promote fair trade. This is perhaps due to the desire for each group to focus on its own fair trade project rather than drive forward the movement as a whole. If this were the case, it would agree with assertions by Watanabe and Iwano & Takami that fair trade groups aim to carve out their own aesthetic. Nevertheless, western studies mirror the statements of the Japanese interviewees' views on availability, showing that western consumers also have difficulties finding fair trade products, and information about them (Shaw et al., 2006b for sweat-shop free clothing, De Pelsmacker et al., 2005b for fair trade coffee), while the distance needed to travel to FT retail outlets can also constrain fair trade purchases (becchetti and Rosati 2007.)

On the other hand, De Pelsmacker & Janssens (2007:365) found that most of the participants in their study stated they would overcome issues of inefficiency and price to engage with fair trade if only they were 'made to care more'. This is a conscious statement of the need for subjective norms to act on subjects to inspire their purchases. While this is certainly true for any purchasing behavior, the issues of

---

[22] I have not found fair trade products in smaller Aeon supermarkets, for instance.

inequality, fairness, and justice suggest that civil society organizations and the government may be best fit to build these norms.

The Dilemma of Price

When asked why they don't buy more fair trade products, by far the most common answer was the high price, but multiple respondents also highlighted low availability. This relatively frequent reason has been replicated in various other surveys in Japan (e.g. Be Leaf, 2006; Fair Trade Town Japan, 2012) in studies of western markets (Shaw et al., 2006b; Uusitalo and Oksanen, 2004) and in a study of American college students (e.g. Ma, 2007: 25). However, three respondents in separate sessions held the image that Japanese are particularly tight with their wallets and recognized the high importance of value. World values survey data shown in Table 3 does indicate that the Japanese in particular may value thrift compared with several other fair trade countries, as shown by a higher percentage of respondents that chose 'thrift' as a value that their children should learn. However, Horioka (2012) argues that while Japanese may perceive themselves as exceptional savers, the Japanese are in fact not unique in their preference to save. Moreover, Horioka's recognizes a historical difference in savings rates, but attributes what differences there were to economic (post-war recovery), institutional (government policy), and demographic (aging population) rather than any cultural factors.

Table 3

What Should Children Learn?

	Thrift
Japan1995	38.4
U.S. 1995	8.9
Australia1995	8.6
Finland1996	13.5
Germany1997	34.8
New Zealand1998	9.4
Norway1996	6.1
Spain1995	20.9
Sweden1996	27.4
Switzerland1996	28.5

Source: World Values Survey data (2003).

When asked specifically about fair trade, one student who seemed to represent the opinions of multiple respondents, explained it in terms of a dilemma: "Even though I think 'this is a great idea,' at the same time I can't help but think 'I want the cheaper item' and end up buying it. It's difficult." Although this implied some sense of guilt or perhaps shame, when asked of this, the respondents of this group described more complex emotions, including absolving themselves of responsibility due to their

financial restraints as students. Citing the same reason, one respondent of a different group did explicitly state the absence of any feelings of shame or guilt when consciously purchasing the cheapest products even when fair trade products were available on the shelf. When asked if this particular individual felt that his actions would affect the overall well being of producers, his answer was a clear "No" before shifting the responsibility to others. Although this one student clearly held stronger negative opinions than others, most respondents reported a sense of fatalism when asked if they believed their own purchasing behavior would affect any change. There exist several possibilities for why this is, but one student brought to light the issue of skepticism. Specifically, various visitors to their bazaar asked what constitutes the higher price, how they benefit from it, and, after an explanation of fair trade, if it actually benefits overseas producers. Goig (2007) similarly finds that despite fair trade appeals to consumers to overcome this financial issue for the greater good, many are not ready to commit due to skepticism of how much fair trade actually contributes to poverty alleviation, and the lack of a feeling of personal responsibility towards this end.[23] Moreover, it is suspected that because fair trade is still very limited in Japan, these students, and consumers in general, also feel that while their participation is important, the actual affect may also be limited. Applied to the theory of planned behavior, overcoming the higher price barrier is more feasible when one believes their purchase will produce the expected outcome of benefitting producers. However, if one is acting alone in this effort, the gains may be negligible so as to justify a more passive, fatalistic attitude.

Finally, it was interesting to hear how members of one group perceived the use of money when comparing America and Japan. One respondent stated, "Americans often give donations, and maybe there's an element of them wanting to show a good side of themselves, or doing good, but in Japan there isn't really that kind of culture (agreements from other members)." On Japan, another student responded, "Wealthier (Japanese) people probably stockpile their money…money doesn't really circulate, so it creates a sort of downward spiral." Negative views such as these could ultimately suggest that 'since others aren't donating, why should I have to?' What is interesting is how it is attributed to culture. It is safe to say that the high barrier to fair trade

---

[23] While it is difficult to tell whether there is more skepticism in Japan or not, Watanabe (2010:171) directs us to a survey stating that 14.2% of Japanese in one survey admitted they would buy fair trade even if it were somewhat more expensive, while 92% of UK residents would with regards to 'ethical products' on the whole.

purchase is created in relation not only to what other products cost, but also what other people are paying, and it is likely that the negative attitudes towards the altruism of others only act as disincentives for people to purchase fair trade products. That is, unless one fundamentally connects with the issues inherent in fair trade.

High Emphasis on Respect, Low Emphasis on Ethical Selving

A reason frequently cited by students for becoming interested in fair trade was a lesson given by a high school teacher that introduced the concept in class, while a general interest acquired through international or history studies as well as TV programs and other media were also referenced frequently. Reasons for why students joined fair trade club activities included because it was a chance to actively 'do' international cooperation with various countries, because it was a chance to do some volunteering that was connected with international issues, and because it was a new and intriguing way of doing business. In other words, there was, as noted above, a strong sense of fair trade as 'interesting' and 'international' rather than 'necessary' or 'the right thing to do' that come out in research such as Varul (2009.) While the reasons vary for student participation, conversations about why the students believed fair trade was important often emphasized the importance of 'respect' (*sonchou)* for producers, their society, and their environment, while making no references to justice or ethics. Although admittedly a difficult concept, when directly asked what is ethical about fair trade, one student replied that to be ethical is to respect the values of producers, and the community and environment in which they live, as well as their traditions and culture. When asked to define what 'fair' meant, it was difficult to gain a clear opinion. One of the reasons, which respondents also noted, was how definitions of fair can differ from person to person. However, respondents did seem to commonly note the way in which producers were worked hard for little pay. In other words, there was a sense of unfair compensation for the amount of work done by producers. This is similar to what Varul (2009) finds in terms of general opinions about fair trade among British and German interviewees, but there appeared to be differences in how the Japanese students personally expressed their identification with fair trade issues.

When directly asked about if and how fair trade is connected to their personal identity, responses centered on personal interests related to international

learning rather than ethical or moral beliefs. For example, one student replied, "I enjoy history, but I also like the practical side of learning about different countries and participating in some small way." Another responded, "speaking frankly, when I entered the circle I thought 'there are only a few people doing these activities, but they're doing them, and maybe I can actually do international cooperation, but sometimes I just feel like I'm volunteering." In general, Varul's interviews found the concept of 'ethical selving', or the creation of an ethical self-identity, important to fair trade consumers. One telling example is a consumer that describes fair trade as, "Something I feel quite passionate about and have kind of geared my day-to-day consuming towards [it] for quite a while" despite also admitting, "I don't know much about it." (Varul, 2009). In contrast, interviews with Japanese students here provide initial evidence that there is less importance on outwardly presenting oneself as ethical. Presumably this is due to a weaker subjective norm to do so, created by the absence of the types of large, active civil society organizations that have a larger presence in many western fair trade countries.

Weak Link Between History and Fair Trade

As noted in the previous chapter, Japanese researchers, students, and commentators have pointed to colonial guilt as a motive for fair trade purchasing in the west, although Varul (2009), for example, emphasizes the need for a more nuanced understanding of the connection between guilt, obligation, defining oneself as ethical, and fair trade purchasing. However, the reason why Japanese researchers may have pointed to colonial guilt as a factor may be because there exists little in the way of similar guilt in Japan. Indeed, Japan has a history not only as aggressor but also as victim, while its former occupied or colonized territories have largely grown to become emerging economies. Hence, there is understandably a different feeling between Japanese towards these now prosperous lands, than there is between several western nations and former colonies which continue to stagnate. Indeed, students were unable to connect fair trade to any personal feelings of guilt, despite Japan's imperialistic past. When asked why, the students here attributed it to how history is taught in Japan. Specifically, one student noted, "In world history there isn't a strong feeling that Japan has been that bad" while another agreed, remarking, "It hasn't been properly taught that Japan did any wrong." Reflecting upon this, one student who had

recently discovered the Civilian War Memorial in Singapore, which was built in memory of the civilians killed during Japan's occupation of Singapore, was surprised to learn such an incident occurred. Thus there was some recognition of darker elements of Japan's history, but they did not tie these to any north-south issues which are common in fair trade discourse.

However, the guilt that researchers speculate western fair trade consumers feel is presumably related less to north-south exploitation and imperialistic expansion as a whole, and more specifically to colonies where plantation workers suffered at the hand of wealthy plantation owners. On this point, one student similarly speculated how the connection between the UK and African plantations might instill feelings of guilt or regret among British nationals and inspire them to purchase fair trade, but also explained that as a Japanese person, discussions of African plantations felt incredibly distant and unrelated to Japan. Another respondent did raise the issue of the north-south divide in general, explaining it as a problem whereby the affluent northern countries utilize the resources of southern countries to develop, leaving large economic disparity in their wake. However, no question of Japan's involvement was made. Thus, students did not appear to be motivated by feelings of guilt or shame at these disparities, in line with what researchers have speculated. Related to this, they also did not point to whom the potential perpetrators were that might have been causing any 'unfair' trade, although responsibility to ensure ethical treatment of workers was, in some cases, given to corporations and governments. What this does point to is why students and researchers may attribute fair trade with colonial guilt in western countries, given their own absence of guilt and the characteristic colonial histories in the west, which overlap with many fair trade producer regions.

These interviews with 15 students involved in fair trade student organizations have highlighted some broad differences in thinking between Japanese and the fair trade consumers in western studies. To provide a comparative perspective, the next section attempts to reconstruct the attitudes of fair trade consumers in the west.

3.2 Western Attitudes: Inequality, Frustration, and Obligation

It has been suggested that the conscious act of paying more to ensure one's coffee is fair trade can be an expression of one's moral beliefs, one's commitment to social issues around the world, or even just a moment to feel good about making a difference. Importantly, this way of thinking seems to reflect one of the biggest differences between Japanese and western consumers. I argue in this section that this derives from relatively larger social incentives in places like the UK and the USA to be seen as a definitively moral person. In other words, there are stronger subjective norms acting as incentives for people to project their ethical images. Specifically, this is argued at two levels. First, it is argued that historical issues of inequality, and the socioeconomic disparity of ethnic groups in particular, has created greater awareness of, and attachment to, the issues of fairness, and inequality that fair trade aims to tackle. Fair trade, by this token, can act as a means to reaffirm one's identity as a supporter of these causes and as a good person. Second, the relatively easy formation of civil society organizations in these places modifies subjective norms to create greater obligations towards ethical purchasing. In Japan, where a relatively tough regulatory environment governs these civil society organizations, they have not had nearly as strong of an impact in diffusing the concept of fair trade. Given the high barrier of entry to fair trade, particularly in Japan, it is argued that simple knowledge of an issue may not be enough for people to engage in it, as the above student interviews reveal. Rather, a certain threshold must be reached whereby newly established subjective norms also act upon consumers.

Fair trade guilt: Where does it come from?

> "It's simple, the richer people get, the more guilty they feel"
> -Anonymous[24]

The nature of many of the western fair trade countries is such that problems relating to ethnic disparities persist in daily life. Immigrants contribute roughly 15% to the populations of western fair trade countries while contributing only 1.5% in Japan. (United Nations, 2006.) More importantly, it is necessary to examine how these inequalities have persisted for decades. Although Japanese researchers speculate

---

[24] Quoted in a personal interview with a British national.

that feelings of guilt among European fair trade consumers may be born from the current state of former colonies in Africa or South America, Spain provides a contrasting example of a country with a once expansive colonial empire in what are now various developing countries, yet appears to have relatively little interest in fair trade for the moment (Krier, 2008: 98.) Moreover, focusing on former colonial connections ignores the fact that other relatively large fair trade markets such as Canada, Australia, South Africa, and the United States were former colonies. These regions have a shared history of violent and unfair treatment of local populations, which has resulted in visible ethnic inequality that persists to this day. As noted, Varul (2009) concludes that fair trade consumers aim to produce ethical selves in the context of their own societies rather than as a consumer on the other side of a disadvantaged producer. Thus, while there is reason to believe that guilt is, in some way, responsible for encouraging fair trade purchases, research suggests that it is not directly connected to colonial histories. Instead, I argue here that rather than guilt being connection to any specific colonial connection, it is the result of persisting inequality within European societies and, more broadly, the division between the 'rich, white' societies and tropical producing regions.

Personal interactions with British nationals, Americans, and Canadians have revealed a common skepticism of fair trade as simply another way of teasing money out of consumers who wish to absolve themselves of guilt and frustration over issues of poverty and inequality. "Can the fair trade movement deliver guilt-free chocoholism?" "Saving the poor or salving the guilt?" and "Christmas shopping without the guilt" are but some of the headlines that openly recognize this association. Certain ethical products have even been labeled "Guilt-free." More commonly, however, the connection to guilt comes out through casual conversations. Whether the person leveling this criticism of fair trade personally feels guilt or not, they nevertheless reason that others might, suggesting the existence of 'collective guilt' or 'guilt by association'. These terms refer to the guilt associated with historical crimes that exists even amongst those who were not personally responsible (Doosje et al., 1998). It is safe to assume that the source in many western countries is, in some way, their combined imperialistic pasts and the resulting inequalities that resonate in society even today. The apartheid in South Africa, Nazi Germany, and Aboriginal-European conflicts in Australia, Canada, and the United States exist as examples that trigger collective guilt, but in a broader sense, these issues of domestic inequality are

mirrored in the relative positions of affluent and poor nations. Issues related to poverty, inequality, and development produce highly varied opinions, but it appears that some people in the UK still feel a sense of personal responsibility to improve the overall situation:

> [We've] got ourselves to blame most of the time because a lot of these people are still getting over slavery and we were the ones that exploited these countries and we're exploiting countries to this day (IPPR, 2012:12)

However, opinions such as this one are relatively rare compared to those that feel sympathy but do not see a causal relationship, or those that disconnect the economic state of the UK with developing economies (IPPR, 2012.) Regardless, economic inequality has divided people both domestically and internationally. While a common result is frustration from a group that is at a disadvantage in society, there exist in every society some "Individuals who not only perceive their in-group's structural advantage but judge it to be unfair" (Leach et al. 2006: 1232). One might suspect this is primarily limited to those with European backgrounds. Indeed, many Caucasian students did express guilt and shame at the history of colonialism when questioned about their 'whiteness' in a Canadian survey of students at a multicultural campus. In particular, one remarked:

> "It totally sucks to be White when you're studying Canada's history and other countries' too. It's kinda embarrassing 'cause we've done so much…shitty stuff [laughs] to everyone. I can see other [White] people, not just me, getting skirmish [*sic* squirmy] in their seats when that stuff gets brought up. I hate classes like that!" (Norton & Baker, 2007:56)

> Regarding aboriginal-white relations in particular, one student reflected a sense of distance, but also a certain degree of collective guilt:

> "I feel super bad about what happened to their ancestors. But that's not us. That was then, this is now. I still feel guilty though because White people have done that same kind of thing to lots of people." (Norton & Baker, 2007:57)

Although one might assume such thinking is limited to those who identify themselves as Caucasian, Australian immigrants also express empathy and solidarity towards the struggles of aboriginal Australians:

> "I'm not expressing apology on my own behalf necessarily as I am an immigrant myself. However […] I say sorry anyway as I do consider myself Australian."

> "As a 'new' Australian […] I want to acknowledge that I […] have benefited from past injustices. I am deeply sorry."

> "As [an] African, I am in [the] position to understand the suffering of Aboriginal people because we had the same problem with Europeans […] I record my deep regret for these injustices." (Assmann, 2013: 60)

Although these studies are concerned primarily with domestic inequalities, it appeared to take very little for respondents to make the connection between contemporary domestic inequality and historical misconduct of Caucasians overseas. Moreover, both Caucasian and non-Caucasian respondents appear to associate this 'whiteness' in general with a history of colonialism, without needing to explain the intricacies or where potential exceptions may exist. However, what is perhaps most interesting is that new Australian immigrants conveyed feelings of responsibility simply through a distant association with the Australians they feel committed terrible acts.

It stands to reason that the inequalities that fair trade aims to address (i.e. born into a disadvantaged position in society/the world, being subjected to market forces of western nations) overlap considerably with the issues of fairness inherently present in the questions of race relations posed by the above research. However, also interesting to note is how the answers are very generalized. What may be at work in many of these answers is what psychologists Tversky and Kahneman (1972) have termed the 'availability heuristic' whereby people draw conclusions on the most easily recalled information, presumably based on years of discussion in the media, i.e. European wealth versus African poverty. In this case, there appears to be a sort of stigma, and perception of an unfair advantage connected to regions that are now predominantly Caucasian. As noted, a look at the sources of fair trade goods reveals that European

companies are just as likely to go through fair trade producers in former colonies as they are from elsewhere in the world. Thus, while fair trade consumers commonly see themselves as socially aware individuals (Ozcaglar-Toulouse et al. 2006; Shaw et al. 2000; Kim et al. 1999) that position themselves as morally committed people through being a fair trade consumer (Varul & Wilson-Kovacs, 2008; Adams and Raisborough, 2008), it is likely that this is an effort to appear a sympathetic or ethical person against the backdrop of ethnic and socioeconomic inequality in one's own society.

Japan, by contrast, is one of the most ethnically homogeneous societies in the world. While Japan also struggles with issues of ethnic inequality, it is at a less pronounced scale. More importantly, Japan has put high value on equality, and the result is the perception by most that they fall not at one end or the other on the socio-economic scale:

"The Japanese have traditionally valued social harmony within groups, and have made it their most important social philosophy…The seniority system, for example, combined with life-long employment, was a system in which most employees, if they continued to work for a particular company all their life, would gain, in total, around the same amount of remuneration. That is why Japanese society also has been run according to a certain type of justice concept, though not quite the western idea of justice. As a result, the system of equality broadly permeated among the Japanese in the period of high economic growth, and, in the 1980s, ninety per cent of Japanese had arrived at the point of perceiving themselves as 'middle-class" (Obuchi, 2007:91)

Hara (2011: 15) and Chiavacci (2008:11) also highlight how this 'middle class' consciousness has not changed much between the 1970s and the 2000s, and both point to the dominant frame of Japan as moving from one of equality to division [25]. Complementing this, Hara argues that new waves of assertions in the late 1990s and into the 2000s have led to a greater sense of Japan as a 'disparity-society,' while the

---

[25] Shirahase (2010) provides a contrasting perspective, in an international comparison with the UK, US, Sweden, and France, that perceptions of belonging to the middle-class were surprisingly low in Japan. It should be noted that Shirahase concluded this based on the number of respondents answering '5' or '6' 10 point scale of class with 1 being the lowest class and 10 the highest. Given that the highest number of '4' answers was from Japanese respondents, this conclusion may be somewhat skewed. A more accurate assessment from the data would be that Japanese identify more than other countries with middle – low class.

Lehman Shock has led to more stories in the media highlighting disparity involving seasonal and contract workers, for instance.

Although levels of socioeconomic or ethnic inequality are certainly not the only influence on fair trade consumers seeking an ethical identity, interviews with western consumers that highlight their passion for issues of fairness and their aim to 'be good', contrasted with the high level of perceived equality in Japanese society which arguably does little to inspire anger or frustration in the same way, suggests that this is a well-grounded reason why fair trade engagement is lower in Japan. Moreover, in a society like Japan that is set up to value equality so highly, and perceives themselves largely as middle-class, seeking status as an ethical or fair trade consumer in the way that western consumers arguably may actually have a negative rather than positive outcome, given that outwardly expressing one's fair trade purchasing can even carry some sense of moral superiority.

4. DISCUSSION

This study has primarily attempted to answer three questions: 1) Have western fair trade purchasing motives been misinterpreted by Japanese? 2) Do attitudes towards fair trade product purchases differ between consumers in the Japanese and western fair trade markets? 3) How has Japan's civil society hindered the development of fair trade in Japan? Although civil society arguably influences attitudes and vice versa, I will attempt to discuss each of these questions in turn.

4.1 Western fair trade purchasing motives

Chapter 2 introduced Japanese literature suggesting that several fair trade proponents believe that Christian values and a history of colonialism have played a role in motivating western consumers to promote and/or purchase fair trade products. Responses presented in chapter 3 obtained from interviews with members of fair trade student groups have also echoed this idea. However, the recent literature presented in chapter 2 that profiles the attitudes of fair trade consumers in several western markets indicates that collective guilt resulting from colonialism, or any sort of obligation to 'save the poor' shaped by Christianity are not the most directly related motives. Rather, research on western fair trade attitudes utilized in this study suggests fair trade

enables consumers to advance their own ethical self-image or identity while only making limited connections to Christianity and colonialism specifically. The motives driving fair trade engagements are complex, and clearly issues of identity aren't the *only* reason for purchasing fair trade, nor do I suggest that all fair trade consumers follow these motives, but there is reasonable evidence to suggest that this is a significant factor. Moreover, I argue that there are significant subjective norms acting to motivate individuals to appear as ethical. Where might these come from?

As the previous chapters have demonstrated, conflict stemming from socioeconomic and ethnic inequality appears to be more important factor than colonial pasts for encouraging people to act as ethical consumers. First, I have argued that one's identification with Europe's history of colonialism is not a specific connection between one's own ruling country and historic colonies. Rather, there is reason to believe that the need to reaffirm one as 'being good' stems from more broad notions of the wealthy European versus the poor tropical producer. Moreover, robust reminders of these historic injustices manifest themselves in class and ethnic conflict in the multicultural societies not only of Europe, but also those in societies such as Canada, the USA, and South Africa that stem back to European expansion. The 'unfair advantage' felt by segments of the population with particularly high awareness of social issues arguably encourages consumers to form virtuous ethical identities, lest they be associated with what they perceive as part of an ongoing social problem. In light of this, replies in several sociological studies of fair trade suggest that fair trade represents one tool that has rapidly gained popularity in recent years for more and more people to vent their frustrations with the unfairness, or inequality they have seen in their society. By contrast, one wonders if there are similar sentiments in Japan.

Interviews with Japanese students provided several insights. First and foremost, several of the views raised by the Japanese students reflected those held by respondents in western surveys. Nearly all students were positive about the future of fair trade, and found that people they had talked to about fair trade were also fairly positive. They encountered some criticism and skepticism as well, but this is clearly not unique to Japan (e.g. Diaz-Pedregal, 2011.) Meanwhile, price and availability of fair trade products presented two of the largest purchasing barriers to Japanese student respondents, echoing several studies in western settings.

However, there were also several indications that the students did not center their engagement with fair trade on ethical obligations or ethical self-identity as did

several western respondents. Rather, fair trade was presented as something new, and international. Whether this reflects a general reluctance to raise the political nature of fair trade in the presence of an interviewer is difficult to determine. It may be that the homogenous nature of Japanese society, and the perception of Japan as somewhat closed-off, amidst government efforts to internationalize,[26] means that engaging in international cooperation is particularly attractive and unique, and fair trade is a means to this end. However, upon pressing students to answer questions related to their ethical obligations and self-identities, for instance, several respondents did not highlight a personal connection to the issues, but instead expressed their interests. As noted, one student even believed he had no ethical obligation to purchase fair trade despite his role in promoting it..

      This was complemented by answers that did not hold the fair trade principles higher than several more traditional product features. In other words, there was great sympathy for the choices of others to avoid fair trade products because they themselves could see flaws. One of the most noticeable differences was that Japanese respondents placed high importance on the physical appearance and form of the product. Unattractive packaging or product form may turn away casual consumers with a low degree of interest in fair trade, but would almost certainly appear trivial to the western respondents in studies included in this dissertation. More than anything this may highlight what are differences between Japan and several of the western fair trade countries about what constitutes an individual's self image and more broadly the idea of consumer responsibility. For example, one perspective on consumption could be that it acts to satisfy one's appreciation for product characteristics such as taste, form, and design, and that this is a private choice. However, an oppositional frame would be that one's individual consumption is part of a bigger system, and that one's product choices may act to improve this system and the lives connected to it, or degrade them further. This second framing seems to be closer to western ideals, exemplified by several frustrated consumers in Shaw & Clarke (1999) who had been ridiculed or attacked for their 'non-ethical' behavior:

---

[26] Exemplified, for instance, by the Ministry of Education's "Global 30" campaign, by the rapid increase in job fairs for international students, and the incorporation of English into elementary schools in 2011.

> I never buy Nestle products, unless by accident, and if I do one of my family usually say, ``what are you buying that for'', and will even refuse to eat it.

> What else frustrates me is people, I don't ask people to justify what coffee they drink, or the fact that they eat meat, or whatever, but people continually ask me. And try to pick holes in what I do. (Shaw & Clarke, 1999: 114)

The interviews with most Japanese students, on the other hand, left a much less political impression along the lines of 'fair trade is a good idea that more people should know about.' One student also disliked the idea of 'fair' trade because it implies correctness, while suggesting that 'alternative' trade may be a better substitute. The apolitical nature, or at least somewhat impassionate nature, of these replies links, I believe, to a civil society, which has little room to maneuver.

4.2 Japanese will to participate, few opportunities to do so

The second question this study has aimed to address is: How has Japanese civil society regulation hindered the development of fair trade in Japan? The arguments presented in this study have outlined how regulation of Japan's NPOs, particularly those that would have the biggest effect on spreading fair trade, is severe compared to several western countries. However, it could be argued that even if Japan had a strong civil society, that differing perceptions of 'what is ethical?' may hinder the acceptance of fair trade consumption. However, studies such as Belk et al. (2005) and Auger et al. (2004) have surveyed several countries and suggest cultural influence has little influence on how people form their ethical justifications for engaging in ethical consumption. What these two studies suggest as more important, however, is the need for past association with civil society groups dealing with ethical issues (Belk et al., 2005: 283.) Similarly, Yoon (2007) finds that past association with fair trade consumption correlates with future fair trade consumption. What this suggests is that targeting by organizations that wish to spread their interests and values in society, such as not for profit organizations, is key important to bringing more ethical consumers on board. However, as outlined in this study, Japanese NPOs are severely

limited in the breadth of their activities not only in terms of fair trade specifically, but in terms of human rights, environmental, animal rights, and other organizations. Given that western studies have found fair trade consumers to be worldly or socially minded (e.g. Shaw et al. 2005; de Ferran and Grunert, 2007,) there is reason to believe that several of these organizations would play into convincing consumers to adopt fair trade or ethical stances.

4.3 Modeling the results using the theory of planned behavior

A key concern in this study has been the gap between fair trade sales between Japan and the west. While I assert that increasing sales, and therefore alleviating poverty, is not the end goal of fair trade, this gap is a useful starting point for analyzing fair trade engagement.

In order for Japanese to purchase fair trade products, they must be inclined to do so either through attractive price, product quality, personal beliefs and obligations, or social pressure. Interviews with Japanese students show that price represents a particularly high barrier to purchase, as elsewhere in the world, but there are different types of consumers. Notably, there are those that strive for value based solely on product characteristics that can be felt, tasted, or experienced, for example, and there are the emerging ethical consumers that purchase based on perceived ethical modes of production, and evidently personal social gain. As noted previously, the former description seems to match more closely with Japanese consumers, while the latter appears more common in western contexts. Therefore we must ask, ultimately, how this process is formed.

Drawing on the Japanese literature and interviews in this study, figure 7 represents my proposed model of how Japanese perceive fair trade purchases in western contexts. Simply, Christianity and colonial guilt heighten concerns over the issues and produce positive attitudes and subjective norms which lead to purchases.
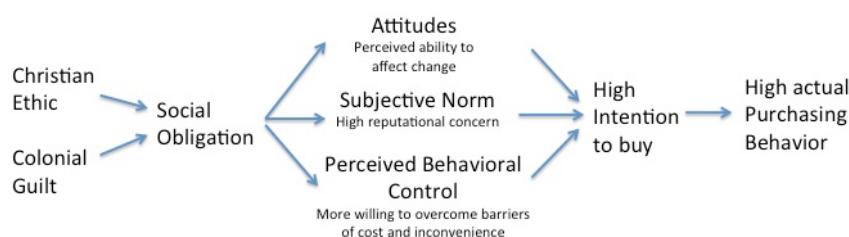

Figure 8: Proposed model of fair trade purchasing behavior as perceived in Japan

However, What I reject in this study, based on western studies of consumer values and testimonials, is the direct connection between Christian values, colonial guilt, and fair trade purchasing. Instead, as shown, I propose a new model whereby inequality within one's society influences one's obligation to act on social issues, while a stronger civil society better enables citizens to take action and thus raise the level of knowledge:
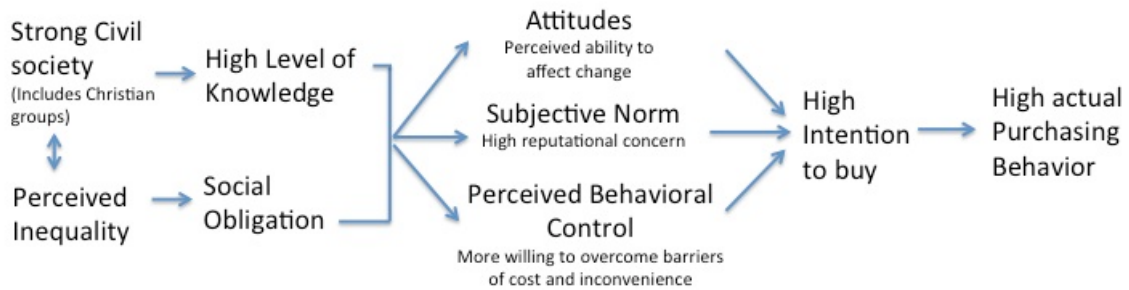

Figure 9: New proposed model of fair trade purchasing behavior

The two new variables of 'strong civil society' and 'perceived inequality' represent two significant differences between Japan and several western fair trade markets. This contributes to previous models because several studies of fair trade, and their models, have come from societies with relatively similar multicultural, and civil society nurturing background. Having a strong civil society leads to greater diffusion of knowledge, while, through this, also raising issues that may be hidden into the public eye. Hence, I have included an arrow between civil society and inequality that represents how visible inequality can inspire citizens to act (i.e. due to the issues of 'unfair advantage' discussed in chapter 3), while relatively favorable civil society legislation discussed in chapter two further enables them to do so. The combination of knowledge resulting from the penetration of civil society organizations, and social obligation resulting from visible inequality creates a strong subjective norm towards ethical behavior. This norm, then arguably shapes the attitudes that Varul and others discuss whereby consumers feel a need to present themselves as ethical. In the effort to meet this outcome, they are more willing to overcome the barriers such as price and availability.

Examples of attitudes in this model, based on data in research introduced in this study, would be: "I'm frustrated at the level of inequality and want to do my part", "I have an unfair advantage over others, and want to show my sensitivity to this", or

"many other people are working to solve these issues, my actions <u>will</u> make a difference." Fair trade products represent a means to act on these desires for change. In this model, bringing various social issues into the public eye and onto supermarket shelves also creates a subjective norm that enhances reputational concern. For instance, knowing that others are purchasing fair trade might lead to the perception that if one does not, they might be seen as morally lower. Meanwhile, the greater presence of civil society organizations raising awareness on social issues at a broader level similarly incentivizes citizens to be in touch with the issues such as human rights, environmental destruction, and poverty that that have come to matter. Finally, knowledge and social obligation combined with newly formed attitudes and subjective norms provide the momentum to overcome the reluctance to spend slightly more on a product representing a good cause. As we can easily sympathize with, participating as an ethical consumer, or in fact as a member of any niche identity-forming activity or group, is rewarding primarily when others recognize it as such. Remaining true to Ajzen's model, these three key elements lead to one's intended purchase, which raises the chance of actually following through on the purchase of a fair trade product. Perhaps the most important, and most difficult, question here becomes: How to increase fair trade consumption?

4.4 How to Increase fair trade consumption in Japan?

Undeniably the first answer that springs to mind is greater diffusion of knowledge. However, the next question is: what kind of knowledge? The issue is indeed complex and admittedly would do well to include aspects of Japanese, as opposed to western, culture and history. First, there are advantages to modeling Japan's fair trade market on the western style of using a branded third party organization like the Fairtrade Labeling Organization. It is well known that brands are important to Japanese consumers, and once the FLO certification label could be associated with high quality products that also do good, there is potential for growth. However, given the comments in interviews with students, and with senior level staff at two fair trade organizations in Tokyo, I argue that longer lasting and more meaningful success could be found in a brand that caters to issues that are more meaningful to Japanese. Specifically, for food products, reasons for paying fair wages should emphasize environmental destruction and food safety. Environmental issues

because Japan has a long history both with environmental destruction, but also with overcoming such destruction and emerging as a leader in environmental practices. Japan is renowned as a leader in efficient, environmentally friendly technology, and this would arguably build into the narrative of products that include this angle, specifically, the incentives that low prices could potentially create for deforestation, overfishing and otherwise.

The issue of food safety has also presented itself in Japan several times, with scandals relating to Snow Brand and Nippon Meat Packers, imported beef products, as well as with imported dumplings that contained chemicals unfit for human consumption more recently. Here too, low prices incentivize farmers or factory operators to decrease operating costs by using cheaper product components, as was seen in a scandal involving milk containing melamine in China, or reduced safety and cleanliness procedures as in the case of mad cow outbreaks. Fundamentally, targeting the self-serving desires of consumers, in this case the need for safety, would be effective. Organic and free range products fall in this category, but there is no reason to say fair trade, relabeled as, for example, 'responsible trade' couldn't be successful. While some might not put these in the same category because they are fundamentally self-serving, while fair trade is pegged as more 'altruistic' due to the benefits accruing primarily to producers, the western research highlighting consumers' need to affirm their self-image as an ethical consumer would still highlight the 'self-serving' element of fair trade.

Regardless of improved product features, if fair trade organizations are unable to leverage the abilities of NPOs to educate the public, or lobby the government, fair trade will continue to see slow development in Japan. However, amendments to NPO laws in 1998 and again in 2011 after the Kobe and Tohoku earthquakes, respectively, have made it slightly easier for NPOs to establish and operate. Moreover, as Hara (2011,) notes, recent years have seen increased comments on Japan as a 'disparity-society.' While increased disparity is clearly not a good thing, increased awareness of growing disparities arguably is, and Hasegawa et al (2007) posit that elite groups, individual and organizational activism can create social expectations for change that will then, in turn, inspire real change at the level of leaders and the public. While it is difficult to picture how change might come at this level other than through persistent effort of civil society groups, change can also begin in the classroom.

Hein (2009:106), notes that there exists a lack of reflection or debate in Japanese classrooms:

> "In a Japanese school setting a child is supposed to answer the question: do you think Hitler was good or bad with 'bad' without answering why 'bad' is supposed to be the correct one, whereas in a western school setting it might happen that a teacher asks the child 'what do you think was good or bad about Hitler?" to instill reflection and have them justify their argument."

The same scenario for fair trade was described to me by a Japanese PhD candidate who found that asking 'yes' or 'no' questions were inferior to more open-ended questions of, for instance, 'why' fair trade is important. I hesitate to insist that these sorts of educational issues are a unique problem of Japan, thus teachers everywhere who introduce fair trade into their classroom should keep them in mind. Indeed, the classroom was cited relatively frequently as where my interviewees, and where I personally, had first encountered the fair trade concept.

4.5 Suggestions for future research

Given the exploratory nature of this study, there are several areas in which future research could act to deepen our understanding not only of attitudes towards fair trade in Japan, but also towards ethical consumption, and civic engagement in a broader sense. First, this study aimed to explore the attitudes of a segment of society that has a relatively high enthusiasm for fair trade (i.e. university aged) amidst the general population, and also has prior knowledge of fair trade (i.e. members of fair trade student groups.) However, subsequent studies should expand on this by incorporating different age groups. Specifically, Japanese interviewees in this study and historical literature on Japan highlight a generational gap between, for example, those who remember the *shimin* (citizen) activities in the 1960-1980s, while the more recent "*shin-shimin*" (new citizens) may hold different attitudes. Moreover, this study has focused primarily on subjects who held relatively positive attitudes towards fair trade. However, several western studies have also focused on why western consumers have purposely not purchased fair trade (e.g. Diaz-Pedregal & Ozcalgar-Toulouse,

2011.) Thus, a study of Japanese consumers' negative attitudes towards fair trade would compliment the current study and offer greater insight into overall attitudes towards fair trade.

The qualitative nature of this study would be complemented by future studies that also test Japanese consumer willingness to pay for fair trade products in a cross-national comparison. Several such studies on willingness to pay currently exist, but they are almost entirely focused on Europe and North America[27]. Including Japan would reveal whether or not there exist significant differences in willingness to pay, particularly in cross-national studies. However, I contend that there may be a significant issue with social desirability bias in Japan, as elsewhere, and thus studies utilizing natural field experiments such as those carried out by Arnot et al. (2006), and Prasad et al. (2004) would be particularly useful.

4.6 Conclusion: Why is fair trade important for Japan?

This study has argued that too much emphasis has been placed on cultural differences such as Christianity and colonialism in determining motives for fair trade consumption, highlighting instead the important role of normative influences. In addition to highlighting the importance of inequality within one's own society, and more broadly, to creating fair trade consumers, this study has also shown that not only are western civil societies generally conducive to the spread of fair trade in their respective markets, but also that Japan's weak civil society has hindered the diffusion of, and engagement with, fair trade. Finally, while there are several similarities in attitudes towards fair trade between the Japanese students profiled in this study and western studies, this study has argued that western consumers attach their fair trade consumption more to ethical self-identities, while Japanese respondents showed more casual approaches to fair trade. Although there may be implications that the Japanese are have some sort of unique aversion to engaging with the issues of fair trade, this study challenges those notions and attempts to prove that the lack of a normative influence by civil society has, instead, played the key factor in limiting fair trade. Moreover, this study has argued that cultural differences may account for different

---

[27] Kimura et al. (2012) provides the one exception I am aware of, but confirms only willingness to pay more for fair trade goods in Japan rather than producing cross-national insights.

meanings attached to fair trade, but should not result in large differences in engagement.

As with elsewhere in the world, I argue that fair trade, or any variation such as the 'responsible' trade notion above, is important to Japan because it inspires consumers to think, in some small way, about where their products come from, who they come from, and how they've been produced. Global supply chains are often so long and complex that we hardly take a moment's notice to contemplate where most of the things we buy come from, and how our decisions to choose the cheapest products may affect the lives of producers. This idea is particularly important to Japan, considering that the majority of the population already engages in a particular form of 'fair' trade each time they purchase a bag of heavily subsidized rice, only this time, it's the government, rather than a company or NPO, that is ensuring livelihoods and culture are not lost at the expense of global market prices.

Although this study has focused on the differences in attitudes towards Japanese and western fair trade consumers, in the end it is broadly about how we as individuals can contribute to the betterment of others' lives through our daily actions. At present, fair trade represents another way to send signals to companies that consumers are unsatisfied with their business practices, and to governments overseas that they require better transparency and accountability before investing. These actions are, in other words, some form of voting. While there is certainly a downside to fair trade in the form of companies that recognize a chance for greater profitability, the ultimate payoff is in the form of greater awareness of, and engagement with, the producers overseas that help make our lives comfortable, and how we can, in exchange, help do the same for theirs.

References

Adams, Matthew., Raisborough, Jayne. 2008. What can sociology say about fair trade?: Class, reflexivity and ethical consumption. *Sociology* Vol.43(6):1165-1182

Arnot, Chris., Boxall, Peter C., & Cash, Sean B. (2006). Do ethical consumers care about price? A revealed preference analysis of Fair Trade coffee purchases. Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics, 54, 555–565.

Ajzen, Icek. 1991. The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* (50): 179-211.

Ajzen, Icek., & Fishbein, M. (1980). Understanding attitudes and predicting social behavior. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Ajzen, Icek. 2013. The theory of planned behavior: A bibliography. Obtained online: http://people.umass.edu/aizen/tpbrefs.html

Alter Eco. 2008. Alter Eco fair trade study: A survey of existing and potential fair trade consumers. Obtained online: www.altereco-usa.com/altereco-fairtrade-study2008usa.pdf

Alter Trade Japan. 2006. What is Alter Trade Japan. Obtained online: http://www.altertrade.co.jp/english/01/01_01_e.html

Ames, Paul. June 3, 2013. Religion in Europe, also in crisis. Global Post. Obtained online: http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/culture-lifestyle/world-religion/130602/europe-church-mosque-christianity-islam-religious-crisis

Anderson, Sarah & Cavanagh, John. Top 200: The rise of corporate global power. Institute for Policy Studies. Obtained online: www.ips-dc.org/files/2452/top200.pdf.

Andorfer, Veronika A., Liebe, Ulf. Research on fair trade consumption - A review. Journal of Business Ethics. (2012) 106:415-435

Andou Rie. 2008. *Nihon ni okeru fea toredo: Igirisu no jirei wo ochiite nihondokuji no hatten no kanousei wo saguru (In Japanese).* Obtained online: http://www.obirin.ac.jp/la/ico/images/_04report/2008andou.pdf

Andreoni, James. 1990. Impure altruism and donations to public goods: A theory of warm-glow giving. The Economic Journal, 100, 464-477.

Armitage, Christopher J., Conner, Mark. 2001. Efficacy of the theory of planned behavior: A meta-analytic review. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 40:417-499

Assmann, 2013. Memory, migration and guilt. Crossings: Journal of Migration & Culture. Vol. 4 (1):51-65.

Auger, Pat., Devinney, Timothy. M. (2007). Do what consumers say matter? The misalignment of preferences with unconstrained ethical intentions. Journal of Business Ethics, 76, 361–383.

Auger, Pat., Devinney, Timothy M., Louviere, Jordan J. 2004. Consumer social beliefs: An international comparison using best-worst scaling methodology. Unpublished working paper.

Avenell, Simon Andrew. 2010. Making Japanese citizens: Civil society and the mythology of the shimin in postwar Japan. University of California Press.

Be Leaf. 2006. 2006 年学園祭企画　アンケート結果。Obtained online: http://beleaf.web.fc2.com/gakusaianketo.html

Becchetti, Leonardo., Camillo Rosati, Furio. 2007. Global social preferences and the demand for socially responsible products: Empirical evidence from a pilot study on fair trade consumers. The World Economy 807-836

Belk, Russell W., Devinney, Timothy., Eckhardt, Giana. Consumer ethics across cultures. Consumption Markets & Culture. (2005) 8:3,275-289.

Blanchard, Chris., Rhodes, Ryan., Nehl, Erich., Fisher, Janet. Sparling, Phil., Courneya, Kerry. 2003. Ethnicity and the theory of planned behavior in the exercise domain. *American Journal of Health Behavior,* 27, 579-591.

Boyle, Mary-Ellen., Boguslaw, Janet. 2007. Business, poverty and corporate citizenship: Naming the issues and framing solutions. Journal of Corporate Citizenship 26: 101-120.

Bresnaham, Mary., Lee, Sun Young., Smith, Sandi W., Shearman, Sachiyo., Nebashi, Reiko., Park, Cheong Yi., Yoo, Jina. 2007. A theory of planned behavior study

of college students' intention to register as organ donors in Japan, Korea, and the United States. *Health Communication.* Vol. 21(3): 201-211.

Broadbent, Jeffrey. 1999. Environmental Politics in Japan: Networks of power and protest. Cambridge University Press.

Cabinet Office of Japan, 2008. Prospects for consumer citizenship: Toward a comfortable and mature society. Obtained online:
http://www5.cao.go.jp/seikatsu/whitepaper/h20/06_eng/chapter2-3.pdf

Cailleba, Patrice., Casteran, Herbert. Do ethical values work? A quantitative study of the impact of fair trade coffee on consumer behavior. Journal of Business Ethics. (2010) 97:613-624.

Chatzidakis, Andreas., Hibbert, Sally., Smith, Andrew P. 2007. Why people don't take their concerns about fair trade to the supermarket: The role of neutralization. *Journal of Business Ethics* 74:89-100.

Chan, Jennifer. 2008. Another Japan is possible. Stanford University Press.

Chiavacci, David. 2008. From class struggle to general middle-class society to divided society: Societal models of inequality in postwar Japan. *Social Science Japan Journal*. Vol. 11(1):5-27.

Cho, Sooyoung., Krasser, Andreas H. 2011. What makes us care? The impact of cultural values, individual factors, and attention to media content on motivation for ethical consumerism. *International Social Science Review.* 86:3-23.

Davenport, Eileen., Low, Will. 2012. The labour behind the (Fair Trade) label. Critical Perspectives on International Business, Vol.8 (4): 329-348.

Delphys. 2012. Ethical project report. Obtained online:
www.delphys.co.jp/ethical/report/201003_05.pdf.

De Pelsmacker, Patrick., Janssens, Wim. 2007. A model for fair trade buying behavior: The role of perceived quantity and quality of information and of product-specific attitudes. Journal of Business Ethics 75:361-380.

Diaz Pedregal, Virginie., Ozcaglar-Toulouse, Nil. 2011. Why does not everybody purchase fair trade products? The question of the fairness of fair trade products' consumption for consumers. 35:655-660

Doosje, B., Branscombe, N. R., Spears, R., Manstead, Antony S. R. (1998). Guilty by association: When one's group has a negative history. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75, 872–886.

Doran, Caroline Josephine., Natale, Samuel Michael. Empatheia and Caritas: The role of religion in fair trade consumption. Journal of Business Ethics. (2011) 98:1-15

Doran, Caroline Josephine. Fair trade consumption: In support of the out-group. Journal of Business Ethics. (2010) 95:527-541

Doran, Caroline Josephine. The role of personal values in fair trade consumption. Journal of Business Ethics. (2009) 84:549-563.

EAB. 2003. East Asia Barometer Survey 2001-2003. Obtained online: http://www.asianbarometer.org/newenglish/introduction/default.htm

Edelman. 2012. Edelman goodpurpose 2012 global consumer survey.   Obtained online: http://www.slideshare.net/EdelmanInsights/global-deck-2012-edelman-goodpurpose-study.

Engineers Without Borders. 2008. Fair trade assessment report. Engineers without borders: Canada. Obtained online: http://my.ewb.ca/site_media/static/attachments/threadedcomments_threadedcomment/51219/PDF%20DRAFT%20FAIR%20TRADE%20REPORT.pdf.

Estevez-abe, 2003. State-society partnerships in the Japanese welfare state. In the State of Civil Society in Japan, Schwartz & Pharr. Cambridge University Press.

Fair Trade Town Japan, 2012. Ishiki Chousa. Obtained online: http://www.fairtrade-town-japan.com/ニュース/2012-07/

Fair Trade Town Japan. 2012. Obtained online: http://www.fairtrade-town-japan.com/ニュース/2012-07/

Fair Trade Towns, 2013. About. Obtained online: http://www.fairtradetowns.org/about/

Fair Trade Towns. 2013. Frequently Asked Questions. Obtained online: http://www.fairtradetowns.org/about/faq/

Fair Trade USA. 2010. Global reach map. Obtained online: http://www.fairtradeusa.org/what-is-fair-trade/global-reach-map

Fair Trade USA. 2013. Vision Statement. Obtained online: http://www.fairtradeusa.org/about-fair-trade-usa/mission

Fernandes, Tiago. 2012. Civil society after dictatorship: A comparison of Portugal and Spain, 1970s - 1990s. Kellogg Institute

Fishbein, M., Ajzen, I. 1975. Belief, Attitude, Intention, and Behavior: An Introduction to Theory and Research. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

FLO, 2009. Annual Report 2008-2009. Obtained online: http://www.fairtrade.net/annual-reports.html

FLO, 2010. Annual Report 2009-2010. Obtained online: http://www.fairtrade.net/annual-reports.html

FLO, 2011. Annual Report 2010-2011. Obtained online: http://www.fairtrade.net/annual-reports.html

FLO, 2012. Annual Report. 2011-2012. Obtained online: http://www.fairtrade.net/annual-reports.html

FLO. 2012. Fair Trade by the numbers: Key data for 2009-2011. Obtained online: http://www.fairtrade.net/fileadmin/user_upload/content/2009/resources/2012-02_Fairtrade_ByTheNumbers_2009-11.pdf

Frager, Robert. Conformity and anticonformity in Japan. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. 1970, Vol. 15(3): 203-210.

Garon, Sheldon. 1997. Molding Japanese minds: the state in everyday life. Princeton University Press.

Ger, Guliz., Belk, Russell. 1999. Accounting for materialism in four cultures. Journal of Material Culture 4 (July): 183-204.

Glennie, Alex., Straw, Will., Wild, Leni. 2012. Understanding public attitudes to aid and development. IPPR.

Globescan. 2011. Shopping choices can make a positive difference to farmers and workers in developing countries: global poll. Obtained online: http://www.globescan.com/commentary-and-analysis/press-releases/press-releases-2011/94-press-releases-2011/145-high-trust-and-global-recognition-makes-fairtrade-an-enabler-of-ethical-consumer-choice.html

GMO. 2011. GMO Japan marketing intelligence: A survey of fair trade. Obtained online: www.gmo-jmi.jp/jp/news/.../ebooks_20110831.pdf□

Godin, Gaston., Maticka-Tyndale, Eleanor., Adrien, Alix., Manson-Singer, Sharon., Willms, Dennis., & Cappon, Paul. 1996. Cross-cultural testing of three social cognitive theories: An application to condom use. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 26, 1556-1568.

Goig, Ramon Llopis. Fair trade and global cognitive orientation: A focus on Spanish fair trade consumers. International Journal of Consumer Studies. (2007) 31:468-477.

Greenpeace Canada. 2013. FAQ. Obtained online: http://www.greenpeace.org/canada/en/About-us/FAQ/.

Greenpeace. 2010. グリーンピースに本事務所。Obtained online: http://www.greenpeace.org/japan/ja/info/japan/.

Grubel, Ruth. 1999. The consumer co-op in Japan: building democratic alternatives to state-led capitalism. In Consumers against capitalism: consumer cooperation in Europe, North America, and Japan, 1840-1990. Edited by Ellen Furlough and Carl Strikwerda. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Haddad, Mary Alive. 2007. Politics and volunteering in Japan: A global perspective. Cambridge University Press.

Hamden-Turner, Charles & Trompenaars, Fons. 1993. The seven cultures of capitalism: value systems for creating wealth in the United States, Britain, Japan, Germany, France, Sweden, and the Netherlands. Piatkus Ltd.

Hara, Junsuke. 2011. An overview of social stratification and inequality study in Japan: Towards a 'mature' society perspective. *Asian Journal of Social Science* 39:9-29.

Hasegawa, Koichi., Shinohara, Chika., Broadbent, Jeffrey P. The effects of 'social expectation' on the development of civil society in Japan. Journal of Civil Society. (2007) 3:2, 179-203.

Hasegawa, Koichi. 2004. Constructing Civil Society in Japan: Voice of Environmental Movements. Trans Pacific Press.

Hayes, 2006. On the efficiency of fair trade. *Review of Social Economy* Vol.64(4): 447-468.

Hein, Patrick. 2009. How the Japanese became foreign to themselves: The impact of globalization on the private and public spheres in Japan. Lit Verlag.

Hertel, Shareen. Scruggs, Lyle. Heidkamp, C. Patrick. 2009. Human rights and public opinion: From attitudes to action. *Political Science Quarterly* Vol.124(3):443-459

Hirata Kimura, Aya. Between technocracy and democracy: An experimental approach to certification of food products by Japanese consumer cooperative women. *Journal of Rural Studies.* (2010) 26:130-140

Hodge, Samuel., Ammah, Jonathon O.A. Casebolt, Kevin M., LaMaster, Kathryn., Hersman, Bethany., Samalot-Rivera, Amaury., Sato, Takahiro. 2009. A diversity of voices: Physical education teachers' beliefs about inclusion and teaching students with disabilities. *International Journal of Disability, Development and Education.* Vol. 56 (4): 401-419.

Hofstede, Geert H. 2001. Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Instittuions and Organizations Across Nations. SAGE Publications, Inc.

IDE-JETRO. 2009. *Kigyou no fea toredo senryaku* (In Japanese). Obtained online: http://www.ide.go.jp/Japanese/Research/Region/Asia/Radar/20090330.html

Inoue, Narahiko. 1996. Traditions of "debate" in Japan. Bulletin of the Graduate School of Social and Cultural Studies, Kyushu University, vol.2 (1996), pp.149-161. Obtained online: http://www.flc.kyushu-u.ac.jp/~inouen/deb-trad.html.

Iwano, Masako & Takami, Sanae. A perspective on consumer social responsibility by Japanese NGOs/FTOs: a study on fair trade with a specific focus on coffee supply chains. Yamaguchi Ken Daigaku Gakujustu Jouhou Dai 3 gou. [Daigakuin Ronshu]   March, 2010.

Kiddler, Robert L. 1993. Long-term strategies in Japanese environmental litigation. *Law & Social Inquiry.* Vol.18(4): 199.

Kim, Renee., Suwannamek, Opal., Toyoda, Takashi. 2008. Consumer attitude towards organic labeling schemes in Japan. *Journal of International Food & Agribusiness Marketing.* Vol. 20(3):55-71.

Kim, Soyoung. Littrell, Mary A. Ogle Paff. 1999. The relative importance of social responsibility as a predictor of purchase intentions for clothing. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*. Vol. 3 (3):207-218.

Kiyokazu, Ujiie. 2011. The effect of altruism on consumer behavior in Japan: An analysis on rice consumption using scanner Data. Prepared for EAAE 2011 Congress Change and Uncertainty.

Klaus, Rudi & Bass, Bernard M. Group influence on individual behavior across cultures. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*. 1974 5:236.

Konishi, Emiko., Yahiro, Michiko., Nakajima, Naoko., Ono, Miki. 2009. The Japanese value of harmony and nursing ethics. *Nursing Ethics* 16(5).

Konsky, Catherine., Eguchi, Mariko., Blue, Janet., Kapoor, Suraj. 1999. Individualist-collectivist values: American, Indian and Japanese cross-cultural study. *Intercultural Communication Studies*. 9-1, Fall.

Krier, J.-M. (2008). Fair Trade 2007: New facts and figures from an ongoing success story. Culemborg: DAWS

Le Mare, Ann. 2012. Creating and maintaining Fair Trade: Meanings and practices of four Southern Fair Trade enterprises. *Critical perspectives on international business*. Vol. 8 (4): 309-328.

LeClair, M. 2003. Fighting back: the growth of alternative trade. *Society for International Development*, 46(1): 66–73."

LeClair,M. 2002. Fighting the tide: alternative trade organizations in the era of global free trade. *World Development*, 30(6): 949–58.

Linton, April. 2012. Fair trade from the ground up: new markets for social justice. University of Washington Press

Lodge, George., Wilson, Craig. 2006. Multinational corporations and global poverty reduction. *Challenge*. Vol.49 (3): 17-25.

Yoon, Jin Ma. 2007. Young consumers' fair trade consumption: Application of the theory of planned behavior to non-food fair trade purchases. Doctor of philosophy dissertation. ProQuest: UMI Dissertations Publishing.

MacLachlan, Patricia L. 2004. From subjects to citizens: Japan's evolving consumer identity, *Japanese Studies*, 24(1): 115-134.

Maclachlan, Patricia. 2002. Consumer politics in postwar Japan: the institutional boundaries of citizen activism. Columbia University Press.

Malhotra, Naresh K., McCort, J.Daniel. 2001. A cross-cultural comparison of behavioral intention models: Theoretical consideration and an empirical investigation. *International Marketing Review*

Mason, 1999. Whither Japan's environmental movement? An assessment of problems and prospects at the national level. *Pacific Affairs*. Vol. 72 (2): 187-207. Pacific Affairs, University of British Columbia.

Mori, Natsuka. *Wakamono ni fea toredo wo fukyuu saseru ni ha* (In Japanese.) Obtained online:

http://web.sfc.keio.ac.jp/~llamame/wiki/index.php?plugin=attach&refer=成果物&openfile=山本研期末論文確定版.pdf

Nagasaka, Toshihisa. 2008. *Nihon no fea toredo: Sekai wo kaeru kibou no boueki* (In Japanese). Akashi Shoten.

Newholm T. 2005. Case Studying Ethical Consumers. In *The Ethical Consumer,* Harrison R, Newholm T, Shaw D (eds). Sage: London; 107–124."

Newholm, Terry. Shaw, Deirdre. 2007. Studying the ethical consumer: A review of research. *Journal of Consumer Behavior* (6):253-270.

Nicholls, Alex., Opal, Charlotte. 2004. Fair Trade: Market-driven ethical consumption. Sage Publications Ltd.

Nicholls, Alex., Lee, Nick. 2006. Purchase decision-making in fair trade and the ethical purchase 'gap': 'is there a fair trade twix?' *Journal of Strategic Marketing.* 14:369-386.

Nijssen, Edwin J. & Douglas, Susan P. 2008. Consumer world-mindedness, social-mindedness, and store image. *Journal of International Marketing.* Vol.16 (3):84-107.

Norton, Jade & Baker, P.M. 2007. The experience of whiteness among students at a BC university: Invisibility, guilt, and indifference. *BC Studies*, No. 153, Spring.

Obuchi, Kenichi. 2007. Social justice in Japan: concepts, theories and paradigms. Melbourne, Vic: Trans Pacific Press.

Ogawa, Akihiro. 2010. The Failure of Civil Society? State University of New York Press.

Okwave. 2006. *Fea toredo ga fukyuushinai riyuu ha?* (In Japanese). Obtained online: http://okwave.jp/qa/q1959832.html.

Ouchi, Miki. 2004. Charitable giving in Japan: A comparitive study of Japan and the United States. *The Nonprofit Review* Vol.4 (1): 39-52.

Ozcaglar-Toulouse N, Shaw D, Shiu E. 2006. In search of fair trade: ethical consumer decision-making in France. *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 30(5): 502–514.

Pekkanen, Robert. 2000. Japan's new politics: The case of the NPO law. *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 26 (1): 111-143.

Pekkanen, Robert. 2006. Japan's dual society: members without advocates. Standfor: Stanford University Press.

Pepper, Miriam. Jackson, Tim. Uzzell, David. 2009. An examination of the values that motivate socially conscious and frugal consumer behaviours. *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 33:126-136.

Prasad, Monica., Kimeldorf, Howard., Meyer, Rachel., Robinson, Ian. (2004). Consumers of the World Unite: A market-based response to sweatshops. *Labor Studies Journal,* 29, 57–80.

Prince Shotoku: http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/ps/japan/shotoku.pdf

Reimann, Kim D. 2010. The rise of Japanese NGOs: Activism from above. Routledge.

Reinstein, David., Song, Joon. 2012. Efficient consumer altruism and fair trade products. Journal of Economics & Management Strategy. Vol.21(1):213-241.

Riley, Lynn Sudbury., Kohlbacher, Florian., Hofmeister, Agnes. 2012. A cross-cultural analysis of pro-environmental consumer behavior among seniors. Journal of Marketing Management. Vol. 28 (3-4): 290-312.

Roberts J.A. 1996. Will the socially responsible consumer please step forward?. *Business Horizons* 39(1): 79–84."

Sakamoto, Yoshiyuki., Tsuchiya, Takahiro., Nakamura, Takashi., Maeda, Tadahiko., Fouse, David B. 2000. A Study of the Japanese National Character: The Tenth Nationwide Survey (1998) -English Edition-, ISM Research Report General Series No.85.

Sakamoto, Yoshiyuki., Tsuchiya, Takahiro., Nakamura, Takashi., Maeda, Tadahiko. 2007. A Study of the Japanese National Character: The Eleventh Nationwide Survey (2003) -English Edition-, ISM Research Report General Series No.94.

Salamon, Lester M. & Anheier, Helmut K. 1996. Social origins of civil society: Explaining the nonprofit sector cross-nationally. The Johns Hopkins University Institute for Policy Studies

Salamon, Lester M., Anheier, Helmut K., List, Regina., Toepler, Stefan., Sokolowski, Wojciech S., Associates. 1999. Global civil society: Dimensions of the nonprofit sector. The John Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies: Baltimore.

Sato, Hiroshi. 2011. *Fea toredo wo manabu hito no tame ni* (In Japanese). Sekaishishosha Co Ltd.

Schwartz, Frank J & Pharr, Susan J. 2003. The State of Civil Society in Japan. Cambridge University Press.

Schwartz, Frank J. 2003. What is civil society? In the State of Civil Society in Japan, Schwartz & Pharr. Cambridge University Press.

Schwartz, Shalom H. 1994. Are there universal aspects in the structure and contents of human values? *Journal of Social Issues.* Vol. 50 (4): 19-45.

Schwartz, Shalom H. 2007. Universalism and the inclusiveness of our moral universe. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology.* 38:711-728.

"Shaw D, Newholm T. 2002. Voluntary simplicity and the ethics of consumption. *Psychology and Marketing* 19(2): 167–185."

Shaw et al. 2005. An exploration of values in ethical consumer decision making. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* Vol. 4(3), 185-200

Shaw, D. S. and Shiu, E. (2003) 'Ethics in consumer choice: A multivariate modeling approach', *European Journal of Marketing,* 37,1485-1498.

Shaw, D. S., Shiu, E. and Clarke, I (2000) 'The contribution of ethical obligation and self-identity to the theory of planned behaviour: An exploration of ethical consumers'. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 16(8), 879-894.

Shaw, D., Newholm, T., Dickinson, R. (2006). Consumption as voting: An exploration of consumer empowerment. *European Journal of Marketing*, 40, 1049–1067.

Shaw, D.S., Shiu, E. 2002a. An assessment of ethical obligation and self-identity in ethical consumer decision making: a structural equation modelling approach. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 26, 286–293.

Shaw, D.S., Shiu, E. 2002b. The role of ethical obligation and self-identity in ethical consumer choice. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 26, 109–116.

Shaw, Deirdre & Clarke, Ian. Belief formation in ethical consumer groups: an exploratory study. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*. (1999) 17/2:109-119

Shaw, Deirdre., Newholm, Terry. 2002. Voluntary simplicity and the ethics of consumption. *Psychology & Marketing* Vol.19(2):167-185

Shimizu, Hidetada., Levine, Robert A. 2002. Japanese Frames of Mind. Cambridge University Press

Shirahase, Sawako. 2010. Japan as a stratified society: With a focus on class identification. *Social Science Japan Journal*. Vol.13(1):31-52.

Sikka, Prem. 2007. Enterprise culture and accountancy firms: new masters of the universe. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal.* Vol.22 (2):268-295. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Swaidan, Ziad. 2012. Culture and consumer ethics. *Journal of Business Ethics.* 108:201-213

Takashi Nakamura, Tadahiko Maeda, Takahiro Tsuchiya, Wataru Matsumoto and Kosuke Nikaido 2011 A Study of the Japanese National Character: The Twelfth nation wide survey (2008) -English Edition-, ISM Survey Research Report No.102.

Tanner, Carmen., Kast, Sybille Wolfing. 2003. Promoting sustainable consumption: Determinants of green purchases by Swiss consumers. *Psychology & Marketing*. 20:883-902.

The Co-operative Group. 2012. Ethical consumer markets report 2012. Obtained online:
http://www.ethicalconsumer.org/linkclick.aspx?fileticket=96yXzu8nyrc%3D&tabid=1557

The Fairtrade Foundation. 2011. Global survey shows UK leads the way on Fairtrade. Obtained online:
http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/press_office/press_releases_and_statements/archive_2011/october/global_survey_shows_uk_leads_the_way_on_fairtrade.aspx

Tsujimura, Hideyuki. 2012. Oishii kohi no keizairon: Kilamanjaro no nigai genjitsu. Shinano Publishing Co Ltd. (In Japanese)

Tversky, Amos & Kahneman, Daniel. 1972. Availability; A heuristic for judging frequency and probability. Obtained online:
http://people.umass.edu/biep540w/pdf/Tversky%20availability.pdf

United Nations. 2006. International Migration 2006. United Nations Publication.

Usugami, Jiro. 2012. Case studies focused on fair trade chocolate in Japan. Prepared for LICOS conferencCentre for Institutions and Economic Performance conference on economics and politics of chocolate. Obtained online:
mfe.be/choconomics/usugami.pdf⌧

Uusitalo, Outi & Oksanen, Reetta. 2004. Ethical Consumerism: a view from finland. International *Journal of Consumer Studies* 28, 3, June 2004, pp214-221

Varul, Matthias Zick. Wilson-Kovacs, Dana. 2008. Fair trade consumerism as an everyday ethical practice - A comparitive perspective. Obtained online:
people.exeter.ac.uk/mzv201/FT%20Results.pdf

Vatican. 2013. Catechism of the Catholic Church. Obtained online:
http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p3s1c1a7.htm

Wagner-Tsukamoto, Sigmund. Consumer ethics in Japan: An economic reconstruction of moral agency of Japanese firms - Qualitative insights from grocery/retail markets. (2009) 84:29-44

Watanabe Ryuuya. 2010a. *Fea toredo gaku: Watashitachi ga tsukuru shinkeizai chitsujo* (In Japanese). Shinhyouron.

Watanabe, Ryuuya. 2010b. *Fea toredo no kakudai to fukka keizai・shakai・seiji ryouiki kara no kousatsu* (In Japanese). Gendai Hougaku: Tokyo Keizai University Gendai Hougaku Kaishi. Tokyo Keizai University（１７）：89-124.

Westerman et. al. Peers versus national culture: An analysis of antecedents to ethical decision-making. (2007) 75:239-252

WFTO. 2009. A charter of fair trade principles. World Fair Trade Organization and Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International

World Bank. 2004. Labour standards and poverty reduction. World Bank, Washington DC. Obtained online: http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/230116/labourstandardsJune04.pdf

World Bank. 2010. Poverty & equity data. Obtained online: http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/home/

World Bank. 2012. GINI Index. Obtained online: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI/

World Values Survey. Obtained online: http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSIntegratedEVSWVS.jsp?Idioma=I

WVS (2009). World Value Survey 1981-2008 official aggregate v.20090902, 2009. World Values Survey Association (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). Aggregate File Producer: ASEP/JDS Data Archive, Madrid, Spain.

Underwood, Paul R. 2012. Teacher beliefs and intentions regarding the instruction of English grammar under national curriculum reforms: A theory of planned behavior perspective. *Teaching and Teacher Education*. Vol. 28 (6): 911-925.

Zensho. 2012. Zensho fair trade. Online: http://www.zensho.co.jp/en/responsibility/ft/index.html?id=sb)

Zinkin, John. 2008. "The Effect of Culture on Consumers' Willingness to Punish Irresponsible Corporate Behavior: Applying Hofstede's Typology to the

Punishment Aspect of Corporate Social Responsibility," *Business Ethics: A European Review* 17, no.2 (April).

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to extend my sincerest gratitude to Professor Jin Sato for patiently providing me with insightful feedback as I developed this thesis. During this initial foray into cross-cultural analysis, I have been corrected on several misconceptions in my own thinking not only by Professor Sato, but by several fellow students and researchers in my seminar. For inspiring this reflection, and leading me to a higher understanding of Japanese culture, and subsequently my own culture, I am grateful.

I also extend my appreciation to the Mr. Kawagoe and Mr. Yamaguchi at the Fair Trade Department of Zensho Holdings, and Mr. Hotta and Mr. Kobayashi of Alter Trade Japan for granting me their valuable time for interviews. I also thank the 15 students who volunteered their time to provide me with several insights into the workings of fair trade student groups around Japan and their personal attitudes towards fair trade.

I wish to thank my professors at the University of Tokyo who have helped me gain the appropriate academic skills that have assisted with the production of this thesis.

Last but not least, I am indebted to my family and close friends for their loving support.

Christopher Malcolm