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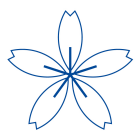
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Competition among different alternative food movements:  
Finding space for the Fair Trade movement

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# Competition among different alternative food movements: Finding space for the Fair Trade movement

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## Abstract

Several movements aim to improve food systems in the Global North and South, but they differ in what they offer, and some areas of tension may exist between them. Rather than examine which movements are better, we need to know how they can coexist to achieve a better future. This literature review sheds light on the uniqueness of one such movement, Fair Trade, which has linked the Global North and South, and explores how Fair Trade can or cannot coexist with other food movements, namely the local food and food sovereignty movements. The results of the review suggest potential research directions that emerge from the interactions between these different food movements.

**Keywords:** alternative food movement, coexistence, competition, Fair Trade, food sovereignty, local food movement

Abbreviations:

AFM: alternative food movement

FS: food sovereignty

## 1. Introduction

In recent decades, a variety of food-related social movements have emerged in both the Global North and South. Food movements encompassing organic food and vegetarianism, Fair Trade, slow food, local food, food justice, food sovereignty, and other efforts are collectively called the “alternative food movement” (AFM) because of their common attempt to replace the dominant food system with one that is fair, health-promoting, and ecologically sound (Galt, 2017).<sup>1</sup> In the context of food movements, the word *alternative*, broadly implying a connection between the producers and the consumers of food, is used

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<sup>1</sup> In this article, “Fair Trade” as a food movement accompanying labeling and other specific activities is differentiated from fair trade as a general term.

in contrast with *conventional*, implying a disconnect between the producers and the consumers of food (Murdoch & Miele, 2004). All AFMs can be justified “under the collective umbrella of economic, social and environmental sustainability” (Wilkinson, 2015, p. 9), suggesting “a common normative base-line for agriculture and food market regulation” (Wilkinson, 2015, p. 14).

Nevertheless, this surge in AFMs has not always resulted in a positive outcome. Wilkinson (2015) pointed out that “enormous tensions and polarizations exist [among the ATFs] on the ways in which food security can be sustainably achieved” (p. 14). It is therefore natural that the focus of scholarly debate tends to be on “[p]recisely which types of food movement initiatives are most likely to transform the food system” (McInnes et al., 2017, p. 788). Although most individual movements address both the production and consumption sides of food systems, each tends to focus on one among many important concerns about the mainstream while having no clear vision of how to move from the mainstream to an alternative (Busch, 2018). In other words, “the idea of food as a social movement is not organized in a comprehensive way” (Nestle, 2009, p. 37). For instance, AFM leaders interviewed in the United States, representing the Global North, actually disagreed “over the substantive goals (e.g., anti-hunger, farmer livelihoods, or ecological protection) and the strategies of the food movement (e.g., who to partner with, whether to remain fragmented)” (Hoey & Sponseller, 2018, p. 606). Such diversity in AFMs is further expanded when the Global South is considered. Based on the premise that many different AFMs exist in a disorderly way, it is worth examining how these movements can coexist to achieve a better future, rather than advocating each movement separately.

## **2. Fair Trade movement as the viewpoint**

Although each AFM has its *raison d'être*, it is defined and interpreted in many ways. In reality, it is impossible to distinguish between the different AFMs clearly. Rather than compare individual AFMs, this literature review seeks potential future strategies for the coexistence or collaboration of AFMs from the perspective of one specific AFM, the Fair Trade movement. Although Fair Trade can be defined differently as well, this paper draws on the following popular definition of Fair Trade:

Fair Trade is a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect, that seeks greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development by offering better trading conditions to, and securing the rights of, marginalized producers and workers – especially in the South. (Fair Trade Advocacy Office, 2018, p. 11)

This literature review is not aimed at capturing the whole picture of AFMs; rather, it is limited to issues and events depicting Fair Trade's interactions with other AFMs.

One reason why Fair Trade is chosen as the viewpoint is an important emerging tension: Fair Trade might not be able to coexist with the others. For example, regarding the relationship between Fair Trade and the local food movement, a news article warned:

If the local food movements in Europe and North America reduce their demand for organic and fair trade products from afar,<sup>2</sup> the most likely consequence is that African farmers who have entered those niche markets will return to producing their export crops in the conventional, pesticide-intensive manner. (Moseley, 2007, para. 8)

Although it is hasty to come to such a conclusion, a majority of African farmers might not be able to continue organic production without access to organic markets in the North because organic markets have not yet been fully developed in the South (Wynen, 2003, pp. 214–216), and Fair Trade is the only channel through which most small farmers could favorably export their organic products.<sup>3</sup>

Since Fair Trade involves both the Global North and South, this literature review focuses on Fair Trade's interactions with two AFMs that can also be observed from these two perspectives: the local food and food sovereignty (FS) movements. Despite this commonality, Fair Trade has a specific characteristic that distinguishes it from the other two movements, as well as the majority of other AFMs that are based on specific localities (Del Casino Jr, 2014, p. 802). As detailed later, the local food movement involves both consumers and producers in a single locality. The FS movement, which primarily advocates the sovereignty of Southern producers, can be expanded to help specific farmers in a locality. By contrast, the Fair Trade movement cannot have its own real place where its activities are based. Instead, its impact is shown only by linking producers with distant consumers. The Fair Trade movement was originally based on the idea of linking Southern producers with Northern consumers, but wealthier consumers in the South have gradually started to support domestic producers (Doherty et al., 2015). The lack of a

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<sup>2</sup> Fair Trade–organic double certification has increasingly been encouraged by Northern markets (Makita & Tsuruta, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Although in recent years, organic markets have gradually been developed in the Global South, entry costs to organic production are too high for marginal and small farmers (Makita & Tsuruta, 2017).

visible “base” might make Fair Trade weaker than the other AFMs. In a survey of 143 food movement organizations in Canada, a majority of the survey respondents described their organizations as “local, engaging in consumer education activities” without referring to trade issues (McInnes et al., 2017, p. 801).

In brief, this article aims to explore how Fair Trade can or cannot coexist with the other two AFMs and suggest research directions that emerge with the surge in various AFMs.

### **3. Interactions with the local food movement**

#### **3-1 The perspective of the Global North**

The local food movement is based on localism. Beyond spatial proximity, localism is extensively characterized by the following: (a) freshness (temporal proximity), (b) healthfulness, (c) small scale (“small batch”), (d) accountability, (e) environmental stewardship, (f) a system of relationships among many actors impacting social, environmental, and economic systems, and (g) opposition to capitalistic norms (Robinson & Farmer, 2017, pp. 11–18). These characteristics remind us of the primary objective of this movement, that is, being against industrial food. However, in reality, localism seems to be practiced solely in terms of distance. In Europe, interest in the short food chain is growing and many nations have introduced labeling systems indicating the local origin of products as legal instruments for promoting local markets (Canfora, 2016). Legislation gives power to this movement. If legislative bodies, buyers, and consumers prefer the short food chain, the local food movement cannot help but compel Fair Trade markets in the North to deal only with locally unavailable products.

Practically, Fair Trade and local products seem to coexist in Northern markets without any serious problems. For instance, the Scottish Fair Trade Forum (2013) reported:

Scottish farmers and Fair Trade farmers are very rarely in competition. Most Fair Trade produce simply can't be grown in Europe because of the climate. This includes tea, coffee, banana and cocoa beans. There are a few products that are available either from Fair Trade or local farmers, with some examples including honey, cut flowers and sugar. All these items can be grown in the UK and Europe, yet we tend to import high volumes of these products from abroad. The main reason for this is that UK cannot produce enough of these products to meet consumer demand. It's estimated that the UK only produces enough honey to meet one third of our demand. Consumers also want these products year-round. ... [T]here's enough demand to require production in

both locations and at different times of the year. (pp. 31–32)

Although this kind of coexistence appears feasible, it also implies that Fair Trade should be restricted to specific products. Only within a limited scope can Fair Trade products coexist with local products. In other words, the interaction with the local food movement might increase the possibility of pushing Fair Trade producers in the South into a monoculture that the North had traditionally demanded from the South.

Two of the six principles of the local food movement, (f) a system of relationships among many actors impacting social, environmental, and economic systems and (g) opposition to capitalistic norms (Robinson & Farmer, 2017, pp. 11–18), seem to harmonize with those of Fair Trade. However, the reality does not necessarily reflect these principles. DeLind (2011) and Prody (2013), among others, argued that the local food movement has shifted away from the deeper concerns of equity, citizenship, place-building, and sustainability. According to Nonini (2013), the local food movement in the United States exists for the “white ethnoracial majority” and is not supported by food security activists who “seek redress for injustices against poor people and marginalized racial minorities” (p. 274). From the perspective of discrimination or racism, Gibb and Wittman (2013) pointed out another consequence of the local food movement that is against the Fair Trade principles. They reported that in Vancouver, Canada, both Metro Vancouver farms and Chinese-Canadian farmers provide food for local consumers, but the local food movement excludes the Chinese-Canadian farmers from its programs. Even if the producers and the consumers are based in the same locality, some producers may not be able to participate in the local food movement.

By contrast, in another part of Canada, the certification organization Fair Trade USA supports migrant workers mainly from Guatemala to Canada by certifying peppers that the migrants’ families and relatives produce in Guatemala and providing them with “community development premiums – funds specifically designated for social, economic and environmental development projects in [the workers’] home countries” (Cosner, 2014, p. 2). Therefore, Fair Trade may have the potential to help those who are excluded from the local food movement in the North. This concept can be called a form of *domestic* Fair Trade (Cosner, 2014).

Some authors have pointed out the lack of collective identity and action in the local food movement. Huey (2005) analyzed organizations facilitating the consumption of local food and identified “a disparity between global rhetoric and local engagement” in the era of worldwide website linking. In other words, the local food movement was locally practiced in different, unorganized ways. By analyzing a cross-sectional network

of 20 social movement organizations working within the local food system in a California county, Bauermeister (2016) revealed “the lack of consciousness (awareness) among organizations about the breadth of the local food movement, and their role in the movement” (p. 137). He consequently argued that it is necessary to establish a stronger collective identity “for moving local food systems towards increased sustainability.” In the process of coalition building, related organizations may be required to “strike a balance among the different sectors to ensure a more *holistic* [emphasis added] approach [under which], for example, food security and healthy diets are balanced with efforts of sustainable production and marketing” (p. 138). The lack of coalition also appears as concentration and consolidation in the production, distribution, and retail of local products. In response to this situation, Dunning et al. (2015) proposed “pairing localized procurement and distribution with mainstream supermarket industry infrastructure to increase food system resiliency” (p. 668).

On the one hand, local food movement organizations’ search for a *holistic* approach might create space for Fair Trade. On the other hand, stronger ties between the networks of those organizations may drive out Fair Trade. Furthermore, if supermarket supply chains are localized, it will be difficult to increase the presence of Fair Trade in Northern markets. It will most likely be loose networks of fragmented local food activists and markets that allow Fair Trade to find ways to coexist.

### **3-2 The perspective of the Global South**

The local food movement has also emerged in the Global South. In Mexico, it originated from the organic movement. According to Nigh and González Cabañas (2015), the desire for healthy food and “solidarity with local peasant farmers” has principally motivated the creation of local agroecological markets. In pursuing such outlets, “emphasis is given to taste, quality, nutritional value, cleanliness ... and biodiversity conservation,” whereas the value of short chain or local production is not usually emphasized. As the boom in organics grew worldwide, the local organic movement developed into the export of certified organic coffee and honey. In other words, the organic movement that had started in “solidarity with local peasant farmers” went in two different directions: domestic and export markets (p. 323). When the local food movement is “conceived as strategies to support and encourage smallholder and new peasant agriculture” in the South, this movement can coexist with Fair Trade. If domestic organic markets are insufficient to meet the needs of local farm households, diversified household strategies can be justified for economic survival (p. 337). The local food movement, which may conflict with Fair Trade in the context of the North, can afford to coexist with Fair Trade in the South.

In some parts of the Global South, urban consumers have already had opportunities to purchase agricultural products directly from local farmers. For instance, approximately 31 producer families and over 150 consumers participate in a local market in Chiapas, Mexico (Bellante, 2017, p. 121). As an alternative to export markets, such local farmers' markets, based on peer certification practices and participatory guarantee systems, are expected to play an important role. The principle of participatory guarantees particularly "helps to establish trust between consumers and producers" (Bellante, 2017, p. 129). Although these systems also face many challenges, "including a lack of consumer involvement; insufficient recognition and support from authorities; poor record-keeping; ... and over-reliance on volunteer work" (Bellante, 2017, p. 129), as long as localism remains a niche market, Fair Trade as another niche market will be required in parallel.

#### **4. Interactions with the food sovereignty movement**

##### **4-1 The perspective of the Global South**

The term "food sovereignty" was first used in a new National Food Program announced by the government of Mexico in the 1980s, implying "national control over diverse aspects of the food chain, thus reducing dependency on foreign capital and imports of basic food, inputs and technology" (Heath, 1985, as cited in Edelman, 2014, p. 964). However, it was *La Via Campesina*, the largest international network of peasants' movement, that introduced the FS concept in 1996, bringing the position of small-scale farmers back to the forefront (Dekeyser et al., 2018, p. 226).<sup>4</sup> *La Via Campesina* originally defined FS as "the right of each nation to maintain and develop its own capacity to produce its basic food, respecting cultural and productive diversity" and then declared, "we have the right to produce our own food in our own territory. Food sovereignty is a precondition to genuine food security" (Desmarais, 2007, p. 34). In addition, a frequently cited definition of FS was elaborated in an international forum held in Mali in 2007:

Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies rather than the demands of markets and corporations. (Trauger, 2015, p. 5)

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<sup>4</sup> *La Via Campesina* is translated as "The Peasant Way" (Holt-Gimenez, 2009, as cited in Dekeyser et al., 2018).



Although the outcome of the forum, called the Nyéléni Declaration, “positions food sovereignty as all encompassing, embracing everyone in the food chain as a potentially powerful actor” (Trauger, 2015, p. 5), the Declaration also includes the following statement:

All peoples that want to be free and independent *must produce their own foods* [emphasis added]. Food sovereignty is more than just a right; in order to be able to apply policies that allow *autonomy in food production* [emphasis added], it is necessary to have political conditions that exercise autonomy in all territorial spaces: countries, regions, cities and rural communities. (Trauger, 2015, p. 7)

While FS is more “broadly defined as the right of nations and peoples to control their own food systems, including their own markets, production modes, food cultures and environments” (Wittman et al., 2010, p. 2), it is possible to regard FS as a producer-led movement in contrast with the consumer-led local food movement.

Although existing literature has not paid attention to the consumer aspect of FS, consumer engagement with FS looks similar to their engagement with Fair Trade: consumers can help disadvantaged producers through purchasing. However, the literature has shown different views on the compatibility of Fair Trade with FS.

Some have considered Fair Trade to be incompatible with FS. Edelman et al. (2014) referred to the fact that “FS advocacy has had a somewhat ambivalent relationship to fair trade networks and certification schemes” (p. 916). According to Schanbacher (2010), FS is based on the idea that “agricultural production should focus on local production for local consumption” (p. 74). The flagship institution of FS, *La Via Campesina*, sees food as, first and foremost, “a source of nutrition and only secondarily an item of trade” (Desmarais, 2017, p. 368). Rosset and Altieri (2017) more directly criticized Fair Trade as follows: “the fair trade focuses on exports and contributes little to local food sovereignty or security, at times creating social stratification in rural communities as relatively few families benefit from the good prices” (p. 56). However, the lower priority given to trade policies seems to be confined to food imports. *La Via Campesina* noted that “food imports must not displace local production nor depress prices” (Desmarais, 2017, p. 368) without referring to food exports.

Although Burnett and Murphy (2014) admitted that the official position of the FS movement on trade remains ambiguous, they also argued that trade remains important to the realization of the livelihoods of small-scale producers, including farmers active in the FS movement. Paddock and Smith (2018), in a small-island context, proposed an

*expanded* FS framework that takes into account the necessity for trade, even including food imports. Even if FS is a place-based movement, “some distance is inescapable, and ... it is difficult to draw fixed lines to separate what is ‘culturally appropriate’ and might be permissible within a food sovereignty paradigm and what is not” (Edelman et al., 2014, p. 916). Murdock and Miele (2004) interpreted trade as a “connection between the producers and the consumers of food,” further classified it into local, ecological, and social connections, and regarded Fair Trade as “social connections” (p. 168). Even if FS does not place importance on trade, there can be some room for Fair Trade in the expanded framework of the FS movement.

We must remember that the FS framework does not preclude trade itself. It has simply called for agriculture to be taken out of the purview of the World Trade Organization to prevent corporate control and the flooding of domestic markets with cheap food from global circuits of trade (Akram-Lodhi, 2015, p. 575; Halewood, 2011; Robbins, 2015, p. 460). Akram-Lodhi (2015) even argued that a central demand of FS movements should be “to reorient the purpose of trade away from the neoliberal objective of increased profitability and towards the more human-focused objective of improvements in well-being” (p. 575). A form of such a deeper intervention in global markets can be realized under Fair Trade.

Because “[FS] is an advocacy oriented movement rather than a policy objective that could be implemented and evaluated in any meaningful way” (Chaifetz & Jagger, 2014, p. 89), the reality faced by small-scale farmers might call for Fair Trade. Although efforts to promote FS are not normally associated with non-food crops, Diaz and Hunsberger (2018) found that, despite coffee’s fraught history, agroecological coffee can contribute to an FS strategy in Puerto Rico. In a part of India where a nongovernmental organization promoted the FS initiative, small farmers had to plant only cotton, and not food crops, to maximize their earnings (Louis, 2015). For food and livelihood security, Fair Trade may be able to help these farmers more effectively than FS does. Leventon and Laudan (2017) essentially justified such cotton farmers in India, when they argued that under the principles of FS, both farmers and consumers “have a democratic right to choose how or what they want to grow or value[; t]hus a conflict between the aims of the FS movement as a whole and the individual choices of farmers may be inherent to FS” (p. 25).

A few authors have more obviously argued that FS and Fair Trade essentially share the same goals. According to Schanbacher (2010),

The Fair Trade Movement is another means by which food rights activists can join in

global social movements that challenge the destructive forces of the WTO's unbalanced trade policies and the corporate monopolization of the global food system. ... Fair Trade is a producer/consumer practice that can potentially help food sovereignty realize its goals. (p. 116) ... Accomplishing Fair Trade goals is inextricably connected to the same themes food sovereignty activists struggle against. (p. 118)

In the case of a Nicaraguan smallholder cooperative, most cooperative leaders and member-farmers themselves viewed FS and Fair Trade as “complementary, not contradictory” (Bacon, 2015, p. 469). Bacon (2015) then concluded:

[B]oth fair trade and FS share the challenge of improving food security outcomes in the context of climate variability. Efforts to achieve this common goal could benefit from tactical and possibly strategic alliances for action. (p. 482)

FS and Fair Trade have actually been compared in some literature in regard to their common goals. Burnett (2014) compared the two movements in terms of response to the food crisis in 2007–2008. She viewed Fair Trade as “insufficient in addressing the broader structural causes of vulnerability on global markets” (p. 364). By contrast, the FS movement “has worked with great determination and made impressive advances in ensuring that the voices of key stakeholders in global food and agriculture are heard ..., positioning itself as a central voice in key governance institutions” (p. 370). Although Fair Trade may offer practical benefits to producers, FS plays a much stronger role in advocacy. From a similar viewpoint, Holt Giménez and Shattuck (2011) divided AFMs into two trends that they referred to as “progressive” and “radical” and interpreted Fair Trade as “progressive” and FS as “radical.” The difference between the two is:

Many actors within the Progressive trend advance practical alternatives to industrial agri-foods ... largely *within the economic and political frameworks of existing capitalist food systems* [emphasis added]. ... The Radical trend also calls for food systems change on the basis of rights, but focuses much more on entitlements, structural reforms to markets and property regimes, and class-based, redistributive demands for land, water and resources .... Demands for food sovereignty are frequently anti-imperialist, anti-corporatist and/or anticapitalist. (Holt Giménez & Shattuck, 2011, p. 115)

This statement suggests that the “progressive” Fair Trade movement can relatively easily find a way to enter into conventional food systems through certification or marketing tools. However, the “radical” FS movement is expected to dedicate itself to the advocacy aspect of AFMs that challenges conventional food systems and aims to change the world. Even with the same goals, different routes may be taken.

In sum, in the context of the Global South, although Fair Trade might not directly interfere with FS, it is still possible for Fair Trade to contribute to the advocacy of FS as a practical form of FS. As Schiavoni (2009) argued, “there is no single path or prescription for achieving FS” (p. 685). Given that the lack of conceptual clarity or the presence of diverging interpretations limits practical implementation (Dekeyser et al., 2018), Fair Trade must be one path leading to FS in some contexts.

#### **4-2 The perspective of the Global North**

While the FS movement has arguably been best acted upon in the Global South (Higgins, 2015, p. 55), it has also gradually expanded into the Global North. *La Via Campesina* has 182 member organizations from 81 countries, including 2 from Canada, 7 from the US, 28 from Europe, and 1 from Japan as of March 2018 (La Via Campesina, 2018). However, FS engagement within the Global North has not been realized to its full potential (Higgins, 2015, p. 55). For instance, Alkon and Mares (2012) and Clendenning et al. (2016) respectively reported the unsuccessful results of FS initiatives in low-income communities in the urban United States: farmers’ markets seeking to connect black farmers to low-income consumers and urban agriculture projects for displaced immigrants from Latin America. According to Alkon and Mares (2012), the unfavorable results of such initiatives are related to the fact that “food sovereignty would allow food activists to move beyond questions of access to a more comprehensive focus on entitlements to land, decision-making, and control over natural assets” (p. 358), which was originally central to FS. As Shawki (2015) reviewed, “FS is adapted, rearticulated, and recontextualized in the different settings in which it diffuses” (p. 768).

Although current literature has not referred to any interactions between FS and Fair Trade in the Global North, the North might need to modify their FS concept and open up new space for Fair Trade. As Alkon and Mares (2012) suggested, “a shift towards food sovereignty [in the North] necessitates a broad acknowledgement of and resistance to neoliberalism ..., eventually transforming the food system into one built on foundations of ecological production, community control, and the multiple meanings of justice” (pp. 347, 358). As Iles and Montenegro de Wit (2015) suggested, any AFM, like other social movements, is “not an extraneously existing object but is a living process” (p. 482). If

“movements, peoples, and communities are creating multiple [food] sovereignties and are exercising sovereignty in more relational ways,” we cannot deny the possibility of the list of “practical strategies for realizing food sovereignty” (p. 481) to include Fair Trade.

## **5. Emerging research directions: Hypothetical space for the Fair Trade movement**

By situating Fair Trade among AFMs and reviewing its interactions with others, new research directions emerge. Fair Trade’s potential collaborations with the local food and FS movements are summarized as research questions in Table 1, although no interaction with FS has been explored in the Global North.

From the perspective of coexisting with the local food movement, three directions emerge. First, while the local food movement organizes some distinctive communities of consumers and producers in the North, it commonly excludes some types of disadvantaged local producers. Fair Trade thus has the potential to help such disadvantaged producers left behind. Second, Fair Trade might be able to take advantage of the fragmented distribution of the local food movement in each Northern country. As long as the local food movement only creates niche markets, it is possible to open up another type of niche market in which consumers can prioritize helping disadvantaged producers in the North and South. Even within one city, some communities featuring local production are compatible with others featuring Fair Trade from the South, both demonstrating their individual values. Third, given the limited size of Fair Trade markets in the North, developing local alternative markets in the South would be a complementary way of helping small and marginal farmers in the South supported by Fair Trade. Southern producers need both domestic and export markets for their products.

On the other hand, the current FS movement that has already spread into many countries can create a new opportunity for Fair Trade to be able to contribute to making an expanded FS framework for Southern producers. However, it is difficult to predict the outcomes of Fair Trade’s potential relationship with FS in the North where “the dilution of FS goals” can even harm FS work in poorer Southern countries (Navin & Dieterle, 2018, p. 325). The weak, pluralistic FS in the North might not substantially influence the Fair Trade movement. Moreover, the rise of FS in the North could easily be associated with the Northern local food movement. FS combined with the local food movement in the North might move ethical Northern consumers from international to domestic Fair Trade, leading to Direction 1 (Table 1). Therefore, Fair Trade’s interaction with FS in the North is an unexplored and unpredictable domain.

Table 1: Potential research directions: Interaction between Fair Trade and two other AFMs

Interaction with:	Perspective from:	
	Global North	Global South
Local food movement	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How can Fair Trade help producers who are excluded from the local food movement?</li> <li>2. How do fragmented Fair Trade markets coexist in parallel with fragmented local markets?</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3. How can Fair Trade for exports complement local markets (the place for local food movements)?</li> </ol>
Food sovereignty movement	Unexplored and unpredictable	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. How can Fair Trade contribute to making an expanded FS framework?</li> </ol>

## 6. Concluding remarks

In this literature review, the coexistence of different social movements with the same goal was examined from the perspective of a particular movement. Each AFM can be influenced by other AFMs even if each is supported by separate activists. AFMs are likely to interact with each other through everyday food production and consumption. Although clarifying the meaning of each AFM in different contexts remains to be a research agenda (Epting, 2018; Schiavoni, 2017), interactions with other movements can generate new research directions. Exploring such research directions seems to be particularly important for the Fair Trade movement in linking the Global North and South.

Finally, we should regard the parallel existence of different AFMs as an opportunity rather than a problem. Concerning the local food and FS movements, Werkheiser and Noll (2014) suggested that when people participate in a movement as consumers, food is simply a product, and locality is “a useful way to improve the product,” whereas people could participate in a movement as “members of a community,” seeing food as “being co-constituted with those communities” and locality as “a necessary part of building more just communities and inter-community relationships” (p. 209). When each AFM can work toward building such communities, all movements will be able to

complement and reinforce one another.

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