

**SGIR 7th Pan-European International Relations Conference, Stockholm,
September 9-11, 2010**

The Ambivalent Nature of the Global Restructuring of the Coffee Industry: The Case of Women in Kenya

Zoe Pflaeger
University of Birmingham

Draft paper – please do not cite without author’s permission

Introduction

The global coffee industry has undergone substantial restructuring following the functional collapse of the International Coffee Agreement (ICA) in 1989 and processes of liberalisation within coffee producing countries, with adverse consequences for many coffee producers. No longer protected by the price stabilisation mechanisms built into the ICA, farmers have faced historically low and volatile coffee prices and have experienced weakened producer power comparative to the increased concentration of power amongst roasters and retailers. This paper aims to investigate the ambivalent nature of this restructuring of the coffee industry for women by considering how these structural changes have been experienced at the local level in the Central Province in Kenya, which, together with the Eastern Province, produces 70 per cent of Kenya’s coffee¹.

¹ The analysis is based upon a period of field research undertaken from May until August 2009 in Nyeri District, Central Province. This involved a combination of semi-structured interviews with key informants identified for their knowledge of the coffee industry and the local area and interviews and focus group discussions with the management and male and female members of a local Fairtrade certified coffee cooperative.

In particular, it focuses upon household social relations in order to explore how global restructuring has interacted with existing gendered norms and practices to produce contradictory and complex gender outcomes. This is because it is by opening the black box of the household and viewing the domestic arena as a terrain of explicit contest and struggle that it becomes possible to appreciate how external production relations are shaped by internal social processes (Carney and Watts, 1990: 210-1). By drawing upon Robert Cox's and Jeffrey Harrod's approach to the social relations of production, it is possible to situate analysis of the way in which work is done within a broader study of the changing power relations in society and world politics (Cox, 1987; Harrod, 1987). The household mode of the social relations of production includes childbearing and childrearing, washing, cleaning, preparation of food, repair and maintenance, small plot cultivation, and also the management of family income and resources. It is not only vital to the survival of the family, and therefore social reproduction, but it also plays an important role in supporting other modes of production that the household indirectly serves. In addition, the household becomes the buffer for economic crisis when production functions are forced back on the household (Cox, 1987: 48-50). Therefore, it is important to look at household relations to adequately understand the impact of the restructuring of the coffee industry.

The decline in coffee income experienced by coffee producers under the post-ICA regime has placed multiple burdens on women as they struggle to combine a number of productive and reproductive roles to ensure the household is sustained. Activities such as dairy farming and horticultural production, traditionally considered to be the domain of women, have become increasingly important as contributors to family

income. In some circumstances, women have been able to secure greater negotiating power and autonomy within household relations due to their growing managerial role and control over income earnings. However, these reconfigurations of power have thus far not led to broader transformations in unequal gender relations, as demonstrated by the reassertion of male control over land and resources (Harrod, 1987: 308). Given the continued precarious economic circumstances, such attempts can be viewed as more akin to strategies of survival than assertions of power in a context where no one income-earning activity is sufficient to provide a stable and sustainable income.

The paper concludes by considering how women could best transform the opportunities created by this disruption of local norms and practices into sustainable social change. It is argued that fair trade offers a potential response to the coffee crisis, ensuring that producer organisations receive higher and more stable coffee prices, but more importantly in the long-run, aiming to build producer power and to move towards more equitable trading relations. One of the objectives of fair trade is greater gender equality but this has tended to be rather limited in practice due to the failure to adequately take into account household relations. However, it is argued that fair trade does represent an opportunity to develop the collective power of producer cooperatives and to potentially address the inequitable power relations within those organisations and their communities.

The case of Kenya's coffee industry was selected because it particularly speaks to the analysis of the relationship between the restructuring of power within global value chains and the current development concern with empowerment and poverty

alleviation (World Bank, 2000). As outlined in World Development Report (WDR) 2008, agriculture is considered to be a fundamental instrument for sustainable development and poverty reduction, especially in the agriculture-based economies of Sub-Saharan Africa where agriculture accounts for a substantial portion of GDP and most of the poor are in rural areas (World Bank, 2008: 4). Despite having the best-developed economy in East Africa, more than half of the country's 31.3 million people are poor. While the poorest of the poor are found in the sparsely populated arid zones of the country, over 80 per cent of rural poor people live in areas surrounding Lake Victoria and in the Central Province region which have a high potential for agricultural (IFAD, 2009).

Coffee is particularly helpful in understanding the relation between commodity trade and development and the distribution of power along global value chains. It has been the second most valuable traded commodity after oil for most of the post-Second World War period and over 90 per cent of global coffee production takes place in the South whilst consumption takes place mainly in the North (Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 50). In Kenya, only between two and five per cent of coffee produced is roasted and consumed domestically. Furthermore, smallholder producers² account for around 75 per cent of the land under coffee, predominantly in the Central and Eastern Province regions, and about 55 per cent of total coffee production in Kenya (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics; World Bank, 2006: 11). Consequently, Kenya's coffee industry is an interesting example to investigate the global and local challenges facing coffee producing communities and the role of fair trade in this context.

² Farmers owning less than 2 hectare of cultivated land, although the average coffee holding is 0.25 hectare (World Bank, 2006: 11).

The paper begins by outlining the global restructuring of the coffee industry following the collapse of the ICA in 1989 and the impact this has had upon power relations within the global value chain. Kenya's coffee reforms are then situated within this context to indicate how these changes have been experienced within Kenya's coffee industry. This analysis continues in the second section of the paper with a characterisation of gendered role and responsibilities within the household in Central Province and explores how these have altered as the coffee industry has declined. The paper is concluded by considering the role of fair trade in this context and the potential opportunities and constraints it offers in terms of translating reconfigurations of power within the household into wider changes within gender relations.

Kenya's coffee reforms in the context of the global restructuring of the coffee industry

Whilst there were problems with the ICA regime, which characterised the global coffee industry between 1962 and 1989, it was at least relatively successful in raising and stabilising coffee prices through the collaboration of producing and consuming countries in a quota allocation system. Combined with regulated markets in producing countries, this created a relatively stable institutional environment and ensured the distribution of the income derived from coffee between consuming and producing countries (Ponte, 2002a: 253). Once this regime collapsed, coffee flooded onto the market as producers panicked and liquidated their reserves and prices plummeted. Roasters and traders took advantage of the chaos to build up their stocks, giving them far greater leverage over supplies in subsequent years (Luttlinger and Dicum, 2006: 97). Subsequently, world coffee prices have fallen below the cost of production in

many countries, from an average of US cents 120/lb in the 1980s to around 50/lb in 2002, which is the lowest in real terms for over a hundred years (Karanja and Nyoro, 2002: 4).

These lower prices have also been accompanied by higher levels of price volatility, linked not only to the end of the price stabilisation mechanisms but also to the increased speculative activity (Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 89-90). Coffee prices are now determined on the two futures markets based in London (for Robusta) and New York (for Arabica), with prices being influenced by the huge number of contracts for coffee that are traded, which far exceed the physical amount of coffee that changes hands (Oxfam, 2002: 17). Whereas traders can use futures market to minimise their exposure to the risks of price fluctuations by ‘hedging’, small producers are unable to access hedging markets and are therefore exposed to the full volatility of the market, especially following the disbandment of government coffee boards (Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 90; Luttlinger and Dicum, 2006: 100-1).

Indeed, the historically low prices that characterised the period between 2000 and 2004 led many to refer to this as the ‘coffee crisis’. Although prices have recovered in comparison since 2005, key structural changes in the global coffee commodity chain mean that price recovery is likely to be temporary (Petit, 2007: 228). Under the regulatory regime of the ICA, the global value chain for coffee was not clearly driven by any actor. Roasters in consuming countries were increasing their leading role through branding and advertising but their control was limited by the quota system and by government control in producing countries over marketing and quality control systems (Gibbon and Ponte, 2005: 109-10). In contrast, the post-ICA regime can be

characterised as a ‘buyer-driven’ chain, or more specifically, a ‘roaster-driven’ chain, in which the strategic decisions by coffee roasters set the barriers to entry and producers and producing countries no longer have an established voice or control over stocks and exports (ibid: 110; Ponte, 2002b: 253-4). This has led to a vast imbalance of power, as has been shown by studies into the distribution of value along the global chain for coffee (Talbot 1997; Fitter and Kaplinsky, 2001; Daviron and Ponte, 2005). For example, in the 1980s, producers retained an average of almost 20 per cent of the total income generated by roast and ground sales but this dropped to 13 per cent in the 1990s. In comparison, the proportion of the total income gained in consuming countries rose from 55 per cent to 78 per cent during this period (Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 204).

It was estimated that during the coffee crisis, coffee producers received one per cent or less of the price of a cup of coffee sold in a café and about six per cent of a packet of coffee sold in a supermarket (Oxfam, 2002: 20-1). Indeed, Daviron and Ponte refer to the ‘coffee paradox’ to describe the contradiction between the low prices faced by coffee farmers and the increased value of consumption of coffee-based products in consuming countries (2005: 204). The largest coffee roasters, Kraft, Nestlé, Procter & Gamble and Sara Lee, with their widely recognised brands, such as Maxwell House, Nescafé, Folgers and Douwe Egberts, enjoyed high profits during the crisis in relation to other food and drink markets (Oxfam, 2002: 25). As is the case with Kenya’s coffee industry outlined below, processes of liberalisation within producing countries have in many cases further exacerbated these problems associated with the end of the ICA-regime.

Kenya's coffee industry

Prior to the reform of Kenya's coffee industry, the Coffee Board of Kenya (CBK) was the regulating body and sole marketing agent of coffee and the Kenya Planters Cooperative Union (KPCU) was the sole milling institution. Coffee was sold through the central auction by the CBK and the proceeds would then be passed to the KPCU who deducted a charge and paid the farmers through their primary cooperative³ (Gitau et al, 2009: 59). The monopoly over milling was lifted in 1993 when Thika Coffee Millers and Socfinaf were also licensed as millers. The Coffee Act passed in 2001 further liberalised the industry by licensing a number of marketing agents to undertake the coffee marketing function and the role of the CBK was restructured to that of regulating the industry (Karanja, 2004: 4). In addition, a 'second window' sale of coffee was established through the Finance Act in 2005, which allowed registered marketing agents to sell coffee directly to a buyer as an alternative to marketing coffee through the Central Coffee Auction as the law stipulated (Gitau et al, 2009: 61).

However, despite arguments that these reforms would lead to greater farmer control of the coffee industry, with less government regulation and mismanagement leading to reduced processing costs and increased prices being paid to farmers, Kenya's coffee sub-sector has experienced continued problems of low prices and production and fluctuating quality (World Bank, 2006: 13-5; Karanja, 2004). During the 1980s, coffee production rose to over 100 thousand tonnes per year with a peak of 130

³ Coffee in Kenya goes through two stages of processing: the first is called wet processing and takes place in a cooperative owned factory where the coffee cherries are pulped, fermented and dried; the second is called dry milling and takes place in a mill where the parchment coffee is hulled, sorted and graded.

thousand tonnes in the 1987/88 growing season. Subsequently, in spite of reaching 100.7 thousand tonnes in 1999/2000, production has been on a declining trend achieving an average of only 57.7 thousand tonnes between 1997 and 2007, with a low of 42 thousand tonnes in 2007/08 mainly due to adverse weather conditions (Gitau et al, 2009: 59; Kenya Economic Survey 2009). Kenya's annual coffee prices have also experienced a downward pattern similar to the drastic drop in coffee prices on world markets (Karanja and Nyoro, 2002: 4). Although Nairobi auction prices remained marginally higher throughout this period than those prevailing in the New York exchange, particularly during the higher prices experienced in the late 1990s (due to frost and drought in Brazil in 1995-4 and a speculative hike in 1997), these premiums were negligible when prices were at their lowest (ibid: 30; Ponte 2002b, 1105).

Nonetheless, even with the decline in Kenya's coffee industry, both in terms of its share in global coffee production and its contribution to Kenya's export earnings, it retains an important place in the global market. Kenya is a valuable producer of relatively high quality Mild Arabica coffee, which is used in blends with lower quality Robusta coffee and a small amount of top quality coffee is sought after by the speciality industry and sold as 'single origin' coffee (Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 99). Indeed, Kenyan coffee prices have experienced some recovery in the last few years due to a shortage of Colombian Mild Arabica coffee, but there are continued concerns over low rates of production and shortages of high quality coffee, associated with the lack of affordable credit and farm inputs and inadequate extension services following liberalisation.

Prior to the restructuring of Kenya's coffee industry, primary cooperatives included a large number of processing factories and were organised into District Unions, or secondary cooperatives, under the national KPCU, which provided subsidised inputs and low interest credit to smallholder producers with payments automatically deducted from farmers' incomes. Payments were also made according to the quality of coffee and spread into four instalments throughout the year, for example to coincide with the payment of students fees as was the case with cooperatives in Nyeri District. The collapse of these District Unions and the weakening of the KPCU with the liberalisation of the cooperative sector has contributed to an increasing debt problem as farmers receive only one payment a year, making them vulnerable to commercial banks and microfinance organisations competing to offer them loans and crop advances at high interest rates. This was accompanied by a process of fragmentation amongst the farmer cooperatives into smaller societies, which led to increased processing costs due to reduced economies of scale (Mbataru, 2009: 58).

These issues have not only affected levels of production but also the quality of coffee being produced. For example, a member of an organisation training local cooperatives in good agricultural practices argued that most the coffee produced in Nyeri used to be in class three before the cooperatives split but now it is mostly between class four and six (the cup quality of coffee is classified between one and ten, with one being the highest, based upon acidity, body and flavour). Overall production of superior quality classes (1-3) dropped from around 26 per cent to 10 per cent in the cooperative sector between 1982/83 and 2001/02 (Mbataru, 2009: 81). As already indicated, producing top quality coffee is crucial if farmers are to benefit from the higher premiums paid by the speciality industry. This problem has been compounded by the failure to retain

coffee experts within effective extension services. A local member of the CBK argued that although millers and marketing agents provide their own technical packages to cooperatives, there is a lack of coordination between these. There is also a desire among cooperatives to obtain quality information and training independently so that farmers are not tied to a particular buyer and have the necessary information to market their coffee themselves.

Following the introduction of direct sales, the cooperative I visited in had obtained a marketing licence but the management had not yet used it as they believed they 'could not penetrate the system'. This was not only a matter of a lack of market information and knowledge of the process, but also a feared weakness in collective bargaining power to negotiate a reasonable price with the buyers. The large cooperative societies and unions, the KPCU and CBK prior to liberalisation not only provided producer organisations with the services discussed earlier, but they also offered producers a degree of protection by acting collectively and in the farmers' interests, albeit imperfectly. Indeed many of the farmers I interviewed did complain about issues of mismanagement and corruption but nevertheless wanted the government to assist them in marketing their coffee. Under the present system, farmer cooperatives are often unaware of the connections between millers and marketing agents with buyers, which makes the extent to which they are working on the farmers' behalf ambiguous. For example, institutions can register as both coffee dealers and marketing agents thus creating a conflict of interest (Gitau et al, 2009: 61). As expressed by Robert Thou, an agronomist from a local NGO working in sustainable development, there is concern that marketing agents sell the coffee at a time beneficial to the buyer rather than when it will fetch the best price for the farmers (Thou, 2009, personal communication).

Indeed, the negative impact of the restructuring of the coffee industry can be viewed as the increasingly precarious nature of producer livelihoods and the marginalisation of producer organisations. In Cox and Harrod's approach to the social relations of production, they distinguish between the varying degrees of protection that workers are afforded, with established workers experiencing more equitably balanced power relations at one end of the scale and unprotected facing more oppressive relations at the other end of the scale (Cox, 1987: 4-5; Harrod, 1987: 39). This distinction between "protected" and "unprotected" workers is seen to be at the heart of the basic cleavage in the present day world between the beneficiaries of globalisation and those who are disadvantaged within or excluded from the world economy (Cox, 1999: 25). According to Cox, the challenge is to bridge the differences among the variety of groups disadvantaged by globalisation in order to achieve a common understanding of the nature and consequences of globalisation and to devise a strategy for joint action to subordinate the world economy to a regime of social equity (Cox, 1999: 26).

Therefore, in assessing the potential of fair trade as a potential response to the coffee crisis, it is important to reflect upon the degree to which it offers producers forms of protection and whether it contributes towards producer organisations developing a critical understanding of the nature of the global coffee industry and collective strategies for action to challenge the inequitable power relations that characterise it. However, before outlining fair trade's contribution, it is first important to consider the neglected area of the gendered nature of the restructuring of coffee industry and what this implies for such responses to the problems faced by coffee producers.

Changing household relations in Kenya's coffee producing communities

To understand the impact of the global restructuring of coffee industry and the liberalisation of Kenya's coffee industry outlined above, it is necessary to investigate the contested nature of household social relations within coffee producing communities. Viewing the household as a site of struggle, rather than a unified production unit, allows an analysis of 'the forms of negotiation, bargaining and conflict that occur between household members' over the 'gendered access to resources, distribution and control' and 'how they change in value over time' (Verma, 2001: 23-4). Appreciating the complex overlapping rights and obligations, and the competing interests between household members can be a critical starting point in understanding the politics associated with new forms of external production relations (Carney and Watts, 1990, 216-7). Indeed, analysis of the household reveals that whilst Kenyan coffee producer overall face adverse economic conditions, the impact of the post-ICA regime on gender relations is more ambiguous.

Harrod argues that what characterises household social relations is the separation of household service tasks, their assigned low status in the hierarchy of production in wider society and the lack of money wage attached to them, and the subordination of those who perform them. There is no natural or biological reason why any single sex or race should have been allocated household tasks but in practice, and almost exclusively throughout the world, it has been women (Harrod, 1987: 292-3). Therefore, they are also associated with the general subordination of women. It is also significant that only a small proportion of women are full-time housewives whose husband is the sole earner, the vast majority combine the production of nonwage

household services with wage labour outside the household, aptly named the ‘double shift’ (ibid: 294). Bearing this in mind, the following section outlines the nature of gendered role and responsibilities within the household prior to the decline in the coffee industry and how these may be in the process of changing.

Household relations under the coffee industry

Coffee production in Central Province is predominantly by smallholder farmers that rely upon family labour. Whilst coffee has typically been considered a ‘masculine’ crop, it is women that have provided the labour in terms of tending to the coffee bushes and harvesting the cherries. This is particularly important in the production of Arabica coffee because it is labour intensive and its quality is dependent on the constant nursing of bushes (Mbataru, 2009: 32). However, it is men that have had control over the land and income derived from coffee production and have been in charge of decision-making. The female farmers I spoke to attending a cooperative training day were responsible for the labour involved in pruning and harvesting the coffee bushes but referred to their husbands as the managers responsible for overseeing the running of the household farm. There has therefore been a discrepancy between the ownership and the production of coffee within the household.

Indeed, it has been argued that gender oppression through the imposition of Western patriarchy has been central to the historical development of coffee industry and that patriarchal conditions of work and property ownership continue to pervade it (Fridell, 2007: 131-2). Men frequently have privileged access to property and income whilst women are required to work in both the field and at home with no or little control over their own earnings (Lyon, 2008: 261). Not only is their role in household

decision making often disproportionate to the work they devote to actual coffee production, but women are also underrepresented in decision making at the cooperative level (Fridell, 2007: 132; Lyon, 2008: 262-3). As is the case with many coffee producing countries, the cooperative movement in Kenya has been structured in a way that is male dominated because land ownership is a stipulation of membership. It has therefore largely been the husband that is registered as the shareholder (Mbataru, 2009: 32; Nippierd, 2002). This has to be understood in the context of the integration of patrilineal norms of ownership with the Western patriarchal ideal of the male breadwinner.

Traditionally, men's ownership of the land extends to include production from the land, production from the realms of reciprocal relations and production from wage or casual labour, and permits them to be "in charge" in all aspects of decision-making (Abwunza, 1997: 28). These norms were later articulated with the imposed British patriarchal system of men as the owners of the land and the farmers engaged in cash crop production, which continued following independence in 1963 (ibid: 30). The association of men with commercial agriculture was retained by the national government in the cooperative movement, which became central tools for implementing rural development policy and facilitating the commercialisation of Kenya's smallholder farm sector (ILO, 1995). Furthermore, as argued by Dolan, the combination of patrilineal norms with the conception of gender propagated by Christianity under the postcolonial Kenyan state has led to the overemphasis on hard work and obedience as the basis of being a 'good' wife (Dolan, 2001: 61). These processes have created increasingly contradictory pressures as economic conditions have become more precarious.

During the time when the coffee industry in Kenya was prosperous, coffee became a symbol of masculine self-actualisation and accumulation, referred to as *muti wakwa*, my tree, the sacred tree. ‘In Central Province and Nyeri district in particular, to “be a man” came to mean owning coffee and education children with the capital accrued’ (Mbataru, 2009: 30-1). The paying of school fees was considered to be a particularly important responsibility, with the objective that educated children would get salaried employment away from coffee farming (ibid: 36). Women were largely expected to ensure the continued subsistence of the family but, as has already been indicated, this did not involve the simple division between subsistence and commercial farming that has pervaded characterisations of Sub-Saharan African agriculture (Whitehead, 1995). In fact, women typically have dual economic roles within the household: they ‘may contribute to the household’s agricultural production as unremunerated family labour; in addition they may have separate access to land and resources and may work independently, either farming or engaging in other income-producing activities’ (ibid: 38).

As such, the combination of women’s reproductive and productive roles referred to as the “double shift” is actually fairly complex in the case of smallholder farm households. Women’s responsibility to provide for the subsistence of the family extends beyond domestic activities to include not only food crop production but also additional income earning strategies such as market gardening, animal husbandry and petty trading to ensure the family’s needs are met. For example, a number of women in Central Province engaged in dairy production and petty trade in grain and vegetables to access an independent income. Whilst this has, on the one hand, created multiple burdens for women, it has also meant that even when seemingly dependent

on 'male' coffee money, women have experienced a degree of autonomy (Mbataru, 2009: 33). However, these complex gender norms and practices have led to contradictory pressures following the decline of the coffee industry and the significant fall in coffee incomes.

Gendered impact of the restructuring of the coffee industry

The low and volatile global coffee prices that have characterised the post-ICA regime, combined with the increasing costs of coffee production associated with market reforms, have meant that smallholder farmers have found it increasingly difficult to sustain the family and meet costs such as school fees with coffee income. For example, the women that worked in the office of the cooperative had been brought up on coffee farms and educated to college level with coffee income, but argued that other sources of income were subsequently needed to supplement coffee. The removal of subsidies for agricultural inputs and the devaluation of the Kenyan shilling have also increased the cost of food and consumables, as well as fertilisers, seeds and other inputs, which has further exacerbated the problem (Verma, 2001: 71-2). Indeed the fragmentation of the cooperative movement mentioned earlier has to be understood in the context of growing frustrations associated with the difficulties farmers faced in meeting basic family needs, such as food, clothing and housing (Mbataru, 2009: 58). Furthermore, this shortfall in income has had a significant impact upon gender relations because it is women that have had to shoulder an increasing amount of the economic burden.

Initially, additional livelihood strategies involved the out-migration of men seeking

employment whilst women engaged in small-scale, local trading, but increasing pressure on land and declining employment opportunities for men outside of Central Province have meant that many families are increasingly dependent on the livelihood skills of women (Thomas-Slayter and Rocheleau, 1995: 77). For example, in Nyeri District dairy farming and horticultural production have become important income earning activities. Small towns in the area such as Nyeri Town and Karatina have become established market centres for selling produce locally and to dealers that distribute to Nairobi, Embu and even further to Mombassa (Mbataru, 2009: 66-7). The cultivation of maize, beans, sweet potatoes, tomatoes and cabbage, historically the domain of women, has intensified as they have been used to absorb the financial risks associated with unreliable coffee payments.

Similarly, although dairy farming was already an important economic activity in the area, it has become a significant income earner following the decline in coffee prices. Demand for milk has grown due to a tea drinking culture – tea is typically consumed with a generous amount of milk – and has been further boosted by increases in urban milk consumption (Mbataru, 2009: 75). According to my interviewees, the additional benefits of dairy farming, which is mostly carried out by women, have been that payments are made monthly and it has provided farmers with access to services, such as advances for cow feed and loans to pay school fees. On the one hand, these additional income-earning strategies have intensified the multiple burdens already faced by women in terms of their roles and responsibilities within the household. For example, the daily feeding of cows involves more work than the seasonable pruning, weeding and harvesting associated with coffee production. Furthermore, when coffee was earning a reasonable income, younger members of the household would assist in

tending to and harvesting household coffee farms. Negative views of the countryside and rural to urban migration amongst the youth has meant that the labour burden has increasingly fallen on older women. Indeed, the decline in productivity and quality of coffee has to be understood in a context where women have had to devote their time to additional livelihood strategies, to the neglect of tending to coffee, given the challenging economic environment⁴.

However, on the other hand, women's role in the daily management of the household and, in many cases, their increased contribution to family income has afforded them a greater degree of negotiating power within household relations. Households have increasingly become the site of gender struggle with changes in gender divisions of labour and the negotiation of "trade-offs" in response to changing socio-economic conditions (Silberschmidt, 1999: 100-1). Particularly in poorer households, gender roles may become more flexible 'as both men and women undertake productive and household responsibilities as need arises' (Thomas-Slayter and Rocheleau, 1995: 77). Although men are still viewed as the decision-makers, women may be able to translate their additional contributions and responsibilities into greater influence in household decision-making processes, such as those surrounding what to grow, when to harvest and when to sell (Abwunza, 1997: 97). It is mainly women that have the experience in dairy farming and horticultural production and so some households have become reliant on their labour to meet family needs, including even traditionally male responsibilities such as the payment of school fees.

⁴ Drawing upon the experience of women in Maragoli in Western Kenya, Ritu Verma argues that, rather than a lack of local knowledge and expertise, it is the time and energy that women have had to allocate to multiple off-farm livelihood strategies that has limited their ability to practice sustainable farming and soil management and led to further problems of poor yields, declining soil fertility, and soil erosion (Verma, 2001: 181).

Furthermore, whilst it is clear that even when the household was sustained by coffee income women retained a degree of independence, many wives have acquired greater autonomy over their earnings due to their increased engagement in non-agricultural activities. Both women and young people have been active in the “scramble” for viable alternative livelihood strategies and their rising cash earnings comparative to male heads of household’s declining incomes have affected gender and generational power balances within the household (Havnevik et al, 2007: 47). These activities include service provision, such as retailing food and clothes, transporting goods, producing and distributing alcoholic products and petty production (Mbataru, 2009: 40). As these multiple income streams are not always pooled within the household, wives and youths have, in some cases, more control over their earnings and have been able to make their own discretionary purchases (Havnevik et al, 2007: 50).

Nonetheless, this increased degree of negotiating power and independence has not been experienced by all women and must be understood in a context of continued male control over land and resources. Indeed, there is a growing disjuncture between the changing responsibilities and workload for women and their legal status, which continues to be characterised by insecure land tenure and a lack of rights (Thomas-Slayter and Rocheleua, 1995: 13). The fact that most “property” is owned by men significantly affects the way struggles over resources play out and the types of options and opportunities that are available to women’ (Verma, 2001: 87). For example, resources that have traditionally belonged to women but have become commercially valuable are increasingly a source of contestation as men seek to reassert control over family income (Thomas-Slayter and Rocheleua, 1995: 77). Notably, dairy farming was considered a feminine enterprise in Nyeri when men controlled the income from

coffee but the growth of the dairy industry comparative to the decline in coffee has placed the cow at the centre of gendered domestic conflict (Mbataru, 2009: 74-5).

In Murang'a District, another coffee producing area in Central Province, the banana has been a valued food crop for women because it matures quickly and fetches ready income at the market. The responsibility for producing and marketing the crop originally rested in the women's domain but there is evidence that, in some cases, it has been gradually appropriated by men. This is argued to be acceptable because the income earned is used to pay school fees and other customary male responsibilities but it does not bode well for those women for whom bananas were their foremost source of income (Thomas-Slayter and Rocheleua, 1995: 92-3). These challenges are particularly difficult for female heads of household who, without a male spouse, often are vulnerable in terms of access to and control over land and resources and may have more limited options (Havnevik, 2007: 47; Verma, 2001: 134-6).

Other examples of attempts to reassert male control include the search for other export crops to replace or supplement coffee. In Nyeri some male farmers have attempted to commercialise crops such as macadamia nuts, passion fruit and avocados, which were previously inhibited by the predominance of coffee and the lack of a sustained market. These have been taken more seriously following the growth in demand for these products due to increased health food consciousness and preference for natural skin care products (Mbataru, 2009: 67, 96-99). The significance of these examples is that, firstly, the increased negotiating power experienced by some women vis-à-vis their husbands does not necessarily translate into broader changes in gendered norms and practices; and secondly, women's increased

autonomy in the household may be accompanied by an overall more precarious economic situation.

Situating household relations in the broader socio-economic context and global political economy

Given the constraints that Kenyan women face due to their lack of formal power and limited legal control over resources, analyses concerned with gender struggle have tended to focus upon forms of everyday resistance (Thomas-Slayter and Rocheleua, 1995: 11-12). Through an examination of French bean cultivation in Meru District, also historically a leading coffee producing area, Catherine Dolan explores ‘how women negotiate their economic well-being as export horticulture insinuates itself into the household, and discuss[es] what constitutes female resistance in a context of inequitable resource distribution’ (Dolan, 2001: 40). She argues that women’s acceptance of material inequities should not be viewed as complicity in their own subordination but as a strategic defence in a landscape where overt opposition to male authority can engender social exclusion, landlessness and destitution. By investing in the gender-specific subject position of the “good wife”, women can accrue the associated tangible social and economic rewards (ibid: 41-2).

Similarly, drawing upon research into the gendered dynamics of the micropolitics of resource struggles in Maragoli, Ritu Verma argues that, rather than engaging in overt resistance to existing power relations, women reproduce patriarchal discourse in a strategy that allows them to exert a degree of power without facing the social sanctioning that results from outright contestation. By striking a posture of deference

to patriarchy in public, women create room to manoeuvre within seemingly rigid rules of conduct (2001: 75-6). Key to understanding this position is James Scott's distinction between "public transcripts" and "hidden transcripts" as outlined in 'Weapons of the Weak' (1985). With this distinction, Scott aims to demonstrate the choice of poor rural individuals to outwardly comply with accepted norms, laws and values whilst exercising their power through more covert everyday forms of resistance, such as boycotts, feigned ignorance, sabotage, theft and malicious gossip. Conformity can therefore be seen as part of a self-conscious and calculated strategy for individuals to defend their interests (1985: 28-37, 278-289).

However, this consideration of strategies of everyday resistance needs to be placed within gendered structures of power and the broader political-economic context. Drawing upon Scott's work to analyse the everyday resistance of female workers in Malaysia, Gillian Hart cautions that it can be 'misleading to focus exclusively or primarily on agency and resistance, and lose sight of larger configurations of political and economic forces'. She found that 'although poor women's autonomy vis-à-vis their husbands may in some instance have increased, their position in the larger society has been significantly undermined' (Hart, 1991: 115-6). Similarly, Verma warns that whilst the strategies of Logoli women 'can be seen as a form of symbolic and material deference to patriarchy, they have also served to entrench men's authority in terms of their material and symbolic control of land and property (Verma, 2001:153-4).

Indeed, in Harrod's study of household social relations, he identifies a number of interesting attempts on the behalf of women to resist male domination in the

household, such as individual psychological strategies to redress material, social and psychological domination and attempts to secure financial and personal independence through wage work outside the house (Harrod, 1987: 306-7). However, he concludes that whilst these offered women a degree of leverage within the household, such alterations of the configuration of power were not substantial enough to transform social relations and certainly not strong enough to override the general male structure of domination (ibid: 308). This is pertinent to the case of women in Nyeri because, although some women may have achieved greater negotiating within household, these changes have been more limited in terms of addressing the wider structures that perpetuate gendered inequalities. For example, as will be discussed in more detail below, the rules surrounding land ownership mean that women continue to be largely excluded from public decision making processes, such as those that take place within producer cooperatives.

In investigating how women can best transform the opportunities that arise from such changes in economic circumstances into sustained social transformation, it is useful to consider Gramsci's understanding of hegemony and how this can inform feminist approaches to empowerment. As with Scott's "hidden transcripts", Gramsci acknowledges the rich resistance culture of the subordinated but he also theorises how everyday forms of resistance can be developed into a coherent and critically aware social force (Reddy, 2000: 236). If any strategy is to be successful in transforming the institutions and material conditions that dominate a given society, subordinated groups must critically engage with the fragmentary and contradictory thoughts and practices of everyday experience so as to reach a phase of 'intellectual and moral unity' capable of supporting their coordinated action (Gramsci, 1971: 181, 331;

Reddy, 2000: 222). Furthermore, Gramsci states that ‘intellectual and moral reform has to be linked with a programme of economic reform – indeed the programme of economic reform is precisely the concrete form in which every intellectual and moral reform presents itself’ (Gramsci, 1971: 133).

This is possible because, although successful hegemonic projects may have the appearance of social unity and consensus, they actually remain vulnerable and there is a permanent potential for hegemonic instability as diverse social forces exploit these tensions and conflicts (Jessop and Sum, 2006: 170). No single mode of hegemony can exhaust the meanings and values of any society, so the governing power is forced to engage with counter-hegemonic forces and to continually renew and modify its hegemonic rule (Eagleton, 1991: 115). Therefore, hegemony should be understood as ‘negotiated’ by unequal forces in a complex process through which the subordination and resistance of individuals are created and recreated (Simon, 1991: 65). Whilst there are acknowledged limitations with Gramsci’s own treatment of gender (Holub, 1992; Kenway, 2001), his conceptualisation of hegemony is useful in considering how the spaces that have opened within household relations can be harnessed to engage with the institutions and practices that sustain gender inequalities.

In particular, it helps to develop and deepen the broad feminist approach to empowerment. Central to this approach is an understanding of power that recognises not only control over material assets, but also emphasises the more intangible forms of oppression and control that are exerted when people who are systematically denied power and influence in society internalise the messages they receive about what they are supposed to be like (Rowlands, 1995: 101-2). Accordingly, development

strategies should build upon ‘power from within’, the power to undo negative social constructions and to develop a sense of self and individual confidence and capacity, and ‘power with’, the capacity to achieve with others, in order to empower women to resist and challenge ‘power over’ (Rowlands, 1995: 102-3; Townsend et al, 1999: 26-36). Empowerment is seen as the process of ‘challenging existing power relations, and of gaining greater control over the sources of power’ through a range of activities ‘from individual self-assertion to collective resistance, protest and mobilisation’ (Batiwala, 1994: 130). Therefore, in considering the potential of fair trade, analysis should consider the extent to which it could contribute to such a process of individual and collective consciousness and coordinated social action among women within coffee producing communities. However, it is also important to consider the dialectical relationship between these gendered struggles within communities and the broader relations of power experienced by coffee producers vis-à-vis the global coffee industry.

Indeed, any gains in women’s autonomy within the household have to be understood in the context of the overall loss of producer power experienced with the restructuring of the global coffee industry and the concentration of power among the roasters and traders that this has entailed. Whilst the engagement in multiple alternative income earning strategies may appear to be innovative and an expression of women’s control over their own livelihood, it is important to emphasise the precarious nature of much of this work. Ranging from what Cox and Harrod identify as the primitive labour market to forms of the enterprise labour market and self-employment, these livelihood strategies leave their participants without individual or collective bargaining power and without the protections that established workers enjoy (Cox, 1987: 44-63). In

reality, the complicated multiple livelihood strategies and the incessant search for the right balance of activities arise precisely because neither subsistence production, agricultural commodity production nor non-agricultural activities in and of themselves provide security of livelihood (Havnevik, 2009: 55). Given this, I argue a fruitful way forward is to identify how initiatives aimed at improving the overall position of producers within the global economy, such as fair trade, can be developed to also address gender inequalities among producers.

Conclusion: Ways Forward

The restructuring of the global coffee industry and the liberalisation process in Kenya has had adverse effects upon quality and productivity within Kenya's coffee industry and has been accompanied by diminished producer control and share of profit within the global coffee value chain. The low and volatile income experienced by coffee producers has meant that they have had to rely upon multiple alternative income earning strategies to meet family needs. However, analysis of changing household relations suggests that the impact of the coffee crisis on women in coffee producing areas has been ambivalent. On the one hand, it has placed multiple burdens on women as they are forced to combine a number of productive and reproductive roles and responsibilities to sustain the household and compensate for the decline in coffee income. On the other hand, for some, this increased role in the daily management of the household and contribution to family income has led to greater negotiating power in household relations. Nonetheless, this has taken place within a context of continued male control over land and resources and precarious economic circumstances. One possible response to the problems associated with the coffee crisis has been fair trade,

which is aimed at ensuring producers receive a reasonable and stable income and the establishment of trading relationships on more equitable terms. However, does fair trade also offer women a means by which can translate their increased role in decision making processes within household into a broader transformation in inequitable gender relations?

Responding to the Coffee Crisis

Originating in the alternative trading practices of NGOs and church organisations in the 1950s and 1960s, that emerged to support impoverished and displaced groups in the South through the sale of crafts and commodities, fair trade has moved beyond marginalised world shops into the mainstream market through the creation of the Fairtrade mark (Jaffee, 2007: 12-3). This began as a number of national labelling initiatives in the late 1980s and 1990s, such as Solidaridad in the Netherlands and the Fairtrade Foundation in the UK, but became an agreed set of international standards in 2002 following the establishment of the umbrella group Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International (FLO) in 1997 (FLO, 2006). These include the payment of a minimum price set by the FLO and designed to cover the cost of sustainable production, and an additional premium to be invested in projects that enhance social, economic and environmental development⁵. Fairtrade standards are also intended to facilitate long-term trading partnerships and enable greater producer control over the trading process.

⁵ For conventional washed Arabica coffee, a minimum price of 125 US cents/lb is guaranteed and an additional premium of 10 US cents/lb is paid when the New York price is above the minimum.

For some critics, Fairtrade certification has become another form of corporate social responsibility or code of conduct that dominant MNCs and retailers can use to greenwash their image whilst making minimal commitments to fair trade objectives (Renard, 2005: 429; Tallontire, 2002: 13). Indeed, it has been argued that the rapid growth of fair trade since its reorientation to a voluntary nonstatist program in the late 1980s is precisely because it is highly compatible with neoliberalism as opposed to a direct challenge to it (Fridell, 2006: 19). The movement's strategy of operating "in and against the market" is potentially contradictory and there is clearly a risk that alternative trade could lose its progressive thrust, however, it is also its power (Raynolds, 2000: 299). The importance of fair trade is not only the guaranteed minimum price and additional premium, but also its vision to work with smallholder producers to encourage them to gain the knowledge and power to improve their situation and to be more in control of their product (FLO, 2006).

The Fairtrade certified coffee cooperative that I visited in the Central Province had experienced a moderate improvement in coffee payments. The additional premium had also been divided between the factories to provide financial support to farmers attending training days and invested into clean water systems, storage facilities and infrastructure to improve the quality of coffee produced. Given the demand for high quality Kenyan coffee, this will therefore potentially further increase coffee incomes in the future. However, as found in other studies of fair trade coffee cooperatives, it appeared that members believed that fair trade had a deeper impact than simply improving household income (Jaffee, 2007: 89). Members at different levels of the cooperative spoke about the positive effect that participating in fair trade has had upon motivation. A member of the supervisory committee argued that it had 'woken

up the society' as the association of their coffee with Fairtrade was helping to develop a reputation of high quality coffee. It was argued that even if the support from FLO and associated organisations was discontinued, the cooperative had sufficient knowledge and incentive to continue to build upon this initial step. For example, they are currently working to develop more direct trading relationships and discussing the possibility of roasting their own coffee so that they could retain more of the profit and, crucially, sell the coffee locally. However, as well as fair trade's focus on addressing inequalities within trading relationships, there has also been a growing concern with power relations within producer organisations and their communities following criticisms raised by impact studies that fair trade was falling short of its goal to promote gender equality (Lyon, 2008: 258; Le Mare, 2008: 1935).

Fair Trade and Gender Equality

There is a stated commitment to gender equality and women's empowerment amongst fair trade organisations but in practice attempts to analyse gender relations within the households of cooperative members and to address barriers to democratic participation within cooperatives has been fairly limited (Raynolds, 2002: 17; Tallontire, 2000: 170; Lyon, 2008: 259). For example, Fairtrade standards identify small producers as those that predominantly rely upon their own labour and that of their family members in the running of their farm and state that small producers and their families are the intended direct beneficiaries of fair trade (FLO, 2009). However, this does not problematise neither gendered divisions of labour nor gendered distributions of resources within the household. Therefore, it is argued that fair trade organisations need to be more proactive in tackling the social, economic and cultural

basis of gender inequality and that additional research is needed to understand the interaction between participation in fair trade and the wider circumstance and position of women (Le Mare, 2008: 1935).

As already indicated, one issue particularly pertinent to fair trade coffee is the discrepancy between women's contribution to coffee production and their participation in the decision-making processes at the cooperative level. Fairtrade standards require that producer organisations have 'democratic structures in place and a transparent administration' to ensure that the organisation is 'an instrument for the social and economic development of the members'. It should also strive to improve its structures and practices 'in order to maximise the participation of members and their sense of ownership over the organization' (FLO, 2009: 7). Yet the failure to adequately engage with the constraints surrounding women's participation in the management of cooperatives and their associated activities means that Fairtrade cooperatives are likely to perpetuate rather than overcome gender inequalities in coffee production (Lyon, 2008: 262-4).

Research at the Fairtrade cooperative in Nyeri revealed that whilst women accounted for about one third of the cooperative membership, there had been no female members on the elected management committee. The women attending the training day and the management committee themselves argued that this was because politics is considered to be the domain of men rather than women. There are also issues surrounding women's ability to attend frequent and lengthy meetings due to their multiple responsibilities within the household. Despite these acknowledged limitations of Fairtrade certification in terms of promoting gender equality, there is

still potential for fair trade to become a vehicle for addressing inequitable gender relations in a way that is sensitive to the dangers identified with direct confrontation.

An interesting example is the work of a fair trade organisation, the Lorna Young Foundation, in support of the Fairtrade cooperative in Nyeri developing direct trading relationships. Through this engagement with the cooperative, focusing upon issues such as improving the quality of their coffee and building the organisation's capacity to control the value chain, attempts are also being made to sensitise members and the management to gender inequalities within the cooperative and coffee production more broadly. For example, there have been discussions surrounding the discrepancies between women's responsibility for improving the quality of coffee as the ones that tend to the coffee farms and their active participation in and control over planning, implementation and management of cooperative activities. The organisation are also in the process of developing an internal social auditing process in collaboration with the cooperative and a local college so as to identify weaknesses in the cooperative's structures and practices and to devise strategies for addressing them. Whilst, such activities are limited in the sense that they are focused upon women's equal participation within the cooperative, they also provide a vehicle through which to raise a collective awareness of wider gender norms and practices and the potential to develop strategies for engaging with the social structures that underpin gender inequalities.

Bibliography

Abwunza, Judith (1997) *Women's Voices, Women's Power* (Essex: Broadview Press)

Batliwala, Srilatha (1994) 'The meaning of women's empowerment: new concepts from action' in Gita Sen, Adrienne Germain, Lincoln C. Chen (eds) *Population Policies Reconsidered: Health, Empowerment, and Rights* (Boston: Harvard University)

Carney, Judith and Watts, Michael (1990) 'Manufacturing Dissent: Work, Gender and the Politics of Meaning', *Africa* 60 (2) 207-241

Cox, Robert (1987) *Production, Power and World Order* (USA: Columbia University Press)

Cox, Robert (1999) 'Civil Society at the Turn of the Millennium: Prospects for an Alternative World Order', *Review of International Studies* 25, 3-28

Daviron, Benoit and Stefano Ponte (2005) *The Coffee Paradox: Global Markets, Commodity Trade and the Elusive Promise of Development* (London: Zed Books)

Dolan, Catherine (2001) 'The "Good Wife": Struggles over Resources in Kenya', *Journal of Development Studies* 37 (3) 39-70

Eagleton, Terry (1991) *Ideology* (London:Verso)

FLO (2006) *Why Fairtrade: An Explanation of Fairtrade and its Objectives*, Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International, Bonn

FLO (2009) *Generic Fairtrade Standards for Small Producers Organizations*, Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International, Bonn

Fitter, Robert and Raphael Kaplinsky (2001) 'Can an Agricultural "Commodity" be De-Commodified, and if so, Who is to Gain?', *IDS Discussion Paper 380* (Brighton: Institute of Development Studies)

Fridell, Gavin (2007) *Fair Trade Coffee: The Prospects and Pitfalls of Market-Driven Social Justice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press)

Gibbon, Peter and Stefano Ponte (2005) *Trading Down: Africa, Value Chains and the Global Economy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press)

Gitau, Raphael et al (2009) 'Agricultural Policy-Making in Sub-Saharan Africa: Kenya's Past Policies' (Nairobi: Tegemeo Institute of Agricultural Policy and Development)

Gramsci, Antonio (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart)

Harrod, Jeffrey (1987) *Power, Production and the Unprotected Worker* (USA: Columbia University Press)

Hart, Gillian (1991) 'Engendering Everyday Resistance: Gender, Patronage and Production Politics in Rural Malaysia', *Journal of Peasant Studies* 19 (1) 93-121

Havnevik, Kjell, Deborah Bryceson, Lars-Erik Birgegard, Prosper Matondi and Atakilte Beyene (2007) *African Agriculture and the World Bank: Development or Impoverishment?* (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala)

Holub (1992) *Antonio Gramsci: Beyond Marxism and Postmodernism* (London: Routledge)

IFAD (2009) 'Rural Poverty in Kenya' available at <http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/web/guest/country/home/tags/kenya> (15 February 2010)

ILO (1995) *Gender Issues in Cooperatives: An ILO-ICA Perspective*, International Labour Organisation, Geneva

Jaffee, Daniel (2007) *Brewing Justice: Fair Trade Coffee, Sustainability, and Survival* (California: University of California Press)

Jessop, Bob and Ngai-Ling Sum (2006) 'Towards a Cultural Political Economy: Poststructuralism and the Italian School' in Marieke De Goede (ed) *International Political Economy and Poststructural Politics* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan)

Karanja, Andrew (2004) 'Policy Notes: Coffee Sub-Sector in Kenya' (Nairobi: World Bank)

Karanja, Andrew and Nyoro, James (2002) 'Coffee Prices and Regulation and their Impact on Livelihoods of Rural Community in Kenya' (Nairobi: Tegemeo Institute of Agricultural Policy and Development)

Kenway, Jane (2001) 'Remembering and Regenerating Gramsci' in Kathleen Weiler (ed) *Feminist Engagements: Reading, Revisiting and Revisioning Male Theorists in Education and Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge)

Le Mare, Ann (2008) 'The Impact of Fair Trade on Social and Economic Development: A Review of the Literature', *Geography Compass* 2/6, 1922-1942

Lutlinger, Nina and Dicum, Gregory (2006) *The Coffee Book: Anatomy of an Industry from Crop to the Last Drop* (New York: New York Press)

Lyon, Sarah (2008) 'We Want to Be Equal to Them: Fair-trade Coffee Certification and Gender Equity within Organizations', *Human Organization* 67 (3) 258-268

Mbataru, Patrick (2009) *The Coffee Crisis: Old Interests, New Interests and Illusions of Development* (Germany: Lambert Publishing)

Nippierd, Anne-Brit (2002) 'Gender Issues in Cooperatives', ILO Cooperative Branch available at www.oit.org/images/empent/static/coop/gender/genderissues.PDF (30 August 2010)

Oxfam (Charis Gresser and Sophia Tickell) (2002) *Mugged: Poverty in Your Coffee Cup* (London: Oxfam International)

Petit, Nicolas (2007) 'Ethiopia's Coffee Sector: A Bitter or Better Future?', *Journal of Agrarian Change* 7 (2) 225-263

Ponte, Stefano (2002a) 'Brewing a Bitter Cup? Deregulation, Quality and the Re-organisation of Coffee Marketing in East Africa', *Journal of Agrarian Change* 2 (2) 248-272

Ponte, Stefano (2002b) 'The "Latte Revolution"? Regulation, Markets and Consumption in the Global Coffee Chain', *World Development*, 30 (7) 1099-1122

Raynolds, Laura, T. (2000) 'Re-Embedding Global Agriculture: The International Organic and Fair Trade Movements', *Agriculture and Human Values*, 17, 297-309

Raynolds, Laura, T. (2002) *Poverty Alleviation Through Participation in Fair Trade Coffee Networks: Existing Research and Critical Issues* available at infoagro.net/shared/docs/a6/CoffeeFairTrade.pdf (30 August 2010)

Reddy, Thiven (2000) *Hegemony and Resistance: Contesting Identities in South Africa* (Hants: Ashgate Publishing Ltd)

Renard, Marie-Christine (2005) 'Quality Certification, Regulation and Power in Fair Trade', *Journal of Rural Studies* 21(4) 419-31

Rowlands, Jo (1995) 'Empowerment Examined', *Development in Practice* 5 (2) 101-7

Scott, James (1985) *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press)

Silberschmidt, Margrethe (1999) *Women Forget that Men are the Masters: Gender Antagonism and Socio-Economic Change In Kisii District, Kenya* (Sweden: Nordiska Afrikaninstitutet)

Simon, Roger (1991) *Gramsci's Political Thought: An Introduction* (London: Lawrence and Wishart)

Talbot, John, M. (1997) 'Where Does Your Coffee Dollar Go?: The Division of Income and Surplus Along the Coffee Commodity Chain', *Studies in Comparative International Development* 32 (1) 56-91

Tallontire, Anne (2000) 'Partnerships in Fair Trade: Reflections From a Case Study of Cafédirect', *Development in Practice*, 10 (2) 166-177

Tallontire, Anne (2002) 'Challenges Facing Fair Trade: Which Way Now?', *Small Enterprise Development*, 13 (3) 12-24

Thomas-Slayter, Barbara and Dianne Rocheleau (1995) *Gender, Environment and Development in Kenya: A Grassroots Perspective* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers)

Townsend, Janet et al (1999) *Women and Power: Fighting Patriarchies and Poverty* (London: Zed Books)

Verma, Ritu (2001) *Gender, Land and Livelihoods in East Africa: Through Farmer's Eyes* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre)

Whitehead, Ann (1994) 'Wives and Mothers: Female Farmers in Africa' in Aderanti Adepoju and Christine Opong's *Gender, Work and Population in Sub-Saharan Africa* (London: James Currey)

World Bank (2000) *World Development Report 2000/01: Attacking Poverty*
(Washington, DC: World Bank)

World Bank (2006) *Poverty and Social Impact Assessment Along the Coffee Value Chain* (Nairobi: World Bank)

World Bank (2008) *World Development Report 2008: Agriculture for Development*.
Washington DC: World Bank.