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Fair Trade, better lives? An assessment of Fair Trade's contribution to improve Turkana basket weavers' livelihoods

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Anita Leutgeb

OFSE
Österreichische Forschungsstiftung
für Internationale Entwicklung

59 FORUM

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Dezember 2014

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Preface

Fair trade has over the course of the last 30 years become a forceful model for socially and environmentally sustainable North-South trade. As such, it has given thousands of poor farmers and their families an economic alternative which has made them less dependent on the vagaries of the global market, and pays them a premium which can be used to foster socio-economic development.

Nevertheless, not each and every economic scheme that carries "Fair Trade" in its name fulfills the expectations that consumers typically associate with that term. A bewildering variety of different labels and certificates refer to fair trade in one way or the other, and it has become quite difficult for consumers to disentangle what kind of social standards have to be fulfilled in order to qualify for a particular fair trade sheme. Besides, recent media reports have come up with critical assessments as to the social value-added of production processes that are certified under fair trade regimes.

Against this background, the present master's thesis of Ms Anita Leutgeb adds to our knowledge on the performance of fair trade production in the handicraft industry in Kenya. A methodologically robust study, it compares the impact of fair trade production for a basket weavers' cooperative in the peripheral Turkana region with that of a non-fair trade producer association in the same region. The results clearly indicate that the particular concept of fair trade applied in the case study does not necessarily lead to better outcomes in terms of improving the livelihoods of producers. Complementary measures are needed in order to increase the social and economic value-added for basket weavers.

Fair trade might have a positive impact on local communities and it many cases this has been well documented. But this positive impact must not be taken for granted. Thorough empirical analysis and constant evaluation is needed in order to make sure that fair trade schemes deliver on their promises for social sustainability. The present study makes a welcome and serious contribution to this aim.

Werner Raza
ÖFSE Director

Fair Trade, better lives? An assessment of Fair Trade's contribution to improve Turkana basket weavers' livelihoods

SOAS, University of London

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Fair Trade, better lives? An assessment of Fair Trade's contribution to improve Turkana basket weavers' livelihoods.

Anita Leutgeb (W51243)

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for achieving the MSc in Managing Rural Development for Distance Learning Students from the University of London, Centre for Development, Environment and Policy (CeDEP), School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)

September 2013

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Abstract

Turkana in north western Kenya is a semi-arid area with frequent and prolonged droughts. Its people live mainly on pastoralism. Food is largely imported from other regions of Kenya. Cash income is necessary to buy food. But paid labour opportunities are scarce. An activity traditionally undertaken by Turkana women is the production and sale of hand-woven palm leave baskets. With the income from selling baskets women buy food and water, pay for the education of their children and healthcare. Women work either independently or in groups. The main trading partner of the producers of the Kalokol Ewala Project situated near Lake Turkana is a Fair Trade Organisation from Nairobi. Collaborating with Fair Trade potentially gives the weavers the opportunity for higher incomes through access to international markets and consequently would have positive impacts on their livelihoods.

This research focuses on understanding how participation in the Fair Trade market affects the livelihoods of Turkana women basket weavers and how the weavers perceive the contribution of working with Fair Trade relates to changes in their lives. A further research question to answer was how livelihoods of women who produce for Fair Trade differ from those women who produce for the Non Fair Trade market. A comparison group, the Turkana Women Handicraft in Lodwar, served to assess the differences between the Fair Trade and the Non Fair Trade weavers. A mix of different quantitative and qualitative research methods was applied in this empirical study.

The major problem this research has identified is the lack of regular Fair Trade marketing opportunities with the consequence of low producer incomes. These impede significant positive impacts of Fair Trade on weavers' livelihoods.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank and express my gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Annabel de Frece for her encouragement, support and guidance all along the course of this dissertation. She was there to encourage me in critical moments such as the beginning of my field work in North western Kenya when the reality on the ground on my arrival made me doubt about the feasibility of the whole research project.

Furthermore, this dissertation would not have been possible with the invaluable time the hard working Turkana women basket weavers have dedicated to answer the *muzungu's*[1] numerous questions. I thank all the women of the Kalokol Ewala Project and Turkana Women Handicraft and I dedicate this thesis to them.

A big thank you to Josephine Lobour from Turkana Women Handicraft who has spent many hours with me and given me so many insights into the basket-making business and the women who are behind it.

I thank all the staff of the Diocese of Lodwar who has shared information and given logistical support in the field.

I am grateful to EZA Fairer Handel in Austria (Mrs Birgit Calix) and Undugu Fair Trade Limited (Mr Fred Masinde) in Nairobi for establishing contact with the Turkana basket weavers and inform me on the FT business from an importer/exporter's perspective.

Finally, I express my gratitude to my partner, family and friends who have accompanied and encouraged me during the course of this dissertation and the whole Master programme.

[1] Swahili word for a white person.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

DFID	Department for International Development
EPC	Export Promotion Council
EWALA	Kalokol Ewala Project
FGD	Focus group discussion
FT	Fair Trade
FTL	Fair Trade limited
FTO	Fair Trade Organisation
IDS	Institute for Development Studies
IGA	Income-generating activity
KES	Kenya Shillings
NFT	Non-Fair Trade
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PPA	Participatory poverty assessment
PRA	Participatory rural appraisal
RAM	Rapid appraisal methods
RCT	Randomised Control Trials
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SPSS	Statistical Product and Service Solutions (a software package for statistical analysis)
TWH	Turkana Women Handicraft
WFTO	World Fair Trade Organization

1 Introduction

Fair Trade for many consumers has a positive connotation. Compared to conventional trade, which often is associated with inflated profit margins as well as insufficient and unsustainable labour and environmental standards, Fair Trade is 'uplifted' to something good, positive and ethical. And despite the current economic recession in Europe and other parts of the world, Fair Trade market shares are still increasing.[2]

But what about the people behind Fair Trade products? Do they benefit from the increased request for Fair Trade products in the Global North? Do their livelihoods improve as a result of participating in the Fair Trade business? Responsible consumers around the world frequently ask these questions. They want to know if their purchase really makes a difference to people in the Global South where most of the Fair Trade products are produced and if Fair Trade really achieves what it sets out to do.

This dissertation aims to contribute to the understanding and discussion about the impact of Fair Trade on producers (chapter 2), to provide new insights concerning the potential of basket weaving for the improvement of women's livelihoods in a remote, semi-arid area such as Turkana District. In particular, by collecting data directly from the artisans applying different methods (chapter 3), I aimed to find out in which ways producing for the Fair Trade market contributes to the improvement of Turkana women basket weavers' livelihoods and if there is a different impact between Fair Trade and non Fair Trade producers.

The research findings (chapter 4) are likely to be relevant for programmes in communities or regions that share similar socio-economic and geographical characteristics, such as poverty level, dependence on natural resources, environmental vulnerability and limited access to markets. Recommendations for policy and practice are included in the conclusions chapter of this research.

1.1 Research context

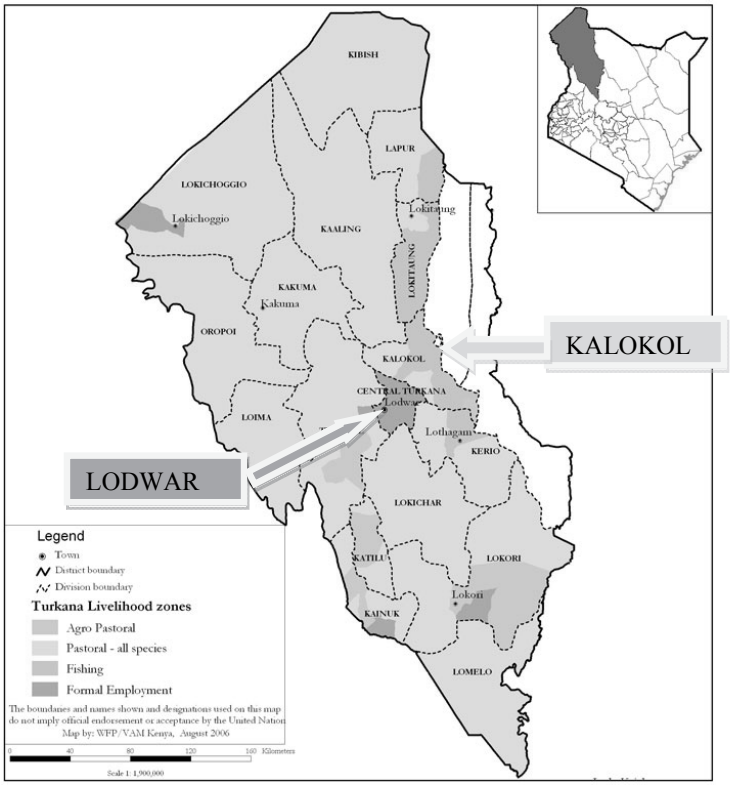
This chapter gives an overview of the assets Turkana people can draw on, of their main livelihood activities and the challenges posed by the harsh climate and remoteness.

---

[2] In UK sales of Fair Trade products increased by 12% in 2011; in the Netherlands by 24% (http://www.fairtradeafrica.net/about-fairtrade/fairtrade-growth/). Admittedly, for the craft sector it is extremely difficult to find figures of sales volumes even on the official Fair Trade websites.

The field research took place in Lodwar and Kalokol in Turkana Central District in N
Western Kenya. Lodwar is the District Capital and therefore the main commercial anc
administrative center of the Province. Kalokol, a small rural market town lies at the sh
Lake Turkana and is reachable only via a small tarmac road in very poor conditions. T
telecommunication network is inexistent or works only on top of some trees.

Picture 1: Research Area



Source: adapted from http://ffa.kenyafoodsecurity.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=104:tur

The Turkana people are traditionally pastoralists who regularly move around searchin
pastures and water for their animals. Climate change is making things worse as droug
becoming more frequent and longer with subsequent high rates of hunger and malnutr
With increasing difficulty to find water for the animals, additional or alternative ways

(Nairobi, other parts of Kenya and Africa, Europe), transportation costs are high, they lack market information and demand is generally fluctuating for craft and artisanal products (Watson & van Binsbergen, 2008).

The additional information provided in this chapter draws on Little (2001), Wawire (2003), Kaijage & Nyagah (2009) and Juma (2009) supplemented by my own observations and conversations in the field. The subsections describe the different capital stocks of Turkana (natural, financial, physical, human, political/social) as well as the gender division of labour among the Turkana.

Natural capital

Most part of the 77,000 km² Turkana County territory is classified as Arid and Semi-Arid Land (ASAL). 6,000 km² are occupied by Lake Turkana, the biggest and deepest lake in Kenya. Access to water for domestic use, livestock and crop production is difficult. In Kalokol salinity of water poses a further challenge.

Turkana is characterised by large plains, high temperatures (on average between 24 and 38 degrees Celsius) and low and highly variable rainfalls (between 150 and 350 millimetres annually). Every six to seven years one to three year droughts have occurred in the past.

Not much vegetation can cope with this harsh climate. The main types of trees belong to the acacia species. Trees are an important food source for animals and people, but also for medicines, firewood, as a source of shade and for building homes. The area suitable for cultivation is very small and along flood plains and rivers when there is enough water. In these areas the doum palm grows which is used for basket and mat weaving. As all other vegetation also the availability of the doum palm is reduced when the rivers are dry.

Land is communally owned. There are no individual land titles. One woman expressed it to me: ‘Why should we have land titles, if Turkana is blessed with plenty of land?’However, during prolonged drought periods conflicts sometimes arise for the best pastures.

Financial capital/Livelihood activities

Pastoralism and sale of livestock and livestock products is the predominant livelihood activity in the Turkana District. Livestock is important to all Turkana. The number of animals owned determines the status of a Turkana. Furthermore, livestock is important for its meat, milk and blood, as a means of saving and for reciprocal claims and it is used as payment for bride wealth. For pastoralist Turkana it is the main source of financial capital. One Turkana resumed the importance of livestock briefly to me: 'A Turkana without animals is not a Turkana.' Livestock is probably the most important part of the Turkana cultural identity.
At Lake Turkana fishery is practised. It is challenged by poor equipment, decreasing fish stocks and water levels, the latter caused by the Omo Dam in Ethiopia.
Informal and formal employment is mainly limited to urban and peri-urban centres in marketing (livestock, fish, baskets, foodstuff, and charcoal), schools, hotels, hospitals, development organisations, the Diocese of Lodwar and public administration.

Wealth and gender have a strong influence on diversification motivations and options available to pastoralists (Little, 2001). As this study has shown, the Turkana basket weavers engage in various livelihood activities (like charcoal and firewood sales), but all of them are of the category 'laborious and generate little income'.

Physical capital

Turkana households do not possess many physical items. They usually have some household utensils, a plastic jerry can to carry water, a table, a chair and maybe a bed. In Lodwar I observed that most weavers had a cellular phone. In the interior regions there are considerable difficulties in using the communication infrastructure. It is quite common that one has to climb up a tree in order to be able to make a phone call.

The road and transportation infrastructure in Turkana District is poor. There is one tarmac road passing from Lodwar to Sudan. When river Kwalase in Lodwar is flooding, this road is impassable as many other roads in the interior. The poor or absent road and transportation infrastructure is a barrier to trade. People walk over long distances to carry goods or to bring children to a health point or hospital. They do not use animals for transportation.

Human capital

Access to health facilities and education is limited in Turkana. Lodwar, as the district headquarter, as well as Kakuma or Lokichogio are an exception to this situation. If rural

people can afford it, they send their children to boarding schools or relatives in town. From informal talks I learnt that young men, who are considered to be particularly smart, are not sent to school as they are needed for herding and defending animals against cattle raiders.

Political/Social capital

Turkana, despite being one of the largest districts in Kenya, has long been marginalised by the Kenyan Government. Turkana had very few representatives in the Kenyan Parliament. Women were not represented. By the institution of a County Government with the new constitution, people I have talked to have hopes that power is decentralised and Turkana can decide for themselves the policies *they* want and think that they are best for their people.
At the local level political capital is influenced by the ability to accumulate financial capital, mainly livestock, and by social networks that one can address in times of crisis. The greater one's herds, the more powerful he/his family is.

Juma (2009), whose study's focus was the role of social relationships of Turkana in adapting to drought, argues that 'The most critical social activities that influence local people's livelihoods in the Turkana District are family affairs [marriage, divorce and widowhood] and friendship.' (Juma, 2009: 130)

Gender division of labour

Turkana men and women's livelihoods are composed of a wide variety of productive and reproductive activities. The following table summarises the most important features of the division of labour by gender among the Turkana.

Table 1: Gender division of labour among the Turkana

Duties	Women	Men
Home management and maintenance roles	• Fetching water for household use • Preparing food and gathering wild fruits for domestic consumption • Fetching firewood • Cleaning the compound and construction of: - animal kraals ((*anok*) - Main house (*akai*) - Children resting shelter (*ekal*) - Sleeping and cooking area (*atabo*)	• Husband and father • Decision making and supervisory roles e.g. delegate duties to women and children. • Ensuring discipline in the home • Providing for the family
Roles in livestock production	• Watering the livestock other than cattle (goats, donkeys and camels) by scooping water from the wells into a big calabash for the animals to drink • Preparation for migration to new locations • Milking the stock and positioning it out into different uses for the household • Herding small stock (goats).	• Ensuring that the livestock get pasture • Exploring good grazing land and water when the drought sets in. • Providing health services to the animals in the form of traditional herbs. • Making decisions on the slaughter and sale of animals or when and where to migrate • Providing security to animals and household members.
Roles in cultural production	• Socialization: bring forth children and nurturing them as they grow. Socialize the children into the Turkana way of life. • Supervise young girls when dowry is being paid, and later prepare them as brides on their wedding days. • Older women and even younger ones make skin clothes for girls and married women. • Women prepare food and even sing during rituals such as child-naming and weddings	• Organizing family meetings to deliberate on matters relating to the clan and family • Socialization of boys into adult roles in the Turkana society. They teach young boys the skills in herding (how to locate and identify good pasture/water source, herbs to cure diseases infecting herd), social adults skills of being a good husband and father and protecting the herd and the family. • Custodian of cultural values. Men make all decisions related to animal slaughter, migration, marriage and dowry payment and rituals and their performance.
Non-pastoral activities	• Weaving of mats, baskets and hats	• Start small business activities such as charcoal selling and kiosk ownership

Source: Juma, 2009: 277 (Appendix 5) referencing to Wawire, 2003: 1-3 and his own field data (2006).

From my own observations and data collected during field work also women sell charcoal, firewood, water and small food and non-food items. Other paid activities of women were for their services as cleaning ladies in guest houses/hotels or rich people's houses. Men also buy and sell animals, and in town also do construction work, or work as carpenters, mechanics,

drivers or security guards. At Lake Turkana men do fishing either for themselves at a very small scale or for outside businessmen.

Women do control the livestock products of livestock that is allocated to them (mostly milk from goats), but they cannot decide on slaughtering or selling an animal. They have to ask permission to their husband, father or male relative.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Through Undugu Fair Trade Limited (FTL)[3] weavers of the Kalokol Ewala Project at Lake Turkana gain access to international markets and potentially improve the livelihoods of themselves and their households. How well they succeed in it (also in comparison to non-Fair Trade artisans) was the central topic of this research. The research questions were formulated as follows:

General:

- How does participation in the Fair Trade business affect the livelihoods of Turkana women basket weavers?

Specific:

- Which changes in their lives do women basket weavers experience since they produce for Fair Trade?
- What is the perceived contribution of Fair Trade to these changes?
- How do livelihoods of women who produce for Fair Trade differ from those of women who produce for the non-Fair Trade market[4]?

[3] http://www.undugufairtrade.co.ke/
[4] Following Mestre (2004) we distinguish between Fair Trade (FT) and Non-Fair Trade (NFT) markets instead of conventional markets. Many artisans sell their products to parishes, NGOs etc., which are not necessarily part of the Fair Trade value chain.

2 Literature Review

Considering the above mentioned research questions this chapter reviews current literature on three areas which are central to this research: Fair trade impact studies, methodological literature on impact evaluations/assessments and literature on the livelihoods approach. First, I will start the review with discussing literature on impact and evaluation literature and definitions in general. Second, I will continue with a review of different fair trade impact studies, their methodological approaches and key findings. The third section of the literature review will present a discussion of the livelihoods concept and an adapted version as conceptual framework for this study.

2.1 Impact Assessments

In a context of economic recession and decreasing budgets of governments and private donors, impact assessments and evaluations[5] are gaining importance. Donors, public or private, want to know how the money designated to a certain program is/was spent, ie how effective their financial support is.[6]

Different organizations and scholars use slightly different definitions of impact. The *Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation and Results Based Management* of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development/Development Assistance Committee (OECD/DAC, 2009: 31) gives the following definition of the term 'impact': 'Positive and negative, primary and secondary long-term effects produced by a development intervention, directly or indirectly, intended or unintended.' Gertler et al. from the World Bank (2011) describe the aim of an impact evaluation as: 'an impact evaluation assesses the changes in the well-being of individuals that can be *attributed* to a particular project, program, or policy' (Gertler et al., 2011: 4), unfortunately not explaining how they understand well-being.

As we can see from the emphasis on the word 'attributed' in the World Bank definition debates around impact assessments focus on how best to determine *causal attribution* and if this is even possible. There is considerable agreement on the difficulty of attributing results to a particular program, policy or activity (Roche, 1999; Smutylo, 2001; Bird, 2002; Gertler et al., 2011) as it 'requires isolating the key factors that caused the desired results and attributing them to particular agency or set of activities' (Smutylo, 2001: 4). The challenge here is how

[5] I will use both terms interchangeably as I could not find any significant difference in meaning in the literature.
[6] The debate around the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness of 2005 has contributed to a growing number of impact studies (see also Prowse, 2007).

factors can be isolated in a human environment that is *per se* dynamic and complex, and even more so in developing countries. For Smutylo the search to demonstrate attribution to a specific project or program is contradictory to 'examine or learn about how the contributions or involvement of others....and the environment in which those interventions occur, fit together to create development results' (2001: 8). He proposes to look for *contribution* to change rather than for attribution[7], as interventions are always embedded in a wider context with different interacting forces.

Positions that allow for subjectivity in judging a 'significant' change or that emphasise to take into consideration "the ongoing dynamics of the context in which these activities occur" (Roche, 1999: 23) contrast somehow with the current debate on how to measure performance as objectively as possible embraced by large multilateral agencies such as the World Bank (2011) and the Asian Development Bank (2006). In their impact evaluation manuals there is a clear focus on experimental or quasi-experimental evaluation designs. These involve the construction of a 'counterfactual' which means the identification of how the results would have been without the particular intervention (Gertler et al., 2011). Central to the experimental study design (so called Randomised Control Trials, RCT) is the random assignment of an intervention within a prior defined group. RCTs, which have their origins in the medical sector, assess the differences in outcomes between the so called 'treatment group' and the 'control group' (also called comparison group), ie the group of people with the same characteristics as the treatment group that has not participated in the programme. Quasi-experimental methods lack randomization, but simulate a control group (Jones et al, 2009). And that is where the crux of the matter lies: How can the evaluator ensure that there are no *a priori* differences between treatment and control group, if an experimental design cannot be adopted? How can the effects of so-called 'unobservables' (or 'omitted variables') be controlled for? These are characteristics of the 'control' group that might have a strong influence on the project outcome, but which are unknown to the evaluator. Bamberger et al. (2012: 248) argue:

> 'Although randomized allocation of subjects to treatment (project) and control groups can be used in program evaluation, it is rarely possible to control the conditions of the two groups over the period when the project (treatment) is being implemented (which can be several months or even several years). Consequently, there is always the problem of determining how much of any observed difference is due to the effect of the project and how much is due to other differences,

[7] Outcome Mapping is the approach proposed by Smutylo and the IDRC Evaluation Unit (Smutylo, 2001).

> unrelated to the project, in the situation of the two groups during the project implementation period.'

Despite the fact that some researchers suggest tying development aid to evidence based on the 'gold standard' of RCTs, the possibility for its universal applicability in the development context are not without sceptical and critical voices (see in Prowse, 2007; Jones et al., 2009). Without entering into the details of the arguments against RCTs, there are some practical as well as ethical problems related to randomisation. Not all sorts of projects are suitable for RCTs and in many cases it would be unethical to exclude potential beneficiaries from an intervention for the sake of evaluation rigour (Prowse, 2007). Scientific rigour, the lack of baseline data, impossibility to establish control groups, time and budget are some often cited problems in the literature on impact assessments and evaluations (Roche, 1999; Bird, 2002; Bamberger et al., 2012). These may lead researchers/practitioners to a "difficult trade-off between budgets and deadlines on the one hand and desired standards of methodological rigor on the other" (Bamberger et al., 2012: 7). White (2009) contributes to the debate in trying to shed light on the 'controversies and confusions' (2009: 6) around impact evaluation by arguing that the DAC and the World Bank both define impact, but fundamentally mean different things. 'And there is no reason at all why these different types of studies need [to] adopt the same methodology.' (White, 2009: 7) These different understandings are reflected in the discussion on comparison groups/counterfactuals as well as on contribution/attribution.

Summarizing the discussion in this section, I argue that an evaluator is like a 'wire dancer': s/he needs to balance strict scientific rigour with reasoned judgement, objectivity with subjectivity. There is no blue-print of 'right' or 'wrong' evaluation designs. It is the researchers' task to fit the design to the specific contextual factors and practical constraints and to address and reduce possible biases. Though, clear documentation of the research process and procedures are an absolute must to strengthen the research's validity and credibility.[8]

[8] Bamberger et al. (2012) provide useful checklists for assessing threats to validity of findings (509-521).

2.2 FAIR TRADE IMPACT STUDIES

Impact studies on Fair Trade initiatives are a small, but apparently growing, part of the whole Fair Trade literature. [9] Women and the handicraft sector are under-researched according to a comprehensive literature review carried out by Vagneron and Roquigny for the French Platform of Fair Trade (PFCE) in 2010. In their analysis of 77 Fair Trade impact studies only 4% had covered the handicraft sector, compared to 92% that focused on food products (coffee, bananas, cocoa). Only a few impact assessments on Fair Trade and craft in Africa have been carried out (Mestre, 2004; Jones et al., 2011). Thus, there is still much to understand about the impact of Fair Trade on producers in the handicraft sector.

Considering the great majority of literature being on food and agricultural products, they have been included in the review even if the craft sector differs in many ways from the food or cotton sector. Handicrafts are not part of the Fair Trade certification scheme, and therefore the various Fair Trade standards of the FAIRTRADE trademark do not apply.[10] For example, there is not a minimum guaranteed price or a premium for handicraft producers; 'fair prices' are agreed on between the different stakeholders.[11]

One encounters a huge variety of approaches, theoretical frameworks and methods applied to the assessment of Fair Trade impact. Table 8 and 9 in Appendix 1 give an overview of the reviewed literature. In the presentation of key findings from different authors I have concentrated on the impacts on producers as these are the main focus of this research. Only literature that draws on evidence from field research has been included.

From the reviewed literature[12] some general points can be drawn:

- Most of the studies focus on producers and producer organizations.
- All studies are quite recent. The oldest one dates from the year 2000.
- There are a great variety of conceptual frameworks: for example the SLF or adaptations of it (Le Mare, 2007; Utting, 2009), the logical framework (Paul, 2005) and the Moser framework (Le Mare, 2007). In many cases, however, the conceptual framework is not clearly specified.

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[9] The discussion around the movement and alternative trading scheme will not be part of this review. It is a more political and ideological than empirical question and not the scope of this study. For a critical discussion on different conceptualisations of Fair Trade, see Walton (2010) 'What is Fair Trade?'
[10] See www.fairtrade.net for Fairtrade standards.
[11] See Principle 4 of the 10 Principles of the World Fair Trade Organization (WFTO) in Appendix II.
[12] See Appendix I.

- Many studies have been commissioned or funded by Fair Trade Organisations (e.g. Traidcraft, Artisans du Monde, Twin and Twin Trading Ltd.).
- Methods applied are along the whole spectrum of social research, with some preference of qualitative methods.
- No study used a clearly experimental approach, although some scholars used non-Fair Trade producers as a comparison group (Ronchi, 2002b; Mestre, 2004; Jaffee, 2007; Le Mare, 2007; Ruben, Fort & Zúñiga-Arias; 2009).

All studies discuss positive impacts of Fair Trade on producers. These range from economic (e.g. increased incomes, better market access), human (new skills, greater food security), social/empowerment (e.g. improved status within family and community, additional social networks) to environmental (e.g. increased environmental awareness, sustainable agricultural practices) impacts.

Interestingly, few authors clearly mention negative impacts of Fair Trade. Ronchi (2002b), however, mentions that income increase from Fair Trade cocoa production in the specific case of Kuapa Kokoo in Ghana is negligible, and that women have limited control over the income. The evaluation carried out by Mestre (2004) with the French Fair Trade Federation Artisans du Monde in nine countries, focusing on the handicraft sector, shows that Fair Trade producers generally can only achieve higher prices if they produce for the export market. Poe & Kyle (2006), in a very small comparative study of a Fair Trade-NGO, a non-profit company and a private handicraft business, provide evidence that in Bangladesh Fair Trade basket weavers earn less than their non-Fair Trade counterparts. The scholars, however, positively recognise 'the additional services of training in health, literacy, and gender awareness that enable the artisans to grow in areas outside of basket weaving' (Poe & Kyle, 2006: 16).

As we have seen most authors have discussed a wide variety of positive impacts of Fair Trade that result from their analyses. Nevertheless, there seems to be a great overlap in researchers' conclusions that Fair Trade initiatives are not enough to help people *end* their poverty status. 'However, Fair Trade is not a panacea, and it does not bring the majority of participants out of poverty' (Jaffee, 2007: 8), Jaffee notes. Le Mare, in her extensive research on artisans in Bangladesh, comes to a similar conclusion: Fair Trade helps people not to get deeper into poverty, but it is not enough to lift them out of chronic poverty (Le Mare, 2007). And Mestre opens his evaluation report with: 'Fair Trade improves, but it does not change.' (Mestre, 2004: 7)

In summary, the literature review shows mixed outcomes of Fair Trade initiatives on peoples' lives and makes clear that on the basis of sole income effects, Fair Trade is not by definition more successful than non-Fair Trade. If, however, wider economic and social effects are taken into consideration, the Fair Trade account is generally quite positive.

2.3 LIVELIHOODS

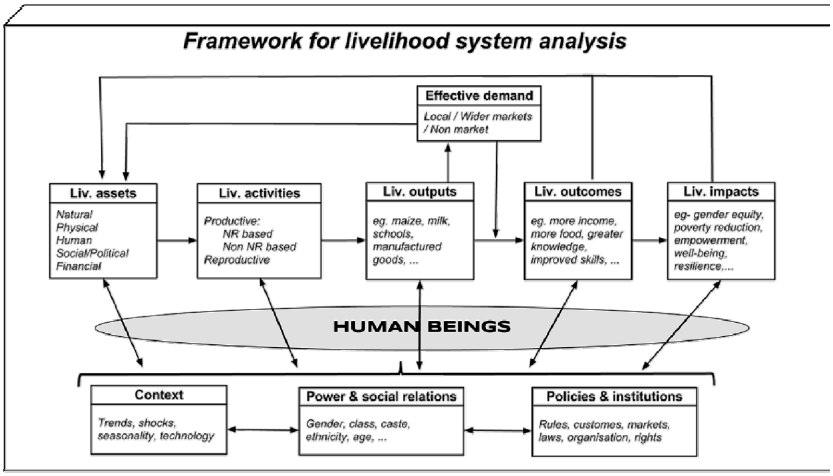
Livelihood approaches have their origins in the early 1990s in different UK institutions, mainly IDS, ODI and DFID with influences dating back to the early 1980s. Scoones (1998) by drawing on Chambers and Conway (1992) and others has given the 'IDS team's definition' of 'livelihood', that has become one of the most cited definitions on livelihoods:

> 'A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base.' (Scoones, 1998: 5)

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) should depict the whole complexity of the reality of most of the poor in developing countries in one graph and serve as an analytical tool for planning, monitoring and evaluation. More recent critiques of the SLF come from gender and social development researchers who highlight the omission of political, gender and power relations (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005; Okali, 2006). Others (Dorward, 2003) have identified markets, institutions and technology as 'missing links in livelihoods analysis' (Dorward, 2003: 1). Drawing from different sources, an adapted framework for analyzing livelihoods was developed as a conceptual framework for the purposes of this study. This livelihoods system analysis framework differs from more 'classical' frameworks in the inclusion of the following aspects:

- power and social relations (which influence all livelihoods)
- social and political assets
- reproductive activities
- markets
- livelihood impacts
- the graphical depiction of human beings at the centre of the livelihood system

Figure 1: Framework for livelihood system analysis



Source: author, drawing on Scoones (1998: 4); DFID (1999: 1); Ellis (2000: 30); Dorward (2001: 2); de Haan/Zoomers (2005)

The original idea of a people-centred approach has been graphically depicted in the framework. People are part of a complex system. The framework helps to shed light o complexity. A single researcher can hardly achieve to cover the whole complexity of framework. As others, however, have mentioned (Scoones, 1998; DFID, 1999), such frameworks serve as guides, tools or checklists. Depending on the particular study cas different aspects will get more attention than others.

Markets (with the basic market forces supply and demand) are an important element c livelihood system. Market failures, thin or missing markets, absent markets all constra foster peoples' possibilities to realise their livelihood goals. People's livelihoods are s influenced by contextual factors, by social institutions, political decisions as well as p relations. And people themselves through their actions (with varying degree of agency these factors – therefore the arrows in the graph are in both directions. The immediate objective of Turkana women's basket weaving is – after having satisfied the own dem sell the baskets to either Fair Trade or Non-Fair Trade market outlets. Therefore, mark

purpose) is the short- to mid-term result achieved by using the output and *impact* is the long-term change that is a consequence of the output (also called *goal, higher level outcomes, highest level results*).[13]

To explain the different terms, here an example: Basket weaving is an activity. The *outputs* of this activity are baskets. By selling the baskets, income is generated. The income is the *outcome* of the activity. Income enables the basket weaver to buy food. If the income is sufficiently high and regular, in the long run the weaver will experience positive changes (*impact*) in his/her food security.

The above framework has been designed specifically for this study and served as an *aide-mémoire* for study design and data analysis. It should, however, be useful for different kinds of studies as the originally already broad approach has been further expanded and incorporated common critiques to the SLF. It is hoped that the livelihood system analysis is a useful tool also for project and evaluation design.

I used the framework for data analysis. It helped to order thoughts resulting from the evidence collected.

[13] Different authors and agencies use sometimes different terms with equal meanings or equal terms with different meanings (Bamberger et al., 2012, chapter 2 and 10; RBM, 2010; Wilson-Grau, 2008; Smutylo, 2001).

3 Research methodology

The chosen methodology for this study consisted of a mixed methods approach. The elements of this approach comprised of a questionnaire, guided (semi-structured) interviews with producers and key informants as well as focus group discussions with producers.[14] Informal conversations with staff working in the Diocese of Lodwar as well as unstructured observation of the living conditions of the interviewees complemented the approach. The combination of different methods was aimed to cross-check findings and, thus, to improve the validity of the results.[15]

Although informed by an extensive literature review on Fair Trade no prior hypothesis that the FT producers would do better or worse than the producers of the NFT comparison group was formulated. An inductive approach by first gathering the data (during six weeks field work in Lodwar and Kalokol[16]) and then building a theory on the results was followed.

3.1 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection and preliminary analysis were conducted in two phases. The first phase was carried out with the TWH in Lodwar. After data collection (with the above mentioned methods), data entering, preliminary analysis and making of logistical arrangements for Kalokol, the second phase was done with the women of the Kalokol Ewala Project following the same sequence.

The questionnaire was pre-tested with a weaver from the TWH of the Diocese of Lodwar. No changes were made to it. Consent was sought from all respondents prior to each interview. The interviewees were also informed that I was not in the position to help them directly, but indirectly with my report for the group decision-makers.

Survey sampling method

Simple random sample methods were used to select respondents. The questionnaire sample was selected from a list of TWH (NFT) group participants provided by the manager. From this list twenty one (84% of the sample population) women were randomly selected by process of drawing names from a bag. For the Ewala Women Project (FT) there was no list

[14] See Appendix III for the different tools and participants/respondents.
[15] For a discussion on the mixed methods approach see Bryman, 2008: Chapter 25.
[16] See map of the research area in Chapter 1.

from which to select the women randomly. Twenty one interviews (60% of the population) were conducted with a self selected sample. During the interviews only the producer and the enumerator were present.

Focus groups

Two focus group discussions were conducted at the TWH (NFT) weaving centre in Lodwar, one with eight producers, the other with nine. With the Ewala group (FT) one focus group discussion with ten producers was conducted. As I was not able to conduct individual interviews with the Ewala producers, I had included in the discussion some of the questions from the semi-structured interview guide, too. One of the assistants moderated the discussion, the other took notes. The group discussions were not transcribed and translated, but I analysed the (English) notes taken by one of the assistants.

One of my focus group objectives was to know the women's own views on what livelihood outcomes are important to them and even criteria on how to measure an improvement in their livelihoods. I expected a sort of 'guideline' to assess impacts from their own perspectives. The outcome of this discussion, however, was rather disappointing in the sense that it did not allow me a 'thick' description of the women's views on those issues.[17] Nonetheless hunger/lack of food, the concern for their children's education and the need for cash income and/or cheap loans emerged as women's priorities. These themes emerged also in the data collected with other interview methods (including some open-ended survey questions).

Semi-structured interviews

a) with producers

I conducted four semi-structured interviews of about 30 to 45 minutes each with purposively selected NFT producers, two younger and two elderly ladies. Due to the lack of time I could not conduct individual interviews with the FT producers.

b) with key informants

The key informant for the TWH group was the TWH group manager. Since 2008 she is employed by the Diocese of Lodwar as the manager of the weaving business. She has never studied business administration or marketing, but she has a long-standing experience with the

[17] There could be various reasons: a) Poor moderating skills. b) They have never thought or talked about it and were just not prepared to that sort of questions. c) Fatigue (it was above 35 degrees in the afternoon) and hunger.

basket weavers. Her tasks include the training of weavers, the purchase and sales of baskets nationally and abroad. She has two male assistants. In addition to informal talks about the weavers and basket business in general, I had a formal 1 ½ hour semi-structured interview with her.

In Kalokol, I had a 1 ½ hour semi-structured interview with the chairlady and the group secretary. The latter served also as translator from Swahili to English as the chairlady has limited knowledge of English. Both women have other paid jobs. Their work in the group is on voluntary basis. The chairlady has been nominated in 2008. She is the one who is in direct contact with Undugu FTL in Nairobi and manages the basket marketing as well as trainings.

With the marketing manager of Undugu FTL a face-to-face interview was not possible. Therefore, I sent my interview questions via email. We had numerous email exchanges.

The role of the female interpreters – who were university students - as cultural brokers was important. They gave me insights in the Turkana way of living, their challenges, and especially on decision-making processes in household and community.

The insights the informants have provided were valuable for understanding data collected from questionnaires, discussions and interviews. They were extremely helpful in introducing me to the producers and getting their participation in the study.

Constraints and limitations

Prior to my visit I was misinformed regarding TWH's production for FT. On my arrival I discovered that they had stopped selling to Undugu FTL in 2007. Hence, I have 'lost' some time at the beginning searching for a FT group in the Lodwar area, and, as a consequence, could spend less time than planned with them. A short pre-field visit could have helped overcome this problem.

I had the questionnaire translated into Turkana. The interpreters, however, were reluctant to use the Turkana questionnaire as they were not used to read (and write) Turkana. They directly translated from English to Turkana. Using two non experienced assistants to conduct the survey and not insisting on the use of the Turkana questionnaire had the drawback that questions maybe have been posed differently. This could have had an influence on the responses. On the other hand it enabled me to increase the sample size.

Although people were willing to participate in the survey interviews and focus group discussions, it was increasingly difficult to get the availability of the women for the qualitative interviews without compensating them for their time. Because of limited time no qualitative interviews with FT producers were conducted.

The very low level of education – 78.57% of the 42 respondents have never attended school – might have made it difficult for some women to really understand what was asked for. Especially when it comes to numbers, such as income and expenditure, time periods, distances etc. some answers might be distorted. These questions, in particular, were cross-checked and corrected where necessary by the help of key informants and the interviewees themselves.

3.2 DATA ANALYSIS

As collection was in two stages, so was the analysis. The first part of the analysis was after the data collection in Lodwar, the second after data collection in Kalokol. Both were done as described in the following paragraphs.

All guided interviews were tape-recorded with a small audio recording device and transcribed verbatim by me within two days of the interviews. The transcription was lengthy, but helpful in getting a good understanding of the data. I used headphones and transcribed the text into word in a table with one broad column for the text and one smaller column for the codes.

I entered the questionnaire data into SPSS 20.0 immediately after having finished all the interviews. Some days later the data entered into the program were checked again to be sure about any potential mistakes. While entering the data I noted down puzzling answers, possible misunderstandings etc. Some questions that had arisen could be cleared with the women during the qualitative interviews. I started analyzing the data using the frequencies function in SPSS. Then I summarised the focus group notes and started coding them on the margins. I coded also all other interviews right after the transcription looking at prevailing and recurring themes. The codes were emerging from the data (e. g. income, food, changes). Then I started writing my first reflections on the data and did some first comparisons of the two groups. I continued rereading the interviews and focus group summary notes as well as looking carefully on the results of the quantitative data. I noted down more reflections. With the help of Excel I prepared graphs of some of the SPSS outputs. Furthermore, while still in the field I took the chance to discuss the preliminary results with the TWH group manager and with staff of the Diocese of Lodwar who know the reality on the ground well from their development

projects. These discussions have enriched my own thoughts on the data. I wrote down regular field notes on my observations and informal conversations which were useful in getting a deeper understanding of the context.

At a later step in the analysis I tried to fit my data into the conceptual framework I had created to get a clear picture of the weavers' livelihoods. It was useful in writing up the discussion and conclusion chapter of this study.

4 Results

Trying to understand basket weavers' livelihoods and the impact of weaving/selling baskets either through the FT or the NFT market was crucial to this research. Guided by the conceptual framework the interview tools covered a wide variety of aspects. Some were more related to the income-generating activity of basket weaving and selling, others to basic assets and fulfilment of basic needs as well as skills acquisition and decision-making. For several questions a recall period of three years was asked, for others the time since they work in the group. These answers should help in determining changes in the lives of producers of the two study groups: Kalokol Ewala Project (FT) and Turkana Women Handicraft (NFT).

Kalokol Ewala Project (Ewala) is located in the village of Maendeleo which is part of the small rural town at the western shore of Lake Turkana.[18] The group had been formed in 1997 with the aim of establishing a local basket weaving industry and train women with artistic skills (EPC, Handcrafted Elegance Catalogue). In 2000 Undugu FTL has approached the group to partner with them. The group size differs according to orders from around 35 to 45 women. The Ewala weavers do not exclusively sell to FT. This is mainly a function of irregular FT orders or lower or different quality from what FT has required.

Turkana Women Handicraft (TWH) was established in 1992 by the Irish missionary Sr. Kathleen Crowley from the Diocese of Lodwar with the objective of sustaining poor women in Lodwar and the surrounding area through marketing their craft products. From 2000 to 2007 Undugu FTL had been a customer of TWH. Since 2008 TWH markets the co-operatives' products through their own shops in Lodwar and Nairobi. It works with more than 100 women in Lodwar and several Turkana villages.

Before presenting the main findings of this study, the following table displays some demographic data of the sampled women and their families in both groups:

[18] See a map of the research locations in Chapter 1.

Table 2: Age, Schooling, years of group membership and no. of dependents

	Ewala (FT)	TWH (NFT)
	%	%
Age		
20-29	14.3	23.8
30-39	19.0	28.6
40-41	33.3	19.0
50 and above	33.3	28.6
Schooling		
no schooling	85.7	71.4
attended non-formal school		4.8
some primary	14.3	19.0
primary completed		4.8
Years in the group		
2 years or less	9.5	4.8
3 to 5	33.4	33.3
6 to 8		4.8
9 to 11	9.5	19.0
12 to 15	47.7	38.1
	Count	Count
Average no. of dependent children	5.76	5.76
Average no. of dependent adults	2.05	2.38

Ewala, n=21; TWH, n=21

The weavers in FT and the NFT comparison group show similar characteristics. The percentage of women who have never attended school in both groups is high, the number of dependent children and adults is very similar, and group adherence for the majority of producers is more than a decade. What could have affected both groups to a differing extent are some exogenous factors as the supply of relief food, the different road and communication network, as well as different possibilities to access natural resources (e.g. doum palm leaves, lake, rivers). Another factor, that probably has an important influence on the differences in women's livelihoods, is the management capacity of the group leadership (e.g. how well she can motivate the producers, acquire customers, etc.).

4.1 BASKET PRODUCTION AND SALES

The basket weavers weave mostly together with other group members sitting on the ground, either in the shade of a tree or the shelter. The younger women have their babies and small children with them. The women work together and support each other morally and sometimes

also with cash, if a woman has a severe problem (e.g. additional costs for a funeral). In the background of picture 2 (Appendix VI) there is the typical Turkana house called *manyatta*, a round shelter, built with organic material. The women are responsible for building these houses. Other responsibilities include fetching water, cleaning the compound, cooking and washing clothes for the whole family. A typical day of the weaving women was described by A.

> 'I wake up at 5. Then I clean the compound and the house, wash utensils, then I wash clothes, after finishing washing clothes, I come here, I weave, then I go back home, I prepare supper, we eat all together and then we sleep.' (TWH weaver)

Data about weaving hours, walking distance to fetch water and time for other household work reveal that all women face an enormous work load with weaving and household chores:

Table 3: basket producer's time use

		Ewala (FT) %	TWH (NFT) %
weaving hours/day			
	>6 hours	100	100
weaving days/week			
	≥6 days	85.7	76.1
walking distance (one way) to fetch water			
	30 minutes	52.4	95.2
	1 hour	38.1	4.8
	2 hours	9.5	

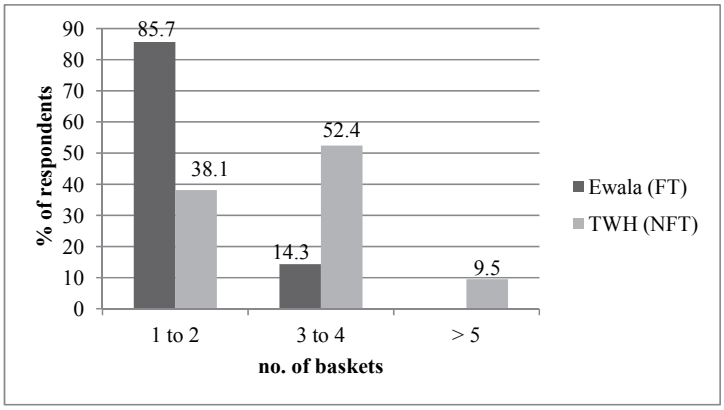
Ewala, n=21; TWH, n=21

The time for other productive or reproductive work was not asked for.

More than half of the women of the FT group (52.4%) are engaged in an additional income-generating activity (e. g. selling charcoal, firewood or fish) whereas only 23.8% of the women in the NFT group get income from another productive activity than weaving.

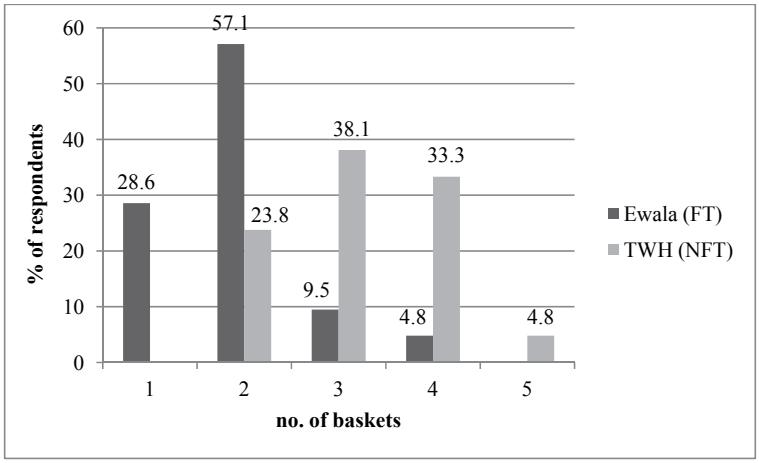
According to the level of dexterity and her available time the number of baskets a woman can finish in a month differs. 85.7% of women in the FT group produce one or two baskets in a month, while the majority of NFT weavers (52.4%) produce three or four baskets per month (Figure 2). One has to consider here that the FT group produces mainly the traditional Turkana baskets with a size of 18-20 feet. It can take the women from two to three weeks to produce such a big basket. The NFT group weavers also produce many smaller sizes that can be finished within a few days.

Figure 2: Monthly individual basket production



57.1% of the Ewala (FT) women sell two baskets in a month. No woman can sell five or more baskets. The NFT weavers do better. More than 70% indicated monthly sales of three to four baskets.

Figure 3: Monthly individual basket sales



Although Figure 2 and 3 do not tell us about the *exact* number of the baskets produced and sold *every* month as it varies with orders and weaving hours/days, they can give us a general indication on the women's average productivity and opportunities for sale. The results in Figure 3 were also thought to cross-check the answers in Figure 2.

An important fact to consider in the whole study is that more than one third of the FT weavers (38.1%) sell their products also outside the group, therefore to the (local) non Fair Trade market. We will discuss the rationale for this situation in the following section and chapter 6.

4.2 PRICES AND INCOMES

The women get paid per piece of finished item. An average monthly income is difficult to establish as there is much variation throughout the year with peaks when the organisations receive a big order from outside and low to zero income when there are no orders or women need to find buyers outside the group to meet their consumption needs or when a woman is not able to weave for some reason (e.g. sickness, travel to funeral, birth of a child, etc.). The Ewala chairlady, when asked about average incomes of the women in a 'good' month, had difficulties to answer the question, but eventually indicated an average amount of 1,000 KES[19]. The amount depends much on the weaving speed and skills of the woman and the size of the produced basket, she explained. In the NFT group capable weavers can earn between 3,000-4,000 KES[20] and weak performers between 1,000-1,500 KES in a 'normal' month, ie without constraints that might impede her to work regularly.

Women who produce for TWH (NFT) are paid cash on delivery, while the FT women get paid through their Chairlady only once the complete Undugu payment is on the group account.[21] From that amount all the costs to get the packaged baskets from Kalokol at Lake Turkana to Nairobi (744 km, approximately 20 to 24 hours on very bad roads) are deduced before the producer gets paid.

Figure 4 shows a comparison of producer prices for big (20ft) and small (12ft) baskets in both groups. Ewala negotiates the price with Undugu and from time to time asks for an adjustment to the increase in living costs. The Ewala producer price depicted is a rough calculation. The exact producer price depends on the actual costs incurred for product delivery to Nairobi whereas TWH prices are fixed prices.[22]

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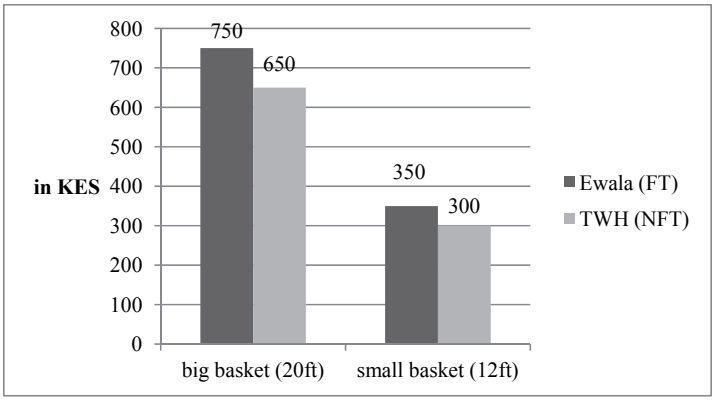
[19] It was not possible to access the records of the Ewala group treasurer to get exact data on payments. - 100 KES on 1st May 2013 was at 0.89422 Euro or 0.75610 British Pounds (see www.oanda.com). To give some background information on wages: The Kenyan monthly minimum wage rate of an ungraded artisan is set at 8,834 KES (http://www.wageindicator.org/main/minimum-wages/kenya) as per order 1st May 2012. In a survey from Kaijage & Nyagah (2009) 30% (of a sample of 209 households) indicated an average annual income of less than 10,000 KES in Kalokol.

[20] From the TWH records of payments an average income a good performer received in the period June to August 2012 was calculated.

[21] According to the marketing manager of Undugu, the company pays 50% in advance to the group account.

[22] 2012 Undugu had paid 350 KES for a small and 1150 for a large basket. From this price Ewala subtracts a share of the costs for transport, tax and other fees. The amount shown in the figure is an approximate net producer price which I was given by the Ewala chairlady.

Figure 4: Producer payment for big and small baskets in KES



From 42 respondents only three producers said that her income from weaving is enough to cover the monthly expenses of the family (1 in the FT group, 2 in the NFT group). In the NFT group all women stated that weaving is the activity from which they earn most income, while more than 20% of the FT weavers earn more income from selling firewood, charcoal or other activities than from selling baskets.[23]

The weavers appreciate the FT prices, but are complaining about the fact that the FT organisation pays them only after three to six months after the delivery which makes it very difficult for them to cover their monthly expenditures.

> 'Nowadays we need to sell our baskets in town, sell firewood or other things to buy food, or take credit in the shops before we receive the money from Undugu. Once we receive the money, we need to pay back debts and are left with nothing. So we are not benefiting.' (FGD, Ewala)

There is, however, a discrepancy in the statements regarding payment between producers and Undugu. The latter confirmed that there is a 50% pre-payment. It would need further investigation if this is not passed on to the producers by Ewala. In any case the open amount is paid only when the products are sold by FT.

The survey data show that all the respondents in the FT group consider income from basket weaving as irregular and unstable[24], whereas 76.2% of the NFT weavers consider their income as regular and stable. During the focus group discussion, both the chairlady and the women cited the scarcity of orders as being the main reason for this.

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[23] For detailed results see Appendix V.
[24] This is probably consistent with the findings of Kaijage & Nyagah (2009: 80). From 440 people interviewed in Kalokol almost 40% perceived their incomes as irregular and insecure.

> ‘Before it [the order] was monthly, every month. But nowadays it is not frequent. It could be twice in a year or trice or even another year it goes without any order.’ (Ewala chairlady)

> ‘The orders are the ones bringing problems. If we could have received them frequently, it would have been better.’ (FGD, Ewala)

The scarcity of orders must be related to the dramatic decline in Undugu’s overseas basket sales during the last years.[25] According to the marketing manager of Undugu FTL competition from Asian basketry products would affect the size of basket sales.

> ‘The biggest challenge with the Turkana baskets is price. That makes them uncompetitive as compared to almost similar kinds from Asia.’(Marketing manager Undugu FTL)

Both poor transport infrastructure and low production capacity would be a ‘big hindrance to pushing both local and regional marketing of these beautiful products’ he said by answering the question to possible reasons for the drop in sales during the last years.

Despite the fact that Undugu FTL orders are very irregular and payment is late, 61.9% of the respondents sell all the baskets they produce only through the group. This number might surprise, but is explained by the fact that in the local market the women get very little money, sometimes only one third or less of the FT price. Therefore, many women keep the finished items in their homes hoping that sooner or later they could sell them to FT.

> ‘So that is why even when they finish weaving they don’t sell here, because that money cannot help them. So they just weave and keep them. When we receive an order, we just put them together and send.’ (Ewala chairlady)

The women prefer to store their baskets until an order from Nairobi comes in and to smooth consumption with income from other activities, borrowing money or skipping meals. Women, who do not have additional income sources, sell the baskets in the local market to buy food and other necessities.

Summarising, the FT price is considerably higher than the local price for baskets, but not much higher than the price received by the NFT weavers. The income flow from weaving is too irregular and low to allow the FT producers to cover their monthly expenditures[26] and satisfy their most basic needs. NFT weavers benefit from greater income stability, but even though struggle to make a living.

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[25] According to figures provided by Undugu sales to the US declined by more than 70% and European sales by more than 80% from 2006 to 2009.
[26] See details on monthly expenditures in Appendix V.

4.3 SATISFACTION OF BASIC NEEDS

The evidence from both the survey data and the qualitative data show that the lack of food and the desire to get cash income were indicated as the main reasons for joining the weaving groups.[27]

The following table depicts the survey results of some of the variables that can be related to the satisfaction of basic needs.

Table 4: Satisfaction of basic needs

	Ewala (FT) %	TWH (NFT) %
1) Lack of food*	100	100
2) Meals/day	23.8 (1 meal) 76.2 (2 meals)	76.2 (1 meal) 23.8 (2 meals)
3) Food aid	42.9	0
4) Lack of water**	42.9	19
5) Access to credit	23.8	33.3
6) Savings	14.3	47.6
7) Access to regular social transfers	9.5	14.3

Notes:
* Response to: Do you have enough food for you and your dependents during the whole year?
** Response to: Is there always enough water available for your needs?
For all questions Ewala, n=21 and TWH, n=21.

The typical food for women of the Ewala group is composed of ugali[28], maize, beans and fish. The TWH weavers instead of fish eat sukumawiki[29].

All FT producers and their dependents face periods of food and water insecurity during the year. More than 90% reported that they did not have enough food during two to three months. 2010 due to the severe drought many women reported the lack of food during ten, eleven and more months. Relief food, which more than 40% of them received in the last year, is not enough to make them food secure. They do not lack only food, but also water. More than 40% said that there is not always enough water available for their needs. Most of them get water

[27] See details on reasons for joining the weaving groups in Appendix V.
[28] Maize flour cooked with water, sometimes called also posho.
[29] It is a vegetable similar to cabbage.

from the river. During droughts it becomes increasingly difficult to access water from the river; the already scarce income has to be used also to buy water.

The weavers are net buyers of food[30]. 23.8% of the FT producers take credit (from private moneylenders, relatives or neighbours) to buy food and water, but also to pay for medical expenses. Only 14.3% of the FT women are able to save some money to pay for unexpected expenses (e. g. medical bills, funeral). This relatively low number from the survey finding is corroborated by the qualitative research.

> 'We do not save money due to so many problems at home, for instance buying food, taking children to school, paying fees, medical bills etc.' (FGD, Ewala)

The percentage of NFT weavers who save is significantly higher and lies at 47.6%[31]. Nevertheless, also all the weavers of the NFT group had not enough food for them and their dependents for at least two months during the last year with longer periods during drought. The NFT producers did not report to have received relief food during the last year. Fewer NFT women are water insecure. As they are situated in Lodwar, it is easier for them to get access to piped water, although at a higher cost than in Kalokol. More NFT weavers have access to credit, but the source and the use is the same.

The three most common items income is used for by both FT and NFT producers are food/water, school/education and medical expenses[32], hence, the income is mostly used for basic necessities for themselves and their children.

Respondents were asked to tick the 3 most common items how they use income from basket weaving. Therefore the percentages in figure 5 do not add up to 100 percent. *Transportation*, *improvement of shelter*, *animals* and the open category *other* were not chosen by any of the respondents and therefore omitted here to improve readability of the graph.

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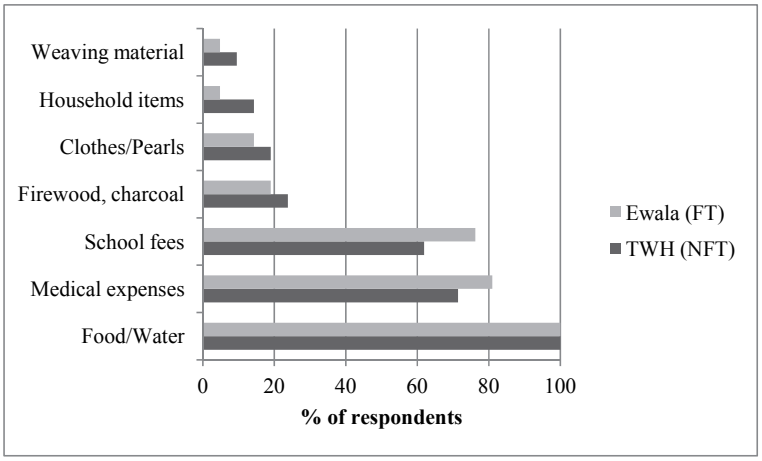
[30] The soil and climate is not suitable for agriculture. Almost all food is imported to Turkana from other parts of Kenya. Food prices, therefore, are higher than elsewhere in the country.
[31] For details see Appendix V.
[32] This is confirmed by data collected in Kalokol 2009 (Kaijage & Nyagah, 2009: 85).

Figure 5: Income use (3 most common items)



In summary, many FT weavers are food and water insecure, rely on relief food and only a few have access to money from credits or savings. NFT weavers seem to have more financial assets than their FT counterparts, but are equally food insecure.

4.4 SKILLS ACQUISITION, DECISION-MAKING AND LIFE SATISFACTION

Skills acquisition

To market a product, design and (constant) quality plays an important role. Partnering with Undugu FTL improved the weaving style of the Ewala group. In fact, 85.7% of the women acquired new skills in the group. According to the Ewala chairlady, the group, advised by Undugu they changed the way of production as they now use different colours, sizes and shapes.

> 'Undugu has improved our style and mode of weaving. First, we were just weaving baskets anyhow, only one design. But they improved us with some new designs. And they have assisted this group by marketing our things outside there.' (Ewala chairlady)

The survey data showed that the skills the women acquired in the group, however, concern only weaving. According to the women they could not use or adapt them for other livelihood activities, but almost 30% (28.6%) stated that they used the new skills to teach weaving to other women and/or to correct others in order to improve the quality of the weaved items. They know that 'Undugu does not pay for baskets that are not good quality.' (FGD, Ewala) So the producers are aware that they have to produce high quality to be able to sell it beyond

the local market where they can get only a very low or 'throw-away' price as the Ewala secretary had put it.

Interestingly, despite Ewala producing predominantly with the aim of selling on the international craft market, they produce the traditional Turkana baskets with little degree of innovation whereas the NFT group produces more colourful and innovative designs[33].

Decision-making

The degree of decision-making (in the group, the family and the community) was considered by the researcher being an important parameter of empowerment of the women and a sign of their strengthened position. Therefore, part D. of the questionnaire covered questions on this topic. In the FT group participation in group decisions is low (4.8%). In the NFT group, 33.3% take part in decisions concerning the weaving group (e.g. new colours or designs).

Table 5: Involvement in group decision-making

		Ewala (FT)	TWH (NFT)
Group decisions		Counts (%)	Counts (%)
	yes	1 (4.8)	7 (33.3)
	no	20 (95.2)	14 (66.7)
		21 (100)	21 (100)

Ewala, n=21; TWH, n=21

42.9% (NFT 38.1%) of the women who do not participate in group decision-making do not want to participate, 23.8% (NFT 4.8%) said that there are no possibilities for them to take any decisions and 9.6% answered that only the group leaders take decisions.

Regarding family and community decisions, the question asked for the situation before and since joining the weaving group. The response rate in both groups was poor[34]. The women of both groups stated a lower degree of participation in community decision-making since they work in the weaving group. [35]

For both groups qualitative interviews and focus groups direct to the strengthened position of women in the families because of their role as the main breadwinners.

[33] Some pictures of baskets can be seen in Appendix VI.
[34] Ewala n=10, TWH n=8.
[35] Table 11 in Appendix V gives a detailed overview of the data concerning decision-making in family and community.

> ‘They [the family members] are happy of what I am doing here. I am the one who provides for their needs.’ (Individual interview, TWH weaver)

> ‘We can be recognised as much as men because we cater for our families.’ (FGD, Ewala)

The women not only bring the income home, but can also decide on how to use it. In fact, 95.2% of the FT weavers and all of the NFT weavers answered that they can decide on own how to spend the money from weaving without having to ask their husband, father or brother. In Chapter 6 an interpretation of the issue of decision-making will be provided.

Life satisfaction

A 6 point Likert scale was integrated as part of measuring the women’s life satisfaction ranging from completely dissatisfied to mostly satisfied by the use of smiley’s. Table 6 compares life satisfaction of women of both groups for the years 2013 and 2010. It depicts the percentage of respondents who have chosen one of the six answer categories. The percentage of currently completely dissatisfied women in the Ewala (FT) group is particularly striking (42.9%). In both groups there are no weavers which are at least in some way satisfied with their life. The level of dissatisfaction has increased during the last three years.

Table 6: Degree of life satisfaction of basket weavers in % of respondents

	EWALA (FT)		TWH (NFT)	
	2013	2010	2013	2010
completely dissatisfied	42.9	0.0	19.0	19.0
mostly dissatisfied	19.0	52.4	33.3	19.0
somewhat dissatisfied	33.3	33.3	47.6	47.6
neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	4.8	14.3	0.0	4.8
somewhat satisfied	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.5
mostly satisfied	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Ewala, n=21, TWH, n=21

In answer to an open-ended question the stated reasons for change in satisfaction by the FT weavers were either the lack of money, food or jobs which have declined during the last years. The NFT weavers’ answers also turned mostly around food, work and income availability which have either improved or worsened their life satisfaction.

5 Interpretation and discussion

The headings of the following and the next section reflect the specific research questions of this study. Put together they aim to answer the general research question of how participation in the FT business affects the livelihoods of Turkana women basket weavers drawing on the evidence presented in chapter 4.

5.1 Changes in Fair Trade weaver's livelihoods and perceived contribution of Fair Trade

I was interested in understanding what has changed in the basket weavers' livelihoods since they produce for Fair Trade as well as what is the perceived contribution of FT to these changes.

The following points are particularly challenging in determining the impact of FT on weavers' livelihoods and have to be considered in the interpretation of the results and the discussion on the attribution of changes to the fact that the women sell to FT.

- The absence of a baseline study which allows a before and after evaluation along certain pre-established indicators.
- The years of group participation differ considerably as well as the women's weaving ability.
- Only two thirds of the women sell their baskets exclusively to FT.

In the next table I will summarise the areas where change has been identified as well as those where weavers' livelihoods did not change. The areas were classified into the categories positive (☺), negative (☹) and neutral (😐) and result from the data that were collected with the different research approaches. As we will see these results are not always as clear-cut as it might seem from the table.

Table 7: Categories of changes in livelihoods

☺	☹	😐
Weaving skills	Orders/Incomes	Food insecurity
Family decision-making	Life satisfaction	Water insecurity
	Community decision-making	

In the following paragraphs I will discuss the areas of change, their likely attribution to FT and how the results relate to the livelihood system analysis framework which I had developed as my conceptual framework.

Skills acquisition

FT weavers improved their weaving skills or actually learned how to weave since they are part of the group. Sometimes they get trained on new designs. Support from FT has increased their weaving ability and added to the weavers' human capital.
The survey data revealed that the women learned no additional skills (e.g. literacy, basic marketing, or another type of craft) besides weaving. However, according to the FT group leader, equipping women with additional skills or giving them loans could be helpful to improve the women's lives:

> 'If Undugu wants to improve the life of these mothers, it maybe could loaning them or assisting them with another new skill, apart from weaving they could introduce another one.' (Ewala chairlady)

The same suggestion was made also by the producers themselves:

> 'If Undugu could loan and train us, our living standard would improve and change.' (FGD, Ewala)

Decreased orders and incomes

During the last years the size and regularity of FT orders decreased seriously.[36] Undugu FTL has a small shop in Nairobi, but sells the majority of baskets overseas and faces intense competition from Asia. The women whose main income is from weaving and who are not engaged in other income-generating activities or who do not have access to credit and savings have a continuous cash flow problem. Sometimes they have no other choice than selling their baskets to the local market where what they can get is just sufficient not to starve. Relief food, borrowing from neighbours or relatives are some of the coping strategies with which the weavers try to avoid absolute destitution.
The evidence shows that infrequent orders and hence reduced incomes from FT increase women's livelihood insecurity and vulnerability as well as keep them trapped in extreme poverty.

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[36] See footnote 25.

Life satisfaction

Life satisfaction which was already low in 2010 further declined. Lack of food, cash and work were the main contributors to this decline. Obviously, all three are related. If there is not enough work, they do not get enough income and go hungry.

Life satisfaction is a subjective evaluation of one's life and an expression of individual well-being. What one assumes with this indicator will differ according to an individual's health, education, social relations etc. (OECD, 2011). However, we probably can expect that one's ability of fulfilment of basic needs is common to all human beings and considerably contributes to their well-being. In our context, most of the weavers have great difficulty to satisfy their basic needs. They work hard, but do not improve in life, as they themselves said. The FT orders and so the incomes have declined during the past years. The degree of satisfaction is related to income as its availability allows them to buy food, take children to school and buy medicine. Although we are not able to give statistical evidence of correlation[37] between these two variables, the above mentioned open-ended answers to what contributed to a change in satisfaction make us confident about this relationship.

Decision-making

Family:

The qualitative data point in the direction of more participation of the women in family decision-making. As I did not delve into this topic during the FGD, the qualitative data base is not strong enough to allow a well-founded judgement. If, in addition, we look at the survey data, we see that 60% of the women do not contribute more to family decisions than before joining the weaving group. This might be related to the fact that they already had been the household heads before joining the group. In fact, the key informants explained that almost three quarter of the women live without their men and are *de facto* household heads. Therefore, for unmarried, widowed or abandoned women nothing has changed as they were already responsible for all kinds of family decisions. The same reflection applies to the survey result that 95% of the women decide on their own how to use the income from weaving. Is it a sign of empowerment or is it because there is no other adult in the household? As the marital status was not asked for in the questionnaire, we cannot statistically show a relationship between these variables. But again the key informants give some insight into the cultural

[37] Income was not asked for in the questionnaire.

context where women, in general, are not involved in important decisions regarding the family (e.g. if to send a child to school or not, if to move to another place). But as they earn income and cater for their families they gain recognition within the family and become more independent from male household members. If there is a change in decision-making at home, it is not directly related to FT, but to the fact that women are economically active and have gained greater financial independence. Therefore we can say that the production for the market empowers them economically and in their relationship with other family members.

Community:

The response rate regarding decision-making in the community was low. But the ones who answered claimed that they participate less in community decision-making since they work in the weaving group. There is a change, but it would need further investigation to know the reasons behind it. However, to put community decision-making in context, information from the key informants was particularly valuable. Culturally it is the men who decide in the communities, the women can try to 'influence' their husbands at home, but they cannot speak in front of other men in the community.[38]

In summary, the evidence shows that to a great extent the women perceive their lives as unsatisfactory and static. They do not see any major improvements. They do not possess the necessary cash to buy enough food the whole year around, they are not able to save money, they have difficulties to send their children to school, and in times of droughts the whole situation exacerbates. The income from weaving, however, helps them to avoid complete destitution and improves their status in the families.

The following two quotations from the FGD with the FT women express their view regarding changes or improvements in their lives.

> 'Life has not changed or improved with the customer Undugu since they buy on credit.'
>
> 'Our lives have not changed or even declined since Sister Kathleen[39] has gone.'

[38] Who takes decisions in communities where the large majority of permanent settlers are women, children and a few very old men – which seems to be a quite common situation – would need further investigation.
[39] They make reference to Sr. Kathleen Crowley, the initiator of Turkana Women Handicraft (TWH), who bought baskets also from the women in Kalokol when she still was the TWH manager.

This is consistent with Mestre's (2007) findings that FT does not change the artisans' lives and with Jaffee (2007) and Le Mare (2007) who concluded that FT does not lift the majority of people out of poverty, but it helps to avoid the worst case scenario.

5.2 COMPARISON OF FAIR TRADE AND NON FAIR TRADE WEAVERS' LIVELIHOODS

At first sight livelihoods of FT and NFT weavers are very similar, except for the (not negligible) fact that the FT weavers live in an even more remote area than the NFT weavers. Otherwise, they live in the same type of huts, and their days are filled with six to eight hours of weaving complemented by household work. Weavers in both groups are mainly illiterate as well as food and water insecure. For almost all of the women, both FT and NFT, weaving is their main source of income and they have the same spending patterns: first priority is food/water, second is school/education and third is health. In both groups a significant number of women take on credit to pay for their basic necessities, to buy food/water or pay for medical bills. For the described situation, not surprisingly, in both groups the level of life satisfaction is very low. The low income and subsequent lack of food were mentioned as the reasons behind it.

There are, however, some important differences regarding the income from weaving between the two groups that considerably affect the weavers' livelihoods.

- More FT weavers than NFT weavers complement weaving with additional income-generating activities.
- FT weavers produce and sell fewer baskets than NFT weavers.
- FT weavers are paid after their products have been sold by FT. Non FT weavers are paid cash on delivery.
- FT weavers get paid a higher price per item than NFT weavers, but the difference is small.
- FT weavers consider their income from basket weaving as irregular and unstable. The majority of NFT weavers consider their income from the basket production as regular and stable.

The FT weavers appreciate the price FT pays, but their income is irregular and unstable. The producers frequently wait for quite a long time, often six months, before they get paid for their delivery. In the meanwhile they struggle to obtain cash to feed, clothe and educate their children. However, if they sell their baskets on the local market, they only get half or one third of the price they can make with FT because of the intense competition. Despite the

mentioned inconveniences of producing for FT, weaving is the main source of income for most of them, also because only a few other income-earning options are available. These are selling charcoal, firewood or water or collecting them for own use to reduce their household expenditures. A few women sell small (food or non-food) items on the streets of Kalokol. The data showed that very few FT weavers are able to save money for future investments or expenditures or to draw on during the recurrent droughts. In fact, relief food is an important food source for many FT weavers.

Although NFT weavers get paid a lower unit price than the FT weavers, they enjoy greater livelihood security as their income is regular and stable. The NFT weavers continue to produce for the co-operatives' own shops in Lodwar and Nairobi, even in times of low or no outside orders, yet at a slower pace. The advantage that the NFT weavers have, and the women themselves also recognise and appreciate, is the payment on delivery and the rather continuous cash flow. Almost 50% of the NFT weavers are able to save some money. This is an important source for them, in times an unexpected expense has to be faced or the income from weaving is lower than usual (e.g. in times of illness or other constraints). The financial capital they are able to build up can potentially serve them to invest in another small business. In fact, many – especially younger - women expressed the desire to run their own shop and stop weaving in the future. The rationale against weaving, that they expressed, is the huge amount of hours invested, the back pain from the weaving position and the low returns it generates.

To summarise the comparison section, the positive impact of the slightly higher FT prices is offset by the late payment and irregular flow of revenues. The FT weavers do not enjoy additional social benefits (e.g. scholarships for their children, health or literacy trainings), that sometimes in the literature are mentioned as making the real difference between FT and NFT (see for example Poe & Kyle, 2008). NFT weavers' livelihoods are equally vulnerable and poor, but less uncertain regarding their incomes and, thus, their livelihoods. If the NFT weavers produce a good quality basket, they can be sure that the co-operative will sell it through one of its shops and that they get paid for it immediately after delivery.

6 Conclusions

This dissertation has investigated how production for FT affects livelihoods of Turkana women basket weavers. Data gathered of a NFT comparison group should help determining the effects of FT and look for differences in FT and NFT weavers.

One of the most significant findings to emerge from this study is that the FT basket business does not allow a significant improvement in chronically poor Turkana women's livelihoods. The income flow is irregular as a) there is a lack of regular demand that ensures work and income to all women in the group and b) the production capacity of the women is limited by weaving being very time-consuming being combined with their reproductive or other productive activities. Despite the huge burden of the weaving work the income from weaving is rarely enough to satisfy their most basic necessities as well as to enable women to build up a 'safety-net' to be used for any unanticipated disasters (e. g. medical treatment). Nevertheless, weavers appreciate the FT prices and the mere prospect of receiving a good price for their work from time to time, keeps them going with the group. But they would need regular incomes and payment cash on delivery to improve their livelihoods. Given their chronic lack of food and cash their overall life satisfaction is very low. The women, in fact, perceive that their lives are not improving. It seems, however, that women can improve their status in the families being, in most cases, the main breadwinner.

Caution must be applied, however, in estimating the effects of FT as orders from FT are scarce, only two third of the producers sell exclusively to FT, and almost half of the weavers get income or other support from additional sources. These, and the non-experimental study approach, make it difficult to clearly attribute the effects of FT on women's livelihoods.

The results of this investigation also show that even NFT weavers have enormous difficulties to satisfy their basic needs, but they enjoy greater livelihood security which is *'basic to wellbeing'* (Chambers, 1997: 1748, emphasised in the original). The unit price they receive for their items is slightly lower, but they get paid cash on delivery. As their group has its own shops, orders and incomes are more regular. It makes these women less dependent on relief food and enables them to put money aside for their children's education or healthcare.

6.1 Recommendations to Fair Trade and development actors

- Incomes have the strongest impact on women's livelihoods and the whole family welfare. Given women's livelihood priorities stated in chapter 4 it positively affects

the family's food/water security, health and children's education. Therefore greater effort is needed to create market outlets for Turkana baskets or give the women other opportunities to earn income. These should not involve the non sustainable use of natural resources as it would further exacerbate the already fragile environmental conditions of the area.

- To reduce dependency on foreign demand for traditional craft products which is volatile as it follows Western tastes and fashion trends[40], FT should try to create an internal and East African market benefitting from the growing middle class in major towns.
- It must be ensured that pre-payment is always passed on to the producers.[41]
- Producers should be given more support in product innovation and quality control in order to attract new customers.[42]
- Scholarships, especially for secondary school pupils, would lessen the financial burden on the women.
- The improvement of the telecommunications and road infrastructure, especially along the shores of Lake Turkana would make it easier and more profitable for the basket producers to take on marketing opportunities outside their own region. Furthermore, it would possibly decrease food prices which are high in Turkana.

6.2 AREAS OF FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research might explore:

- Organisational strengths and weaknesses of the FT producer group and marketing organisation and opportunities for improvement.
- Enhancement of international as well as national marketing opportunities through improvements in quality and design.
- Additional income-generating activities which could give the Turkana women greater livelihood security, depend less on natural resources and require little capital investment.

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[40] For a discussion on the global market for handicrafts and the role of handicrafts in developing economies see Barber, T. & Krivoshlykova, M., 2006; Scrase TJ., 2003.
[41] According to Fair Trade Principle 3 in Appendix II.
[42] See Watson & van Binsbergen, 2008 who also highlight the importance of product innovation and diversification as well as better quality control.

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APPENDIX I – REVIEW FAIR TRADE LITERATURE

Table 8: Fair Trade impact studies

Author; Year	Product; Country	Methods	Sample size	Level	Key findings*
Ronchi; 2002a	Coffee; Costa Rica	Desk and field research: guided interviews	28 interviews	producer, organisation	Low awareness of FT Improvements in income and living conditions through access to credit, education, extension
Ronchi; 2002b	Cocoa; Ghana	Group and individual interviews, diagramming, indicator finding workshops	Group interviews with 20-40 self-selected interviewees	Producer, organisation	Negligible income effects Low awareness of FT benefits among farmers Improvement of water, health and education Women have limited control over income
Jones et al; 2011	Handicraft and agricultural products; Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, India, Nepal, Nicaragua, Mexico	Action research: workshops with stakeholders from all 7 countries, FGD, interviews	Producers and staff of 16 collective enterprises	producer, organisation, networks	Improved access to markets and higher incomes More confidence and self-esteem New skills Improved status within family and community Improved access to training, credit, inputs
Paul; 2005	products not mentioned; Costa	"Modular package": participatory methods and	Not mentioned	producer, organisation	Lack of awareness of benefits resulting from FT

	Rica, Ghana, Nicaragua, Tanzania	tools (RAM, SIA, PPA) which are adopted and adapted according to context; use of a logical framework; focus on development aspects of FT			Strengthened local capacities Enlarged market access due to higher quality
Misereor, Brot für die Welt, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (ed.); 2000	Food and agricultural products, craft; India, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Tanzania, Mexico, Costa Rica	Interviews with key informants (staff, producers), desk research	Staff of 17 producer groups and intermediary organizations	producer, organisation	Higher and stable prices Continuity of business relationship Gaining of experience on export markets
Jaffee; 2007	Coffee; Mexico	semi-structured interviews, (participant) observation, survey, document study; comparison with non-FT producers in same villages	51 surveys with producer households: 26 with FT-producers, 25 with conventional producers and some additional interviews, 2 villages	producer, organisation	Greater food security Debt reduction Increased economic options More sustainable agricultural practices
Mestre; 2004	Handicraft; Bangladesh, Bolivia,	Interviews, life histories, participatory workshops,	500 producers and staff, 45 producer	producer, organisation	Access to new markets and networks Achievement of self-dignity

	Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chile, India, Madagascar, Nepal, Philippines (in total 16 organisations)	diagramming, document study; comparison with non-FT producers	organizations, 16 umbrella organizations		Little awareness of political dimension of FT Higher prices only if they produce for export market
Le Mare; 2007	Handicraft; Bangladesh	Survey, life histories, in-depth interviews, FGD; comparison with non-FT producers	566 randomly selected producers (survey), 21 life histories, 5 in-depth interviews, 3 FGD	producer, organisation	Higher wages Better working conditions New skills Additional social networks Increased respect within household and community
Utting; 2009	Coffee; Nicaragua	Surveys, interviews (structured, semi-structured, unstructured), RRA, FGD, observation, secondary sources	Not mentioned	producer, organisation	Increased capacities Improved gender relations Reduced rural-urban migration Improvements in housing Increased participation in decision-making Increased environmental awareness Access to credits
Undugu Society of Kenya; 2008	Craft and agricultural products; Kenya	Survey, FGD, observation, key informant interviews.	217 respondents	producer	Improved ability to pay school fees, medical expenses and food Improved shelter Increased management skills

					Dissatisfaction with lack of consistent orders, low prices and delays in payment
Ruben, Fort & Zúniga-Arias; 2009	Coffee and banana; Peru and Costa Rica	Survey; use of Propensity Score Matching (PSM)	700 smallholder producers; 13 co-operatives	producers; organizations	modest effect on net incomes important effects on asset accumulation, credit use, investments, expenditure and organisational strength significant changes in attitudinal aspects (e.g. improved risk behaviour, higher willingness to invest)
Poe & Kyle; 2008	baskets; Bangladesh	Interviews with staff and artisans of an NGO, an NPO and For-Profit business	not mentioned	producers; organizations	For-Profit pays more than NGO and NPO additional services (training in health, literacy, and gender awareness) provided by NGO/NPO

*at producer level

Table 9: Literature review of Fair Trade Impact Studies

Author; Year	Product; Country	Sample size	Level	Key findings*
Vagneron, Roquigny; 2010	Food products; handicraft	Analysis of 77 FT impact studies carried out between 1998 and 2009	producer, organisations	Most studied impacts: on producer prices and producer incomes on improved access to markets, technical and social services Least studied impacts: on most vulnerable groups (women, wage workers) on the environment on the legitimacy of producer organizations on spillover effects
Nelson, Pound; 2009	Food products	Review of more than 80 studies, 33 case studies analysed in detail	Producer, organisations	More studied: outputs (e.g. higher price, trainings) rather than outcomes (e.g. higher incomes, new skills) and livelihood impacts (e.g. empowerment, social well-being) Few studies: social and gender impact and advocacy

APPENDIX II – FAIR TRADE PRINCIPLES

10 Principles of Fair Trade[43]

06 October 2011

WFTO prescribes 10 Principles that Fair Trade Organizations must follow in their day-to-day work and carries out monitoring to ensure these principles are upheld:

Principle One: Creating Opportunities for Economically Disadvantaged Producers

Poverty reduction through trade forms a key part of the organization's aims. The organization supports marginalized small producers, whether these are independent family businesses, or grouped in associations or co-operatives. It seeks to enable them to move from income insecurity and poverty to economic self-sufficiency and ownership. The organization has a plan of action to carry this out.

Principle Two: Transparency and Accountability

The organization is transparent in its management and commercial relations. It is accountable to all its stakeholders and respects the sensitivity and confidentiality of commercial information supplied. The organization finds appropriate, participatory ways to involve employees, members and producers in its decision-making processes. It ensures that relevant information is provided to all its trading partners. The communication channels are good and open at all levels of the supply chain.

Principle Three: Fair Trading Practices

The organization trades with concern for the social, economic and environmental well-being of marginalized small producers and does not maximize profit at their expense. It is responsible and professional in meeting its commitments in a timely manner. Suppliers respect contracts and deliver products on time and to the desired quality and specifications.

[43] http://www.wfto.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2&Itemid=14

Fair Trade buyers, recognizing the financial disadvantages producers and suppliers face, ensure orders are paid on receipt of documents and according to the attached guidelines. An interest free pre-payment of at least 50% is made if requested.

Where southern Fair Trade suppliers receive a pre payment from buyers, they ensure that this payment is passed on to the producers or farmers who make or grow their Fair Trade products.

Buyers consult with suppliers before cancelling or rejecting orders. Where orders are cancelled through no fault of producers or suppliers, adequate compensation is guaranteed for work already done. Suppliers and producers consult with buyers if there is a problem with delivery, and ensure compensation is provided when delivered quantities and qualities do not match those invoiced.

The organization maintains long term relationships based on solidarity, trust and mutual respect that contribute to the promotion and growth of Fair Trade. It maintains effective communication with its trading partners. Parties involved in a trading relationship seek to increase the volume of the trade between them and the value and diversity of their product offer as a means of growing Fair Trade for the producers in order to increase their incomes. The organization works cooperatively with the other Fair Trade Organizations in country and avoids unfair competition. It avoids duplicating the designs of patterns of other organizations without permission.

Fair Trade recognizes, promotes and protects the cultural identity and traditional skills of small producers as reflected in their craft designs, food products and other related services.

Principle Four: Payment of a Fair Price

A fair price is one that has been mutually agreed by all through dialogue and participation, which provides fair pay to the producers and can also be sustained by the market. Where Fair Trade pricing structures exist, these are used as a minimum. Fair pay means provision of socially acceptable remuneration (in the local context) considered by producers themselves to be fair and which takes into account the principle of equal pay for equal work by women and men. Fair Trade marketing and importing organizations support capacity building as required to producers, to enable them to set a fair price.

Principle Five: Ensuring no Child Labor and Forced Labor

The organization adheres to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and national / local law on the employment of children. The organization ensures that there is no forced labor in its workforce and / or members or homeworkers.

Organizations who buy Fair Trade products from producer groups either directly or through intermediaries ensure that no forced labor is used in production and the producer complies with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and national / local law on the employment of children. Any involvement of children in the production of Fair Trade products (including learning a traditional art or craft) is always disclosed and monitored and does not adversely affect the children's well-being, security, educational requirements and need for play.

Principle Six: Commitment to Non Discrimination, Gender Equity and Freedom of Association

The organization does not discriminate in hiring, remuneration, access to training, promotion, termination or retirement based on race, caste, national origin, religion, disability, gender, sexual orientation, union membership, political affiliation, HIV/Aids status or age. The organization provides opportunities for women and men to develop their skills and actively promotes applications from women for job vacancies and for leadership positions in the organization. The organization takes into account the special health and safety needs of pregnant women and breast-feeding mothers. Women fully participate in decisions concerning the use of benefits accruing from the production process.

The organization respects the right of all employees to form and join trade unions of their choice and to bargain collectively. Where the right to join trade unions and bargain collectively are restricted by law and/or political environment, the organization will enable means of independent and free association and bargaining for employees. The organization ensures that representatives of employees are not subject to discrimination in the workplace.

Organizations working directly with producers ensure that women are always paid for their contribution to the production process, and when women do the same work as men they are paid at the same rates as men. Organizations also seek to ensure that in production situations where women's work is valued less highly than men's work, women's work is re- valued to equalize pay rates and women are allowed to undertake work according to their capacities.

Principle Seven: Ensuring Good Working Conditions

The organization provides a safe and healthy working environment for employees and / or members. It complies, at a minimum, with national and local laws and ILO conventions on health and safety.

Working hours and conditions for employees and / or members (and any homeworkers) comply with conditions established by national and local laws and ILO conventions.

Fair Trade Organizations are aware of the health and safety conditions in the producer groups they buy from. They seek, on an ongoing basis, to raise awareness of health and safety issues and improve health and safety practices in producer groups.

Principle Eight: Providing Capacity Building

The organization seeks to increase positive developmental impacts for small, marginalized producers through Fair Trade.

The organization develops the skills and capabilities of its own employees or members. Organizations working directly with small producers develop specific activities to help these producers improve their management skills, production capabilities and access to markets - local / regional / international / Fair Trade and mainstream as appropriate. Organizations which buy Fair Trade products through Fair Trade intermediaries in the South assist these organizations to develop their capacity to support the marginalized producer groups that they work with.

Principle Nine: Promoting Fair Trade

The organization raises awareness of the aim of Fair Trade and of the need for greater justice in world trade through Fair Trade. It advocates for the objectives and activities of Fair Trade according to the scope of the organization. The organization provides its customers with information about itself, the products it markets, and the producer organizations or members that make or harvest the products. Honest advertising and marketing techniques are always used.

Principle Ten: Respect for the Environment

Organizations which produce Fair Trade products maximize the use of raw materials from sustainably managed sources in their ranges, buying locally when possible. They use

production technologies that seek to reduce energy consumption and where possible use renewable energy technologies that minimize greenhouse gas emissions. They seek to minimize the impact of their waste stream on the environment. Fair Trade agricultural commodity producers minimize their environmental impacts, by using organic or low pesticide use production methods wherever possible.

Buyers and importers of Fair Trade products give priority to buying products made from raw materials that originate from sustainably managed sources, and have the least overall impact on the environment.

All organizations use recycled or easily biodegradable materials for packing to the extent possible, and goods are dispatched by sea wherever possible.

APPENDIX III – INTERVIEW PARTNERS AND METHODS

The interview methods were chosen before going to the field and the questionnaire and interview/focus group discussion guides prepared as well. The interview guides, however, were flexibly adapted according to the knowledge gained or the knowledge gaps identified during the preceding interview methods.

Table 10: Research instruments and participants

Group/	Interview method	No. of respondents/participants
TWH (Lodwar)	Questionnaire 2 Focus Group Discussions (30 minutes, 5 questions) Guided interview with group manager Guided interview with producers	21 8; 9 1 4
Ewala (Kalokol)	Questionnaire 1 Focus Group Discussion (80 minute) Guided interview with group manager and secretary	21 10 2
Undugu FTL (Nairobi)	Written interview (via email) with marketing manager	1

APPENDIX IV – QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW GUIDES

QUESTIONNAIRE TO BASKET WEAVERS

(April/May 2013)

My name is Anita Leutgeb (leutani@gmail.com). I am student at the University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies. The purpose of this survey is to collect information about how selling baskets affects you and your families. I want to compare weavers who sell to Fair Trade with weavers who sell to other markets. I want you to tell us about your basket weaving activity and your thoughts about your experience with it. Your inclusion in this study is based on the significant role you play in the Turkana basket market. There are no right and wrong answers. All answers are important. The answers from all the people we interview, about 30 women, will be combined for our report. Nothing you say will be identified with you personally. Your inclusion in this study is based on your own free will.

(Please circle the appropriate) FT / NFT / Indep

Interview number:.....

Interview start time:.....

A. Weaving/other income generating activities:

1. Which is the name of the weaving group you are in?.....

2. Since how many years/months are you in the group?.....

3. Which was the main reason for joining the women's group? **(please tick only one)**
   - ☐ Income
   - ☐ Support in selling baskets
   - ☐ Meet other women
   - ☐ Possibility to participate in trainings
   - ☐ Good working conditions
   - ☐ Other (specify).....

4. Where did you learn weaving?
   - ☐ In the group
   - ☐ Outside the group

5. How many days a week do you weave baskets?
   ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7

6. How many hours a day do you weave baskets usually?
   - ☐ 1-2
   - ☐ 3-4
   - ☐ 5-6
   - ☐ more than 6

7. How many baskets do you produce in a month?
   ☐ 1-2 ☐ 3-4 ☐ More than 5

8. Besides weaving, do you participate in other income-earning activities?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

9. If yes, which one(s)? **(multiple answers possible)**
   ☐ Produce makuti, mats ☐ Sell charcoal
   ☐ Brew beer ☐ Petty trading
   ☐ Other (specify).....

10. Which of your daily activities (including household chores) takes you the most time?.....

11. From which of your activities do you earn most income?.....

12. What do you like most about being in the women's group? **(please tick only one)**
    ☐ Secure income ☐ Support in selling baskets
    ☐ Meet other women ☐ Participation in trainings
    ☐ Other (specify).....

B. Capacity building:

1. Have you acquired new skills since you work for the group?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

2. Do these skills help you for the basket production?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

3. Can you use the skills for other activities in your life?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

4. If yes, what for?.....
   .....

5. Did you change the way you produce since you work for the group?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

6. If yes, in which way? **(multiple answers possible)**
   ☐ Material ☐ Size
   ☐ Colours ☐ Shape
   ☐ Other (specify).....

C. Sales:

1. Do you sell baskets only through the group?

☐ Yes ☐ No

2. How much do you sell a small-size basket
   through the group? .....to other buyers? .....

3. How many baskets can you sell in a month?.....

4. Before joining the group, could you sell **(please tick only one)**
   ☐ more ☐ less ☐ the same amount of baskets?

D. Expenditure/Income:

1. How much is your monthly expenditure on average?
   ☐ Less than 1,000
   ☐ 1,001 – 3,000
   ☐ 3,001 – 5,000
   ☐ 5,001 – 7,000
   ☐ 7,001 – 10,000
   ☐ more than 10,000

2. Is the income from selling baskets enough to pay for your monthly expenditure?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

3. Which other source(s) of income do you have to cover the expenditures?.....
   .....

4. How is income from basket weaving? **(please tick only one)**
   ☐ Regular and stable ☐ Irregular, but stable ☐ Irregular and instable

5. How do you use the income from basket weaving? **(Tick the <u>3 most common</u> items)**
   ☐ Food and Water
   ☐ School fees
   ☐ Household Items
   ☐ Improvement of shelter
   ☐ Material for basket weaving
   ☐ Other (specify).....
   ☐ Medical expenses
   ☐ Energy (fuel, firewood)
   ☐ Transportation
   ☐ Cloths, Pearls
   ☐ Animals

6. Can you decide on your own how to use the income you earn?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

7. If no, whom do you have to ask how to spend it? **(multiple answers possible)**
   ☐ Husband
   ☐ Father
   ☐ Brother
   ☐ Other person (specify).....

8. Do you save income?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

9. Do you have access to credit?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

10. If yes, from whom? **(multiple answers possible)**
   ☐ Women's group ☐ Private moneylender
   ☐ Bank ☐ Relatives
   ☐ Neighbours ☐ Other (specify).....

11. What for do you use the credit? **(multiple answers possible)**
   ☐ Food/water ☐ Productive activity
   ☐ Livestock ☐ Education
   ☐ Health ☐ Other (specify).....

12. Do you receive regular social transfers (eg. support for education, health, pension)?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

13. If yes, from which source? **(multiple answers possible)**
   ☐ State ☐ NGOs
   ☐ Women's group ☐ Church
   ☐ Other (specify).....

14. Have you received relief food in the last year?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

E. Basic needs/assets:

1. How many meals a day do you and your family usually eat?
   Now: ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3
   3 years ago: ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3

2. What do you and your family usually eat?
   Now: .....
   3 years ago:.....

3. Do you have enough food for you and your dependents during the whole year?
   Now: ☐ Yes ☐ No
   3 years ago: ☐ Yes ☐ No

4. How many months in a year do you lack enough food?
   Now: .....
   3 years ago:.....

5. When food is scarce, what do you do? **(tick 2 most common)**
   ☐ Skip meals

- ☐ Search for wild fruits
- ☐ Look for additional employment
- ☐ Borrow from relatives or neighbours
- ☐ Sell livestock
- ☐ Take children out of school
- ☐ Look for relief food
- ☐ Other (specify).....

6. Where do you usually get drinking water? **(multiple answers possible)**

	Now	3 years ago
River	☐	☐
Well	☐	☐
Piped water	☐	☐
Cistern	☐	☐
Water hole	☐	☐
Other source (specify)	.....	.....

7. How long do you usually walk to get water? (one way)
   - ☐ 30 minutes
   - ☐ 1 hour
   - ☐ 2 hours
   - ☐ 3 hours
   - ☐ more than 3 hours

8. Do you pay for the water?

Now:	☐ Yes	☐ No
3 years ago:	☐ Yes	☐ No

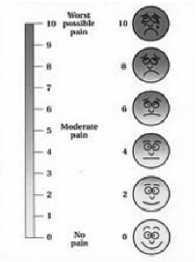
9. Is there always enough water available for your needs?
   ☐ Yes ☐ No

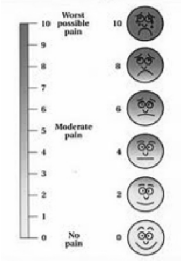
10. If no, how many days have you/your dependents been with severe thirst last month?
    ☐ 1-2 ☐ 3-4 ☐ 5-6 ☐ 7 and more

11. Animals: Do you now have
    ☐ more ☐ same ☐ less amount of animals than 3 years ago?

12. How satisfied are you with your life?

now: 3 years ago:





13. What is the main reason for change in satisfaction?.....
.....

F. Decision-making:

1. Are you involved in decisions of the women's group?

☐ Yes ☐ No

1.a If yes, give an example of kind of decision.....

1.b If no, why are you not involved in decisions? **(multiple answers possible)**

☐ There are no possibilities
☐ I don't want
☐ I am too shy to speak
☐ Other (specify).....

2. Since you work with the women's group, do you contribute

☐ more ☐ same ☐ less to family decisions?

3. Since you work with the women's group, do you contribute

☐ more ☐ same ☐ less to community decisions?

General Data:

1. Name of community…….....…

2. Location of interview.....

3. Date of interview.....

4. People present during interview.....

5. Start time of interview.....End time of interview.....

Biographic data:

1. What is your age?
   - ☐ Under 20
   - ☐ 20-29
   - ☐ 30-39
   - ☐ 40-49
   - ☐ 50 and above

2. How many people do you take care of?
   - No. of children.....
   - No. of adults.....

3. Educational level of the respondent. **(select only one)**
   - ☐ No schooling
   - ☐ Attended non-formal school
   - ☐ Some primary school, but not completed
   - ☐ Primary school completed
   - ☐ Some secondary school, but not completed
   - ☐ Secondary School completed
   - ☐ Some High School, but not completed
   - ☐ High School completed
   - ☐ Tertiary Institution
   - ☐ Other.....

I very much appreciate your kindness in answering these questions. Be assured that they will be treated confidentially!

INTERVIEW GUIDE - INDIVIDUAL PRODUCERS

Group:

1. Why did you join the women's group?

2. How did you know about it?

3. How do you like being part of that group?

4. What are the advantages being part of that group?

5. What are disadvantages being part of that group?

Income/Expenditure:

1. What is the contribution of basket weaving to the household income? (matrix scoring: use 20 seeds on the ground; distribute between different sources of income)

2. How much do you typically spend for each of the following items in a month: (matrix scoring: use 30 seeds on the ground; distribute between different goods)

   Food/Water
   School fees
   Medical expenses
   Energy (fuel, firewood)
   Household Items
   Improvement of shelter
   Transportation
   Cloths, Pearls
   Material for basket weaving
   Animals

Perceived changes:

1. What have been the most significant changes in your life over the last 3 years?

2. What do you think has contributed to these changes?

3. What are the most important changes you see in other group members' lives?

4. Compared to 3 years ago, do you think that things in your life are getting better/worse/same?

5. What are the reasons for it?

6. In which way producing for the group has helped you, besides generating income? (eg. meet people, new skills, self-esteem etc.)

7. What is the most significant change working for the group has made to your life?

Decision-making, status (family, community):

1. How does your husband/family see your work?

2. How much are you involved in decisions about your family: more – same – less than 3 years ago?

3. What has contributed to the changes?

4. How much are you involved in decisions about your neighbourhood/community: more – same – less than 3 years ago?

5. What has contributed to the changes?

6. Involvement in decisions about the women's group. (yes, no, which kind, more-same-less)

Perceptions and Expectations – Fair Trade:

1. What do you expect from working with the group?

2. What do you know about FT and where your baskets are sold?

Hopes/challenges for the future:

1. How you would like your life to look like in 5 years?

2. What are the greatest challenges for you to reach your goals?

INTERVIEW GUIDE – KEY INFORMANTS WOMEN'S GROUPS

Group structure, leader:

1. How have you got into the FT network?
2. How/when have you become leader of this organisation?
3. How is the group organized?
4. How many members does the group have now/5 years ago?
5. What are the reasons for increase/decrease?
6. Are their special requirements which must be fulfilled? If yes, which?

Marketing:

1. Are all baskets sold through the FT market?
2. If no, what is the share of FT?
3. What other market outlets do you have?

Producer price, production:

1. Who decides on the price producers get?
2. On which basis are women paid? Per piece, hour, month etc.
3. Do other NFT-groups sell at higher/lower/same price?
4. Do women only produce when there is an order or do they continue producing and stock the baskets?

Group activities:

1. Does the group also organize social activities? If yes, which?
2. What is the aim of these activities?
3. Does the group organize training courses for the producers? If yes, which?

Perceived changes:

1. What is the most significant change FT has had on the group?

2. Which changes did you notice in your producer's lives over the last 5 years?

3. What do you think are the main reasons for these changes?

4. What needs to be done to improve women's livelihoods through FT?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS TO UNDUGU FTL, NAIROBI

1. Since when have you been working with Turkana women?

2. Why have you chosen to work with them?

3. Undugu's motto is: Empowering women through FT. What do you understand by empowerment?

4. To what extent do you think the producers whom you work with do achieve empowerment?

5. What happens if women are not able to produce desired quantity/quality in required time?

6. Does Undugu purchase on other markets?

7. How much do Turkana women get paid for a small/big basket?

8. How do you calculate prices?

9. Do you receive records of hours worked by the women?

10. Do you pay every single woman or through the women's group?

11. When and how do the women get paid?

12. Where do you think lies the greatest advantage producers have in working with you?

13. What do you think are the greatest challenges for the Turkana basket weavers?

14. Could you give me an overview on Undugu's sales of baskets per country/continent during the last 3-5 years.

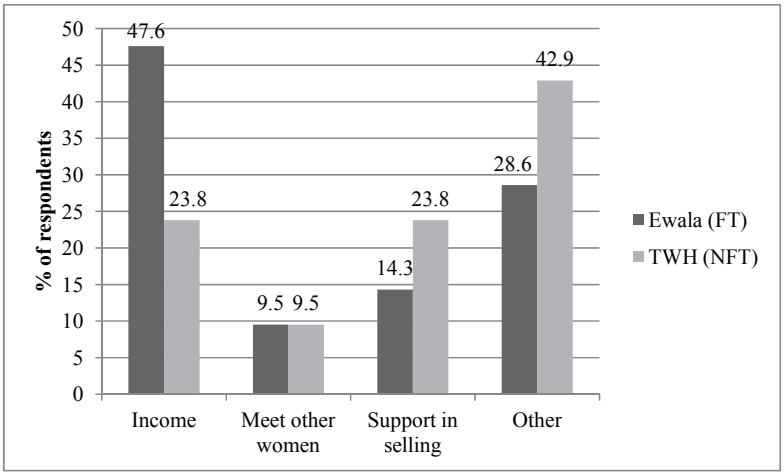
Answer date: .....

Name and position of person who answered: .....

APPENDIX V – ADDITIONAL GRAPHICAL DISPLAYS OF RESULTS

REASONS FOR JOINING THE WEAVING GROUP

Figure 6: Reasons for joining the weaving group

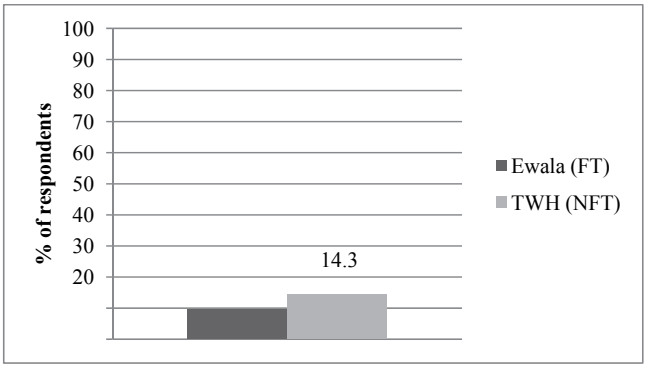


The reasons mentioned under the category *other* were the lack of food (all FT and all NFT women except one). One woman indicated *boredom at home* as the main reason for joining the weaving group. The categories which were not chosen by any respondent were: *good working conditions* and *possibility in participating in trainings*.

REGULAR SOCIAL TRANSFERS

The women were asked if they had access to regular social transfers (e.g. for education, health, pension).

Figure 7: % of women who receive regular social transfers



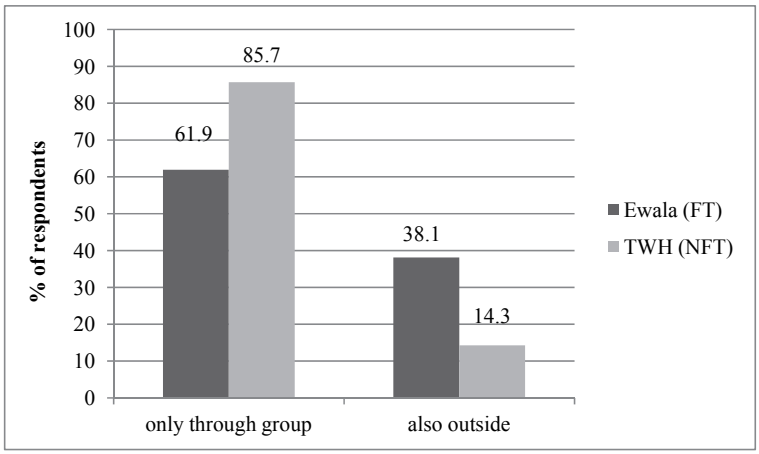
The women were asked to indicate the source of the social transfer. The predefined categories were: state, women's group, NGOs, Church or other (specify). From the 9.5% of the Ewala

women one indicated to receive social transfers from an NGO and the other from the church. Of the TWH weavers, two answered to receive social transfers from NGOs and one from the church.

SALES THROUGH THE GROUP AND OUTSIDE THE GROUP

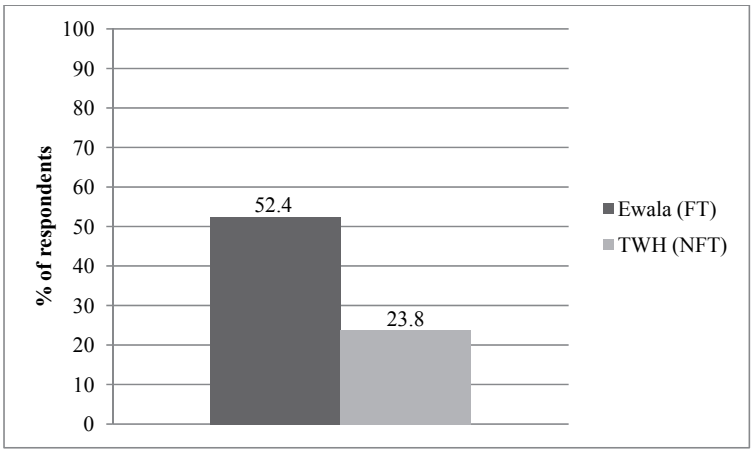
I asked the women if they sell their baskets only through the group or also outside the group, ie to the local non Fair Trade market. This question was aimed to understand the extent of the business the women have with Fair Trade. More than two third of the women in the Ewala (FT) group sell their products outside the group.

Figure 8: % of sales through group and outside



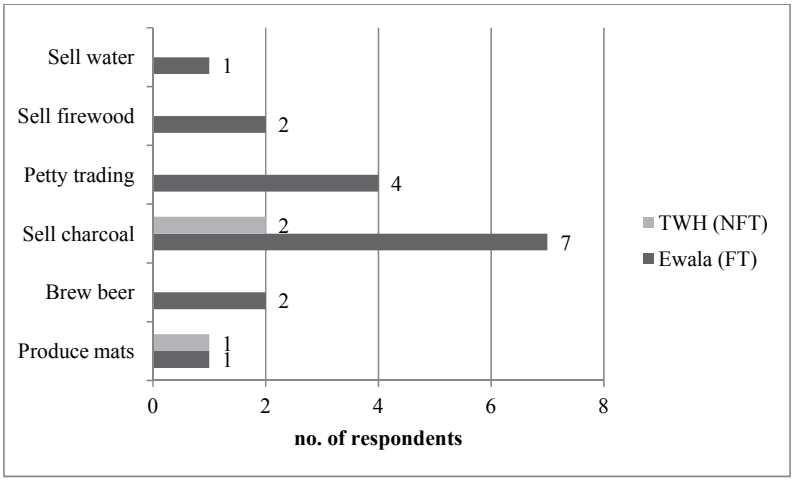
ADDITIONAL INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITIES

Figure 9: % of women engaged in additional income-generating activities



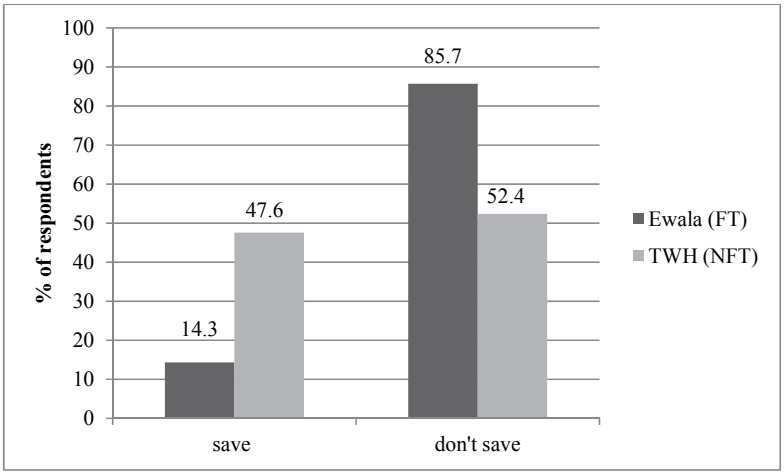
The following figure shows the type of income-generating activities (IGAs) the women are engaged in:

Figure 10: Types of IGAs



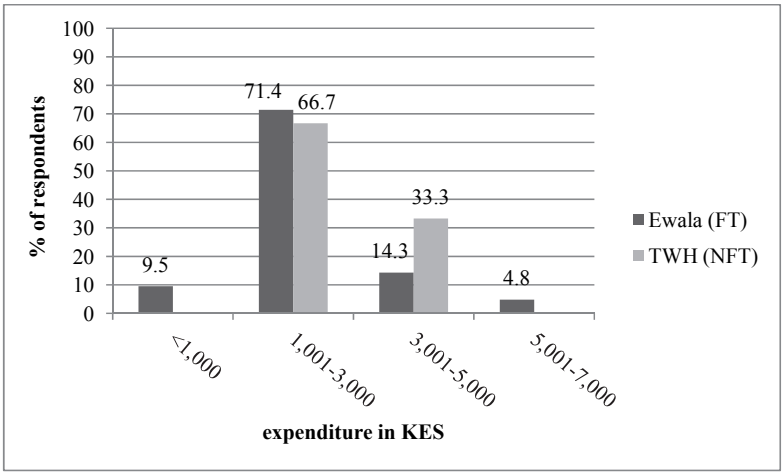
SAVINGS

Figure 11: % of women who save/do not save



MONTHLY EXPENDITURES OF BASKET WEAVERS

Figure 12: monthly average expenditure of basket weavers



The category *more than 10,000* was not chosen by any weaver. If we compare the figures with the average incomes of weavers it is clear that many of them need to have sources from other productive activities, sales of animals (which usually belong to men), borrowed money.

DECISION-MAKING IN FAMILY AND COMMUNITY

Only 10 (NFT 8) of a total of 21 women answered the questions regarding decision-making in the family and community.

Table 11: Involvement in family and community decision-making

		Ewala (FT)	TWH (NFT)
Family decisions		Counts (%)	Counts (%)
	more	3 (30)	5 (62.5)
	less	1(10)	0 (0)
	same	6 (60)	3 (37.5)
	Total	10 (100)	8 (100)
Community decisions		Counts (%)	Counts (%)
	more	0 (0)	0 (0)
	less	10 (100)	6 (75)
	same	0 (0)	2 (25)
		10 (100)	8 (100)

Ewala, n=10; TWH, n=8

COST OF BASIC FOOD AND ENERGY ITEMS, SCHOOL FEES AND TRANSPORT

The data were collected during field work in April/May 2013 in the Lodwar and Kalokol area.

Table 12: Living costs

ITEM	COST
20 l water	10 KES
1/2 kg sugar	70 KES
1 kg maize flour	70 KES
1/2 kg banana	100 KES
1 kg carots	50 KES
big bag of charcoal	600-800 KES
small bag of charcoal	300-400 KES
nursery school	100 KES/term
secondary school	20.000/year
Minibus transport Lodwar-Kalokol	250 KES
Bus fare Lodwar-Nairobi	1000 KES

APPENDIX VI – PICTURES OF TURKANA BASKETS

The following pictures were taken by the author during field work in April and May 2
They should give an idea of the setting where the research took place and of the baske
women produce.

Picture 2: Kalokol Ewala Project work site - Kalokol-Maendaleo

Picture 3: Producers of Kalokol Ewala Project with their baskets

Picture 4: Typical Turkana baskets produced by women of Kalokol Ewala Project

Picture 5: Shop of Turkana Women Handicraft in Nairobi ('Taste of Turkana')

Picture 6: Producer of Turkana Women Handicraft with her child, Lodwar