DECAF EMPOWERMENT? POST-WASHINGTON CONSENSUS DEVELOPMENT POLICY, FAIR TRADE AND KENYA'S COFFEE INDUSTRY

by

ZOË ALEXANDRA PFLAEGER

A thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Political Science and International Studies
School of Government & Society
College of Social Sciences

The University of Birmingham
January 2011

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Abstract

This thesis seeks to make a contribution to the debate concerning the adoption of the language of empowerment and participation into Post-Washington Consensus development policy. Whilst it is acknowledged that the de-politicisation approach makes some valid contributions, it is argued that it suffers from a tendency to focus on the construction of development discourse. This has rather one-sidely led to the conclusion that the concept of empowerment has been used as an instrument of subjection. It is argued that the transformation approach offers a more nuanced analysis of participatory development practices that seeks to identify the opportunities that exist for their re-politicisation. Accordingly, the concept of empowerment should instead be examined as part of an ongoing political struggle to construct meaning and to harness action towards progressive political goals.

This thesis makes a theoretical contribution to this debate by extending and consolidating the transformation approach through neo-Gramscian theory. Through its analysis of Fair Trade in the Kenyan coffee industry, it provides further empirical substantiation for the transformation approach. Whilst acknowledging the limitations of the World Bank's approach to empowerment, this research identifies the opportunities and possibilities that exist for reasserting an alternative approach to producer empowerment based on the more radical notions of critical consciousness and collective social action. Given the highly unequal power relations that characterise the global coffee industry, this supports the argument put forward by the transformation approach that participatory development needs to explicitly engage with the wider power structures and institutions that perpetuate exclusion and inequality.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations **i**
Map of Kenya **ii**

Introduction **1**

The Case of Kenya's Coffee Industry 5
Contributions to the Literature 10
Chapter Outline 13

Chapter 1 **17**
The Concept of Empowerment in Development Theory and Practice

Introduction 17
Tracing the Conceptual History of Empowerment 19
- Participatory Development 19
- Women's Empowerment 26
- Community Participation 30

The Adoption of Empowerment into the New Development Orthodoxy 35
- Participatory development in 1990s and 2000s: Participation as empowerment 35
- The De-politicisation Critique 38
- The Transformation Approach 46

Post-Impasse Development Theory 54
Concluding Comments 59

Chapter 2 **62**
A Gramscian Approach to Post-Impasse Development

Introduction 62
Foucault, Gramsci and Development Alternatives 65
- From 'Disciplinary Power' to 'Governmentality' 65
- Foucault and Gramsci: The Search for a Theory of Resistance 75

Approaches to Empowerment: Moving Beyond 'Consciousness-Raising' to Resistance as Praxis 85
Gramsci and Post-Impasse Development 94
- The Contribution of Gramsci to International Political Economy 94
- Neo-Gramscian Approach and Feminist Political Economy: A Useful Synthesis? 101

Methodology and Concrete Research 110
Concluding Comments 121

Chapter 3 **123**
Post-Washington Consensus Development Policy and Kenya's Coffee Industry

Introduction 123
Post-Washington Consensus Development Policy and Africa 127
Empowerment and World Bank Policy 129
Interpretations of the African State 134
Assessments of the Post-Washington Consensus and PRSPs 141
Decaf Empowerment? Kenya's Coffee Industry and Agricultural Policy 146
Concluding Comments 160

Chapter 4 **163**
Fair Trade: An Alternative Approach to Producer Empowerment?

Introduction 163
History of Fair Trade: From Alternative Trade to Fair Trade 168
Alternative Trade 168
Fairtrade Certification and the FAIRTRADE mark 172
Assessing Fair Trade: Neoliberal Tool or Vehicle of Empowerment? 178
Fair Trade and Neoliberalism 178
Fair Trade: A Theoretical and Practical Alternative? 182
Fair Trade and the Speciality Coffee Mark 190
Concluding Comments 192

Chapter 5 **194**
The Experience of Fair Trade in Kenya's Coffee Industry

Introduction 194
Situating the Field 196
Fair Trade as an Alternative Approach to Empowerment 199
Rumukia and Fairtrade Certification 199
Comparing Fair Trade to the Post-Washington Consensus 203
The potential of Branding Initiatives 205
Lessons for Kenya's Coffee Industry 210
Producer Empowerment Within and Beyond the Cooperative 215
The Cooperative as a Vehicle of Development 216
Moving Beyond the Cooperative 222
Concluding Comments 224

Chapter 6 **226**
Gender, Power and Changing Household Relations in Kenya's Coffee Industry

Introduction 226
The Ambivalent Nature of Global Restructuring: Changing Household Relations 231
Household Relations under the Coffee Industry 231
Gendered Impact of the Restructuring of the Coffee Industry 234
Situating Household Relations in the Broader Political Economic Context 239
Women's Empowerment: Ways Forward 243
Challenging Gender Myths in the World Bank's Approach to Women's Empowerment 243

Fair Trade and Gender 249
Concluding Comments 252

Conclusion **254**

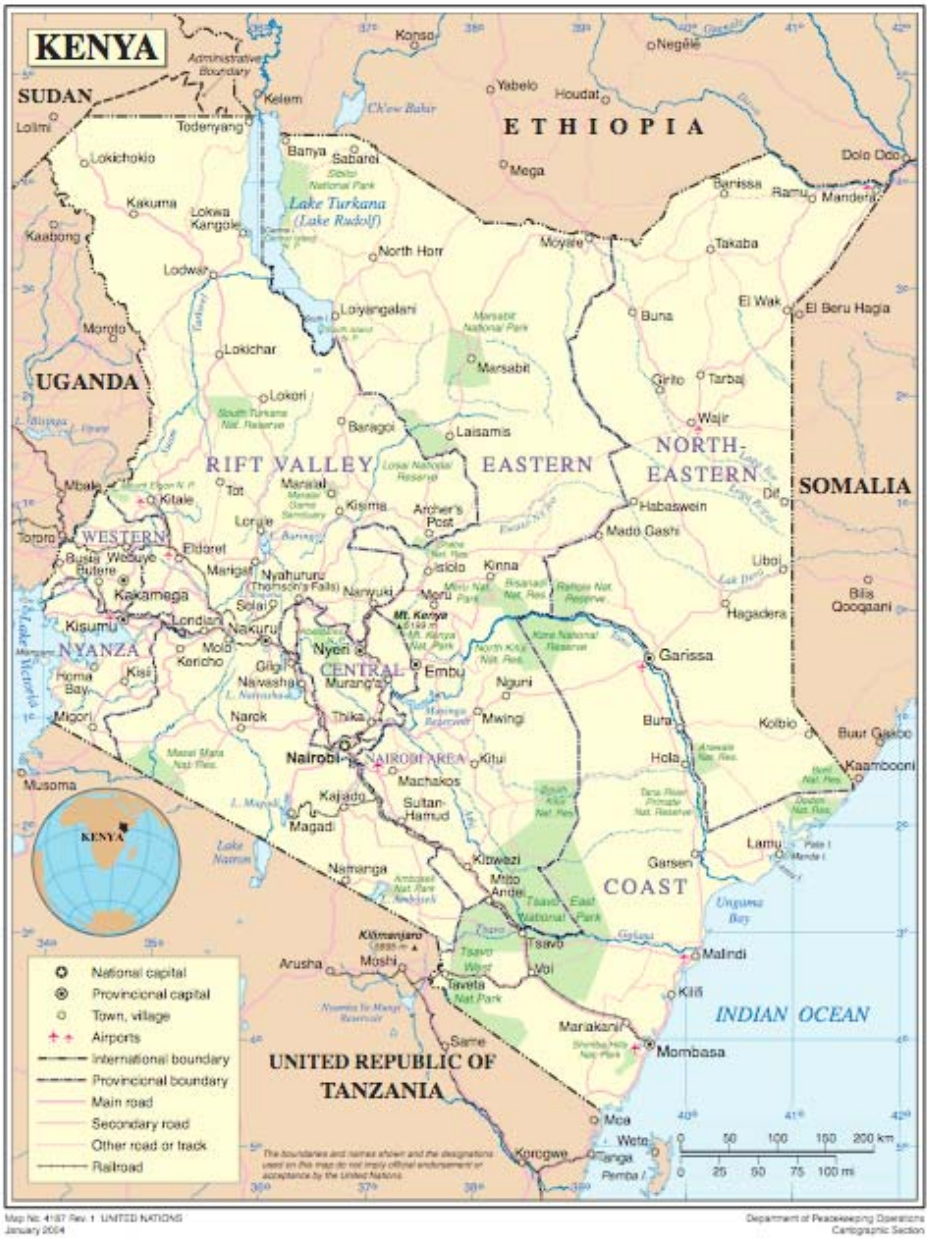
Appendix **262**
Research Procedure
Burawoy's Extended Case Method 262
Critical Ethnography and Action Research 265
Research Procedure 268
Field Research in the UK 270
Field Research in Kenya 273
Reflection on research procedure 276

Bibliography **278**

List of Abbreviations

ATOs	alternative trade organisations
CBK	Coffee Board of Kenya
CAFOD	Catholic Overseas Development Agency
CDF	Comprehensive Development Framework
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
DfID	Department for International Development
EFTA	European Fair Trade Association
FTF	Fair Trade Federation
FLO	Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International
GAD	gender and development
GDP	gross domestic product
ICA	International Coffee Agreement
ICO	International Coffee Organisation
IFAT	International Fair Trade Association
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KAPP	Kenya's Agricultural Productivity Project
KAPAP	Kenya's Agricultural Productivity and Agribusiness Project
KARI	Kenya's Agricultural Research Institute
KNCU	Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union
KPCU	Kenya Planters Cooperative Union
NEWS!	Network of European World Shops
NGOs	non-governmental organisations
NICs	Newly Industrialised Countries
NTTI	Nyeri Technical Training Institute
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
O&M	organisation and methods
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessments
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRSPs	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SERRV	Sales Exchange for Refugee Rehabilitation and Vocation
TWIN	Third World Information Network
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
WDR	World Development Report
WFTO	World Fair Trade Organisation

Map of Kenya



Produced by United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Cartographic Section

Introduction

The concept of 'empowerment' has become an indispensable part of mainstream development vocabulary, appealing to a diverse and contradictory range of development thinkers, practitioners and policy-makers. Although the idea of empowerment has a number of different meanings emerging from a variety of contexts and intellectual traditions, in the case of international development it is usually understood to represent an alternative approach that aims to make people central to development. Following an increasing recognition of the shortcomings of top-down, externally imposed and expert-oriented research and planning, this approach seeks to encourage open dialogue between development practitioners and locals and to enable the self-management of development projects (Chambers, 1997; 2005). Accordingly, the mainstream acceptance of the concept of empowerment could be seen as an attempt by governments and development agencies to improve upon past development failures and to engage with grassroots organisations and communities (Cornwall and Brock, 2005: 1044).

In particular, the shift to a 'Post-Washington Consensus' during the late 1990s and the replacement of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) with poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs) has been welcomed by some. As opposed to SAPs, PRSPs are produced by governments in consultation with 'stakeholders', such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), churches, unions and business, to encourage a sense of 'ownership' of development programmes and to promote processes of participation (Klugman, 2002). The discourse of empowerment has come to play a central part in this consensus with its emphasis upon the global poor themselves

playing a role in designing and implementing development projects as active, empowered citizens rather than 'beneficiaries' (Molyneux, 2006: 429). Empowering the poor so as to expand their assets and capabilities to participate in the decision-making processes that affect their lives is seen as an important factor in ensuring the poverty-reducing impact of development policies (World Bank, 2000, 2002a).

However, a number of practitioners and academics have argued that the concept of empowerment has been adopted by the mainstream in an attempt to legitimise and de-politicise the continued involvement of donor governments and international development agencies in the affairs of developing countries whilst reducing the cost and improving the efficiency of implementing development programmes (The de-politicisation critique is most notably associated with the contributors to the edited volume by Cooke and Kothari, 2001; also see Henkel and Stirrat, 2001; Miraftab, 2004; Kothari, 2005; Cleaver, 1999). Consequently, it is important to critically engage with the various discourses that invoke the concept of empowerment and to consider how these are put into practice in order to understand why it has appealed to such a diverse range of actors and to investigate the possible positive and negative implications of its adoption by the development mainstream.

It is my central claim that, although there is some merit to this de-politicisation critique of participatory development, it remains a rather limited approach to the analysis of empowerment. As identified by Glyn Williams, the tendency to focus analysis on the practitioners of development and how they construct their object through the discourse of development has rather one-sidely led to the conclusion that the concept has been used as an instrument of subjection (Williams, 2004: 565). I

argue that this is at least in part due to the reliance upon a Foucauldian concept of disciplinary power, which can also be identified as a limitation of the broader post-development approach. This claims that engagement with dominant development institutions and practices inevitably involves the danger of cooption, and that the solution is therefore to disengage with the development mainstream and concentrate upon local struggles and grassroots movements (Cooke, 2004; Escobar, 1992; 1995; Rahnema, 1992). However, there is a growing number of scholars (notably Williams, 2004; Hickey, 2002, Hickey and Mohan, 2004; Cornwall, 2004) who argue that by examining the particular way these discourses and practices play out in concrete situations, it is possible to identify the ways in which people resist and contest these discourses and the opportunities that are created for their re-politicisation. Accordingly, the concept of empowerment should instead be examined as part of an ongoing political struggle to construct meaning and to harness action towards progressive political goals.

The transformation approach seeks to re-establish participation as a transformatory approach to development through an explicit engagement with existing power structures and political systems, particularly in relation to processes of state formation, social stratification and political economy (Hickey and Mohan, 2004a). It stresses the need for large-scale collective action to contest the wider power relations and institutions that underpin exclusion and challenge the de-politicising effects of mainstream participatory development. This is in recognition that political action limited to the local level actually obscures and sustains macro-level inequalities and injustices (Hickey, 2002: 842-3).

This thesis contributes to this literature and addresses the insufficiencies of the de-politicisation approach in theorising empowerment by drawing upon Gramscian thought in order to more adequately investigate the specific political struggles that take place within a given locality and to situate these within the broader structures of power. Of particular importance is Gramsci's understanding of hegemony as 'negotiated' by unequal forces in a complex process through which the subordination and resistance of individuals are created and recreated (Simon, 1991: 65). Such a conception is therefore a useful guide in analysing not only the processes of cooption associated with current development policy but also the opportunities that may arise to subvert these policies and harness them to transform existing social relations as the existing arrangements are continually contested and renegotiated.

Gramsci's conception of hegemony also points to the dialectical relationship between everyday activities and concrete thought, which he calls 'common sense', and constructions of critical consciousness and social relations (Gramsci, 1971: 330-1). This provides a more adequate theory of resistance, which requires the coordinated and collective action of the subordinated to challenge dominant configurations of power. It also encourages analysis of not only the ways in which dominant discursive interventions shape the lives of those on the ground, but also how these individuals in turn respond to and interact with these forces through their existing conceptions and practices. Therefore, my thesis combines an analysis of discourses of empowerment with a consideration of the broader structures of power in which these discourses emerge and an investigation of the specific context in which they are put into practice.

My basic propositions are that (a) there are significant tensions between the approach to empowerment as envisioned by the development mainstream and the structures of the global political economy which place limitations on achieving the stated aim of poverty alleviation. This has important implications for the apparent consensus which has emerged that development should now be focused upon poverty reduction through the participation and empowerment of the global poor; (b) although some progress has been made within critical approaches to development theory in moving beyond the 'development impasse', this has been limited by the continued focus upon localised development projects to the neglect of broader power structures; and (c) to build upon this progress and to understand the constraints but also the possibilities that may exist within approaches to empowerment, analysis of localised political struggles needs to be placed within a broader investigation of the power relations associated with trade and production.

The Case of Kenya's Coffee Industry

In this thesis, I substantiate the plausibility of these propositions with reference to development policies and projects aimed at the empowerment of coffee farmers within Kenya in the context of the changing relations of power that have accompanied the restructuring of the global coffee industry. This analysis begins to investigate these issues by critically engaging with the discourse of empowerment as it has been developed in World Bank development policy and considering the implications of this discourse in the African context. Through the example of Kenya's coffee industry, it draws out some of the tensions between strategies aimed at empowering Kenyan coffee producers, such as the Kenya Agricultural Productivity Project (KAPP), and

the power relations that underpin the production and trade of coffee. However, by also examining the particular way these practices and tensions have played out in a coffee-producing community in the Central Province region of Kenya, I additionally discuss the opportunities that have arisen and the possibilities that exist for coffee farmers to reassert alternative approaches to empowerment.

A fruitful example in this respect is that of Fair Trade. Such activities are explicitly aimed at producer empowerment but there exists struggles within the movement over what exactly this means and how it can be achieved. For some critics, Fair Trade is viewed as a market-based approach to poverty alleviation that is in keeping with principles of the Post-Washington Consensus. Based upon self-interested consumption in the North, it is argued to be a form of corporate social responsibility that functions to support neoliberal governance (Fridell, 2006; 2007; Guthman, 2007; Dolan, 2010). Such an interpretation does rather a disservice to the diversity within movement and the alternative trade organisations (ATOs) that offer a theoretical and practical challenge to conventional trading practices. On this basis, it has been argued that Fair Trade can be seen as both an alternative market structure and a social movement (Jaffee, 2007; Tallontire, 2000; Raynolds, 2000; Raynolds and Long, 2007). Therefore, my thesis seeks to offer a more nuanced and detailed assessment of the dynamics of this movement as they play out both in the UK and in the example of Kenya's coffee industry. By drawing upon the application of Gramscian thought to international political economy, this analysis of development policy and Fair Trade initiatives is considered in relation to the restructuring of the global coffee industry that has taken place following the collapse of the International Coffee Agreement (ICA) in 1989. In particular, the work of Robert Cox and Jeffrey Harrod provides a

method for understanding global power relations and a focus upon inequality as embedded in the social relations of production that shape people's lives (Cox 1986, 1987; Harrod, 1987). On this basis, this thesis explores the extent to which Fair Trade can be considered a transformatory approach to empowerment.

The argument put forward is that the concept of empowerment has undergone a shift in meaning through its adoption into World Bank development policy. No longer associated with the more radical notions of political consciousness and social transformation that emerge from perspectives of participatory development and gender and development (Rahman, 1993; Fals Borda, 1987; Batliwala, 1994; Rowlands, 1997; Kabeer, 1994), it has come to play an important role in the current development orthodoxy based upon good governance, decentralisation and participation with continued liberalisation. This is particularly the case in the African context, where problematic interpretations of the African post-independence state as suffering from an inherent and pathological condition of corruption and neo-patrimonialism (World Bank, 1989; 1994; Bratton and van de Walle, 1994; 1997; van de Walle, 2001; Chabal, 2002) have limited the application of the recommendation associated with the Post-Washington Consensus that the state should play a greater role in development (Stiglitz, 1998a; 1998b; World Bank, 1997). This has encouraged public sector reform and the gradual ceding of poverty reduction functions to NGOs, the private sector and local civil society organisations, which have further undermined the capacity of the state (Mosley, 2001: 331; Mkandawire, 2001; Muranga, 2007). As is the case with KAPP, the empowerment of the poor is promoted in this context as a means to support the decentralisation of the state and the pluralisation of service delivery.

This fails to acknowledge both the role that the neoliberal reforms associated with SAPs have played in undermining the political capacity of the African state and the importance of the state and social movements, such as unions and producer organisations, in processes of empowerment if they are to achieve sustainable social change. In the example of Kenya's coffee industry, although not perfect representations of farmer interests, the state and producer cooperatives and unions did at least ensure that coffee producers had some protection from the global coffee market and provide them with a degree of collective bargaining power. However, the role of these organisations has been severely constrained by the liberalisation of Kenya's coffee industry and the concentration of power amongst roasters and buyers that has occurred as a result of the restructuring of the global coffee industry. The essential characteristics of the global coffee industry have changed significantly following the collapse of the ICA. This post-ICA regime has been 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 political negotiation over quotas have been replaced by market relations (Ponte, 2002b: 253-4; Daviron and Ponte, 2005; 88-90; Gibbon and Ponte, 2005: 109-10; Luttlinger and Dicum, 2006; Petit, 2007). Alongside the historically low coffee prices, producers have also experienced higher levels of price volatility as a result of both the end of supply controls in the ICA and the increased role of speculation in commodity exchange markets.

Given this, although KAPP represents an improvement on past policy failures, its approach to farmer empowerment through service delivery reform and consultative

processes (World Bank, 2004; 2009) is unlikely to bring about substantial social change and it is also likely to be limited in achieving its aim of poverty alleviation. However, as struggles over meaning are part of broader processes of ongoing political struggle, it is important for analysis to identify opportunities to re-assert alternative approaches to empowerment capable of supporting transformative action. In the case of Kenya's coffee industry, it is argued that Fair Trade can play an important role in supporting such an alternative strategy through encouraging processes of individual and collective critical awareness within producer cooperatives and providing the impetus for building greater collective organisation between them. 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 workers facing more oppressive relations at the other end of the scale (Cox, 1987: 4-5; Harrod, 1987: 39). In line with this, 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.

According to Cox, the challenge is to bridge the differences among those disadvantaged within or excluded from the global economy 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). Through its focus on establishing fairer trading relations based on greater producer ownership and control, it is argued that Fair Trade has the potential to contribute to such an endeavour. Not only does it offer producers a degree of stability and protection but it can also contribute towards producer organisations

developing a critical understanding of the nature of the global coffee industry and constructing collective strategies for action to challenge the inequitable power relations that characterise it.

Drawing upon empirical research conducted at a Fairtrade certified cooperative in Nyeri District, a coffee producing area in the Central Province region of Kenya, it is suggested that Fair Trade initiatives offer a more adequate approach to producer empowerment than that associated with KAPP. However, whilst it is indicated that Fair Trade can play a role in developing the critical capacity and bargaining power of producer organisations vis-à-vis the global coffee industry, it is also acknowledged that there are some limitations with regards to its approach to social relations within coffee producing communities. Indeed there is a danger that Fair Trade initiatives can replicate existing patterns of exclusion and marginalisation. One particularly significant line of differentiation within coffee-producing communities is gender due to the complex gender issues surrounding the control and ownership of coffee. Through an analysis of household social relations in Kenya's coffee industry, I explore how gender norms and practices interact with Fair Trade initiatives to place constraints on women's empowerment. I also consider how Fair Trade could incorporate into its practices a more holistic approach to empowerment that engages with patterns of marginalisation in coffee-producing communities so as to more effectively address the wider structures that underpin gender inequality and inequity.

Contributions to the Literature

This thesis makes both an empirical and a theoretical contribution to the debate concerning the adoption of the language of empowerment into Post-Washington Consensus development policy. Through its analysis of Fair Trade in the Kenyan coffee industry, it provides further empirical substantiation for the transformation approach. Whilst acknowledging the limitations of the World Bank's approach to empowerment, this research identifies the opportunities and possibilities that exist for reasserting an alternative approach to producer empowerment based on the more radical notions of critical consciousness and collective social action. Given the highly unequal power relations that characterise the global coffee industry, this supports the argument put forward by the transformation approach that participatory development needs to explicitly engage with the wider power structures and institutions that perpetuate exclusion and inequality (Hickey and Mohan, 2004a). It is only by radically changing the practices of the powerful and working towards more equitable relations that the marginalised can have the opportunity to not only participate but also to set the rules of their own game (Vincent, 2004: 121). The example of Fair Trade demonstrates the importance of a broad-based social movement to critically engage with conventional trading practices and develop more direct trading relationships in which producer organisations have greater bargaining power and a degree of ownership and control.

This thesis also makes a theoretical contribution to this debate by extending and consolidating the transformation approach through neo-Gramscian theory. Gramsci's concept of hegemony provides a sophisticated understanding of the relationship between political struggles over meaning and the social relations of production and contributes towards the theorisation of resistance. To be effective, strategies of

resistance should engage critically and dialectically with the dominant configurations of power through the coordinated action of a broad-based alliance of movements. For Gramsci, a central aspect of this process is a critical engagement with "common sense" so as to 'construct a higher level of critical, systemic consciousness that corresponds to resistance actions of the subaltern' (Reddy, 2000: 222). This involves focusing on the realm of everyday experience but moving beyond this by 'renovating and making "critical" an already existing activity' to reach a political phase of 'intellectual and moral unity' (Gramsci, 1971: 181, 331). This entails 'something more than a rewriting of culture within the symbolic space of capitalism' (Jessop and Sum, 2006: 171) as 'intellectual and moral reform has to be linked with a programme of economic reform' (Gramsci, 1971: 133). This conceptualisation of the dynamic relationship between constructions of critical consciousness and transformative collective action furthers the transformation approach in its endeavour to re-establish a radical approach to participatory development.

Furthermore, the application of Gramscian thought to international political economy also supports analysis of relationships between local struggles and the wider political economy, which is often argued to be necessary within the transformation approach but less frequently analysed in detail. In particular, neo-Gramscian theory strengthens and extends the spatial dimension to Gramsci's concept of hegemony, situating hegemonic struggle at the local and national level within configurations of power at the international level (Cox, 1986; Jessop, 2005; Jessop and Sum, 2006). Cox and Harrod's patterns of social relations of production approach promotes an understanding of the interrelations between localised struggle, the state and the global political economy through analysis of the way in which the world's work is done

(Cox, 1987; Harrod, 1987). This dialectical and spatial understanding of hegemony usefully contributes to the transformation approach, which emphasises the importance of multi-scaled strategies in the struggle against economic and political exclusion (Mohan and Hickey, 2004: 61-2). It also strengthens the challenge to the de-politicisation critique and post-development theory more broadly by emphasising the limitations of localised political action that fails to address global structures of social forces.

In addition, through the recovery of Gramsci's concept of moral and intellectual reform, this thesis also makes a theoretical contribution to neo-Gramscian theory itself. This is by developing it in response to the critiques that have been launched against it from the feminist perspective, which emphasise the lack of sustained analysis of how gendered identities and subjectivities are constructed (Steans and Tepe, 2008), as well as by those who argue that neo-Gramscian IPE operates with an impoverished concept of 'dominant ideology'. This views hegemony as a largely one-dimensional power relationship, fashioned by elite transnational classes and imposed on subaltern classes, which involves an inadequate comprehension of the nature of counter-hegemonic resistance (Germain and Kenny, 1998: 18-9). The concept of moral and intellectual reform provides a much richer conception that enables us to simultaneously grapple with conditions of hegemony and resistance.

Chapter Outline

The thesis begins in Chapter 1 by tracing the conceptions of empowerment that have emerged from participatory development, gender and development, and community

participation. It then indicates how these can inform debates concerning the adoption of the language of empowerment and participation into mainstream development theory. Whilst it is acknowledged that the de-politicisation approach makes some valid contributions to this debate, it is argued that it suffers from a tendency to focus on the construction of development discourse to the neglect of the ways in which this is resisted and subverted towards unintended consequences. This chapter then proceeds to consider the transformation approach, which it is argued offers a more nuanced analysis of participatory development practices that seeks to identify the opportunities that exist for their re-politicisation.

Chapter 2 contributes to this debate and addresses the limitations of the de-politicisation critique by drawing upon Gramsci's concepts of hegemony and moral and intellectual reform. It outlines the problems associated with the Foucauldian notion of power that underpins the de-politicisation approach and post-development theory more broadly and puts forward the argument that Gramscian thought offers key theoretical insights. These include an understanding of the complex relationship between political struggles over meaning and the social relations of production and a theorisation of the actual mechanisms of resistance. This chapter also outlines my methodological approach, which draws upon Burawoy's approach to global ethnography and, in particular, his extended case method (Burawoy, 1998; 1999; 2001). It is argued that this is consistent with a Gramscian theoretical position and offers an explicitly theoretical approach to participant observation that is concerned with how the micro social situation is shaped by external forces.

On the basis of this theoretical and methodological approach, analysis proceeds in Chapters 3 to critically engage with the discourse of empowerment as it has been developed in Post-Washington Consensus development theory and to consider its implications in the African context. Focusing upon the example of KAPP, it examines the approach to farmer empowerment associated with World Bank agricultural policy in relation to the liberalisation of Kenya's coffee industry and the restructuring of the global coffee industry. It is argued that this remains a limited approach to producer empowerment due to its failure to address the increasing dominance of coffee roasters and traders in the global coffee value chain and the associated marginalisation of producer organisations.

It is therefore explored in Chapters 4 and 5 whether Fair Trade offers an alternative approach to producer empowerment that is capable of challenging the inequitable relations of power that characterise the global coffee industry. Drawing upon participation observation carried out in the UK and Kenya, these chapters seek to draw together analysis of activity taking place at both the producing and consuming ends of Fair Trade initiatives to explore their transformatory potential. This is considered in relation to Cox and Harrod's approach to the social relations of production in order to demonstrate the potential of alternative trading practices in challenging the precarious nature of producer livelihoods that has accompanied the restructuring of the coffee industry.

Chapter 6 focuses upon the changing nature of household social relations to further examine this restructuring in terms of its impact upon gender norms and practices. In this context, this chapter seeks to investigate the potential, but also the limitations, of

Fair Trade approaches to address the structures that underpin gender inequality and inequity. This is an important issue because it has been argued that Fair Trade practices can reinforce existing social relations within producer organisations, perpetuating processes of marginalisation and exclusion. It is argued that there have been some limitations with regards to Fair Trade's approach to gender but that it does have some potential to incorporate a focus upon women's empowerment into its activities.

The conclusion seeks to draw together the arguments put forward and suggests possible future avenues of research. Finally the Appendix makes the case for the particular approach to participant observation that has guided my research procedure and discusses how this approach was put into practice, including the issues and challenges that arose as I conducted my field research. I especially focus upon how action research can help towards the goal of bringing together analysis and action through applying social theory to the building of social movements.

Chapter 1 – The Concept of Empowerment in Development Theory and Practice

Introduction

The language that has come to define mainstream international development, and the apparent convergence of positions that this indicates, has become an important focus of critical debate within international development studies and beyond. In particular, the concept of 'empowerment' has received increasing attention due to its current popularity amongst mainstream development policymakers and practitioners. Indeed, for some 'the proliferation of the language of 'participation' and 'empowerment' within the mainstream is heralded as the realisation of a long-awaited paradigm shift in development thinking' (Cornwall, 2000: 15). However, a significant number of assessments are critical of the adoption of such concepts, despite their radical connotations, viewing them as merely legitimising devices to support the continuation of 'business as usual'.

Although the word empowerment has become an acceptable, even necessary, part of the vocabulary of the mainstream development thinker or policy maker, it tends to be used in such a way as to leave the meaning implicit and the explanation of how it comes about obscured (Rowlands, 1997: 1-2, 7-8). It is arguably for this reason that it has become acceptable to such diverse and contradictory people and organisations as the World Bank, Western politicians, feminists and radical non-governmental organisations (Parpart et al, 2002: 3; Rowlands, 1997: 9). As such, it is the malleability of the concept which has led to concerns that it has been adopted by the

development mainstream to strike a positive chord with critical and grassroots groups and individuals without having to commit to radical change.

Before engaging with the discussions surrounding these differing interpretations of the current popularity of empowerment within development theory and practice, this chapter first seeks to trace the various histories and conceptions of the idea in order to contextualise the subsequent debate. Due to the widespread usage of the word in many different contexts and by many different organisations, empowerment has a variety of origins and meanings. For example literature about empowerment is found in the fields of education, social work, psychology, in US radical politics in the 1960s and community development groups in the North and South, as well as in the work of feminist and development organisations (Oxaal with Baden, 1997: 1).

Srilatha Batliwala suggests that the term 'can be traced back as early as the Protestant Reformation in Europe, and it reverberates through the centuries in Europe and North America through Quakerism, Jeffersonian democracy, early capitalism and the black-power movement' (Batliwala, 2007a: 557-8). However, she argues that the term acquired a strongly political meaning in the latter half of the twentieth century when it was adopted by a range of movements engaged in struggles for more equitable, participatory and democratic forms of social change and development (Batliwala, 2007a: 558). Whilst a broader and longer history of the concept would certainly be interesting, I have chosen to concentrate on tracing the various understandings of the idea within two specific areas: participatory development and gender and development. Due to their situation within development literature, these are particularly pertinent to understanding the various assessments of empowerment as an

approach to international development, which will be discussed in the latter half of the chapter.

Building upon existing attempts to characterise these within the literature (notably Williams, 2004), I divide the accounts that critically engage with approaches to empowerment into three main groups. The first includes the on-going self-critiques that come from within the new orthodoxy of participatory development and are seen as intrinsic to the approach. These seek to identify and subsequently address the methodological and practical problems associated with participatory development rather than to critique the participatory methodology *per se* (Nelson and Wright, 1995; Chambers, 1997; Brock and McGee, 2002). The second approach, known as the de-politicisation critique, goes beyond these critical engagements with participatory development to argue that the mainstream approach to 'participation as empowerment' is inherently problematic and necessarily involves the reassertion of insidious forms of power (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Henkel and Stirrat, 2001; Miraftab, 2004; Cleaver 1999). I argue that these can be see as part of the broader post-development approach, which seeks to disengage with the development mainstream. The third position, identified as the transformation approach (see, in particular, the contributions to the edited volume by Hickey and Mohan, 2004), involves those attempts to explicitly engage with existing power structures so as to challenge the de-politicising effects of participatory development and to re-establish it as a radical, transformatory approach. As will be outlined below, the association of empowerment with management techniques developed within the total quality management literature (Bowen and Lawler, 1992; Lawler, 1994; Goetsch and Davis, 1997) does give some validity to the de-politicisation argument. However, given the

important and radical history of the concept of empowerment, it is argued that attempts should be made to re-engage with struggles to define the meaning of the term so as to recapture the concept rather than to abandon it.

Tracing the Conceptual History of Empowerment

Participatory Development

The idea of empowerment is most commonly referred to within mainstream development discourse in relation to participatory development. However, this itself has a long, diverse and interesting history. More radical approaches to participation emerged from experiences in the South during the 1970s and 80s within alternative development, people-centred development and participatory action research with their focus upon popular involvement in development initiatives. Some of these are not as widespread today due to the dominance of neo-liberalism in the 1990s (Cornwall, 2000; Brock et al, 2001), but many of the ideas and practices they developed still resonate with contemporary approaches to participation.

Alternative development

The ideas of popular participation and empowerment are central to the alternative development approaches that originated concurrently with the broadly based social movements of the 1970s. During the subsequent two decades, a number of academic scholars and development professionals sought to establish a framework that offered an alternative to the dominant top-down and externally imposed approaches to development. Explicitly normative, this aimed to dramatically transform both

mainstream doctrine and the state 'to make it possible for disempowered sectors to be included in political and economic processes and to have their rights as citizens and human beings acknowledged' (Friedmann, 1992: viii).

A key contribution to this endeavour was the Cocoyoc Declaration adopted by participants at a special meeting convened by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in Mexico in 1974. This emphasised the importance of moving towards a new economic system 'capable of meeting the "inner limits" of basic human needs for all the world's people and of doing so without violating the "outer limits" of the planet's resources and environment' (Cocoyoc Declaration, 1974: 90). However, it was argued that development should not just be limited to the satisfaction of basic needs but should also include 'the right to give and to receive ideas and stimulus…to participate in shaping the basis of one's own existence…and not to be alienated through production processes that use human beings simply as tools' (ibid: 91). This would require a greater emphasis upon self-reliance and autonomous decision-making, which in turn would necessitate education for full social awareness and participation (ibid: 92).

Following in the path of the Cocoyoc Declaration, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation[1] argued that development should be: geared towards meeting human needs, both material and non-material; endogenous, stemming from the heart of each

[1] The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation is an autonomous organisation that aims to provide a forum for free and frank debate and to stimulate Another Development, as defined in its 1975 report *What Now: Another Development*, through seminars, public events and publications, including *Development Dialogue* and *Critical Currents.* It seeks to promote a continuing dialogue on world development among policy-makers, administrators and professionals, and to bring to that debate the perspectives of often otherwise unheard voices, particularly those from the Global South (Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1975; 2010).

society; self-reliant, with each society relying primarily on its own strength and resources; ecologically sound; and based on structural transformations so as to realise the conditions of self-management and participation in decision-making (Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1975: 28; Nerfin, 1977: 10). There was a widespread belief that this would involve a re-examination of the role of the state in the process of development and human liberation and a rediscovery of civil society as an autonomous expression of human and social will (Kothari, 1984: 14).

Therefore, alternative approaches challenged conventional views not only on what the goals of development should be, but also on who should be involved in devising and implementing these strategies. During this time, NGOs in the North and the South also argued that development should generate more self-sufficiency rather than depend on top-down state provision of services (Nelson and Wright, 1995: 3). This led to a shift away from centralised control and direct implementation of projects towards decentralisation and independent projects in which people attempted to generate the resources to look after their own welfare (McGee, 2002: 95). Indeed, it has been subsequently reasoned that this belief that the state itself was part of the problem and should therefore be avoided, encouraged the revival of romantic conceptions of local communities and the view that community action was sufficient to promote human welfare (Friedmann, 1992: 6; Martinussen, 1997: 291). The continuation of these ideas of decentralisation and self-sufficient communities during the 1980s has interesting parallels with the rise of neo-liberal anti-statism, which will be discussed in more detail below.

People-centered development

Drawing on practical experience, a number of critical assessments of development work in rural areas emerged during the 1980s in response to the failure to address rural poverty. These saw greater local participation as a possible antidote to the shortcomings of the development project approach. Particularly notable for its continuing influence is Robert Chambers' *Rural Development: Putting the Last First* in which he calls for the recognition of the complexity and validity of local knowledge and emphasises its importance in tackling rural poverty (Chambers, 1983). He argues that rural people's knowledge is often superior to that of outside development professionals, who suffer from an entrenched superiority complex and biases towards the concerns of the rich rather than the poor. For example, research has tended to focus upon crops for export, modern technology and the priorities of men as opposed to locally consumed crops, subsistence techniques and the needs of rural women (ibid: 75-82).

Therefore, development professionals should seek to reverse the learning process through the techniques of rapid rural appraisal (RRA), which involve listening and learning indigenous technical knowledge, and decentralisation in the management of development by devolving staff, resources and authority downwards and outwards (Chambers, 1983: 198-214). They should see their role as enablers, as 'empowering poor clients' through ensuring they are aware of their rights and encouraging them to form groups around common interests to demand these rights (ibid: 214-5). Although there have subsequently been discussions about whether it is possible for an outsider

to ‘empower’ someone, this can still be recognised as an important challenge to the inherent bias in approaches to rural development.

With a slightly different emphasis, David Korten’s work starts primarily with the role of NGOs and their opportunities for strengthening resource-weak groups and securing better living conditions for them (Korten, 1987; Martinussen, 1997: 333). Korten argues that, following the failure of conventional practices that place the responsibility for control and allocation of developmental resources in the hands of central government, a more people-centered development practice is needed. This should ‘strengthen institutional and social capacity supportive of greater local control, accountability, initiative and self-reliance (Korten, 1987: 145-6). He states that NGOs are better placed to provide the needed leadership in such approaches as they are ‘more likely to have a natural interest in democratization and face fewer organizational constraints in undertaking actions consistent with its achievement’ (ibid: 146). Indeed, as will be discussed further in Chapter 3, the growing importance of NGOs during the 1980s led some to refer to it as the “NGO decade’ due to the increased role in donor agendas of civil society and democratization (Mitlin et al, 2007: 1700).

I will return later in the chapter to discuss in more detail this parallel with the rise of neo-liberalism within mainstream development and its shared focus, albeit for different reasons, upon decentralisation and community participation. However, I will now consider a more radical approach to participation and empowerment that emerged during this time from the South in a more sweeping critique of mainstream development.

Participatory action research and conscientisation

The principal objective of the Participation Action Research (PAR) movement was not development but the transformation of the cultural, political and economic structures that reproduce poverty and marginalisation (Leal, 2007: 540). To this end, emphasis was placed upon living and working with the people so as to enable them to articulate their own identities and concerns, and on mobilisation through collective action (Cornwall, 2000: 24). Whereas the approaches discussed in the previous section see participation as those in development working with the people in a process of mutual learning, these view participation as a process owned and controlled by the people it is supposed to benefit (Cornwall, 2000: 22). Therefore, PAR developed in explicit opposition to mainstream developmentalist discourse.

One of the principal founders of this approach was Orlando Fals Borda, a Colombian researcher and sociologist, who defined it as a research methodology that combines theory, action and participation and is committed to furthering the interests of exploited groups and classes (Fals Borda, 1987: 329). Drawing upon a series of studies undertaken in the South by local scholars and activists, he argued that PAR attracted growing worldwide interest due to its pertinence to the initiation and promotion of radical changes at the grassroots level where unsolved economic, political and social problems had been accumulating a dangerous potential (ibid: 329). It is an experiential methodology that still aims to accumulate and systemise knowledge but as a counter-discourse, an endogenous dialectical response to the actions of the developed world (ibid: 330-1).

The approach has been influenced by the work of Paulo Freire, particularly the seminal *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in which he outlines an understanding of liberation as praxis, 'the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it' (Freire, 1996: 60). Independence cannot be bestowed upon the oppressed as a gift, even by the best-intentioned leader, but must be fought for with the oppressed as a result of their conscientisation (ibid: 48-9). Important to this process is a dialogical approach to education, in which the teacher or instructor encourages learners to engage with and analyse the world around them in creative and innovative ways so as to become active and responsible participants in their own education (Thomas, 2009: 255). This understanding of education has been incorporated into these more radical approaches to participatory development.

A similar understanding of education and its role in participatory development was later articulated by Md Anisur Rahman. Inspired by popular mobilisations for social reconstruction and development following Bangladesh's independence in 1971, he 'saw a breakthrough in the development status of the country to be possible only through national mobilisation for popular initiatives' (Rahman, 1993: 1). He was also stimulated as a teacher 'by demands from sections of the nation's student community for radical reform to integrate educational processes with processes of life' (ibid: 1). Through his experience with 'self-reliance' movements in Bangladesh and India, Rahman developed the argument 'that there was a role for *carefully conceptualised methodological work*, whether by outsiders or insiders, designed to stimulate people's collective self-inquiry' (ibid: 4). This call to articulate people's wish to transform society has links to Gramsci's idea of organic intellectuals, which will be further elaborated upon in the next chapter.

Rahman recognised that such a pedagogy to promote collective thinking and action has the same conceptual basis as Freire's conscientisation and he later combined his work with that of the PAR movement. In particular, he persuaded PAR to 'seek to promote as its primary aim not a research *partnership* with the people but *people's own research and own praxis',* a fundamentally important task in promoting 'people's self-development' (Rahman, 1993: 5-6). There are three qualitative aspects of empowerment in this process of self-development, organisation, social awareness and self-reliance, so that through a combination of material and mental strength the disadvantaged can deal with others as an equal and assert their self-determination (ibid: 207).

Development is not excluded from the equation in these radical approaches to participation and empowerment but is seen as something that stems from social transformation, which in turn only comes as a result of individual self-awareness and subsequent collective action (Leal, 2007: 541). As will be demonstrated below, this combination of individual and collective processes also resonates with another influential conception of empowerment emerging from the gender and development (GAD) approach.

Women's Empowerment

The conception of women's empowerment is associated with radical feminism which has subsequently both contributed to and been influenced by the GAD approach. This is closely tied to the second wave of the women's movement and its attempt to redefine the male-created concepts of politics and power. During the 1970s and

1980s, feminists broadened the concept of politics to include any power relationship whereby one group or person is controlled by another (Bystydzienski, 1992: 2). As power relationships exist in such 'personal' institutions as marriage, the household and sexual practices, it was argued that 'the personal is political' and so is worthy of political analysis. This led to a closer examination of the activities of women taking place outside established power structures, which revealed the widespread involvement of women in less conventional politics, such as self-help projects, protests and the policy-shaping activities of women's associations (ibid: 2-3). Central to this broader definition of politics is the idea of empowerment, which is understood to be 'a process by which oppressed persons gain some control over their lives by taking part with others in the development of activities and structures that allow people increased involvement in matters which affect them directly' (ibid: 3).

Within the field of international development, 'the concept of women's empowerment appears to be the outcome of several important critiques and debates generated by the women's movement throughout the world' (Batliwala, 1994: 127). Key contributors to these debates and the emergence of the GAD approach include Maxine Molyneux (1985), Srilatha Batliwala (1994), Naila Kabeer (1994) and Shahrashoub Razavi and Carol Miller (1995). It was argued that development strategies and grassroots interventions had failed to make significant progress toward improving the status of women because they did not address the underlying structural factors that perpetuate the oppression and exploitation of poor women. A fundamental problem of such approaches was the failure to distinguish between the "condition" of women, such as low wages, poor nutrition and a lack of access to health care, education and training, and the "position" of women, defined as 'the social and economic status of women

compared with that of men' (ibid: 128). As a result, it was claimed that, whilst development should address the practical needs of women, it should also aim to eliminate male bias and tackle gender inequalities (Rowlands, 1997: 7).

Central to this approach is a broader 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). Such a consideration indicates how development strategies focused upon 'improving the daily conditions of women's existence' may actually curtail 'women's awareness of, and readiness to act against, the less visible but powerful underlying structures of subordination and inequality' (Batliwala, 1994: 128). Instead, 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, 1999: 26-36). Accordingly, empowerment is seen to be 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' (Batliwala, 1994: 130).

As with PAR, this alternative vision of women's empowerment drew upon the perspectives and experiences of poor women in the South. For example, in their influential book, *Development, Crises and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's*

Perspectives, written for the project DAWN[2], Gita Sen and Caren Grown link micro-level activities from the experience of DAWN founders with grassroots initiatives at community level to a macro-level perspective (Sen and Grown, 1988: 9). They call for a collective vision, a set of strategies and new methods for mobilising political will, empowering women (and poor men) and transforming society. In particular they emphasise the transformative potential of 'political mobilisation, legal changes, consciousness raising and popular education' (Parpart et al, 2002: 10).

Indeed, Batliwala points to the growing interaction between feminism, the 'conscientisation' approach developed by Freire and the re-discovery of Gramsci's 'sub-alterns' and the hegemonic role of dominant ideologies (Batliwala, 2007a: 558). 'By introducing a hitherto absent gender dimension to theories of conscientisation and popular education, by recognising women as part of Gramsci's subaltern classes', she argues, 'feminists incorporated gender subordination and the social construction of gender as a fundamental category of analysis in the practice of social change and development' (ibid: 158-9). Building upon the idea of 'power from within', Naila Kabeer places emphasis upon individual and collective analysis and reflection so that 'new forms of consciousness arise out of women's newly acquired access to the intangible resources of analytical skills, social networks, organizational strength, solidarity and sense of not being alone' (Kabeer, 1994: 245-6). As with the PAR approach, it is believed that there is a role for external activists in this process 'in giving women access to a new body of ideas and information that not only changes their consciousness and self-image, but also encourages action' (Batliwala, 1994:

[2] Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) is a network of Southern activists, researchers and policymakers. Following this seminal contribution, DAWN has also later published *Marketization of Governance: Critical Feminist Perspectives from the South* (2000) edited by Viviene Taylor, which re-issues the call for feminists to reclaim governance through alternative visions.

132). So empowerment is understood as a complex and multifaceted process taking place both at the level of individual self-awareness and collective consciousness, which in turn contribute to and are further developed through collective mobilisation and social action.

However, the success of the feminist movement in getting women's empowerment onto the mainstream development agenda during the 1990s has been disappointing for many of those involved in developing this alternative vision (Batliwala and Dhanraj, 2004; Taylor, 2000; Molyneux and Razavi, 2005). For many the 1995 United Nations Women's Conference in Beijing 'marked the apex of 20 years of sustained endeavour to secure women's empowerment as a central element in international development discourse' (Eyben and Napier-Moore, 2009: 285). Nonetheless, there are a growing number of criticisms that the meaning of empowerment has increasingly shifted to signify individual choice and realising opportunities as opposed to collective consciousness and social transformation (Batliwala, 2007a: 561; Eyben and Napier-Moore, 2009: 291-2). Such criticisms parallel those charged at the mainstream adoption of participation and empowerment, as will be discussed below. Before moving on to discuss these in more detail, the next section will briefly consider the more technical, mainstream understanding of participation that emerged concurrently with the radical approaches discussed so far.

Community Participation

Alongside the alternative approaches to participation, a coexisting argument that participation should be promoted on the grounds of efficiency and effectiveness can

also be identified. Although this argument can also be traced back to the 1970s, it became particularly influential during the 1980s when Northern official development agencies began to discuss why thirty years of conventional technocratic, top-down forms of development were not working (McGee, 2002: 95). It was concluded that the failure of many such development programs could be traced back to the exclusion of 'beneficiaries' (Nelson and Wright, 1995: 3). As a result, 'community participation' came to be associated in the mainstream primarily with the enlisting of 'beneficiaries' to take part in development projects to achieve cost-effectiveness, compliance and sustainability (Cornwall, 2000: 23-4). For example, a World Bank Discussion Paper, 'Community Participation in Development Projects' by Samuel Paul, reveals that the objectives of cost sharing, project efficiency and project effectiveness were dominant in the reviewed World Bank projects involving community participation (Paul, 1987: v). Similarly, it was concluded at a workshop hosted by the Economic Development Institute at the World Bank in 1986 that the value of community participation in development projects included greater possibilities for project efficiency and effectiveness, cost-recovery, social acceptability, and sustainability (Bamberger, 1991: 281; see also Bamberger, 1986).

It is perhaps unsurprising that this more technical and pragmatic approach to participation became influential due to its compatibility with neoliberal economics and anti-statism which came to dominate mainstream development thinking at this time. As will later be shown in the analysis of World Bank development discourse, the desire to mobilise local populations and NGOs was actually attuned with rolling back the state as prescribed by structural adjustment programmes (World Bank, 1989; 1994). This echoed the terms of self-reliance and self-sufficiency from alternative

development, but these gained a rather different meaning as 'do it yourself'. It is in this context that the language of 'empowerment' came to gain more visibility in mainstream development (Cornwall, 2000: 25-6; Nelson and Wright, 1995: 3).

Indeed it is particularly illustrative to consider a conceptualisation of empowerment that emerged outside of the development context in relation to quality management in a post-Fordist context, which can shed light on this growing influence of participation in mainstream development thinking. This has involved the discovery of 'empowerment' by management gurus and its infusion into 'the human-resource development and motivational practices of the corporate world, turning it into the service of profit-making and competitiveness in the market place' (Batliwala, 2007a: 558). These new patterns of management and organisation in the workplace can be understood as a way to address the problems arising from the shift from fordist to flexible production.

The technical paradigm of Fordism was based upon the principles of the rigorous standardisation of operating practices and the corresponding rigorous separation between the organisation and methods (O & M) office and the shopfloor. The objective of these principles was to implement as quickly as possible the most efficient method, to eliminate experimentation and malfunctioning along the workbench, and to obtain rigorous control of the intensity of the operative's work (Leborgne and Lipietz, 1988: 264). These gains in productivity formed the basis a new social order, which, by virtue of the complementary ensemble of supporting macroeconomic institutions, social organisational forms, political settlements and

cultural values, permitted the economic benefits of this technical paradigm to fully materialise (Hoogvelt, 1997: 93).

However, by the end of the 1960s, this basis began to be eroded, with productivity slowing down and the capital/output ratio starting to increase. Although the reasons for this are complex, a significant contributing factor was the contradictory 'paradoxical involvement' of the manual worker (Leborgne and Lipietz, 1988: 264-5). On the one hand, production was formally organised on the basis of a separation between the mass of unqualified operatives and the designers and technicians of the O & M office who strove for innovation. On the other hand, in practice the operatives had to use their intelligence and imagination to guarantee the smooth running of the assembly line (ibid: 265). As this was not formally recognised, the know-how that was accumulated was not socialised or generalised, which in turn limited the possibility of increasing average productivity.

During the crisis of Fordism a series of novel social experiments and technical innovations (particularly the introduction of information-driven technologies) in the realms of industrial as well as in political and social life began to take shape (Hoogvelt, 1997: 94). The resultant new technological paradigm centred upon the key features of volume through variety, a new organisation of the production process that combined the benefits of mass production with those of craft production, and the just-in-time practice where components and parts are supplied literally only hours or days before they need to be assembled (ibid: 95-98). However, it was essential for this flexible, just-in-time production that there were no defects in the production process or imperfections in the quality of the materials and components, which raised the

issue of the workers' involvement and qualifications (ibid: 99-100). One possible solution was to reconnect the manual and intellectual aspects of labour, which were separated under Fordism, by mobilising in real time the involvement of the direct operators in such a way that the improvements could be systematically embedded into the hardware and software (Leborgne and Lipietz, 1988: 269).

It is with regards to this latter aim that the concept of empowerment has emerged in management literature as part of the total quality management approach (see, for example, Bowen and Lawler, 1992; Lawler, 1994; Goetsch and Davis, 1997). To drive workers to ferret out every defect in the production process, they are told that they 'own' the product so that they are made 'responsible' for the mistakes that are made and are motivated by workplace democracy (Hoogvelt, 1997: 99-100). Bowen and Lawler define the empowerment approach to management as sharing with frontline employees the 'knowledge that enables employees to understand and contribute to organizational performance' and giving employees the 'power to make decisions that influence organizational direction and performance' (Bowen and Lawler, 1992: 32). Therefore, although the increases in involvement and skill do enhance the workers' independence, the main purpose of their empowerment is increased efficiency, cost reductions and company competitiveness. Furthermore, far from contributing to less exploitative relations of production, as if often implied, this form of employee empowerment can actually enhance the power of management (Goetsch and Davis, 1997: 175-6).

This understanding of empowerment as a management technique perhaps sheds light on why predominantly neo-liberal Western governments and international

development organisations might have so readily accepted the concept into their development discourse. This particular conception of empowerment compliments the neo-liberal ideals of self-reliance and entrepreneurship, as opposed to reliance upon the state, whilst also ensuring that development projects are implemented in a more efficient and cost-effective way (Mohan and Stokke, 2000: 248-51; Molyneux, 2006: 430). In a similar way that workers are told that they 'own' the product to encourage them to feel responsible and so ensure the successful functioning of the production process, beneficiaries are told they 'own' the development project to motivate them to guarantee its successful implementation. There is a danger that empowerment could thus become an instrument of managed intervention as opposed to a process through which people discover their own potentialities (Cornwall, 2002: 3). As will be discussed in more detail below, this possible association perhaps helps to explain some of the scepticism that has accompanied the adoption of the language of participation and empowerment by mainstream development (Nelson and Wright, 1995: 6). However, it is argued that considering the important radical and political roots associated with the idea of empowerment, its significance cannot be easily dismissed.

The Adoption of Empowerment into the New Development Orthodoxy

Participatory Development in the 1990s and 2000s: Participation as Empowerment

Throughout the 1990s and 2000s the language of 'participation' and later 'empowerment' has become increasingly predominant in mainstream development thinking, to the extent that it is now commonplace to refer to participatory

development as 'the new orthodoxy' (Parfitt, 2004: 537). It is at least clear that mainstream development agencies, including the World Bank as will be reviewed in more detail in Chapter 3, have adopted this language into their development policy and methods of participatory development are frequently incorporated into development initiatives (Francis, 2001: 72). Notably, the World Bank's *Voices of the Poor* project drew upon Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPA) carried out in over 50 countries and formed the background to the World Development Report (WDR) 2000/01 entitled *Attacking Poverty* (Narayan et al, 2000). A distinguishing feature of this report is its emphasis upon 'facilitating empowerment' and its linkages with participation, although criticism has been raised against the way in which the 'voices of the poor' were incorporated into the document (World Bank, 2000, Brock et al, 2001). This approach was further elaborated upon in the World Bank's Sourcebook on *Empowerment and Poverty Reduction* and measuring and monitoring empowerment has become a central feature within their impact assessment (World Bank, 2002a; Alsop et al, 2006).

In particular, the methodological approach referred to as participatory rural appraisal (PRA) developed by Robert Chambers has become 'the method of choice among a large number of development practitioners of various persuasions' (Parpart, 2002: 166; Chambers, 1997; 2007). For example, it is included within the World Bank's *Participation Sourcebook* and the *Sourcebook for Poverty Reduction Strategies*, and a number of its methods have also informed the PPAs that have been carried out in relation to PRSPs (World Bank, 1996; 2010a; Tikare et al, 2002; Robb, 2002: 15). This methodological approach offers a tangible way to put commitments to participation into practice without requiring the intensive, open-ended and long-term

engagement at a highly localised level associated with participatory action research (Cornwall, 2000: 42).

Analogous to the shift to GAD, PRA has developed in recognition of the limited power of the methods of RRA. Rather than enhancing poor people's participation primarily to better fit their needs and priorities into outsiders' development initiatives, the methods of PRA intend to enable poor people to define the sort of the development they aspired to and to become empowered through the process (McGee, 2002: 100). Empowerment in this case is not directly linked to radical transformation, which is seen as beyond the scope of a set of methods, but is viewed as a process of analysis and awareness-raising through which a critical mass of people realise the need for transformation to make the development paradigm more democratic, equitable and inclusive (ibid: 100-1). Therefore, as this suggests, this approach involves a curious convergence of the strands of thought discussed above in relation to the history of participatory development.

Indeed, Robert Chambers argues that the evolution of PRA has entailed a diffusion and intermingling of a number of sources and traditions, including those of popular education, participatory action research, social anthropology, agro-ecosystem analysis and rapid rural appraisal (2007: 9). As a result, PRA involves many of the methods associated with agro-ecosystem analysis, such as visual representations and analysis, informal mapping and diagrams, and transects (systematic walks and observation) but also the 'normative ideas' of PAR to 'empower the oppressed' (Chambers, 1997: 108). He argues that PRA can have empowering effects for those involved because

through the methods and process people can gain in confidence and skills and groups within communities can develop a collective awareness (ibid: 216-7).

However, it is interesting to note that whilst PRA shares with popular education and PAR the aims to be reflective and to challenge established ideas and interests, this is usually with 'less direct confrontation' (Chambers, 1997: 108). Much of the focus is upon self-critical epistemological awareness on the part of development professionals, what Chambers refers to as a 'pedagogy of the non-oppressed', to encourage change in personal behaviour, which in turn can have implications for the practices and cultures of development institutions (Chambers, 2005: 195-6). Therefore, it is argued that critical engagement with the development mainstream and the involvement of development professionals in the methods of participatory development will enable the transformation of the hierarchical and top-down nature of development projects and institutions from within.

The De-Politicisation Critique

Despite its apparent prevalence much of the academic literature has been critical of this new orthodoxy, questioning both its theoretical coherence and its ability to empower the poor. Although the boundaries between these may be a little blurred, it is possible to divide these critical engagements into three main approaches. The first consists of the ongoing self-critiques that come from within the orthodoxy, which are seen as intrinsic to the approach and aim to recognise and subsequently address any methodological and practical problems rather than to critique the participatory methodology *per se* (for example, see Nelson and Wright, 1995; Chambers, 1997;

Brock and McGee 2002). Practitioners are concerned to reflect critically upon their experiences to ensure the quality, validity and ethics of participatory practices, particularly given the speed with which PRA has spread. Of particular concern is the need to address the possible disempowerment of certain sections or groups within a community. For example, experience has shown that the unquestioning treatment of 'community' as a homogenous and harmonious unit has caused PRA practitioners to reproduce gender inequalities that exist within communities (McGee, 2002: 105-6). It has also been reflected that practitioners should ensure the methodology used for interaction between local people and researchers is appropriate to the context, for example in terms of length of time and cultural considerations, to increase chances of meaningful participation (Adan et al, 2002: 129).

The second approach consists of criticisms that go beyond a concern to improve the methodologies and practices used to argue that the mainstream approach to 'participation as empowerment' is inherently problematic. This de-politicisation critique, which will be the focus of this section, claims that the malleable concept of empowerment was deliberately adopted to legitimate the continuation of the mainstream, Western and technocratic approach to development (Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Henkel and Stirrat, 2001; Miraftab, 2004; Kothari, 2005; Cleaver, 1999; Rahnema, 1992). This can be understood as part of the broader post-development approach, which sees the solution to the development impasse not in critical engagement with the development mainstream, which is necessarily imbued with power relations, but by focusing upon localised development initiatives.

However, it is the third position, known as the transformation approach, which this thesis is broadly sympathetic to, as will be discussed in the subsequent section. Whilst recognising the theoretical and practical limitations identified by the more substantial critiques associated with the de-politicisation approach, it is argued that such an important and radical concept should not simply be abandoned. Instead, an attempt should be made to re-engage in the struggle to define the meaning of the term and to re-politicise approaches to participation and empowerment (Williams, 2004; Hickey, 2002; Hickey and Mohan, 2004). Central to this effort is the need to move beyond a focus on the local to consider the role of the state and national and international factors more broadly. It will be argued that such considerations are not only a means of re-politicising approaches to empowerment, but can also be seen as a more convincing way to move beyond the development impasse than that of the post-development approach.

To return to the de-politicisation approach, the more substantial critiques of the participatory development approach to empowerment focus upon its theoretical inadequacies, in particular the privileging of the local and the reliance upon a voluntaristic understanding of power, as opposed to problems with practice. In addition to the tendency to essentialise and romanticise 'the local', and thereby downplay local social inequalities and power relations, it is argued that 'the local' is also viewed in isolation to broader economic and political structures (Mohan and Stokke, 2000: 249). Chambers pays particular attention to including marginalised and disadvantaged groups but fails to provide a systematic way in which to ensure their legitimate and meaningful participation in PRA procedures (Kapoor, 2002: 103-4).

Furthermore, whilst acknowledging the many levels of causality within underdevelopment, Chambers chooses to focus on 'the primacy of the personal'. By assuming that the insider/outsider distinction is the most important problem blocking development, it is reasoned that he thereby places the development practitioner back at the centre of the development process (Mohan and Stokke, 2000: 253). This is also said to rely on a largely individualistic and voluntary notion of power, which neither takes into account the development practitioners' self-interest in the status quo nor the structural constraints that such individuals would face in challenging it (Williams, 2004: 560-1). Indeed the implication of Chambers' metaphor of the 'uppers' 'handing over the stick' to the 'lowers' is that power is something that can be possessed by an individual and bestowed by one individual upon another.

Whilst this notion of 'handing over the stick' may be problematic, as is the belief that changes in behaviour will automatically lead to institutional change, Chambers defends his focus upon personal behaviour. He argues that agency, the ability to act and change the world, brings with it responsibility for the effects of actions and inactions. Due to the increasingly polarised and concentrated distribution of wealth and power within the world, it is therefore important to stress the responsibilities and obligations of those with power and wealth to scrutinise their actions, to change power relations and to support and empower the poor (Chambers, 2005: 202-7). Indeed, it has been argued that the most severe critiques fail to appreciate or simply ignore the strategy that underpins Chambers' work, namely to fight the economism, 'professionalism' and other biases that pervade mainstream development thinking and research (Hickey and Mohan, 2004a: 12).

However, as warned by Ilan Kapoor, this agent-centred view of power not only contradicts the structural and relational view of power implied in Chambers' discussion of 'uppers' and 'lowers', but it is questionable whether it can rectify power inequalities (2002: 111). More broadly, Kapoor argues that the empiricist orientation causes PRA to be insufficiently theorised and politicised because 'questions about inclusiveness, the role of PRA facilitators and the personal behaviour of elites overshadow, or sometimes ignore, questions of legitimacy, justice, power and the politics of gender and difference'. Any problem encountered in practice is addressed through more and better practice rather than more fundamental questions about initial assumptions and whom current practice may be serving (ibid: 102-3).

Indeed it is for these reasons that a number of critics have argued that the language of participation and empowerment has been adopted by the development mainstream in such a way as to create and maintain a social consensus around the interests of the dominant neo-liberal power structures (Leal, 2007: 543). It is fair to say that, by the late 1990s, the neo-liberal approach was suffering from a problem of legitimacy as a result both of the growing evidence that inequalities had increased between and within states since its policies had been applied and due to the increasing effectiveness of the attacks of NGOs and civil society movements (Thomas, 2005: 330-4). Therefore, it is argued that the acceptance of the concept of empowerment into neo-liberal development discourse was a convenient way to strike a positive chord with these progressive groups and to appear to be responding to their criticisms (Moore, 2001: 322). This was particularly important with the increasingly realisation that if international development organisations and government aid agencies were to

avoid the state, they would require the assistance of such groups to implement their programmes (ibid: 321).

Furthermore, by focusing attention upon the community and individual processes of change, rather than the more radical understandings of social change and transformation originally associated with the approaches to empowerment outlined above, there is little danger that this new orthodoxy will threaten existing power relations. Accordingly, Majid Rahnema rhetorically asks '[i]s the new participatory myth acting more like a Trojan horse which may end up by substituting a subtle kind of teleguided and masterly organised participation for the old types of intransitive or culturally defined participation, proper to vernacular societies?'(1992: 124-5). It is such concerns that have led to the conclusion that the malleable concept of empowerment has been used to de-politicise and legitimise the continuation of the mainstream top-down approach to development whilst obscuring the continuing, if not increasing, exertion of power.

Most notably, Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari claim that the arguments presented in their edited book *Participation: The New Tyranny?* collectively confirm 'that tyranny is both a real and potential consequence of participatory development, counter-intuitive and contrary to its rhetoric of empowerment though this may be'. Furthermore, they contend that 'participatory development's tyrannical potential is systemic, and not merely a matter of how the practitioner operates or the specifities of the techniques and tools employed' (2001: 3-4). For example, in her chapter Uma Kothari suggests that participatory approaches are in danger of encouraging a reassertion of power and social control by dominant individuals and groups. Drawing

upon a Foucauldian understanding of power, she demonstrates that the very act of inclusion may in fact be an exercise of power and control over an individual so that those with the greatest reason to challenge and confront power relations and structures may be brought into the development process simply to disable them from challenging the prevailing hierarchies and inequalities in society (2001: 142-3).

Similarly, Henkel and Stirrat argue that, far from marking a radical shift away from an ethnocentric concept of modernity, participatory approaches to development are intimately part of the process of modernisation itself, and in fact may even provide more effective ways of incorporating people into that project (2001: 182-3). In particular they emphasise the way in which PRA encourages and generates a particular way of thinking and of organising social life, for example through the process of mapping (ibid: 179-80). Therefore, the idea of 'development as empowerment' is still externally determined and imposed upon target communities (Kelsall and Mercer, 2003: 302). However, now development professionals are less aware and less culpable for the consequences of their actions than with older forms of development intervention, with responsibility being shifted onto those participating in a given development project (Henkel and Stirrat, 2001: 183).

This de-politicisation critique echoes wider concerns with the project of development as a whole, which is seen to be an intrinsic part of the technologies of power employed by the North to control the South. For example, Rita Abrahamsen argues that 'development discourse has constructed the third world as underdeveloped, and thereby normalised and legitimised the right of the North to intervene in, control and develop the South' (2000: *xi*). Drawing upon the work of Foucault, it is claimed that

development is a particular discursive formation, closely connected with the professionalisation and institutionalisation of the field of development and created to produce knowledge about, and exercise power over, the Third World (Escobar, 1995: 10-12, 44-7). In his classic study of development in Lesotho, James Ferguson claims that '[b]y uncompromisingly reducing poverty to a technical problem, and by promising technical solutions to the sufferings of powerless and oppressed people, the hegemonic problematic of 'development' is the principal means through which the question of poverty is de-politicised in the world today' (1990: 256).

As a result, the solution is seen to be a preparedness to abandon participatory development and to disengage with the development mainstream. Notably, despite the continuing popularity of participatory development, Bill Cooke still stands by his earlier conviction that it should consider closing itself down and reasserts that there are many other ways to engage politically (2004: 42). In line with the broader post-development approach it is argued that, rather than attempting to critically engage with the dominant development institutions and practices, in which there is always danger of co-option, academics and practitioners should focus upon local struggles, indigenous knowledge and grassroots movements (Pieterse, 1998: 362). For example, Escobar argues that 'what matters for a strategy of change is the formation of nuclei…through which a new discursive formation may slowly be articulated' and he suggests that the new linkages fostered by social movements may very well lead in this direction (Escobar, 1992: 27-8). However, whilst this interpretation of the mainstream adoption of the concept of empowerment, and the associated de-politicisation critique of the whole development project, may have some valid

concerns, this does not necessarily need to lead to the conclusion that participatory development and empowerment need to be abandoned.

The Transformation Approach

There are a number of authors who argue that rather than being discarded, participation and empowerment should be politically relocated and re-articulated in order to rescue their transformative potential (Leal, 2007: 544). In particular, the contributors to the edited volume *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation* by Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan seek to (re)establish participation as a transformative approach to development based upon popular agency through a more explicit engagement with existing power structures and political systems (2004: 3-5). Therefore, rather than viewing the concept of empowerment merely as an instrument of subjection, these approaches seek to identify how struggles over meaning can be situated within wider political processes.

For example, Glyn Williams finds elements of the de-politicisation critique compelling but identifies two important limitations: the portrayal of participatory development as an intentional project capable of being controlled by a narrow set of 'interest groups' and an almost as reductionist view of power as in Chambers' work. As a result, there is a tendency to ignore 'the fact that any configuration of power/knowledge opens up its own particular spaces and moments for resistance' (2004: 565). He argues that some versions of this argument have an 'almost conspiratorial air of intentionality' and an all-pervasive account of participation as subjection that fails to recognise the space for unintended consequences, both positive

and negative, and ignores people's ability for feigned compliance and tactical, self-interested engagement (ibid: 565).

This focus upon the disciplinary aspects of discursive practice to the neglect of the resistance and contestation that may take place, particularly at the actual sites of implementation, is also a criticism that can be charged against the post-development approach more broadly. It has been argued that these accounts suffer from a tendency 'to essentialise the many varied strands of developmental thought into a more-or-less unified and all pervasive whole', often through the use of rhetoric or ill-informed histories (Brown, 1996: 326). Development is seen 'as a monolithic enterprise, heavily controlled from the top, convinced of the superiority of its own wisdom and impervious to local knowledge' (Grillo, 1999: 20). Not only does this homogenisation serve to ignore the divergences and discontinuities in development theory, but it also denies agency in the South and the extent to which they also own development (Pieterse, 1998: 363; 2000: 178).

For example, Rita Abrahamsen's critique of development discourse is based upon the assumption that, although 'there are dissenting voices within development and no complete uniformity and agreement can be said to exist between various donor countries and aid organisations, it is nevertheless the case that development discourse today is more harmonious then perhaps ever before' (2000; *x*). However, such an assumption is possibly the result of the tendency to focus analysis on the practitioners of development and how they construct their object through the discourse of development, to the neglect of the reactions of the people to be developed (Nustard, 2004: 22). Accordingly, a closer consideration of how people resist, undermine or use

development interventions for their own ends may also produce a more nuanced assessment of the impact and outcomes of participatory development.

In particular, Williams argues that '[b]y examining the particular ways in which discourses and practices of participatory development play out in concrete situations, we can look for opportunities for their *re*-politicisation' (2004; 566). This involves an explicitly political analysis that moves beyond individual instances of participation to look at the wider institutional impact of participatory techniques and values and assesses development projects in terms of the degree to which they contribute to the mobilisation and sustained political action of the poor. Such analyses can help to locate the points at which the growing power of participatory development practice can be harnessed towards progressive political goals (Williams, 2004; 566-70).

Key to this transformation approach is a more careful reading of Foucault, in particular his understanding of power. As noted above, many of the de-politicisation critiques draw upon a Foucauldian view of power in order to challenge Chambers' undertheorised account of power that leaves out the Foucauldian insight that power is inevitably imbrocated with the formation of knowledge (Parfitt, 2004: 543). For example, Uma Kothari argues that Foucault's analysis of power as something which is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation shifts the focus from the more readily identifiable, centralised forms of power to the exploration of micro and everyday practices. Power is everywhere and is thus 'found in the creation of norms and social and cultural practices at all levels' (Kothari, 2001: 141). Therefore, participatory approaches cannot be seen as a way to eliminate power from development interventions because they themselves are products of and permeated by

power relations. This leads those within the de-politicisation approach to conclude that participatory practices necessarily involve the persistence of less obvious but just as repressive forms of power as the previous top-down approaches to development (Parfitt, 2004: 543).

However, despite claiming to recognise the positive, productive quality of power, it is argued that these critiques tend to focus too narrowly on the oppressive aspects of power and the disciplinary mechanisms of participation (Masaki, 2004: 125). Indeed, this is a tendency which has been identified more broadly with Foucault's concept of disciplinary power as developed in *Discipline and Punish* (1977) and *The History of Sexuality* (1979). It is argued that this can result in an implicit slippage to a negative and monolithic notion of power as a dominatory force, particularly due to his one-sided analysis of institutional power, with power relations only being examined from the perspective of how they are installed in institutions rather than from the point of view of those subject to power (McNay, 1994: 85, 101). Those within the transformation approach seek to avoid this tendency by more adequately examining the different ways in which people within particular situations are not only subjugated to, but also resist, these forms of disciplinary power.

These approaches tend to pay closer attention to Foucault's work on governmentality and the 'strategic reversibility' of power relations. For example, in Andrea Cornwall's examination of spaces of participation, she argues that any space in which people are invited to participate are necessarily infused with existing power relations which will produce and embed particular institutional forms, patterns and practices. However, the project of 'governmentality' is only ever a partial, contingent and contested enterprise

that sparks a multiplicity of points of resistance and produces possibilities for subversion, appropriation and reconstitution (Cornwall, 2004: 180-1). Therefore, analyses within the transformation approach focus upon the strategies and tactics that can be deployed to translate these opportunities for resistance into more substantial social and political change.

It is this line of thinking that can be seen to underpin a wider call to recapture the concept of empowerment. Rather than abandon a concept that has undoubtedly undergone a transition during its acceptance into mainstream development discourse, the idea of empowerment should instead be reclaimed because it has its roots in a vision of social transformation that remains uniquely important (Batliwala, 2007b). Indeed an increasing number of academics and critical practitioners are seeking to re-engage with the ideas and methodologies developed within the more radical approaches to empowerment discussed earlier. For example, Cornwall discusses the need to return to methodologies such as participatory action research in developing strategies of transformative participation due to their explicit focus on enabling marginalised actors to articulate alternative worldviews (2004: 86). Also, interesting is the REFLECT approach, originally piloted by ActionAid but now employed by a range of governmental and non-governmental agencies. This merges Freire's pedagogical and political philosophy with the techniques of participatory rural appraisal, and is also theoretically informed by GAD's approach to develop women's capacity to take on participatory roles (Hickey and Mohan, 2004b: 164).

However, there are some key ways in which many of those with the transformation approach diverge from the earlier radical and alternative approaches to participatory

development. In order to challenge the de-politicising effects of mainstream participatory development, they advocate a shift towards the explicitly political notion of 'citizenship participation' which translates social practices into democratic political activity, and to recognise the continuing importance of the state as an essential site of this political struggle (Hickey, 2002: 842; Williams, 2004: 567). This seeks to move beyond the problematic privileging of the 'local' or 'community', stressing the need for large-scale collective action in order to aggregate and negotiate demands. Furthermore, rather than uncritically advocating the role of NGOs, emphasis is instead placed upon social movements, such as unions and peasant organisations, which historically have 'secured political inclusion and citizenship rights for groups and issues marginalized from socio-economic development and the political process' (Hickey, 2002: 842).

Also, in comparison to methodological individualism of the mainstream populist approach to participatory development, these approaches seek to explicitly engage with wider structures of injustice and oppression, particularly in relation to processes of state formation, social stratification and political economy, in order to address what makes participation hard for marginalised groups in the first place (Hickey and Mohan, 2004a: 11). Today's globalised world is characterised by a vast concentration of wealth that implies a parallel concentration of political power and which has led to the exclusion of the global majority from meaningful economic or political participation (Leal, 2007: 545). Therefore, it is necessary to re-situate the transformative proposal developed in popular education and participatory action research within the current neo-liberal world order and reconstruct spaces and culture for exercise of popular power. Furthermore, for 'local people to construct this type of

popular power, they must engage in their own political and economic analysis of the local, national and global realities, which will in turn determine their capacity to influence and effect power relations at high social levels' (Leal, 2007: 546). The assumption that 'genuine' participation can only occur at the local level prevents a critical engagement with the wider power structures and institutions that underpin exclusion and obscures and sustains macro-level inequalities and injustices (Hickey, 2002: 843).

Indeed, there were some important exceptions within the alternative and radical approaches discussed earlier which also recognised the importance of these factors. Notably, Friedmann disagreed with those within alternative development who saw the state as part of the problem and therefore sought to proceed outside or even against it (1992: 3). He argued that, whilst the state does need to be made more accountable to the poor and more responsive to their claims, a strong state is nonetheless essential to local empowering action (1992: 7). Such concerns also speak to contemporary theoretical debates within post-impasse approaches to development more broadly, which will be discussed in more detail in the final section.

It is also important to emphasise that those within this approach argue that they are not advocating a specific or pre-determined form of empowerment. Indeed processes of transformatory participation are by their very nature uncertain and relative. However, there are certain 'key ingredients' or features that are necessary, but not always sufficient, to ensure sustainable and positive change (Cornwall, 2000: 58; Williams, 2004: 572). Williams argues that vital to this is a change in the spatial and temporal focus of development practices in order to think in terms of political

networks rather than bounded, localised spaces, and to view empowerment as a relative and reversible process as opposed to a change in status at a particular time (ibid: 572).

My research is broadly sympathetic with this approach and so considers not only the construction of the discourse of empowerment by the World Bank but also how this has been put into practice. In addition, it aims to identify possible alternative approaches and opportunities to (re)engage with mainstream development policy and practice through the consideration of Fair Trade initiatives. Indeed Fair Trade is an interesting example precisely because of the debates relating to whether it seeks to transform the system from within or simply exist as a niche within that system. It is only by radically changing the practices of the powerful and working towards more equitable relations that the marginalised can have the opportunity to not only participate but also to set the rules of their own game (Vincent, 2004: 121). Therefore, it is important to adequately understand the broader structures of the global political economy, which is why my research considers the changing organisation of the global coffee industry and what strategies could be developed to successfully engage with these power relations.

However, as the case will be made in Chapter 2, the tendency to rely upon a Foucauldian understanding of political struggle and resistance within the transformation approach is still problematic. In particular, the dispersed nature of this concept of power makes it difficult to comprehend how such resistance can come about and how this can be conceived in relation to the broader political economy. Instead, it will be argued that drawing upon Gramscian thought provides a more

adequate theoretical grounding for the approach. Indeed, the two thinkers arguably have much in common, but I think Gramsci provides some key advantages (Jessop and Sum, 2006). As well as being broadly compatible with feminist and Freirean approaches to empowerment, as alluded to earlier, Gramscian thought also provides an understanding of the role of the state as a site of struggle, and how alliances between groups, organisations and class fragments can collectively provide the basis for resistance. The application of Gramscian thought to international political economy also supports analysis of relationships between local struggles and the wider political economy, which is often argued to be necessary within the transformation approach but less frequently analysed in detail. As such, it is argued that Gramscian thought can usefully contribute not only to the analysis of approaches to empowerment, but also to post-impasse development politics more broadly, as will be explained in the final part of this chapter.

Post-Impasse Development Theory

Within the discipline of development studies, there has been a number of publications that have identified an 'impasse within development theory' from the mid-1980s onwards (Schuurman, 1993: 1). This refers to the theoretical vacuum that emerged as a result of criticisms of the two main development approaches that hitherto dominated debates: modernisation theory and Marxist/neo-Marxist theories (ibid: 9). Following this disillusionment with meta-theoretical approaches, there was concern that development studies retreated to a glorified empiricism and localism. For example, Schuurman draws a similarity between post-impasse development theories and a concern raised against gender studies. It has been claimed that 'in attempting to steer

clear of the traps of essentialism, ahistoricity, and false generalisations, feminist theories fell into opposite but equally dangerous ones…In trying to avoid the pitfalls of false unity, we walked straight into the trap of false difference' (Schuurman, 2000: 13). He argues that as the essence of development studies is a normative preoccupation with the poor, marginalised and exploited, rather than diversity or difference it is inequality that should be the main focus – inequality of access to power, to resources, to a human existence (ibid: 14).

This clearly resonates with problems identified in the contemporary approaches to participation as empowerment. Indeed the concern of participation with the exercise of popular agency is also one that has characterised post-impasse approaches to development, which have emerged in an era of state failure, proclamations of the end of grand explanations and a measure of post-colonial guilt (Hickey and Mohan, 2004a: 9). This has led to focus upon development in the form of specific interventions rather than as an historical process of social change. Such inductive and empiricist tendencies, as opposed to the metaphysical and theoretical, have emerged due to the apparent failure of classic development theory and a strong moral imperative to ensure development research and interventions are relevant and provide solutions to ongoing problems of impoverishment and marginalisation. However, this distracts from an engagement with the underlying forces of socioeconomic and political change that shape people's livelihoods (ibid: 10).

As a result, there is concern that the post-development approach will 'repeat the localist fallacy that already pervades participatory development and encourage fragmentation rather than the multi-scaled strategies that [are argued to be] necessary

for participation to become transformative' (Mohan and Hickey, 2004: 61). The alternative approach did conceive participation as a struggle against economic and political exclusion. However, its tendency to underplay the role of state, to glorify local 'community' and its failure to specify the requisite socio-political agency and/or institutional support required to realise project of alternative development means that it is also unable to account for the ways in which political economy shapes agency within development (ibid: 61-2).

As such, it is arguable that in its attempt to avoid structural understandings of political economy, post-impasse development has failed to develop a clear perspective on micro-macro relations, an alternative macro approach, and a coherent theoretical position (Pieterse, 1998: 344). Of particular concern is the apparent convergence that has taken place between the two dominant approaches within post-impasse international development, those of neoliberalism and post-development, despite their opposing concerns. Both share hostility to large political organisations, including state entities, political parties, and groups organised across many localities such a labour movements and professional associations (Houtzager, 2003: 1-2). However,

> 'There is little evidence for the belief that the uncoordinated action of a multiplicity of local actors in either civil society or the market alone can either solve problems such as market or state failure or challenge authoritarian political elites on a scale sufficient to lift large numbers of people out of poverty and political subordination' (2003: 2).

These goals can only be achieved through the construction of reform-oriented coalitions that can aggregate and negotiate competing interests, which in turn requires a refocusing of attention towards the political arena and the institutions of representative and deliberative democracy (Houtzager, 2003: 2).

Furthermore, despite post-development's focus upon local autonomy, it is often forgotten that this is a decidedly Western notion which presupposes a phase of nation-building where a civil society was firmly constructed and a phase of welfare capitalism during which the state provided a safety net. As local governments in the South have not been preceded by these phases, they run the risk of falling prey to globally organised capitalism (Schuurman, 2000: 18). Indeed, there is a danger that this approach's rejection of development in effect lets the development responsibility of states and international institutions off the hook and leads to an endorsement of the status quo because its solution is to rely upon the self-organising capacity of the poor (Pieterse, 2000: 187).

For example, Anthony Bebbington argues that neoliberal interpretations of rural development, which view the state as blocking the transformative and modernising potential of the market, are empirically and normatively dubious and command far more influence that do poststructuralists ones. Therefore, it is more important to build a counternarrative that challenges this neo-liberal position on empirical and conceptual grounds (Bebbington, 2000: 495-6). However, poststructuralists fail to provide the empirical basis for a possible counternarrative. They view resistance as resistance to state interventions and as in the decentralised and localised practice of popular groups but empirical research in the Andes indicates that transformation in the social relations that structure access to resources and power are as much a result of external interventions of state programs, NGOs and churches as an effect of popular initiative (ibid: 496-8).

Instead, Bebbington argues for the need to re-embed an understanding of resistance within 'actual processes of livelihood and landscape transformation and the institutional interventions that accompany them' and to conceptualise locality 'not as pregiven but rather as continuously produced at the intersection of livelihood practices (understood as making a living and making it meaningful), local politics, institutional interventions, and the wider political economy' (Bebbington, 2000: 496-8). Indeed there has been a wider call to develop a critical development approach that takes seriously this analysis of the social relations of production without returning to the discredited structuralist approaches to political economy.

For example, the contributions to edited volume *Critical Development Theory: Contributions to a New Paradigm*, attempt to reconstruct the idea and practice of emancipatory social transformation (1999: xv). Notably, Diane Perrons puts forward the case for 'why political economy still matters'. She argues that, whilst the postmodernist interest in cultural practices adds new insights to political economy approaches, these are still important in order to adequately understand the social constraints that individual's and societies face as a result of their positioning within the social relations of production, and the international division of labour respectively (1999: 91-2). The transformation approach to participation can make a useful contribution here because it 'offers a means of capturing the complex and political character of popular agency within development processes' and 'charts a path between the voluntaristic tendency of populist thinking and structural accounts of political economy, while retaining a sense of the radical and the political' (Mohan and Hickey, 2004: 60-2). As I will demonstrate in Chapter 2, Gramscian thought can help to further build on and theoretically ground these attempts to move beyond the

development impasse through a re-conceptulisation of locality and systematically engaging with the constraints and opportunities associated with social relations of production. As suggested by Mitlin, Hickey and Bebbington (2007), an understanding of the role of NGOs and their relationship to the political programs of social movements is also aided by adopting a Gramscian reading of civil society.

Concluding Comments

In considering the adoption of the language of empowerment and participation into the development mainstream, this chapter has traced a number of conceptions of empowerment based upon differing theoretical positions within participatory development, gender and development and community participation. This has shed light on both the important radical and political roots that are associated with this idea, and the more ambiguous implications of the notion of empowerment emerging from management literature. Bearing this in mind, analysis moved on in the second part of the chapter to explore in more detail the mainstream acceptance of participatory approaches, particularly the methods associated with PRA, and the subsequent interpretations of this shift in development discourse and practice. Whilst acknowledging the contributions of the de-politicisation critique, which highlight the danger that such participatory approaches can lead to the reassertion of power and control, it has been argued that the transformation approach offers a more adequate theoretical grounding for analysing the opportunities that exist for harnessing the power of these discourses and practices towards progressive political goals. I will now move on in Chapter 2 to elaborate in more detail a Gramscian theoretical position to explain the contribution I think it can make both in terms of developing the

transformation approach to participation and empowerment and in furthering the role of this approach in post-impasse development theory more broadly.

Chapter 2 – A Gramscian Approach to Post-Impasse Development

Introduction

It has thus far been argued that the transformation approach provides an important contribution to the debates surrounding the adoption of the concept of empowerment by the development mainstream. Whilst sympathetic to the concerns of the de-politicisation critique, this approach seeks to move beyond a focus on the construction of development discourse to consider the opportunities that exist to subvert these discourses for progressive outcomes and to re-establish participation as a transformatory approach to development. Key to this endeavour is a more careful reading of Foucault's understanding of power that emphasises its productive and positive qualities and pays closer attention to the contested nature of power relations rather than viewing power as a dominatory force. However, this tendency to rely upon a Foucauldian understanding of political struggle and resistance is still problematic because his conception of power as dispersed makes it difficult to comprehend how strategies of resistance that are capable of challenging dominant configurations of power can come about.

In this chapter I will outline how the thought of Antonio Gramsci can contribute to the transformation approach in its analysis and development of strategies of empowerment and, following the application of his ideas to international political economy, to post-impasse development theory more broadly. I argue that it offers important theoretical insights that can help critical development in its endeavour to

chart a path between voluntarism and structuralism without resorting to the dispersed, localised politics of post-development. Gramscian thought provides an understanding of the complex relationship between political struggles over meaning and the social relations of production and theorises the actual mechanisms of resistance. For these reasons, it is claimed that it is a more adequate theoretical grounding for a post-impasse approach to development than the Foucauldian analysis that has come to dominate the development alternatives literature. The concepts developed by Gramsci can also contribute to the transformation approach in its aim to re-politicise the idea of empowerment and re-establish it as a radical approach to social change.

This is not to say that Foucauldian insights should be dismissed, as these have undoubtedly made some important contributions in highlighting the significant limitations and dangers of both the metatheories that previously dominated development studies and the alternative approaches to development that have emerged based upon emancipation. Foucault's work has alerted development scholars to the unequal power relations that prevail in the production of knowledge and the importance of understanding the cultural dimension of processes of development, including the production of cultural meanings and symbols (Tucker, 1999: 2-14). However, as indicated in Chapter 1, this initial engagement with Foucault's notion of 'disciplinary power' has led to analyses without a sustained notion of an active subject. Whilst Foucault's later work on 'governmentality' goes someway in addressing this problem, with its focus upon the inherent contestability of power relations, there is still concern about the lack of a rounded theory of resistance and

subjectivity[3] (Deveaux, 1994: 232-3). Therefore, whilst Gramsci and Foucault have much in common, the case is made that Gramsci's conceptualisation of the transition from 'common sense' to 'good sense' and his philosophy of praxis provide a more substantial theoretical basis for analysing strategies of resistance and approaches to social transformation.

Section 1 begins by explaining in more detail the contributions and limitations of Foucault's work for development studies and the shift in focus from 'disciplinary power' to 'governmentality' introduced in the previous chapter. Of particular importance is the recognition of the role of tactical engagement and the mircropractices of resistance, which also challenge the notion of 'conscious-raising' identified in Freirean and feminist approaches to empowerment. I then proceed in Section 2 to demonstrate how Gramsican thought can help to build upon the positive insights from these approaches whilst avoiding the problems associated with 'consciousness-raising', particularly through his understanding of praxis and hegemony. In the final section, I engage with the literature that has sought to apply Gramsci's ideas to international political economy to show the spatial element of Gramscian thought and how this can aid analysis of multi-scalar processes of power and resistance. Whilst acknowledging the concerns that have been raised against neo-Gramscian work, particularly with regards to the lack of sustained gender analysis, I outline recent neo-Gramscian and feminist political economy contributions that point

[3] This later work of Foucault does offer a more adequate understanding of the subject through analysis of techniques of the self as well as techniques of domination. These practices of the self are intentional and voluntary actions through which individuals seek to understand and transform themselves in an active fashion, especially in the ordering of their day-to-day existence, but which are nonetheless conditioned by the socio-cultural context (McNay, 1992: 59-61, 80). However, this conceptualisation still does not distinguish sufficiently between practices 'suggested' to individuals and those more or less 'imposed' in so far as they are heavily laden with cultural sanctions and taboos nor does it explain clearly the relationship between certain practices and socio-cultural determinants. This is largely related to the stress on practices of the self as primarily an aesthetics of existence (ibid: 74, 80).

to the possible fruitful synthesis between these two approaches. I also demonstrate how these contributions help in translating my Gramscian critical theoretical approach into a concrete research project.

Foucault, Gramsci and Development Alternatives

Despite sharing some key insights that have played an important role in the debates surrounding alternative development and development alternatives, as will be demonstrated below, Foucauldian and Gramscian thought also have some significant differences which cannot necessarily be reconciled. Therefore, the argument is put forward that a Gramscian approach can make a valuable contribution to challenging the development mainstream and furthering the post-impasse development debate. Before outlining this Gramscian contribution, I will first consider the challenge that Foucauldian thought has posed to both the mainstream and radical approaches to development summarised in Chapter 1.

From 'Disciplinary Power' to 'Governmentality'

A useful starting point to better understand the nature of this Foucauldian challenge to development thought, as exemplified within the de-politicisation critique and post-development approach more broadly, is with the idea of 'disciplinary power' developed within *Discipline and Punish* (1977) and *The History of Sexuality* (1978). Through a microanalysis of the operations of power upon the body, Foucault challenged the usual progressionary interpretation of modern, regulatory power, asserting that this new system of control, although minimal in terms expenditures of force and finance, is actually more far reaching and localised in its effects (Deveaux,

1994: 224). The methods of this new regime of disciplinary power, based upon the organisation, disciplining and subjection of the human body, were initially developed and refined in the emergent prison regimes but came to permeate modern society including institutional regimes such as the school, the hospital and the factory (McNay, 1994: 92-4).

The success of this 'modest, suspicious power' derives from the use of simple instruments, such as 'hierarchical observation' and 'normalising judgement' that serve to 'make' individuals. It is a specific technique of power which 'trains' the multitude of bodies and regards individuals 'both as objects and as instruments of its exercise' (Foucault, 1977: 170). This strategy of normalisation is captured in the idea of Bentham's Panoptican, an architectural structure where cells with inner and outer windows are arranged in a peripheric building around a central viewing tower. The major effect of this is 'to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power' (ibid: 200-1).

Significantly, this involves a radical reconceptualisation of the notion of power and of how subjects are constituted. As opposed to conventional understandings of power as an essentially repressive force, power is understood as a positive force that permeates all levels of society and generates a multiplicity of effects. Rather than power simply being seen as something which curtails freedom and constrains individuals, it is argued to be productive, bringing about forms of behaviour and events (Mills, 2003; 36). This is because power produces knowledge; power and knowledge directly imply one another so that 'there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the

same time power relations' (Foucault, 1977: 27) Power and knowledge are joined together in discourse. Therefore, Foucault argues that discourse should be conceived as 'both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy' (1978: 101).

Furthermore, power is not conceptualised as a possession or a capacity, as something which powerful agents use to realise their will over the powerless, but something which is 'exercised from innumerable points' (Foucault, 1978: 94). Power is exercised with a series of aims and objectives but this does not mean it results from the choice or decision of an individual subject, but that power relations are imbued with calculation (ibid: 95). An analysis of power should not ask 'who has power?' but should study power 'as something which circulates'. Individuals should be understood as 'the vehicles of power, not its points of application' (Foucault, 1980: 98). It follows from this understanding that it is only possible to discern the effects of power by analysing it from below i.e. rather than focusing upon 'the regulated and legitimated forms of power in their central locations', an analysis should 'be concerned with power at its extremities' (ibid: 96).

This Foucauldian notion of disciplinary power, in particular its analysis of the dynamics of discourse and power in the representation of social reality, has significant implications for approaches to development and, as already outlined, interpretations of participatory development. Notably, James Ferguson develops his de-politicisation critique by referring to Foucault's genealogy of the prison system and drawing upon the conceptual apparatus developed to analyse the social effects of ideas and discourses. Accordingly, he puts forward the claim that 'development' institutions

generate their own form of discourse, which simultaneously constructs Lesotho as a particular kind of object of knowledge, and creates a structure of knowledge around that object (1990: xiv-xv). Although these institutions represent the exercise of power, that power is not embodied in the person of a 'powerful' subject. As demonstrated by the establishment of modern prisons, social interventions can end up as powerful constellations of control with unintended consequences, all the more effective for being 'subjectless' (ibid: 18-9).

This echoes the broader critique of development by those within the post-development approach, who view development discourse as the extension of Western disciplinary and normalizing mechanisms to the Third World as a means of effecting domination over it (Munck, 1999: 205) It is part of an imperial process whereby other peoples are appropriated and turned into objects… [and] their destinies are shaped according to an essentially Western way of conceiving and perceiving the world' (Tucker, 1999: 1). Escobar goes further in his work to demonstrate how Foucault's work has been 'instrumental in unveiling the mechanisms by which a certain order of discourse produces permissible modes of being and thinking while disqualifying and even making others impossible' (1995: 5). In this line of thinking, 'development can be described as an apparatus (*dispositif*) that links forms of knowledge about the Third World with the deployment of forms of power and intervention, resulting in the mapping and production of Third World societies' (Escobar, 1992: 23). It has involved the creation of new mechanisms of power, a vast institutional network, including international organisations, universities and local development organisations, to ensure the effective functioning of this apparatus. Once consolidated,

this system determines what can be said, thought and imagined; it defines the space of development (ibid: 24).

This not only challenges the previously dominant metatheories of modernisation and dependency, which despite their differences are both accused of reducing the subjects of development to passive objects, but also the radical and alternative approaches to development that have emerged subsequently. As explained by Gustavo Esteva, using the word 'development' necessarily constructs a heterogeneous and diverse majority in terms of a homogenising and narrow minority; it defines their identity as the minority's 'underdeveloped' other. So, even when it is proposed that development should emerge from one's own culture, it should be participatory and involve the political mobilisation of a people attaining its own objectives, he argues these qualifications still do not challenge the desirability of development and its requirement that two-thirds of world's population perceive themselves as underdeveloped (1992: 6-7). Instead, efforts should be focused upon deconstructing this normalising development discourse and constructing new forms of knowledge.

In particular, Escobar identifies localised social movements and antidevelopment strategies as novel forms of collective action and social mobilisation capable of such activity. He argues that these are flexible, modest and mobile processes of identity construction, which rely upon tactical articulations arising out of the conditions and practices of daily life. As a result, they may be able to contribute to the breakdown of the basic organisation of discourse and the formulation of nuclei around which novel forms of power and knowledge can emerge (1995: 216). Referring to the work of James Scott, it is argued that more attention should be paid to the invisible and

unorganised forms of resistance, which are seen as powerful forces that can undermine projects imposed from outside (Tucker, 1999: 14). This focus on the everyday, tactical forms of struggle and resistance also highlights a problematic tendency identified with the consciousness raising approaches associated with feminist and Freirean notions of empowerment.

It is claimed that such 'conscientising from without' approaches believe the oppressed have internalised the values of the dominant group and so have a distorted perception of their own reality. Therefore it is necessary for progressive intellectuals to transcend their class interest and to engage in conscientising exercises (Rahnema, 1992: 125). It is this idea of the 'enlightened' outsider helping members of a community to shed their distorted perceptions, or false consciousness, and to realise their 'real' interests that has raised concern. Not only does the idealised understanding of 'agents of change' increase the danger of such conscientising methods being used as new forms of manipulation, but it also implies that there is a single reality to be discovered (Rahnema, 1992: 125; Yuval Davis, 1994: 190). The work of Freire and those that have followed him is argued to rely upon a non-problematic understanding of the transition from individual to collective power, linking the notion of empowerment to the notion of the 'community' and firmly situating the individual inside a more or less egalitarian and homogenous grouping (Yuval Davis, 1994: 180-1). However, this presumes that there is a reality shared by all members of the social category that has to be discovered and changed, rather than a reality that is being created and re-created when practiced and discussed (ibid: 190).

In comparison, the growing literature that draws upon James Scott's *Weapons of the Weak* (1985) 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. Rather than being victims of false consciousness, Scott argues that peasants conform as part of a self-conscious and calculated strategy and are completely capable of manipulating and subverting elements of the dominant ideology (1985: 278-289). These everyday forms of struggle and resistance, including boycotts, feigned ignorance, theft and malicious gossip, stop well short of organised collective defiance but represent the best way for individuals to defend their interests (ibid: 28-37). This chimes with Foucault's argument that power relations always contain within themselves the point of resistance and an alternative strategy.

However, whilst Foucault's work does represent an important challenge, alerting us to the mundane and daily ways in which power is enacted and contested and questioning the desirability and plausibility of an 'emancipated society' free from power relations as the aim of development, there is concern that it 'overstates the extent to which individuals could be 'subjected' to the influence of power, leaving them little room to resist' (Moss, 1998: 1). There is argued to be 'an unresolved contradiction between a view of social relations as fragmented and contestable and a vision of a totally administered society' (McNay, 1994: 111). Conversely, Scott's work has been criticised for a voluntarism, as his rejection of false consciousness and hegemony is seen to rest upon a voluntaristic conception of agency in which the subject is a free-willed individual decision-maker with fixed and unambiguous identity and interests

(Hart, 1991: 116). Therefore, despite the reference to his work within the post-development approach, it is rather difficult to reconcile the two.

Despite Foucault's reconceptualisation of power as a positive and productive force, it has been criticised for its implicit slippage to a negative and monolithic notion of power as a dominatory force (McNay, 1994: 85). This is the result of Foucault's derivation of a general paradigm of social power from the disciplinary model because he fails to distinguish between 'the totally reified power relations that characterise the "complete and austere" institutions from which his model of disciplinary power is derived and the more open and reciprocal forms of power relations that tend to operate within other institutional sectors of society' (ibid: 100). This undifferentiated concept of power is unable to account for the complex dialectical character of modern society i.e. that the very forces of rationalisation that have produced negative effects have also generated increasingly complex forms of freedom and individual empowerment (ibid: 105). This view actually accords with Foucault's own understanding of power as productive, yet by reducing power to an essentially technical notion of bodily control, he is unable to sustain this dialectic of individuation.

As a consequence, despite Foucault's assertions about the immanence of resistance to any system of power, this idea remains theoretically underdeveloped. This problem is linked to his failure to develop an alternative conception of subjectivity (McNay, 1994: 102). Foucault argues that the human soul is little more than the result of the operations of power upon the body and so is instrumental in the process through which disciplinary power converts itself into a normalizing regime of truth. However, this reduces subjects to arbitrarily constructed and manipulable 'docile' bodies rather

than persons with the capacity for autonomous experience and action (ibid: 102-3). Referring to the influence of Foucault's work within feminist thought, Monique Deveaux concurs that the docile bodies paradigm provides an unhelpful account of subjectivity, which due to 'Foucault's extreme reluctance to attribute explicit agency to subjects in his early accounts of power results in a portrayal of individuals as passive bodies, constituted by power and immobilized in a society of discipline' (1994: 228). She argues that this is needlessly reductionist and has 'the effect of diminishing and delimiting women's subjectivity, at times treating women as robotic receptacles of culture rather than as active agents who are both constituted by, and reflective of, their social and cultural contexts' (ibid: 227).

There is also concern that, in seeking to avoid causal explanations and direct intentionality, Foucault's view of modern society as systemically interconnected and composed of 'subjectless' constellations of power comes close to a functionalist account. The danger is that this can potentially lead either to political conservatism, by implying that the whole is so powerful that attempts to bring about social improvements by particular reforms will inevitably fail, or to anarchism, implying that social improvement is only possible with the complete abolition of modern society altogether (Hoy, 1986: 8-10). These inherent problems within Foucault's early work on disciplinary power have clearly been replicated by some of those within the post-development approach. Whilst they advocate the tactical resistance of active subjects, it is difficult to understand how this might come about and to reconcile this with their view of disciplinary development discourse.

For example, in their desire to avoid development establishment, Escobar and Esteva privilege localised and pluralistic grassroots movements and see theirs as the task of creating and articulating new forms of knowledge. However, it is difficult to understand how such knowledge could be articulated if it is necessary to completely reject existing theorisation of the relevant forces and processes and the basic concepts these employ (Brown, 1996: 337-8). As mentioned in the previous chapter, this rejection of development also in effect lets the development responsibility of states and international institutions off the hook and leads to an endorsement of the status quo because its solution is to rely upon the self-organising capacity of the poor (Pieterse, 2000: 187). In this context, it is perhaps understandable why Robert Chambers was so keen to emphasise the responsibility of those with power and wealth to address inequalities within systems of power.

Consequently, whilst Foucauldian thought has greatly contributed to debates about development and has in particular shed light on the more recent shift to participatory development, there is a tendency for the inherent tensions within his approach to disciplinary power to be replicated within post-development thought and de-politicisation critiques. Therefore, I think Gramscian thought can usefully contribute to these debates by building upon some of the important challenges to mainstream development whilst also providing the conceptual tools needed to grapple with the issues identified both with Foucauldian thought and the radical approaches to empowerment and development. As I will now go on to consider, the shift in Foucault's later work to governmentality and the closer engagement with Foucault's understanding of productive power that informs the transformation approach to

empowerment does begin to address some of these problems, but there is still the continued issue of a problematic understanding of resistance.

Foucault and Gramsci: The Search for a Theory of Resistance

Although there are a number of similarities between the approaches of Foucault and Gramsci, it is not simply a case of advocating a synthesis between the two. As already emphasised, this is not to deny the significance of the contribution that Foucault's work has made to development studies but there are several important differences between the two thinkers which mean their work is not necessarily commensurable. Gramsci and Foucault do share a concern with discourse and discursive formations, and with the articulation of power and knowledge and they are both interested in the embedding and embodying of power in everyday routines and the role of specific institutions and apparatuses in this regard (Jessop and Sum, 2006: 163). However, for Foucault, power is immanent and relational, emerging from specific disciplinary techniques and truth regimes. His 'commitment to the "death of the subject" means that the technologies of power have theoretical priority over their agential supporters as well as over the subjects…who are formed and disciplined by them' (ibid: 163-4). Even acknowledging the more nuanced understanding of power that emerges from his work on governmentality, Foucault's capillary notion of power still obscures power differentials and he 'does not concentrate on the mechanisms by which people could consciously mobilize to change a given "discourse" in a progressive direction' (Ives, 2004: 143). Consequently, his claim that 'wherever there is power, there is resistance' is grounded in a generic 'plebeian instinct' of resistance rather than in specific material positions, identities or interests. He also lacks a clear account of the actual effectivity of discourses in specific situations; he cannot explain 'the *why* of power

and its role in reproducing particular forms of social domination (Jessop and Sum, 2006: 164).

In comparison, Gramsci grounds the exercise of power in specific material apparatuses and social practices. His 'theory of hegemony is concerned both with particular modalities and apparatuses of power and with particular subjects with particular social identities and material interests' (Jessop and Sum, 2006: 164). He also places greater emphasis on agency and how collective political action can alter systematic inequality and oppression and lead to more equal power relations (Ives, 2004: 144). As will be demonstrated in this section, key to this is his understanding of hegemony as inherently instable and fragile, despite its outward appearance of consensus. Political struggle can therefore take place within the very institutions and apparatuses of this dominant system, but this requires the coordinated and coherent action of the subordinated. Significantly, this also resonates with Freire's notion of being 'tactically inside and strategically outside the system' (Mayo, 1999: 6). Whilst Foucault's work on governmentality does move towards an understanding of this reversibility of power, it still refrains from articulating such a strategy of resistance.

Foucault's later discussions of power do to an extent provide better accounts of the concepts of freedom, agency and domination (Moss, 1998: 1). He distinguishes between, on the one hand, power in general, and on the other hand, domination and government. It follows from his conceptualisation of power as 'the total structure of actions' bearing on the actions of those who are free that there is an intimate relationship between power and liberty. Indeed Foucault insists that where there is no possibility of resistance, there can be no relations of power. Consequently,

relationships of power are often unstable, ambiguous and reversible because the subjects are themselves in a position to act on the actions of others (Hindess, 1996: 99-101). However, Foucault recognises that some relationships of power clearly have a very different structure and so uses the term 'domination' to refer to those asymmetrical relations of power in which subordinated persons have little room for manoeuvre (ibid: 101). This distinction is important because it allows Foucault to condemn domination whilst sustaining a positive conception of power.

The third type of power relation, government, refers to the less spontaneous exercise of power over others and, particularly, to the use and invention of technologies for the regulation of conduct. Therefore, in addition to acting directly on individual behaviour, it also aims to affect behaviour indirectly by acting on the manner in which individuals regulate their own behaviour (Hindess, 1996: 106). In his lecture 'Governmentality', Foucault shows how this type of power emerged as a result of the shattering of feudal social structures and the Counter-Reformation in the sixteenth century, with the aim to produce the most efficient and productive disposal of things. This became an aim to manipulate populations in such a way as to increase their wealth, longevity, health, productivity and so on following the demographic expansion of the eighteenth century (McNay, 1994: 113-6). This modern power can be seen as a force which is both individualising and totalising because, on the one hand, governmental strategies seek to augment the happiness of citizens in terms of the conditions and quality of life, and on the other hand, the achievement of such ends results in an intensification of regulatory controls over citizens (ibid: 121).

The significance of this theory of governmentality is that it conceptualises power not only as an 'objectivising' force, as the theory of disciplinary control did, but also as a 'subjectivising' force. There is no longer a one-sided emphasis on the material effects of power on the body because power is also seen to operate indirectly through the manipulation of the conscious of individuals (McNay, 1994: 122-3). This replacement of the notion of docile bodies with a more active understanding of the subject, although not without problems, does provide a more plausible basis for Foucault's idea of resistance because individuals are now explicitly endowed with the capacity for rational and purposeful action (ibid: 123). Accordingly, rather than seeing development discourse as a monolithic force, the transformation approach views participatory development as a configuration of strategies and practices on constantly shifting ground (Cornwall, 2004: 81). In particular, factoring in this more sustained notion of agency means that efforts to control outcomes is only ever partial.

This more nuanced understanding of power and resistance is therefore also more compatible with Scott's work on the everyday forms of resistance. Whilst acknowledging the problematic dichotomies in his work which situate resistance within an artificially autonomous domain, Andrea Cornwall argues that Scott provides useful analytic tools for exploring the potential of differently located spaces (2004: 82). Indeed she draws a link between his understanding of resistance as voiced in 'hidden transcripts', the backstage commentaries through which speakers define countervailing realities in their own terms, and the approach of Participatory Action Research. However, the key difference is that Scott's analysis would suggest that the construction of alternative versions of the world must rely upon the creation of spaces that are removed from authority (Cornwall, 2004: 82). So although this work of

Foucault and Scott alerts us to the varied possibilities of resistance and begins to develop a more sustained notion of agency, it is still unclear how these opportunities can be turned into strategies of substantial social and political change, as advocated by the transformation approach.

As discussed in the previous chapter, key arguments within this approach are the continuing importance of the state as a site of struggle, recognition of the structures of power associated with the wider political economy and the need for large-scale collective action to effectively engage with these. However, Foucault's rejection of the theorisation of power as a "concentration" or locatable at a particular site, together with his intentional avoidance of the state, 'leaves him with an analysis of resistance without a collective subject of transformation or organizations of subaltern representation' (Reddy, 2000: 223). The resultant reliance on the spontaneous resistance of subordinated groups fails to recognise the need for such actors to mobilise all the resources at their disposal, including counter narratives, organic intellectuals and the resources of sympathetic institutions of civil society, in challenging the systematic organisation of the dominant group (ibid: 238). Foucault does recognise that local tactics do eventually need to enter into an overall strategy but his analysis identifies only a tenuous causality between local strategies and broader social arrangements (Hennessey, 1993: 20). Scott also concedes that, whilst everyday modes of resistance are not trivial, they are 'unlikely to do more than marginally affect the various forms of exploitation that peasants confront' (Scott, 1985: 29-30).

It is perhaps unsurprising then, that authors within the transformation approach turn to other theories to support the articulation of their approach to re-politicisation. For example, Glyn Williams advocates political analysis of the degree to which development initiatives improve the political capabilities of the poor, defined as 'the institutional and organizational resources as well as collective ideas available for effective political action'. These involve the 'ability to create new rules, transform social preferences, as well as secure new resources as they become available' (Williams, 2004: 567). In other words, there is a need to understand how tactics and subversions of the dominant discourse can be coordinated and made coherent in order to challenge existing configurations of power.

Furthermore, whilst Foucault's later work provides useful insights on power and resistance, it is still problematic in terms of developing alternative visions of empowerment (Deveaux, 1994: 244). There is concern that the understanding of power as acting upon the behaviour of others obscures the personal element of processes of empowerment and the relationship between these personal experiences and broader political action. Approaches to empowerment should place the subject's interpretation and mediation of their experiences at the centre of inquiries into the how and why of power (ibid: 241-3). A discussion of Gramsci's understanding of praxis as the political action of subaltern groups in the next section will consider the contribution his work can make to feminist and Freirean understandings of empowerment, in particular by deepening understanding of this relationship between internal processes of transformation and broader collective action. However, I will first outline how Gramsci's conceptualisation of power and resistance can help in

addressing the issues identified within Foucauldian thought and in elaborating a more adequate theoretical basis for the transformation approach.

Gramsci shares the understanding that consent is produced in the micro structures that inform the practices of everyday life, and as such all individuals are seen to be sites of power. However, they are not all viewed to quantitatively and qualitatively embody the same form of power. Instead, the recognition of the directedness of power demonstrates that the ubiquity of power is of secondary importance to the hierarchical structure of power relations (Holub, 1992: 199-200). To be effective, strategies of resistance should therefore engage critically and dialectically with the dominant institutions in society, which do play a role in consolidating existing hegemonic arrangements, but also contain sites wherein these arrangements are constantly renegotiated and contested (Mayo: 1999: 7). Such an engagement is born out of the conviction that the system and its institutions are not monolithic entities (ibid: 6). 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). This is because 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).

As such, hegemony is not imposed but is ‘negotiated’ by unequal forces in a complex process through which the subordination and resistance of individuals are created and recreated (Simon, 1991: 65). The implication of this is that subordinate groups must

therefore negotiate the tensions between living and working critically whilst contending with existing material forces. They need to tactically engage with the system in order to survive and for their efforts to be effective, but to be strategically outside, working with other marginal groups and organisations to transform it (Mayo, 1999: 6, 71). Not only does this fluid understanding of hegemonic power and resistance create greater space for agency but it also points to the importance of analyses of the manner in which struggles over meaning and identity articulate with struggles over other resources (Kenway, 2001: 61).

Significantly, Gramsci's work highlights the reciprocal relationship between the unstructured and covert forms of microresistance within everyday practices, as identified by Scott but also articulated in work of Michel de Certeau, and more organised counter-hegemonic mobilisation that is based in class, social movements and popular culture (Jessop and Sum, 2006: 171). There is recognition of the importance of tactical action to find weak points and angles of attack, but as argued by Jessop and Sum, resistance 'must entail something more than a rewriting of culture within the symbolic space of capitalism' (ibid: 171). In particular, 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).

A critical part of this movement from everyday forms of resistance to becoming a social force capable of transformation is the constitution of the subordinated group as an alternative collective subject through the process of struggle. The subaltern need to 're-interpret the dominant constructions of themselves and reappropriate them in ways

that enhance their struggle to control the centre of the terrain of political struggle' so as to translate the 'everyday forms into actions and thoughts that make the existing order ungovernable' (Reddy, 2000: 237). This also moves beyond Scott's problematic reliance upon a voluntaristic conception of agency where the subject is understood to be a free-willed individual decision-maker with fixed and unambiguous identity and interests (Hart, 1991: 116). Instead, it is recognised that identities and interests are forged through political struggle on multiple, possibly contradictory and intersecting sites, but it is also suggested how these can be constructed into a coherent and critical understanding.

For Gramsci, a central aspect of the process of challenging dominant relations of power is a critical engagement with "common sense" so as to 'construct a higher level of critical, systemic consciousness that corresponds to resistance actions of the subaltern' (Reddy, 2000: 222). Subordinated groups have 'to problematize, reinterpret, and re-appropriate the representations of social relations of the dominant culture and replace them with its own cultural system', which includes 'making coherent previous contradictory thoughts and practices, displaying a historical awareness of politics, and constituting subaltern subjects as critically engaged and passionate about their interests' (ibid: 229). Such processes should focus on the realm of everyday experience by 'renovating and making "critical" an already existing activity' but move beyond these concerns to reach a political phase of 'intellectual and moral unity' (Gramsci, 1971: 181, 331).

As is inferred from Gramsci's factory council experience, these activities are conceived within the framework of a movement or alliance of movements, which

must be 'broad enough to extend its activities into various spheres of social life and beyond the locality in question' (Mayo: 1994: 43-4). As with the 'consciousness-raising' approaches associated with feminist and Freirean literature, there is thought to be an important role for intellectuals in this process of social transformation in working out and making coherent the principles and the problems raised by the masses in their practical activity (Gramsci, 1971: 330). However, a distinction is made between the social function of those organic to the dominant group, who 'serve to mediate the ideological and political unity of existing hegemony', and those organic to the subordinated group aspiring to power, who 'engage in the war of position that enables it to secure the alliance(s) necessary to succeed' (Mayo, 1994: 41)[4]

Accordingly, a Gramscian approach is compatible with a gender-informed rethinking of Scott's everyday forms of resistance (as suggested by Gillian Hart, 1991) which emphasises the important ways that representations of masculinity and femininity limit the struggles of the rural poor and the subsequent need for progressive politics to demystify and deconstruct gender (Hart, 1991: 117-8). Such actions need to be taken if a subordinated group is to engage in struggle to contest and re-appropriate the institutions and practices that govern their daily existence. Gramsci's theory of the formation of a collective group also helps to mitigate against the dangers of presuming a homogenous and egalitarian community by alerting us to the way

[4] This should be understood in relation to Gramsci's categorisation of intellectuals, the two most important forms of which are 'organic' intellectuals and 'traditional' intellectuals. Whilst each social group creates its own strata of intellectuals to give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own economic, social and political function, traditional intellectuals present themselves as autonomous and independent of the dominant social group. One of the most important characteristics of any group struggling towards dominance is its struggle to assimilate and conquer "ideologically" the traditional intellectuals, which is aided by the simultaneous elaboration of its own organic intellectuals (Gramsci, 1971: 5-10).

different groups and sections of society form an alliance through a series of concessions and negotiations. For Gramsci, achieving hegemony 'means taking systematic account of popular interests and demands, shifting position and compromising on secondary issues to maintain support and alliances in an inherently fragile system of political relations…and organising this support for the attainment of national goals which serve the long run interests of the dominant group' (Kenway, 2001: 53-4). The role of organic intellectuals in this process is not to inform the masses of their 'real interests', but to elaborate ideologies and unify social forces, to provide 'the hegemonic cement in civil and political society' (ibid: 52). I will now move on to discuss in more detail these important ideas of 'common sense' and organic intellectuals to indicate the contribution that Gramsci's work can make in building upon feminist and Freirean approaches to empowerment whilst moving beyond the problems associated with 'consciousness-raising'.

Approaches to Empowerment: Moving Beyond 'Consciousness-Raising' to Resistance as Praxis

As already emphasised, a central aspect of the radical approaches to empowerment is their focus upon internal processes as well as collective forms of resistance. Consciousness-raising activity involves developing confidence and a sense of an individual's own capacities and abilities, which support and is supported by collective action and the sense of being able to achieve together. Freire's work is important in this regard, as will be argued below, but there are undoubtedly dangers associated with the underlying presumptions related to false consciousness. It will be shown that Gramsci's work helps to reconcile this important part of processes of empowerment with a nuanced understanding of identity, and to develop it into an explicitly political

project. In particular, his understanding of praxis, an idea present in Freire's approach but which is articulated in a sophisticated manner within Gramsci's thought, addresses the issues raised against consciousness-raising approaches whilst retaining their concern with the development of a critical consciousness for social action.

The main contribution of Freire's work is his pedagogy of the oppressed, 'a pedagogy which must be forged *with*, not *for*, the oppressed (whether individuals or peoples) in the incessant struggle to regain their humanity' (1996: 30). A key challenge that he argues the oppressed face is their total lack of confidence in themselves. Their characteristic self-depreciation 'derives from their internalisation of the opinion the oppressors hold of them. So often do they hear that they are good for nothing, know nothing and are incapable of learning anything – that they are sick, lazy and unproductive – that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness' (Freire, 1996: 45). Therefore, in order for the oppressed to be able to wage the struggle for their liberation, they 'must perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they can transform' (ibid: 31). This alone is not sufficient, but is the motivating force for action through which the oppressed can begin to believe in themselves.

It is this focus on the building of confidence and the creation of critical possibility which is at the heart of the process of conscientisation. As the group begin to perceive the social, political and economic contradictions inherent in everyday life and to draw critical connections between objects, they grow in confidence and become bound together in the process of mutual enquiry. They are then able to explore new ways of knowing and develop a critical approach to reality (Ledwith, 2001: 177-9). Freire

stresses the need for reciprocal learning and a dialogical relationship between the educator and learner in this process so that the object of knowledge is co-investigated (Mayo, 1999: 65). This is not to say that the two are completely equal, but that the educator or intellectual should play a directive role, guiding the pedagogical action with their political vision and theoretical understanding so as to expose the contradictions that provide the basis of critical thinking (ibid: 66-7).

As argued in this previous chapter, this emphasis upon individual and collective analysis and reflection to produce new forms of consciousness resonates with, and has influenced, feminist approaches to empowerment, albeit with an additional focus upon gendered subordination. However, whilst Freire does attempt to incorporate issues of gender and race into his analysis, this still does not adequately address the concern that such an approach assumes the collective unity of experience to be discovered (Weiler, 2001: 70). It has also been argued that whilst this kind of 'intellectual praxis' may be capable of transforming learners' consciousness, it would not by itself lead them to engage in social action to transform their situation of oppression (Mayo, 1999: 91-2). This is where a number of academics working within the fields of community work and adult education have argued that Gramsci's work can contribute (for example, Allman, 1988; Ledwith, 2001; Mayo, 1999).

Indeed, it is argued that 'the publication of Gramsci's work in English has been one of the most important influences in preparing us for the rereading and radical use of Freire's ideas' (Allman, 1988: 99). Gramsci's major contribution is the twofold strategy that he suggests: 'one aspect of the task is the development of a new mode of thinking and the other aspect involves countering the expression of ideology in our

material relations and practices by transforming those relations and practices' (ibid: 103). Freire does advocate that educational practices should take place in relation to strong social movements, and during his work as Education Secretary in São Paulo, he did administer educational programmes in concert with mass organisations and movements (Mayo, 1999: 92-3). However, as outlined earlier, Gramsci goes further in advocating a coherent and broad-based alliance of groups, movements and organisations capable of social transformation.

In keeping with this notion of a 'war of position', Gramsci also conveys the idea that different sites of social practice can be transformed into sites of adult education. For example, the area of industrial production becomes an important site of learning within his writings (Mayo, 1999: 44). Gramsci advocated the creation of a cultural association for workers in order to integrate political and economic activity with an organ of cultural activity and to generate an environment characterised by collaboration. This democratisation of relations in the sphere of production is regarded as an important step towards democratising the wider social relations that constitute state (ibid: 45-7). Also the knowledge acquired at the workplace would lead to a greater understanding of the workings of society as the worker acquired an awareness of his role in the process of production at all levels, from the workshop to the nation to the world (ibid: 46-7). This not only emphasises the relationship between practical activity and education but is also a useful guide to analysing farmer empowerment, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

In addition, Gramsci's work provides the conceptual tools to move beyond false consciousness and to develop a more organic understanding of intellectual leadership

that is not simply imposing its own ideas. Particularly pertinent are his writings on the philosophy of praxis, in which he outlines his conceptualisation of 'common sense' and 'good sense' and the relationship between the two (1971: 323-377). Gramsci argues that all individuals have, in their own way and unconsciously, some set of ideas with which to perceive the world because in even the slightest manifestation of any intellectual activity and language itself is contained a specific conception of the world (ibid: 323). However this may co-exist in a fragmentary and uncritical form with the hegemonic articulation of the world at the level of 'common sense', which is the contradictory collection of ideas and beliefs held within feeling, intuition, prejudice and unreflected opinion (Ryner, 2000: 200; Simon, 1991: 26).

This contrast between thought and action, 'i.e. the co-existence of two conceptions of the world, one affirmed in words and the other displayed in effective action, is not simply a product of self-deception' (Gramsci, 1971: 326-7) He argues that this is not an adequate explanation when the contrast occurs, not just in a few individuals but in the life of the great masses. Therefore, this signifies that the 'social group in question may indeed have its own conception of the world, even if only embryonic; a conception which manifests itself in action, but occasionally and in flashes – when, that is, the group is acting as an organic totality'. But it has adopted a conception which is not its own, borrowed from another group, that it affirms verbally and follows in "normal times" when its conduct is not independent and autonomous (ibid: 327).

Therefore, these subordinate groups are not tricked or duped but they lack their own coherent worldview that corresponds to their experiences from which to understand

and interpret the world and so do not actively participate in creating or critically assessing the philosophies that guide their lives (Ives, 2004: 79-80). Furthermore, common sense is not viewed in purely negative terms because although it is the site on which the dominant ideology is constructed, it also contains within it positive elements through which an alternative conception of the world can be articulated (Simon, 1991: 27). It is this healthy nucleus of the fragmentary collection of ideas and opinions in common sense, which Gramsci refers to as 'good sense', that needs to be elaborated in a unitary and coherent manner so as to order in a critical and systematic fashion an individual's intuitions of life and the world and to give conscious direction to their activity (1971: 327-8). It is through this process 'to work out consciously and critically one's own conception of the world and thus, in connection with the labour of one's own brain, choose one's sphere of activity' that an individual can 'take an active part in the creation of the history of the world (ibid: 323-4).

As indicated earlier, the role of leadership is argued to be an important part of this process but this is conceived differently to that of the 'change agents' often associated with conscious-raising activity. Of particular interest here is Gramsci's discussion on 'spontaneity' and 'conscious leadership'. Whilst those within the post-development and de-politicisation approaches advocate grassroots mobilisation, Gramsci contends that pure 'spontaneity' does not exist and in fact 'spontaneous' movements contain rudimentary elements of 'conscious leadership'. It is simply the case that no one of these multiple elements is predominant or able to transcend the subordinate group's 'common sense' or traditional conception of the world (1971: 196-7). Even the sets of ideas developed unconsciously at the level of 'common sense', although seemingly natural, are the results of a history of political acts and choices. Therefore,

‘spontaneous’ conceptions of the world are not ‘the individual or internal expression that is totally consented to as opposed to external imposition from outside’ (Ives, 2004: 97). This sheds new light on the post-development concern for localised knowledge and social action free from outside intervention.

Furthermore, the inability to develop a coherent worldview that actually relates to their own life and place in society is not only an integral part of the domination constituted over subordinate groups, but is also a key factor in preventing them from being able to effectively resist the exercise of power against them (Ives, 2004: 79). It is the unity between ‘spontaneity’ and ‘conscious leadership’ that is ‘precisely the real political action of the subaltern classes’. Such leadership is not ‘abstract, but is ‘formed in specific historical relations, with specific feelings, outlooks and fragmentary conceptions of the world’, directing this ‘spontaneous’ element to give the masses a ‘theoretical’ consciousness of being creators of historical and institutional values (Gramsci, 1971: 198). Therefore, intellectual leadership is ‘organic’ if it works out and makes coherent the principle and problems raised by the masses in their practical activity and contributes to the constitution of a cultural and social bloc (ibid: 330). The significance of this is that the ‘organic’ character of intellectuals is not solely a question of their class origin or where they work, but is related to their understanding of the world and the way in which they justify the organisation of a given society and their position within that (Ives, 2004: 76). This provides a more nuanced approach to analysing the role of the ‘outsiders’, including educators, community workers and development practitioners, who may be involved with processes of empowerment.

In this way, Gramsci's conceptualisation of praxis and understanding of the role of 'conscious leadership' help to build on the insights from Freirean and feminist approaches to empowerment whilst negotiating the tensions identified with processes of 'consciousness raising'. Crucially his thought contributes to understanding the complex relationship between internal processes of identity formation and critical thought and the construction of collective forms of consciousness and social action. It also helps to expose the possible tensions between such endeavours and the material relations inherent in practical, everyday activity.

However, this is not to say that Gramscian thought is itself entirely free from problems. In particular, it should be noted that discussions of gender are largely absent from Gramsci's work. For example, when dealing with factory council movement, conceived of as movement of worker education for greater worker control, he 'provides little, if any, indication regarding how traditionally unequal power relations between male and female workers can be improved through a process of education for industrial democracy' (Mayo, 1999: 110). Similarly, whilst Freire does attempt to incorporate issues of gender and race in his initial class-based project, his work is still filled with gender-biased language and fails to include the experiences of women (Thomas, 2009: 265; Weiler, 2001: 74).

That said, although feminist issues were not central to Gramsci's thought[5], there are a number of feminists that have argued that his key concepts do offer a set of tools

[5] Indeed it has been argued that Gramsci displayed little feminist consciousness in his relationships with his wife and sister-in-law, whose sacrifices went largely unacknowledged (Holub, 1992: 191-4; Kenway, 2001: 49). However, Holub does reason that it is perhaps unfair to expect Gramsci to think or act differently when it comes to his practices with women given that his experiences were not confronted with a series of continuous radical, complex and extensive feminist discourses, as ours are now (Holub, 1992: 194-5).

useful to feminist thought and politics (Kenway, 2001: 56; Holub, 1992: 195-7; Showstack Sassoon, 1992: 16-21). The insistence that women's personal experience is political associated with 'second wave' feminism coincides with Gramsci's approach that took a critical analysis of people's common sense as the necessary starting point to understanding the world (Showstack Sassoon, 1992: 16). In particular, his concept of hegemony offers 'a means of investigating not only the gendered power relations of everyday life, but also sexuality as a site of domination and oppression' (Kenway, 2001: 56). Indeed, as noted by Holub, 'what is interesting in Gramsci's treatment of feminism is that he does not approach this question from a merely economic or political point of view…Sexuality figures in his account'. This allows him 'not only to assess women's unequal status in our societies in terms of their economic exploitation and political marginalisation from the public sphere, but also to point to women's material and symbolic function in the reproduction of the workforce necessary for production processes as a whole' (1992: 196).

Such an approach could be viewed as a precursor to subsequent arguments that the household is also a 'terrain of explicit contest and struggle' so that 'family politics become part of the terrain of production politics and of "everyday resistance"' (Carney and Watts, 1990: 210). As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 with regards to producer empowerment within Kenya's coffee industry, 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). Therefore, despite the recognised limitations in his work, this does indicate a degree of compatibility

between Gramscian thought and analysis of empowerment that takes seriously the issue of gender and gendered relations of production, which will be furthered discussed below with regards to neo-Gramscian approaches to international political economy and feminist political economy.

Gramsci and Post-Impasse Development

The Contribution of Gramsci to International Political Economy

Having demonstrated the contribution that Gramsci's work can make to the analysis of approaches to empowerment as strategies of resistance and social transformation, this section will now consider its significance to post-impasse development debates, particularly following the application of his ideas to international political economy (Notably, Cox 1986, 1987, 1996; Harrod, 1987). This work provides useful insight into two key areas of debate that are also pertinent to post-impasse development approaches: the relationships between material and cultural dimensions, and between local struggles and the global political economy. Robert Cox and Jeffrey Harrod's work (1987) also provides a focus upon inequality as embedded in the social relations of production that shape people's lives.

In his seminal article 'Social Forces, States and World Orders' (1986), Cox draws upon historical materialism, evident in the historical works of Marx and in the thought of Gramsci, to sketch a method for understanding global power relations. He argues that historical materialism is a foremost source of critical theory, which, rather than taking institutions and social and power relations for granted, concerns itself with their origins and how and whether they might be in the process of changing (Cox,

1986: 208). Its basic premise is that action takes place within a framework or historical structure and that this structure should be viewed from the bottom or outside in terms of the conflicts which arise within it and open the possibility of its transformation (ibid: 217).

At an abstract level, a historical structure can be understood as a particular configuration of three categories of force - ideas, material capabilities and institutions - which exist in reciprocal relationships and impose pressures and constraints upon actions within that structure. To the extent that individuals and groups are able to successfully resist a prevailing historical structure, they buttress their actions with an alternative, emerging configuration of forces (Cox, 1986: 217-8). These structures exist at three levels or spheres of activity – social forces engendered by the production process, forms of state and world orders – which also exist in reciprocal relationships. In this way, hegemony at the global level, understood as the fit between material power, ideology and institutions, can be explained in terms of the 'pattern of interacting social forces in which states play an intermediate though autonomous role between the global structure of social forces and local configurations of social forces within particular countries' (ibid: 225).

This method of understanding historical change has then been further elaborated and concretised in Cox's *Production, Power and World Order* by, firstly, translating the category of production into concepts that express concrete historical forms of the ways in which production has been organised – modes of social relations of production – and secondly, by examining historically specific forms of power in state and world-order structures i.e. how they have shaped production relations and been

conditioned by forms of production relations (1987: 1). The system of power that emerges from the linked historical structures represented in these ideal types begins with the way the world's work is done through a series of connected structures of production relations, each of which is a power relation, some more dominant and oppressive, others more equitably balanced (ibid: 4-5). These comprise of varying degrees of protection for the workers, with established workers at one end of the scale being protected by laws, practices and constraints against employer power, whilst unprotected workers at the other end of the scale are at the mercy of the casual employer of labour (Harrod, 1987: 39). Indeed, this distinction between "protected" and "unprotected" workers is seen to be at the heart of the basic cleavage in the present day world between 'on the one hand, beneficiaries of globalization or those people who are integrated into the world economy, and on the other hand, 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 transcend their immediate corporative instincts and 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). In other words, whilst still recognising Gramsci's sense that national situations are specific, the problem of hegemony is posed at the level of global political economy as well as at regional, national and local levels (ibid: 11-2). Interestingly, Bob Jessop argues that Gramsci's 'analyses of struggles for national hegemony were not confined to the national but closely examined the articulation, and indeed, interpenetration, of the local, regional, national and supranational scales' (2005: 427). Jessop views Gramsci

as not only a historical but also a spatial theorist, identifying a sensitivity to the specific location of social relations and practices in place, space and scale within his philosophy of praxis. For example, Gramsci considered the 'territorialisation of political power, processes of state formation and the dialectic of domestic and external influences on political life' and was attentive to the 'ways in which tangled hierarchies of scale [from the global to the local] acted as a source of economic, political and socio-economic instability' (ibid: 424-6).

Of particular relevance is Gramsci's discussion of the Southern Question, which was concerned with the uneven development between the North and South of Italy despite Italian unification. This led many Northern Italians to conclude that, as they had not made progress since their liberation, the causes of poverty must be innate in the population of the South; namely, their organic incapacity, barbarity and biological inferiority. Gramsci challenged this view, arguing that the popular masses in the North did not understand that unity had not taken place on a basis of equality; 'that the North concretely was an "octopus" which enriched itself as the expense of the South, and that its economic-industrial increment was in direct proportion to the impoverishment of the economy and the agriculture of the South' (1971: 70-71).

Therefore, as noted by Adam Morton, 'Gramsci appreciated the early stages of development of the modern state in a peripheral region of capitalism' in his own time and he shares the view that it is 'thus possible to note a spatial awareness in Gramsci's writings that includes a focus on the uneven development of social powers at national, regional and international levels' (2007: 4). Morton argues such writings are crucial because they 'display what Gramsci meant by the "national" point of

departure, i.e. the intertwined relationship between "international" forces and "national" relations within a society which react both passively and actively to mediations of global and regional forces' (ibid: 5). This challenges claims that Gramsci's focus on national social formations resulted in his failure to consider the constitutive and causal role of international dimensions and provides an indication of how his work could shed light on understanding non-European settings experiencing uneven development (ibid: 5-6).

Such claims are part of a broader concern regarding the application of Gramsci's key concepts to contemporary international relations without paying sufficient attention to the dangers of removing ideas from the particular contexts and historical circumstances from which they derive (Germain and Kenny, 1998: 13). However, whilst not advocating a mechanical application of Gramsci's concepts to different circumstances, Morton argues that it is consistent with Gramsci's own approach to the history of ideas to locate concepts both in and beyond their context (Morton: 2007: 17). As such, historicising Gramsci 'entails thinking in a Gramscian way about the history of ideas and present-day problems' (ibid: 18). Indeed, Gramsci's own use of language involved transforming existing concepts to signify something novel rather than inventing new terms. The meaning of his words was shown through their use in the analysis of various historical situations rather than some stated definition prior to use (Ives, 2004: 65). Along these lines, I believe it is possible to think in a Gramscian way about the debates surrounding post-impasse development.

Gramsci's work, and its further elaboration by Cox and Harrod, can usefully contribute to the endeavour outlined at the end of Chapter 1 to move 'beyond the

impasse' within development studies. It has at its heart a concern with inequality within the global economy but avoids the economism that pervaded Marxist approaches to development. Rather the economic sphere and the political, ethical and ideological spheres are seen to exist in complex and reciprocal relationships within a larger unity, understood at the international level as an historical structure or at the national level as an historic bloc. Material circumstances, including social relations and the physical means of production, both shape and are shaped by superstructures of ideology and political organisation (Cox, 1996: 131-2). Furthermore, whilst changes in international power relations can be traced back to fundamental social relations, the state still retains an important role because this is the place where social conflicts take place and where hegemonies of social classes can be built (ibid: 133-4). This nuanced conceptualisation of international power relations encourages analysis that situates localised struggle within the broader political economy whilst remaining sensitive to the role the state plays in the national context.

Gramsci's understanding of uneven development, as extended to the international level by Cox, also alerts us to the challenges of co-option within peripheral countries. As in Italy at the time of Gramsci's writing, there is concern that such countries may experience 'passive revolution' in which elements of the hegemonic model are imported in ways that support old power structures (Cox, 1996: 137). This can involve a process of 'trasformismo' whereby potential leaders of subaltern groups and potentially dangerous ideas are assimilated into the dominant coalition and its doctrine in order to obstruct the formation of organised opposition (ibid: 130). This emphasises the importance of constructing an historic bloc as a form of defence against such processes of co-option.

More recently, Morton has offered empirical analysis of passive revolution in the context of modern Mexico that traces the agency of particular social-class forces in constituting and reproducing the globalisation of neoliberal restructuring within the conditions of uneven development (2007: 139). It also goes on to consider the articulation of 'anti-passive revolution' strategies of resistance because, in addition to discussing these constitutive elements of uneven development, it is also important to consider forms of agency that might be contesting practices of hegemony and passive revolution in global political economy (ibid: 171). Whilst concern has been raised about the focus on social class in this analysis (Steans and Tepe, 2008: 136), it will be discussed below how gender can be integrated into this approach.

Bob Jessop and Ngai-Ling Sum have also sought to further build on the work by Cox by more fully exploiting 'Gramsci's account of the coconstitution and coevolution of the material and the discursive' (2006: 156). They combine critique of political economy with critical semiotic analysis in order to recognise both 'the constitutive role of discourse and the emergent extra-discursive features of social relations and their conjoint impact on capacities for action and transformation' (ibid: 159). Furthermore, they consider not only hegemonic processes at the global scale but also the diffusion of discourses produced by global actors to other scales through intermediaries who translate it into regional and local contexts so that they become grounded in everyday practices. This is not only a one-way process because new discourses may emerge from these sub-hegemonic centres of power and reverberate back to the hegemonic sites; therefore there is a multi-scalar aspect to hegemonic struggle (ibid: 169).

This nuanced and reciprocal understanding of the relationship between the power relations of production and hegemonic struggle at the local, national, regional and global level usefully informs the development of a methodology that situates analysis of concrete, localised approaches to empowerment within the broader political economy and considers their relationship with mainstream development policy. However, before going on to explain this in more detail, it is first important to address some of the criticisms that have been raised against the neo-Gramscian approach, particularly with regards to its relationship with feminism. Whilst acknowledging the shortcomings of some of the literature to adequately engage with this issue, it is argued that there are a number of significant contributions which indicate the possibility of a fruitful dialogue between the neo-Gramscian approach and feminist political economy.

Neo-Gramscian Approach and Feminist Political Economy: A Useful Synthesis?

A number of scholars have pointed to the intellectual and political affinities between feminists and neo-Gramscians, which I will now go on to explore, but it is also important to address concerns that gender remains 'either wholly neglected or undertheorised' in much neo-Gramscian work, in particular with regards to 'a sustained analysis of how gendered identities and subjectivities are constructed and how gender relations of inequality are produced (Steans and Tepe, 2008: 133-5). Therefore, whilst the perspective offers 'important intellectual and political spaces within which feminist analyses might be developed' it is damaging that it 'does not itself offer a sustained analysis of these relations' (Whitworth, 1997: 54). In response to such comments, it is important to consider the understanding of gender within Cox

and Harrod's approach to social relations of production and how this has been subsequently developed by both neo-Gramscians and feminist political economists.

Whilst Cox does assert the centrality of production to the study of the changing power relations in society and world politics, which in turn leads to the matter of social classes, this is understood in its broadest sense (1987: 2). Production is not confined to that of physical goods used or consumed, but also covers 'the production and reproduction of knowledge and of the social relations, morals and institutions that are prerequisites to the production of physical goods' (Cox, 1989: 39). Production not only creates the material basis for all forms of social existence, but the ways in which human efforts are combined in productive processes also affect all aspects of life (Cox, 1987: 1). Therefore, this approach takes the central premise that 'work is a fundamental activity that affects a range of other important human relationships and the organization of society as a whole' as a guide to inquiry – 'an injunction to explore the connections between work and politics as a basis for formulating some appropriate concepts and theoretical propositions' (ibid: ix).

As further elaborated by Harrod, an important contribution of this focus on social relations of production is that it disaggregates conventional categories, such as women, poor and peasants[6], into the different patterns of power that govern different sections of these blank categories (1987: 5). It 'takes the emphasis of occupation, gender, religion, nationality, and sometimes class as the basis for organization, consciousness and dynamics of change and puts it on the power relations of production'. The objective is not to create new, separate and separatable categories

[6] Harrod has also highlighted the problematic use of the blanket term 'informal sector' which has 'hidden the diversity of work and the associated power relations that exist in the materially poorest urban areas of the poorest countries' (2006: 57).

but to understand the potential divisions of populations, which is central to the forging of the alliances necessary for a broader support of change or its converse of divide and rule (ibid: 5).

For example, Teresa Healy demonstrates how gender analysis can be fruitfully combined with Cox and Harrod's modes of social relations of production in her account of the restructuring of production patterns in Mexico in order to analyse Mexican labour movements (Healy, 2006: 178-9). She argues that one of the benefits of the production patterns method in explaining the contested character of globalization in Mexico is the historical perspective and set of conceptual tools that enable us to see both general and specific dynamics, including the role played by gender. Indeed, the production patterns promoted by dominant national and transnational social forces in Mexico were both highly gendered and interrelated, however, the gendered character of these patterns was rarely challenged by labour movements contesting the conditions under which they worked and lived (ibid: 179-80). Therefore, understanding the role of this hegemonic masculinity, including the partnership between paternalism and authority, is important in ascertaining the prospects for an effective counter hegemony (ibid: 202).

Also interesting with regards to my analysis of coffee producers in Kenya is Cox and Harrod's household mode of social relations of production. Household production, which includes childbearing and childrearing, washing, cleaning, preparation of food, repair and maintenance, small plot cultivation, and also the management of family income and resources, has been previously ignored by statisticians and economists because no monetary value is placed on household production itself (Cox, 1987: 48).

However, it is vital to the survival of the family and to the support of other modes of production the household indirectly serves. It 'is the principle means of sustaining and reproducing the human species and thus the labor force' and therefore 'it is the underpinning of all other forms of production' (ibid: 48-9). The household also becomes the buffer for economic crisis when production functions are forced back on household, to extent that emotional resilience can stand the strain (ibid: 50).

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. Harrod notes that whilst the origins of patriarchy are complex, it is most likely that it preceded household social relations and that the original objective was not only for the express purpose of exploiting women's ability to work (ibid: 296). 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).

It has been argued that this understanding of household production relies upon an overly structural and static account of patriarchy, to the neglect of questions of how masculine and feminine identities are formed (Steans and Tepe, 2008: 139). However, it does offer a useful contribution in terms of strategies of resistance that recognises

the specific form these may take in practice and is particularly relevant to the later discussion of producer empowerment in coffee producing communities. At the time of writing, Harrod noted that until recently there had been little attempt to resist household power relations through collective consciousness and action outside the household, but that within the household there were two interesting attempts to resist male domination. The first were individual psychological strategies to redress material, social and psychological domination, the specific nature and form of which depended upon personal, religious and cultural backgrounds; and the second were attempts to secure financial and personal independence through wage work outside the house (Harrod, 1987: 306-7).

These offered women a degree of leverage within the household but 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 (Harrod, 1987: 308). Therefore, the transformation of internal relations within household would require the destruction of the wider structure of subordination of women and reducing the level of the society-wide ideology's acceptance and internalisation by women household workers (ibid: 314). Such an understanding of the dynamics both within the household and between the household and other forms of production within a given society has relevance for contemporary analyses of empowerment. Furthermore, whilst it is acknowledged that these models of social relations of production are ideal types, that by their nature offer a static and abstract conception of social practices, as demonstrated by Healy's work outlined earlier, they can still usefully guide concrete analysis (Cox, 1987: 4; Ryner and Davies, 2006: 242).

There has subsequently been a number of attempts to bring together Cox and Harrod's approach and feminist political economy, most notably in relation to feminist understandings of social reproduction (Bakker and Gill, 2003; Bakker, 2007; Ruckert, 2010). For example, Isabella Bakker and Stephen Gill aim to put forward a more comprehensive approach that, in addition to a nuanced and differentiated recognition of power and production, incorporates the institutions, processes and practices of social reproduction into explanations of the restructuring of world society (2003: 17). Accordingly, they make the argument that the dominant global regime of accumulation, which they call disciplinary neo-liberalism, has been accompanied by increasingly marketised and commodified frameworks of social reproduction (ibid: 13). Social reproduction has been defined in varying ways by feminist and other writers but they suggest that most definitions relate to three aspects: the biological reproduction of the species; the reproduction of the labour force; and the reproduction of provisioning and caring needs (ibid: 32). These dimensions relate to what has been called a 'gender order'. All world orders involve 'specific gender divisions of labour and structures of power that shape symbolic and material representations of gender relations' and so gender orders coexist with, serve to shape and are shaped by world orders (ibid: 33).

This work does contribute a broader understanding of the construction and reproduction of gender relations. However, whilst Bakker and Gill identify three dimensions of analysis, the micro (individual), the meso (institutional) and the macro (forms of state and world order), there is a tendency to concentrate on how key institutions and the mechanisms of governance are being redefined by the discourses of disciplinary neo-liberalism (Bakker and Gill, 2003: 5). Similarly, Bakker's review

essay of the contributions in feminist political economy emphasising the concept of social reproduction acknowledges the need for research that is concerned with collective action and alternative responses in the face of this crisis of social reproduction, but the focus remains upon governance and governmentality (Bakker, 2007). As with the post-development approach discussed at the beginning of the chapter, there is a danger that such analysis of the reconstitution of subject associated with the restructuring of the institutions and practices of social reproduction obscures understanding of how these can be resisted and contested.

A useful contribution in this regard is Matt Davies' (2006) examination of how the global poor can become political subjects, which is part of a broader project to engage with and further develop Cox and Harrod's analytical framework (Davies and Ryner, 2006). Davies explicitly explores the political subjectivity of women working in subordinated forms of social relations of production within and outside the household to consider whether global political economic restructuring associated with neoliberalism can create the conditions for new forms of political subjectivity capable of transforming the social relations underpinning the global order (2006: 89). He acknowledges the contribution of feminist economists to understanding the value of unpaid household labour at the macroeconomic level and the link between changes in economic policy and accumulation strategies to the way work is done in the household, but argues the 'conceptual gap between intimate, private experience and global political and economic relations remains difficult to bridge' (ibid, 99-100).

Important in this regard is a theory of how concrete political subjects make themselves in the context of the lived experiences of specific patterns of power

relations (Davies, 2006: 92-3). In particular, how can household workers form their political subjectivity when 'the experience of living and working in the household are specifically blocked from public life'? (ibid: 94). Indeed, this echoes Harrod's work relating to the specific challenge of strategies of resistance relating to household social relations. Davies argues that Harrod's work provides a 'framework to think about antagonism in global politics from the perspective of the social relations of production' and to consider the creation of alternative forms of subjectivity and agency in the lived spaces of everyday life (ibid: 96). As such, he would add to Bakker's definition of social reproduction the reproduction of social relations of production because the household is 'the central location where global relations are produced and reproduced' and 'it is the ongoing transformations of everyday life that makes the transitions in global order possible' (ibid: 101-2). Therefore, I think this indicates the useful dialogue that can be further developed between Cox and Harrod's approach to social relations of production and feminist political economy, particularly with regards to social reproduction. It also sheds light on how to situate analysis of strategies of resistance and empowerment relating to the household within an understanding of processes of global restructuring.

This also relates to a broader criticism that has been levelled against neo-Gramscian approaches, namely that hegemony is seen as a largely one-dimensional power relationship, fashioned by elite transnational classes according to their own interests and imposed on subaltern classes (Germain and Kenny, 1998: 18). This involves an inadequate comprehension of the nature of counter-hegemonic resistance that plays down the central Gramscian insight that power is contingent and open to contestation (ibid: 18-19). In addition, it is argued that such approaches only pay lip-service to

dimensions of social power other than class in the constitution of hegemony, which has contributed to the neglect of gender as a constitutive category (Steans and Tepe, 2008: 141). However, as already indicated by the discussion of Davies' and Healy's work, the contributions to neo-Gramscian analysis within this edited volume, entitled *Poverty and the Production of World Politics*, go some way to addressing this issue.

Davies and Ryner acknowledge that the neo-Gramscian school 'has tended to be elitist in focus' and 'has not yet developed an adequate conception of labour in its critical theory of world order, though this is due less to its ontological orientation than to its empirical focus' (2006: 6). Therefore, they seek to address this oversight by engaging with Cox and Harrod's categories of production and developing them through critical investigation (ibid: 7). As argued by Louise Amoore, Cox and Harrod's conception of patterns of production is a way to understand the multitude of concrete contradictory and contingent workers' experiences that provide a window into the tensions and inequalities of global restructuring (Amoore, 2006: 18-20). This challenges representations of global restructuring that position the everyday lives of people passively outside the process (ibid: 14). In addition, the contributions of Morton and Jessop and Sum outlined earlier also explicitly include the analysis of concrete political struggle and forms of agency within their multi-scalar understandings of hegemony. I will now go on in the final section of the chapter to explain in more detail how these perspectives inform my methodological approach and aid in the development of a concrete research project.

Methodology and Concrete Research

The Gramscian and neo-Gramscian literature discussed in this chapter usefully contributes to the development of a methodology that is able to analyse the interrelationships between hegemonic struggle at the local, national and global level, which involves considering both the constitutive role of discursive and material practices of social relations and their combined impact on capacities for action and transformation (Jessop and Sum, 2006: 159). Whilst there are a number of different methods that could be used to achieve this goal, for example, Jessop combines concepts and tools from critical semiotic analysis with an evolutionary and institutional approach to political economy (Jessop, 2004; Jessop and Oosterlynck, 2008), a critical ethnographic approach drawing particularly upon the work of Michael Burawoy is especially suitable for this research (Burawoy, 1998, 1999, 2001). As will be discussed in more detail below, Burawoy's work offers a unique approach to ethnography, and more specifically to participant observation, that involves a conceptual movement from the abstract to the concrete.

There are two broad features of Burawoy's (2001) global ethnography that are compatible with and build upon the contributions of neo-Gramscian literature outlined above. Firstly, attention is paid to not only the uneven experience and concrete effects of global forces at the local level but also to the production of the global in the local (2001: 150). This can be 'the supranational agency, branches of the transnational corporation, state apparatus, the urban community or the family' (ibid: 157). Secondly, it is recognised that in every process of production there is a politics of production. From this vantage point, global forces are contingent and the result of

interconnected political struggles and are therefore contestable (ibid: 150, 157). This helps to move away from 'the "impact model" through which inexorable forces of global capitalism bear down, albeit unevenly, on passive "locals"'. Instead, such an approach contributes to the challenge of coming to grips with persistently diverse but increasingly interconnected trajectories of change in different parts of the world in politically enabling ways (Hart, 2004: 91).

Whilst broadly sympathetic with Burawoy's global ethnography, Gillian Hart adds to it a conception of articulation as developed by Stuart Hall, which she argues can be seen as a method for '"advancing from the abstract to the concrete" in the sense of building concepts that are adequate to the historical and geographical complexity with which they are seeking to grapple' (Hart, 2004: 97). It is also 'a means for envisaging feasible alternatives and alliances that build on the grounds of specific but interconnected historical geographies, but seek to move in new directions' (ibid: 98). It is through practices of 'articulation' that people are able to engage in ideological transformation, to construct social systems of meaning that enable them to make sense of their historical situation, but this takes place within the structuring lines of power and class (Rupert, 1998: 430). Therefore, Hart argues that the addition of the concept of articulation to a critical ethnographic approach is useful 'not only in clarifying diverse and interrelated trajectories of sociospatial change but also in suggesting how struggles in different sociospatial arenas and across spatial spaces might link with one another' (Hart, 2002: 819).

However, it is Burawoy's approach to participant observation, what he calls the 'extended case method' (Burawoy, 1998, 1999), which has largely informed my case

selection and aided the translation of my research aims into an empirical project. It is explained in more detail in the appendix how the premises upon which this approach is grounded differ from other approaches to participant observation, and to social science more broadly, and how this has guided my research procedure and the conducting of field research. I will briefly outline here, though, the principles of the extended case method and indicate its congruity with the ontological and epistemological assumptions of Gramscian critical theory.

Various Gramscian approaches have been discussed in detail throughout this chapter but it is helpful to clarify their underlying philosophical assumptions in relation to the study of social science. As argued by Stephen Gill, these can be viewed as an attempt to move towards a more historicist, reflexive and dynamic form of social scientific explanation. A distinction is made between natural science and social science, which is concerned with explaining social action, social structure and social change (1993: 21). Crucial to this is a historical-structural ontology, in which social reality is viewed as partly constituted by the consciousness and action of individuals groups and bound within spatially and temporally specific frameworks of action (Gill, 1993: 22; Ryner, 2002: 196). As outlined earlier, these historical structures can be understood as particular configurations of interacting relationships between ideas, material capabilities and institutions. Therefore, the social world 'is intelligible to people because it is made by people' but its complexity cannot be fully understood or completely recorded (Ryner, 2002: 195; Gill, 1993: 27).

This has several important implications for the type of explanation that can be produced by a social scientist and the methods to be employed in pursuit of this. First,

explanation entails limited generalisations and a conditional vocabulary because historical-structural analysis is necessarily historically and geographically specific and should express its significance accordingly (Gill, 1993: 21; Ryner, 2002: 197). Second, this approach implies a conceptual movement from the simple to complex and an ontological depth. 'Analysis may start with an individual phenomenon or problem…but must then interrelate this individual moment with the broader set of interrelated forces that condition, facilitate or constrain that phenomenon'. Theorisation must also take place at different levels of abstraction in order to provide an 'account of the interrelationship of abstract and concrete tendencies and counter-tendencies that constitute historical structures' (Ryner, 2002: 197).

Third, on this understanding of social reality, the empirical only acquires meaning when represented through a conceptual framework and consequently has an inevitable interpretative dimension (Ryner, 2002: 198). Analysis requires some form of initial conceptualisation because the totality of the structure can only be understood by the interrelation of its parts but the parts themselves can only be understood with reference to the whole. The analyst therefore brings to study a pre-understanding of the whole through their existence as a social being, or 'more specifically as a member of a research community with a socially determined set of research agendas' (ibid: 198-9).

A brief discussion of Burawoy's theory-driven approach to ethnographic study demonstrates that it is consistent with this understanding of social science. Indeed, Burawoy argues that participant observation can be viewed as the paradigmatic way of studying the social world because it best exemplifies what is distinctive about

social science – that it combines both understanding and explanation (1999: 3). Participant observation is a dialogue between the perspective of the participants, who are concerned with understanding a specific situation, and the perspective of the observer, who seeks to explain and learn from that social situation. It is the task of methodology to explicate methods of turning observations into explanations (ibid: 3-5). Accordingly, 'the purpose of field work is not to strip ourselves of biases, for that is an illusory goal, nor to celebrate those biases as the authorial voice of the ethnographer, but rather to discover and perhaps change our biases through interaction with others' (ibid: 4).

One such strategy is that of the extended case method. Whilst drawing upon the microsociologies of grounded theory, which tries to construct generalisations across different social situations through a process of induction, and ethnometholodogy, which attempts to uncover the tacit understandings and non-discursive knowledge that make social action possible, the extended case method is more concerned with examining how the social situation is shaped by external forces (Burawoy, 1999: 5-6). By examining 'the macro world through the way the latter shapes and in turn is shaped and conditioned by the micro world, the everyday world of face-to-face interaction', this approach 'bursts the conventional limits of participant observation, which stereotypically is restricted to micro and ahistorical sociology' (ibid: 6).

The researcher builds upon preexisting theory to learn how institutional forces, social and cultural structures shape action in their particular field sites. They 'study a group's collective identity, for instance, not to develop a general theory of collective identity but to theorise better how institutional forces enable and constrain the

collective identities that a group affirms' (Lichterman, 2002: 122-3). As a result, the researcher seeks to make their conceptual presuppositions as explicit as possible from the start but they stand ready to reject these initial theories in light of their particular sites to propose revised theories. Researchers should search for theories that highlight some aspect of the situation under study as being anomalous and then proceed to rebuild that theory by reference to wider forces at work, be they state, economy, or even world system (Burawoy, 1999: 6).

Crucially, this helps to address the two fundamental problems that participant observation is conventionally said to suffer from: the problem of significance, as single case studies provide no measure of generalisability; and the level of analysis, as the study of face-to-face interaction, of the social situation, is said to be inherently micro and ahistorical (Burawoy, 1999: 271-2). The distinctiveness of the extended case method is that it accepts that the micro and macro are discrete and causally related levels of reality and that generalisations can be derived from the comparison of particular social situations through reconstructing theory (ibid: 273-4). It constructs genetic explanations, that is explanations of particular outcomes, such as Weber's analysis of the historically specific constellation of forces which have given rise to Western bourgeois capitalism. The significance of the case relates to what it tells us about the world in which it is embedded, what must be true about its social context or historic past for the case to have assumed the character observed. Causality is historically specific and attention is paid to its complexity, depth and thickness (ibid: 280-81).

This is therefore a 'reflexive' model of science, that 'starts out from dialogue, virtual or real, between observer and participants, embeds such dialogue within a second dialogue between local processes and extralocal forces that in turn can only be comprehended through a third, expanding dialogue of theory with itself' (Burawoy, 1998: 5). Participant observation is also a distinctive way of understanding ourselves. 'The dialogue between participant and observer extends itself naturally to a dialogue among social scientists – a dialogue that is emergent rather than conclusive, critical rather than cosmetic, involving reconstruction rather than deconstruction (Burawoy, 1999: 7). It privileges neither academic theory or indigenous narratives but is concerned with the interaction between the two as it emerges from real locations (Burawoy, 1998: 7). As such, this approach shares many of the philosophical assumptions of Gramscian critical theory and attends to the issues raised in the first chapter relating to development interventions and indigenous knowledge.

The pursuit of nondiscursive knowledge, both the observer's and the participants', calls for participation but not immersion, observation but not marginality (Burawoy, 1991: 5). Speaking of researching social movements, Paul Lichterman argues that through 'observing and participating in social action as the action is happening' participant observation is 'especially suited for asking questions of everyday, often taken-for-granted meanings of activism' (Lichterman, 1998: 401-2). It reveals the implicit meanings embedded in everyday interaction and practices and the limits of acceptable discussion through the recording in field notes of self-descriptions, sayings, cautionary tales, and stories of consciousness that people articulate in their everyday setting such as meetings and conversations over lunch (ibid: 411).

Furthermore, in terms of case selection, this approach is less interested in a case's 'representativeness' as its contribution to 'reconstructing' theory (Burawoy, 1998: 16). Instead of exemplar social situation, the analyst deliberately draws on existing knowledge to highlight what is anomalous about that social situation, to specify a specific feature that requires explanation by reference to particular external forces. The shortcomings of existing theory to explain the anomalies discovered become the grounds for a reconstruction that locates the social situation in its historically specific context (Burawoy, 1999: 9). Therefore, the choice of Kenya's coffee industry should not be viewed as a 'representative' case from which to draw generalisable conclusions. Rather it was selected as an interesting social situation with a number of anomalous features indicated below to be explored in dialogue with my existing theoretical understanding of approaches to empowerment within development policy and the broader processes associated with global political economy.

Along these lines, analysis begins in Chapter 3 by engaging with the discourse of empowerment, as it has been developed in World Bank development policy regarding Africa, and situating this within an understanding of the restructuring of the global coffee industry and Kenya's particular political-economic history. From this initial consideration of the tensions between Post-Washington Consensus development policies aimed at farmer empowerment and the concentration of power that has occurred within Kenya's coffee industry, analysis continues in Chapters 4 and 5 to examine Fair Trade as a potential alternative approach that can address these unequal power relations within the production and trade of coffee. Through participant observation carried out in Nyeri District, a coffee-producing area in the Central Province region of Kenya, this empirical research seeks to understand not only the

particular experience of global restructuring at the local level, but also to identify the space for alternative discourses and practices of farmer empowerment. Drawing upon participant observation at the Fairtrade Foundation, the UK member of the Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International (FLO), analysis considers the nuances within and between Fair Trade organisations and traces the links between activity at this consumption end of the commodity chain with the political struggles and activities taking place within Nyeri and Kenya more widely.

Kenya is an interesting case in which to explore these complex and interrelated processes. Kenya has experienced a shift in international perception, held as a positive political and economic example to other African countries until the early 1990s, it was subsequently viewed as a miscreant with periods of strained relationships with international financial institutions (Gibbon, 1995: 7-8). Its political system was regarded as more accountable and legitimate than in neighbouring countries due to its stability and predictability and the performance and management of the economy, and especially agriculture, was highly commended (ibid: 8-9). Impressed by high rates of post-independence economic growth and increases in smallholder production, Kenya was often portrayed as a 'beacon of success' (Haugerud, 1993: 4). However, this view shifted during the 1980s and 1990s, when Kenya's political and economic malaise was often attributed to the inherent patrimonial character of its social and political organisation and government repression (Gibbon, 1995: 10-11). Whilst the perception of Kenya's political and economic situation has since improved (prior to the post election violence in 2008), corruption is still viewed as a significant problem, for example Transparency International has consistently ranked it as one of the most

corrupt countries in the world (Transparency International, 2010), and rural poverty has remained high.

Despite having a relatively advanced agricultural and industrial sectors and substantial foreign exchange earnings from agricultural exports and tourism, Kenya remains a low income country with more than half the country's 31.3 million people living in poverty. Furthermore, while the poorest of the poor are found in the sparsely populated arid zones of the country, mainly in the north, 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 agriculture (IFAD, 2006: 1). Indeed the Central Province is a mainly coffee-producing area, which used to be Kenya's leading foreign exchange earner. Following declines in coffee prices and production, it has subsequently been ranked as fourth behind tourism, tea and horticulture. Agriculture has come to be considered by the World Bank as a fundamental instrument for sustainable development and poverty reduction, particularly 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).

Coffee is also particularly helpful in understanding the relation between commodity trade and development and the distribution of power along global value chains. Coffee has been the second most valuable traded commodity after oil for most of the post-Second World War period[7] and over 90 per cent of global coffee production takes place in the South whilst consumption takes place mainly in the North (Daviron

[7] As explained in an article by Mark Pendergrast, questions have recently been raised over the ranking of coffee as the second most traded commodity (Pendergrast, 2009). It has been suggested that since the mid-1990s coffee has become only the fifth largest commodity after oil, aluminium, wheat and coal (Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 81), although United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) still ranked it as second according to its data for 1997-8 (Pendergrast, 2009).

and Ponte, 2005: 50). In Kenya, only between two and five per cent of coffee produced is roasted and consumed domestically. In addition, smallholder producers[8] account for around 75 per of the land under coffee, predominantly in the Central Province and Eastern Province regions, and about 55 per cent of total coffee production in Kenya, which is a decline from about 70 per cent attained in the past (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics; World Bank, 2006: 11). As a result, an investigation of the situation facing Kenya's coffee producers is useful in analysing the relationship between mainstream development policies aimed at poverty alleviation and the global political economy.

Finally, the vision of social change that emerges from extended case method is also relevant to the study of power and resistance. Burawoy argues that it is not a case of applying the knowledge of the expert once they have highlighted systemic forces and the way they create and sustain patterns of domination in the micro situation, but of the observer joining the participants in a joint movement of analysis and action. Therefore the application of social theory turns to building social movements (Burawoy, 1999: 283). This approach to social theory is consistent with the understanding of theory and practice that emerges from Gramsci's philosophy of praxis. According to Morton, this offers us two guidelines in particular in relation to the development of appropriate theories: first, that theory must be guided by an interest in understanding practical politics; and second, that theory should actually find expression in people's everyday lives (2007: 34-5). It is discussed in more detail in the Appendix how such considerations guided my research procedure in practice, reflecting in particular on the negative power effects associated with this approach.

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

Concluding Comments

In this chapter I have demonstrated how a Gramscian approach can contribute to the analysis and development of strategies of empowerment and to post-impasse development theory more broadly. Not only does it offer important theoretical insights that can help critical development in its endeavour to chart a path between voluntarism and structuralism without resorting to the dispersed, localised politics of post-development, Gramscian thought also provides an understanding of the complex relationship between political struggles over meaning and the social relations of production and theorises the actual mechanisms of resistance. Therefore, whilst it shares much with the Foucauldian analysis that has come to dominate the development alternatives literature, it is for these reasons that it has been argued to be a more adequate theoretical grounding for a post-impasse approach to development. It has also been shown how the concepts developed by Gramsci can contribute to the transformation approach in its aim to re-politicise the idea of empowerment and re-establish it as a radical approach to social change. In particular, Gramsci's conceptualisation of the transition from 'common sense' to 'good sense' and his philosophy of praxis provide a useful theoretical basis for analysing strategies of resistance and approaches to social transformation.

Through an engagement with neo-Gramscian literature, this chapter has considered the spatial element of Gramscian thought and how this can aid analysis of multi-scalar processes of power and resistance. In particular, Cox and Harrod's patterns of social relations of production approach promotes an understanding of the interrelations between localised struggle, the state and the global political economy through

analysis of the way in which the world's work is done. Whilst acknowledging some of the concerns raised against neo-Gramscian work in relation to gender, it has been argued that both neo-Gramscian and feminist political economic contributions shed interesting light on the issues relating to household production and social reproduction that are particularly pertinent to my research. Lastly, it was indicated how this Gramscian critical theoretical approach can be turned into a concrete research project with reference to Burawoy's approach to ethnography and in particular his extended case method. Having outlined my theoretical and methodological approach, I will now proceed in Chapter 3 to engage in analysis of the discourse of empowerment in World Bank development policy and the restructuring of the global coffee industry.

Chapter 3 – Post-Washington Consensus Development Policy and Kenya's Coffee Industry

Introduction

There has been much debate surrounding the shift in development discourse towards the Post-Washington Consensus and the associated replacement of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) with Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) (on Post-Washington Consensus see Fine et al, 2001; Broad and Cavanagh, 1999; Öniş and Şenses, 2005; Ruckert 2006; on PRSPs see Ruckert, 2007; Booth, 2003; Craig and Porter, 2003; Fraser, 2005). The term 'Washington Consensus' was originally coined by John Williamson in 1990 to refer to ten policy instruments identified as the lowest common denominator of policy advice being addressed by the Washington-based institutions based on the experiences of Latin American countries in the 1980s as they struggled to overcome the debt crisis (Williamson, 1990; 1993; 2000). Based around the three key ideas of market economy, openness to the world and macroeconomic discipline, these included fiscal discipline, public expenditure priorities, interest rate liberalisation, single competitive exchange rate, trade liberalisation, promotion of foreign direct investment and privatisation (Williamson, 1990; Serra et al 2008).

In practice, the Washington Consensus has come to be associated with 'neoliberalism' or 'market fundamentalism' and to represent a narrower set of policies that emphasise a strong faith in the unfettered market and the importance of a minimal role for the

state[9] (Stiglitz, 2008: 41; Williamson, 2000: 252). The policies associated with the Washington Consensus were implemented in most developing countries through SAPs, which became the standard policy instrument of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the mid-1980s (Ruckert, 2006: 43). A key moment in the move to a 'Post-Washington Consensus' was Joseph Stiglitz's WIDER lecture in 1998, in which he sought to establish a new agenda for economic development that recognised the role of governments in making markets work effectively and the need to broaden the goals of development to include, for example, sustainability, democracy and equity (Stiglitz 1998a). Other key documents that have provided the theoretical underpinnings to this new orientation include Stiglitz's Prebisch Lecture (1998b), which emphasises participation and ownership as the principles of the new development strategy, and his article 'Participation and Development' (2002), in which he sought to further articulate the need for a comprehensive approach to development that incorporates economic and social development. Whilst a number of dissenting voices have contributed to the demise of the Washington Consensus and the emerging Post-Washington Consensus, such as Paul Krugman (1995) and Dani Rodrik (1999), it is Stiglitz that has been particularly influential in providing the intellectual backbone to the new agenda and has been the main driving force behind its programmatic articulation within the World Bank (Öniş and Şenses, 2005: 274; Ruckert, 2006: 43-4; Broad and Cavanagh, 1999: 83).

Trade liberalisation and privatisation are still important under the Post-Washington Consensus but it is argued that these must be complemented by effective regulation

[9] In his critique of the Washington Consensus, Stiglitz acknowledges that the way in which the term is widely understood differs from Williamson's original 'more subtle work' and indeed Williamson had attempted to distance himself from the neoliberal meaning with which the term has been invested (Stiglitz, 2008: 41; Williamson, 2000: 251-2).

and competition policies (Stiglitz, 1998a: 6). In particular, it is recognised that states have an important role to play in the development process, especially with regards to the regulation of the financial system, support for education so as to supply high quality manpower, and the development and transmission of technology, such as agricultural extension services (Öniş and Şenses, 2005: 275; Stiglitz, 1998a: 1). In outlining his principles for a new development strategy, Stiglitz also points to the importance of processes of participation and consensus building because they lead 'to an "ownership" of policies and institutions, which in turn enhances the likelihood of success' (Stiglitz, 1998b: 15-18). This theoretical articulation of the Post-Washington Consensus has been accompanied by the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF), as proposed by former World Bank president James Wolfensohn in 1999, and its policy tool, the PRSP initiative (Wolfensohn, 2005: 128-137; Klugman, 2002).

In his launch of the CDF, Wolfensohn calls for a development framework with two sides, that brings together macroeconomic concerns, on the one hand, with social and human aspects, on the other hand. To ensure the success of this more inclusive approach, he argues that an overarching framework is needed, agreed with the government concerned, that enables the cooperation of actors within the development business to meet the goals of poverty alleviation and environmental sustainability (Wolfensohn, 2005: 130-1). Accordingly, the PRSP approach is based upon partnership between international development agencies, developing country governments and civil society organisations (Ruckert, 2006: 36). As outlined in the Sourcebook for Poverty Reduction Strategies, it is claimed to be a country-driven and results-oriented approach that is focused upon outcomes that would benefit the poor. PRSPs are produced by governments in consultation with 'stakeholders', such as

NGOs, community organisations, churches and business, to promote broad-based participation in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of country strategies (Klugman, 2002). PPAs have been used by a number of countries, such as Kenya, Uganda and Bolivia, as a tool for obtaining direct feedback from the poor on a country's poverty profile and the impacts of policy reform in this process of monitoring and evaluation (World Bank 2010a; Hughes, 2002)

This chapter seeks to engage with and further the literature that has emerged in response to this move towards the Post-Washington Consensus and PRSP initiative by considering the role of the empowerment of the poor, which has been increasingly emphasised in this new consensual approach to poverty reduction (Brock et al, 2001: 1; Stiglitz, 1998b; 2002). Focusing upon the World Bank and Africa, analysis begins by tracing the changing conceptualisation of empowerment that has accompanied the shift in development policy and considers the implications of this discourse in the African context (World Bank, 1989, 1994, 2000, 2002a). Whilst acknowledging the limitations of this approach to empowerment, exacerbated in the African context due to a problematic interpretation of the African state as inherently corrupt, this chapter attempts to move beyond existing literature that identifies PRSPs as technologies of control and the Post-Washington Consensus as a continuation of neoliberal development policy (Craig and Porter, 2003; Fraser, 2005; Soederberg, 2005). In line with the transformation approach, analysis continues in the latter part of the chapter with an examination of this approach to empowerment in practice, focusing on the example of Kenya's Agricultural Productivity Project (KAPP) and the associated coffee reforms in the context of the post-International Coffee Agreement (ICA) global coffee industry. Given the concentration of power that has occurred following this

restructuring of the coffee industry, it is argued that KAPP is likely to be limited in its approach to farmer empowerment and poverty alleviation in the coffee producing areas of Central Province. However, the analysis also considers the opportunities that exist to subvert these policies and to harness them towards more equitable power relations.

Post-Washington Consensus Development Policy and Africa

The shift in thinking towards the Post-Washington Consensus can be understood as the increasing recognition of the shortcomings of the SAP approach by the World Bank and IMF themselves and as a response to the mounting protests to the social consequences of these policies at both the national and international level (Ruckert, 2007: 93; Bergeron, 2003: 399). In particular, closer investigations of the development success of the Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) in East and South East Asia revealed effective state interventionism and an appropriate mix of state and market as key ingredients, thereby contradicting the basic assumptions of the Washington Consensus (Öniş and Şenses, 2005: 265-6). However, this discontent with the consensus also occurred at time when it had become widely accepted within economic theory that, though markets are the most efficient social mechanisms for allocating resources and maximising social welfare, cost and information externalities result in market failure (Fine et al, 2001: xi-xii). These theoretical developments within economics have therefore resulted in attempts to bring the social back in 'as a way of understanding and potentially solving market imperfections' (Bergeron, 2003: 398). This is reflected in the emerging Post-Washington Consensus paradigm, which points to the importance of grasping 'the role of institutions (beyond abstract markets)

in the economy' and 'the interface between the economy, narrowly defined, and society more generally' (Stiglitz, 1998b: 8).

Indeed, an interesting symmetry is put forward whereby it is argued that active state intervention is necessary to correct market failures and ensure the effective functioning of markets but also that markets or market-like mechanisms are important for the effective functioning of states (Öniş and Şenses, 2005: 275). It has been argued that, whilst it does represent an improvement over the Washington Consensus, the Post-Washington Consensus and the new economic theory upon which it is based retain some significant limitations. The emphasis upon the role of institutions and social factors is not based upon holistic or complex social and institutional analyses of development but is framed in such a way as to preserve the core ideas of neoclassical economics such as methodological individualism and a focus on market efficiency (Bergeron, 2003: 401-2). As will be discussed in more detail below, it also rests upon a certain, dominant conception of the state, which is problematic in the African context. There has also been a systematic bias towards domestic reforms rather than systemic or global reforms in the practical application of this new policy agenda (Öniş and Şenses, 2005: 278).

Feminist advocates have also had an ambivalent response to the way in which gender has been included in this consensus. Some of those working within development institutions have welcome the shift on the grounds that gender is being taken more seriously (Tinker, 2006; World Bank, 2001). For example, an increased emphasis on gender inequality has accompanied the World Bank's attempt to integrate economic and social policies under the CDF, as indicated by Wolfensohn's 'Challenge of

Inclusion' speech in 1997 (Wolfensohn, 2005: 71-84; Bergeron, 2003: 404-7). However, as will be explored in Chapter 6, a number have argued that the new poverty programs that characterise this 'inclusive neoliberalism' have 'further increased social reproductive burdens on women by institutionalizing their roles – forged under crisis conditions - in securing family and community survival (Bedford and Rai, 2010: 8). There is also concern with way in which gender concepts have been incorporated into development policies in line with the contours of economic development as already framed by the Post-Washington Consensus (Bergeron, 2003: 405-6; Molyneux and Razavi, 2006: 20).

Empowerment and World Bank Policy

It is interesting to trace the shifts in meaning of empowerment that has accompanied this move towards a new development paradigm, as exemplified by World Bank Reports. Throughout the 1990s, in line with the anti-state stance that underpinned the neoliberal orthodoxy, the concept of empowerment was reframed as 'liberation from an interventionist state, providing a direct link between popular participation and economic liberalisation' (Cornwall, 2000: 31). This dovetailed with the increasing emphasis placed on the role of civil society and the growing relationship between donors and NGOs (ibid: 31-2). For example, in the 1989 World Bank Report entitled *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*, the growing political and economic problems faced by most African countries were seen to be the result of the postindependence development strategies adopted by African leaders, the weak capacity of public institutions and pervasive rent-seeking behaviour.

The Report referred to the period 1981-87 as one of 'deepening crisis…characterised by weak agricultural growth, a decline in industrial output, poor export performance, climbing debt and deteriorating social indictors, institutions, and environment' (1989: 2). Asserting that good development policies were known, political economists analysing African policy-making asked why governments had found it difficult to embrace programs of economic reform? The dominant response drew upon the idea of the 'capture' of policy by societal elements in a manner that particularises policy and drives it away from the larger societal concerns. As will be discussed in more detail below, it is this neopatrimonialist state logic which was seen to be at heart of the economic and governance crises pervading the African continent (Mkandawire and Soludo, 1999: 24). In the World Bank's *Adjustment in Africa: Reforms, Results and the Road Ahead* it was argued that the 'public sector lies at the core of the stagnation and decline in growth in Africa' due to its excessive and counter-productive intervention into domestic economic processes. Reform had been hard to achieve because 'the rents and other side-benefits of interventionist policies have created powerful public sector constituencies with a strong interest in their perpetuation' (World Bank, 1994: 99-100).

Accordingly, it was argued that Africa needed 'not just less but better government' – government which concentrates its efforts less on direct interventions and more on enabling others to be productive'. This included building private sector capacity by mobilising local consultants and professional associations and empowering the poor by fostering grassroots and nongovernmental organisations (World Bank, 1989: 5-6). There has subsequently been concern that, having identified the oppressive state and deep political malaise as the problem, this Report was not advocating a popular

government nor linking empowerment of the poor with political power, but was creating a populist justification for the removal of the state from the economy and its substitution by the market, implying that this was inherently empowering (Leal, 2007: 542). On this understanding, empowerment is seen as synonymous with market participation following the withdrawal of repressive public institutions.

This conceptualisation is based upon a rigid distinction between the state and civil society, public and private, rent-seeking and market-oriented within African economies (Bangura and Gibbon, 1992: 16; Olukoshi, 1998: 17). As such, economic and political informalisation, including 'autonomous' economic activity to secure personal income and voluntary associations for provision of members' welfare as state services deteriorated, is understood to have an essentially libertarian impetus and this is further linked to a democratic impetus and the formation of autonomous civil society (Bangura and Gibbon, 1992: 19-20). This assumed character is 'deduced from a falsely exclusive identification of power with the state and exploitation with the public/formal sector. On this reasoning, anything non-state becomes democratic and anything non-public/formal becomes autonomous and self-determining' (ibid: 20). As argued in more detail below, this obscures the extent to which power relations also permeate civil society and detaches analysis of state-civil society complexes from their underlying social relations of productions.

By the late 1990s, World Bank policy began to reflect a convergence between on the one hand, the changing view of the role of the state and the good governance agenda, and, on the other hand, the renewed interest in participation and poverty reduction. In this context, empowerment gained a new prominence, bound up with a growing focus

on institutionalising participation and decentralisation (Cornwall, 2000: 60). The 1997 WDR entitled *The State in a Changing World* illustrates the shift in thinking with regards to the state, recognising the limitations of the previous minimalist approach and instead advocating an 'effective' state that supports the reduction of poverty. Broader participation and decentralisation are identified as possible mechanisms for improving the effectiveness of governments (World Bank, 1997: 3-4). This represents a more ambivalent position on shifting public functions into the private domain in comparison to the 'strident advocacy of the merits of private management over public which characterised the Bank position as recently as its report on Adjustment in Africa' (Mosley, 2001: 311). It has been suggested that this provides the discursive background to the emergence of PRSPs, which are presented as supporting the participation of civil society organisations and consultation between government and civil society as a means to build and sustain national ownership in policy operationalisation (Brock et al, 2001: 19).

The notion of empowerment and its linkages with participation plays a key role in bringing together these various aspects into a broad pro-poor approach to poverty reduction because it implies a role for civil society, understood as the sphere of voluntary association, in regulating the activity of the state and supporting the market in a way which places the global poor at the centre of the policy agenda (Harriss, 2002: 79). Civil society is to be strengthened to participate in a new triadic model of development with the state and the market (Howell and Pearce, 2001: 2). Indeed, it has been argued that this poverty reduction paradigm, as described in its most polished form in WDR 2000/01 (World Bank, 2000), can be seen as a development version of the Third Way that seeks to combine global market integration with good

governance and limited human and social capital development (Craig and Porter, 2003: 54).

Whilst recognising that stimulating growth and making markets work is important, the Report recommends that facilitating the empowerment of poor people, by making state and social institutions more responsive to them, is also key to reducing poverty (World Bank, 2000: 1-3). The term is used in rather a diffuse and ambiguous way, for example there is little to suggest a strategy for operationalising the empowerment agenda, but it clearly defined as the institutional interface of state-citizen relations and associated with notion of decentralised local government (Brock et al, 2001: 20). This position is reiterated in the World Bank's sourcebook on *Empowerment and Poverty Reduction,* in which the approach to empowerment is outlined as 'the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives' and the broadening of human capabilities so as to 'enhance the poverty-reducing impact of growth-inducing policies and investments by enabling poor people to more effectively participate in markets' (2002a: xvii-iii, 6).

In response to WDR 2000/01, some welcomed its emphasis on making state institutions more responsive to poor and the need for poor people's organisations but have expressed concern that the use of empowerment is more decorative than directional and therefore will not lead to the mobilisation of those who could help to empower the poor (Moore, 2000: 1). Others saw it as a continuation of the old agenda of rolling back the state, albeit with the revelation that the 'voices of the poor' are arrayed against bureaucratic abuses (Mosley, 2001: 307). There has also been much

debate over the role for NGOs in this new agenda. As indicated in Chapter 1, these initially grew in importance during the 1980s as alternative providers of state services and to ease the transitional social costs of economic adjustment, but they have assumed a greater political significance under the good governance agenda and particularly as 'partners' in the PRSP approach (Carmody, 2007: 5).

During the 1980s, those who opposed structural adjustment looked to NGOs to document the failure of these reforms and to 'demonstrate the feasibility of coherent alternatives that also took account of the previous failure of government to deliver to the poor' (Mitlin et al, 2007: 1706). However, the growing participation of NGOs in mainstream development agendas at the national and international level has raised the question of whether they are 'too close for comfort' to a range of actors in a way that limits their ability to continue elaborating alternatives (ibid: 1707; Hulme and Edwards, 1997). Whilst those involved in lobbying for greater participation saw this as an opportunity to 'reverse the perceptions' of the powerful and thus secure the priorities of the poor, those within the de-politicisation critique have argued that NGOs are also be seen as disciplinary mechanisms acting as Trojan horses for global neoliberalism (Fraser, 2005: 324; Carmody, 2007: 25). These debates over decentralisation and civil society are particularly pertinent in the African context, where the view that the state is inherently problematic continues to influence policy.

Interpretations of the African State

Whilst the shift in thinking towards the Post-Washington Consensus envisages a generally increased role for the state, this has been accompanied by an anti-corruption

agenda, launched following James Wolfensohn's speech in 1996 in which he referred to the 'cancer of corruption' in Africa and the crucial qualification that a state should match its intervention to its capability and its capacity to respond effectively to market failures (World Bank, 2010b; World Bank, 1997: 3-4). Stiglitz claims that 'the issue is one of balance, and where that balance is may depend on the country, the capacity of its government, the institutional development of its markets' (1998a: 9). Accordingly weak states must tailor their ambitions to their capabilities by focusing upon basic government tasks such as investment in infrastructure and protecting the vulnerable (World Bank, 1997: 41). Given the view indicated earlier that the postindependence African state suffers from endemic corruption, there is a concern that this qualification essentially reinstates the rationale for the minimalist state associated with the Washington Consensus for most African countries.

The concepts of patrimonialism and neopatrimonialism were initially employed within Development Studies, and African Studies in particular, in the 1970s and 1980s in relation to debates on patronage and clientalism to explain the lack of modernisation and political development in Sub-Saharan Africa (Erdmann and Engel, 2007: 96-7; Sandbrook, 1985; 1986). This literature is closely related to the writings of the sociologist Max Weber, notably his *Economy and Society*, in which three ideal types of legitimate domination are established according to the kind of claim to legitimacy typically made by each: legal, traditional and charismatic (1978: 212-254). The term patrimonialism is associated with the traditional type, under which 'obedience is owed not to enacted rules but to the person who occupies a position of authority by tradition or who has been chosen for it by the traditional master' (Weber, 1978: 227). This differs from 'legal-rational bureaucracies in that neither

constitutionally regulated legislation nor advancement on the basis of training and efficiency need be predominant in public administration' (Roth cited in Erdmann and Engel, 2007: 98). Correspondingly, it has been argued that in the context of the legitimacy crisis facing postcolonial African states following independence, the political requirements of regime and personal survival have taken precedence over long-term economic policies (Sandbrook, 1986: 321). The proliferation of patronage networks and informal personal alliances have resulted in bureaucracies with the pathological condition of 'systemic corruption' and have eroded the administrative capacity and rational bureaucratic norms and practices necessary for economic development (ibid: 324-7).

The idea of neopatrimonialism has subsequently enjoyed a renaissance within African studies from the mid-1990s by scholars concerned with the limitations of processes of democratic transition and continued economic crisis within Africa (Bratton and van de Walle, 1994; 1997; Chabal and Daloz, 1999; van de Walle, 2001, Chabal, 2002). According to this contemporary conceptualisation, 'relationships of loyalty and dependence pervade a formal political and administrative system and leaders occupy bureaucratic offices less to perform public service than to acquire personal wealth and status' (Bratton and van de Walle, 1994: 458). Whilst acknowledging that personal relationships can be found 'at the margins of all bureaucratic systems', it is argued that neopatrimonial practice constitutes the '*core* feature of African politics' (ibid: 459). Accountability in such systems is vertical, based upon ensuring personal favours and benefits and often at the expense of public concerns and resources, as opposed to the type of accountability found in liberal democracies associated with public policies, political programmes and prudent use of public resources (Lindberg, 2003:

123). Therefore, it is concluded that the logic of the system does not correspond to its 'Western guise' and that there is little scope for effective government (Chabal, 2002: 450-1).

The view that the African state has a weak capacity has encouraged public sector reform and the gradual ceding of poverty reduction functions to NGOs, the private sector and local civil society organisations (Mosley, 2001: 311; Mkandawire, 2001: 293). However, not only has this process itself undermined the effectiveness and legitimacy of state institutions but it is also argued that the anti-corruption agenda rests upon an unfair characterisation of African politics that does not recognise that liberal reforms have in many cases actually created or exacerbated corruption (Murunga, 2007: Mkandawire, 2001; Szeftel, 1998). Indeed, whereas Weber was clear that his notion of rational-legal bureaucratic organisation was an ideal type that cannot be found empirically in reality, it has often been presented as a basic model from which to develop policy (Harrison, 2007: 673-4). As such, the African state has been unnecessarily maligned through comparison with idealised and tendentiously characterised states elsewhere (Mkandawire, 2001: 290). This problematic characterisation presumes that there is no commitment to societal concerns within everyday African politics and that values such as honesty, transparency and public duty must be 'taught' from the outside (Mkandawire, 2001: 294-5; Szeftel, 1998: 235). Whilst African corruption is largely presented as something exceptional, analysis of a range of scandals in Europe in 1999-2000 reveals that almost every country 'exhibited many of the features - nepotism, clientelism, personal appropriation of public resources, subversion of state institutions, and abuse of power - usually held to be typical of Africa' (Szeftel, 2000: 296-7).

There has also been a distinct lack of recognition that efforts to retrench the state, that have taken place at the instigation or active connivance of most bilateral and multilateral lenders, have themselves played a role in eroding its political capability to implement polices (Murunga, 2007: 264, Bayliss and Cramer, 2001: 58). For example, public sector reforms have severely weakened civil-service organisations not only through staff retrenchments and the effects of the exercises on the morale of those retained but also by the collapse of the income of public-sector employees as a result of currency devaluation and massive inflationary pressures (Mkandawire and Soludo, 1999: 76). As a consequence, experienced and qualified personnel have been draining out of the public sector, partly into the local private sector but overwhelmingly into the international labour market. Faced with diminishing incomes and ever-rising costs of living, many of those that have remained public-sector employees have resorted to moonlighting activities and abuse of state property (ibid: 76-7). As noted by Brown and Cloke, 'well-motivated, secure state employees are much less likely to engage in petty corruption (2004: 288).

Therefore, the dominant view of the African state as weak and corrupt has become a self-fulfilling prophecy as it has been increasingly unable to legitimately carry out its basic functions (Mkandawire, 2001: 306, Brown and Cloke, 2004: 288-9). However, there is a notable absence of criticism in the policy reversal represented by WDR 1997 of the Bank's own role in historically influencing the capacity of the state (Brock et al, 2001: 18). Indeed, in tension with the focus upon capacity building programmes, arguments that past policy failure has been the result of the inherent nature of African states have led to conclusions that they will continue to lack capacity and should therefore limit the scale and scope of their interventions

accordingly (Sender, 1999: 105). The focus has therefore been on strengthening civil society so as to bolster the envisaged minimal role of the state rather than on interrogating how capacity can be created (Carmody, 2007: 87). This problem is further compounded within the Post-Washington Consensus by a conception of state capacity or capabilities that is both too vague and too narrowly technocratic, which abstracts from the dynamic experiences that generate varied forms of capacity (Bayliss and Cramer, 2001: 58-9).

The shift in opinion over Kenya's economy and political system introduced at the end of Chapter 2 is a particularly interesting paradox in this context. Initially regarded as relatively stable and legitimate, Kenya's government has subsequently been considered to be a typical example of this neo-patrimonial state logic (Médard, 2002; Klopp, 2000). Whilst Haugerud questions the image of Kenya as an 'economic miracle', it is clear that evidence relating to the degree of legitimacy enjoyed by the Kenyan state and the relative economic success achieved in the 1960s and 1970s challenges the impression created that 'the role of the post-colonial African state in the development process was wholly "dysfunctional" and that only unremitting stagnation characterised African economies under the regime of state intervention' (Olukoshi, 1998: 16; Haugerud, 1993: 4-7; Branch and Cheeseman, 2006). Subsequently, public sector reforms have not only helped to curb the state's social reach but have also 'further undermined the postcolonial social contract, on the basis of which the state has sought to construct ideological legitimation, build political alliances, relate with the opposition, and secure the cooperation or support of autonomous centres of power' (Mkandawire and Soludo, 1999: 75-6).

Rather than stigmatising African politics and de-legitimising the state as the locus of nationalist aspirations and resistance, it should be recognised that the institutions that make and implement policy are located in the contested terrain of politics, and therefore governance necessarily involves struggles on how to tip gains in favour of particular actors, sectors and constituencies (Murunga, 2007: 265; Beckman, 1993: 20-1). Analysis of growing authoritarianism within democratic transition processes should focus upon the contingent nature of these tendencies, shaped by both internal and external factors, and unravel political struggle in state-civil society relations within particular cases (Nasong'o and Murunga, 2007: 10; Morton, 2003: 636). By focusing upon political struggle within African politics, understood as not merely the effects of the broader political economy but also as partially constitutive, it is possible to identify the grains of resistance contained within the structures that shape inequality and disempowerment (Harrison, 2001: 394-5). This also provides useful insight into the contemporary anti-corruption agenda and its relationship with Post-Washington Consensus and its policy tools.

The interpretation of corruption as 'the abuse of public office for private gain' assumes that it is a phenomenon of the public sector, obscuring the rising possibilities for private sector corruption caused by market-led economic reforms and generally leaving international factors unexamined (Brown and Cloke, 2004: 280-3, Szeftel, 1998: 233). Corruption is presented as 'something entirely endogenous' with 'little recognition of the complexity of the formation of regional and national political cultures, the importance of interactions between the global and the local, and in particular, of the continuing strategic interests in determining what and who are labelled as corrupt' (Brown and Cloke, 2004: 280).

This problem is compounded by the nature of PPAs associated with PRSPs, which limit inquiry to a bounded locality and can therefore obscure non-local factors. Social features that are taken as 'local' can actually have extra-local origins but people tend to identify local, rather than global, factors which they are familiar with as responsible for their poverty (Carmody, 2007: 94). For example, a number of Kenyan coffee producers that I spoke to during my research did identify corruption at the cooperative level as the reason for low coffee payments, but as a group of young people at a local college pointed out, the cooperative is coffee producers' only point of contact where they can direct their grievances and many are unaware of wider factors associated with the global coffee industry (Anonymous, 2009j, group discussion). Such criticisms echo those raised against Third Way approaches, in particular the claim to include the poor without addressing the political economy of poverty and inequality and the rising concern about the pervasiveness of unequal market power (Craig and Porter, 2003: 55). By viewing decentralisation and popular participation as complementary, there is a loss of focus upon forms of antagonism and political struggle within the broader political economy.

Assessments of the Post-Washington Consensus and PRSPs

Given its problematic understanding of state-civil society relations and the broader political economy, it is perhaps understandable that those in the de-politicisation critique have concluded that the Post-Washington Consensus and PRSP approach represent a refinement of the liberal political project, 'a mode of "inclusive" liberalism in which the *disciplined* inclusion of the poor and their places is a central task' (Craig and Porter, 2003: 54). PRSPs are argued to be a technology of social

control, which seek to shape domestic political space and to secure the ever more intimate supervision of African political communities through a level of global to local integration unprecedented since colonial times (Fraser, 2005: 317; Craig and Porter, 2005: 55). Despite tensions over policy and practice, Northern NGOs are seen as wedded to this 'liberal project' alongside donors and International Financial Institutions (IFIs), helping to secure the globalisation of developing country politics (Fraser, 2005: 328-9). Within this project, the participation process is viewed as an assault on existing political identities, reshaping participants along the lines of established liberal norms of political behaviour through 'capacity building'. Elite cadres within civil society are taught to express themselves in an appropriate and professional manner whilst local political movements, particularly groups which mobilise around conflicts of interest and identify, are delegitmised (ibid: 329-330).

This critique does highlight the limitations of the triadic model in which civil society is defined as the sphere of autonomy and solidarity that unlike the state is 'non-authoritative' and unlike the market is 'not-for-profit' (Carmody, 2007: 17). This 'neither problematizes the relationship of civil society to market nor does it allow for civil society to have a role in defining what kind of state there should be' (Howell and Pearce, 2001: 2). There is also concern that NGOs, which tend to focus on service delivery and to work in partnership with the state to ensure that it fulfils its functions, are not aimed at addressing basic structural inequality (Carmody, 2007: 20-21). This is thought to explain the preference for NGOs rather than social movements, which explicitly seek to transform the nature of state power. Nonetheless, as with the post-development approach more broadly, there is a danger that such arguments that PRSPs and NGOs are vehicles of neoliberal governmentality overstate the extent to

which it is possible to talk of neoliberalism as a coherent and intentional project (Mitlin et al, 1703-4). There is also a tendency to focus too heavily on processes of subjection and cooption to the neglect of ongoing contestation as these processes take place in specific political-economic contexts[10].

A more nuanced view of PRSPs is offered by the neo-Gramscian approach of Arne Ruckert (2006; 2007). He agrees that the introduction of the PRSP approach can be understood as attempt 'to rebuild hegemony around their highly contested neoliberal policy prescriptions' by 'absorbing counterhegemonic ideas into the mainstream development dialogue and by engaging civil society actors in developing countries during the policy formation process' (2007: 91). However, it is also argued that the neo-Gramscian social relationist approach attempts to conceptualise the World Bank as historically contingent balance of social forces that are subject to ongoing social struggles and different forms of political contestation, which in turn implies taking the role of peripheral counterhegemonic social forces seriously. Furthermore, in attempting to build this hegemony around their policies, not only have international institutions adopted this more inclusive approach, but they have also offered material incentives to the poor by increasing poverty-related spending (ibid: 92-3). Indeed, as outlined in Chapter 2, Gramsci's notion of hegemony alerts us to the way that alliances are formed through a series of concessions and negotiations in an inherently fragile system of political relations (Kenway, 2001: 53-4). This is significant because it indicates greater space for unintended consequences and tactical engagement and subversive action on the part of subordinated groups.

[10] In concluding Alastair Fraser concedes that whilst his article has attempted to demonstrate that it is the aim of key Northern actors to develop PRSPs as a social technology of control, this tells us little about how these processes are playing out in the concrete reality of African countries (Fraser, 2005: 337).

A Gramsican understanding of civil society is also informative in considering the role of NGOs and social movements and their relationship with the state. For Gramsci, the distinction between political society and civil society is a methodological one rather than a physical division that exists in reality (Gramsci, 1971: 159-60). It is therefore problematic to associate the state with coercion and civil society with consent because these two manifestations of power are never completely separated (Showstack Sassoon, 1980: 112). In comparison to the triadic model, state and civil society are perceived to be mutually constitutive, with both formed in relation to historical and structural forces. Therefore, civil society is an arena that reflects the social divisions of society as a whole in which hegemonic ideas concerning the organisation of economic and social life are both established and contested (Mitlin et al, 2007: 1702; Carmody, 2007: 16). Civil society 'is both shaper and shaped, an agent of stabilisation and reproduction, and a potential agent of transformation' (Cox, 1999: 4-5).

This dialectical understanding of civil society is relevant to contemporary debates concerning the role of NGOs. Rather than being viewed as inherently progressive, these organisations can only be understood in relation to the social arrangements in which they are embedded, for example, linked to religious institutions, political movements and government and transnational networks (Mitlin et al, 2007: 1702). The extent to which they support progressive action is therefore dependent on whether they are situated within a movement seeking to transform dominant constellations of power. Furthermore, the construction of social organisation within the realm of civil society was never purely spontaneous for Gramsci, but always involved a combination of leadership and movement from below (Cox, 1999: 6). As

such, it is important to identify the organisations that could contribute to this process in a given context, including the potentially progressive role of the state.

This sheds light on how taking a Gramscian approach can further the debate surrounding the adoption of the discourse of empowerment into this new development orthodoxy and the shifts in meaning of the concept that have occurred concurrently. It is clear that the association of empowerment with participating in the economy takes the concept 'out of the realm of societal and systemic change and into the individual…signifying individual power, achievement, status' (Batliwala, 2007: 4). In WDR 2000/01 empowerment appears to flow as an automatic consequence of economic and institutional reform rather than as a process through which people actively engage in struggles for increased control over resources and institutions (Cornwall, 2000: 74). Without an emphasis upon collective action, consciousness raising and ideological and institutional change, empowerment loses its transformative potential and is less likely to be able to challenge prevailing patterns of power.

Notably, whilst the Report stresses the need for the poor to participate in the labour market, it does not focus on the actual conditions under which the poor have to work. There is no mention of labour unions and the role they can play in poverty reduction, for example through fighting for minimum wage and social security benefits (Øyen, 2000: 5). In their analysis of the first PRSP in Zambia, Hickey and Mohan also highlight the exclusion of unions from consultations despite being one of the strongest pro-democracy forces in Zambia in recent decades (2008: 242). As is discussed in more detail below in relation to producer empowerment within Kenya's coffee

industry, such as approach fails to acknowledge and address the structures that make participation difficult for marginalised groups. In order to understand these possible limitations and constraints, it is important to consider a particular example of the way in which this individualistic approach to empowerment is put into practice and to situate this within existing configurations of social relations. This is not only so as to pay sufficient attention to agency and specificity within an account of World Bank but also to identify the possible opportunities and space for the reassertion of alternative discourses and practices. In the case of Kenyan coffee producers, it is important to consider the changing role of the state and producer cooperatives because it is these organisations that have in the past ensured that producers have a degree of collective bargaining power. Before moving on to discuss these issues in more detail, I will first provide a brief outline of World Bank agricultural policy and associated coffee reforms within Kenya in the context of the global restructuring of the coffee industry.

Decaf Empowerment? Kenya's Coffee Industry and Agricultural Policy

The main World Bank support to Kenya's agricultural sector, identified as critical for poverty reduction in the country's initial PRSP and a key part of the Government's development strategy the Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERS) in 2003-2007 and Vision 2030 in 2008, has been through Kenya's Agricultural Productivity Project (KAPP). It is now in Phase II Kenya's Agricultural Productivity and Agribusiness Project (KAPAP) (World Bank, 2004; 2009). During Phase I in 2004-2008, the project aimed to contribute to the revitalisation of agriculture by 'facilitating farmer empowerment to access and apply profitable technologies' and 'laying the groundwork for a pluralistic agricultural extension and

learning system' (World Bank, 2004: 2). The objectives included 'reforms in extension to increase pluralism, responsiveness to clients, and participation by private providers' and 'increased empowerment of producer organizations to influence the planning, design, implementation, funding and monitoring and evaluation of research, extension, training and capacity building activities' (ibid: 3).

The World Bank official leading the project, Andrew Karanja, explained that the project could be seen as part of a process to reform service delivery in rural areas: 'at the moment this is supply driven by the government, we want to strengthen the demand side so the stakeholders and farmers can demand better services and articulate what they need'. He argued that by focusing upon potential service providers other than the state, this would encourage empowerment within research because clients can guide the research program and demand what they want from research (Karanja, 2009, interview). Similarly, a member of the research institute involved in the project, Kenya's Agricultural Research Institute (KARI), saw the project as a demand-led, beneficiary driven approach that aims to bring as many stakeholders together as possible to work in partnership to improve productivity and remove services from government bureaucracy to ensure benefits get to the farmers (Anonymous, 2009a, interview). The project therefore attempts to bring together the aims of decentralisation and improving private sector involvement in agricultural services and enterprises (World Bank, 2004: 2-3). Phase II of the project aims to consolidate this pluralistic approach to service delivery to improve smallholder productivity and, in addition, to support agribusiness development and diversification, which is seen as a key driver out of poverty (World Bank, 2009: 2). There is also a

strong focus on governance structures, for example, measures to improve transparency, accountability and financial management (Karanja, 2009, interview).

With regards to the coffee industry more specifically, it is argued that the World Bank support provided under KAPP has played a crucial and catalytic role in implementing reforms in this sub-sector (World Bank, 2009: 2). In 2005, through the Finance Act, a 'second window' sale of coffee was established 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). It also permitted farmer cooperatives to act as their own marketing agents (World Bank, 2005). These amendments are part of a broader process of liberalisation to restructure Kenya's coffee industry that can be traced back to the fall in global coffee prices triggered by the end of the price stabilisation mechanisms built into the ICA[11] in 1989. Prior to these reforms, 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 cooperative[12] (Gitau et al, 2009: 59).

The monopoly over milling was lifted in 1993 when Thika Coffee Millers and

[11] The International Coffee Agreement was first signed in 1962 by producing and consuming countries. Under this regulatory system, which lasted until 1989, a target price or price band was set and export quotas were allocated to each producer. 'When the indicator price calculated by the International Coffee Organisation (ICO) rose over the set price, quotas were relaxed; when it fell below, they were tightened (Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 87).

[12] 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.

Socfinaf were also licensed as millers and 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). 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 thousand tonnes in the 1987/88 growing season. However, despite 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 from an average of US cents 120/lb in the 1980s to around 50/lb in 2002, the lowest in real terms for over a hundred years (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 2002a, 1105). Despite 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 (Reuters, 2009; Wahome, 2010).

Given this, it is clear that KAPP and the associated coffee reforms do attempt to address some of the now recognised problems associated with processes of liberalisation within agriculture. For example, a World Bank assessment of Kenya's coffee value chain acknowledged that coffee production was constrained by the lack of affordable credit and farm inputs and inadequate extension services previously supplied by an institutional system that 'began to crumble after 1992 liberalisation' (World Bank, 2006: 14). 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.

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. This makes them vulnerable to

commercial banks and microfinance organisations competing to offer them loans and crop advances at high interest rates in order to buy inputs against what they expect to earn (Business Daily, 2007). This was accompanied by a process of fragmentation amongst the farmer cooperatives into smaller societies, dubbed by the media as the 'coffee wars', which led to increased processing costs due to reduced economies of scale (Mbataru, 2009: 58). Accordingly, it is argued that low farmers' earnings and levels of production are the result of internal market inefficiencies in providing the necessary input, credit and extension services, but are also due to high processing costs relating to inefficiencies at factories and rent seeking by cooperative officials (World Bank, 2006: 15, 23). It is therefore concluded that liberalisation of the coffee industry needs to be accelerated but should address the debt problem and build private sector capacity to fulfil the roles relating to credit and input supply and research and extension services (ibid: 69-75). This requires clear polices and effective legal legislation to ensure coffee sector coordination and to facilitate the flow of information and resources (Karanja, 2004: 11-12).

It is to be welcomed that policies such as KAPP are attempting to address these issues, which have not only affected levels of production but also the quality of coffee being produced. For example, Charles Nzioka, a member of Sustainable Management Services, 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) (Nzioka, 2009, interview). 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 mentioned earlier, 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. The regional manager of the CBK, Richard Wahome, 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 (Wahome, 2009, interview).

However, whilst KAPP aims to rectify these problems by developing a pluralistic approach to service delivery, supported by the empowerment of farmers' groups to demand and assess service providers, such an approach fails to address or acknowledge the concentration of power amongst coffee buyers and traders that has taken place in both within Kenya's coffee industry and at the global level which places constraints on producer participation and limits their ability to retain a fair share of the income from coffee. The assessments of Kenya's coffee industry that inform this approach remain silent on the role that liberalisation reforms and previous World Bank policies have themselves played in creating or exacerbating these now recognised problems. There is also a lack of consideration of the gendered impact of the restructuring of the coffee industry, which, as will be explained in more detail in Chapter 6, is important in understanding the productivity and quality issues being experienced within Kenya.

The splitting of large cooperative societies into a large number of small factory-societies that led to problems of debt and processing costs was argued to be because of 'mismanagement, competition for leadership and political interference' (World Bank, 2006: 23). However, the conflicts that emerged as a result of deeply rooted frustrations over continued low coffee prices and farmers' growing difficulties to meet basic everyday needs, were also exacerbated by the introduction of private millers. The new millers campaigned to split the primary societies to attract new customers, for example, Thika Coffee Mills tried to persuade cooperatives in Nyeri to leave KPCU and switch to mill at its Thika factory (Mbataru, 2009: 58). The new millers targeted key leaders of primary societies and promised them lower milling charges and that their debts would be annulled, taking advantage of the discontent amongst farmers and directing it against the management of primary societies (ibid: 53). In practice, many cooperatives found that these initial low charges quickly rose once they had transferred. Falling coffee production levels in comparison to the expanding milling capacity compounded this problem by increasing processing costs (Nzioka, 2009, interview).

Nonetheless, it is the shift in power away from producer organisations towards the traders and buyers within the coffee value chain that places limitations on the likelihood that they will receive benefits from the opportunities presented by liberalisation such as those offered by direct sales. For example, the coffee cooperative I visited in Nyeri, Rumukia Farmers Cooperative Society, 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 (Anonymous, 2009b, interview; Anonymous, 2009c, interview). Indeed access to information does not itself automatically empower people. As argued by Andrea Cornwall, this is not to say that it may not serve as basis for people to empower themselves nor to deny that transparency is prerequisite for meaningful engagement, but to acknowledge the relations of power that may prevent people from making use of the opportunities that may be opened up to them (Cornwall, 2000: 33).

Empowerment involves more than being able to speak and to be asked what an individual or group may want or need in the context of given development project, 'it involves wider transformations in the ways in which people negotiate the institutions of everyday life' (Cornwall, 2000: 58). The idealised harmony invoked by terms such as 'information sharing', 'consultation' and 'collaboration' does not recognise the issue of bargaining power between different groups of 'stakeholders', not does it accept the fact that are powerful groups adverse to poverty reduction strategies and that conflicts of interests will inevitably result from the 'empowerment' of the poor (Cornwall, 2000: 35-6; Øyen, 2000: 4). This is particularly pertinent to the case of KAPP due to the adverse conditions that producer organisations face following the restructuring of the coffee industry.

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, a local agronomist working in sustainable development, there is concern that marketing agents sell the coffee at a time beneficial to the buyer rather then when it will fetch the best price for the farmers (Thou, 2009, interview).

This undermining of the ethos of cooperatives can be understood in terms of Cox's rationalities of production, which are the shared intersubjective ideas by participants in a mode of social relations of production and characteristic attitudes towards work (Cox, 1987: 22-6). A member of the management committee at Rumukia argued that during the process of the fragmentation of coffee societies, producers lost the idea of what it means to be part of a cooperative, which 'is to work together so that we can be strong'. Although linked to the state rather than being formed voluntarily, the large cooperative societies offered producers a sense of identity and motivation. In addition, this kind of collective action is all the more important for small, independent producers situated within the self-employment mode of social relations of production, who are seen as a particular case of the precarious status of the self-employed. Such forms of cooperative marketing and purchasing organisations to bargain with suppliers and buyers are an important attempt employed by groups of self-employed to stabilise their situation, as will be explained in more detail below (Cox, 1987: 52-5). Understood in this context, cooperative societies can be seen as a strategy to mitigate the dangers faced by atomised producers.

These issues are particularly pertinent given the restructuring of the global coffee industry that has taken place following the end of the ICA regime, under which producing and consuming countries collaborated to relatively successfully raise and stabilise coffee prices through a quota allocation system (Ponte, 2002b: 253). Once this 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). 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. For example, the monthly nominal price variability rose from 14.8 per cent under the last eight years of the ICA to 37 per cent in 1990-7 and to 43 per cent in 1998-2000 (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[13], 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

[13] In global value chain analysis, a distinction is made between 'producer-driven' chains and 'buyer-driven' chains on the basis of their nature to lead firms. In the latter, 'producers are subordinated to lead agents controlling the design and marketing, specifically those controlling international brands and retailing' (Gibbon and Ponte, 2005: 79).

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). Between them, Kraft, the food sector of the Philip Morris corporation, and Nestlé control about half of the world's coffee business (Renard, 1999: 493-4; Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 93) Whilst World Bank assessments of Kenya's coffee industry do recognise this concentration of power within the global coffee industry, it is concluded that internal factors are more significant in explaining Kenya's poor performance because other coffee-producing countries, such as Ethiopia, Tanzania, Uganda and Colombia, have managed to increase their production and global market share whilst facing the same external constraints (World Bank, 2006: 14; Karanja, 2004: 8).

However, it is difficult to make a direct comparison between these countries because they produce different varieties of coffee of varying quality that have been affected differently by processes of liberalisation and the global restructuring of the coffee industry. For example, although Uganda has undergone a process of complete liberalisation, it produces Robusta coffee that is grown mostly without agrochemicals. The special characteristic of Ugandan Robusta is that it is grown at higher altitudes than other Robustas and so its important quality trait is intrinsic to the product. Consequently, the breakdown of input provision on credit by cooperatives has had only a minor effect on coffee yields and quality (Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 135; Ponte, 2002b: 268-7). In Colombia, a producer of high quality Mild Arabica coffee like Kenya, coffee farmers fought to retain their key institution, the National Federation of Coffee Growers of Colombia, and the government provided help to the

farmers through income support polices, debt relief and investment into improvements in productivity (Silva, 2005).

Particularly interesting is the case of Ethiopia, a producer of Mild Arabica and Hard Arabica. As in Kenya, top Ethiopian coffees are sold at high premiums, used to add 'character' to blends and sold as single origins in the specialty market. However, in contrast to Kenya, coffees from different areas of Ethiopia have particular taste characteristics, the most significant of which are internationally recognized, and are therefore sold separately with their regional name to maintain their distinctive flavour (Petit, 2007: 234-5; Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 99). Accordingly, quality is tested at the auction level using a system of cup taste profiling according to regional flavours as opposed to a grading and classification system by bean size. Deliveries that do not meet export standards are rejected and redirected to the domestic market, which accounts for 30 to 35 per cent of total production (Petit, 2007: 240-1; Daviron and Ponte 2005: 99).

The process of liberalisation of the coffee sector in Ethiopia has only been a partial and gradual one. It has involved increased private sector participation following the removal of the state monopoly, but strict government quality controls have been maintained and the level of vertical integration has been limited through licensing rules (Petit, 2007: 246). In contrast to other East African countries, Ethiopia does not allow multinational corporations to register as exporters and, as a result, there are only a handful of foreign companies operating at the auction and both the domestic and export markets are extremely fragmented (Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 108). Therefore, whilst 'market reforms have been accompanied by an improved export

performance…the role of state regulation remains fundamental in maintaining quality performance and the uniqueness of Ethiopian coffees' (Petit, 2007: 251). Furthermore, cooperative unions have had an increasing role since 2001 with support from the government and funding from overseas donors:

> Their main functions are to assist in developing producer/buyer linkages (by facilitating organic and fair trade certification for example) to export members' coffee directly, provide warehouse and transport services, promote high-quality coffee production, and provide saving and credit services as well as training and education programmes for members. (Petit, 2007: 244)

As concluded by Daviron and Ponte, this example suggests that 'appropriate regulation at the domestic level is essential if a more active role for producing countries in the governance of the global value chain for coffee is envisioned' (2005: 110).

Concluding Comments

Under the self-employed mode of social relations, small independent producers do not directly sell their ability to work to others like producers or workers in other modes of production. However, an essential condition is a market for the goods or services produced by the individual, which is fully or partially controlled by a variety of individuals and organisations (Harrod, 1987: 248). Thus the power relations governing this form of production are between the self-employed producer and four types of individual or organizations:

> '[F]irst, those who control the market for the production or service; second, those who control the supply and price of any necessary inputs to production; third, employers in enterprises or other self-employed operators when they compete or cooperate to control markets or supplies; and fourth, the regulatory agencies of the state. In short

the self-employed struggle with, or against, as the case may be, buyers, suppliers, competitors, and regulators'. (Harrod, 1987: 248-9)

Accordingly, the income, and often status, of any particular group of self-employed will be determined by its success in developing sufficient power to control the supply, demand, and therefore price and conditions of sale, for goods or services (ibid: 249). As has been demonstrated above, it is clear that producer organisations and governments within the coffee industry have experienced a degree of this control in the past but this has been undermined by global restructuring and processes of liberalisation. The domination of a small number of millers and buyers within Kenya's coffee industry means that they have more power to determine the price and conditions of sale for coffee, whereas producers organised into small factory-societies have limited collective bargaining power. Bearing this in mind, analysis in the next chapter will consider the role that Fair Trade initiatives can play in offering producers a degree of protection and in supporting producer organisations to regain a degree of autonomy and control within the global coffee industry.

It is clear that through its adoption into World Bank development policy, the concept of empowerment has undergone a shift in meaning. No longer associated with collective action and social transformation, it has come to play an important role in the current development orthodoxy based upon good governance, decentralisation and participation with continued liberalisation. As demonstrated by agricultural policy in Kenya, this consensual approach may represent a welcome improvement on past policy failures but it is likely to be limited in achieving the aim of poverty alleviation. This is particularly the case given the concentration of market power that has occurred within the coffee industry, as with other agricultural value chains, following the end

of commodity regulation. However, struggles over meaning are part of broader processes of ongoing political struggle and it is therefore important for analysis to identify opportunities to re-assert alternative approaches to empowerment capable of supporting transformative action. Chapter 4 will therefore assess whether Fair Trade can be considered an alternative strategy, encouraging processes of critical awareness within producer cooperatives and providing the impetus for building greater collective organisation between them.

Chapter 4 - Fair Trade: An Alternative Approach to Producer Empowerment?

Introduction

Fair Trade initially developed as a radical alternative form of trade designed to ensure the benefits of that trade are returned to marginalised producers. From the outset, it has sought to distinguish itself from the charity model, instead promoting empowerment through trade and development (Nicholls and Opal, 2005: 65). It has endeavoured 'to put into the action the self-help and empowerment embodied in the slogan "aid through trade"' (Fisher, 2009: 1). As Fair Trade has become a more formalised movement, tackling poverty and empowering producers are frequently stated as the explicit goals of Fair Trade organisations. For example, Fairtrade Labelling Organisations International (FLO), the standards and certification body for the Fairtrade movement, states that its mission 'is to connect disadvantaged producers and consumers, promote fairer trading conditions and empower producers to combat poverty, strengthen their position and take more control over their lives' (FLO, 2010).

In emphasising the importance of the relationship between producers and consumers, Fair Trade has also been associated with the idea of consumer empowerment. The Fair Trade organisation Equal Exchange argues that, through '[i]ncreasing consumer awareness and engagement with issues affecting producers', it 'aims to empower consumers to make purchases that support their values' (Equal Exchange, 2010). Thus it has been suggested that Fair Trade can be seen as form of ethical consumption in which consumers use their power to purchase goods as a protest tool, a way to register

their vote through positive buying (Nicholls and Opal, 2005: 4; Clarke et al, 2007). However, a number of authors have questioned the ability of Fair Trade to provide an alternative or radical approach as a market-based initiative, particularly following its shift into the mainstream market enabled through the introduction of the Fairtrade label (Fridell, 2006, 2007; Guthman, 2007; Dolan, 2010). Indeed its emphasis on consumption is argued to raise the question of 'whether the structure of fair trade transcends a self-interested consumption culture or merely invents it in another form' (Watson, 2006: 448). For these critics, Fair Trade has become another form of corporate social responsibility and a function of neoliberal governance.

According to this de-politicisation critique, the story of Fair Trade can be seen as analogous to that of participatory development outlined in Chapter 1. In particular, Catherine Dolan draws upon post-development literature to argue that the symbolic force of Fair Trade's key tenets of empowerment, participation and justice 'serve to neutralise critique and mystify the functions Fairtrade performs for the political economy of development and neoliberalism' (Dolan, 2010: 33-4). The introduction of Fairtrade standards and certification are said to introduce new modes of governmentality that are 'at once moral and technocratic, voluntary and coercive, and inclusionary and marginalising' (ibid: 33; Guthman, 2007: 457). Once a radical, grassroots movement, Fair Trade is now seen to be both consistent with and constitutive of the neoliberal project.

In line with the transformation approach, the following chapters seek to offer a more nuanced position through an examination of the Fair Trade movement that recognises its tensions and limitations but that also identifies the continuing possibilities for

asserting an alternative approach to producer empowerment. In making this argument, the analysis draws upon multi-sited ethnographic research conducted at various sites both in the UK and Kenya. As argued by Burawoy in the special issue on *Manufacturing the Global*, such multi-sited research is important because you get divergent visions of globalisation from different sites. 'The same phenomenon can look like anti-politics from within the international agency but like a social movement from the ground'. The purpose of multi-sited ethnography 'is not to contrast the perspectives from each site but to build a montage that leads to greater insight into the whole, into the connections, disconnections and reconnections' (Burawoy, 2001: 156). Therefore, the essays in the special issue examine the internal workings of supranational organisations such as World Bank, transnational NGOs and internationally sponsored agencies of the state, but consider these in their connections to and disconnections from social movements, communities, indigenous knowledge and rural poverty (ibid: 150).

This chapter draws upon participant observation research carried out whilst based at the Fairtrade Foundation, situating this within the history of Fair Trade and the broader social movement[14]. The Fairtrade Foundation is an independent non-profit organisation that licenses use of the FAIRTRADE Mark on products in the UK and is the UK member of FLO. Founded by Oxfam, Christian Aid, Traidcraft, CAFOD and the World Development Movement in 1992, the organisation also works to raise public awareness regarding the importance of Fair Trade and to bring 'together producers and consumers in a citizens' movement for change' (Fairtrade Foundation, 2010a). Due to its connections with businesses, community groups and producer

[14] For a more detailed explanation of how this field research was carried out see the section on research procedure in the Appendix.

organisations, this was a fruitful site to investigate the internal dynamics and nuances within Fair Trade and to interrogate divergent understandings regarding the often implied but rarely defined notions of producer and consumer empowerment. My work as a volunteer on the Fairtrade Towns initiative between October 2008 and April 2009 also gave me insight into the broader grassroots movement. As will be discussed in more detail below, this initiative involves supporting local groups in towns and cities throughout the UK to lobby local businesses, organisations and retailers to either use or sell Fairtrade products and to campaign to raise public awareness and understanding of Fair Trade in the local area. I gained direct experience of such a campaign as a member of Fairtrade Association Birmingham.

The key issue considered throughout this field research was whether Fair Trade can still be considered to offer an alternative following its move out of niche and into mainstream markets (Low and Davenport, 2005). Central to this is Fair Trade's stated, potentially contradictory, strategy of working 'in and against the market' (Barratt Brown, 1993: 156-76; Raynolds, 2000; Taylor, 2005). Whilst taking seriously the concerns raised by the de-politicisation critique and recognising the challenges that the movement faces, this chapter indicates the continued potential of Fair Trade through reference to Gramsci's philosophy of praxis and Freire's notion of being 'practically in but strategically out of the system' outlined in Chapter 2. These involve constructing an alternative political vision in support of a coherent and broad-based alliance that is capable of transforming existing social relations from within.

As opposed to viewing Fair Trade as based upon individualised and self-interested consumption that serves to legitimise and depoliticise neoliberalism, it is argued that

it can instead be seen as a form of practical action that is part of a broader political movement. It is a strategy of ethical consumption that 'seeks to use everyday consumption as a surface mobilisation for wider, explicitly political aims and agendas' (Clarke et al, 2007: 233). In addition, drawing upon the examples of Cafédirect and Divine Chocolate, it is demonstrated how attempts to develop more direct trading relationships and greater producer ownership over Fair Trade products can help to mitigate some of the problems associated with operating in conventional markets dominated by large corporations and retailers. These examples indicate the possibility of establishing alternative business models that involve the representation and participation of producers within the company and greater producer control over the supply chain (Tiffen, 2002; Tallontire, 2000; Raynolds and Long, 2007; Doherty and Tranchell, 2005).

This analysis is further developed in the subsequent chapter, which draws upon participant observation conducted in Nyeri District, a coffee producing area in the Central Province region of Kenya, and field research carried out whilst based in Nairobi. As will be explained in more detail in Chapter 5, the purpose of this analysis is to explore the extent to which Fair Trade can be said to offer an alternative approach to producer empowerment than that associated with the Post-Washington Consensus outlined in Chapter 3. It also seeks to situate this in relation to the wider Fair Trade movement and coffee industry in Kenya, and to draw connections between this and activity taking place in the UK and at the international level outlined in this chapter. Before moving on to consider how Fair Trade and the broader trade justice movement can assist coffee producers and their organisations in confronting the coffee crisis that has occurred following the restructuring of the coffee industry, this

chapter begins by outlining a history of Fair Trade. It focuses on the transition from a diverse range of marginal but often radical alternative trading initiatives to a more coherent and formalised movement, particularly following the introduction of certification which enabled Fair Trade products to enter conventional markets. This analysis then proceeds to consider the various assessments of Fair Trade and whether it has the potential to offer an alternative market system based upon more equitable forms of trade.

A History of Fair Trade: From Alternative Trade to Fair Trade

Alternative Trade

The Fair Trade movement has its roots in the alternative trading practices of NGOs and church organisations in the 1950s and 1960s that emerged to support marginalised and displaced groups in the Global South. Initially organisations such as Sales Exchange for Refugee Rehabilitation and Vocation (SERRV) in the United States and Oxfam aided European World War II refugees by selling crafts through dedicated venues (Raynolds and Long, 2007: 29; Fridell, 2007: 40). By the 1950s, such direct marketing links became central to a number of faith and development group solidarity efforts with impoverished regions in the developing world through purchasing goods from poor producers at above-market prices and selling them to conscientious consumers (Raynolds and Long, 2007: 16). These trading links were often initially established on an ad hoc basis but developed into more solid relationships with the formation of partner cooperatives and associations in Southern nations that organised disadvantaged groups to export their products, principally

handicrafts but later also commodities such as coffee and tea (Jaffee, 2007: 12; Tallontire, 2000: 167).

Although diverse, such activities 'shaped the early principles of social justice and equity in commercial relations that came to be the defining features of the Fair Trade movement' (Murray and Raynolds, 2007: 7). This 'development trade' approach included the work of charities linked to churches, such as Ten Thousand Villages started by the Mennonite Central Committee and SERRV initiated by the Church of the Brethren, that developed networks of church-based sales and stores and whose starting point was a more philanthropic mission for a better world (Jaffee, 2007: 12; Barrientos et al, 2007: 52). It also included large development agencies, for example Oxfam established an alternative trading organisation (ATO), Oxfam Trading, to import crafts and commodities directly from Southern artisans and producers to sell them through a network of world shops throughout the United Kingdom (Fridell, 2007: 40-1). World shops acted as both an outlet for fair trade products and a source for educational and campaigning materials on the 'unfairness' of the world trade system (Barrientos et al, 2007: 52). Also significant was the establishment of Traidcraft, which has its origins in the Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund (Tearfund) but sought to expand beyond church organisations. In contrast to Oxfam, the majority of Traidcraft's sales come through a grassroots network of voluntary representatives rather than directly owned shops (Anderson, 2009: 233-4).

This alternative trade movement expanded significantly in the 1970s and 1980s, given further impetus from progressive social movements and the solidarity campaigns that grew in tandem with the spread of military takeovers in Latin America. During this

time, there was an increasing awareness among campaigners, student groups, trade unions and activists regarding the global injustices facing poor producers in a commercial world dominated by large corporations and unequal trading relations (Barrientos et al, 2007: 52-3). This 'solidarity' strain of the movement involved a number of politically motivated ATOs concerned with generating markets for products from socialist countries excluded from the world trade arena, such as Mozambique, Cuba and later Nicaragua. They 'viewed the creation of alternative trade networks as part of a much larger critique of capitalism and the global economic system' (Jaffee, 2007: 13). ATOs were concerned with ensuring that the benefits of trade were returned to the producers by eliminating intermediaries, developing direct and honest trading relationships and in generally putting the needs of people before profit[15] (Fridell, 2007: 42; Tallontire, 2000: 12).

It is arguably these political roots that have been emphasised within the history of Fair Trade, with the 'Trade not Aid' philosophy first espoused by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1968 becoming the movement's unofficial slogan (Low and Davenport, 2005: 145; Fridell, 2007: 30). Associated with arguments concerning the role played by the international trade system in creating and maintaining poverty in the South, those working within alternative trade sought to develop a model that offered both a theoretical and practical alternative to the existing hegemony of global free trade (Low and Davenport, 2005: 143-4). Interesting is this regard is the work of Michael Barratt Brown (1993), an author and activist whose ideas were prominent in the formative

[15] As demonstrated by Matthew Anderson's historical analysis of NGOs and Fair Trade in Britain, such efforts can be seen, to an extent, to be a critique of some of the earlier attempts by NGO owned trading companies, which were argued to operate too close to the trading values of commercial importers (2009: 227).

years of the Fair Trade movement and the first to use the term 'Fair Trade' in its current context at a conference in 1985 (Fridell, 2007: 42; DeCarlo, 2007: 8). He saw the alternative trade network as a 'system of trade in which the partners seek deliberately to establish a more equal basis of exchange between the First and Third Worlds. In addition to seeking a fairer relationship, the aim has been to establish a more direct relationship between groups of producers and consumers in the two worlds and a greater understanding among the consumers of the need of the producers for support in their independent development' (Barratt Brown, 1993: 156).

Particularly influential has been the pioneering work of Third World Information Network (TWIN) and Twin Trading in the United Kingdom, of which Barratt Brown was the founding chair. Formed from the disbanded Greater London Council, these took an overtly political stance by declaring an intention to trade on "non-capitalist principles". The main aim 'was to develop new forms of economic relations between the South and the North based on the principles of mutual advantage and independence of partners' (Barrientos et al, 2007: 53). Driven by an interest in peoples' struggle for autonomy and self-determination and in a context of disillusionment with aid, Pauline Tiffen, who joined Twin Trading shortly after it was founded and has been a Director at both Twin and Twin Trading, stated that the goal was to pilot a reinvention of the relationship between people based on exchange in a way that made trade mutually beneficial (Tiffen, 2009, interview). In line with this thinking, Twin founded Cafédirect in collaboration with Oxfam, Traidcraft and Equal Exchange and worked with The Body Shop and Christian Aid to support the Ghanaian Kuapa Kokoo cooperative in establishing the Day Chocolate Company (now called Divine Chocolate), which will be discussed in more detail below. The

emphasis on trading with cooperatives has also been influential in shaping the subsequent Fair Trade standards that have developed as the movement has become formalised (Barrientos et al, 2007: 53).

Fairtrade Certification and the FAIRTRADE Mark

Although from different origins, by the 1980s these various ATO efforts had shaped the beginning of a common Fair Trade movement with shared norms and common practices. This became consolidated into an institutional framework in the late 1980s and early 1990s with the establishment of three major associations across Europe, the European Fair Trade Association (EFTA), the International Fair Trade Association[16] (IFAT) and the Network of European World Shops (NEWS!), and the Fair Trade Federation (FTF) in North America (Raynolds and Long, 2007: 16). However, it was the introduction of production certification and labelling in the last 1980s that was arguably the moment when alternative trade became Fair Trade as it enabled certified products to move beyond marginalised world shops into the mainstream market. This began with the creation of the Max Havelaar label by the Dutch development aid organisation Solidaridad following discussions with members of the UCIRI cooperative in Oaxaca in Mexico who, 'after years of selling small amounts of coffee through world shops…wanted access, on equitable terms and in larger quantities, to European consumer markets' (Jaffee, 2007: 13).

The Fair Trade labelling movement spread quickly during the 1990s with national labelling initiatives being established throughout Europe, North America and Japan,

[16] This is now the World Fair Trade Organisation (WFTO), which brings together regional networks of Fair Trade Organisations that demonstrate 100 per cent Fair Trade commitment.

including the Fairtrade Foundation in the United Kingdom. These initiatives are not involved in trading products themselves but issue Fair Trade labels to verify that standards for specific products are met, which are used by both conventional companies and ATOs registered with one of the national initiatives, and promote Fair Trade products to retailers and consumers (Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 173). Concerned with creating more precise indicators of how producers benefit from Fair Trade and on substantiating labelling claims, the need for coordination between national efforts became apparent (Murray and Raynolds, 2007: 8). In 1997, the umbrella group Fair Trade Labelling Organizations International (FLO) was set up to coordinate the activities of the labelling organisations and to agree international standards formalised as the FAIRTRADE mark in 2002 (FLO, 2006).

These Fairtrade standards 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 development. For example, 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 'C' price is above the minimum. The standards are also designed to provide pre-financing to producers that need it and to facilitate long-term trading partnerships and enable greater producer control over the trading process (FLO, 2009a). There are requirements that all operators owning or handling Fairtrade certified products are subject to inspection and certification to assess their compliance with the standards and ensure the traceability and authenticity of Fairtrade products (FLO, 2009b).

In addition to the generic standards, there are also detailed standards for an increasing number of products including standards for small producers' organisations, as is the case with coffee, or more recently for hired labour for products such as tea, bananas and flowers that are historically grown on large plantations. In relation to Fairtrade coffee, producers must be smallholders and producers' organisations, such as cooperatives or farmers' associations, must be democratically run, and contracts must cover at least one harvest (FLO, 2009c; 2009d). As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, these standards contain both minimum requirements that must be met for initial certification and process criteria designed to encourage continual improvement (FLO, 2009c). The key issue at stake is whether these standards support an alternative approach to producer empowerment or if they simply replicate the approach put forward by the Post-Washington Consensus, which associates empowerment with market participation.

Since 1998, there has been an attempt to coordinate the efforts of ATO and labelling groups through an informal network known collectively as FINE, which is an acronym of the first letter of the member organisations: FLO, IFAT, NEWS! and EFAT. FINE seeks to harmonise Fair Trade criteria and monitoring systems and to coordinate advocacy and campaign strategies, maintaining a joint Fair Trade Advocacy Office in Brussels. Established in 2001, a common definition of Fair Trade has been accepted by key actors in the network:

> Fair Trade is a trading partnership, based on dialogue, transparency and respect, that seeks greater equity in international trade. It contributes to sustainable development by offering better trading conditions to, and securing the rights of, marginalized producers and workers – especially in the South. Fair Trade Organisations, backed by consumers, are engaged actively in supporting producers, in awareness raising, and in campaigning for changes in the rules and practices of conventional trade. (WFTO and FLO, 2009)

In terms of increasing retail turnover and points of sale of Fairtrade certified products and greater public awareness of Fair Trade, FLO's strategy has been successful (Fridell, 2007: 59). FLO's central goal was to move Fair Trade into the supermarkets where most people do their shopping because expanding Northern markets offers the possibility of providing Fair Trade benefits to a greatly increased number of marginalised producers and workers around the world (Murray and Raynolds, 2007: 8). This has to be understood in the context where, despite reaching a committed band of conscientious consumers, alternative trade remained a niche market unable to meet the demand of producers to be included. According to FLO's Annual Report 2009-10, there are now 827 Fairtrade certified farmer and worker organisations across 60 countries with 1.2 million farmers and workers benefiting from Fairtrade sales (FLO, 2009e). Despite the global recession, worldwide sales of Fairtrade products grew by 22 per cent in 2008 as consumers spent an estimated 2.9 billion Euros on Fairtrade products globally (Fairtrade Foundation, 2009**)**. This is in comparison to a total retail turnover of 220 million Euros in 2000 (Fridell, 2007: 58). In 2009 global Fairtade retail sales were estimated to have reached 3.4 billion Euros and involved a wide range of products, including not only coffee and tea, but also bananas, cocoa, honey, cane sugar, rice, a range of fresh fruit, dried fruit and fruit juices, nuts, herbs, wine and even cotton, flowers and sport balls.

A comparison with figures from FLO's Annual Report 2003-4 gives an impression of the growth of Fairtrade sales that has taken place. Initially the largest Fairtrade product, coffee has experienced steady growth in the volume of sales from 19,895 MT in 2003 to 78,781 MT in 2009. Bananas and sugar have experienced more rapid growth between 2003 and 2009 from 51,236 MT to 311,465 MT and 1,164 MT and

89,628 respectively (FLO 2003; 2009). In the United Kingdom, the largest market for Fairtrade products, retail sales for coffee have risen from £13.7 million in 1998, to £34.3 million in 2003 and further to £157 million in 2009 (Fairtrade Foundation, 2010b). Much of the increase in total sales from £16.7 million in 1998 to £195 million in 2005 and to £799 million in 2009 is the result of supermarket retailing, including the introduction of supermarket 'own brand' Fairtrade goods by, for example, the Cooperative, Sainsbury's and more recently Tesco (ibid; Barrientos and Smith, 2007: 103).

Yet, at 'the root of fair trade's "success" lies a dilemma' (Jaffee, 2007: 17). The use of the conventional markets for the distribution of Fairtrade certified products and the inclusion of large mainstream retailers and corporations, such as Starbucks, Procter and Gamble and Nestlé, has enabled Fair Trade to reach a much larger group of consumers (Milford, 2005: 8). However, it has also led to criticism that the motivations and actions of these powerful actors are at odds with those of many ATOs and activists and compromise the philosophy of social justice at the heart of the fair trade movement (Jaffee, 2007: 17). The switch from a language of 'alternative' to 'fair' trade has raised concern about the loss of principles associated with radical, grassroots activity. Low and Davenport argue that the 'current discourse on fair trade…downplays the notions of being alternative or acting in solidarity in favour of a central theme about paying a "fair price" to producers' (2005: 147). 'It is hard to conceive of the movement broadening its appeal and succeeding in placing food products on supermarket shelves in the early 1990s without a change in the discourse to emphasize the term "fair" as opposed to "alternative"'. For example, they suggest that mainstream business may view themselves as fair but that few would label

themselves as alternative due to its connotations of providing a practical and theoretical alterative to the commercial mainstream (Low and Davenport, 2005: 147-8).

Actually, the idea of 'fair' has caused some discontent amongst mainstream business and development agencies due to its implications that all other trade is 'unfair' (Sigley, 2006). An interesting example was the launch of the idea of a 'good for development' label at an Overseas Development Institute (ODI) public event. The chief economist at Department for International Development (DfID), Alan Winters, argued that the problem with labels such as Fairtrade is that they are designed to demonstrate that certain products are the exception rather than the rule when '[n]early all conventional trade is beneficial to development countries' (Winters, 2008). Similarly, in the accompanying working paper, it was argued that 'most conventional agricultural exports are of significant benefit to developing country producers' and that the 'focus of ethical and fair trade labelling schemes on improving standards gives the impression that other developing country exports are 'unethical' or 'unfair'' (Ellis and Keane, 2008: vii).

To interrogate these issues further, the next section will consider in more detail the arguments associated with the de-politicisation critique outlined in the introduction, which claim that the fair trade movement has been coopted into the neoliberal project through the introduction of Fairtrade standards and certification. Indeed, it has been suggested that Fair Trade has become a form of corporate social responsibility that is compatible with the triadic model associated with the Post-Washington Consensus in which civil society is the 'watchdog' of the market. However, whilst acknowledging

that Fair Trade faces a number of challenges with regards to operating in mainstream markets, it is argued that a more complex picture emerges than that put forward by this de-politicisation critique when the wider fair trade movement is considered in detail.

Assessing Fair Trade: Neoliberal Tool or Vehicle of Empowerment?

Fair Trade and Neoliberalism

Since its entry into conventional markets through Fairtrade certification, some critics have argued that Fair Trade can be viewed as a subset of ethical business practices, which enables dominant corporations and retailers to greenwash their image whilst making minimal commitments to Fair Trade objectives (Renard, 2005: 429; Fridell, 2007: 58; Tallontire, 2002: 13). The example of Starbucks is often pointed to, who were allowed to join Transfair USA without meeting the usual stipulation that companies agree to purchase at least 5 per cent of their product supply on Fairtrade terms in order to participate in the system (Jaffee, 2007: 203). 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). Fair Trade is 'embedded within a neoliberal logic that privileges non state actors and valorises non governmental institutions in particular as guarantors of social protection' (Dolan, 2010: 35). In line with the Trojan horse argument raised against the role of NGOs in mainstream development discussed earlier, such criticisms conclude that the fair trade movement has been co-opted and has therefore lost its transformative potential.

Under the triadic model associated with socially responsible capitalism, 'civil society absolves the market of responsibility and also maintains stability and reproduction of market economy…by alleviating the socioeconomic inequalities created and aggravated by the market'. It 'not only functions as an equilibrating mechanism but also as an alternative and supplementary regulatory means to the state and the market' (Howell and Pearce, 2001: 67). For example, The Department of International Development in the UK has been a key supporter of the Ethical Trading Initiative, which brings together civil society actors, business and government to formulate and implement socially responsible business practices. This approach seeks to bring business and civil society into partnership in a way that avoids confrontational tactics and without undermining the market principle of economic organisation (ibid: 68).

Similarly, critics contend that the Fairtrade labelling initiative can be seen as a 'shaped advantage' approach to fair trade compatible with the vision of the Third Way because, seeing globalisation as inevitable, it depicts Fair Trade as a project designed to assist poor producers in improving their position in the global economy (Fridell, 2006: 13). On this view, Fair Trade is a consumer standard for social responsibility in the sourcing of agricultural commodity products. It 'makes the free trade system work the way it is supposed to' by providing farmers with access to credit and information, thereby correcting market failures (Nicholls and Opal, 2005: 31). Such a project therefore remains confined within the imperatives of the market, for example, the minimum price is not determined solely on the basis of social justice but also by the demand of Northern consumers (ibid: 14-5; Renard, 1999: 497). The consequence of this approach is 'to stress microeconomic adjustment at the local level

rather than confronting highly unequal macroeconomic relations of power at the international level' (Fridell, 2006: 15-6).

However, although Fair Trade has been likened to ethical business practices, its emphasis upon challenging unequal trading relationships to support the long-term developmental aims of small and marginalised producers distinguishes it from the codes of conduct undertaken by multinational brands and retailers to protect themselves from public criticism (Tallontire, 2002: 13; FLO cited in Fridell, 2007: 58). These standards are typically used by a company to measure its environmental and/or social performance and that of its suppliers and subcontractors rather than addressing trading relations. Although it is often called ethical trading, even ethical sourcing is concerned with the social conditions of production, such as the welfare of producers in the workplace, as opposed to the terms of trade (Blowfield, 1999: 753-6). Furthermore, as the history of the wider social movement demonstrates, consumer demand alone does not explain the growth of Fair Trade. Such a narrow focus obscures the important role played by NGOs not only in pioneering business ventures that demonstrate the viability of an alternative model of trade, but also through the successful integration of political consumerism within their existing campaigns relating to international trade and development (Anderson, 2009: 222-4).

Indeed, a key argument against Fair Trade made by the de-politicisation critique relates to its attempt to relieve poverty through the conscious consumption practices of Northern consumers. In so doing, it is claimed that Fair Trade has 'become both compatible and constitutive of the neoliberal project' in part because it 'hinges entirely on *individual* consumer choice (an emblematic feature of neoliberalism)'

(Dolan, 2010: 35). Regulatory responsibility is said to be devolved to the level of the consumer, which is incommensurate with the scale of social and ecological problems and likely to be highly uneven in its effects (Guthman, 2007: 472-3). 'These consumers are not engaged in a democratic process with Southern producers, but remain atomized individuals directly unaffected by the social and political outcomes of their market decisions' (Fridell, 2007: 17). There are issues of disconnection between producers and consumers, nonetheless, the depiction of Fair Trade as based upon the consumption choices of atomised individuals is rather limited. As will be discussed in more detail below, the fair trade movement 'has always operated at an explicitly political as well as a practical level, educating Northern consumers and governments about production in the South and advocating for change in international trade' (Low and Davenport, 2005: 145).

Rather than necessarily viewing consumption as representing a culture of individualised, egotistical self-interest, it can instead be viewed as a form of practical action undertaken as part of a broader political movement that goes beyond the realm of consumption (Clarke et al, 2007: 231-2). Drawing upon the example of Traidcraft, Barnett et al demonstrate the interconnections between campaigning and trading activity through the integration of the localised purchase of Fairtrade products into nationwide campaigns, such as the annual Fairtrade Fortnight or the Trade Justice Movement[17] (Barnett et al, 2005: 34). These authors argue that such a process of mobilisation has a double resonance: 'it involves engaging with the practices of people who are already supporters or sympathisers with certain causes; but it also seeks to represent their expressed preferences as "ethical" subjects to other actors

[17] The Trade Justice Movement is a coalition of organisations that formed at the end of 2000 in the light of the Jubilee 2000 movement, with the goal to fundamentally change the unjust rules and institutions governing international trade (Trade Justice Movement, 2009).

involved in making markets including state actors, corporations and regulatory agencies' (Clarke et al, 2007: 234). Therefore, it is important to consider the role of the fair trade movement as a whole rather than just to focus narrowly upon the system of Fairtrade certification.

Fair Trade: A Theoretical and Practical Alternative?

One of Fair Trade's strength is that it is simultaneously a social movement and an alternative market structure (Jaffee, 2007: 1). It seeks to foster egalitarian trade links through the creation of alternative commodity networks whilst at the same time campaigning for changes in unequal trade practices by promoting alternative norms and practices in conventional trade arenas (Raynolds and Long, 2007: 15-18). As argued by Bruce Crowther, a committed fair trade activist and Fairtrade Towns Coordinator at the Fairtrade Foundation, in the first instance the idea of paying a fair price for a product is an easy message to grasp and a practical initial step that people can take to support producers immediately. In the longer term, it also sends a message equivalent to that sent by those boycotting sugar in order to challenge the slave trade, expect that this is done through positive buying. Fair Trade is not about charity but about issues of trade justice, which in turn requires a changed mindset on the part of those within the North with regards to how they think about poverty (Crowther, 2009, interview). In support of this broader goal to campaign for changes in the rules and practices of conventional trade, initiatives such as Fairtrade Towns have been developed to deepen understanding and strengthen support of Fair Trade and wider trade justice issues.

Beginning with Bruce Crowther's hometown of Garstang in Lancashire, there are now 400 Fairtrade Towns, which include villages, towns, cities, boroughs and counties, and 200 further campaigns working towards status. These act to initiate, support and coordinate active commitment to Fair Trade amongst the local council, workplaces, schools, churches, universities, community organisations and the wider public. Particularly significant is work being done with schools to develop teachers' resources and encourage the inclusion of fair trade in the framework of the national curriculum within the United Kingdom. For example, a nationwide education programme was launched by Comic Relief, Divine Chocolate and Kuapa Kokoo, the Ghanaian cocoa farmers co-operative who co-own Divine Chocolate, and is now run by Trading Visions (Tiffen, 2009, interview; Tiffen, 2002: 392, Trading Visions, 2009). It is through such activities that Fair Trade organisations aim to build upon raising awareness amongst Northern citizens to campaigning for broader trade issues, for example encouraging Northern governments to change the terms of trade.

Indeed, there is a developing connection between campaigning activity and policy research at the Fairtrade Foundation with progress currently being made towards translating awareness raising campaigns into wider public policy influence. As argued by a member of the Policy and Producer Relations Department, Nita Pillai, whereas initially there was a focus upon the communicating the message of a fair price and the additional premium to the consumer, there is now a desire to move beyond that and to speak to campaigners with a greater depth of understanding (Pillai, 2008, interview). The head of the department, Chris Davis, also emphasised the importance of developing producer networks so that producers also have the capacity to lobby their own governments (Davis, 2008, interview). This is not to say that there are not

significant challenges and tensions within the Fair Trade movement. For example, there is clearly a potential tension within the Fairtrade Foundation itself between, on the one hand, the imperative to provide mainstream companies with producer organisations that meet their requirements and, on the other hand, the goal to develop the capacity of producer groups to make their own decisions and gain more control over the value chain. These issues will be explored further in Chapter 5. Nonetheless it is clear that to identify Fair Trade as a form of corporate social responsibility does not capture the continuing complexity of the movement.

Although large mainstream retailers and corporations have played an important role in the growth in Fairtrade sales, the continued vitality of ATOs should not be overlooked. The ATO model remains strong in Europe and resilient in the United States and a number of key organisations that have integrated the ATO and labelling approach, such as Cafédirect and Divine Chocolate in the United Kingdom, currently sell substantial volumes of certified commodities (Raynolds and Long, 2007: 17). In the context of 'mainstreaming', ATOs have had to reassess what they mean by fair trade and have sought to distinguish themselves from those companies that only commit to selling a small proportion of their total sales under labelled Fairtrade conditions (Tallontire, 2000: 168; Barrientos et al, 2007: 58-9). Not only do ATOs usually sell 100 per cent Fairtrade certified products but they are also typically directly involved in importing and retailing and are therefore in a position to build networks 'through which Southern producers learn about the lives of consumers as well as the characteristics of markets and Northern consumers learn about the lives of producers as well as the attributes of products (Raynolds and Long, 2007: 18).

Viewing Fair Trade as an arena of ongoing contestation rather than a tool of neoliberal cooption opens up the possibility of developing and reasserting these alternative strategies so as to engage critically and dialectically with the mainstream corporations and institutions. Indeed, Tiffen argues that consumers acting on what they have learnt will be the critical battleground with regards to large companies crowding out Fair Trade pioneers, such as Divine Chocolate, in comparison to Galaxy or supermarket own brand chocolate. This requires making people aware of the whole process rather than consumers just acting on the basis of charity (Tiffen, 2009, interview). In particular, challenging the level of commitment of those companies and retailers using the Fairtrade label and interrogating the nature of the partnership they espouse to have with suppliers and producers is an important way to ensure that the Fairtrade label is not simply being used by corporations to shield themselves from criticism. There is already evidence in the United Kingdom that the strength of the ATO challenge and the advocacy of Fair Trade organisations and consumers have pressurised companies to make greater commitments with, for example, Tate and Lyle, Starbucks and Ben and Jerry's making 100 per cent commitments to sell Fairtrade products[18].

Gavin Fridell recognises that the 'shaped-advantage' approach does not adequately reflect the broad aims of NGOs actively involved in the fair trade network, who he acknowledges have a long-term objective of transforming global production. However, he contends that it is questionable whether the market-driven model is

[18] Tate and Lyle committed to switch all its retail branded sugar to Fairtrade between February 2008 and the end of 2009. In November 2008, Starbucks announced that 100 per cent of the espresso coffee sold, both whole bean and espresso-based beverages, in Starbucks store in the United Kingdom and Ireland would be Fairtrade certified by the end of 2009. Ben and Jerry's made the commitment in February 2010 to go 100 per cent in the United Kingdom and throughout Europe by the end of 2011 and globally by the end of 2013 (Fairtrade Foundation, 2008a; 2008b; 2010c).

capable of achieving these goals because the power of the capitalist market will necessarily undermine Fair Trade's alternative project (Fridell, 2007: 17). To interrogate this further, it is useful to consider Fair Trade's stated strategy of operating both 'in and against the market' (Raynolds, 2000: 299). This involves the challenge of campaigning for greater equity in international trade through the establishment of successful and profitable Fair Trade businesses that operate within the commercial market (Le Mare, 2008: 1926). Whilst this may appear contradictory, such a strategy also resonates with the notion of being 'tactically inside and strategically outside the system' associated with the approaches of Gramsci and Freire outlined in Chapter 2. Due to the inherently partial and contestable nature of hegemony, political struggle can take place in the institutions and apparatus of the dominant system but this requires the coordinated and coherent action of those challenging it.

Indeed, it has been argued that to avoid the danger of losing its progressive thrust and being absorbed by corporations and their conventional trade practices, Fair Trade must build new and tighter links between Southern producers and Northern consumers, particularly through public education and the involvement of Fair Trade groups in the entire commodity chain (Raynolds, 2000: 299, 306). Studies into the impact of Fair Trade also suggest that social goals are more likely to be achieved through establishing long-term partnerships with producer organisations (Le Mare, 2008: 1926). As already indicated, the examples of Cafédirect and the Divine Chocolate in particular demonstrate the possibility of developing direct trading links that involve the representation and participation of producers rather than just their consultation. Whilst there has been a tendency to use the term 'partner' as a catch-all

phrase, these models seek to explicitly engage with the notion of partnership (Tallontire, 2000: 168-9).

Founded in 1991, Cafédirect helped establish the Fairtrade Foundation and was the first coffee brand to carry the Fairtrade mark in the United Kingdom. However, it also strives to surpass the industry standard set by the FLO by improving the livelihoods of small-scale coffee producers through direct trade partnerships so as to strengthen the influence, income and security of producer partners in the South (Raynolds, 2009: 1086-7). For example, through its relationship with the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union (KNCU) in Tanzania it has helped the union to establish an export office to develop their marketing awareness and export capacity (Tallontire, 2000: 170-1). In an attempt to embed the norms of partnership and fairness into its business model, it became a public company in 2004 owned by its producer partners, consumers, employees and founding organisations and there is also producer representation of the Board of Directors (Raynolds, 2009: 1087). As a social enterprise, it reinvests up to 50% of its profits into producers and their organisations through the Producer Partnership Program facilitated by Twin Trading with the aim of supporting them to become strong and self-sustaining businesses (Cafédirect, 2009). Cafédirect is now the United Kingdom's fourth largest coffee company and holds 35% of the UK Fair Trade beverage market.

Now called Divine Chocolate, the Day Chocolate Company set up in 1998 has farmer ownership at the centre of its business model, entailing farmer representation on the board, active brand participation, influence over the product in the market and a share of the profits (Doherty and Tranchell, 2005: 167). In the context of the liberalisation

of the cocoa sector in 1993, Ghanaian cocoa producers organised to set up Kuapa Kokoo with the assistance of Twin Trading and the Dutch development organisation, SNV[19]. This includes a democratic union of producer societies, a farmer-owned and cooperatively run trading company and a farmers' trust to invest Fairtrade social premiums and profit into business development and community projects (Tiffen, 2002: 386-7). In 1997 Kuapa Kokoo voted to set up the Day Chocolate Company at their annual meeting with the aim of increasing their profits, increasing their knowledge of the western chocolate market and producing their own, branded Fairtrade chocolate bar for sale in western markets (Doherty and Tranchell, 2005: 170). Now 45 per cent owned by Kuapa Kokoo[20], Divine Chocolate sales reached £5.5 million in 2004 and almost £12 million by 2009 and Divine and Dubble chocolate bars are available alongside major chocolate brands in over 5000 retail stores in the United Kingdom (Doherty and Tranchell, 2005: 172-3; Divine Chocolate, 2009).

Whilst there are certainly real difficulties in maintaining such relationships within competitive markets in, the significance of these examples is that they represent attempts to move beyond a focus on localised support to address the whole value chain and to develop a new international business model (Tiffen, 2002: 394-5; Le Mare, 2008: 1930). Although they work within the conventional trade system and are, to an extent, still focused upon building producer capacity to access the market, such

[19] It is interesting to note that, as with the case of Ethiopia's coffee industry discussed in the previous chapter, this was only a process of partial liberalisation because the government recognised the importance of retaining the cocoa marketing structure and quality control mechanisms. All cocoa still had to pass through the Quality Control Division of Cocobod and the state owned Cocoa Marketing Company, which gave the company a strong negotiating position. It was subsequently agreed that a small proportion of cocoa could be sold through a 'set aside' mechanism for use in Fairtrade products (Tiffen et al, 2004: 21-3, 36).

[20] Initially the company was 52 per cent owned by Twin Trading, 33 per cent by Kuapa Kokoo and 14 per cent by The Body Shop but in 2007 The Body Shop donated its shares to Kuapa Kokoo (Doherty and Tranchell, 2005: 168; Divine Chocolate, 2010).

efforts do go beyond microeconomic adjustment by demonstrating that more equitable forms of trade are possible and can be successful. Also interesting about the arguments and examples outlined here is that they all involve developing critical awareness of global value chains, both amongst Northern consumers and Southern producers, in support of collective practical action. Therefore, it is useful to consider how these examples of direct trade partnerships could inform the development of Fair Trade coffee in Kenya and whether this would amount to an alternative approach to producer empowerment more capable of challenging the concentration of power that has taken place within the coffee industry than the approach to empowerment associated with KAPP and the Post-Washington Consensus.

One particularly important issue that is pertinent to the case of Kenya's coffee industry is that of quality and the potential of the speciality market to provide a possible route out of the conventional market for certain producers. Both Divine Chocolate and Cafédirect have sought to establish themselves as providing high quality and great tasting products in attempt to distinguish themselves from the mainstream and to emphasise their close relationships with producer organisations. This is indicated by Cafédirect's slogan 'we are the growers and you can taste it' and Divine Chocolate's partner organisation Kuapa Kokko's moto 'Pa Pa Paa' meaning 'the best of the best of the best'. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, a critical concern is ensuring that the benefits associated with premium products are captured by the producers themselves and that they are used as a means to challenge the conventional nature of trading relationships.

Fair Trade and the Speciality Coffee Market

Given the reputation of Kenyan coffee as high quality, in particular the classification of Kenya AA, it is pertinent to consider the role of Fair Trade in Kenya's coffee industry in relation to the growth of the speciality coffee industry and the opportunities this offers small producers. As already suggested in Chapter 3, the oligopolstic nature of the global coffee industry makes it is extremely difficult and costly for new actors to penetrate the market. Dominant corporations have access to large budgets for publicity and for developing innovations and there is a high degree of loyalty among customers for certain major international brands (Renard, 1999: 494). In such conditions of concentrated competition and homogenous consumption, it has been argued that differentiation based on quality and symbolic attributes has the potential to create space for alternative strategies of production aimed at developing products with specific qualities and social value (ibid: 484; Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 264-6).

Considering the prospects for these strategies based upon retail value rather than commodity price is relevant to the challenge of ensuring that primary product producers participate in global processes in ways which provide for sustainable income growth. Coffee is an important case because, as already put forward, it 'has a large "footprint" in poor countries, and among poor producers in these countries' and since the end of regulation has performed the role of a primary commodity with prices declining below the cost of production (Fitter and Kaplinsky, 2001: 2-4). Yet coffee also is a product with significant potential for differentiation because 'the degree of variety of coffee and the variation in taste is at least as great as that of wine'. Products

such as wine and mineral water used to be marketed as relatively undifferentiated products but are now sold as highly differentiated lines with significant premiums for certain products (ibid: 4). Therefore the strategy to diversify products and segment the market, and thereby offer small producers and roasters the possibility of entering the market on more favourable terms, is suited to the coffee market where different types of coffee, including gourmet coffees, those with pure origins, mild coffees and organic coffees, have emerged in recent years in response to highly differentiated consumer practices (Renard, 1999: 495).

This differentiated market based upon the intrinsic qualities of the beans and their symbolic value should not be subject to the same boom and bust cycle associated with primary commodities if producers are able to capture the retail value (Tiffen, 2009, interview). However, the growth of speciality coffee, including the emergence of independent cafés and small roasters, does not necessarily entail decommodification of the supply chain or the increased use of high-quality coffee, as demonstrated by Starbucks and other large café chains (Ponte, 2002a: 1110-1). Therefore there is an important challenge 'to identify policies which can help to ensure that some or all of these decommodification gains are reaped directly by poor producers rather than large transnational corporations' (Fitter and Kaplinsky, 2001: 4). In light of this, analysis in the next chapter will reflect upon the role that Fair Trade can play in improving the intrinsic quality and symbolic social value of Kenyan coffee and in ensuring that Kenyan coffee producers are able to capture the premiums that these may carry.

Concluding Comments

This chapter has sought to engage with the debates surrounding the Fair Trade movement and to consider its approach to producer empowerment through fairer trading conditions. Critics have questioned Fair Trade's ability to provide a radical approach following the introduction of Fairtrade certification and its entry into mainstream markets. Rather than challenging conventional trade and the practices of dominant corporations, it is argued by this de-politicisation critique that Fair Trade is another form of governmentality that supports the continuation of the neoliberal project. Through tracing the history of fair trade and a more nuanced examination of the current Fair Trade movement, it has been argued in this chapter that the de-politicisation critique does not adequately recognise Fair Trade's continued potential to offer a viable strategy of transformation. As an alternative market structure and a social movement, it seeks to construct an alternative political vision in support of a coherent and broad-based alliance that is potentially capable of transforming existing social relations within the international trading system.

Fair Trade does face a number of challenges but, as demonstrated by the examples of Cafédirect and Divine Chocolate, it is possible to mitigate some of the problems associated with operating in conventional markets dominated by large corporations and retailers. Through developing more direct trading relationships and greater producer ownership over Fair Trade products, these cases indicate the possibility of establishing alternative business models that involve the representation and participation of producers within the company and greater producer control over the supply chain. Therefore, it is important to identify opportunities to reassert such

strategies of re-politicisation to limit the dangers of the Fair Trade movement being coopted by dominant corporations and mainstream development and to establish more equitable forms of trade. This analysis will be further developed in the next chapter, which explores the extent to which Fair Trade offers an alternative approach to producer empowerment to that offered by the Post-Washington Consensus in the context of Kenya's coffee industry. In particular, it is considered whether strategies of developing more direct forms of trade with greater producer control over the value chain can help coffee producers and their organisations in confronting the coffee crisis that has occurred following the restructuring of the coffee industry.

Chapter 5 – The Experience of Fair Trade in Kenya's Coffee Industry

Introduction

In this chapter, it is considered whether Fair Trade initiatives have the potential to offer an alternative approach to producer empowerment in Kenya's coffee industry to that associated with the Post-Washington Consensus. As suggested in Chapter 3, 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 a roaster-driven commodity chain. Therefore, in assessing the potential of Fair Trade, it is important to consider the degree to which it offers producers a form 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.

One possible strategy avoiding the concentrated competition that characterises the coffee industry and developing a degree of control amongst producer organisations over the coffee that they produce is through participating in the growing speciality market. This is suited to Kenyan coffee due to its high quality and unique characteristics but it is important that the benefits of engaging with the premium coffee market are captured by producers and producer organisations themselves through, for example, branding initiatives and direct producer ownership. Existing examples of such efforts, such as the Ethiopian trademarking and licensing initiative

outlined in this chapter, suggest that the role of large cooperative unions and committed government support are essential in building this capacity. It also indicates an important role for NGOs in developing a critical awareness amongst Northern consumers and providing a link between activity at the global and local level in support of Fair Trade relationships. Bearing this in mind, it is considered how these experiences in neighbouring East African countries can inform Fair Trade producer organisations in Kenya who are hoping to replicate these initiatives in order to gain greater producer control over the Kenyan coffee industry.

Drawing upon participant observation conducted whilst based at one of the first coffee cooperatives to gain Fairtrade certification in Kenya, this chapter explores the processes of empowerment that are beginning to take place with the support of Fair Trade organisations. It suggests how these go beyond the inadequate approach of initiatives such as KAPP in developing the critical capacity and bargaining power of the cooperative but also identifies where progress have thus far been more restricted. In particular, the emphasis in practice of Fairtrade standards on the organisational empowerment of producer cooperatives has meant that research into critical education and the personal aspects of empowerment at the individual level of members within the cooperative has been limited. Is it important to engage with this issue because developing a critical awareness of Fair Trade and the nature of conventional trade is a significant aspect of processes of empowerment. This form of critical education is also fundamental to broader strategies of collective action and social transformation.

Situating the Field

The analysis in this chapter is based upon field research carried out in Nyeri District, a predominantly coffee producing area in Central Province, which is the heartland for Kenya's coffee industry. The Province's high elevations, cool climate and rich, fertile land make it ideal for growing coffee and its close proximity and relatively good transport links to Nairobi have ensured its continuing importance to the coffee industry. The area is densely populated and largely divided into small, intensively farmed holdings, although there are larger estates at lower altitudes (Mbataru, 2009: 21). As the Province's headquarters, Nyeri Town is the main business and financial centre and the location of a number of NGOs working in the area. During my research I was predominantly based in Nyeri Town and regularly travelled to the nearby Fairtrade certified cooperative called Rumukia Farmers Cooperative Society based in Mukurweini.

Rumukia was one of only two cooperatives in Kenya to first become Fairtrade certified, along with nearby Gikanda Farmers Cooperative, following the reform allowing direct sales through the 'second window' in 2005. There have been a number of other coffee cooperatives that have either gained or are in the process of achieving Fairtrade certification in recent years. However, Rumukia's relatively large size, its longer experience with Fair Trade and its connections to the UK made it a relatively obvious choice for conducting participant observation research. Initially there were twenty-eight factories organised into the Mukurweini Coffee Farmers Cooperative Society under the Nyeri District Coffee Society but these split into thirteen smaller societies during the process of liberalisation. Rumukia was formed in

2004 when four societies were encouraged by the government to merge to make them more viable. The certification process began in the Kiawamururu factory with the assistance of Taylors of Harrogate, a member of the Ethical Trading Initiative in the United Kingdom, but this was extended to the other seven factories when they merged to form Rumukia. Fairtrade certified coffee now enters the UK market through the registered exporter C. Dormans and is sold by both Taylors of Harrogate and Marks & Spencer after switching its own brand coffee to Fairtrade with the support of the Fairtrade Foundation.

As well as its connection to the Fairtrade Foundation, Rumukia is also linked to another UK based charity. Drawing upon their experience with coffee cooperatives in Ethiopia, the Lorna Young Foundation have endeavoured to support Rumukia in strengthening their business with the goal of capturing more of the value from the supply chain and potentially developing their own branded products. Having developed a relationship with the organisation during my time working in Fair Trade in the UK, I sought to combine my field research with their ongoing work in the area, particularly with regards to their work with a local college. As Fair Trade coffee in Kenya is still in the relatively early stages, having only been introduced in 2005, there is a crucial role for research to play in supporting its development and for ensuring that experiences in neighbouring countries with a longer history of Fair Trade coffee can help to inform this process. In particular, as more cooperatives in Kenya become Fairtrade certified, it is important to consider how their activities can be combined to form collective strategies capable of building greater producer control over Kenya's coffee industry.

Therefore, although my research was largely based at Rumukia, it did also extend beyond the cooperative to consider other organisations working in the area in support of the coffee industry. A full explanation of my research procedure is included in the Appendix so I will only briefly outline here what this entailed. Through regular visits to Rumukia and attendance of farmer training days, I conducted a number of semi-structured and informal interviews with selected individuals at different levels of the cooperative, including members of the management committee, the supervisory committee, administrative staff, factory management and farmers. I also gained insight into the workings of the organisation and the various stages involved in coffee production from farm through to processing. Outside the cooperative, I also conducted a number of key informant interviews with select individuals based at a range of organisations working to support local cooperatives, chosen for their knowledge of the coffee industry and the local area. These included: Sustainable Management Services, an organisation training local cooperatives including Rumukia in good agricultural practices; Taifa Sacco, a savings and credit cooperative organisation based in Nyeri; and African Wildlife Foundation, an African based conservation NGO with a local office in Nyeri. Developing an awareness of these local organisations and their projects helped to indicate where alliances could form and how activities based at Rumukia could be extended to include other cooperatives in the area. This was further supplemented by field research conducted in Nairobi, which sought to situate this within the wider Fair Trade movement in Kenya.

Throughout this research, it was asked to what extent do Fair Trade initiatives contribute to a programme of economic reform and intellectual and moral reform so as to coordinate the actions of Kenyan coffee producers and to potentially transform

the social relations that dominate the Kenyan coffee industry? Guided by the transformation approach, this analysis tries to identify any possible opportunities to reassert strategies of popular agency capable of explicitly engaging with existing power structures. In particular, it is considered how activities at Rumukia can be coordinated with those of other cooperatives and local organisations in Nyeri, and further supported by Kenya's national Fair Trade organisations and regional Fair Trade networks.

Fair Trade as an Alternative Approach to Empowerment

Rumukia and Fairtrade certification

Since certification, Rumukia has experienced a moderate improvement in coffee income, not only through the guaranteed Fairtrade minimum but also through the increased price fetched by their coffee at auction due to its reputation as FLO certified. Initially they were only able to sell a small amount of their coffee as Fairtrade but it now accounts for thirty per cent of their total sales. They are now able to sell their top-grade coffee at between US$300-320 per 50kg bag in comparison to the average of US$250 for coffee in the same classification. As a result, they have been able to pay their farmers a higher rate than the average in the area, for example, winning the 2008/09 regional award for the best payment rate at 43.10 Kenyan Shillings per kilo, up from 25.20 in the 2006/07 growing season. The additional Fairtrade premium has also increased as more Fairtrade coffee has been sold, rising from US$5,228 in 2006/07 to US$14,137 in 2007/08. This was divided between the

factories to provide financial support to 142 farmer promoters to attending training[21] and invested into clean water systems, storage facilities and infrastructure to improve the quality of coffee produced.

Indeed, according to the Fairtrade inspection reports the cooperative's total production increased from 411,375kg in 2006/07 to 539,939kg by 2007/08. The quality of this coffee also improved, with 17.8 per cent classified as AA grade and 55.4 per cent as AB grade in comparison to 8.9 per cent AA and 45 per cent AB in 2006/07. Given the demand for high quality Kenyan coffee, this bodes well for the potential to further increase coffee incomes in the future. Furthermore, whilst the direct material benefits derived from certification have thus far remained relatively modest, as found in other studies of Fair Trade coffee cooperatives, it appeared that members felt that participation in Fair Trade has a deeper impact than simply a higher and more stable income (Jaffee, 2007; Murray et al, 2006; Raynolds et al, 2004). This is related to Bebbington's understanding of livelihood, discussed in Chapter 1, as 'making a living and making it meaningful' (2000: 498). This involves not only the material assets derived from livelihood practices but also the intangible aspects associated with well-being and empowerment (Bacon, 2005: 501).

As indicated in Chapter 3, a significant but perhaps neglected aspect of the coffee crisis has been the affect that low and volatile prices have had upon farmers' morale. Many became disillusioned with coffee as a provider of a sustainable income and therefore lacked motivation to invest in and attend to their farms. However, during my

[21] This training programme was in collaboration with Sustainable Management Services. Farmers organised into farmer promoter teams select a farmer promoter. These farmer promoters receive thorough training and then pass on this training to their group. The training includes soil conservation, agro-forestry, riverbank protection, organic manure and the application of fertiliser and pesticides to improve the quality and sustainability of coffee production.

research 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 Fair Trade was helping to develop a reputation of high quality coffee. There was a sense 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 (Anonymous, 2009d, interview). A member of the cooperative administration argued that not only did the label of Fair Trade attached to their coffee attract new buyers, but it had also created interest among other cooperatives in the area who had become aware that their coffee was fetching good prices. A number of these have been encouraged to apply for Fairtrade certification themselves following the support and advice on the process offered by Rumukia (Anonymous, 2009g, interview). Whilst there are concerns whether there will be enough demand to match this increased supply of Fairtrade coffee, as will be explained in more detail below, such forms of collaboration are important if cooperatives are to take a greater role in, for example, the roasting and branding of their coffee.

Referring particularly to a visit from an Ethical Trading Manager from Marks and Spencer, a member of the premium committee stated that Fair Trade had brought buyers from the international market directly to Rumukia where they had demonstrated an interest in the source of the coffee and the process of its production. The cooperative were encouraged to hear that a number of these buyers found the quality of their coffee to be some of the highest in the country (Anonymous, 2009f, interview) At the factory level, a factory manager found that training to improve

productivity and quality and the higher prices have been persuading farmers that had abandoned their farms to return. The increased payments at Rumukia were even beginning to bring some young people back from Nairobi as the prospects of coffee farming look more promising, which is important for the future sustainability of the coffee industry (Anonymous, 2009e, interview).

Although this kind of impact is less tangible, it clearly resonates with the aspects associated with more radical approaches to empowerment concerning self-esteem, confidence and respect. Admittedly, it appeared that the response among the farmers themselves was more mixed. A group of female farmers attending a training day were less clear on what Fair Trade was, believing it to be an organisation that bought their coffee and sold it on. They were also disappointed that they had not received higher prices as they were hoping to receive prices of around 60 Kenyan Shillings per 50 kg rather than 40 Kenyan Shillings. Nonetheless, they said they were comfortable with the present coffee income in comparison to the lower prices they had been experiencing, which had prevented them from uprooting their coffee as has happened elsewhere. They argued that as long as payments continued to improve, they would be willing to attend to and invest in their farms, with one farmer saying she would sleep with her coffee bushes if the prices went up (Anonymous, 2009i, group discussion). Therefore, in the short-term Fair Trade has modest practical and material benefits, but in the long-term it has the potential to provide producers with sustainable livelihoods. This is not about encouraging market participation per se, these farmers have long produced coffee for sale in the international market, but ensuring that that participation is meaningful and based on less exploitative terms.

Comparing Fair Trade to the Post-Washington Consensus

Fair Trade and the Post-Washington Consensus may appear to have some similarities in terms of their approach to producer empowerment, in particular their focus upon the ideas of market access and capacity building. However, it is important to emphasise the different theoretical perspectives that underpin these approaches and the implications of this in practice. As outlined in Chapter 3, the Post-Washington Consensus seeks to ensure the correct functioning of the market but does not problematise the nature of the market itself. Empowerment in this context is seen as developing the ability of the poor to participate in this market as it is. Fair Trade explicitly questions the nature of international trade and seeks to ensure market access for producer organisations on more equitable terms. Capacity building in this case is not related to the privatisation of service delivery, as with the Post-Washington Consensus, but is concerned with building greater producer control over the trading process.

To return to the specific example of Kenya's coffee industry, it is possible to identify some similarities between the Fair Trade approach to producer empowerment and that which underpins the World Bank's KAPP. They share a focus on building the management capacity of producer organisations through, for example, the introduction of ICT systems and training to improve financial management. Both approaches are also concerned with expanding extension services to raise the level of productivity among coffee producers and to work with actors along the value chain to enhance market access for producer organisations. This is in line with Post-Washington Consensus thinking which, as outlined at the beginning of Chapter 3,

envisages a greater role for the state with regards to the development and transmission of technology and agricultural extension services. It is also important to acknowledge that Fair Trade coffee was only possible in Kenya following the reforms supported by the World Bank that allowed the direct sale of coffee.

However, KAPP's approach to facilitating farmer empowerment is driven by the overriding aim to revitalise agricultural productivity and to pluralise service delivery in rural areas so as to include private providers. Decentralisation of services and attempts to build producer organisation capacity have to be understood in relation to the focus upon issues of corruption and mismanagement. Its goal to bring stakeholders together does not adequately recognise the inequalities of power between actors within the coffee industry nor does it address the concentration of power amongst buyers and millers following the liberalisation of the industry.

As has already been suggested, any policy with the goal of poverty reduction should not only be concerned with market access but also with how this participation in global processes can ensure a sustainable livelihood. Fair Trade's guaranteed minimum price and additional premium is important for ensuring a degree of economic and social stability that can provide a valuable foundation from which broader processes of individual and collective transformation can develop. Fair Trade also explicitly acknowledges the problems associated with a roaster-driven value chain and is concerned with building producer power. In the case of Rumukia, it is evident that a number of important processes are beginning to take place with regards to developing the necessary confidence and capacity to gain greater control over the value chain so as to participate on more equal terms. To return to Cox and Harrod's

understanding of the self-employed mode of social relations of production, retaining a degree of independence within relationships with buyers and developing sufficient power to control supply and demand are important factors in ensuring the income and status of any group of self-employed (Harrod, 1987: 249). With the support of Fair Trade organisations, Rumukia are beginning to engage in direct sales with new buyers through which they can negotiate better prices and are working towards taking greater control over the secondary processing and potentially roasting of their coffee.

Whilst there is clearly a number of challenges and constraints facing Rumukia and other coffee cooperatives in the area, the experience of Fair Trade coffee cooperatives in neighbouring countries suggests that one potential strategy for building producer power and capturing more of the value of their coffee is through branding and trademarking initiatives for participation in the speciality industry. As will be discussed in more detail below, it is possible that Fairtrade certification and the wider fair trade movement can play an important role in this process.

The Potential of Branding Initiatives

This approach is not necessarily viable for all producer organisations but it is potentially suited to those within Central Province, particularly in the region surrounding Mount Kenya. The notion of quality in its different dimensions and meanings is key to understanding the 'room to manoeuvre' that the varying tendencies in speciality coffee consumption can create (Renard, 1999: 495). This includes the organoleptic factors associated with intrinsic taste attributes, affected by factors such as the climate and altitude, soil type and quality, cultivation, harvesting

and processing, and also symbolic attributes based on reputation, often signalled through trademarks and geographical location. With the latter, it is not only the material coffee that is being sold but also the place and the story (Fitter and Kaplinsky, 2001: 15-7; Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 127-9).

The Mount Kenya region has many of these qualities, including good conditions for high quality coffee and symbolic factors associated with the location. The area enjoys deep, rich volcanic soil and a cool climate due to the higher altitude, which means that the area typically does not suffer from extreme daytime and nighttime temperatures. Such high-grown and slow maturing cherries tend to yield richer and better quality coffee (Fitter and Kaplinsky, 2001: 16-7). Indeed, coffee from the area is known for its mild flavour in terms of acidity, its full aroma and its lively character, with fruit and floral tones. The area is also attractive in terms of tourism, and in particular the recent interest in coffee tourism[22], with its expansive coffee production in the foothills of Mount Kenya and the nearby Aberdares National Park. It has been suggested by a number of those working within Kenya's coffee industry, including Jennifer Mbuvi who works for FLO's Producer Services and Relations Unit (PSRU) within Kenya, that the unique nature of the coffee produced in this area and its rich heritage could be used as a form of destination branding (Mbuvi, 2009, interview).

The experience of the Ethiopian Fine Coffee Trademarking and Licensing Initiative is illustrative in demonstrating how this form of branding can be used by producer organisations to secure greater control and ownership of their premium quality coffee. This project was spearheaded by Fairtrade certified Oromia Coffee Farmers'

[22] A relatively recent idea, coffee tourism typically combines wine-tasting style tours with cultural experience or voluntary based trips within a coffee-producing area.

Cooperative Union, including the production of the 'Black Gold' documentary film by film producers Nick and Marc Francis with the cooperative and its manager Tadesse Meskela to help raise the profile of Ethiopian coffee. The initiative was supported by Light Years IP, a non-profit organisation that aims to assist developing country producers gain ownership of their intellectual property to increase their income and improve their income security, and involved the participation of the Ethiopian government. By registering trademark ownership of three of their regional fine coffee brands, Harar, Yirgacheffe and Sidamo, and setting up a network of licensed distributors, Ethiopian coffee producers have been able to capture a more equitable price share from the high export market retail value. Since export prices are now based on retail values instead of the commodity coffee market, this initiative has also ensured a much greater stability in prices in the medium term (Light Years IP, 2009).

The Ethiopian Fine Coffee Trademarking and Licensing Agreement has now been signed by 50 Ethiopian companies and over 70 international companies, including Green Mountain Coffee in the United States and Taylors of Harrogate in the United Kingdom. This agreement has afforded Ethiopian producers greater control over the distribution of their fine coffee and a stronger negotiating position with these companies (Ethiopian Intellectual Property Office, 2007). The difference between a brand and this form of trademark based on geographical location is the collective nature of property ownership that the latter entails (Daviron and Ponte, 2005: 127-8). Indeed, it is indicative that Starbucks initially opposed this initiative when the Ethiopian government filed its application to the US Patent and Trademark Office, claiming that the scheme would price Ethiopian coffee farmers out of the market

(BBC, 2006; Oxfam, 2006). At least in part due to an international campaign led by Oxfam, Starbucks have subsequently signed the licensing agreement (Oxfam, 2007).

As with the examples of Café Direct and KNCU in Tanzania and Divine Chocolate and Kuapa Kokko in Ghana, the success of this strategy to establish at least a degree of producer control in relation to Ethiopia's fine coffees has to be understood in the context of strong cooperative unions and government support. There is also a clear supportive role on the part of NGOs committed to the principles of fair trade in advising producer organisations and, in particular, raising critical awareness among Northern citizens to encourage practical action at both ends of the global value chain. According to the Director of Light Years IP, Pauline Tiffen, Fairtrade certification can serve as a basis but further action is required to achieve the goal of an alternative market system based upon the values of social equity and fairness:

> Fairtrade sets out parameters for what makes behaviour unfair…it sets out norms. But then because the Fairtrade mark on a product is not the same as striving to be a fair trade organisation or company, the potential is as great as you want for implementing and striving to achieve the norms about the way to do business versus complying with a set of criteria concerning the purchase and concession of coffee beans in a packet. (Tiffen, 2009, interview)

These cases also indicate the potential strength of a clear strategy of economic reform, such as an alternative business model or a trademarking initiative, supported by a broad based alliance involving cooperative unions, the government, and social movements. Whilst Northern NGOs do also tend to play a role in these alliances, perhaps their most important contribution is their ability to mobilise the wider transnational networks within which they are embedded. Given the structural transformations in the workings of national and international capitalisms, it is important that any such alternative project is able 'to work simultaneously at different

points within these chains of intervention' (Mitlin et al, 2007: 1703). In these examples, raising awareness amongst Northern citizens about the nature of existing trading relationships and educating consumers to recognise the taste attributes within high quality products was important in ensuring the success of these initiatives.

It is worth reflecting upon the strength of this strategy in Ethiopia in comparison to the approach of KAPP in Kenya. KAPP may focus upon applying technologies and developing agricultural extension services to improve the productivity of coffee production. However, its focus upon linking producer organisations to input markets and financial risk management tools does not go far enough in addressing the problems associated with the process of liberalisation in Kenya's coffee industry. As outlined in Chapter 3, Ethiopia's coffee sector has only been partially and gradually liberalised with quality controls maintained and the level of vertical integration limited through licensing rules. Significantly, domestic and export markets have remained fragmented rather than experiencing the level of concentration that has occurred in Kenya, particularly in relation to marketing. As well as this role of state regulation, the government has also supported the development of cooperative unions to support high-quality coffee production and market the coffee directly. These factors are important if producing countries and their organisations are going to take a more active role in managing the distribution of their coffee as in the example of Ethiopia's trademarking and licensing initiative. Therefore, it is important to consider whether this experience could help Kenyan coffee producers to build greater producer control over their coffee and to identify opportunities where such a strategy could be developed.

Lessons for Kenya's Coffee Industry

There are certainly a number of challenges facing Kenyan producer organisations and the Kenyan government to replicate any such strategy to increase producer ownership of Kenyan coffee, in particular the fragmentation of the cooperative movement. However, there are a number of interesting processes beginning to take place within Rumukia and Nyeri District, which have the potential to build on the initial modest improvements outlined earlier and to translate these into greater bargaining power and more equitable trading relationships. The management at Rumukia expressed an interest in developing more direct trading relationships that ensure higher prices as experienced in Ethiopia and, additionally, in roasting their own coffee so that they could sell the coffee locally (Anonymous, 2009b, interview). As mentioned in Chapter 3, only between 2 and 5 per cent of Kenyan coffee is consumed domestically unlike Ethiopia where there is a large coffee drinking culture. There is currently concern that they lack the capacity and knowledge to be able to do this but there are a number of both local organisations and Northern NGOs working with Rumukia and other coffee cooperatives in the area to develop this potential.

The Lorna Young Foundation[23], a UK charity working with both smallholder producer organisations in the developing world and marginalised communities in the United Kingdom to develop grassroots' owned ethical trading initiatives, have been assisting Rumukia in developing their commercial and marketing skills through a number of projects. With support from Taylors of Harrogate, this began with a mentoring partnership to develop a business and marketing strategy and to build

[23] The Lorna Young Foundation was set up by Cafédirect in memory of Lorna Young, a marketing specialist at Equal Exchange and one of the founders of Cafédirect, championing her cause of 'empowerment in action'.

Rumukia's capacity, skills and confidence with regards to directly marketing their own produce. This has subsequently led to the cooperative investing in their own hulling, polishing and size-grading machine so as to reduce transportation costs and payments to millers for these services. The Lorna Young Foundation and Rumukia have also been negotiating courses in marketing and supply chain management for cooperative members at a local college, Nyeri Technical Training Institute (NTTI) in collaboration with agronomists working within organisations supporting the local coffee industry, such as Taifa Sacco and the African Wildlife Foundation (Lorna Young Foundation, 2010).

Although these projects are concerned with developing the business and marketing skills of cooperative members, this is not just a case of socialising producers for more effective participation in the market. It is about producers developing a critical understanding of the global value chain for coffee and their place within it so that they can take greater control over their own coffee. As argued by Ian Agnew, 'not only do middlemen take a percentage of the profit but they also have *control* of the process' (Agnew, 2008, interview). According to interviews conducted with Rumukia members as part of a Smallholder Needs Assessment Report by Africa Now and Taylors of Harrogate in 2005, producers felt constrained by their lack of knowledge and information of the supply chain and the market price for coffee. Many of those interviewed only had knowledge of what happened to their coffee up to primary processing at the factory and they did not know how their coffee was priced (Africa Now, 2005: 7-8). Crucially, they did not understand their own product and how valuable it is in the North (Agnew, 2008, interview).

The process of Fairtrade certification has gone some way to addressing this issue. For example, a FLO-Cert report conducted in 2008 confirmed that the marketing agent was not passing on buyer information to the cooperative management, including the amount of coffee and price it is sold for to each buyer. Subsequently, pressure has been placed upon the marketing agent to pass on this information to the cooperative management, who in turn post auction sales results on boards in the factories for the farmers. Collaborating with local organisations already working with cooperatives in the area, the Lorna Young Foundation have sought to support Rumukia to go beyond this initial step with the potential of developing direct trading relationships based on more equitable terms. This draws upon experience from an existing initiative with Oromia Coffee Farmers' Cooperative Union in Ethiopia, which led to the establishment of the Oromo Coffee Company. This is a social enterprise owned and managed by a group of Oromo people now living in England in a direct relationship with Oromia Cooperative (Oromo Coffee Company, 2010).

Following the success of Oromia Cooperative, a peer partnership project was established with the assistance of the Lorna Young Foundation between NTTI and Ambo University in Ethiopia to transfer knowledge and experience in working with smallholders and to develop the college's capacity to train local coffee cooperatives in supply chain management. By involving local organisations and educational establishments, such a project is not only aimed at capturing value and improving producers' income in the medium term, but also in strengthening locally owned educational support for the farmers in the long run (Lorna Young Foundation, 2010; Agnew, 2009, interview). There is also potential to work in the future with a project being developed by the Africa Wildlife Foundation at local Kimathi University to run

a course training staff in cupping their own coffee so that cooperatives can have their own quality information rather than relying upon that of the millers and marketing agents (Thou, 2009, interview).

To an extent, these examples can be seen in relation to the approaches associated with participatory action research outlined in Chapter 1 due to their attempt to integrate educational processes into practical projects. For example, the peer partnership is aimed at developing local capacity to assess cooperatives' needs and to devise strategies to work towards more self-reliant trading relations through a collective endeavour with peers in Ethiopia. This includes engaging with issues relating to the conventional international trade system and the advantages and disadvantages of ethical certification systems such as Fair Trade. As suggested earlier, it is important that the marginalised adequately understand the broader structures of the global political economy if they are to not only participate but also to set the rules of their own game. In this case, it is only by engaging in their own analysis of the coffee industry and their role in it that producer organisations can move towards devising alternative forms of trading relationships based on more equitable terms. As advocated by the transformation approach, this involves moving beyond the local level to critically engage with wider power structures and institutions.

My interviews did indicate that attempts were being made to link the specific situation faced by Rumukia to broader processes associated with the global political economy. For example, the secretary-manager, John Muriuki, reasoned that their coffee had not fetched quite as good prices in 2009 as it had the previous year because the global economic downturn had lowered consumers' purchasing power (Muriuki, 2009,

interview). Another interviewee discussed the role that Fair Trade could play in relation to lobbying the government to play a bigger role in marketing their coffee. He argued that in France the government paid farmers a minimum price, which allowed farmers to return to their farms even when prices on the international market are low (Anonymous, 2009d, interview). Indeed, this raises an important issue that will be discussed in more detail in the next section, which is the wider role that the Fair Trade movement can play in developing producer networks capable of providing producers with a collective voice and greater lobbying power.

A significant problem that also needs to be addressed is whether Fair Trade initiatives such as the one outlined above can be said to amount to another case of the 'enlightened' outsider helping members of a community to realise their interests. As outlined in Chapter 2 in relation to the de-politicisation critique, such an approach rests upon an idealised notion of 'agents of change' and an assumption that communities are more or less homogenous and egalitarian groupings. Indeed a key criticism raised by those applying this de-politicisation approach to the case of Fair Trade is that it replicates existing patterns of exclusion and marginalisation (Dolan, 2010: 39).

To explore these in more detail, the following section attempts to further the analysis in two ways. First, it considers the extent to which processes of empowerment associated with Fair Trade initiatives extend beyond the cooperative management to cooperative members and their communities. Whilst producers within these cooperatives may benefit from the additional income derived from advances towards direct and more equitable trading relationships, to what extent can they also be said to

gain from a critical understanding of their role within global processes relating to the coffee industry or to share in this producer ownership on an individual level? In answering such questions it is necessary to consider how Fair Trade interacts with existing social and economic relations in coffee producing communities. Second, analysis is widened beyond the level of the cooperative to situate Rumukia in relation to producer networks and Fair Trade organisations working at the national and regional level. It is argued that such alliances are important in building a sustainable social movement and for coordinating activity between coffee cooperatives and other cooperatives and Fair Trade organisations.

Producer Empowerment Within and Beyond the Cooperative

In assessing the benefits of Fair Trade, a number of studies have raised the issue of producer knowledge about Fair Trade and their active participation in Fair Trade activities, questioning the extent to which cooperatives can be considered to be democratic (Murray et al, 2003; 2006; Nelson and Pound, 2009; Le Mare 2008). It is important to engage with these concerns not only in order to analyse the representation of producers within the cooperative but also because developing a critical awareness of Fair Trade and the nature of conventional trade is an important aspect of the process of empowerment. This form of critical education is fundamental to broader processes of collective action and social transformation, as discussed in Chapter 2 in relation to Gramsci's philosophy of praxis. Rather than treating the cooperative as a homogenous group, it is essential to consider how existing social and

economic relations have interacted with the practices of Fair Trade, and indeed the global restructuring of the coffee industry more broadly, to understand the differentiated impact these processes have had upon coffee producers.

This section begins by considering existing Fair Trade literature regarding issues of producer knowledge and participation within the cooperative in order to engage with debates surrounding the democratic nature of these organisations and their role within development. By reflecting upon the example of Rumukia, it is argued that although there are some valid concerns regarding the extent to which producer empowerment is taking place beyond the cooperative management, it is important the cooperatives are not unnecessarily maligned. These organisations have to be understood as sites of social practice that reflect the broader social relations within the society in which they are embedded.

The Cooperative as a Vehicle of Development

Fairtrade standards relating to small producers require that cooperatives and farmers' associations be democratically run, as indicated in the previous chapter. Producer organisations must 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, 2009c: 7). The intent of these standards is that Fairtrade should lead to the 'demonstrable empowerment' of both the producer organisation and its members, and through them the surrounding community (ibid: 6).

In their review of the literature on the impact of Fairtrade certification, Valerie Nelson and Barry Pound confirm that existing studies support the claim the Fair Trade is having positive empowerment impacts, both in terms of empowerment for individual producers and organisational strengthening (2009: 21).

In particular, it is argued that a significant number of studies identify improved producer self-confidence, improved market and export knowledge and access to training and improvements in quality as individual producer empowerment benefits of Fair Trade (Nelson and Pound, 2009: 21-3). However, it is not discussed whether these benefits are experienced equally amongst the producers within an organisation and whether the overall strengthened negotiating power of a cooperative necessarily leads to the empowerment of individuals within that organisation. The review does highlight the lack of producer knowledge of Fair Trade found in the majority cases, stating that if 'part of the aim of Fairtrade is to empower smallholder producers and workers then it is important that these "intended beneficiaries" have knowledge of the Fairtrade system' (ibid: 24). This lack of a critical awareness amongst individual producers is indeed a concern if Fair Trade is to be considered an alternative approach to empowerment in a Gramscian sense. A central aspect of counter-hegemonic struggle is the construction of intellectual and moral unity among subordinated groups, which includes constituting subordinated subjects as critically engaged and problematising the existing everyday experiences and representations of dominant social relations (Gramsci, 1971: 181; Reddy, 2000: 229).

Drawing upon seven cases of Fairtrade certified coffee cooperatives in Latin America, Douglas Murray et al (2006) identify the widespread lack of a clear understanding of

Fair Trade among cooperative members, to whom it remained an abstract concept, as a basic issue facing Fair Trade and its ability to promote democracy within cooperatives. Significantly, it is argued that few cooperative members 'saw themselves as part of a broader movement engaging Northern consumers or challenging global economic dynamics' (Murray et al, 2006: 188). This limited, and sometimes confused, knowledge of Fair Trade as an alternative trade system, as well as awareness of the workings of the conventional value chain, is attributed to the structure and operation of cooperatives (Murray et al, 2003: 16; Nelson and Pound, 2009: 24). Most activities related to Fairtrade certification and marketing are handled by the cooperative leadership, who have a detailed understanding of Fair Trade and experience with buyers. It is argued that a small number of producer representatives may gain some knowledge through participation in training and other activities, but the majority of producers have limited contact with Fair Trade representatives and processes and therefore lack understanding and experience (Murray et al, 2006: 16). This may serve to entrench the position of the leadership and to centralise decision-making processes due to the need for expert knowledge on coffee markets and the preference of buyers to maintain long-term, stable relations with individual persons (Nelson and Pound, 2009: 28; Le Mare, 2008: 1931). It is therefore argued that many of the problems regarding Fair Trade's impact are largely inherent to small producer cooperative organisations (Murray el al, 2003: 14).

Indeed questions raised over Fair Trade's emphasis on cooperatives echo wider criticisms regarding the role of cooperatives in development due to their perceived poor management, political interference and organisational malaise (Holmén, 1990: 33-50; Bibby, 2006: 3). The view that cooperatives are autonomous associations

based on the principles of self-help, democracy and solidarity, as they are often defined, has been challenged, particularly in Africa where cooperatives have typically grown as semi-public agencies under state direction (Wanyama, 2009: 1). Whilst it is important to take these concerns seriously in order to problematise the assumption that cooperatives are inherently empowering, care should also be taken to not unnecessarily malign these organisations. It is already been suggested in Chapter 3 that there are problems with identifying the African state as rent-seeking and inherently corrupt. However, as sites of social practice, cooperatives necessarily reflect the wider social relations in which they are situated. Therefore, any analysis of Fair Trade's potential for producer empowerment should critically engage with these patterns of power relations.

One particularly significant line along which power relations are differentiated within coffee-producing communities is gender and there are complex gender issues surrounding the control and ownership of coffee. It is important to engage in analysis of these gender dynamics in order to identify the potential limitations of the Fair Trade approach to producer empowerment. In line with this, the next chapter investigates the relationship between changing household social relations and gender inequalities and inequities within the cooperative in order to shed light on the constraints that gendered roles and responsibilities can place upon women's active participation within the cooperative and associated Fair Trade activities.

Nonetheless, arguments concerning the corruption and mismanagement of cooperatives should also be viewed in the light of the problematic understandings of the nature of the African state discussed in Chapter 3. In assessing the role of

cooperatives it is important to demonstrate sensitivity, in particular with regards to understanding the potential limitations of inspection within the Fairtrade certification process and expectations placed upon cooperatives in comparison to other organisations along the value chain. A number of cooperatives, including Rumukia and Gikanda, have lost their Fairtrade certification due to problems meeting the progress standards[24]. In the case of Rumukia, their certification was suspended for six months following an FLO inspection because of issues relating to the management of the Fairtrade premium and the relationship between the management and cooperative members with regards to the sharing of information and decision-making processes. With the support of Jennifer Mbuvi from Kenya's Producer Services and Relations Unit, these issues have subsequently been rectified, for example, the management now displays annual reports and minutes of meetings within the factories and members take a more active role in decision-making processes relating to the premium through General Assemblies at the factory level.

However, this experience does highlight some of the problems associated with the inspection process and with Fairtrade certification more broadly. As found by Ian Agnew in the case of Rumukia, the added bureaucracy and regulations that certification requires can place a strain on producer cooperatives, especially if they lack the necessary management skills (Agnew, 2008, interview). Indeed, several of my interviewees at the cooperative referred to the challenges they had faced in understanding the standards and meeting them within a set timeframe. These

[24] For example, two coffee cooperatives within the case studies discussed by Murray et al had also experienced decertification for failure to comply with one or more FLO standards. It is argued that this process actually had a positive effect in terms of organisational strengthening with both cooperatives clearly engaging in on-going efforts to overcome administrative weaknesses and improve decision-making process and the participation of cooperative members (2003: 12). This does raise the issue, however, of whether cooperatives are undertaking these changes simply to comply with standards and to what extent this is compatible with the goal of producer empowerment.

standards and the inspection process are necessary for the legitimacy of the FAIRTRADE mark but it should be recognised that they are relatively crude and therefore problems that cooperatives face in meeting them should not necessarily be reduced to a lack of transparency and corruption. Concern has also been raised about the demanding standards that producer organisations must meet to be retain their Fairtrade status, particularly with regards to democratic decision-making processes and the participation of marginalised groups, whereas companies handling or selling Fairtrade products along the value chain only face minimal inspection (Tiffen, 2009, interview).

It is clear from the examples discussed in this chapter that cooperatives can play a positive role in development through improving producers' position within the global coffee industry. Furthermore, it is significant that cooperatives are a relatively unique form of organisation, in which the leadership is elected from the membership on the basis of one member, one vote, and have the potential to serve as the representation of farmers' interests. Therefore it is important to consider the role that Fair Trade can play in addressing the limitations that cooperatives face in terms of democratic participation and producer ownership. On a relatively broad level, the ability to guarantee higher payments helps to maintain credibility of cooperative among its membership and to build the confidence of members in the cooperative management (Murray et al, 2003: 12). This is important in the Kenyan context where many cooperatives have suffered from a lack of confidence from their membership, who have been discouraged by the low prices, and the related processes of fragmentation. This building of credibility and confidence in the ability of cooperatives can be further supported through the development of broader Fair Trade networks to

coordinate the action of cooperatives and to lobby for producer interests at the national, regional and international level.

Moving Beyond the Cooperative

There are a number of national and regional Fair Trade networks based in Kenya with the goal of developing linkages and strengthening Fair Trade organisations and producer groups and associations. Whilst some of these are still in the early stages of development, it is suggested that such networks have the potential to build the broad-based alliances necessary for wider social transformation and could help in addressing issues of power within the Fair Trade movement. In particular, they could enable Southern producers to exert more influence on policy and decision-making processes relating to the Fair Trade system, as well as building their capacity to lobby their own governments (Jaffee, 2007: 252; Davis, 2009, interview).

Fairtrade Africa is a membership-based organisation owned by African Fairtrade certified producers that works through regional networks, country partnerships and product groups to enable its members to have a strong voice in the governance and management of the organisation and as a member of FLO. Its aim is to promote the interests of African producers within the wider Fairtrade system and in other trade corridors to enable African producers to improve their socio-economic conditions through increased access to better trading conditions. It also actively promotes intra-African trade opportunities through networking and partnerships with regional and sub-regional bodies within Africa (Fairtrade Africa, 2010).

In addition to coordination at the regional level, the network also supports the establishment and development of country networks, including the Kenya country partnership, which work with government departments and NGO sectors to leverage support for Fairtrade certified producer organisations (Fairtrade Africa, 2010). It is argued that the goal of this more holistic approach is to shift the balance of power within the Fair Trade system back towards the producers rather than commercial interests. Furthermore, the involvement of governments could help to ensure that the Fair Trade movement is large-scale and sustainable (Harris, 2008, interview). More recently, the African Coffee Network was launched in Kenya in February 2010 to facilitate partnerships and information sharing between Fair Trade coffee producers, such as sharing ideas and experiences on key areas in production, marketing and value addition.

It remains to be seen whether these regional and national networks can support Fair Trade producers in a tangible way but they do have the potential to strengthen the Fair Trade movement if they can provide African producers with a collective voice with regards to the Fair Trade system and wider trade issues. They could also play an important role in raising awareness of Fair Trade in producing countries themselves. For example, the Kenya Federation for Alternative Trade (KEFAT) is a country network that brings together civil society and development organisations that are involved in the promotion and creation of awareness of Fair Trade. They aim to lobby the Kenyan government to take initiatives towards the development of a national policy for the promotion of Fair Trade in Kenya (COFTA, 2010). Whilst building domestic Fair Trade markets in the South does raise particular challenges, it has been argued that the emergence of Fair Trade labelling initiatives in, for example, Mexico

represents an interesting challenge to the issues of power and control within the Fair Trade movement (Jaffee et al, 2004: 184-6). Such initiatives could also help to mitigate the dangers of Fair Trade being viewed as a Northern imposition on Southern producers. As will be discussed in the conclusion, further research into these networks as they develop would be interesting to examine whether they are able to contribute in accordance with their aims. This issue is particularly pertinent given the transformation approach's focus upon political networks indicated in Chapter 2.

Concluding Comments

In this chapter it has been argued that, in the case of Kenya's coffee industry, Fair Trade initiatives have the potential to play an important role in supporting an alternative strategy to producer empowerment to that promoted under KAPP through encouraging processes of critical awareness amongst producer cooperatives and providing the impetus for building greater negotiating power within their trading relationships and control over their own coffee. This is particularly important given the negative impact of the restructuring of the coffee industry in terms of the increasingly precarious nature of producer livelihoods and the marginalisation of producer organisations in a roaster-driven commodity chain. Drawing upon the example of the Ethiopian trademarking and licensing initiative, it was argued that committed government support and the coordinated action of cooperatives through, for example cooperative unions, are necessary for building the capacity to address inequality of power within the coffee industry. This example also indicated an important role for NGOs in developing a critical awareness amongst Northern consumers and providing a link between activity at the global and local level in

support of Fair Trade relationships. Whilst there are a number of challenges facing Rumukia and other Kenyan coffee cooperatives in replicating such a strategy, it has been suggested that work in Nyeri to coordinate the action of local organisations and cooperatives, and wider national and regional Fair Trade networks, could potentially provide opportunities to build the broad-based alliances necessary for sustainable change. However, this chapter has also raised an important issue that will be explored in more detail in Chapter 6, which is the extent to which Fair Trade initiatives replicate existing social and economic relations in producer communities.

Chapter 6 – Gender, Power and Changing Household Relations in Kenya's Coffee Industry

Introduction

In assessing the restructuring of the coffee industry and the space for alternative practices of resistance and empowerment, an important but often neglected area of analysis is gender relations. As will be explored in this chapter, gender does feature in Fair Trade standards and the World Bank's approach to agricultural policy but there is a lack of systematic analysis regarding gendered social relations within the coffee industry. This chapter seeks to draw together the issues regarding the World Bank's treatment of gender raised in Chapter 3 and the problems associated with Fair Trade's approach to gender relations within coffee-producing communities indicated in Chapter 5 through an analysis of household social relations in Kenya's coffee industry. Examining the household as a site of gendered forms of negotiation and conflict and situating this within the broader terrain of production politics and forms of everyday resistance is an important aspect in understanding the opportunities and constraints associated with changes in the global coffee industry.

The World Bank adopted a gender and development mainstreaming strategy in 2001 and proposed a three-part strategy for promoting gender equality in its report *Engendering Development through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice* (World Bank, 2001; 2002b). These endorse the importance of promoting gender justice to foster economic growth, reduce poverty and improve human well-being (World Bank, 2001: 1-2; 2002b: xi). However, concern has been raised over the

extent to which gender issues have been translated into policy in practice to tackle the root causes of gender disparities in development, in particular with regards to PRSPs (Bell, 2003; Cornwall, 2003: 1336-7; Christian Aid, 2001: 16; Zuckerman, 2002). A report for the UK Gender and Development Network exploring gender in PRSPs argued that gender issues appeared in a fragmentary and arbitrary way, with the chapter on gender recommended by the PRSP Source Book missing in half of the PRSPs reviewed (Whitehead, 2002: 4). There is claimed to be a lack of systematic attention to the gender dimensions of poverty and a failure to follow these through to policy outlines. For example, it was found that the Malawi PRSP did not 'mention women at all in its agricultural policies, despite earlier in the document identifying several categories of rural women who suffer gendered forms of poverty' (ibid: 15). To be more effective, it is argued that gendered poverty analysis and gendered analysis of macroeconomic issues is needed that include attention to the sphere of reproduction, deconstructing the household, a focus on women's livelihoods, incomes and employments and analysis of the gender implications of budget priorities and public spending (ibid: 5).

In the case of Kenya's Agricultural Productivity Program, gender is not mentioned in the first phase but by the second phase there is a statement that the Project reflects commitments made under the World Bank's Gender Action Plan, which supports efforts to advance women's economic empowerment (World Bank, 2009: 3). There is also a stated commitment to strengthen the participation of women and youth in decision-making processes as an important contribution to good governance and in line with Vision 2030, which strives for equity in power and resource distribution between genders and for youth (ibid: 3). Under the section on gender mainstreaming,

it is argued that specific investments are needed to strengthen the economic empowerment of women and their effective participation in decision-making processes, such as safeguards to ensure women as well as men can retain control of their income (ibid: 7). This equation of gender issues with promoting women's economic empowerment and their access to political power has raised concerns regarding the instrumentalisation of women and there is widespread disillusionment with the impoverished or misleading way that gender issues have become embedded in mainstream development (Batliwala and Dhanraj, 2004; Cornwall et al, 2007).

Fair Trade organisations have a stated commitment to gender equality and equity and there is an expectation that involvement in Fair Trade implies greater gender empowerment (Le Mare, 2008: 1934; Hutchens, 2010; Ruben, 2008: 37). There are some studies that indicate that some progress is being made, for example, research into small coffee producers in Nicaragua suggests that the position of women is changing and women producers are experiencing a certain degree of empowerment (Utting-chamorro, 2005: 595). However, there is a small but growing body of work that 'casts doubt on Fair Trade's contribution to women's empowerment and gender equity' because the Fairtrade system 'does not make *women*'s empowerment explicit, nor is there much evidence that gender plays a prominent role in Fairtrade activities' (Hutchens, 2010: 451-2). This research implies that Fair Trade has largely failed to alter gender roles despite its transformative goals of equitable participation. There is no direct correlation between the formation of more equitable North-South market relationships and the status of women (Lyon, 2010: 131). This has led to calls for Fair Trade to be more proactive in tacking social, cultural and economic basis of gender

disparities and for more explicit gender policies and strategies among Fair Trade organisations (Le Mare, 2008: 1935; Nelson and Pound, 2009: 31).

The question of gender is a particularly significant dilemma within Fair Trade coffee cooperatives (Murray et al, 2006: 189). Coffee is often considered to be a male crop but, particularly in the African context, it is actually women that have provided much of the labour in coffee production and there are therefore complex issues surrounding the control and ownership of coffee (Lyon, 2008; Mbataru, 2009). Consequently, in order to more adequately understand the impact of the restructuring of Kenya's coffee industry and the potential limitations of the Fair Trade approach to producer empowerment in this context, it is important to consider the relationship between changing household social relations and gender inequalities within the cooperative. This can shed light on the constraints that gendered roles and responsibilities within household relations can place upon women's active participation within the cooperative and the associated Fair Trade activities. It can also indicate how Fair Trade could better integrate into its practices strategies to address not only women's role within the cooperative but also the wider structures that support gender inequalities and inequities.

Notably, analysis into the changing nature of household relations indicates the potential limitations of current approaches that promote alternative income-earning strategies as forms of women's empowerment. For example, it is often encouraged that projects undertaken by Fairtrade certified cooperatives focus upon fostering new opportunities for women outside of the coffee sector, perceiving women to be uninvolved in commercial farming (Murray et al, 2003: 26; Rice, 2010: 47; Nelson

and Pound, 2008: 31). The World Bank's approach to agriculture also widely supports diversification into non-agricultural income earning activities (World Bank 2008, Havnevik, 2009). However, the insecure nature of many of these strategies places doubt on their ability to provide a stable alternative form of livelihood and it is also questionable to what extent they are able to challenge wider gendered norms relating to ownership and control. In the case of Central Province in Kenya, whilst some forms of diversification may offer women a degree of negotiating power within the household and independence over their earnings, these have to understood in the context of the increasingly precarious economic conditions and the reassertion of male control over resources and land (Verma, 2001; Thomas-Slayter and Rocheleau, 1995). In other words, there are significant challenges in translating changes *within* the household patterns of power relations into larger social transformations *outside* the household.

Therefore, it is argued that is important to engage in context specific analysis of household social relations and the wider structures that support these gendered inequalities in order to consider how Fair Trade practices aimed at the overall strengthened position of producer cooperatives within trading relations could also incorporate a focus upon social relations within those cooperatives. In the case of Kenya's coffee industry, this is important on a practical level because any attempt to address issues relating to productivity and the quality of coffee necessarily involves women who tend to be heavily involved in the production of coffee. However, perhaps more significant from the point of view of women's empowerment is the extent to which such analysis can play a role in deconstructing gender myths and supporting critical education regarding conceptions of gender and gendered roles and

responsibilities within the cooperative in a way which could contribute to broader processes of social transformation.

The Ambivalent Nature of Global Restructuring: Changing Household Social Relations

By focusing upon household social relations within the Central Province region of Kenya, this section explores how the global restructuring of the coffee industry has interacted with existing gendered norms and practices to produce contradictory and complex gender outcomes. As suggested in Chapter 1, viewing the household as a site of struggle 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). 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 (Anonymous, 2009i, group discussion). 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 commercialisaiton 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, several interviewees at 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 (Anonymous, 2009f, interview; Anonymous, 2009g, interview). 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 one female interviewee, 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 (Anonymous, 2009g, interview). 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 (Anonymous, 2009g, interview). 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 (Anonymous, 2009j, group discussion). 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 environment[25].

[25] 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

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.

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

---

practice sustainable farming and soil management and led to further problems of poor yields, declining soil fertility, and soil erosion (Verma, 2001: 181).

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 political economic context

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) and discussed in Chapter 1. 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, outlined in Chapter 2, 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 and inequities. For example, 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.

Furthermore, 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).

Therefore, it is also important to consider the dialectical relationship between gendered struggles within communities and the broader relations of power

experienced by coffee producers vis-à-vis the global coffee industry. As will be explored in more detail below, this echoes arguments raised recently by gender and development advocates relating to disillusionment with the treatment of gender by mainstream development and the World Bank in particular (Cornwall et al, 2007; O'Laughlin, 2007; de la Rocha, 2007; Batliwala and Dhanraj, 2004). Given this, I argue that 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 and inequities in coffee-producing communities.

Women's Empowerment: Ways Forward

Challenging Gender Myths in the World Bank's Approach to Women's Empowerment

Following a conference held in 2003 entitled 'Beyond Gender Myths and Feminist Fables' and hosted by the Institute of Development Studies and the University of Sussex, there have been two special issues in *IDS Bulletin* and *Development and Change* that reflect upon the ambivalent success of gender and development advocates in getting their concepts and narratives adopted by mainstream development (Cornwall et al, 2004; Cornwall et al, 2007). In particular, the contributions consider how popularised notions of women as both heroines and victims have become embedded into development discourse in ways which simplify or misrepresent gender issues. For example, feminist research emphasising women's capacities for struggle and survival and celebrating their exercise of autonomy and solidarity have served as important rallying calls but have also led to gender myths in

development policy (Cornwall et al, 2007: 2-5). There are two myths that are particularly relevant to the discussion here and that will be explored in more detail below: the myth about intrahousehold resource allocation and poverty reduction; and the myth of survival (O'Laughlin, 2007; de la Rocha, 2007).

The first of these myths is the policy conclusion, promoted by a World Bank technical paper by Blackden and Bhanu, 'Gender, Growth and Poverty Reduction' (1999), and the World Bank's *Engendering Development Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice* (2001), that redressing gender imbalance in the control of productive resources will significantly reduce poverty (O'Laughlin, 2007: 21). Repeatedly referring to two pieces of research conducted in the 1980s into African rural households (Jones, 1983, 1986; Udry, 1996), these documents put forward the argument that intrahousehold gender inequalities in relation to labour allocation, access to inputs and the control of income have led to productive inefficiencies and the undermining of economic growth[26] (World Bank, 2001: 85-6; Blackden and Bhanu, 1999: 9-10). A linkage is 'made between poor agricultural, supply response – the failure to respond positively to price signals – and intra-household gender relations, by suggesting that the latter produce inefficient production decisions'. This implies that improving women's position in the context of smallholder household relations will have positive consequences for growth (Whitehead and Kabeer, 2001: 4). It is therefore concluded that targeted interventions to increase female access to

[26] The World Bank report draws upon Jones's research into households in Cameroon to argue that gender asymmetries in the control of income from different crops lead to productive inefficiencies because, in the this case, women allocate their labour disproportionately to their sorghum plots, for which they control the income, rather than on rice production, for which they do not (World Bank, 2001: 162). In the case of Udry's research in Burkina Faso, it is claimed that the lack of pooling of resources leads to a less than optimal amount of inputs being allocated to plots controlled by female farmers and too much being allocated to plots controlled by men in the same household (World Bank, 2001: 162; Blackden and Bhanu, 1999: 10).

productive resources and assets can improve gender equality in the household, promoting more effective development and enhancing household and child welfare (World Bank, 2001: 162).

It is to be welcomed that development policy is moving away from the unitary household model to consider resource control and bargaining power within the household (O'Laughlin, 2007: 22). Indeed it has been argued in this chapter that this is a point that has been raised by feminist research and an issue that requires in-depth, context-specific analytical research. Nonetheless, it is problematic to suggest that gender inequality is inevitably inefficient and to claim that redressing gender imbalances in the allocation and control of productive resources, such as credit, inputs, land and labour, would lead to rural African households working more efficiently, producing more and thus significantly reduce poverty (ibid: 21). Missing from the research that is used to justify this position is a focus on cooperation as well as inequality within households. It is also silent on the ways that intrahousehold tensions are linked to interhousehold differentiation, and on how struggles between husbands and wives over income allocation are embedded in conflicts with the management of the scheme researched over prices, input charges and control of crop (ibid: 30- 33).

As suggested by the title of O'Laughlin's paper, a focus upon intrahousehold resource allocation in a context of deeply unequal processes of integration into the market simply amounts to 'a bigger piece of a very small pie' (O'Laughlin, 2007: 21). Similarly, Whitehead and Kabeer argue that, in an environment characterised by pervasive uncertainty, women are disadvantaged relative to men in the pursuit of

security of livelihoods in various ways. These include the intrahousehold inequalities that are the focus of the 'bargaining' approach to household economics, but also the inequalities generated by biases in the wider institutional arena (2001: iii). For example, differentiated access to diversification opportunities also serve to exacerbate gender inequalities, with most women who engage in such activities tending to be concentrated at the low-return, easy-entry end of the market. This also has implications for the extent to which economic growth through rural diversification is pro-poor and gender equitable (ibid: 13). Therefore, KAPAP's focus upon investments to strengthen women's economic empowerment, promoting more equitable resource distribution and ensuring women as well as men can retain control of their income, does not go far enough in addressing the wider structures that perpetuate gendered inequalities and inequities.

The second myth, the myth of survival, is also argued to be the result of the selective use of research, this time to support the current World Bank agenda that emphasises the agency of the poor in adapting to adverse economic conditions. This has led to the myth that the poor have infinite capacity to withstand shocks and crisis through multiple strategies (Cornwall et al, 2007: 8). Reflecting on her own research, de la Rocha admits that the myth has its origins in empirical analyses of the survival strategies of Latin America's urban poor in the 1980s. These emerged as a way to move beyond orthodox structural views and to recognise the agency of the poor as they cope with poverty and economic crises through diverse income sources and multiple income earners (de la Rocha, 2007: 48-9). This emphasis on the multiplicity of income sources has helped to build the idea that the poor can survive even when

employment options are lacking, but juggling scarce resources does not represent infinite possibilities or mean that the poor have endless resources (ibid: 60).

The myth that the poor household/family is able to survive in spite of a lack of resources, through strategies based on their endless capacity to work, to consume less and to be part of mutual help networks, is useful for policy makers that promote policies that foster unemployment and poverty. However, it overlooks the increasing social and economic pressure on households, leading to premature separation of its members, increasing gender conflicts and domestic violence and social isolation, and the real nature of survival and its mounting constraints (de la Rocha, 2007: 45-7). It also does not match the realities of economic change on women's lives, who endure a heavy share of the social cost of restructuring both as waged workers in the labour market and as producers of goods and services within the household (ibid: 55). Indeed, it has been argued that de la Rocha's later work that shows the severe limitations on the capacity of the poor to adapt to the new adverse economic conditions brought about by Mexico's financial crisis in the 1990s has been ignored (Cornwall et al, 2007: 8).

In particular, de la Rocha demonstrates that persistent economic crises amount to a process of cumulative disadvantage, as precarious employment and poverty intensification reduce the capacity of poor households and erode the social and economic conditions for survival. Therefore 'economic restructuring and a neoliberal ethos make extreme hardship a defining condition of the poor's existence' (de la Rocha, 2007: 57-9). Once again, it is to be welcomed that the agency of the poor is being acknowledged but this should not amount to a policy solution to poverty nor

detract from the continued commitment of the World Bank to policies that play a role in creating such economic crises (Cornwall et al, 2007: 8). This resonates with the case made in this chapter with regards to the precarious nature of the multiple income earning strategies adopted by women in response to the restructuring of Kenya's coffee industry. Whilst it is important to recognise the improvements in female autonomy and independence that these can lead to, this should be understood in relation to the persistence of the wider structures that perpetuate gender inequalities and inequities and the overall adverse economic context.

As indicated in the introduction, Fair Trade is not without its own problems in terms of its approach to gender issues thus far. Nonetheless, it is argued that Fair Trade has the potential to offer a more holistic approach to women's empowerment precisely because it is concerned with challenging the nature of trading relationships so as to stabilise the economic situation within which this would take place. Furthermore, its focus upon developing a critical awareness amongst producers could be expanded to include not only the position of producers within the global economy but also the relationship between this and the forms of marginalisation and exclusion that take place within producer communities. This is in line with O'Laughlin's argument that reducing rural poverty in Africa will 'depend on the restructuring of long-term and deeply unequal processes of integration into the market' rather than 'tinkering with women's market position' (O'Laughlin, 2007: 21). Therefore, the next section outlines the issues that Fair Trade currently faces with regards to its approach to gender and it is then considered how this could be taken forward in the future.

Fair Trade and Gender

Whilst Fair Trade has largely been focused upon addressing inequalities within trading relationships, there has also been a growing concern with issues of marginalisation within producer organisations and their wider communities. This has particularly been the case following criticism raised by impact studies that Fair Trade was falling short of its goal to promote gender equality and equity (Lyon, 2008: 258; Le Mare, 2008: 1935). There is a stated commitment to improving the relative position of women and other disadvantaged groups amongst Fair Trade organisations. For example, one of the progress requirements for small producer organisations is that they put in place programmes relating to disadvantaged and minority groups to improve their social and economic position within the organisation, particularly with regards to recruitment, organisational staff and committee membership. It is asserted that 'special attention should be given to the participation of female members' (FLO, 2009c: 10).

In the Fair Trade Charter, it is emphasised that '[i]mproving the relative position of women and other disadvantaged groups is a critical element in development'. In addition to adhering to the principles of non-discrimination as defined in ILO conventions, Fair Trade should also actively pursue opportunities for underrepresented groups in skilled occupations and leadership positions to develop their capacity for such work. Women should receive equal pay to men for equivalent work and 'fully participate in decisions concerning the use of benefits accruing from production and from Fair Trade relationships' (WFTO and FLO, 2009: 6). These commitments can be understood in light of the growing unease over the lack of

women's participation within small producer organisations. For example, an FLO report on the benefits of Fair Trade found that on average women made up less than a quarter of all members and that this was even lower in coffee and cocoa producer organisations (2007: 20).

Despite these stated commitments to address gender disparities, there is concern that these may contrast sharply with the local realities of coffee producing communities (Raynolds, 2002: 17). A number of Fair Trade studies have found that in practice attempts to address barriers to democratic participation within cooperatives, and in particular to analyse gender relations within the households of cooperative members, has been fairly limited (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, 2009c: 4-6). However, this problematises 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 has already been 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. Yet the failure to adequately engage with the constraints surrounding women's participation in the

management of cooperatives and their associated activities means that Fair Trade cooperatives are likely to perpetuate rather than overcome gender inequalities in coffee production (Lyon, 2008: 262-4). In the case of Rumukia, women account for about one third of the cooperative membership but there have been no female members on the elected management committee. The women farmers 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 (Anonymous, 2009b, interview; Anonymous, 2009c, interview, Anonymous, 2009i, group discussion). There are also issues surrounding women's ability to attend frequent and lengthy meetings due to their multiple responsibilities within the household.

In addition, the focus upon projects involving handicraft production and other alternative economic initiatives, though intended to strengthen the role of women, may be inconsistent with the goal of challenging gender bias (Murray et al, 2006: 189). For example, the handicraft sector is typically economically unviable and therefore driven by notions of charity rather than empowerment (Hutchens, 2010: 455). Women's projects undertaken by Fairtrade certified cooperatives also tend to focus on non-income generating activities outside the export agriculture sector, often associated with women's 'traditional' roles such as health and subsistence farming, and therefore reinforce gendered roles and responsibilities (ibid: 452; Lyon, 2008: 264). Such an approach may also suffer from the same problems outlined above with regards to promoting strategies that are unable to provide a stable alternative form of livelihood.

Despite these acknowledged limitations of Fair Trade's approach to gender issues,

there is still potential for Fair Trade to become a vehicle for addressing unequal and inequitable gender relations in a way that is sensitive to the concerns that have been raised by gender and development advocates. Particularly pertinent are the arguments put forward by Maxine Molyneux and Shahra Razavi in their report 'Beijing Plus 10' (2006):

> To a significant degree, women's ability to achieve parity with men in access to resources and influence, and in wellbeing, depends on the vicissitudes of the global economic system, the macroeconomic policies and development strategies on which their livelihoods and ways of life, and those of their families and communities, ultimately depend. A world in which the dominant policy model tends to deepen social and economic inequality and reinforce marginalization; in which redistribution has no place; and in which governments compromise the interests of their citizens to accommodate global forces, is not a world in which gender equality can be advanced, let alone secured. (Molyneux and Razavi, 2006: 20)

Therefore, Fair Trade's endeavour to transform the inequitable trading relationships that pervade the global economy and to develop the bargaining power of producer organisations does have a role to play in advancing gender equality and equity.

Concluding Comments

This chapter has examined both the issues regarding the World Bank's treatment of gender and the problems associated with Fair Trade's approach to gender relations within coffee-producing communities through an analysis of household social relations in Kenya's coffee industry. This has indicated the potential limitations of both World Bank and Fair Trade approaches that promote alternative income-earning strategies as forms of women's empowerment. The insecure nature of many of these strategies places doubt on their ability to provide a stable alternative form of livelihood and it is also questionable to what extent they are able to challenge wider gendered norms and practices. Whilst it is important to recognise the improvements in

female autonomy and independence that these can lead to, this should be understood in relation to the persistence of the wider structures that perpetuate gender inequalities and inequities and the overall adverse economic context. Therefore, whilst Fair Trade is not without problems in its approach to gender it has been suggested that it could potentially offer a more adequate approach to women's empowerment situated within its activities to address the marginalisation of producers within the global economy.

Conclusion

This thesis has put forward the argument that the transformation approach offers an important contribution to the debate concerning the adoption of the language of empowerment and participation into Post-Washington Consensus development policy. In particular, it has been suggested that this perspective offers a means through which the radical notions of empowerment associated with participatory action research and gender and development can be recovered. These emphasise the importance of individual self-awareness and critical education in support of collective mobilisation and social action. Those within the transformation approach seek to reclaim and re-articulate these ideas as part of an effort to re-politicise participatory development practice and to harness it towards progressive political goals. It is argued that this requires large-scale collective action directed at the state, which remains an essential site for political struggle.

By drawing upon Gramscian theory, this thesis has sought to extend and consolidate this approach so as to strengthen its critique of the de-politicisation approach and, relatedly, post-development theory. Indeed it has been argued that the transformation approach could be viewed as an important contribution to post-impasse development debates through its attempt to re-establish a focus upon political economy and the ways in which this shapes agency in development. On both these counts, it has been argued that Gramscian thought offers a number of significant theoretical insights. In particular, Gramsci's sophisticated conceptualisation of hegemony and resistance provides a more adequate theoretical grounding than the Foucauldian understanding of power. Whilst those drawing upon Foucault's work have made some significant

contributions to development debates, his capillary notion of power obscures the mechanisms by which people could consciously mobilise to challenge dominant configurations of power. It is arguably for this reason that de-politicisation critiques tend to focus upon the disciplinary effect of development interventions to the neglect of the ways in which people subvert, resist and harness these policies towards more progressive political goals.

In comparison, Gramsci's understanding of hegemony as partial and inherently unstable, despite its outward appearance of consensus, allows space for agency and collective political action within the very institutions and apparatus of the dominant social order. Furthermore, his notion of moral and intellectual reform provides a rich theoretical basis for understanding the opportunities, but also the possible constraints, that exist for translating these forms of subversion and resistance into coordinated and coherent political action capable of transformatory change. In addition, Chapter 2 demonstrated how Gramsci's philosophy of praxis can contribute to and strengthen the feminist and Frierean approaches to empowerment through providing the conceptual tools to move beyond the problematic conception of false consciousness and to develop a more organic understanding of intellectual leadership. This involves the coherent articulation of the fragmentary and contradictory ideas and beliefs that exist in an uncritical form at the level of everyday activity into an alternative worldview that supports the collective action of the subordinated.

Furthermore, it has been argued that the application of Gramsci's idea to international political economy enables multi-scalar analysis of these hegemonic struggles and their dialectical relationship with the social relations of production. This is

particularly important given that strategies of resistance must engage with social forces beyond their immediately locality if they are to address the wider power structures and institutions that perpetuate exclusion and marginalisation. In line with this endeavour, this thesis has offered empirical research conducted using Burawoy's unique approach to global ethnography in order to consider both the concrete effects of global forces at the local level and to shed light on their contingent and contestable nature.

On this basis Chapter 3 outlined the approach to empowerment associated with Post-Washington Consensus development policy, examining how it has been put into practice in the example of Kenya's Agricultural Productivity Program and its specific implications in the context of Kenya's coffee industry and the restructuring of the global coffee industry. It was argued that KAPP's approach to farmer empowerment through a pluralistic and consultative approach to service delivery and agricultural research did at least attempt to address some of the problems associated with the liberalisation of Kenya's coffee industry. Following the fragmentation of the cooperative movement and the liberalisation of the milling and marketing sectors of coffee production, producer organisations have experienced continued problems with low prices and production and fluctuating quality. This is partly related to the collapse of the institutional system associated with the cooperative movement, which provided smallholder producers with subsidised inputs, affordable credit and extension services. It is this acknowledged issue that KAPP attempts to address.

However, Chapter 3 argued that a more significant problem has been the loss of power that producer organisations have experienced vis-à-vis the millers and

marketing agents that dominate Kenya's coffee industry. Whilst suffering from some problems of mismanagement and inefficiency, the government marketing board and large cooperative unions did at least offer producer organisations a degree of protection from the global coffee market and provide them with collective bargaining power. This issue is particularly pertinent given the restructuring of the global coffee industry that has taken place following the collapse of the International Coffee Agreement. The loss of price stabilisation mechanisms associated with the quota allocation system and the growth of speculative activity have led to low and highly volatile coffee prices, which producer organisations are no longer protected from. Key structural changes have also taken place within the global value chain with producer organisations experiencing a vast imbalance of power in relation to the concentration of power amongst coffee roasters and traders, as indicated by their growing share of total coffee income in relation to producers falling share. It has therefore been argued that World Bank agricultural policy in Kenya does not sufficiently acknowledge the problems faced by coffee producers and its approach to farmer empowerment is unlikely to lead to the wider transformations necessary given the adverse conditions faced by producer organisations.

Having outlined the tensions between KAPP's approach to empowerment and the restructuring of the global coffee industry, analysis then proceeded in Chapter 4 to consider Fair Trade as a potential alternative approach to producer empowerment. Given the increased precarious nature of producer livelihoods and the marginalisation of producer organisations that has resulted from this restructuring, it was examined whether Fair Trade initiatives offered producers benefits in the form of greater protection from the market and increased bargaining power within trading

relationships. This began in Chapter 4 with an engagement with the debates concerning the alternative nature of Fair Trade, particularly following its shift into the mainstream market with the introduction of the Fairtrade certification and labelling system. Whilst acknowledging the dangers that exist with regards to the possible cooption of the Fair Trade movement by dominant corporations and retailers, Chapter 4 outlined the continued strength of Fair Trade as a social movement and an alternative form of trading practices. Notably, the examples of Divine Chocolate and Cafédirect considered in Chapter 4 and the Ethiopian trademarking and licencing initiative outlined in Chapter 5 indicate the possibilities that exist for establishing trading relationships based on more equitable terms that involve a degree of producer ownership and control over the marketing and distribution of their products.

This analysis is further developed in Chapter 5 through a comparison between the Fair Trade approach to producer empowerment and that associated with the Post-Washington Consensus in the case of Kenya's coffee industry. It is argued that Fair Trade represents a more transformatory approach to empowerment through its contribution towards producer organisations developing a critical understanding of the coffee industry and collective strategies for action to challenge the inequitable power relations that characterise it. As demonstrated by the Ethiopian example, a possible strategy that could be replicated in the case of Kenya's coffee industry is a branding initiative that involves direct producer ownership. Crucially the Ethiopian case indicates an important role for strong cooperative unions and government support in securing greater producer control, as do the examples of Divine Chocolate and Cafédirect. There is also a role for Northern NGOs to play in terms of mobilising their wider transnational networks and raising awareness amongst Northern consumers.

However, one important issue that has been raised with regards to Fair Trade initiatives is the extent to which they replicate existing social relations within producer communities. There is concern that even where more equitable power relationships are formed vis-à-vis the global economy, these may still perpetuate forms of marginalisation and exclusion within producer organisations themselves. This issue is particularly pertinent with regards to gender relations in the coffee industry where there are complex dynamics surrounding the control and ownership of coffee. Therefore, Chapter 6 seeks to offer a more sustained analysis of gendered social relations in Kenya's coffee industry in order to understand the impact of the global restructuring of the coffee industry on gender norms and practices and to assess the possibilities and opportunities for women's empowerment in this context. It is acknowledged that Fair Trade initiatives have thus far had a mixed record with regards to their ability to incorporate gender issues into their approach and to address gender inequalities and inequities in coffee producing communities. Nonetheless, it is suggested that Fair Trade could potentially offer a more substantial approach to women's empowerment. This is in response to the limitations raised by feminist gender and development advocates with regards to development policy that emphasises the importance of female autonomy and survival strategies without addressing the adverse economic conditions within which these take place.

Avenues for Future Research

As has already been suggested at the ends of Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 respectively, I think there are two possible avenues for future research that could usefully build upon and further substantiate the contributions made by this thesis. First, a more detailed

analysis of the Fair Trade national and regional networks introduced in Chapter 5 would certainly be fruitful in considering the future development of Kenya's coffee industry. In particular, this could explore the suggestion put forward in this thesis that Ethiopia's trademarking and licensing initiative could be replicated in the case of Kenya's coffee industry. Indeed this would provide useful research that could practically support such an endeavour. On a theoretical level, such analysis could potentially further substantiate the claim made here that the example of Fair Trade supports the arguments put forward by the transformation approach, which point to the importance of multi-scalar strategies of resistance. Alternatively, it may be the case that such networks are limited in their contribution to Fair Trade initiatives and that they do not provide the kinds of collective and coordinated action that are necessary to support social transformation. Such analysis would then be important in ascertaining the limitations of Fair Trade for producer empowerment.

A second avenue for future research is a more substantial analysis of Fair Trade and gender in order to more adequately interrogate the suggestions made at the end of Chapter 6. As indicated in the Appendix, a limitation of the approach that I took to my field research at the Fairtrade cooperative in Nyeri is that I was unable to conduct as many in-depth interviews with male and female members of the cooperative and the wider community as I would have liked. Although conducting interviews through attending existing events and meetings limited the extent to which I imposed an unnecessary burden on those participating in my research, it did mean that I was more restricted in the nature and length of my interviews. Therefore, additional field research would be useful to further interrogate the issues relating to Fair Trade and the wider structures that underpin gender inequalities and inequities. This could also

include analysis of gender within the example of Ethiopia's coffee industry in order to ascertain whether this could inform activities taking place within Kenya.

Appendix: Research Procedure

This appendix will make the case for the particular approach to participant observation that has guided my research procedure, which is based upon Burawoy's extended case method outlined in Chapter 2. This applies a reflexive model of science to ethnography and seeks to extend analysis beyond the field in question through a dialogue with existing theory. It will also discuss the process through which this was put into practice, including the issues and challenges that arose as I conducted my field research. In particular, it is discussed how action research can help towards the goal of bringing together analysis and action through applying social theory to the building of social movements. However, it is acknowledged that this will always be limited by the unavoidable power effects associated with such a dialogic approach to social research.

Burawoy's extended case method

Burawoy's extended case method applies a reflexive model of science to ethnography, which is 'a model of science that embraces not detachment but engagement as the road to knowledge' (Burawoy, 1998: 5). Whilst ethnographic studies usually confine themselves to claims within the dimensions of the everyday worlds they examine, the extended case method builds upon a number of existing attempts to 'extend out' from the field by bringing 'reflexive understanding' to the 'level of explicit consciousness'. This alternative model of social science enables the exploration of broad historical patterns and macrostructures from the ethnographic standpoint of participant observation (ibid: 5-6).

Rather than insulate subject from object, as proposed by positive science, 'reflexive science elevates *dialogue* as it defining principle and *intersubjectivity* between participant and observer as its premise' (Burawoy, 1998: 14). Its principles can be derived from the context effects that pose as impediments to positive science:

> It calls for intervention of the observer in the life of the participant; it demands an analysis of interaction within social situations; it uncovers local processes in a relation of mutual determination with external social forces; and it regards theory as emerging not only in dialogue between participant and observer, but also among observers now viewed as participants in a scientific community. (Burawoy, 1998: 16)

Instead of discovering grounded theory by deriving generalisations from the data, the extended case method seeks to elaborate and deepen existing theory. It involves progressive reconstructions of theory, which keep the core postulates of the theoretical point of departure intact but that absorb anomalies and offer novel angles of vision. These theories then re-enter the wider world of participants to be adopted, refuted and extended in intended and unintended ways (Burawoy, 1998: 16).

This approach to participant observation differs from both that of ethnomethodology and grounded theory. According to Burawoy, ethnomethodologists argue 'that social situations of face-to-face interaction must be understood as a unique product of competencies, reflexivities, and assumptions of reciprocity among participants' (Burawoy, 1999: 272). On this view, the macro world is not a real world but a construction of participants and the task of ethnomethodology is therefore to elaborate the social constructions of abstractions that make social interaction possible in a given social situation (ibid: 272). It is concerned with methods that people use for conducting social life in an accountable manner (Garfinkel, 1967: 1). However, this involves a reduction of sociology to the micro and particular, with the method

stopping at situational comprehension (Burawoy, 1999: 273). The extended case method also attempts to recover situational knowledge and collect multiple narratives and voices from different actors within a social situation but in addition it aims to aggregate these into social processes and to delineate the social forces that lie outside the realm of investigation (Burawoy, 1998: 15-6).

Grounded theory attempts to induce theory from qualitative data by producing generalisations from comparisons across social situations, leading to generic explanations and linear causal patterns (Burawoy, 1999: 274-5; 280-1). As outlined in their definitive text *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, Glaser and Strauss argue that the generation of grounded theory from data systematically obtained from social research is a way of arriving theory that enables the prediction and explanation of behaviour and that is usable in practical applications (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 3). They 'self-consciously aim to develop theories that will enhance the control participants exercise over their situations' (Burawoy, 1999: 282). In advocating this form of social engineering, grounded theory does not consider the dimension of power within the micro context, nor does it consider the broader macro forces that both limit change and create and sustain patterns of domination in the micro situation (Burawoy, 1999: 282-3).

As outlined earlier in Chapter 2, rather than generating generalisations that are abstract and obscure the specific contextual determinations of the social situation, the extended case method is concerned with genetic explanations of particular outcomes and multiplex causality (Burawoy, 1999: 274, 280-1). 'In constituting a social situation as unique, the extended case method pays attention to its complexity, its

depth, its thickness' (ibid: 281). Nonetheless, despite the strengths of this approach to participant observation, Burawoy argues that the model also has its limits. In particular, '[m]aking context and dialogue the basis of an alternative science unavoidable brings into prominence *power effects'* (Burawoy, 1998: 7). The principles of reflexive science are threatened by domination, silencing, objectification and normalisation. These are not reason to abandon the method, but the goal is to examine those limitations in order to take them into account and perhaps even reduce them (ibid: 22). Therefore, in conducting my research I attempted to pay attention to the networks of power that I inevitably became part of as a participant and to ways in which I exerted power as an intervening observer. As will be discussed in more detail below, although it was obviously not possible to remove these effects of power, developing an awareness of them did enable me to make decisions to limit their impact in certain circumstances.

Critical Ethnography and Action Research

Another issue that has been raised with regards to the extended case method and critical ethnography more broadly relates to the goal of developing a critical consciousness among a broad range of social groups (Jordan and Yeomans, 1995: 399). For example, Burawoy calls for the application of social theory to the building of social movements, with the observer and participants coming together in a joint movement of analysis and action (Burawoy, 1999: 283). A problem that needs to be considered in this dialogue established through the participant-observer relation is that the material location of the ethnographer is often at odds with those whom they research (Jordan and Yeomans, 1995: 400). Indeed Burawoy stresses the importance

of acknowledging that, even if our stated goal may be to broaden social movements or promote social justice, as researchers we always have ulterior motives. There 'is no escaping the elementary divergence between intellectuals, no matter how organic, and the interests of the declared constituency (Burawoy, 1998: 22-3).

Jordan and Yeomans argue that to produce really useful and critical ethnographic praxis, it is not enough to make the everyday world problematic for ourselves or to encourage self-reflection and understanding on the part of those being researched so as to attain reciprocity in the research process. Instead, we should aim to make the world problematic for those left in the field and to learn and impart skills which will allow them to continuing investigating the world in which they will go on living (Jordan and Yeomans, 1995: 401-2). In fact, this has much in common with the methods associated with Participatory Action Research and Friere's emancipatory pedagogy. Whilst I was limited in what I could achieve in this regards due to the relatively short length of my field research and the lack of resources at my disposal, I did tried to bear this in mind when selecting who to work with to try and ensure that my research had some practical applicability. In particular, the choice to work with the Lorna Young Foundation was guided by the focus they place on developing the skills, awareness and knowledge of those based at the cooperatives they work with through establishing relationships with local colleges and cooperatives in neighbouring countries.

Influenced by the approach to oral testimony outlined by Panos[27] in *Listening for a Change* (1993), Lorna Young Foundation work with small producers in the South and deprived communities in the North to create innovative initiatives that bring fair prices, employment and self-esteem to marginalised groups. For example, Project Manager Christina Longden described how oral histories were used as part of a community skills audit to find skills such as story telling, preparation and organisation amongst members of an immigrant community in Manchester to continue the running of the Oromo Coffee Company and its direct relationship with Oromia Coffee Farmers' Cooperative Union in Ethiopia (Longden, interview, 2009). According to Panos, individual testimonies can give voice to the views and experiences of marginalised groups within a community and can also provide the opportunity to describe spheres of experience relating to private and cultural life that may be missed out in routine development analysis. 'Speaking up is a sign of confidence; being listened to increases confidence. In many projects where people have come together to voice their ideas and experience, an increased sense of community and of social consciousness has emerged' (Panos, 1993: 5-8). Crucially, 'it is important that the process of listening does eventually result in acknowledgement and action, and that those who have given their time to talk, know that their words have been taken seriously' (ibid: 2).

Reflecting upon how such oral testimonies could be incorporated into my field research was of particular interest given Burawoy's argument that the extended case method inevitably silences or marginalises certain discordant voices (Burawoy, 1998: 23). However, as indicated above, this desire to include the views and experiences of

[27] Panos London is a registered charity that is part of a worldwide Panos network of independent institutes working to ensure that information is used more effectively to foster debate, pluralism and democracy.

marginalised groups within a community has to be balanced with what practical action is actually feasible in the constraints of a given research project. Therefore, having outlined the nature of the approach to participant observation that guided my field research, including the acknowledged problems and limitations associated with this method, I will now indicate how this was translated into a concrete research procedure. This involved a compromise between the aim to conduct useful and critical ethnographic praxis and the practical limits imposed by the nature of my research project and my own limitations as a researcher.

Research Procedure

Whilst Burawoy's extended case method provides a logic of inquiry, Paul Lichterman outlines specific analytical techniques that can be combined with this approach in conducting theory-driven participant observation (Lichterman, 2002, 118-145). The participant-observer's main source of evidence is field notes written as the researcher observes and to some degree participates in action as it is happening in one or more field sites, which may or may not have one geographical location. These notes are 'detailed accounts of people, places, interactions, and events that the researcher experiences as a participant-observer' (ibid: 120-1). Therefore, as with grounded theory, or what Lichterman calls 'field-directed' participant observation, the empirical field of observation is central. However, under the theory-driven mode our conceptual preconceptions are made as explicit as possible and theoretical goals overtly drive observation and conceptualisation within the field site (ibid: 123).

In practice, participant observation is often used in combination with other qualitative methods, including semi-structured and informal interviews, focus group discussions, historical research and document analysis; and quantitative methods, such as surveys and data collection (Blee and Taylor, 2002: 111; Lichterman, 2002: 139-141; Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002: 2). For example, my research procedure was informed by the approach taken by Daniel Jaffee to his research into the dynamics of the international Fair Trade movement and how these play out in practice through a detailed study of coffee producers in Oaxaca, Mexico, as outlined in the Appendix to *Brewing Justice: Fair Trade Coffee, Sustainability, and Survival* (2007: 271-287). Also influenced by Burawoy's extended case method, Jaffee used a range of research methods, including semistructured interviews with key participants, participant and nonparticipant observation, a household survey and document analysis, in order to triangulate or cross-check key findings (Jaffee, 2007: 278). This triangulation of a range of methods both increased the amount of detail about a topic and counteracts the limitations associated with any one method (Blee and Taylor, 2002: 111). It is important to note, however, that this study was conducted over a period of several years so I had to consider what was reasonable to include to make it a manageable project, particularly with regards to the field trip to Kenya for three months.

In terms of conducting participant observation, Lichterman outlines a number of guidelines for writing field notes and developing an analytical strategy. This begins by writing down some expectations before entering field and considering how our pre-existing concepts and theories may apply in this particular case. These expectations are not formal hypotheses. They make any presuppositions we may have as explicit as possible but we should stand ready to reject at least some of our

preliminary expectations if we find that they are wrong (Lichterman, 2002: 127-8). Notes written following the first contacts with the field site should be accounts of our experiences that identify the salient people and relationships to keep in mind, describe people and places in detail and reconstruction as much conversation as possible. Attention should be paid to which people are taking, what they say and how they say it. These field notes can then become more focused as the research progresses and should be accompanied by commentaries, or 'memos' to ourselves about our projects in progress, that guide our observations in the next field session and keep track of the project's overall direction. In dialogue with preexisting theory, these reflections can help to highlight any problems or failed expectations that may arise in the field, which create opportunities for reconceptualisation and theoretical innovation (ibid: 128-137). In line with this analytical strategy, I regularly wrote both descriptive field notes and my own reflective commentaries throughout my field research in the UK and in Kenya. These guided my research decisions in the field and, combined with the formal and informal interviews conducted during these periods, informed the development of my overall argument.

Field Research in the UK

The first part of my field research involved seven months of participant observation as a part-time volunteer at the Fairtrade Foundation in London from October 2008 to April 2009. As the independent non-profit organisation that licenses use of the FAIRTRADE Mark on products in the UK and the UK member of FLO, the Fairtrade Foundation was an obvious choice to use as a base to conduct research into nuances in the Fair Trade movement. At the time of my participant-observation research, the

organisation was structured into five departments – communications, commercial relations, certification, policy and producer relations, and finance and resources[28] – and through these had links with a wide range of individuals and organisations working in Fair Trade and the broader trade justice movement. Therefore, I began research at this field site by conducting semi-structured interviews with key members of these departments to develop an understanding of the internal dynamics of the Fairtrade Foundation and to identify and establish contact with additional individuals outside the organisation chosen for their detailed knowledge and particular experiences relating to Fair Trade.

Based in the communications team, I worked predominantly on the Fairtrade Towns initiative, which gave me insight into grassroots involvement in Fair Trade. In particular, this indicated popular understandings of Fair Trade and the ways in which national Fair Trade campaigns were integrated into local issues and campaigns. Beyond this particular role, I also participated in fortnightly staff and departmental meetings, regularly attended talks and events held within the Fairtrade Foundation and public events organised by a range of Fair Trade organisations, including during the annual Fairtrade Fortnight. During this time, I particularly built relationships with those working in my team, having frequent discussions about the strengths and weaknesses of the Fair Trade approach and sharing feedback as my research progressed.

[28] These have subsequently been reorganised into six departments – policy and communications, commercial relations, certification, marketing, producer partnerships, and finance and resources. This may reflect the growing focus on building producer partnerships and networks and a shift towards bringing policy and public awareness closer together.

As a member of Fairtrade Association Birmingham, the voluntary organisation and steering group that campaigns for Fair Trade in Birmingham, I participated in monthly meetings with a range of local Fair Trade campaigners, community groups, non-profit organisations and ATOs. This was useful for understanding the Fair Trade campaign on the ground and gaining insight into criticisms and concerns raised outside of the Fairtrade Foundation. Such experiences indicated the contested and reflexive nature of the movement with frequent interesting and open debate between different elements of the campaign.

Whilst conducting this research in the UK, I also sought to develop contacts for my field research in Kenya. During this time I developed a relationship with the Lorna Young Foundation, who had already established a mentoring project with Rumukia in Kenya and were in the process of planning two additional initiatives in collaboration with a local college, Nyeri Technical Training Institute (NTTI). The first of these is a peer partnership project linking NTTI with Ambo University in Ethiopia to enable South to South mentoring and to develop locally owned training courses in Nyeri. The second project aims to link young people from deprived communities in the UK to their peers in Kenya through an ethical trading initiative that establishes direct community-to-community trading of coffee. Through this relationship I was able to make contact with a number of key individuals in Nyeri before my visit and also gained invaluable information about the local area that aided in planning my trip.

Given my concern to ensure the utility and practical application of my research indicated earlier, I worked closely with Ian Agnew and Christina Longden at the Lorna Young Foundation to use my visit to Kenya to help establish these two

additional projects. I also shared my research findings with them afterwards to assist in the future development of the projects. In particular, they were concerned by the lack of representation of women and young people at the cooperative level and wanted to understand the barriers that existed to their participation so that this issue could be incorporated into their projects.

The commercial relations department at the Fairtrade Foundation also had a connection to Rumukia following their work with Marks and Spencer and the launch of their own brand Fair Trade coffee. However, although this again helped my planning, I chose to use my relationship with Lorna Young Foundation to establish contact with Rumukia rather than through the Fairtrade Foundation to try and reduce the danger that I would be perceived as a buyer or associated with the certification body. As discussed earlier, it is impossible to remove the effects of power from ethnographic research but I tried to at least be aware of potential problems and made decisions accordingly.

Field Research in Kenya

I began my field research in Kenya in May 2009 with a month based in Nairobi conducting semi-structured interviews with key individuals selected for their particular knowledge and experience of either Kenya's coffee industry or Fair Trade in Kenya. In addition, I visited research institutes associated with agriculture and the coffee industry to gather data and relevant documents and attended the fortnightly coffee auction. As in the UK, interviews began with a number of well-placed key informants and then followed a deliberate sampling strategy with additional

individuals chosen for their detailed knowledge of either a relevant organisation or an aspect of the coffee industry (Blee and Taylor, 2002: 100). One particularly valuable contact was Jennifer Mbuvi based at FLO's Producer Services and Relations Unit due to her close relationship with Fairtrade certified coffee cooperatives in Kenya and her comprehensive knowledge of the workings of Kenya's coffee industry.

During this first month, I also made a short trip to Nyeri to establish contact with Rumukia and present my proposed research to them. Following meetings with several members of the management it was agreed that I could come back and conduct my fieldwork at the cooperative. Initial visits to the cooperative, a primary processing factory and one of their member's plot deepened my understanding of the process of coffee production and allowed me to confirm the relevance and appropriateness of my research questions and to adjust them accordingly. This visit also enabled me to meet key individuals at the college and other relevant local organisations in order to plan my longer visit. Central to this process was the main contact introduced to me through the Lorna Young Foundation, Moffat Kamau. Based at Taifa Sacco, a local savings and credit cooperative organisation, his knowledge of the local area and extensive connections with local cooperatives and organisations working to support coffee producers were invaluable to my research.

Building on this, I began my longer two-month stay in Nyeri conducting semi-structured and open-ended interviews with key individuals identified during my initial visit. These were invaluable for providing my with a broad picture of the social and economic dynamics in the region, the effects of the coffee crisis and the potential benefits that Fair Trade could bring to local producer organisations and their

communities. Through regular visits to Rumukia I gained an understanding of the Fairtrade certification process and observed a series of activities relating to coffee production and processing. I also attended a number of farmer training days and a range of other projects and activities associated with organisations working in the area to support coffee producers. In particular, Taifa Sacco, Sustainable Management Services and African Wildlife Foundation all work with coffee cooperatives to train them in sustainable farming practices, to improve the quantity and quality of coffee production and to build the capacity of producer organisations. As well as conducting the more formal interviews, through these visits I was able to discuss a range of issues relating to the history of the Kenya's coffee industry and its future prospects. Many of the people I interviewed spoke English, which is one of Kenya's two official languages along with Swahili. However, the area is predominantly Kikuyu so I arranged for an interpreter to accompany me on many of these visits in order to follow the training sessions and speak to the farmers themselves.

With regards to the interviews conducted with members of Rumukia, I was conscious that I did not want to impose an unnecessary burden on those participating in my research. As Lichterman argues, it is important to manage the logistical and political inconvenience a participant-observer may pose for a group as few have extra time to spend on outside researchers (Lichterman, 2002: 125). Therefore, I conducted semi-structured interviews with members of the management committee, the supervisory committee, the Fairtrade premium committee and administrative staff at the cooperative office where they worked. However, rather than cause farmers the inconvenience of attending interviews at the office, I chose to carry out informal interviews and group discussions as and when it was possible through attending

training days and existing meetings. With all my interviews I tried to be as upfront as possible with my research intensions, both for ethical and intellectual reasons and I offered anonymity to any interviewee who wanted it.

The advantage of this approach was that my research did not cause too much disruption or put unnecessary pressure on those participating but it did place restrictions on the length and type of interview possible. Indeed on some occasions in was not possible to carry out interviews at all so I was unable to conduct as many interviews as I would have liked and I had to be more pragmatic than selective with choosing my interviewees. Balancing these practical considerations with the oral testimony approach outlined earlier, I drew upon the idea of a single-issue testimony to guide these interviews. A single-issue testimony can be carried out on a one-to-one or group basis and focuses on a specific aspect of the narrator's life story. It is a method for learning about a particular event or for an investigation into a particular area of knowledge or experience (Panos, 1993: 67). Therefore this was used to try and build a picture of people's experiences of the coffee crisis in Nyeri, the benefits or problems they associated with Fair Trade and changing gender relations in the region.

Reflection on research procedure

Given the relatively short-time scale of my field research, particularly the trip to Kenya, taking this focused and theoretical-driven approach to participant observation enabled me to deepen my understanding of the dynamics of Kenya's coffee industry and gave me insight into the experiences of Fair Trade in Nyeri. By integrating my research into existing activities and combining my work with that of the Lorna Young

Foundation, I imposed less of a burden as an outside researcher on those participating in my research and ensured that my work had some practical use beyond my own research purposes. Indeed, I will be continuing my work with the Lorna Young Foundation in the future as they look to expand their peer-networking project in Kenya and Ethiopia and develop their educational activities here in the UK. However, there were some limitations to this approach, which was not as systematic as it could have been and failed to engage with coffee producers beyond the cooperative organisation and training days. Now that I have a greater knowledge of the area and have developed strong relationships with a number of key people in the area, it would be fruitful to build upon this initial research through more extensive and detailed interviews with male and female coffee producers in the area surrounding Rumukia.

Bibliography

Abrahamsen, Rita (2000) *Disciplining Democracy* (London: Zed Books Ltd)

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

Adan, Ahmed et al (2002) 'Who is Listening? The Impact of Participatory Poverty Research on Policy' in Karen Brock and Rosemary McGee (eds) *Knowing Poverty: Critical Reflections on Participatory Research and Policy* (London: Earthscan Publications Ltd) pp. 99-134

Africa Now (2005) *Smallholder Needs Assessment Report for Rumukia Cooperative Society* (Oxford: Africa Now)

Allman, Paula (1988) 'Gramsci, Freire and Illich: Their Contribution to Education for Socialism' in Tom Lovett (ed) *Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader* (London: Routledge) pp. 85-113

Alsop, Ruth, Bertelsen, Mette Frost and Holland Jeremy (2006) *Empowerment in Practice: From Analysis to Implementation* (Washington, DC: World Bank)

Amoore, Louise (2006) 'Invisible Subject(s): Work and Workers in the Global Political Economy' in Matt Davies and Magnus Ryner (eds) *Poverty and the Production of World Politics: Unprotected Workers in the Global Political Economy* (Hampshire: Palgrave) pp. 14-37

Anderson, Matthew (2009) 'NGOs and Fair Trade: The Social Movement Behind the Label', in, Nick Crowson, Matthew Hitton and James McKay (eds) *NGOs in Contemporary Britain: Non State Actors in Society and Politics Since 1945* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan) pp. 222-241

Bacon, Christopher (2005) 'Confronting the Coffee Crisis: Can Fair Trade, Organic and Speciality Coffee Reduce Small-Scale Farmer Vulnerability in Northern Nicaragua?', *World Development*, 33 (3) 497- 511

Bakker, Isabella (2007) 'Social Reproduction and the Constitution of a Gendered Political Economy', *New Political Economy*, 12 (4) 541 – 556

Bakker, Isabella and Gill, Stephen (2003) 'Global Political Economy and Social Reproduction' in Isabella Bakker and Stephen Gill (eds) *Power, Production and Social Reproduction* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan) pp. 3-16

Bamberger, Michael (1986) 'The Role of Community Participation in Development Planning and Project Management', *EDI Policy Seminar Report No. 13* (Washington, DC: World Bank)

Bamberger, Michael (1991) 'The Importance of Community Participation', *Public Administration and Development*, 11 (3) 281-4

Bangura, Yusuf and Peter Gibbon (1992) 'Adjustment, Authoritarianism and Democracy' in Bangura Yusuf and Peter Gibbon (eds) *Authoritarianism, Democracy and Adjustment: The Politics of Economic Reform in Africa* (Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstiutet)

Barnett, Clive, Cloke, Paul, Clarke, Nick, Malpuss, Alice (2005) 'Consuming Ethics: Articulating the Subjects and Spaces of Ethical Consumption', *Antipode*, 37 (1) 23-45

Barratt Brown, Michael (1993) *Fair Trade: Reform and Realities in the International Trading System* (London: Zed Books Ltd)

Barrientos, Stephanie and Smith, Sally (2007)'Mainstreaming Fair Trade in Global Production Networks' in Laura Raynolds, Douglas Murray and John Wilkinson (eds) *Fair Trade: The Challenge of Transforming Globalization* (London: Routledge) pp. 103-122

Barrientos, Stephanie, Conroy, Michael and Jones, Elaine (2007) 'Northern Social Movements and Fair Trade' in Laura Raynolds, Douglas Murray and John Wilkinson (eds) *Fair Trade: The Challenge of Transforming Globalization* (London: Routledge) pp. 51-62

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 Press) pp. 127-38

Batliwala, Srilatha (2007a) 'Taking the Power out of Empowerment – An Experiential Account', *Development in Practice* 17 (4) 557-65

Batliwala, Srilatha (2007b) 'Putting Power Back into Empowerment' available at http://www.opendemocracy.net/node/34195 [accessed 02/01/11]

Batliwala, Srilatha and Dhanraj, Deepa (2004) 'Gender Myths that Instrumentalise Women: A View from the Indian Frontline', *IDS Bulletin*, 35 (4) 11-18

Bayliss, Kate and Christopher Cramer (2001) 'Privatisation and the post-Washington consensus' in Ben Fine, Costas Lapavitsas and Jonathon Pincus (eds) *Development Policy in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond the Post-Washington Consensus* (London: Routledge) pp. 52-79

BBC (2006) 'Starbucks in Ethiopia Coffee Row' available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/6086330.stm [accessed 14/12/2010]

Bebbington, Anthony (2000) 'Reencountering Development: Livelihood Transitions and Place Transformations in the Andes', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 90 (3) 495-520

Beckman, Bjorn (1992) 'Empowerment or Repression? The World Bank and the Politics of African Adjustment' in Bangura Yusuf and Peter Gibbon (eds)

Authoritarianism, Democracy and Adjustment: The Politics of Economic Reform in Africa (Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstiutet) pp. 83-105

Bedford, Kate and Rai, Shirin (2010) 'Feminist Theorize International Political Economy', *Signs*, 36 (1) 1-18

Bell, Emma (2003) 'Gender and PRSPs: With Experiences from Tanzania, Bolivia, Vietnam and Mozambique', *Report No. 67* (Brighton: BRIDGE, Institute of Development Studies)

Bergeron, Suzanne (2003) 'The Post-Washington Consensus and Economic Representations of Women in Development at the World Bank', I*nternational Feminist Journal of Politics,* 5 (3) 397-419

Bibby, Andrew (2006) 'Tanzania's Cooperative Look to the Future', Report written for the International Labour Organization, Cooperative Reform and Modernisation Program

Blackden, C. Mark, and Bhanu, Chitra (1999) 'Gender, Growth and Poverty Reduction' *World Bank Technical Paper No, 428* (Washington, DC: World Bank)

Blee, Kathleen and Taylor, Verta (2002) 'The Uses of Semi-Structured Interviews in Social Movement Research' in Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg (eds) *Methods in Social Movement Research* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press) pp. 92-117

Blowfield, Mick (1999) 'Ethical Trade: A Review of Developments and Issues', *Third World Quarterly*, 20 (4) 753-770

Booth, David (1993) 'Development Research: From the Impasse to a New Agenda' in Frans J Shuurman (ed.) *Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory* (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 49-76

Booth, David (2003) 'Introduction and Overview', *Development Policy Review*, 21 (2) 131-59

Bowen, David and Lawler, Edward (1992) 'The Empowerment of Service Workers: What, Why, How, and When', *Sloan Management Review*, 33 (3) 31-40

Bratton, Michael and van de Walle, Nicolas (1994) 'Neo-Patrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa', *World Politics*, 46 (4) 453-489

Bratton, Michael and van de Walle, Nicolas (1997) *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Branch, Daniel and Cheeseman, Nicholas (2006) 'The Politics of Control in Kenya: Understanding the Bureaucratic-Executive State', *Review of African Political Economy*, 33 (107) 11-31

Broad, Robin and Cavanagh, John (1999), 'The Death of the Washington Consensus?', *World Policy Journal,* 16, (3) 79-88

Brock, Karen, Cornwall, Andrea and Gaventa, John (2001) 'Power, Knowledge and Political Spaces in the Framing of Poverty Policy', *IDS Working Paper 143*, (Brighton: Institute of Development Studies)

Brock, Karen and McGee, Rosemary (2002) *Knowing Poverty: Critical Reflections on Participatory Research and Policy* (London: Earthscan Publications Ltd)

Brown, Ed (1996) 'Deconstructing Development: Alternative Perspectives on the History of an Idea', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 22 (3) 333-339

Brown, Ed and Cloke, Jonathan (2004) 'Neoliberal Reform, Governance and Corruption in the South: Assessing the International Anti-Corruption Crusade', *Antipode,* 36 (2) 272-294

Burawoy, Michael (1998) 'The Extended Case Method', *American Sociological Association*, 16 (1) 4-33

Burawoy, Michael (1999) *Ethnography Unbound: Power and Resistance in the Modern Metropolis* (California: University of California Press)

Burawoy, Michael (2001) 'Manufacturing the Global', *Ethnography*, (2) 147-159

Business Daily (2007) 'Kenya Coffee Farmers Cautioned Against New Debt Burdens After Sector Bailout', *African Agriculture* (Monday 9 July) available at http://africanagriculture.blogspot.com/2007/07/kenya-coffee-farmers-cautioned-against.html

Bystydzienski, Jill (1992) 'Introduction' in Jill Bystydzienski (ed) *Women Transforming Politics: Worldwide Strategies for Empowerment* (USA: Indiana University Press)

Cafédirect (2009) *Living Up to Our Gold Standard: Cafédirect Annual Report 2008-9* (London: Cafédirect)

Carmody, Pádraig (2007) *Neoliberalism, Civil Society and Security in Africa* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan)

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

Chabal, Patrick (2002) 'The Quest for Good Government and Development in Africa: Is NEPAD the Answer?', *International Affairs*, 78 (3) 447-62

Chabal, Patrick and Daloz, Jean-Pascal (1999) *Africa Works: The Political Instrumentalization of Disorder* (Indiana: Bloomington)

Chambers, Robert (1983) *Rural Development: Putting the Last First* (London: Longman Inc)

Chambers, Robert (1997) *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last* (London: International Technology Publications)

Chambers, Robert (2005) *Ideas for Development* (London: Earthscan Publications Ltd)

Chambers, Robert (2007) 'From PRA to PLA and Pluralism: Practice and Theory', *IDS Working Paper 286* (Brighton: Institute of Development Studies)

Christian Aid (2001) 'Ignoring the Experts: Poor People's Exclusion from Poverty Reduction Strategies', *Christian Aid Policy Briefing*, October (London: Christian Aid)

Clarke, Nick, Barnett, Clive, Cloke, Paul and Malpass, Alice (2007), 'Globalising the Consumer: Doing Politics in an Ethical Register', *Political Quarterly*, 26, 231-249

Cleaver, Frances (1999) 'Paradoxes of Participation: Questioning Participatory Approaches to Development', *Journal of International Development*, 11, 597-612

Cocoyoc Declaration (1974) *Development Dialogue*, 2, 88-96

COFTA (2010) 'Country Networks' available at http://www.cofta.org/en/en/countrynetworks.asp?countrynetworkid=1 [accessed 28/12/10]

Cooke, Bill (2004) 'Rules of Thumb for Participatory Change Agents' in Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan (eds) *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development* (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 42-56

Cooke, Bill and Kothari, Uma (2001) 'The Case For Participation as Tyranny' in Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (eds) *Participation: The New Tyranny?* (London: Zed Books Ltd.) pp. 1-15

Cornwall, Andrea (2000) 'Beneficiary, Consumer, Citizen: Perspectives on Participation for Poverty Reduction' *Sida Studies no. 2* (Swedish International Development Agency)

Cornwall (2002) 'Making Spaces, Changing Places: Situating Participation in Development', *IDS Working Paper 170* (Sussex: Institute of Development Studies)

Cornwall, Andrea (2004) 'Spaces for Transformation? Reflections on Issues of Power and Difference in Participation in Development' in Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan (eds) *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development* (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 75-107

Cornwall, Andrea and Brock, Karen (2005) 'What do Buzzwords do for Development Policy? A Critical Look at 'Participation', 'Empowerment' and 'Poverty Reduction'' *Third World Quarterly* 26 (7) 1043-60

Cornwall, Andrea, Harrison, Elizabeth and Whitehead, Ann (2004), 'Introduction: Repositioning Feminisms in Gender and Development', *IDS Bulletin*, 35 (4) 1-10

Cornwall, Andrea, Harrison, Elizabeth and Whitehead, Ann (2007) 'Gender Myths and Feminist Fables: The Struggle for Interpretive Power in Gender and Development', *Development and Change*, 38 (1) 1-20

Cox, Robert (1986) 'Social Forces, States and World Orders' in R. O. Keohane (ed) *Neorealism and its Critics* (USA: Columbia University Press) pp. 204-249

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

Cox, Robert (1989) 'Production, the State, and Change in World Order', in E.O. Czempiel and J.N. Rosenau (eds.) *Global Changes and Theoretical Challenges: Approaches to World Politics for the 1990s* (Toronto: Lexington, Mass) pp. 37-50

Cox, Robert (1996) 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method' in Robert Cox with Timothy Sinclair *Approaches to World Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) pp. 124-143

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

Craig, David and Porter, Doug (2003) 'Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: A New Convergence', *World Development*, 31 (1) 53-69

Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (1975) 'What Now: Another Development', *Development Dialogue,* 1/2

Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (2010) 'Another Development' available at http://www.dhf.uu.se/about/another-development/ [accessed 27/12/10]

Davies, Matt (2006) 'The Public Spheres of Unprotected Workers' in Matt Davies and Magnus Ryner (eds) *Poverty and the Production of World Politics: Unprotected Workers in the Global Political Economy* (Hampshire: Palgrave) pp. 89-112

Davies, Matt and Ryner, Magnus (2006) 'Introduction' in Matt Davies and Magnus Ryner (eds) *Poverty and the Production of World Politics: Unprotected Workers in the Global Political Economy* (Hampshire: Palgrave) pp. 1-13

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

DeCarlo, Jacqueline (2007) *Fair Trade: A Beginner's Guide* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications)

De La Rocha (2007) 'The Construction of the Myth of Survival', *Development and Change*, 38 (1) 45-66

Deveaux, Monique (1994) 'Feminism and Empowerment: A Critical Reading of Foucault', *Feminist Studies*, 20 (2) 223-247

Dewalt, K, M and Dewalt, B R (2002) *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers* (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press)

Divine Chocolate (2009) *Divine Chocolate Annual Report 2008-9* (London: Divine Chocolate Ltd)

Divine Chocolate (2010) 'The Divine Story' available at http://www.divinechocolate.com/about/story.aspx [accessed 28/12/2010]

Doherty, Bob and Tranchell, Sophi (2005) 'New Thinking in International Trade? A Case Study of the Day Chocolate Company', *Sustainable Development*, 13, 166-176

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

Dolan, Catherine (2010) 'Virtual Moralities: The Mainstreaming of Fairtrade in Kenyan Tea Fields', *Geoforum*, 41(1) 33-43

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

Ellis, Karen and Keane, Jodie (2008) 'A Review of Ethical Standards and Labels: Is There a Gap in the Market for a New "Good for Development" Label?', *ODI Working Paper 297* (London: Overseas Development Institute)

Erdmann, Gero and Engel, Ulf (2008) 'Neopatrimonialism Reconsidered: Critical Review and Elaboration of an Elusive Concept', *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics,* 45 (1) 95-119

Equal Exchange (2010) 'Fair Trade' available at http://www.equalexchange.coop/fair-trade [accessed 06/12/2010]

Escobar, Arturo (1992) 'Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements', *Social Text*, 31/32, 20-56

Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development* (USA: Princeton University Press)

Esteva, Gustavo (1992) 'Development' in Wolfgang Sachs (ed) *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed Books) pp. 6-25

Ethiopia Intellectual Property Office (2007) 'About the Trademarking and Licensing Initiative' available at http://www.ethiopiancoffeenetwork.com/about.shtml [accessed 28/12/10]

Eyben, Rosalind and Napier-Moore, Rebecca (2009) 'Choosing Words With Care? Shifting Meanings of Women's Empowerment in International Development' *Third World Quarterly*, 30 (2) 285-300

Fairtrade Africa (2010) 'Networks and Partners' available at http://www.fairtradeafrica.net/regional-networks/ [accessed 28/12/10]

Fairtrade Foundation (2008a) 'Tate and Lyle's Fairtrade Commitment is Sweet News for 6,000 Farmers in Belize', Press Release, 23 February 2008 available at http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/press_office/press_releases_and_statements/feb_2008/tate_lyles_fairtrade_commitment_is_sweet_news_for_6000_farmers_in_belize.aspx [accessed 08/12/2010]

Fairtrade Foundation (2008b) 'Starbucks UK and Fairtrade Foundation Announce Industry Leading Support for Small-Scale Coffee Farmers', Press Release, 28 November 2008 available at http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/press_office/press_releases_and_statements/november_2008/starbucks_uk_and_fairtrade_foundation_announce_industry_leading_2.aspx [accessed 08/12/2010]

Fairtrade Foundation (2009) 'Global Fairtrade Sales Increase by 22%', Press Release, 8 June 2009 available at http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/press_office/press_releases_and_statements/jun_2009/global_fairtrade_sales_increase_by_22.aspx [accessed 08/12/2010]

Fairtrade Foundation (2010a) 'The Fairtrade Foundation' available at http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/what_is_fairtrade/fairtrade_foundation.aspx [accessed 08/12/2010]

Fairtrade Foundation (2010b) 'Facts and Figures on Fairtrade' available at http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/what_is_fairtrade/facts_and_figures.aspx [accessed 08/12/2010]

Fairtrade Foundation (2010c) 'Ben and Jerry's Big Swap to Fairtrade for Fairtrade Fortnight', Press Release, 18 February 2010 available at http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/press_office/press_releases_and_statements/february_2010/ben_jerrys_big_swap_to_fairtrade_for_fairtrade_fortnight.aspx [accessed 08/12/2010]

Fals Borda, Orlando (1987) 'The Application of Participatory Action Research in Latin America' *International Sociology*, 2 (4) 329-347

Ferguson, James (1990) *The Anti-Politics Machine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Fine, Ben (2001) 'Neither the Washington nor the Post-Washington Consensus: An Introduction' in Ben Fine, Costas Lapavitsas and Jonathon Pincus (eds) *Development Policy in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond the Post-Washington Consensus* (London: Routledge) pp. 1-27

Fine, Ben, Lapavitsas, Costas and Pincus, Jonathon (2001) 'Preface' in Ben Fine, Costas Lapavitsas and Jonathon Pincus (eds) *Development Policy in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond the Post-Washington Consensus* (London: Routledge) pp. x-xvi

Fisher, Sue (2009) 'Fair Beginnings', *Fair Comment*, Winter edition, (London: Fairtrade Foundation)

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

FLO (2003) *Shopping for a Better World: Annual Report 2003-4* (Bonn: Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International)

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

FLO (2007) *The Benefits of Fairtrade: A Monitoring and Evaluation Report of Fairtrade Certified Producer Organizations for 2007* (Bonn: Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International)

FLO (2009a) *Aims of Fairtrade Standards* (Bonn: Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International)

FLO (2009b) *Generic Fairtrade Trade Standards* (Bonn: Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International)

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

FLO (2009d) *Fairtrade Standards for Coffee for Small Producers' Organizations* (Bonn: Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International)

FLO (2009e) *Growing Stronger Together: Annual Report 2009-10* (Bonn: Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International)

FLO (2010) *Our Vision* available at http://www.fairtrade.net/our_vision.html [accessed 06/12/2010]

Foucault, Michel (1977) *Discipline and Punish* (London: Allen Lane)

Foucault, Michel (1978) *The History of Sexuality* (London: Allen Lane)

Foucault, Michel (1980) 'Two Lectures' in Colin Gordon (ed) *Power/Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books)

Francis, Paul (2001) 'Participatory Development at the World Bank: The Primacy of Process' in Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (eds) *Participation: The New Tyranny?* (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 72-87

Fraser, Alastair (2005) 'Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: Now Who Calls the Shots?', *Review of African Political Economy*, 104 (5) 317-340

Fridell, Gavin (2006) 'Fair Trade and Neoliberalism: Assessing Emerging Perspectives', *Latin American Perspectives*, 33 (8) 8-28

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

Friedmann, John (1992) *Empowerment: The Politics of an Alternative Development* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers)

Freire, Paulo (1996) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (London: Penguin Books Ltd)

Garfinkel, Harold (1967) *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall)

Germain, Randall and Kenny, Michael (1998) 'Engaging Gramsci: International theory and the New Gramscians', *Review of International Studies*, 24 (1) 3-21

Gibbon, Peter (1995) *Markets, Civil Society and Democracy in Kenya* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet)

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

Gill, Stephen (1993) *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge 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)

Goetsch, David and Davis, Stanley (1994) *Introduction to Total Quality* (London: Prentice Hall)

Glaser, Barney and Strauss, Anslem (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, (Chicago: Aldine)

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

Grillo (1999) 'Discourses of Development: The View from Anthropology' in R. D. Grillo and R. L. Stirrat (eds) *Discourses of Development: Anthropological Perspectives* (Oxford: Berg) pp. 1-34

Guthman, Julie (2007) 'The Polanyian Way? Voluntary Food Labels as Neoliberal Governance' *Antipode*, 39, 456–478

Haugerud, Angelique (1994) *The Culture of Politics in Modern Kenya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Harrison, Elizabeth (2007) 'Corruption', *Development in Practice*, 17 (4) 672-8

Harrison, Graham (2001) 'Bringing Political Struggle Back In: African Politics, Power and Resistance', *Review of African Political Economy*, 28 (89) 387-402

Harriss, John (2002) *Depoliticizing Development: The World Bank and Social Capital* (London: Leftword Books)

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

Hart, Gillian (2004) 'Geography and development: critical ethnographies', *Progress in Human Geography,* 28 (1) 91–100

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

Healy, Teresa (2006) 'The Condition of Hegemony and Labour Militancy: The Restructuring of Gender and Production Patterns in Mexico' in Matt Davies and Magnus Ryner (eds) *Poverty and the Production of World Politics: Unprotected Workers in the Global Political Economy* (Hampshire: Palgrave) pp. 178-203

Henkel, Heiko and Stirrat, Roderick (2001) 'Participation as Spiritual Duty; Empowerment as Secular Subjection' in Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (eds) *Participation: The New Tyranny?* (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 168-184

Hennessey, Rosemary (1993) *Materialist Feminism and the Politics of Discourse* (London: Routledge)

Hickey, Sam (2002) 'Transnational NGDOs and Participatory Forms of Rights-Based Development: Converging with the Local Politics of Citizenship in Cameroon', *Journal of International Development*, 14, 841-857

Hickey, Samuel and Mohan, Giles (2004a) 'Towards Participation as Transformation: Critical Themes and Challenges' in Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan (eds)

Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 3-24

Hickey, Samuel and Mohan, Giles (2004b) 'Relocating Participation within a Radical Politics of Development: Insights from Political Action and Practice' in Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan (eds) *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development* (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 59-74

Hickey, Samuel and Mohan, Giles (2008) 'The Politics of Establishing Pro-Poor Accountability: What Can Poverty Reduction Strategies Achieve?', *Review of International Political Economy,* 15 (2) 234-258

Hindess, Barry (1996) *Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd)

Holmén, Hans (1990) 'State, Cooperatives and Development in Africa', *Research Report No. 86* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies)

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

Hoogvelt, Ankie (1997) *Globalisation and the Post-Colonial World: The New Political Economy of Development* (Hampshire: Macmillan Press)

Houtzager, Peter (2003) 'Introduction: From Polycentrism to the Polity' in Peter Houtzager and Mick Moore (eds) *Changing Paths: International Development and the New Politics of Inclusion* (USA: University of Michigan Press) pp. 1-31

Howell, Jude and Pearce, Jenny (2001) *Civil Society and Development: A Critical Exploration* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers)

Hoy, David Couzens (1986) 'Introduction' in David Couzens Hoy (ed) *Foucault: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd)

Hughes, Alexandra (2002) 'Lessons Learnt on Civil Society Engagement in PRSP processes in Bolivia, Kenya and Uganda: A Report Emerging from the Bolivian-East African Sharing and Learning Exchange', prepared for the Participation Group, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton, July 2002

Hulme, David and Edwards, Michael (1997) *NGOs, States and Donors: Too Close for Comfort?* (London: Macmillan)

Hutchens, Anna (2010) 'Empowering Women through Fair Trade? Lessons from Asia', *Third World Quarterly*, 31 (3) 449-467

IFAD (2006) 'Enabling the Rural Poor to Overcome Poverty in Rural Kenya' available at http://www.ifad.org/operations/projects/regions/pf/factsheets/kenya.pdf [accessed 15 February 2010]

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

Ives, Peter (2004) *Language and Hegemony in Gramsci* (London: Pluto Press)

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

Jaffee, Daniel, Kloppenburg, Jack and Monroy, Mario (2004) 'Bringing the "Moral Charge" Home: Fair Trade within the South and within the North', *Rural Sociology*, 69 (2) 169-96

Jessop, Bob (2005) 'Gramsci as a Spatial Theorist', *Critical Review of International Studies and Political Philosophy*, 8 (4) 421-37

Jessop, Bob and Sum, Ngai-Ling (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)

Jessop, Bob and Oosterlynck, Stijn (2008) 'Cultural Political Economy: On Making the Cultural Turn without Falling into Soft Economic Sociology' *Geoforum,* 39 (3) 1155-1169

Jones, Christine (1983) 'The Mobilization of Women's Labor for Cash Crop Production: A Game Theoretical Approach', *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 65 (5) 1049-54

Jones, Christine (1986) 'Intrahousehold Bargaining in Response to the Introduction of New Crops: A Case Study for Northern Cameroon' in Joyce Lewinger Moock (ed) *Understanding Africa's Rural Households and Farming Systems* (London: Westview Press)

Jordan, Steve and Yeomans, David (1995) Critical Ethnography: Problems in Contemporary Theory and Practice', *British Journal of Sociology of Education,* 16 (3) 389-408

Kabeer, Naila (1994) *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought* (London: Verso)

Kapoor, Ilan (2002) 'The Devil's in the Theory: A Critical Assessment of Robert Chambers' Work on Participatory Development', *Third World Quarterly,* 23 (1) 101-17

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)

Kelsall, Tim and Mercer, Claire (2003) 'Empowering People? World Vision and "Transformatory Development" in Tanzania', *Review of African Political Economy,* 96, 293-304

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) pp. 47-65

Klopp, Jurgen (2000) 'Pilfering the Public: The Problem of Land Grabbing in Contemporary Kenya', *Africa Today*, 47 (1) 7–26

Klugman, Jeni (2002) 'Overview' in Jeni Klugman (ed) *A Sourcebook for Poverty Reduction Strategies* (Washington, DC: World Bank)

Korten, David (1987) *Community Management* (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press)

Kothari, Rajni (1984) 'Communication for Alternative Development: Towards a Paradigm', *Development Dialogue,* (1-2) 13-22

Kothari, Uma (2001) 'Power, Knowledge and Social Control in Participatory Development' in Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (eds.) *Participation: The New Tyranny?* (London: Zed Books Ltd.) pp. 139-152

Kothari, Uma (2005) 'Authority and Expertise: The Professionalisation of International Development and the Ordering of Dissent', *Antipode*, 37 (3) 425-446

Krugman, Paul (1995) 'Dutch Tulips and Emerging Markets: Another Bubble Bursts', *Foreign Affairs,* 74 (4) 28-44

Leal, Pablo Alejandro (2007) 'Particiaption: The Ascendancy of a Buzzword in a Neoliberal Era', *Development in Practice*, 17 (4-5) 539-48

Leborgne and Lipietz (1988), 'New Technologies, New Modes of Regulation', *Environment and Planning D, Society and Space,* (6) 263-280

Ledwith, Margaret (2001) 'Community Work as Critical Pedagogy: Re-envisioning Freire and Gramsci' *Community Development Journal*, 36 (3) 171-182

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

Lichterman, Paul (2002), 'What Do Movements Mean? The Value of Participant Observation', *Qualitative Sociology*, 21 (4) 401- 418

Light Years IP (2008) *Distinctive Values in African Exports* (Washington DC, Light Years IP)

Lindberg, Staffan (2003) ''It's Our Time to "Chop"': Do Elections in Africa Feed Neo-Patrimonialism rather than Counter-Act it?', *Democratization*, 10 (2) 121-140

Lorna Young Foundation (2010) 'Smallholder Peer Support Network' available at http://www.lyf.org.uk/programmes/smallholder-peer-support-network/ [accessed 28/12/2010]

Low, William and Davenport, Eileen (2005), 'Postcards from the Edge: Maintaining the 'Alternative' Character of Fair Trade', *Sustainable Development*, 13, 143-153

Luttlinger, 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

Lyon, Sarah (2010) 'A Market of Our Own: Women's Livelihoods of Fair Trade Markets', in, Sarah Lyon and Mark Moberg (eds) *Fair Trade and Social Justice: Global Ethnographies* (New York: New York University Press) pp. 125-146

Martinussen, John (1997) *Society, State and Market: A Guide to Competing Theories of Development* (London: Zed Books Ltd)

Masaki, Katsuhiko (2004) 'The 'Transformative' Unfolding of 'Tyrannical' Participation: The *Corvée* Transition and Ongoing Local Politics in Western Nepal' in

Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan (eds) *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development* (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 125-139

Mayo, Peter (1999) *Gramsci, Friere and Adult Education: Possibilities for Transformative Action* (London: Zed Books)

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

McNay, Lois (1992) *Foucault and Feminism*: *Power, Gender and the Self* (Cambridge: Polity Press)

McNay, Lois (1994) *Foucault: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity Press)

McGee, Rosemary (2002) 'Participating in Development' in Uma Kothari and Martin Minogue (eds) *Development Theory and Practice: Critical Perspectives* (Hampshire: Palgrave) pp. 92-116

Médard, Jean-François (2002) 'Corruption in the Neo-Patrimonial States of Sub Saharan Africa' in Arnold Heidenheimer and Michael Johnson (eds) *Political Corruption: Concept and Contexts* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers)

Milford, Anna (2004) 'Coffee, Cooperatives and Competition: The Impact of Fair Trade', CMI *Report No. 6*, (Norway: Chr. Michelsen Institute, Development Studies and Human Rights)

Mills, Sara (2003) *Michel Foucault* (London: Routledge)

Miraftab, Faranak (2004) 'Making Neo-Liberal Governance: The Disempowering Work of Empowerment' *International Planning Studies*, 9 (4) 239-259

Mitlin, Diana, Sam Hickey and Anthony Bebbington (2007) 'Reclaiming Development? NGOs and the Challenge of Alternatives', *World Development,* 35 (10) 1699-1720

Mkandawire, Thandika (2001) 'Thinking about Developmental States in Africa', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 25, 289-313

Mkandawire, Thandika and Charles C. Soludo (1999) *Our Continent: Our Future: African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment* (USA: Africa World Press)

Mohan Giles, and Hickey, Samuel (2004) 'Relocating Participation within a Radical Politics of Development: Critical Modernism and Citizenship' in Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan (eds) *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development* (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 59-74

Mohan, Giles and Stokke, Kristian (2000) 'Participatory Development and Empowerment: the dangers of localism', *Third World Quarterly,* 21 (2) 247-268

Molyneux, Maxine (1985) 'Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, State and Revolution in Nicaragua', *Feminist Studies*, 11 (2) 227-54

Molyneux, Maxine (2006) 'Mothers at the Service of the New Poverty Agenda: Progresa/Oportunidades, Mexico's Conditional Transfer Programme', *Social Policy and Administration*, 40 (4) 425-49

Molyneux, Maxine and Razavi, Shahra (2006) 'Beijing Plus 10: An Ambivalent Record on Gender Justice', *Occasional Paper 15* (Geneva: UNRISD)

Moore, Mick (2000) 'Putting Politics into Poverty Reduction? The WDR on Empowerment', Talk given at the Overseas Development Institute, London, 8 November

Moore, Mick (2001) 'Empowerment at Last?', *Journal of International Development,* 13, 321-329

Morton, Adam (2007) *Unravelling Gramsci: Hegemony in the Global Political Economy* (London: Pluto Press)

Mosley, Paul (2001) 'Attacking Poverty and the "Post-Washington Consensus"', *Journal of International Development,* 13, 307-313

Moss, Jeremy (1998) 'Introduction: The Later Foucault' in Jeremy Moss (ed) *The Later Foucault* (London: Sage publications)

Munck, Ronaldo (1999) 'Deconstructing Development Discourses: of Impasses, Alternatives and Politics' in Ronaldo Munck and Deris O'Hearn (eds) *Critical Development Theory* (London: Zed Books) pp. 196-210

Murunga, Godwin (2007) 'Governance and the Politics of Structural Adjustment in Kenya' in Godwin Murunga and Shadrack W Nasong'o (eds) *Kenya: The Struggle for Democracy* (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 263-300

Murray, Douglas, Raynolds, Laura and Taylor, Peter (2003) *One Cup at a Time: Poverty Alleviation and Fairtrade in Latin America* (Colorado: Colorado State University)

Murray, Douglas, Raynolds, Laura and Taylor, Peter (2006), 'The Future of Fair Trade Coffee: Dilemmas Facing Latin America's Small Scale Producers', *Development in Practice*, 16 (2) 179- 192

Murray, Douglas, and Raynolds, Laura (2007) 'Globalization and its Antinomies: Negotiating a Fair Trade Movement' in Laura Raynolds, Douglas Murray and John Wilkinson (eds) *Fair Trade: The Challenge of Transforming Globalization* (London: Routledge) pp. 3-14

Narayan, Deepa, Raj, Patel, Schafft, Kai, Rademacher, Anne and Kock-Schulte, Sarah (2000) *Voices of the Poor: Can Anyone Hear Us?* (New York: Oxford University Press for the World Bank)

Nasong'o, Shadrack and Murunga, Godwin (2007) 'Prospects for Democracy in Kenya' in Godwin Murunga and Shadrack Nasong'o (eds) *Kenya: The Struggle for Democracy* (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 3-18

Nelson, Nici and Wright, Susan (1995) *Power and Participatory Development: Theory and Practice* (London: Intermediate Technology Publications)

Nelson, Valerie and Pound, Barry (2009) 'The Last Ten Years: A Comprehensive Review of the Literature on the Impact of Fairtrade', Natural Resources Institute, University of Greenwich

Nerfin, Marc (1977) *Another Development: Approaches and Strategies* (Sweden: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation)

Nippierd, Anne-Brit (2002) 'Gender Issues in Cooperatives', ILO Cooperative Branch available at www.oit.org/images/empent/static/coop/gender/genderissues.PDF [accessed 30/08/2010]

Nicholls, Alex and Opal, Charlotte (2005) *Fair Trade: Market Driven Ethical Consumption* (London: Sage)

Nustard, Knut (2004) 'The Development Discourse in the Multilateral System' in Boas-Morten and Desmond McNeill (eds.) *Global Institutions and Development* (Oxon: Routledge) pp. 13-23

Olukoshi, Adebayo (1998) 'The Elusive Prince of Denmark: Structural Adjustment and the Crisis of Governance', *Research Report No. 104* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet)

O'Laughlin, Bridget (2007) 'A Bigger Piece of a Very Small Pie: Intrahousehold Resource Allocation and Poverty Reduction in Africa', *Development and Change*, 38 (1) 21-44

Öniş Ziya and Şenses, Fikret (2005) 'Rethinking the Emergent Post-Washington Consensus', *Development and Change,* 36 (2) 263-290

Oromo Coffee Company (2010) 'Oromo Coffee Company' available at http://www.oromocoffee.org/about.asp [accessed 28/12/2010]

Oxaal, Zoe and Baden, Sally (1997), 'Gender and Empowerment: Definitions, Approaches and Implications', Briefing Prepared for the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida)

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

Oxfam (2006) 'Oxfam Responds to National Coffee Association and Starbucks', 26 October 2006 available at http://www.maketradefair.com/en/index.php?file=starbucks_10272006.htm [accessed 28/12/2010]

Oxfam (2007) 'Starbuck's Campaign: Anatomy of a Win', 21 December 2007 available at http://www.oxfamamerica.org/articles/starbucks-campaign-anatomy-of-a-win/?searchterm=anatomy of a win [accessed 28/12/2010]

Øyen, Else (2000) *Six Questions to the World Bank on WDR 2000/1* (Oslo: Centre for Research on Poverty)

Panos, (1993) *Listening for a Change* (London: Panos)

Parfitt, Trevor (2004) 'The Ambiguity of Participation: A Qualified Defence of Participatory Development', *Third World Quarterly,* 25 (3) 537-556

Parpart, Jane, L., Rai, Shirin M. and Staudt, Kathleen (2002) 'Rethinking Em(power)ment, Gender and Development: An Introduction' in Jane L. Parpart, Shirin M. Rai and Kathleen Staudt (eds) *Rethinking Empowerment: Gender and Development in a Global/Local World* (London: Routledge) pp. 3-21

Paul, Samuel (1987) 'Community Participation in Development Projects: The World Bank Experience' *World Bank Discussion Paper 6* (Washington, DC: World Bank)

Perrons, Diane (1999) 'Reintegrating Production and Consumption, or Why Political Economy Still Matters' in Ronaldo Munck and Denis O'Hearn (eds) *Critical Development Theory: Contributions to a New Paradigm* (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 91-112

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

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen (1998) 'My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post-Development, Reflexive Development', *Development and Change*, 29, 343-73

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen (2000) 'After Post-Development', *Third World Quarterly* 21 (2) 175-191

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

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

Rahman, Md Anisur (1993) *People's Self Development: Perspectives on Participatory Action Research* (London: Zed Books Ltd)

Rahnema, Majid (1992) 'Participation' in W Sachs (ed.) *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman) pp. 116-131

Raynolds, Laura, (2000) 'Re-Embedding Global Agriculture: The International Organic and Fair Trade Movements', *Agriculture and Human Values*, 17, 297-309

Raynolds, Laura, (2002) *Poverty Alleviation Through Participation in Fair Trade Coffee Networks: Existing Research and Critical Issues* available at infoagro.net/shared/docs/a6/CoffeeFairTrade.pdf [accessed 30/08/2010]

Raynolds, Laura and Long, Michael (2007) 'Fair/Alternative Trade: Historical and Empirical Dimensions' in Laura Raynolds, Douglas Murray and John Wilkinson (eds) *Fair Trade: The Challenge of Transforming Globalization* (London: Routledge) pp. 15-32

Raynolds, Laura, Murray, Douglas and Taylor, Peter Leigh (2004) 'Fair Trade Coffee: Building Producer Capacity Via Global Networks, *Journal of International Development*, 16, 1109-1121

Razavi, Shahrashoub, and Miller, Carol (1995) 'From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse', *Occasional Paper No. 1* (Geneva: UNRISD)

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

Renard, Marie-Christine (1999), 'The Interstices of Globalization: The Example of Fair Coffee', *Sociologica Ruralis*, 39 (4) 484-500

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

Reuters (2009) 'Kenya Coffee Earnings Up 10p.c.', Daily Nation, 5 October 2009 available at http://www.nation.co.ke/business/news/-/1006/668338/-/ifry3hz/-/index.html [accessed 22/07/10]

Rice, Julie Steinkopf (2010) 'Free Trade, Fair Trade and Gender Inequality in Less Developed Countries', *Sustainable Development*, 18 (1) 42-50

Robb, Caroline (2002) *Can the Poor Influence Policy? Participatory Poverty Assessments in the Developing World* (Washington, DC: World Bank)

Rodrik, Dani (1999) 'The New Global Economy and Developing Countries: Making Openness Work', *Policy Essay No. 24* (Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council)

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

Rowlands, Jo (1997) *Questioning Empowerment* (Oxford: Oxfam Print Unit)

Ruben, Ruerd (2008) 'Introduction' in Ruerd Ruben (ed) *The Impact of Fair Trade*, (Wageningen: Wageningen Academic Publishers)

Ruckert, Arne (2006) 'Towards an Inclusive-Neoliberal Regime of Development: From the Washington to the Post-Washington Consensus' *Labour, Capital and Society*, 39 (1) 35-67

Ruckert, Arne (2007) 'Producing Neoliberal Hegemony? A Neo-Gramscian Analysis of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) in Nicaragua' *Studies in Political Economy,* 79 (Spring) 91-118

Ruckert, Arne (2010) 'The Forgotten Dimension of Social Reproduction: The World Bank and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paradigm', *Review of International Political Economy,* 17 (5) 816-839

Rupert, Mark (1998) 'Re-Engaging Gramsci: A Response to Germain and Kenny', *Review of International Studies,* (24) 427-434

Ryner, Magnus (2002), *Capitalist Restructuring, Globalization and the Third Way* (London: Routledge)

Sandbrook, Richard (1985) *The Politics of Africa's Economic Stagnation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Sandbrook, Richard (1986) 'The State and Economic Stagnation in Tropical Africa', *World Development,* 14 (3) 319-332

Schuurman, Frans J (1993) 'Introduction: Development Theory in the 1990s' in Frans J Schuurman (ed.) *Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory* (London: Zed Books Ltd.) pp. 1-48

Schuurman, Frans J. (2000) 'Paradigms Lost, Paradigms Regained? Development Studies in the Twenty-First Century', *Third World Quarterly,* 21 (1) 7-20

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

Sen, Gita and Grown, Caren (1988) *Development, Crises and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives* (London: Earthscan Publications Ltd published for DAWN)

Sender, John (1999) Africa's Economic Performance: Limitations of the Current Consensus, *Journal of Economic Perspectives,* 13 (3) 89-114

Serra, Narcis, Spigel, Shari and Stiglitz, Joseph E (2008) 'Introduction: From the Washington Consensus Towards a New Global Governance', in Narcis Serra and Joseph E Stiglitz (eds) *The Washington Consensus Reconsidered: Towards a New Global Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) pp. 3-13

Showstack Sassoon, Anne (1980) *Gramsci's Politics* (London: Croom Held Ltd)

Sigley, Philip (2006) 'Is Fairtrade Really Fair?' available at http://www.tradingvisions.org/content/fairtrade-really-fair [accessed 14/12/2010]

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

Silva, Gabriel (2005) 'The Past Coffee Crisis', Presentation to the 2nd World Coffee Conference, 25 September 2005, Salvador, Brazil available at http://dev.ico.org/event_pdfs/wcc2/presentations/silva.pdf [accessed 16/06/10]

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

Soederberg, Susanne (2005) 'Recasting Neoliberal Dominance in the Global South? A Critique of the Monterrey Consensus', *Alternatives,* (30) 325-64

Steans, Jill and Tepe, Daniela (2008) 'Return to the Source: Gramsci, Culture and International Relations' in Alison J Ayers (ed) *Gramsci, Political Economy and International Relations Theory* (London: Palgrave) pp. 133-152

Stiglitz, Joseph (1998a) 'More Instruments and Broader Goals: Moving Towards the Post-Washington Consensus' WIDER Annual lecture, Helsinki, Finland

Stiglitz, Joseph (1998b) 'Towards a New Paradigm for Development: Strategies, Policies and Processes', Prebisch Lecture at UNCTAD, Geneva

Stiglitz, Joseph (2002) 'Particiaption and Development: Perspectives from the Comprehensive Development Paradigm', *Review of Development Economics*, 6 (2) 163-82

Stiglitz, Joseph (2008) 'Is There a Post-Washington Consensus Consensus?' in Narcis Serra and Joseph Stiglitz (eds) *The Washington Consensus Reconsidered: Towards a New Global Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) pp. 41-56

Szeftel, Morris (1998) 'Misunderstanding African Politics: Corruption and the Governance Agenda', *Review of African Political Economy* 76, 221-240

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

Taylor, Peter (2005) 'In the Market But Not of It: Fair Trade Coffee and Forest Stewardship Council Certification as Market-Based Social Change', *World Development*, 33 (1) 129-147

Taylor, Viviene (2000) *Marketization of Governance: Critical Feminist Perspectives from the South* (SADEP: University of Cape Town for DAWN)

Thomas, Caroline (2005) 'Globalisation and Development in the South' in John Ravenhill (ed.) *Global Political Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) pp. 410-447

Thomas, David (2009) 'Revisiting *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*: Paulo Freire and Contemporary African Studies, *Review of African Political Economy*, 36 (120) 253-269

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

Tiffen, Pauline (2002) 'A Chocolate-Coated Case for Alternative International Business Models', *Development in Practice*, 12 (3/4) 383-397

Tiffen, Pauline, MacDonald, Jacqui, Maamah, Haruna and Osei-Opare, Frema (2004) 'From Tree-minders to Global Players: Cocoa Farmers in Ghana' in Marilyn Carr (ed)

Chains of Fortune: Linking Women Producers and Workers with Global Market (London: Commonwealth Secretariat)

Tikare, Seema, Youssef, Deborah, Donnelly-Roark, Paula, and Shah, Parmesh (2002) 'Participation' in Jeni Klugman (ed) *A Sourcebook for Poverty Reduction Strategies* (Washington, DC: World Bank)

Tinker, Irene (2006) 'Empowerment Just Happened: The Unexpected Expansion of Women's Organizations' in Jane Jaquette and Gale Summerfield (eds) *Women and Gender Equity in Development Theory and Practice: Institutions, Resources and Mobilization* (Durham: Duke University Press)

Townsend, Janet (1999) 'Empowerment Matters: Understanding Power' in Janet Townsend, Emma Zapata, Jo Rowlands, Pilar Alberti and Marta Mercado *Women and Power: Fighting Patriarchies and Poverty* (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 19-45

Trade Justice Movement (2009) 'About Us' available at http://www.tjm.org.uk/about-us.html [accessed 17/12/2010]

Trading Visions (2009) 'About Us' available at http://www.tradingvisions.org/content/about-us [accessed 28/12/10]

Transparency International (2010) *The Corruption Perception Index 1995-2010* available at http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi [accessed [28/12/2010]

Tucker, Vincent (1999) 'The Myth of Development: A Critique of a Eurocentric Discourse' in Ronaldo Munck and Deris O'Hearn (eds.) *Critical Development Theory* (London: Zed Books) pp. 1-26

Udry, Christopher (1996) 'Gender, Agricultural Production, and the Theory of the Household', *Journal of Political Economy,* 104 (5) 1010-46

Utting-chamorro, Karla (2005) 'Does Fair Trade Make a Difference? The Case of Small Coffee Producers in Nicaragua', *Development in Practice*, 15 (3) 584-599

Van de Walle, Nicolas (2001) *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis 1979-99* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

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

Vincent, Susan (2004) 'Participation, Resistance and Problems with the 'Local' in Peru: Towards a New Political Contract?' in Samuel Hickey and Giles Mohan (eds) *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development* (London: Zed Books Ltd) pp. 111-124

Wahome, Mwaniki (2010) 'Low Output to Slash Coffee Incomes even as Prices Rise', *Daily Nation*, 18 January 2010 available at http://www.nation.co.ke/Features/smartcompany/-/1226/844752/-/4ita7a/-/index.html [accessed 22/07/10]

Wanyama, Fredrick (2009) 'Surviving Liberalization: The Cooperative Movement in Kenya', *Coop Africa Working Paper No. 10* (Geneva: International Labour Organization)

Watson, Matthew (2006) 'Towards a Polanyian Perspective on Fair Trade: Market-based Relationships and the Act of Ethical Consumption', *Global Society*, 20 (4) 435-451

Weber, Max (1978) *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (California: California University Press)

Weiler, Kathleen (2001) 'Rereading Paulo Freire' in Kathleen Weiler (ed) *Feminist Engagements: Reading, Revisiting and Revisioning Male Theorists in Education and Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge) pp. 67-87

WFTO and FLO (2009) *A Charter of Fair Trade Principles* (World Fair Trade Organization and Fairtrade Labelling Organizations International)

Whitehead, Ann (1994) 'Wives and Mothers: Female Farmers in Africa' in Aderanti Adepoju and Christine Oppong's *Gender, Work and Population in Sub-Saharan Africa* (London: James Currey) pp. 35-54

Whitehead, Ann (2002) 'Failing Women, Sustaining Poverty: Gender in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers', Report for the UK Gender and Development Network (London: Oxfam)

Whitehead, Ann and Kabeer, Naila (2001) 'Living with Uncertainty: Gender, Livelihoods and Pro-Poor Growth in Rural Sub-Saharan Africa', *IDS Working Paper 134* (Sussex: Institute of Development Studies)

Whitworth, Sarah (1997) *Feminism and International Relations: Towards a Political Economy of Gender in Interstate and Non-Governmental Institutions* (Basingstoke: Macmillan)

Williams, Glyn (2004), 'Evaluating Participatory Development: tyranny, power and (re)politicisation', *Third World Quarterly,* 25 (3) 557-78

Williamson, John (1990) *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened* (Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics)

Williamson, John (1993) 'Democracy and the "Washington Consensus"', *World Development*, 21 (8) 1329-1336

Williamson, John (2000) 'What Should the World Bank Think about the Washington Consensus', *The World Bank Research Observer,* 15 (2) 251-64

Winters, Alan (2008) 'Are Ethical and Fair Trade Schemes Working for Poor Producers, or Do We Need a New 'Good for Development' Label?' available at http://www.odi.org.uk/events/details.asp?id=322&title=ethical-fair-trade-schemes-

working-poor-producers-need-new-good-development-label#report [accessed 14/12/2010]

Wolfensohn, James (2005) *Voices for the World's Poor: Selected Speeches and Writings of World Bank President James D. Wolfensohn 1995-2005* (Washington, DC: World Bank)

World Bank (1989) *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth* (Washington DC: World Bank)

World Bank (1994) *Adjustment in Africa: Reforms, Results and the Road Ahea*d (New York: Oxford University Press)

World Bank (1997) *World Development Report 1997: The State in a Changing World* (New York: Oxford University Press, published for the World Bank)

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

World Bank (2001) *Engendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice* (Washington, DC: World Bank)

World Bank (2002a) *Empowerment and Poverty Reduction: A Sourcebook* (Washington DC: World Bank)

World Bank (2002b) *Integrating Gender into the World Bank's Work: A Strategy for Action* (Washington, DC: World Bank)

World Bank (2004) Project Appraisal Document: Kenya's Agricultural Productivity Project (Washington, DC: World Bank)

World Bank (2005) 'Kenya Value Chain Analysis' *Africa Private Sector Unit Note Number 8* (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)

World Bank (2009) Project Appraisal Document: Kenya's Agricultural Productivity and Agribusiness Project (Washington, DC: World Bank)

World Bank (2010a) 'Participatory Poverty Assessments' available at http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/EXTPSIA/0,,contentMDK:20472513~isCURL:Y~menuPK:1107978~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:490130,00.html [accessed 14/12/2010]

World Bank (2010b) 'James Wolfensohn's Presidency' available at http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/ORGANIZATION/EXTPRESIDENT2007/EXTPASTPRESIDENTS/PRESIDENTEXTERNAL/0,,contentMDK:20309401~menuPK:232053~pagePK:139877~piPK:199692~theSitePK:227585,00.html [accessed 14/12/2010]

Yuval-Davis, Nira (1994) 'Women, Ethnicity and Empowerment', *Feminism Psychology*, (4) 179-197

Zuckerman, Elaine (2002) 'Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers and Gender', Background paper for the conference on Sustainable Poverty Reduction and PRSPs, Berlin, May 13-16

Interviews

Agnew, Ian (2008) Director, Lorna Young Foundation, London, 12th December 2008

Agnew, Ian (2009) Director, Lorna Young Foundation, London, 27th April 2009

Anstead, Richard (2009) Head of Product Management, Fairtrade Foundation, London, 27th April 2009

Anonymous (2009a) Member of Kenya Agricultural Research Institute, KAPP department, Nairobi, 25th June 2009

Anonymous (2009b) Member of Management Committee, Rumukia, Nyeri, 15th July 2009

Anonymous (2009c) Member of Management Committee, Rumukia, Nyeri, 15th July 2009

Anonymous (2009d) Member of Supervisory Committee, Rumukia, Nyeri, 15th July 2009

Anonymous (2009e) Factory Manager, Rumukia, 15th July 2009

Anonymous (2009f) Member of Premium Committee, Rumukia, Nyeri, 15th July 2009

Anonymous (2009g) Member of administrative staff, Rumukia, 18th July 2009

Anonymous (2009h) Member of Rumukia, Nyeri, 18th July 2009

Anonymous (2009i) Female group discussion at farmer training day, Nyeri, 17th July 2009

Anonymous (2009j) Nyeri Technical Training Institute group discussion, Nyeri, 21st July 2009

Crowther, Bruce (2009) Fairtrade Towns Coordinator, Fairtrade Foundation, London, 27th January

Davis, Chris (2008) Head of Producer Relations, Fairtrade Foundation, London, 11th November 2008

DeCarlo, Jacqueline (2008) Fair Trade author and activist, former Director of Fairtrade Resource Network, Washington DC, 17th April, 2008

Gibson, Alastair (2008) Chair, Fairtrade Association Birmingham, Birmingham, 16th July 2008

Harris, Hannah (2009) Market Access Manager, Fairtrade Foundation, London, 6th January 2009

Human, Joe (2009) Coordinator, Cumbria Fairtrade Network, phone interview, 13th February 2009

Kamau, Moffat (2009) Taifa Sacco, Nyeri, 20th July 2009

Karanja, Andrew (2009) Task Team Leader, KAPP, World Bank, Nairobi, 25th June 2009

Kimani, Lucy (2009) Technoserve Coffee Initiative, Nairobi 24th June 2009

Longden, Christina (2009) Project Manager, Lorna Young Foundation, 23rd September, 2009

Mbuvi, Jennifer (2009) Liaison Officer, Producer Services and Relations Unit, FLO, Nairobi, 8th June 2009

Mbogo, Rosemary (2009) Traidcraft, Nairobi, 19th July 2009

Muriuki, John (2009) Secretary-Manager, Rumukia, Nyeri, 11th June 2009

Nzioka, Charles (2009) Sustainable Management Services, Nyeri, 10th July 2009

Pillai, Nita (2008) Policy Advisor, Fairtrade Foundation, London, 2nd December 2008

Thou, Robert (2009) African Wildlife Foundation, 6th July 2009

Tiffen, Pauline (2009) Director, Lightyears IP, former Director of Twin, London, 10th March 2009

Wahome, Richard (2009) Regional Manager, Coffee Board of Kenya, Nyeri, 14th July 2009