

The impact of Fairtrade certification on tea pickers in small-scale tea production in Othaya



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Abstract

This study aims to understand how Fairtrade affects small-scale tea pickers delivering to Iriaini Tea Factory in Othaya in Kenya's Central Highlands. The research was based on a 10 day fieldwork where various qualitative and quantitative methods were applied. The empirical data was analysed using the small scale producer Fairtrade scheme as a framework. The analysis examines how the Fairtrade scheme affects pickers both economically and socially, by relating the Fairtrade requirements to the perceived realities of pickers. Our findings reveal a variety of discrepancies between Fairtrade's intentions and the economic and social conditions for pickers. Overall we conclude that pickers are overlooked and unacknowledged in the certification process at the local level. This is tied to the Fairtrade scheme's vague formulations, and how preexisting institutionalised local structures may be stronger institutions than these 'written rules'. This may be one of the reasons why Fairtrade does not create the intended social and economic improvements for tea pickers. The actual beneficiaries of Fairtrade are instead argued to be the tea buying companies, which complicates the credence in trickle-down-effects, and underpins Fairtrade's association to the neoliberal development agenda.

Keywords: tea pickers, Fairtrade, Kenya, small-scale tea production, third party certifications

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1. Introduction to the study

In a world economy of international trade, third party certifications seem increasingly influential. Their role is to deliver social, economic, and environmental development outcomes at the local level, often in post-colonial countries (Nadvi and Wältring 2003, Bates 2005). Scholars argue, that these certifications are letting businesses and market forces allocate development outcomes, rather than letting them be regulated by the state (Nadvi & Wältring 2003, Blowfield and Dolan 2010, Loconto 2015, Cramer et al. 2014). This enable private businesses to act as development agents, which is the reason why third party certifications are often associated with the neoliberal development paradigm (Blowfield and Dolan 2010).

Fairtrade is one of the largest third party certifications worldwide, with the intention to “*promote sustainable development and poverty reduction through fairer trade*” (Fairtrade scheme 2019). This is procured through various Fairtrade certification schemes, including schemes connected to agricultural commodities (Fairtrade scheme 2019). Even though Fairtrade initially seems promising, scholars have criticised it for being regulated exclusively by transnational markets demands, and for not being able to fulfill its ethical expectations and provide the promised development outcomes (Blowfield and Dolan 2010).

Multiple studies have put emphasis on the interlink between Fairtrade development outcomes and perceived realities for tea farmers and workers (Loconto 2015, Blowfield and Dolan 2010, Riisgaard and Okinda 2018, Cramer et al. 2014). However, little emphasis has been put on how certification schemes affect casual hired labourers, employed in small-scale tea farming (Riisgaard and Okinda 2018, Cramer et al. 2014).

Kenya is the world's largest producer of Fairtrade tea (Fairtrade Denmark. 2020). Here certified tea farmers comply with the Fairtrade standard in order to participate in international trade and to get a share of the developmental outcomes of Fairtrade (Galandzj 2017, Kagira 2012, Blowfield and Dolan 2010). Tea farming in Kenya dates back to the colonial period, and is now one of the main produced crops in the country. 60 % of the Kenyan tea is grown by small-scale farmers, mainly in the Central Highlands. Here tea pickers are the predominant type of casually hired labour.

Taking into account the lack of attention in existing literature regarding how certification schemes affects casually hired labourers, we seek to investigate the socioeconomic impacts of Fairtrade on

hired tea pickers. We do this through a case study in the area of Othaya, located in Nyeri, in the Central Highlands. The study will examine the following research questions:

How does the Fairtrade certification affect tea pickers in the small-scale tea production in Othaya?

- *How are different actors involved in the production of tea?*
- *How does Fairtrade influence the tea pickers economy?*
- *How does Fairtrade influence the tea pickers socially?*

2. Limitations

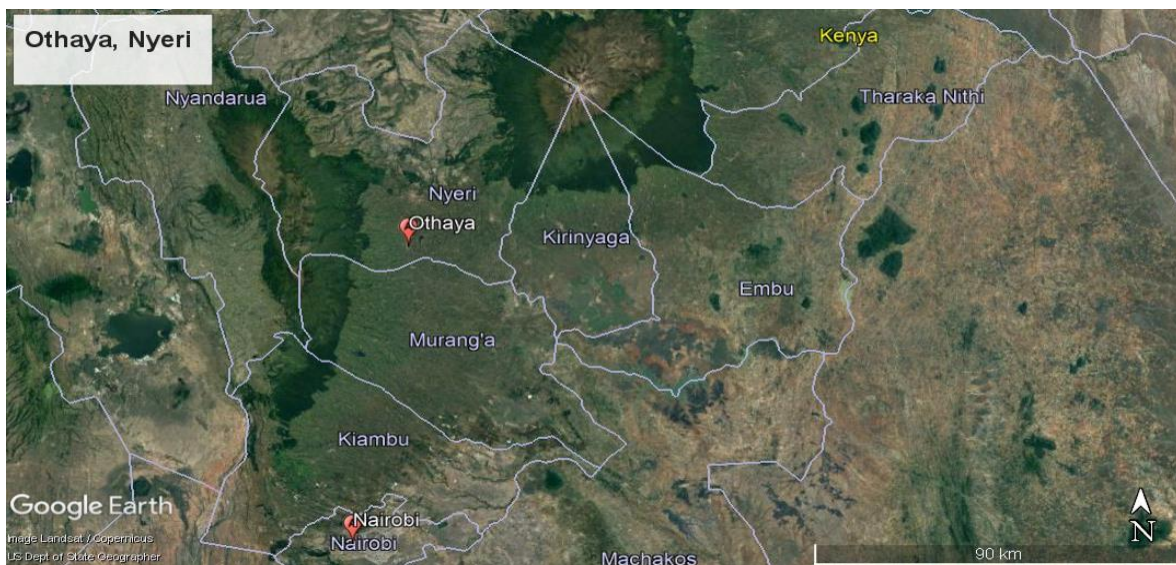
As presented in the introduction we will examine the social and economic impact the Fairtrade scheme has on pickers. While the scheme also includes environmental requirements, these were not within our scope of the study. Most of the environmental requirements are concerning certain agricultural practices, not relevant for pickers.

While SLUSE is in interdisciplinary course, we have deliberately chosen not to include natural science methods in our data collection. After consulting our supervisors we agreed our research proposal would not benefit from the inclusion of these. We argue, that our research still contains an interdisciplinary approach, since the group members represent different disciplines within social sciences.

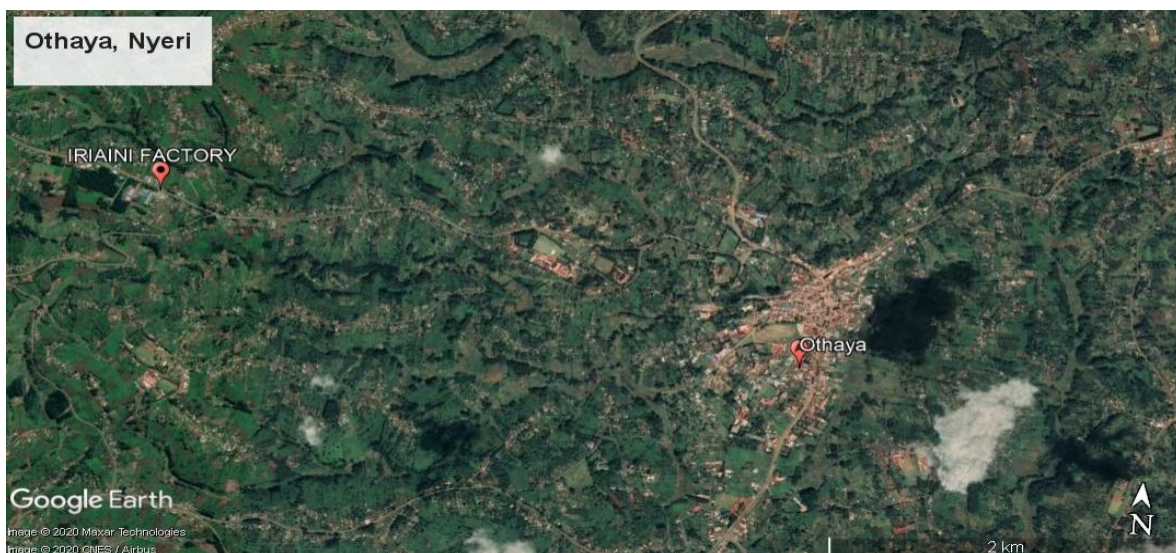
3. Context and field site description

Our study takes basis in our nine days of fieldwork carried out in the area of Othaya, Nyeri Country, in the Central Highlands. It was the British who brought tea production to Kenya under colonial rule, where they turned the Central Highlands into white settlements for tea plantations. The settlements were done there, since the area is tropical highlands, known for fertile soil. This made it ideal for growing tea (FAO 2016, Pinard 2014, Owuor et al. 2009). The white settlers had a monopoly on the rights to own the farmlands and Kenyan farmers were not allowed to grow or sell tea until after independence in 1963 (Kagira 2012). It was in this time the Kenya Tea Development Agency (KTDA) was formed by small-scale farmers. Today the KTDA manage 62 tea factories in Kenya (Kagira 2012: 78). One of these is the Iriaini Tea Factory, located near the town of Othaya.

Othaya town functions as a commercial and administrative centre for the local population. Although demographic statistics of the local population is limited, the population is in general ageing, as the younger generations migrate to urban areas in search of jobs and education. The main livelihood activity in the area is agriculture, with tea being the main industry. Tea provides jobs for thousands of farmers, pickers and workers at the Iriaini Factory (Owuor et. al 2009). The Factory is a co-operative established in 1981, and is daily buying tea from 6800 local shareholding farmers (SSI, factory manager). The Factory has been certified Fairtrade since 2006 (Fairtrade Denmark).



Map 1: Othaya, Nyeri. Source: Google Earth



Map 2: Field site, and Iriaini Factory. Othaya, Nyeri. Source: Google Earth

3.1 Fairtrade in our scope

The following will provide an overview of Fairtrade specific terms and concepts, relevant in order to understand the context of our study. This includes the Fairtrade Premium Funds and the Fairtrade Development Plan, which are concepts essential to the analysis presented later in this report.

Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International (Fairtrade 2020) is an international organisation publishing product and process standards. These types of standards are known as third party certification schemes, formulated in collaboration with a variety of public and private actors (e.g. governments, UN agencies, national and transnational companies and NGO's) (Nadvi & Waltring 2004). Fairtrade aims to promote sustainable development and poverty reduction through fairer trade. This is to support small-scale producers and workers who have generally been marginalised from the trade benefits (Fairtrade scheme 2019). There are three different Fairtrade schemes for different types of organisations. One for contract production, one for hired labour organisations, and one for small-scale producers. Iriaini Factory is as a co-operative certified by the latter, namely "Fairtrade Standard for Small-scale Producer Organizations". The factory must secure that the requirements in the standards are met by their associated farmers (Fairtrade scheme 2019).

3.1.1 The Fairtrade Premium Fund and Development Plan

In order to promote sustainable development Fairtrade has introduced the Fairtrade Premium Funds (FTP). FTP is a sum of money paid into a communal fund, each time a tea selling company uses the Fairtrade label on their products (SSI factory manager). It is important to mention that with tea, it is not mandatory to buy and use this label. This mean that not all tea produced by the Iriaini Factory is necessarily sold as Fairtrade (Fairtrade scheme 2019). The FTP are means that can be invested in the improvement of social, economic and environmental conditions in the respective communities (Fairtrade scheme 2019). The FTP is managed at the co-operative level by the Fairtrade Premium Committee (Fairtrade scheme 2019). The Fairtrade Premium Committee is situated at the Iriaini Factory, and consists of six local farmer representatives. The Committee decides on projects among proposals from farmers (SSI FTP committee member, chairman). When using the funds, it is considered best practise to prioritise resources to strengthen the organisation. This way it can effectively serve it members, workers and community (Fairtrade scheme 2019). It is required in the

Fairtrade scheme to include all activities planned to be funded with the FTP in a Fairtrade Development Plan. It is further required, that at least one of these planned activities must be to promote the progress of the business, organisation, members, workers, community and/or environment.

4. Methodology

In the following we will present our methodological approach in the field. We used an explorative mixed-methods approach to collect our data. In the following section we will present our research group, and further explain our data collection process, thoughts, and considerations.

4.1 The research group

Data for our research was collected between February 28th and March 9th, 2020. The research group consisted of five students from the University of Copenhagen and Roskilde University and two students from the University of Nairobi. During the field trip we had the local knowledge and support of two guides from the area, who also functioned as interpreter, one male and one female, as well as a local elder. In many ways, our guides acted as gatekeepers for us to access the community, as they were well versed in the local society, possessing insider knowledge and relations to farmers, pickers and the factory.



Picture 1: The research group in action

4.2 Positioning and ethical considerations

While in the field site we were always aware of the fact that our positioning would have an effect on all aspects of our work. Before arriving, we had considered the dissimilarities between us and our informants, being a group of white, European students in a post-colonial nation, as well as aspects regarding education, class, and gender. Our presence was always and immediately obvious within the field, making it difficult to conduct observations unnoticed. Being introduced to the local community helped our informants familiarise themselves with us, and helped us access some spaces otherwise closed off.

4.3 Data collected

By living with locals we gained insights in the cultural norms in the area, and we gathered informal information this way. Besides participatory observation, we conducted 49 questionnaires. With this as a basis we did 16 semi-structured interviews (SSI) with pickers, farmers and local officials. We also conducted a focus group. An overview of the gathered data can be seen in table 1.

Table 1: Overview of collected data		
Method	Respondent	Amount
Questionnaire	Pickers	49
SSI	Pickers	6
	Farmers	5
	Officials	5
Focus group	Farmers	1
Transect walk	-	1
Participatory observation	-	-

The use of the Fairtrade Standard for Small-scale Producer Organization has been essential throughout the data collection and analysis. Through the report we refer to this document as the Fairtrade scheme. This has been used as a framework for all of our data, prior to the fieldwork, when creating questionnaires and interview guides. We have used this framework as a foundation of our analysis of the empirical data following in this report.

The standard for small scale producers is divided into four main chapters: 1. General Requirements; 2. Trade; 3. Production; and 4. Business and Development (Fairtrade scheme 2019). As presented this study will examine how the Fairtrade scheme affects hired pickers, making not all four chapters equally relevant. We will focus on chapters: 3 Production, and 4. Business and Development since they cover socioeconomic aspects regarding hired labour (Fairtrade scheme 2019).

Fairtrade distinguishes between core and development requirements. The difference between them is that producers must comply with the core requirements to be certified, while development requirements are suggestions for continuous sustainable improvements. It is the core requirements which have been the foundation of our work (Fairtrade scheme 2019). The requirements relevant for our study can be seen in table 2.

Table 2: Fairtrade requirements		
Paragraf	Type	Requirement
1.1.1	Core	Accepting audits
3.3.1	Core	Informing members about the Standard
Economic aspect		
3.3.18	Core	Wages
3.3.19	Core	Production, quotas and piecework
3.3.20	Core	Regular payments in legal tender
3.3.28	Core	Workplace safety
3.3.29	Core	Restrictions on engaging in hazardous work
3.3.30	Core	First aid equipment and training

Social aspects		
3.3.1	Core	No discrimination
3.3.4	Core	No tolerance of Gender based violence and other forms of violence
3.3.13	Core	Freedom to join a workers' organization
3.3.15	Core	No discrimination against unionised workers
3.3.16	Development	Electing a workers' organization
3.3.25	Development	Maternity leave, social security and other benefits
Premium funds		
4.1.4	Core	Include all the activities funded by Fairtrade Premium in the Fairtrade Development Plan
4.1.11	Core	Responsible management of Fairtrade Premium
4.1.13	Development	Activities for workers in Fairtrade Development plan

4.4 Applied methods

4.4.1 Participant observation

By doing participant observation, it was possible to look into the non-verbal aspects of social life, and get an understanding of the pickers lives and working condition through our own interactions. Participatory observation a valuable tool, even though it is not easily measurable in numbers or statistics. As a part of our approach, we participated in tea picking ourselves. By picking tea, we got to experience a snippet of what tea picking is like; long hours in the sun, the weight of the baskets on your back, walking to the collection centre and waiting for the tea to be picked up. We got to experience tea picking in its natural setting. In this way, we were never the experts, neither culturally nor professionally. This gave us the opportunity to ask questions about the pickers' lives in a more casual setting than when doing an SSI. Furthermore, this method gave us access to potential informants.



Picture 2 and 3: Participant observation, working in the tea fields

4.4.2 Transect walk

To familiarise ourselves with the geography of the area, and to get an idea of how close and common tea farms are located, we did a transect walk. For this purpose, we used a GPS to collect and understand this different spatial data, see Figure . A transect walk is a combination of gathering area specific information as resource distribution, ecological and topographic information, while trying to understand the local participant spatial interaction, history and cultural perception of the area (Strang 2010). On the walk we stopped at four different tea farms to talk to pickers (marked as TF on figure 1). Besides this we visited two collection centres (CC on figure 1) and witnessed the truck arriving, the process of the clerk weighing the tea, and the tea being loaded onto the truck.



Map 3: Map of transect walk, including 4 tea fields (001-005 TF), 2 collection centres (006 and 009 CC) and the Iriani Factory (008 Factory), source: Google Earth

4.4.3 Questionnaire

Our 49 questionnaires were conducted verbally for the sake of time, translation, and possible illiteracy. Our questions were based on core requirements in the Fairtrade scheme and our understanding from the transect walk. We conducted five pilot tests to see if the questions were understandable. We split into four groups, each consisting of either a guide or a Kenyan student and a Dane. The questionnaires were collected in five different collection centres all delivering to Iriani Factory, selected by convenience. The respondents were selected at random, speaking to any picker available. The goal was to gather comparable data, and get insight in socioeconomic variations among pickers.

The population of pickers delivering to Iriani Factory is unknown and it is therefore difficult to estimate the size of our population for the questionnaire. Our questionnaires are not representative of all pickers, but it can however, provide an overview and some characteristics. It is important to mention, that socioeconomic circumstances are dynamic, which the questionnaire will not be able to account for. The questionnaires were processed in SPSS.

4.4.4 Semi-structured interviews

16 SSI's were conducted. SSI allows for an opportunity to combine the observed and experienced with the articulated (Hastrup et al. 2011). We conducted six interviews with pickers, five with farmers, and five with different local officials. These local officials consisted of the factory manager at Iriaini Factory, and an extension officer from Iriaini Factory, the agricultural officer in Othaya, a member of the Fairtrade premium fund committee connected to Iriaini Factory, and a chairman of a collection centre. The factory manager explained the role of the factory, and some logistics of the factory's procedures. The extension officer told us about Fairtrade training and audits. The agricultural officer was relevant because his job consists of expanding agricultural information and technology to farmers. The committee member was a farmer and a key informant regarding the use of the premium funds and the role of the committee. The chairman gave us precise information about the operation of the collection centres. These SSI's were done in order to understand the institutional systems and structure within tea production. It was possible to conduct the SSI's with the officials in English.

Prior to each SSI, an interview guide was designed. The interview guides varied with each respondent, but some question remained the same in order to triangulate, and get different actors perspectives on the same issues. The interview guides included questions and perspectives from the questionnaire. The pickers and farmers were selected at random and according to their disposition to share information. Our aim was to interview officials, pickers, and farmers who hire pickers, since these were the informants relevant for our scope.

At first, we tried conducting SSI with pickers at the collection centres. This didn't work out since the pickers were in a hurry and had to go home or back to the farms. As we did not want to deprive them of their spare time, we decided to conduct interviews in the tea fields, during work hours. After discussions with our guides, we made sure that we participated in groups, so that some were able to help with picking tea while the picker answered our questions. This way, we were able to make up for some of their lost time. We mixed some of the SSI's structure with participant observation, as it gave a better access to the picker.

Even though the focus of our research is how pickers are affected by Fairtrade, we found that some of the questions were better asked to the farmer. These were questions regarding picker's employment

conditions, how they relate to the Fairtrade scheme, and to get an understanding of the farmers point of view.

4.4.5 Focus group with farmers

We conducted a focus group consisting of six farmers. The focus group was useful because it approached the farmers shared and individual interests and opinions, by letting them discuss among themselves, rather than with us (Jeffery & Konopinski 2014). It was held at the Iriaini Factory canteen. The focus group was intended to provide us with a farmers perspective on Fairtrade premium, social sustainability, their experience with the impact of the Fairtrade scheme, their relationship to the pickers, and pickers' socioeconomic circumstances. It was conducted by our two Kenyan students and carried out in a mixture of Swahili, English and Kikuyu.

The focus group was organised entirely by the village elder. This was both an advantage and a disadvantage. It meant that we didn't have to worry about the logistics of finding farmers and interview-space, but it also meant we didn't have any say as to which types of farmer joined in. Since the elder was a local authority figure, as well as a leading farmer, we do not know how or why he made his selection, and how it influenced the participants' response.

5. Actors

This chapter will present our results to the first sub-question *How are different actors involved in the production of tea?*. The chapter is intended to provide the reader with a broader understanding of the processes at the local level, and at the same time give a characterisation of the factory, farmers, and pickers, based on our findings.

5.1 The Iriaini Tea Factory

The Iriaini Factory owns and controls 46 collection centres which all serve as collection points for the factory. The centres are divided into six zones, where factory representatives every day collect tea. At the factory, the tea leaves are dried and processed, before being sent to the tea auction in Mombasa. The Mombasa Tea Auction is the epicentre of all African tea, being the second largest auction centre of black tea in the world. 83% of the tea produced at Iriaini is sold at this auction (SSI

factory manager). At the auction house the tea is warehoused, handled, and shipped off to the respective tea buying companies (East African Trade Union, u.d). The negotiation process at the auction is predominantly driven by the buying companies, which results in relatively low prices on tea (SSI factory manager). Besides the auction, the Iriaini Factory sells 14% of their produce directly to tea buying companies, and 3% is sold locally (SSI factory manager).

The profit remaining after auction sales revenues, deducted of all operational and management costs, are distributed between the shareholder farmers as a second payment, referred to as the “bonus”. This second payment is according to the amount of delivered kilograms of tea (SSI factory manager).



Picture 4: The entrance of Iriaini Tea Factory

5.1.1 Certifications

In order for Iriaini Factory to sell their tea at the auction, the factory is certified with different standards. First, the factory is certified ISO 22000:2005 and Rainforest Alliance. These certifications are not formal requirements, but a de facto requirement for participation in the market, as they are essential demands from the buying companies.

Fairtrade is an added on certification for Iriaini Factory that the shareholders have agreed upon. By being Fairtrade certified, the factory and famers are audited once a year. Core requirement *Accepting audits* (1.1.1) requires all organisations accept both announced and unannounced audits. Each audit costs around one million KSh [USD 9,570.00] for the factory. Besides the expense of audits, the factory further pays an annual certification fee of 460.000 KSh [USD 4,402.00] to Fairtrade (SSI factory manager).

As written in core requirement *Informing members about the standard* (3.1.1) all farmers must be informed of the environmental and labour requirements in the Fairtrade scheme. Iriaini Factory offers different kinds of training for this purpose, some funded by the certifications, some by the factory and some by KTDA (SSI factory manager). There are three kinds of training: Assemblies at collection centres, farms visits, and farmer field schools. Wherein the first two include pickers, the last is only intended for farmers. It is the farmers' own responsibility to train their pickers if needed (SSI factory manager).

5.1.2 The collection centres

The collection centres are where the daily produce of leaves are gathered, and where it is picked up by the factory clerk. The 46 collection centres vary in size. Each farmer is registered at their local collection centre. Upon registration each farmer pays a registration fee, and may only deliver tea to their centre of registration (SSI chairman, FTP committee member, factory manager).

At the centre, the tea is placed for inspection in rounded piles next to one another, with the farmer or picker each responsible for their own pile. The piles are lined up for the clerk, who has to quality check each pile before it is weighted. After the leaves have been weighted, the tea pickers are handed a receipt with the amount of kilograms under the farm's registration number. This is a way for the factory and the farmer to keep track of how much tea is delivered, and for the farmers to know how much to pay their pickers.

Each collection centre has its own committee, consisting of local farmers elected democratically (SSI chairman, FTP committee member,). This committee is responsible for the maintenance and operation of the centre. This includes management of the centre's finances, which mainly consist of farmers registration fees, funds, and donations (SSI chairman). The committee furthermore functions as a mediator between the local farmers and the factory. This happens through organising meetings and informative posters (SSI chairman, FTP committee member).



Picture 5: The facade of a collection centre



Picture 6: Piles of tea



Picture 7: A receipt upon delivering tea



Picture 8: Weight measuring: 12,5kg

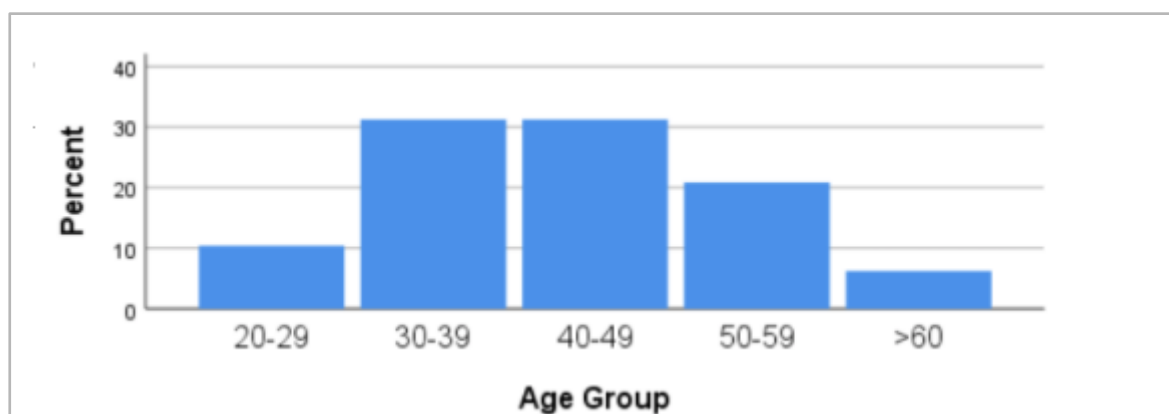
5.2 Tea farmers

The farmer is the owner of the tea field. Farmers in the Othaya area are all small-scale producers. In the field, we noticed two main types of farmers; The first type possess smaller tea plots, does not always hire pickers and often participate in farming activities themselves. The second type would not work at the farm, but rely entirely on hired workers, and would often have multiple pickers working at the same time. Of the two types of farmers we experienced the first type to be the most common. Although we encountered both male and female farmers, most interviewed farmers were men. This could be due to cultural circumstances where the man is perceived as the head of the household, and therefore the owner of the tea field.

5.3 Tea pickers

According to the Fairtrade scheme, *workers* are defined as all workers including migrant, temporary, seasonal, sub-contracted and permanent workers. Workers include all hired personnel whether they work in the field, in processing sites, or in administration. The term is restricted to personnel that can be unionised, and therefore middle and seniors officials are generally not considered workers (Fairtrade scheme 2019). Tea pickers are by all definitions workers.

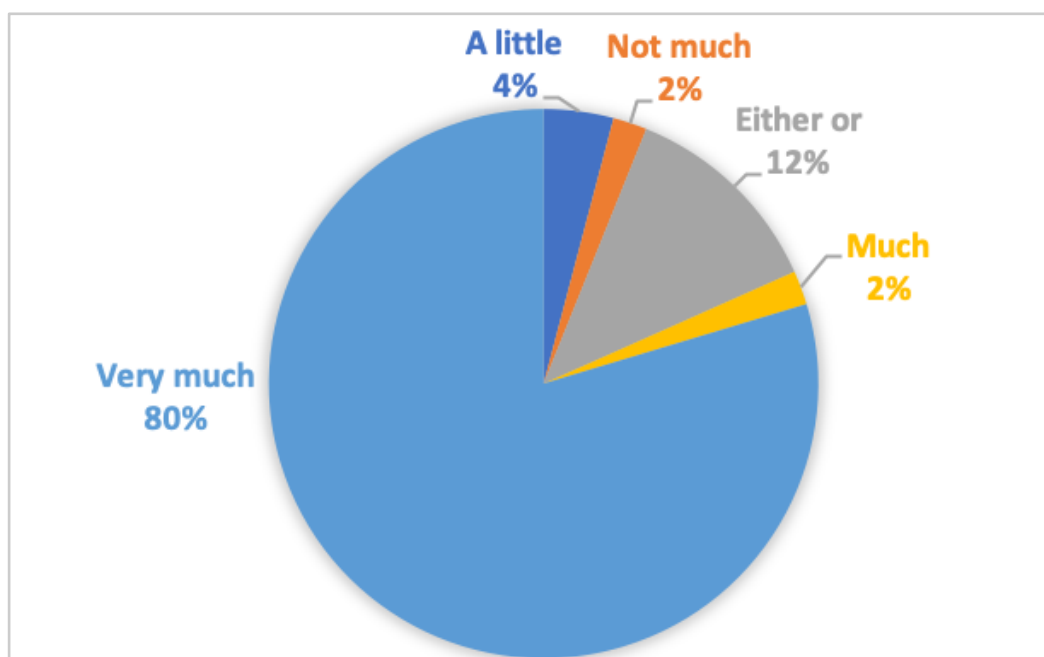
The majority of the pickers are female (89,6 %), and 57 %, of the pickers are married. The rest were either unmarried, divorced or widowed. The majority were a part of a household the size of four people, including themselves (questionnaire).



Graph 1: The age distribution of tea pickers. n=49, source: questionnaire data

Graph 1 shows the variety of the pickers age. The respondents age range from 20-85 years old. The two largest age groups being 30-39 and 40-49 years old. Moreover, 65% of the pickers are indigenous to the area (questionnaire), and have knowledge of picking from a young age (SSI picker 4, 5).

The amount of time a picker works on the same farm ranges from 2.5 weeks to 45 years and with a mode of 3 years (questionnaire). We ran a pearson-r test to check if there was a correlation between age and amount of years at the same farm. However, with a p-value of 0.10 there is no significant correlation between the two variables. Regarding the employment conditions, the pickers are all hired on a verbal agreement and the majority, 85.7 %, work as casuals labours. Most of the picking work is evaluated and required on a daily basis, so even though a picker might have worked on the same farm for months or years, the pickers are still considered to be hired daily (SSI picker 2, 4, 6, questionnaire).



Graph 2: "From a scale from 1-5, where 1 is little and 5 is very much. How much does your economy/livelihood depend on you picking tea?" n=49, source: questionnaire data

Graph 2 shows the distribution of the respondents to our question “ *How much does your economy/livelihood depend on you picking tea?*” As the graph shows, 80 % of our respondents said “very much”, which indicate that most tea pickers rely on tea picking as their main source of income (questionnaire).

The average picker picks 24.95 kilogram tea a day and is paid 10 KSh [USD 0.10] per kilogram (questionnaire), meaning the average daily wage of a picker is 249 KSh [USD 2.37]. We had the hypothesis, that older pickers were picking less per day. To get a better understanding of this we ran a Pearson-r to test for correlation between “age” and “kilogram picked per day”. This resulted in a p-value of 0.23, which means that no correlation between age and kilogram tea picked per day was found. This might have to do with our small sample of 49 people, but could also be that the pickers gain experience over the years, and are therefore not falling behind even when they age.

63 % of the pickers have heard of Fairtrade. Of these, 78 % have heard about it at the collection centres. Furthermore, 45 % have heard of the premium funds (questionnaire). However there exists an uncertainty of this data, related to working with interpreters. This will be elaborated upon in our methodological discussion, section 7.2.

6. Socioeconomic effects

In the following we will present our results to the second and third sub-questions: *How does Fairtrade influence the tea pickers economy?* and *How does Fairtrade influence the tea picker socially?* This will be done by interlinking our empirical work with the Fairtrade framework.

6.1 Economic aspects

The Fairtrade core requirements concerning workers economic conditions are described in the section *Conditions of employment* (3.3.18-3.3.20, 3.3.28-3.3.30). To understand contracts, wages, and payment for tea pickers we will present and discuss the relevant core requirements as presented in table 2. The chapter will be divided into four sections: casual labourers, payment and piecework, benefits and help, and price dynamics connecting our empirical data with the Fairtrade scheme in an analysis of how Fairtrade influence the pickers’ economy.

The requirements in this section are applicable for farmers who “*employ more than 10 workers working for more than 30 hours per week that are present for one month or more during a year*” (Fairtrade scheme 2019). Whether this is applicable for the farmers within our scope is hard to tell, since the vague formulation leaves room for interpretation. If it means there has to be 10 workers employed simultaneously at each farm, the requirements might not be relevant within our scope, since we did not meet any pickers that worked more than nine at a farm, with the average being around

four (questionnaire). However it is not clear why Fairtrade even sets such a limit in this category, since there are no limits in the other categories. We argue, that if Fairtrade aims to improve the employment conditions for all workers, it should not be important how many workers are hired. On that note, we will examine the Fairtrade scheme's employment conditions in our analysis as if it were applicable for the farmers and pickers within our scope.

6.1.1 Casual labourers

Employment conditions for workers and for work based on piecework plays an essential role in the Fairtrade scheme. The core requirement of *Regular payments in legal tender* (3.3.20) states that workers have to be paid on regularly scheduled intervals and these payments must be documented with a pay slip containing all necessary information (Fairtrade scheme 2019). All payments are required to be made in legal tender, and only if the worker is to explicitly agree may the farmer make a payment in kind. In *Production, quotas and piecework* (3.3.19) it is further stated that farmers must not use production, quotas and piecework employment as a mean to avoid time-bound contracts (Fairtrade scheme 2019).

As mentioned in section 5.3, nearly all pickers are casual workers hired through a verbal agreement (questionnaire). Most of the pickers (55.1 %) are in direct contact with the farmers, while the other half (44.9 %) finds work through friends and family. It is not only pickers searching for farms to work at, since some farmers actively look for pickers themselves (SSI farmer 4, 5). The pickers do not always know if and where there is work the following day, which could be the reason why 62 % of the pickers work regularly at more than one farm. In order to let a picker know if there is work and when, one farmer said: "*I can call on a phone or go to them [the pickers]*" (SSI farmer 2).

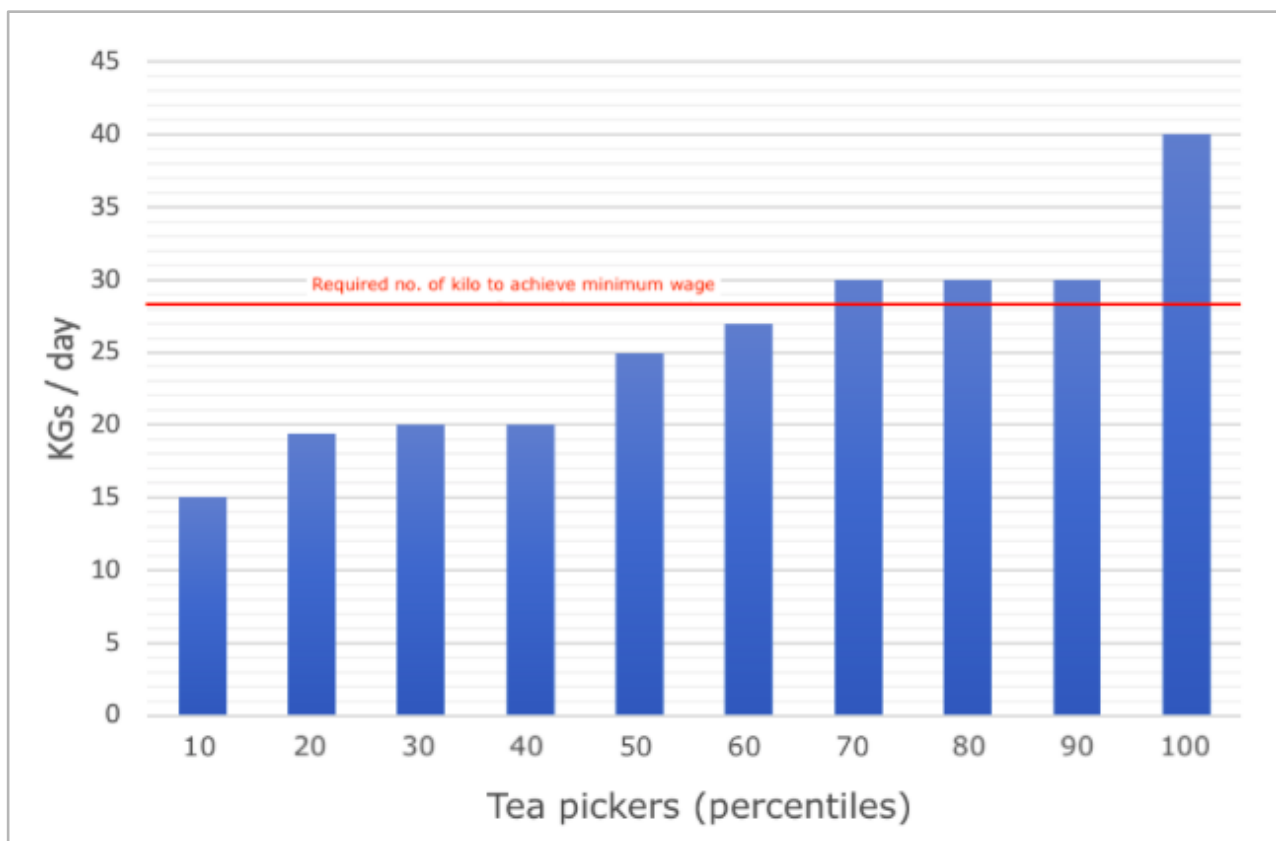
For most pickers the employment conditions vary according to the season. During low season (December, January and February) the pickers are often paid a fixed daily rate, around 200 KSh [1.91USD] because of the shortage of pick-able buds (SSI farmer 3, 5, picker 1, 5, 6). In the high season pickers are paid per kilogram, which they generally prefer, since it is easier to collect more tea and receive better payments this way (SSI picker 4, 5, 6). One farmer said: "*I prefer to pay per kilogram, as otherwise they[tea pickers] might not pick all day, but still get payment*" (SSI chairman). Whether this indicates an avoidance towards time-bound contracts through a prioritisation of payments per kilograms, as specified in *Production, quotas and piecework* (3.3.19), is open for

interpretation. However, we found that various pickers prefer being casual labourers, both due to the mentioned seasonality, and the possibility to change farm if not satisfied with the working conditions (SSI picker 3, 4). This provides a freedom and flexibility to both farmer and picker, as one farmer explains: “*They are hired on a daily basis, but always dependent on the season. This is because the tea picker works on other farms, so it gives them the flexibility.*” (SSI farmer 3). However, this might be different if the fixed rate was higher. Some pickers voiced that if the daily rate would increase, to say 250-500, they would instead prefer the security of a fixed rate (SSI picker 3,4,5,6). Concerning requirement *Regular payments in legal tender* (3.3.20), almost every picker we talked to got their payment regularly. All pickers knew what they were going to get paid, and the process was generally transparent. We are not sure if the pickers receive an official pay slip from the farmers, but the collection centre receipt for many functioned as a log of how much tea they had picked.

6.1.2 Payment and piecework

Wage and payment conditions within piecework production are reflected in the core requirement of *Wages* (3.3.18) which indicates that the salaries for hired workers should accord to regional average wages or to official minimum wages. Similarly the earlier mentioned core requirement of *Production, quotas and piecework* (3.3.19) further elaborates that the previous conditions also apply for workers hired for production, quotas and piecework. For payment based on piecework, both factory and farmer are required to make the method of calculation transparent and accessible to the worker, in converting the minimum wage into a payment on a piecework basis.

In practice this means, that pickers should be paid correspondingly to the national minimum wage. In our findings all pickers except two were paid 10 KSh/kg [USD 0.10], working in average six hours a day, six days a week. In Kenya the minimum wage for unskilled workers in agriculture is 282.9 KSh/day [USD 2.69] (Africapay.org/Kenya, 2020). With a payment of 10 KSh/kg, pickers must pick a least 28.29 kg/day in order to obtain a payment corresponding to the minimum wage. According to our data the average amount of tea picked per day is 24.95 kilogram. To get a better understanding graph 3 shows the kilogram picked per day in percentiles:

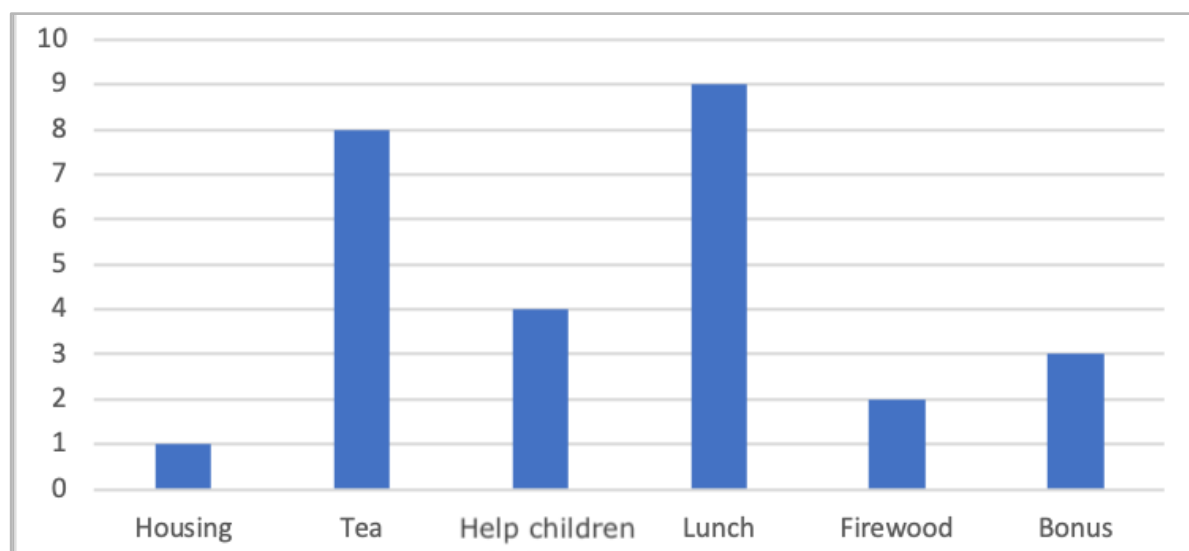


Graph 3: "How many kilograms do you pick per day?". Including the required no. of kilograms picked to achieve minimum wage = 29.29 kg/day. n=49, source: questionnaire data

The red line in the graph shows the required amount of kilogram picked per day in order to obtain the minimum wage. According to the graph the first 60 % (10-60 percentile) of all the pickers are paid less than the minimum wage. The next 30 % (70-90 percentile) only just reach the minimum wage by picking 30 kilogram, reaching a wage of 17.1 [USD 0.16] KSh higher than the minimum. The graph moreover illustrates why the average amount of tea picked per day can give a misleading understanding of the majority of the pickers wages, because the last 10 % (percentile 100) picks such a large amount, pulling up the average. If a picker is paid 200 KSh [USD 1.90] per day in the dry season, it is lower than the minimum wage, being 282.9 KSh [USD 2.69]. The payment structure indicate that the intended wage standard for hired workers in the previously mentioned requirements 3.3.20 and 3.3.19 is not generally achieved by the pickers. From our data we have found no statistical connection between the different groups (age, gender, migrant status) and amount picked per day.

6.1.3 Benefits and help

As previously mentioned requirement 3.3.20 states that all payments must be done in legal tender, which almost every picker experience. We did however observe, that some farmers provide different benefits, as seen in graph 4:



Graph 4: Benefits provided to the picker. n=49, source: questionnaire data

It was explained, that these benefits are not a part of the payment, but are given as a form of “gratitude” (SSI farmer 3, 4, 5, focus group, questionnaire). 51 % of the pickers experience some form of benefits, the common ones being tea and lunch. Some received benefits that included their children, such as money for school fees.

According to farmers, the reason they provide lunch, tea, and other benefits is to make themselves more attractive employers, to ensure the pickers will want to return (SSI farmer 4, agricultural officer, focus group). Pickers stated that benefits are something they take into consideration, when choosing a farm to work at (SSI picker 1, 3). These services therefore help create and maintain a good reciprocal relationship between the farmer and picker.

Another way for the farmers to maintain a good relationship with the pickers is to help them in case of injuries and illness. The most common injuries in the tea field is being pricked by bushes or bitten by spiders (SSI farmer 2, picker 4, questionnaire). However, 65.3 % of the pickers stated that they themselves are responsible for treatment if they get into an accident at work (questionnaire). As one

picker said *“You just move out, use some bandage, maybe you improvise and use your scarf, so you can just continue to work. When you have been paid, you go to the hospital.”* (SSI picker 5).

If a picker gets sick or injured and is unable to work it can affect their livelihood (SSI picker 3, 4, 5, 6). A picker said *“I get help paying the hospital bill by getting a small amount. It depends on the farmer. If the farmer I am working for is good hearted, but the farmers have different characters.”* (SSI picker 6). This illustrates the trust build between farmer and picker. For the picker this trust is a social security when in need (like sickness), and for the farmer it is a way of securing their own hired labourers, essential for their farming practices. This is built on mutual trust with no written contract, and indicates a moral economy between picker and farmer.

The Fairtrade scheme has core requirements regarding occupational safety and injury prevention at the workplace (3.3.28, 3.3.29, 3.3.30). Neither of these mention anything about responsibility for injuries, compensation, or paid sick leave. This puts the pickers in a vulnerable position, where they then must rely on benefits and help.

6.1.4 Price dynamics

The Fairtrade scheme does not take the dynamic nature of pricing into account in its requirements. Wage conditions of piecework change over time, and are influenced by broader economic contours. We argue that it is essential to recognise the price dynamics in the tea industry, in order to understand the payment for tea pickers. As seen above, most of the pickers don't receive the national minimum wage, and these price dynamics might help illustrate why.

When selling tea to Iriaini Factory a farmer is paid 16 KSh/kg [USD 0.15], leaving them with 6 KSh/kg [USD 0.06] after the picker has been paid. This is minus mandatory expenses on fertiliser, approximately 1.5 KSh/kg [USD 0.01] (SSI factory manager, farmer 4). This is as mentioned earlier, not the full payment the farmer receives.

ADVICE SLIP FOR JANUARY 2020		GROWER No: [REDACTED]	
NAME: [REDACTED]			
289.10 KG TEA		GROSS AMOUNT AT SHS	16.00 4,625.60
GOVT. TAX AT 0.00%	0.00	FERT SUSP. AT 1.50	433.65
C.C. CESS AT 0.00%	0.00	UNCOLLECTED	0.00
CESS AT 0.00/KG	0.00		
FERTILIZER AT 5.00/KG	0.00		
BALANCES:		TO PAY BANK 371/0320191206957:	4,191.95
FERTILIZER		0.00 FERT. SUSPENSE	1,633.05
ACCUM. WEIGHT:	1,532.50 KG		

Picture 9: A farmers monthly pay slip

There are two second payments for the farmer throughout the year, depending on the amount of tea sold to the factory. A small one in April, usually 5 KSh/kg [USD 0.05] and a larger one in October 28 KSh/kg [USD 0.27] as of 2019. With the market forces influencing the auction price of tea, these payments vary from year to year. This means that the free market has an extensive influence on the small scale farmers economy. Especially the October payment has the last few years fluctuated, as it has decreased from 45-50 KSh/kg [USD 0.43-0.48] in 2017 to the 28 KSh/kg of last year (focus group, SSI agricultural officer). This could be explained by more factories competing to sell their product: *"The last 3 years there have been too many players, pushing the price for the tea down."* (SSI agricultural officer). Because the the second payment are not standardised and keep fluctuating, it is difficult for farmers to plan around them (focusgroup).

Even with the existence of the second payment, pickers still only receive 16 KSh/kg regularly. A portion of farmers say they would like to pay the pickers more, but find it hard due to the price paid by the factory: *"KDTA should raise it[price per kilogram] to 50-75 KSh [USD 0.47-0.70] so the farmer can give more money to the labourers"* (SSI farmer 5). While this price may seem steep, it is not much different from the actual price of tea farmers receive with the regular and second payment.

It is important to mention, that not all farmers wish to pay a higher wage to the pickers. Some farmers said they feel like the pickers are exploiting them by demanding higher wages whenever the factory increases the pay rates to the farmers (SSI factory manager, agricultural officer, focus group). As mentioned, the second payment belongs to the farmer and some farmers share it with their workers. 57.1 % of the pickers get a share of the second payment (questionnaire). The amount the pickers

receive of the second payment varies. One farmer pays approximately 1000 KSh [USD 9.51], and another one 4000-5000 KSh [USD 38.06-47.57] (SSI farmer 3, 5). Some farmers don't share their second payment with their pickers, as they consider it payment for their own work (SSI farmer 1, 4, focusgroup). Our research shows that there are no common policy regarding if and to what extend the second payment is shared. This depends on the reciprocal relationship between the farmer and the picker. One farmer explained: *“There is no obligation [for sharing], but if a picker has been staying for a long time, and working well, I might pay a bit of the bonus (second payment)”* (SSI chairman). Some farmers mentioned that they share the second payment with the pickers in order to keep them working at the farm, like with the benefits mentioned above (SSI farmer 3). In this regard, sharing some of the second payment may be a mean through which the farmer can strengthen their relationship with the picker.

The structure of the second payment may play a role in why pickers often change from farm to farm, or work at two farms simultaneously, as mentioned in section 6.1.1. One picker said: *“It is good when you are moving from one farm to another, because then you can get a share of their bonus”*(SSI picker 3), while another picker states *“When a farmer don't share the bonus, that's a reason to change farm. Sometimes they [the tea pickers] work at a farm for longer because they hope for the bonus* (SSI picker 5).

The initial price of tea is decided by the factory, indicating a hierarchical relation which ultimately affect the wages of the pickers. By having the second payments instead of increasing the initial amount paid for the tea, the prices are kept artificially low. In order for the farmer to raise the picker's wages, it would require a higher price per kilogram paid to the farmer. These artificially low prices are used as the argument for why pickers shouldn't be paid more, since it appears as if they already receive around 60 % of the price paid by the factory.

6.2 Social aspects

This chapter will be divided into three analytical themes, corresponding to the relevant Fairtrade requirements, namely gender relations, unions and collective bargaining, and the FTP. Contrary to the economic aspects, the core requirements regarding social aspects are not limited to 10 workers, but are applicable for all workers employed directly or indirectly by either the certified organisation or their members.

6.2.1 Gender relations

We have decided to include the two core requirements regarding discrimination: *no discrimination* (3.3.1), *No tolerance of gender-based violence* (3.3.4) when discussing gender relations. Issues of discrimination, freedom and violence are generally difficult to measure, since they depend on the actuality of the cultural context and perceptions of the individual. However, we still experienced some clear gender roles and tendencies at stake in our field research, which we found relevant to include.

As mentioned earlier, 89.6 % of our respondents were women, and the pickers interviewed in the SSI's were all female. When we asked our informants why we only saw female pickers, one replied: *"The men don't like picking tea. They see it [picking tea] as a women's job"* (SSI picker 1). Another elaborated *"Men are advised not to pick tea because the money and conditions are so bad"* (SSI picker 4). Since the employment conditions for pickers are informal, and the pay is low compared to the workload, picking tea is therefore not seen as reliable profession. These conditions led to multiple female pickers saying, that men would rather find another job (SSI picker 1, 5). It is not possible to say whether the picking conditions are bad because it is a women's job, and women are globally undervalued, or whether it is a women's job because the conditions are bad and men have more agency to choose other work.

Since most pickers are women, it is relevant to question what they do in case of pregnancy. There is a development requirement *Maternity leave, social security and other benefits* (3.3.25) that encourages employers to set maternity leave, social security provisions and non-mandatory benefits according to national laws. However, since this is not a core requirements, none of these measures are currently at place. Therefore, when women must take time off the first 2-3 months after giving birth it is without paid leave. This forces them to rely on family and the surrounding community (SSI picker 6). 39.5 % of the women were unmarried including widows or divorcees, which might indicate that they are the main provider of the household (questionnaire). As one of the pickers said: *"Women are more responsible, because once a kid is left with a woman, the woman is so merciful towards her kid, so she cannot make it die of hunger"* (SSI picker 5). As mentioned in section 5.3, the majority (79.6%) of pickers are 'very much' dependent on tea picking. This dependency on tea picking is especially hard if the picker is in a vulnerable situation, like pregnancy or illness. In order to see if there is any correlation between female pickers relying on picking and their marital status, we ran a chi² test. The hypothesis was, that women are more dependent on tea if they are not married. Our

P-value is 0,79, which means we cannot conclude on a correlation between the two variables. This might again be related to the relatively small sample.

Whether or not these gender aspect are interlinked with gender based discrimination is hard to say. We didn't find any farmers directly excluding pickers based on gender, but this might be because it is more or less only women who apply for the job. These issues of *no discrimination* (3.3.1) and *No tolerance of gender-based violence* (3.3.4) exceed the resources and time available for this fieldwork. Our research is therefore not adequate to explain or conclude if, and to what extent people experience discrimination.

6.2.2 Unions and informal collective bargaining

Fairtrade aims to promote freedom of association and collective bargaining for all workers. This is in order to “*protect workers against discrimination when defending their rights to organize and negotiate collectively*” (Fairtrade scheme 2019). This is reflected in the core requirements: *Freedom to join a workers’ organisation* (3.3.13) and *No discrimination against unionised workers* (3.3.15). According to paragraph 3.3.13 it is the responsibility of the certified organisation and their members, to ensure that all workers are “*free to join a workers’ organisation of their own choosing, and that workers are free to participate in group negotiations regarding their working conditions*”. It is only a development requirement to actively encourage the formation of a union in *Electing a workers organisation* (3.3.16) (Fairtrade scheme 2019).

Such organisations do not seem to exist in Othaya. Almost all pickers we asked had never heard of any existing union or communal association for pickers, and were therefore not a part of any (questionnaire). This was corroborated by farmers, the agricultural officer, the factory manager and the pickers themselves (SSI farmer 1,2,3,4,5, chairman, agricultural officer, factory manager, picker 1,2,3,4,5). Only one picker we talked to had heard of efforts to create a union. She claimed that it was stopped by KTDA and the factory before it ever began (SSI picker 4). The agricultural officer said “*the government has tried to get involved in the hiring process of workers, in order to form an association for tea pickers. This failed because of the informality context in the area*” (SSI agricultural officer).

When we introduced the idea of a pickers union many of the pickers expressed interest. They said they would like a formalised union, in order to face collective challenges, obtain rights, share ideas,

and get financial support (SSI picker 1, 3, 6). As a possible effect of the absence of a formalised union, the pickers entirely depend on their social relations. Our questionnaire revealed that 85.7 % of the pickers meet with other pickers after work. Out of these 76,9 % discuss issues regarding payment and job opportunities. These informal social relations could be perceived as a form of collective resistance in the absence of a formal union, as a way to cope with the existing conditions.

Another plausible way the pickers cope with these conditions is to form and be part of different groups in the community. There are different types of groups, but common ones are welfare groups and money lending groups. Money lending groups function as a small-scale banking system, where members are able to borrow money for different purposes, such as school fees (SSI picker 1, 3). In the welfare groups the members help each other in ways that are non financial, by providing essentials if someone is in need (SSI picker 4).

Regarding requirements 3.3.13 and 3.3.15 we have no way of verifying whether or not there have been actual efforts to create a workers union for tea picker in the area, or if any such efforts have been shot down by the factory or KTDA. Our data is too sporadic and we did not thoroughly follow up on any of these claims. There might be some truths to some of it, mainly that it can be difficult to organise when the hiring conditions are so informal. This shows the importance of the local context, and how difficult it is to implement universal guidelines, regardless of the intentions. Since the pickers are interested in a workers' union, and are already discussing working conditions with their colleagues, as well as organising socially (as within the different communal groups) an official workers union should be plausible.

6.2.3 Premium funds

A tool through which Fairtrade seeks to promote sustainable development is the Premium Funds (FTP). The FTP is part of the business and development requirements, which intends to “*lay the foundations for empowerment*” and ensure that a variety of actors are benefitting from Fairtrade (Fairtrade scheme 2019). This is elaborated upon by the core requirement *Responsible management of Fairtrade premium* (4.1.11) that interdicts favouritism or fraud in the management of the fund. As well as core requirements for managing the fund, the development requirement *Activities for workers in Fairtrade Development plan* (4.1.13) encourages the certified unit to “*ensure that workers also*

benefit from the Fairtrade Premium through at least one activity in the Fairtrade Development Plan” (Fairtrade scheme 2019).

As mentioned in section 3.1.1, the FTP is accessed by farmers through project proposals. Previous projects funded by the FTP have been renovations and extensions of the collection centres; increasing their capacity, and providing them with water and toilet facilities (SSI FTP committee member). The Premium Committee has also funded what they call “common projects” such as buying a van to distribute the tea locally (SSI chairman). When asked why it is only farmers who can make proposals, our informant on the committee said: *“the funds are made to promote the farmers”* and explained that the funds should therefore accommodate farmers primarily (SSI FTP committee member). The projects funded by the FTP are therefore not intended for the pickers. The same is corroborated by the manager of the Iriaini Factory who said: *“The Premium Funds are not for the tea pickers as they are not shareholders in the factory. They don’t own land”*. This is also reflected in the factory’s Fairtrade Development Plan, where pickers are not included either (SSI FTP committee member).

This exclusion is not unnoticed by the pickers. One picker, who had heard how Fairtrade contributed to the extension of her local collection centre noted: *“(…) but as I do not have my own farm and my own tea, I don’t see the need to know more. It is only for those people who have tea farms.”* (SSI picker 2).

This doesn’t necessarily collide with the core requirements in the scheme, since it is required that the projects are chosen by the committee, and the committee solely consists of farmers. Even though the process of electing committee members is democratic decision, it can be argued that the pickers are directly excluded from the committee by these processes, and through this indirectly excluded from FTP. That doesn’t mean the funds will never include projects that affects pickers, *“The pickers can be affected by the proposals made by the farmers. They cannot make proposals themselves”* (SSI FTP committee member), but since it is only farmers who are able to make proposals, the projects usually align within the farmers interests. Whether this is an indicator of favouritism in the management of the FTP is arguable, however it illuminates why few of our respondent pickers were aware of the FTP, and how even fewer were able to explain and elaborate further what it meant. This way, the farmers function as gatekeepers for the pickers, who can only hope to be subjects to spillover effects. It is important to mention here, that none of our respondents seemed to consider this as an issue. It may just be a discrepancy between the Fairtrade intention, and the practiced reality in the local context of tea production.

7. Discussion

7.1 Summary of analysis

In the following we will sum up our findings and afterwards discuss our methodology. Finally we will discuss how the Fairtrade scheme affects pickers in the Othaya area.

7.1.1 How does the Fairtrade scheme influence the tea pickers economy?

We found three important economic aspects in our data. First, tea pickers are casual labourers, hired on a daily basis through verbal agreements. Whether these informal employment structures indicate a structural avoidance towards time-bound contract, as prohibited in the Fairtrade requirement 3.3.19, is open for interpretation. However most pickers prefer being hired casually due to freedom and flexibility, even though most of them rely on tea picking for a living.

The second aspect relates to payment and piecework. The majority of the pickers don't get paid the official minimum wage as required in the Fairtrade scheme 3.3.18 and 3.3.19. However, there exist a practice of farmers providing them with benefits, such as help in case of sickness and injuries or a share of the second payment. This can be interpreted as a moral economy, existing beyond any juridical or Fairtrade requirement.

The third aspect is related to the price dynamics. Some aspects of the picker's employment conditions are indirectly affected by the decision making and interactions among farmer and factory. Especially concerning payment, as the structure of price paid per kilograms and second payments to some extent is decided by the factory, but also affected by structure of the international market. These pricing dynamics are not taken into consideration in the Fairtrade core requirements, leaving the picker with a pay below the Kenyan minimum wage.

7.1.2 How does the Fairtrade scheme influence the pickers socially?

When examining the social aspects in the Fairtrade scheme we saw some dissimilarities between the Fairtrade scheme's intentions and the actual reality. These are reflected in three aspects: discrimination, associations and collective bargaining, and premium funds.

Tea picking is considered a women's job. However, it has not been possible within the resources of this study to determine whether this is due to a cultural context, or if it is related to what Fairtrade calls gender based discrimination in requirements 3.3.1 and 3.3.4. Furthermore it was found that there is no core requirement concerning social security for the pickers. In case of sickness or pregnancy where pickers cannot work it was found that the picker is dependent on their relationship to the farmer and help from the community.

Fairtrade aims to protect hired workers, and promote freedom of association and collective bargaining through requirements 3.3.13 and 3.3.15. Nevertheless there are no formal union for pickers in the local context. The pickers would like to form a union, in order to share ideas and act collectively. In cases where a picker cannot support themselves, the community plays a significant role in form of informal organising and support.

Last is the aspect of the Fairtrade Premium Funds. Even though these funds are intended for both farmers, hired workers, and the community, they are in practice managed solely to promote farmers interests.

Overall, the main finding may be condensed as the following: The pickers are overlooked as targets of the Fairtrade tea certification in Othaya, indicating that the intended improvements for hired labourers isn't the outcome at the local level.

7.2 Methodological discussion

7.2.1 Creating questionnaires

After analysing our data, we found some weaknesses in our questionnaire. First of all, we could have applied more background information such as education level, number of children, and if they are the main provider for the household, to elaborate on correlations. Instead we asked questions about their marital status and the number of people in their household, which don't tell us the same. Since our questionnaires were based on core requirements in the Fairtrade scheme, we found it hard to formulate the questions without making them into a checklist. An example was "*Are there any common injuries occurring at your workplace? If yes, which:*", which didn't give us an answer to whether the workplace was corresponding to the safety requirements. Another problem was the scaled questions

such as “*From a scale from 1-5, where 1 is a little and 5 is a lot, how much does your economy/livelihood depend on you picking tea?*”. We found that the interpreter had a hard time explaining this question, maybe because they and the respondents didn't understand the need to measure on a scale. This might have to do with cultural differences. Another example where the cultural context was not taken into account was in the question: “*Are you hired on a daily, weekly or monthly basis or something else?*”. This reflected that we didn't fully understand the casualty of the labour culture, which might have led to misinterpretations.

7.2.2 Using interpreters

There have been a variety of issues related to working with interpreters, presumably has affected our data. One issue when conducting questionnaires and SSI's was regarding consent to participate. Informed consent was a critical aspect of our methods but it appeared that our guides at times had to convince or persuade pickers to participate in interviews. This might have affected our data, because we ‘forced’ an interview or questionnaire on people, who didn't actually want to participate. This can have led to some informants giving us the information they thought we were after, in order to ease the situation or “please” us. An example was when we asked a picker whether Fairtrade had improved her working conditions, and she immediately replied “yes”. When our interpreter explained that our research group was not associated with Fairtrade, our informant then changed her reply to “no”. This shows that the answers to some extent can depend on the positionality of the interviewer. This relates to our ethical considerations of our position as white educated Europeans.

When initially asked, most pickers had never heard of Fairtrade, or the FTP, but when explained by our interpreters, many changed their answers. At times this became an issue, as one of our interpreters would explain the concepts while conducting the questionnaires. This has affected our data of pickers immediate knowledge of Fairtrade, since the interpreters would tell us “*essentially a yes*”. This may explain the high percentages of respondents knowing Fairtrade and FTP, even though none of our respondents could further elaborate.

Another challenges using interpreters was that the ‘unsaid’ often was left out ‘untranslated’. As we did not know the cultural setting nor the language, our understanding of situations was therefore dependent on instincts and imagination, affecting the interpretation of our data. Relying on a translation of words through an interpreter inhibited our own understanding of irony, exaggeration, understatement ect., and has therefore in many aspects affected the collected data.

7.2.3 Sensitivity

We were always aware that our presence affected our informants behavior and replies. Especially regarding sensitive questions. This was the case with questions about gender relations, such as “Why is it mostly women picking tea?”. Here there was a difference between using our female and our male interpreter. Interview settings with female tea pickers were in general more eased and relaxed when using our female interpreter.

Another aspect in which sensitivity played in, was researching wages and employment conditions. This subject was sensitive enough be denied access to certain spaces and information. The factory appeared nervous to have us around, and we were not allowed to record our interview. They were also not willing to put us in contact with the fairtrade auditor visiting the same week. We were informed this was to protect confidential information. This has been a limitation to accessible data regarding the actual socioeconomic effects Fairtrade has on pickers, which may have affected the validity of our overall findings. Another important consideration, which relates to our interviews with pickers, is the plausibility that misinformation have been given. Due to the sensitivity of the subject of employment conditions, the pickers could for instance feared sanctions from the farmer if they express discontent regarding their payment or conditions. Although we had limited access to data, it can be argued to shed light on the vulnerable positioning of pickers, as casually hired labourers.

In the former we have presented how our methodological work might have been influenced our data collection and thereby the results of our findings as presented in the first section in this chapter. Now we will turn our attention towards why the Fairtrade scheme doesn’t deliver the intended development outcomes for hired labourers, such as tea pickers

7.3 How does the Fairtrade certification affect tea pickers in the small-scale tea production in Othaya?

Fairtrade intends to improve local conditions for both farmers and hired labourers involved in production processes. However, since pickers are overlooked and unacknowledged in the certification process, improved conditions is not an outcome of Fairtrade certification for pickers in Othaya. Similarly, Cramer et al.’s (2014) found no evidence of Fairtrade creating a positive change in wages and working conditions for workers in their study on hired labour and Fairtrade certification in smallholder and large-scale tea farms in Uganda. Instead they conclude that “*Fairtrade certification*

has failed to benefit poor wage workers because it has overlooked their existence, because it has proven institutionally incapable of monitoring effectively the wages and conditions of those working in production conditions” (Cramer et al. 2014). But why is this?

One of our essential findings is that pickers prefer to be casually hired labourers, due to the freedom and flexibility it provides them. This reality differs from Fairtrade’s intentions of time-bound contracts. The requirements regarding employment conditions are created with the intention of providing good practices for hired labourers’ employment conditions (Fairtrade scheme 2019). Since these requirements are created in universal terms of ‘good practices’, they don’t align with the preferred local practices. This shows a discrepancy between the Fairtrade scheme and the local reality, and questions the relevance of having contract-specific requirements for pickers. One could argue, that this exemplifies how local contexts may be completely different from the universally formulated values written into the scheme. Similar conclusions are reached by Blowfield and Dolan (2010) in their case study of Fairtrade tea in Kenya. They named these universally formulated values, ‘ethical postulates’ and point to the *“significant differences that can lie between what an ethical driven initiative seek to achieve, and its benefit to the community”* (Blowfield and Dolan 2010).

Similar, our findings reveal discrepancies beyond employment conditions. As mentioned earlier there exist a moral economy between the pickers and the farmers. This reciprocal relationship is also noticed in other studies. Stathers and Gathuthi (2013) look into the poverty impact of Rainforest Alliance and Fairtrade certifications among small-scale tea producers in Kenya. They state: *“These pluckers [pickers] felt that they are the poorest members of the community as they rely upon their plucking income and do not earn an annual bonus like the tea farmers. Some of their employers pay them when they are sick and help them with loans* (Stathers and Gathuthi 2013). These findings are similar to ours, and reflects what we refer to as the moral economy. One might argue, that this moral economy is a consequence of the very same local conditions which Fairtrade aims to improve.

Two things to note about the moral economy is that it happens on an individual level, and is based on mutual dependency. As mentioned earlier there exists some requirements on freedom of association and collective bargaining in the Fairtrade scheme. Here Fairtrade aims to endorse collective mobilisation and formalised union of hired workers. As the pickers bargain individually in Othaya, rather than through a formalised union, the local and social structures seem to differ from what is intended in the Fairtrade scheme. The findings of Riisgaard and Okinda (2018) sustain this claim, as they argue that hired labourers in Central Kenya have a bargaining power, despite the lack

of collective organisation (Riisgaard and Okinda 2018). Rather than explicit negotiation we saw bargaining powers as social unwritten rules through ongoing interactions between farmers and pickers.

So how come the casual labour agreements and moral economy structures dominate at the local level, rather than the development intentions of Fairtrade? It is important to remember, that these structures are deeply institutionalised in the daily lives of locals, and have existed long before Iriaini Factory got Fairtrade certified in 2006. According to Loconto's (2015) research on the Tanzanian tea industry, the local interests appear to 'overrule' the written Fairtrade requirements: *"local institutions and interests are stronger than 'rules' written into standards, and the differences that we see in the practice of complying with standards is not as much about locally appropriating standards"* (Loconto 2015). In our local context, the casual labour agreements and the moral economy may be stronger social institutions, than what is written in the Fairtrade requirements.

The lack of understanding and incorporation of Fairtrade at the local level can be understood further when looking into the formulation of the Fairtrade scheme. In the scheme small-scale producers are defined as *"farmers who are not structurally dependent on permanent hired labour and who manage their production activity mainly with family workforce"* (Fairtrade scheme 2019). Despite this, almost every small-scale farmer hires pickers on a continuous basis, which leaves us wondering: What does it mean to be structurally dependent on hired labour? Because the Fairtrade scheme does not define structural dependency it leaves room for interpretation. This might be another reason why Fairtrade is not affecting the pickers as intended: The vague formulation allows the certified Iriaini Factory to interpret on the formulations of the Fairtrade requirements, and for whom they are intended. This may be the reason why farmers, factory and even pickers don't acknowledge Fairtrade as being for the pickers. It furthermore questions the distinguishment between core and development requirements for hired labourers, as none of them are put to practice for pickers. This sustains Loconto's (2015) claim, that local interests are influential in the practice of complying with certification schemes as Fairtrade.

7.3.1 The actual beneficiaries of Fairtrade

Because Fairtrade does not deliver the intended development outcomes to hired pickers raises an important question: Who are the actual beneficiaries of Fairtrade?

Blowfield and Dolan (2010) states, that there exists a poverty-business conundrum regarding who benefits from the Fairtrade certification. They argue that there are "*problems in identifying and realizing benefits that are recognisable to the intended beneficiaries.*" (Blowfield and Dolan 2010). This is also the case in our analysis, which stresses the credence of trickle-down-effects, and raises the question of whether the Fairtrade certification is a business case or a poverty case: Do tea buying companies benefit more from the Fairtrade certification and from engaging in poverty reduction, than the casually hired pickers?

To discuss this, we take departure in the reasons behind the Iriaini Factory's certification. The Iriaini Factory got Fairtrade certified in hopes of a higher market value on their tea, and thereby an economic development for their shareholding farmers. Furthermore they were certified in the hopes of development through the Fairtrade Premium Funds. The Fairtrade certification was in other words a means to promote economic and social development for the farmers.

Blowfield and Dolan (2010) state that "*the contemporary practice of positioning business as a development agent (including Fairtrade) is situated within the dominant neo-liberal development paradigm*". Fairtrade is associated with the neo-liberal paradigm, as it operates as a market-based governance mechanism, instead of relying on state regulations. The question is whether this is unique to Fairtrade, or a broader tendency associated with third party certifications. The implementation of standards and third party certifications, has resulted in less trade barriers and in the prioritization of independent private auditing (Nadvi & Wältring 2004). The standardisation and demise of trade barriers, is argued to make it easier for local small-scale producers to access global markets (Nadvi & Wältring 2004). On the other hand, for businesses such as tea buying companies, this means fewer regulations to cope with. Standards like Fairtrade reduce their transaction costs, as complex information is standardised and codified with universal guidelines for both product and process (Nadvi & Wältring 2004). These circumstances sustain tea buying companies as powerful and demanding actors, controlling the market and pushing prices down. In the light of this discussion, one can argue that the true winners of the certification process are the tea buying companies. They benefit from the circumstances facilitated by the Fairtrade certification, while it is even optional for them whether or not to buy the Fairtrade label, and thereby whether or not to contribute to the Premium Funds. This complicates the local conditions for tea farmers, and thereby their hired pickers, which ultimately stresses the neo-liberal credence of trickle-down-effects.

8. Conclusion

This study was based on fieldwork conducted in the Othaya area, Nyeri County in Kenya. By focusing on the socioeconomic aspects of Fairtrade, the study aimed to answer the research question: *How does the Fairtrade certification affect tea pickers in the small-scale tea production in Othaya?* The study found three main actors in the local tea production: Iriaini Factory, the tea farmers and the tea pickers. Iriaini Factory is certified according to the scheme “Fairtrade Standard for Small-scale Producer Organizations”. This scheme has been used as a framework for the study.

The analysis examined how the Fairtrade scheme affects pickers both economically and socially, by relating the Fairtrade requirements to the perceived realities of pickers. Our findings reveal a variety of discrepancies between Fairtrade’s intentions and the economic and social conditions for pickers. Of economic aspects, we found that pickers are casually hired labourers paid per kilogram. The structure of the price per kilogram is decided by the certified factory and influenced by the international market. However the majority are paid below the minimum wage, which contradicts the intentions of Fairtrade. To cope with the poor local conditions, there exist a moral economy between farmers and pickers, based on help and benefits.

Of social aspects, our findings reveal, that tea picking is considered a woman's job. Our study cannot conclude whether this is due to the cultural context, or tied to gender-based discrimination, which is not tolerated by Fairtrade. Furthermore, we found that no formal unions or associations exist for pickers in Othaya, as tea pickers bargain individually. Regarding the FTP, these are not intended for pickers, as the Fairtrade certification of the Factory is locally considered to be solely for farmers. Overall it can be concluded that since pickers are overlooked and unacknowledged in the certification process at the local level, improved conditions is not an outcome of Fairtrade certification for pickers in Othaya.

After discussing why Fairtrade is not affecting the pickers to the extent intended, it was clear that preexisting institutionalised structures have an impact. The casual employment arrangements, and the moral economy, may be stronger institutions than ‘the written rules’ of the Fairtrade scheme, as these structures are institutionalised in the norms and daily lives of farmers and pickers. They might therefore be difficult for the Fairtrade scheme to change. This may be one of the reasons why Fairtrade

does not create the intended social and economic improvements for tea pickers. The actual beneficiaries of Fairtrade were instead found to be the tea buying companies, which complicates the credence in trickle-down-effects, and underpins Fairtrade's association to the neoliberal development agenda.

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Appendices

Appendix 1	Synopsis with Data matrix
Appendix 2	Overview of applied methods
Appendix 3	Questionnaire guide
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Appendix 7	Statistics

SYNOPSIS

The impact of Fairtrade certification on smallholder tea farmers and workers in Othaya



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INTRODUCTION

As a postcolonial nation, Kenya is considered a developing country. Even though there are no clear official definitions, developing countries most often rely on agriculture as their main sector, Kenya being no exception (Bates 2005: 2). Agriculture constitutes 24 % of the GDP in Kenya's economy, and 75 % of the population rely directly or indirectly on agriculture for a living (Kagira 2012: 75). Tea is one of the main produced crops in Kenya, with 60 % of the tea being produced by small-scale farmers through the Kenya Tea Development Authorities (KTDA)(Kenya information guide). Kenya is furthermore the world's largest producer of Fairtrade tea (Galandzj 2017, Kagira 2012: 84).

Fairtrade is an organization, whose goal is to “*promote sustainable development and poverty reduction through fairer trade*” (Rodríguez 2019: 3). This is procured through Fairtrade certification schemes for companies, farmers and workers. In order to be certified, products and processes have to comply with certain standards and criteria in these schemes. According to the Fairtrade scheme, these criteria are a way to ensure that products are produced and traded in a sustainable way. The sustainable criteria are divided into three main categories; social, economical and environmental (Fairtrade.org).

KTDA manages 62 tea factories in Kenya. One of them is the Iriaini factory located in Othaya, in the Nyeri county (Kagira 2012: 78). The Irinia factory is certified by Fairtrade in order to participate in the global market. This means that the small-scale tea farmers in this area must comply with the Fairtrade scheme in order to sell their tea to the factory and get a share of the developmental outcomes of Fairtrade (Kagira 2012: 84). Even though this initially sounds promising, some scholars have criticized Fairtrade and other similar certifications for being regulated exclusively by the transnational markets demands (Blowfield and Dolan 2010: 144). Blowfield and Dolan (2010) further argue, that these certifications enable private businesses to act as development agents, letting market forces allocate development outcomes rather than being regulated by the state. Furthermore Blowfield and Dolan have illustrated the complexity in identifying the relation between ethical developmental expectations and the actual beneficial outcomes of Fairtrade in the Kenyan tea industry (Blowfield and Dolan 2010: 143).

We are interested in these ideas and dynamics as well. Most of the conducted research on the subject has been directed with a sole focus on farmers, and farmer-factory dynamics and relations even though many farmers hire workers to lessen their own workload on the tea farms. We argue, that the way the Fairtrade scheme affects these workers, have not previously been a part of studies, and are therefore a missing actor in previously conducted research. By overlooking hired workers in these reports, it is not possible to know how far Fairtrade extends, and if the sustainable benefits reaches the workers at the ‘lowest’ level of the hierarki. Therefore our focus will be on workers, as well as farmers.

We want to explore and investigate Fairtrade's impact on sustainable development on small-scale farmers and workers in and around the factory in Othaya. To understand the developmental outcomes of Fairtrade in economic, social and environmental terms, we want to examine the following research question:

How does the Fairtrade certification affect smallholder farmers and workers in the tea production in Othaya?

In order to answer this question, we will examine the following sub-questions:

- *How are different actors involved in the production of tea?*
- *How are aspects regarding social sustainability, as articulated in the Fairtrade scheme, experienced in the daily lives of farmers and workers?*
- *How does the Fairtrade scheme influence the farmers and workers economy?*
- *How are farmers and workers coping with the environmental core requirements in the Fairtrade scheme?*
- *Who are the winners and losers of the certification process?*

METHODOLOGY

In order to approach our research question we will include both quantitative and qualitative social science methods. Ensuring that one method is balanced by the strengths of the others, is crucial to gain an in-depth understanding of our field. We are aware that much can change when we start doing the fieldwork and this can affect all our methods and how they are carried out in reality.

In the process of examining the research question we will not include any natural science methods. After consulting our supervisors we argue, that our research proposal would not benefit from the inclusion of these. To force natural science methods upon our research, could result in the risk of spending inadequate time and resources in the field. We argue, that our research still contain interdisciplinary approaches, since the group members represent different disciplines within social sciences.

Participatory observation

Participatory observation has been used as a methodological foundation for a lot of social science research (Reyes-García and Sunderlin 2011: 17) (Spradley 1980: 58). It's a tool to

explore unspoken social rules and structures in society, and a way to get an understanding of the cultural and environmental settings of the field. This is useful for us as cultural “outsiders” (ibid.).

As we are interested in how the Fairtrade scheme affect the daily lives and practices of farmers and workers, participatory observation will be a valuable tool. We will be using the participatory observation to examine tea production in its natural setting. We will do participation in tea fields following farmers and hired workers, to understand how it is to work with small-scale tea farming. We strive both observe and participate in activities to the extent possible. This way farmers and workers can show us ‘by doing’, which may provide us with insights in how both social, economic and environmental processes are perceived and experienced. This intend is to make the research setting comfortable, since they are located in their natural settings and therefore be the experts in their own field. Because we are staying with tea farmers and being in the community all the time, we will constantly being observing, since we will be embedded in the field. The GPS can be used for tracking the routes and distances of both farmers and workers, and thereby get an understanding of their daily routines.

Semi-structured interview

According to Casley and Kumar (1988), semi-structured interviews leaves room for the researcher to ask follow-up-questions, while still making sure some prepared basic questions are answered. By using an interview guide it is possible to cover the topics of interest and still be able to ask further.

Semi-structured interviews will be used in to enlighten all our sub-question (see data matrix, appendix 1). We will therefore conduct semi-structured interviews with multiple actors. We have identified important respondents such as farmers, hired workers, KTDA representatives, the agricultural officer, a Fairtrade representative, factory managers and -workers. It is the intention that these informants are able to introduce us further into the social space, in order to gain new informants and access in an otherwise foreign field. This method is also known as snowball-sampling (ibid.:44).

The interview guide will be structured in order to cover each of our sub-questions (see data matrix, appendix 1). Thus we are interviewing multiple actors we will use multiple interview guides. By speaking to multiple actors it will be relevant to include some of the same questions in the different interviews. This way we can compare data, and illuminate our sub questions from different angles and perspectives.

On the fieldsite during our fieldwork we will be using an interpreter. A potential limitation to interviews through interpreters is the internal communication, where it is important to be on the same page, regarding the understanding of the questions and purpose of the interviews. Another limitation is that we do not speak Kikuyu, and we will be relying on our interpreters.

Questionnaire

We will use the questionnaire to get an overview of simple and quantifiable details, e.g. field size, number of household members, yearly produce, revenues, expenses, the amount of hired workers employed etc. The sample unit is at least 30 random chosen tea farmers within the research area.

The questionnaire is purposeful to gather comparable data, and thereby provide insight in socioeconomic variations among tea farmers in Othaya. A priori to the gathering of data, the questionnaire will be translated by the use of interpreters, as well as tested by a test population. This is in order to assure ourselves, that the questionnaire is formulated in an understandable way within the local context. It will therefore be subject to modifications during the fieldwork period. A process that we will log. It is important to mention, that both socioeconomic and environmental circumstances are dynamic, which the questionnaire survey will not be able to account for. It will only provide a static picture, bound to the specific place and time of our research. In conducting the questionnaire survey we will use GPS to get a spatial overview of respondents, and their distribution in the field site.

Focus groups

As part of our qualitative data collection, we wish to conduct a focus group interview. Focus groups are useful in approaching different groups' shared and individual interests and opinions to a given subject (Jeffery & Konopinski 2014:26). A space is created within the focus group where things or issues that can be taken for granted can be elaborated upon and

discussed. An important aspect of a focus group is to consider the distribution of participants. One method is to create the group based on ethnicity, gender, occupation etc. In this way, the aim is to create a consensus of ideas from that specific group. Another way is to accept whoever appears available within the context, and then see how members of different groups interact with one another (Jeffery & Konopinski 2014:26).

We plan to do a focus group with both tea farmers and workers to get a better understanding of their perceptions on social sustainability and how they experience the impact of the Fairtrade scheme. We are aware that our plans regarding the focus group can change when being in the field. If we discover a certain problem or issue that can be difficult to access information about, we can use a focus group to get a new perspective.

Participatory mapping

Participatory mapping refers to the inclusion of locals and their knowledge and perceptions in drawing maps. It can be used for a better spatial understanding of people's environment, surroundings and use of nature. A social map can conduct information about the village layout, social stratifications and much more (Narayanasamy 2009:3).

We will use mapping to understand some of the social structures within the area. We will include local tea farmers in the process. It is important to take the composition of the participant group into consideration, to sustain the inclusivity (Narayanasamy 2009:3). Further it is important to be aware of a potential power asymmetry among participants, as certain participants may dominate and influence the mapping process. We will do two or three mappings in the beginning of the field trip and use them throughout the study to understand the structure of the village.

Position and ethical consideration

We are aware that our positioning will have an influence on all aspects of our field work. Our positioning as young white Danish students from the global north will affect our understanding, and our presence will affect each research setting. This will influence the research process and data collection. As everyone else, we have prejudices, which we need to reflect upon as much as possible so it affect the research and the informants and their

community as little as possible. Prejudices may be a result of the fact, that none of us have never been in Kenya, nor within the African continent, and that we have no experience within tea farming. We are also aware of how our respondents may have prejudices about us, just as they might have expectations or interests in both the conduction and results of our field work.

Moreover we have the possibility of creating conflict where it was not intended. From these considerations, all our informants throughout the field will be anonymised. Anonymity can provide a space for the sharing of personal experiences, which would not always be possible in a non-anonymised space (O'Reilly 2012:68).

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Overall question: How does the Fairtrade certification affect tea pickers in the small-scale tea production in Othaya?

Research questions/themes	What? (Data)	Who? (Respondents)	How? (Methods)
How are different actors involved in the production of tea?	Understanding of the field site area	Farmers Tea pickers Chairman CC committee Premium Fund member Factory manager Agricultural officer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participatory observations - Semi-structured interviews - Questionnaire
	How do the actors interact with one another?	Agricultural officer Factory manager Chairman CC committee Farmer Tea Picker Extension manager	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participatory observations - Semi-structured interviews - Questionnaire - Focus group
	How are the farming practices regulated or controlled in order to comply with the Fairtrade scheme?	Farmers Factory manager Agriculture officer Chairman CC committee Tea Picker Extension manager	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Semi-structured interviews - Focus group
How does Fairtrade influence the tea pickers economy?	How are the conditions of employment regarding wages, payments and contracts	Farmers Tea picker Factory manager Agriculture officer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Semi-structured interviews - Participatory observation - Questionnaire - Focus group
	What is the price dynamics (FTS: 3.3.18-26, p. 40-42)		
How does Fairtrade influence the tea picker socially?	How are the social aspects of labour conditions and gender aspects in the daily lives of tea pickers?	Farmers Tea pickers Factory manager Agriculture officer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Semi-structured interviews - Participatory observation - Focus group
	How does tea pickers experience and perceive freedom of association and collective bargaining? (unions and informal collective bargaining, who are dependent on whom?) (FTS: 3.3, p. 33-44)		

Appendix 2: Overview of applied methods

Table 1: Overview of applied methods		
Method	Respondent	Amount
Questionnaire	Pickers	49
SSI	Pickers	6
	Farmers	5
	Officials	5
Focus group	Farmers	1
Transect walk	-	1
Participatory observations	-	-

Appendix 3: Questionnaire for pickers

Nr.	Notes:	Background questions	Answer format
1		Age	Number:
2		Gender	Female / male
3		Are you married? If yes: 3a. What is your husband/wife's job? 3b. Do they also pick tea? Why/Why not?	Yes / No Yes / no
4		How many people are in your household?	Number:
5	3.3.21	Are you a working migrant to this area?	Yes / No Text:
6	3.3.7	How did you get to work at the farm (e.g. through contact person, friend, former employer)?	
7	3.3.7	Was your husband/wife involved in you getting employed as a tea picker? If yes: 7a. How?	Yes / No Text:
8		How many farms are you working at right now?	Number:
9		How long have you been working on this farm?	Number:
10		How many other tea pickers work at the farm? 10a. What is their gender?	Number:
Economic aspect			
11	Be aware of variability and seasonality	How many hours a day have you been working this week (average)?	Number:
12	Fairtrade background	Are you hired on a daily, weekly or monthly basis or something else?	Text:
13	3.3.20	How often do you get paid?	Text:
14	Fairtrade background	Is this agreement verbal or written?	Verbal / written
15		How many KG's do you normally pick a day?	Numer:

16		How much do you get paid per kilogram?	Number:
17		Has this been the same rate over the years? 17a. Has it increased or decreased?	Yes / No Increased / decreased
18		Do you get any benefits? If yes: 18a. Which ones?	Yes / no Text:
19	3.3.19	Would you rather be paid a fixed wage instead of per kilograms? 19a. Why?	Yes / no Text:
20	3.3.5	Have you ever experienced the farmer retaining your salary? If yes: 20a. How?	Yes / no Text:
21	3.3.20	Do you sometimes get food, tea or other services as payment instead of money? If yes: 21a. What?	Yes / No Text:
22		Are you engaged in any other work at the farm where you pick tea? If yes: 22a. Which?	Yes / no Text:
23	Is tea picking a crucial part of their economy?	Form a scale from 1-5, where 1 is a little and 5 is a lot, how much does your economy/livelihood depend on you picking tea?	1 2 3 4 5
24		Are there any periods during the year where you are not picking tea? If yes: 24a. When? What do you do then? Why?	Yes / no January February March April May June July September October November December Text:
25		The farmer gets a bonus every six month from the factory. Do you get a share of this bonus?	Yes / no
26	Fairtrade Background	Have you received any training from the farmer? If yes: 26a. Which?	Yes / no Text:

Social aspects			
27	3.3.28	Are there any common injuries occurring at your workplace?" If yes: 27a. Which?	Yes / no Text:
28	3.3.28	Whose is responsible for treatment in case of injury?	Farmer / picker
29	3.3.28	Form a scale from 1-5, where 1 is a little and 5 is a lot, how afraid are you of getting in an accident at your workplace?	1 2 3 4 5
30		In case of any non-related injury or sickness, where you cannot go to work, do you receive any payment or help from your employer/farmer?	Yes / no
31	3.3.31	Do you have access to a clean toilet where you can wash your hands when you are at work?	Yes / no
Social aspects (workers' organisation)			
32	3.3.13	Do you ever meet up with other pickers after work? If yes: 32a. Do you discuss your working conditions?	Yes / no Text:
33		Do you discuss your working conditions with your employer? (payment, safety, breaks ect.)	Yes / no
Fairtrade understanding			
34		Have you heard of Fairtrade? If yes: 34a. How and where?	Yes / no Text:
35		Are you aware of the Fairtrade Premium Funds? If yes: 35a. Have you been involved in the decision making of how to use the funds?	Yes / no Text:
36		Has Fairtrade improved your working conditions? If yes: 36a. How? 36b. Is there a difference before and after the Fairtrade certification?	Yes / no Text:

Appendix 4: Interview guide - picker

Reason for asking	Interview questions
<p>Start the conversation - explain the purpose of the interview and make the informant feel good.</p> <p>Interesting for us to figure out if it is something they actively pursued, and what their thoughts/feelings might be</p> <p>Working conditions: <i>Employment regarding wages, payments and contracts reflected in the flows and stocks of farmers and workers?</i></p> <p>Fairtrade background and from the Questionnaire</p>	<p>Hi, we are a group of Danish and Kenyan students from Copenhagen and Nairobi, doing a project on Fairtrade in tea farming. we are NOT FROM Fairtrade, we are interested in what you THINK about Fairtrade. Our project will be anonymous, we really appreciate it. our names are ____.</p> <p>We have been in the area since Friday day, and have been talking to other pickers, and we would like to get a better understanding of some of the things we have heard.</p> <p>“Can you tell us a little bit about yourself?”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (it could be name, age, family, place of residence, members of household, where are you from, where do you live). - Married, children? - Where are you from? <p>What did you do before this job?</p> <p>What would you like to do in the future? <i>(Just for us: Would you like to work with something else? What? Do you feel like you have the opportunity to do so?)</i>.</p>
Relationship to the farmers	<p>What do you think farmers look for in a tea picker?</p> <p>What makes a good tea picker?</p> <p>What is your relation/ the general relations to farmers?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - During a week, how often do you interact with the farm owner? <p>“We have heard that many tea pickers cannot talk to their employers about their working conditions. Why do you think that is?”</p>
<p>Understanding of Fairtrade:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>How are the farming practices regulated or controlled in order to comply with the Fairtrade Scheme?</i> 	<p>Have you heard of Fairtrade?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you know? - Have the farmer ever discussed Fairtrade with you? <p>“The farmers sometimes get money to do some things for the community”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you think of that? - If you were to decide, what should the money be used on? <p>“Do you know anything about the collection center committee?”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are you a part of it?
<p>Salary (premium fund)</p> <p>3.3.19</p>	<p>We have heard that some people would rather be paid a fixed rate rather than pr. Kg. What do you prefer?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why? - Why do you think people like the opposite? <p>Is it possible for you to be paid a fixed price if you want to?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why/why not?

3.3.4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Which amount would make you want to be paid a fixed price instead of pr. kg? (<i>Only for us what if it's a fair price that is calculating to your work, and not the price some pickers get in the dry season?</i>) <p>"We have learned that most pickers don't have a contract. Why do you think that is?"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you think about the way you get paid/employed? <p>Is it hard to find work as a tea picker?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Have you ever been rejected? <p>The farmer gets a bonus twice a year. What do you think of that?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Should the factory make a bonus for the pickers as well? - Why/ why not? <p>"We have heard that many is very dependent on tea picking for a living. What happens if people get sick and they can't pick tea?"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Which arrangement would you prefer? (paid in advance etc.)
Gender aspect (all a part of 3.3.1, 3.3.4 and 3.3.7)	<p>"We have seen that many pickers are women. Why is that?"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is there a difference between working in a farm as a woman and as a man? - How? - Would the work be different if it was men who were pickers? <p>"Are you able to bring your children to work if you need to?"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "If you get pregnant can you still pick?" - "What about after you have had the baby?" <p>"Some women have mentioned, that they have to ask for permission from their husband to pick tea.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why do you think that is?" - Why is that? (for whatever answer given above)
<i>How are the social aspects of labour conditions regarding child labour, health and safety reflected in the daily lives of farmers and workers?</i>	<p>Do you face any challenges working on the farm? What would you say are the biggest ones?</p> <p>What happens if you get injured at the farm?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If you need to go to the hospital, do you get help
Collection center	<p>What do you think of the process in the collection center?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Would you like for something to be different? (Ex. Carrying the backs to the truck) - If so, what would that be? - How do you think you could change these processes? <p>Do you think the factory should be more involved with workers/casual labourers (and not just focus on the farmer)?</p>

<p>Relationship to the workers</p> <p><i>How does farmers and workers experience and perceive freedom from discrimination, freedom from forced labour and freedom of association and collective bargaining?</i></p> <p>FT: 3.3.13 Union</p>	<p>Do you know of any organisations/groups where pickers discuss working conditions?</p> <p>We have been told that there are no official unions in this area.What do you think of that?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Would you like one?- Do you know someone in a union? (in another job maybe? Are unions common??) <p>“We have heard that some workers in the area form small groups where they can lend money of each other.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Do you know anything about it?”- Are you part of one?
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Appendix 5: Interview guide - farmer

Reason for asking	Interview questions
<p>Start the conversation - explain the purpose of the interview and make the informant feel good.</p> <p>Getting an overview of farms and farmers</p> <p>Make sure they don't tell us a LOT</p>	<p>Hi, we are a group of Danish and Kenyan students from Copenhagen and Nairobi, doing a project on Fairtrade in tea farming. We are NOT FROM Fairtrade, we are interested in what you THINK about Fairtrade. Our project will be anonymous, we really appreciate it. our names are ____.</p> <p>“Can you tell us a little bit about yourself?”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (it could be name, age, family, place of residency, members of household). <p>“Can you tell us a little bit about your farm?”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are you the one operating/managing it? - How long have you/your family owned it/ worked here? - How large is the farm? - Does your family also work in this tea production? - How/what are their functions? <p>“How many people are working at your farm?”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Which type of workers do you hire? (pickers, fumigators, tree cutters etc.) - Why do you hire labourers? - How do you find workers? - What is your relation to the people working here? <p>.</p>
<p>Environmental aspects of tea production</p> <p>3.2.4 Training on safe handling of hazardous materials</p> <p>3.2.5 Personal protective equipment use</p> <p>3.2.2 Integrated pest management training</p>	<p>How do you protect your plants from pests?</p> <p>Do you use pesticides or/and chemicals on your farm? <i>(do they even use hazardous materials)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why/why not? - if so, do you do it yourself, or do you hire someone? - if so, do you/they use protective gear? - if so, did you/they get training on how to use these? <p>What do you do to protect/conserve the local environment?</p>

<p>3.2.8 Buffer zones for spraying hazardous materials by air</p> <p>3.2.38 Storage and disposal of hazardous waste</p>	<p>Have you been trained on good environmental practices?</p> <p>How are your hired workers involved with this?</p>
<p>Social aspects</p> <p>3.3.31 Access to toilets, hand washing facilities and clean showers</p> <p>3.3.30 First aid equipment and training</p> <p>3.3.9 Work in the family</p> <p>3.3.13 Freedom to join a workers' organization</p> <p>3.3.5 No forced labour</p> <p>3.3.28 Workplace safety</p>	<p>Do the workers take breaks?</p> <p>What do you look for in a good picker? (are there any people/groups that are NOT good)</p> <p>Do your workers have access to a toilet during their working hours?</p> <p>Do you know if there are unions or associations for the hired workers?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If so, do you know if your workers are members? - If so, what do you think about these unions? <p>Have you ever discussed working conditions with your workers?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why? Why not? - Do your workers ever come to you with suggestions or demands? <p>Have you ever experienced that any of your workers were injured during work hours?</p> <p>What do you do to keep your farm a safe workplace for your workers (first aid equipment or training in first aid)?</p>
<p>Economic aspects</p> <p>3.3.18 Wages</p> <p>3.3.21 Subcontracted workers</p> <p>3.3.20 Regular payments in legal tender</p> <p>3.3.19 Production, quotas and piecework</p> <p>3.3.5 No forced labour (in relation to payment)</p>	<p>What do the tea pickers get paid per kg?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is the price fixed? - Who decides this price? - Is that price the same everywhere in this area? - Has that always been the rate, or has it gone up/down? - Why? <p>Are your workers hired through a contract (or verbal agreement)?</p> <p>Are they hired on a daily/weekly/monthly basis?</p>

Appendix 6: Interview guide Factory manager

Interview guide – factory manager	
Reason for asking	Interview questions
<p>Introduction –</p> <p>Start the conversation - explain the purpose of the interview and make the informant feel good.</p>	<p>We're students from Copenhagen and Nairobi making some research about the tea farmers in the area. We are especially interested in this factory and your Fairtrade certification. We are also interested in the factory's relation to farmers, and other workers in the tea industry,</p>
<p>Background of the factory</p>	<p>When was the factory established?</p> <p>How many people work at the factory?</p> <p>What are the factory sources of funding?</p> <p>How many collection centers are connected to the factory?</p> <p>How many farmers deliver to this factory?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Has this changed over time? Why? <p>How much is the farmer paid pr. KG tea?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Has this changed over time? Why? - Do you have any price agreement with the farmer? (if yes, how did you agree on this price?) <p>Who do you sell the tea to?</p> <p>What price do you sell the tea for?</p> <p>How much of your tea is sold with the Fairtrade label?</p> <p>How close by are the other factories?</p>

<p>Understanding Fairtrade</p> <p>3.1.2 Risk of non-compliance</p> <p>3.1.1 Informing the farmers about the environmental and labour requirements in the FT scheme 3.0</p> <p>3.2.5 Personal protective equipment use</p> <p>3.2.4 Training on safe handling of hazardous materials</p>	<p>Can you describe how the Fairtrade certification works?</p> <p>When did the factory get certified?</p> <p>Why did the factory get certified?</p> <p>How does Fairtrade certification differ your other certifications (Rainforest Alliance)?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why do you need more than one certification? <p>How does the Fairtrade certification affect the market value of the tea?</p> <p>How does the Fairtrade certification affect the price paid to the farmer (pr. Kg)?</p> <p>How often is the factory in contact with Fairtrade representatives?</p> <p>Have you experienced any challenges after being certified Fairtrade?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Which challenges? Why? <p>How do you make sure the farmer knows about the requirements of Fairtrade?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Do you ever visit farmers and workers? - How often? - Do you do announced or unannounced visits? - Why do you visit them? <p>Do you train the farmers regarding Fairtrade requirements (environmental, social)?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you teach them in these training sessions?
<p>Understanding the Fairtrade Premium Funds</p>	<p>How are the Premium Funds divided?</p> <p>Who decides how these Funds are used?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who handles the premium funds (A board)?
<p>The factory's relation to the picker/worker</p> <p>4.1.2 Fairtrade Development Plan</p>	<p>What is your relation to the hired labourers on the tea farms?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How much contact do you have with these workers? - How much influence do you have over their daily practices? <p>Do you encourage farmers to hire labour (e.g. tea pickers)?</p> <p>Who decides the wage for hired labourers working on tea farms?</p> <p>How does your Fairtrade Development Plan affect hired labourers?</p> <p>How does the Fairtrade Premium Funds affect the hired labourers?</p>

Appendix 7: Statistics

Descriptives:

Gender

Statistics

2. Gender of respondent

N	Valid	48
	Missing	1

2. Gender of respondent

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Female	43	87,8	89,6	89,6
	Male	5	10,2	10,4	100,0
	Total	48	98,0	100,0	
Missing	99	1	2,0		
Total		49	100,0		

Marital status

3. Are you married?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	28	57,1	58,3	58,3
	No	20	40,8	41,7	100,0
	Total	48	98,0	100,0	
Missing	System	1	2,0		
Total		49	100,0		

Females married

Statistics

3.Are you married?

N	Valid	43
	Missing	6
Mean		1,40
Median		1,00
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		,495
Range		1
Minimum		1
Maximum		2
Percentiles	25	1,00
	50	1,00
	75	2,00

3.Are you married?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	26	53,1	60,5	60,5
	No	17	34,7	39,5	100,0
	Total	43	87,8	100,0	
Missing	System	6	12,2		
Total		49	100,0		

The size of the households:

Statistics

4.How many people are in your household?

N	Valid	47
	Missing	2
Mean		4,11
Median		4,00
Mode		4
Std. Deviation		1,970
Range		10
Minimum		1
Maximum		11
Percentiles	25	3,00
	50	4,00
	75	5,00

4.How many people are in your household?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	4	8,2	8,5	8,5
	2	7	14,3	14,9	23,4
	3	5	10,2	10,6	34,0
	4	13	26,5	27,7	61,7
	5	8	16,3	17,0	78,7
	6	7	14,3	14,9	93,6
	7	1	2,0	2,1	95,7
	8	1	2,0	2,1	97,9
	11	1	2,0	2,1	100,0
	Total	47	95,9	100,0	
Missing	System	2	4,1		
Total		49	100,0		

Migrant to this area

Years working at the same farm

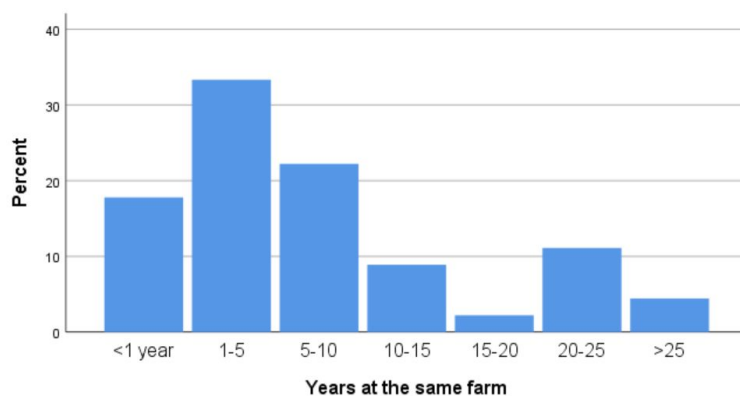
Years at the same farm

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<1 year	8	16,3	17,8	17,8
	1-5	15	30,6	33,3	51,1
	5-10	10	20,4	22,2	73,3
	10-15	4	8,2	8,9	82,2
	15-20	1	2,0	2,2	84,4
	20-25	5	10,2	11,1	95,6
	>25	2	4,1	4,4	100,0
	Total	45	91,8	100,0	
Missing	System	4	8,2		
Total		49	100,0		

Statistics

9. How long have you been working on this farm (years)

N	Valid	45
	Missing	4
Mean		7,15800
Median		3,00000
Mode		3,000
Std. Deviation		8,922697
Range		44,950
Minimum		,050
Maximum		45,000
Percentiles	25	1,00000
	50	3,00000
	75	10,00000



How did you get to work at the farm?

How did you get to work at the farm?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Direct contact with farmer	24	49,0	51,1	51,1
	Through friends and family	23	46,9	48,9	100,0
	Total	47	95,9	100,0	
Missing	System	2	4,1		
Total		49	100,0		

How many farms are you working at?

Statistics

8.How many farms are you working at right now?

N	Valid	47
	Missing	2
Mean		2,49
Median		2,00
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		1,718
Range		9
Minimum		1
Maximum		10
Percentiles	25	1,00
	50	2,00
	75	3,00

8.How many farms are you working at right now?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	18	36,7	38,3	38,3
	2	7	14,3	14,9	53,2
	3	12	24,5	25,5	78,7
	4	7	14,3	14,9	93,6
	5	1	2,0	2,1	95,7
	6	1	2,0	2,1	97,9
	10	1	2,0	2,1	100,0
	Total	47	95,9	100,0	
Missing	System	2	4,1		
Total		49	100,0		

How are you hired?

12. Are you hired on a daily, weekly, monthly basis, or something else?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Daily	42	85,7	87,5	87,5
	Weekly	2	4,1	4,2	91,7
	Monthly	4	8,2	8,3	100,0
	Total	48	98,0	100,0	
Missing	System	1	2,0		
Total		49	100,0		

Do you get a share of the bonus paid to the farmer?

25. The farmer gets a bonus every six month from the factory. Do you get a share of this bonus

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	28	57,1	57,1	57,1
	No	21	42,9	42,9	100,0
	Total	49	100,0	100,0	

Who is responsible in case of injury?

28. Who is responsible for treatment in case of injury?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Farmer	10	20,4	23,8	23,8
	Picker	32	65,3	76,2	100,0
	Total	42	85,7	100,0	
Missing	System	7	14,3		
Total		49	100,0		

Do you meet other pickers after work?

32. Do you ever meet up other pickers after work?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	42	85,7	85,7	85,7
	No	7	14,3	14,3	100,0
	Total	49	100,0	100,0	

If you meet with other pickers, do you discuss working conditions?

32.a If yes: Do you discuss your working conditions?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	31	63,3	73,8	73,8
	No	11	22,4	26,2	100,0
	Total	42	85,7	100,0	
Missing	System	7	14,3		
Total		49	100,0		

If you discuss working conditions, what do you discuss?

Statistics

32.b What do you discuss

N	Valid	13
	Missing	36

32.b What do you discuss

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	job opportunities	2	4,1	15,4	15,4
	Payment	8	16,3	61,5	76,9
	Fair conditions	1	2,0	7,7	84,6
	Other	2	4,1	15,4	100,0
	Total	13	26,5	100,0	
Missing	System	36	73,5		
Total		49	100,0		

Heard of Fairtrade and premium funds:

34. Have you heard of Fairtrade?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	31	63,3	63,3	63,3
	No	18	36,7	36,7	100,0
	Total	49	100,0	100,0	

Where have you heard of Fairtrade?

34.a Where?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	At Collection Center	26	53,1	78,8	78,8
	People within the area	5	10,2	15,2	93,9
	By the factory	1	2,0	3,0	97,0
	Have seen it around the community and not much else	1	2,0	3,0	100,0
	Total	33	67,3	100,0	
Missing	System	16	32,7		
Total		49	100,0		

Are you aware of the Fairtrade Premium funds?

35. Are you aware of the Fairtrade Premium Funds?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	19	38,8	44,2	44,2
	No	24	49,0	55,8	100,0
	Total	43	87,8	100,0	
Missing	System	6	12,2		
Total		49	100,0		

Statistical tests:

The older you are the less you pick, Pearson-r test:

Variables: Age (Scale), Kgs picked pr day (scale)

Correlations

		1.Age of respondent	15. How many KGs do you normally pick a day?
1.Age of respondent	Pearson Correlation	1	-,180
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,230
	N	49	46
15. How many KGs do you normally pick a day?	Pearson Correlation	-,180	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,230	
	N	46	46

The older a picker is the longer they have stayed on a farm Pearson-r test:

Variables: Age (scale), Years on the same farm (Scale)

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
1.Age of respondent	42,39	11,674	49
9. How long have you been working on this farm (years)	7,15800	8,922697	45

Correlations

		1.Age of respondent	9. How long have you been working on this farm (years)
1.Age of respondent	Pearson Correlation	1	,246
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,103
	N	49	45
9. How long have you been working on this farm (years)	Pearson Correlation	,246	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,103	
	N	45	45

Not married and more dependent on the tea picking Chi² Test:

Variables:

Indedpendent: Not Married (Nominel),

Dependent: How dependent are you on picking tea (Ordinal)

Not Married * 23.From a scole to 1-5, where 1 is a little and 5 is a lot. How much do your economy/livelihood depend on you picking tea? Crosstabulation

Count

		23.From a scole to 1-5, where 1 is a little and 5 is a lot. How much do your economy/livelihood depend on you picking tea?					
		A little	Not much	Either or	Much	Very much	Total
Not Married	No	1	1	4	1	22	29
	Yes	1	0	2	0	17	20
Total		2	1	6	1	39	49

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,712 ^a	4	,788
Likelihood Ratio	2,432	4	,657
Linear-by-Linear Association	,241	1	,623
N of Valid Cases	49		

a. 8 cells (80,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,41.