In the name of the farmer and of the worker: emerging spaces for smallholder and worker participation in horticulture value chains

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In the name of the farmer and of the worker

1. Aims and project background
2. Participation and policy spaces
3. Spaces for small farmers: GlobalGAP in Kenya
4. Spaces for workers: labour rights and Fairtrade in Kenya
5. Standards and policy spaces
6. Spaces for workers and farmers?

Spaces for participation and private standards

Good Agricultural Practice

GLOBALGAP

"Talking in terms of spaces for participation conveys the situated nature of participation, the bounded yet permeable arenas in which participation is invited....."

(Cornwall, 2004: 75)

Small farmers and GlobalGAP

GLOBALGAP

Initially developed by European retailers
Aim to ensure delivery of safe food
Detailed protocol and control points on Good Agricultural Practices, e.g. pesticide use
Audited

“one of the leading drivers for implementing changes in farming practices towards sustainability”

“The Global Partnership for Safe and Sustainable Agriculture”

Participation in Policy Spaces

Private Standards

local

national

international

Workers and farmers
Exporter associations, government, local NGOs, trade unions
Standards bodies, buyers, international NGOs and TUs

Closed
Invited
Claimed


The Politics of Private Standards (POPS)

African horticulture is responding to market demand for quality produce that also complies with buyer codes on agricultural practice and labour rights by establishing private standards initiatives (PSIs)

What do PSIs mean for regulation and stakeholder relationships in developing countries and along the global value chain?

May 2007-April 2010

Grant ref: RES-167-25-0195

The Governance Implications of Private Standards Initiatives in Agri-food Chains
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### Evolution of the GlobalGAP standard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>First version of protocol published</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>First certification bodies accredited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Retailers expect producers to comply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Development of &quot;KenyaGAP&quot; begins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>KenyaGAP benchmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Smallholder Ambassador initiated</td>
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<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Smallholder Task Force consultation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>GlobalGAP conferences around the world, incl Kenya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### GlobalGAP explanation of KenyaGAP development process

- **Direction, mobilization, coordination**
  - Government
- **Investment, problem solving, technical inputs, marketing**
  - Exporters
- **Funding, technical backstopping, training**
  - Donors
- **Technical assistance, training, research, writing**
  - NGOs
- **Investment, adoption of new techniques, group cooperation**
  - Farmers
- **Technical assistance, group training**
  - Experts

### Smallholders and standards processes

- Learned about standards from exporters, Min of Agriculture, HCDA, NGOs, chemical companies
- Aware of GlobalGAP due to certification,
- Farmers in self-help groups more articulate
- Men more knowledgeable than women
- No knowledge of KenyaGAP
- Benefits of GAP certification identified as:
  - Improved hygiene in their homesteads, safe use of chemicals, safe disposal of waste chemicals and empty chemical containers
  - But all one way communication — top down, told what to do, never consulted

### Policy Spaces related to GlobalGAP

- **Local**
  - Small farmers
  - Exporters
  - Exporter associations
  - NGOs
- **National**
  - Smallholder Ambassador
  - GlobalGAP
  - KenyGAP NTWG
  - Experts (incl donor-funded NGOs)
- **International**
  - Smallholder and GlobalGAP spaces

### Smallholders & GlobalGAP spaces

- Some invited space but invitation limited to experts
- Need for technical expertise in complex scientific issues
- Standard focuses on outputs, about risk minimisation by buyers in name of food safety
- Smallholder interests largely external to the agenda
- Smallholders part of the agenda due to externalities

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*The process of benchmarking KenyaGAP to EurepGAP is the unique opportunity for our smallholders to demonstrate that they are world-class producers.*

—Chair of FPEAK as quoted in EurepGAP (2005:8)

*NGOs … had no idea about food safety — well meaning but not useful and focused on silly detail like first aid boxes, and there was nothing that would drastically reduce the cost of audit or make it more accessible.*

—UK horticulture consultant

*Southern stakeholders have more of a voice in Fairtrade than GlobalGAP. Whether we like it or not standards are imposed by our customers and you might not like it but they have a right to safe and ethical products.*

—Kenyan exporter
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Workers and labour rights standards

- Companies claim compliance with labour codes
- Trade unions regarded as ineffective
- NGO-led labour rights campaigns
- NGO awareness-raising on farms
- Formation of multi-stakeholder body (HEBI) to improve compliance and audit practice
- Plethora of standards in cut flowers

Role conflict

What connections to local level?

Workers and standards

- Workers are confused and have limited understanding of standards
- Greater understanding of technical aspects of standards than the social
- Limited understanding of the potential of standards to improve conditions and to make their voice heard
- Greater understanding on farms with Fairtrade
- Role of Fairtrade in strengthening the Union at the local level

Policy Spaces related to labour rights: HEBI

Policy Spaces related to labour rights: Fairtrade

Summary of sample firm characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Firm code</th>
<th>Affiliations</th>
<th>Certificates</th>
<th>Unionisation</th>
<th>Size</th>
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<tr>
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<td>No information</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Small</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Same but no CBA</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Large</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Full KFC</td>
<td>No information</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Small</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Some</td>
<td>Medium</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Large</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Medium</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Lapsed KFC</td>
<td>No information</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: (a) affiliations refers to membership of Kenyan exporter association; in the case of KFC, full members must be certified but this is not required for FPEAK. (b) certification against: FLO, FLP, FFP, MPS SQ and MPS GAP

Workers and labour rights spaces

- Many spaces are characterised as invited, but who is invited?
- Few connections between local and national spaces
- Fairtrade local level spaces focused on material needs as opposed to strategic
- Isolated spaces

Challenges in the national space:
- Maturity, capacity of NGOs
- TU-NGO role conflicts
- Distrust

"It was announced by the management that the firm had been achieved certification after good sales overseas" (worker on farm with MPS)

"[Auditors] come to check how they work but the workers don’t talk much lest one gives them contradictory information from what has already been given by the management." (female workers, farm D)

"It was announced by the management that the firm had been achieved certification after good sales overseas" (worker on farm with MPS)

"Fairtrade is like bonus given back to workers" (female worker)

"Fairtrade helps us. [There is a] fair trade project here where children are provided with food, pampers and clothes; all of which have been paid for by fair trade" (female worker)

"It is important that when you are making standards decisions that you see what producers go through" (NGO involved in FLO committees)
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Who should participate in private standards?

output legitimacy, instrumental approach

To enhance outcomes
Efficiency
In relation to what/whose goals?

input legitimacy
process approach

All stakeholders affected by the decisions
Who identifies the stakeholders and their interests

Fuchs and Kalfagianni 2010

Standards and spaces

Type 1 standards

Schemes weighing size over principles
Focus mainly on risk management
Focus on protective rights (outcome standards)

Type 2 standards

Schemes weighing principles over size
Focus mainly on product differentiation
Focus on enabling rights (process rights)

Riisgaard (2010)

closed spaces
Invited spaces

Workers and smallholders in policy spaces

Labour rights

• Fairtrade: less isolation, cross scale linkages

• Challenges for enhancing spaces for worker voices in Kenya

• Pressures for a more globalised & technical approach

GAP

• More openness in GlobalGAP at the international level
  • But invitation restricted to experts
  • Push from an accountability perspective – “do no harm”

• KenyaGAP not under the same spotlight

Conclusions

Does it matter that the voice of the workers and smallholders are missing?

• Yes…… if legitimacy of the standard is based on process/inputs

• No? for output legitimacy-based standards?

• Issue then is the impact of the standard, including externalities

• Need for accountability

• Limits the transformative potential of standards

References


