

A Gendered Analysis of Fairtrade and Organic Standards and Certificates: The Case of the Uganda Organic Coffee Farmers' Association

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Abstract

Growing evidence that documents the impact of participation in sustainable standards and certificates (S&C) has emerged. However, most studies regarding this impact have not differentiated between women and men. This study fills this gap, as the author conducts a gendered analysis of fair trade and organic S&C in the case of the Uganda Organic Coffee Farmers' Association.

This study found that gender equality in participation in S&C matters for two reasons. First, female farmers tend to contribute to the production of higher-quality coffee than their male counterparts. Second, the intrahousehold distribution of benefits that arise from participation in fair trade and organic S&C is not equal between the members and their spouses. Some scholars argue that gender equality can be addressed more explicitly in the case of standards; for instance, in the form of mandatory certification requirements. Equally important was innovative effort and creativity being put in by each producer organization. Thus, it is advisable for regional Fairtrade networks such as Fairtrade East Africa to take the initiative in the collection of examples of best practices, and to share them widely among the relevant organizations.

1. Introduction

Existing literature has documented the substantial and growing evidence of the economic, social, and environmental impacts of participation in fair trade and organic standards and certificates (S&C); examples of which include Nelson and Pound (URL1), Darko et al. (2017), and Oya et al. (2017). However, earlier research has paid less attention to key areas, such as gender equality and women's participation, and have not sufficiently differentiated between the impacts on women and men and girls and boys (Smith et al. 2018).

Trends in studies of the effects of fair trade and other sustainable S&C have changed in recent years for two reasons. First, gender equality and women's participation are increasingly being considered core objectives, to ascertain that women can stand on their own two feet and companies achieve a just and equitable society. They are also recognized as important for the achievement of other development objectives such as economic growth, poverty alleviation, food security, and improved education and health (Smith 2015). The rise in global gender initiatives—which includes the UN Sustainable Development Goals' identification of gender equality as a fundamental human right and a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous, and sustainable society—has resulted in gender-focused interventions and policy implementation during the last decade

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or so (Raynolds 2021). For instance, Fairtrade International (2016a) introduced the Fairtrade Gender Strategy 2016-2020, which aims to achieve gender equality and women empowerment in producer organizations through the building of the power and agency of women and girls.

The other reason is that S&C, inclusive of fair trade, can have adverse effects on women's participation and empowerment and gender equality, especially in the rural areas of developing countries. Agricultural commercialization and the connection of farmers to high-value markets with the help of S&C are considered promising strategies that can help to lift small-scale farmers out of poverty (World Bank 2007). Given the gender disparities in terms of access to land, farm inputs, and rural services, however, female farmers often find it more difficult to participate in modern value chains than men (Meemken and Qaim 2018). Under such circumstances, even fair trade may exacerbate pre-existing gender inequalities (Smith 2013). Thus, it is important to better understand the conditions under which women can participate in fair trade and other S&C, and benefit from their participation, at least to the same degree as men.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the factors that lead to a higher level of participation among female farmers in fair trade and other S&C, and to investigate whether they are participating as the main member or as the spouse of a male member, whereby they benefit equally from fair trade and other S&C. This study chooses the Uganda Organic Coffee Farmers' Association as a case study, since the producer organization has implemented its own unique gender policy to successfully recruit female farmers as its main members since 2017-2018. It is interesting and important to determine what led to the comparatively increased participation of women in the association, and to analyze whether or not their participation as being main members is of consequence.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a literature review of the gender impact of fair trade and organic S&C. Section 3 discusses the analytical framework and the methodology used in the empirical analysis. Section 4 summarizes the empirical results. Sections 5 and 6

present the findings and conclude the study.

2. Gender Analysis of Fairtrade and Organic S&C: A Literature Review

2.1 Female Fairtrade participation and the gender strategy

The underrepresentation of female farmers in Fairtrade producer organizations has been well documented in existing literature (for details see Smith 2015). Even Fairtrade International admitted that until the mid-2010s, "Fairtrade had not followed a systematic and integrated approach to promoting gender equality, including the empowerment of women and girls, among its producers and their communities" (Fairtrade International 2016a, 4). The Fairtrade Gender Strategy 2016-20 was introduced by Fairtrade International to close this gap and to set a clear direction and approach for Fairtrade's work on gender.

It may be too early to evaluate the strategy; however, it does not seem to have been effective so far in bridging the gender gap in traditional export crops, such as coffee. Table 1 shows the global

Table 1. Percentage of Female Fairtrade Farmers in Each Category by Product in 2019

Product	%
Oilseeds and oleaginous fruit	31
Wine grapes	31
Tea	29
Rice	25
Vegetables	21
Herbs, herbal teas and spices	21
Cane sugar	21
Dried fruit	20
Bananas	19
Honey	16
Gold and associated precious metals	15
Fruit juices	15
Fresh fruit	15
Coffee	14
Cereals	9
Cocoa	7
Nuts	7
Cotton	2
Total	15

Source: Fairtrade International (2021)

percentage of women farmers in Fairtrade producer organizations in 2019. Clearly, female farmers are still severely underrepresented in the production of traditional cash crops such as coffee, cocoa, and cotton in 2019. Moreover, the percentage of female Fairtrade farmers in the coffee sector declined after 2014 (see Table 2). In addition, the proportion of the Fairtrade Premium that producers have chosen to spend on projects related to gender equality [Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5] was only 1 percent in 2019 (Fairtrade International 2021).

Table 2. Percentage of Female Fairtrade Farmers in Coffee Sector Globally between 2014 and 2019

Year	%
2014	20
2016	19
2017	18
2018	17
2019	14

Source: Fairtrade International (2016b, 2018, 2019, 2020b, 2021)

2.2 Gender impact of Fairtrade and Organic S&C

2.2.1 A theoretical literature review

Some development studies argue that the participation of female farmers as active members of the producer organization matters.

The book¹ published by Boserup in 1970 was seminal in its presentation of a challenge to the prevailing view of male development economists (Floro 2019). Boserup (1970) demonstrated that economic development in post-colonial economies had a differential impact on men and women, and the effect on the latter has often been negative. The study states that this is because agricultural modernization excluded women in terms of access to training,

land ownership, and technology. Under these circumstances, market development tends to generate social stratification and the reinforcement of gender inequality in agrarian societies, although the gender division of labor varies considerably across countries. Boserup (1970) implies that fair trade does not guarantee that it brings benefits to women in the same manner as men, but that it provides female farmers an equal chance to participate in fair trade as a main member and voice their opinions in the producer organization.

Sen (1990, 1999) argues that this matters for two reasons, although he does not specifically argue about the membership of fair trade. First, concentrating on family poverty, irrespective of gender, can be misleading because the economic hardship of female-headed households is a problem of both female deprivation and family poverty (Sen, 1990). The systematically inferior position of women inside and outside the household in many societies points to the necessity of the consideration of gender as a force in development studies. Second, Sen (1999) argues that women's voices and agency, through their independence and empowerment, become dynamic promoters of social transformation that can alter the lives of both women and men. According to the study, women's voices and agency, influenced by education and employment, can not only reduce child mortality but also influence the nature of the public discussion on a variety of social subjects and environmental priorities. "The empowerment of women is one of the central issues in the process of development for many countries in the world" (Sen 1999, 202).

2.2.2 An empirical literature review

Gender-related fair trade impacts seem to vary from one context to the next, and from woman to woman (Smith 2013). Studies by Rice (2010), Kasente (2012), and Nicholls and Opal (2005) conclude that fair trade in its current form remains

¹ See Boserup (1970).

an ineffective means of addressing women's poverty and overall gender inequality in developing countries. Fairtrade has not been able to address the structural components of gender inequality that result from trade liberalization, such as gendered production structures and the lack of social services.

More recent studies, such as Chiputwa and Qaim (2016), Meemken and Qaim (2018), and Knöblsdorfer et al. (2021), demonstrate further positive gender-related fair trade impacts. For instance, Chiputwa and Qaim (2016) illustrated that fair trade certification in Uganda involved gender awareness training and specific support measures for women, which, in turn, contributed to female empowerment and improved nutrition in certified households. Meemken and Qaim (2018) also showed that although fair trade and other S&C alone cannot completely eliminate the disparities, they can instigate and support trends in the achievement of the goal of gender equality. However, gender equity measures are voluntary in fair trade certification and are therefore not implemented everywhere. As such, all three studies argue that gender equity measures should be addressed more explicitly in standards, such as in the form of mandatory certification requirements.

However, Fairtrade International rejects using Fairtrade standards as a tool because outside imposition of gender equality on producer organizations is neither effective nor sustainable (Smith 2015). Instead, it seeks to facilitate the analysis and understanding of the gendered context and the impact of fair trade, through the exchange of good practices between producer organizations, and the increase of their capacity to respond at the local level.

2.3 Contribution of this study to existing literature

This study aims to contribute to existing literature through the investigation and understanding of the gender impacts of fair trade and organic S&C, and the factors that led to the sharp increase in the rate

of participation by female farmers in producer organizations. To enable this, it considers a Ugandan coffee farmers' association, the Bufumbo Organic Farmers' Association (BOFA), as a case study. The BOFA is located in the Bufumbo sub-county in the Mbale district of Eastern Uganda.² The BOFA has been successful in obtaining an EU organic certificate since 2009 and a fair-trade certificate since 2015.

The BOFA is unique in that the participation of female farmers during 2017-2018 increased in comparison to men. Thus, although the number of female certified farmers was only around 19 percent in 2015, it increased to around 33 percent by October 2020.³ This is very different from the global trend of female Fairtrade membership observed in small-scale coffee producer organizations: the percentage of women Fairtrade farmers declined between 2014 and 2019, as shown in Section 2.1. It is important to determine the gender impact of sustainable certificates such as fair trade and organic S&C, and include the factors that led to the sharp increase in the number of female members that belong to producer organizations such as the BOFA.

3. Methodology

3.1 Analytical framework

This study utilizes the measurement of women's empowerment conceptualized by Kabeer (1999) as an analytical framework. The ability to exercise choice, such as the ability of female farmers to participate in the producer organization as members, can be thought of in terms of three interconnected dimensions:

Resources	Agency	Achievements
(Preconditions)	(Process)	(Outcomes).

² See Okamoto (2020) and BOFA (2016) for the details of the evolutionary path of the association.

³ Shares of the certified women farmers were calculated based on the data obtained from the BOFA in March, 2021.

According to Kabeer (1999), resources include not only material resources but also various human and social resources that serve to enhance the ability to exercise choice. Socioeconomic characteristics and intrahousehold power relations play equally important roles in women's participation in the context of patriarchy and poverty. Meier zu Selhausen (2016) found that joint land ownership and equal intrahousehold power relations positively influence women's ability to commit to joining cooperatives.

Kabeer (1999) also emphasizes that access to resources does not automatically lead to social change, and that the latter depends on women's agency, or their ability to make autonomous choices in life and to control resources. In particular, culturally embedded patriarchal conditions may restrict women's agency and create barriers to their economic opportunities and personal capabilities. Sen argues that education and women's earning power, or their economic roles outside the family, are some of the key determinants of enhancing women's agency and voice (Sen 1990, 1999).

Following Littrell and Dickson (2010), this study uses the first three dimensions of well-being as identified in Chambers' model of development⁴; namely the economic, social, and psychological dimensions; to measure achievements and outcomes. The author uses multiple dimensions of well-being because it encompasses a broad range of life changes (Littrell and Dickson 2010). Economic well-being includes both the level of income and expenditure on food, education, health, clothing, housing, and business equipment. Social well-being includes the degree to which women can exercise their power in decision-making within their households, the degree to which women can participate in organizational and community-wide activities, and the presence or absence of access to financial services. Psychological well-being includes freedom from fear, worry, loneliness, and isolation.

3.2 Data collection

Data were collected in three different ways to examine the gender impacts of fair trade and organic S&C. First, an interview with the BOFA general manager (GM) was conducted using a questionnaire survey form which was sent in March 2021. The survey includes questions regarding (a) the representation of women within organizational governance, (b) the participation of women as members and in management roles, (c) activities that support gender mainstreaming, such as gender awareness training, and (d) the presence or absence of gender policy in the BOFA.⁵

Second, a questionnaire survey form was sent to individually certified farmers living in Jewa Lower, one of the ten zones that comprise the producer organization, with the help of the BOFA staff. There are two reasons for choosing the Jewa Lower Zone. First, the zone is the largest in terms of zonal membership. And second, the zone has one of the highest numbers of female farmers who participated in the BOFA from 2017-2018. Table 3 shows that the number of certified BOFA members in Jewa Lower by category. It is very clear that female farmers have shown a much stronger will to become members of the BOFA than before. Fifty nine out of ninety four certified farmers in Jewa Lower were able to respond to and answer the survey individually in March 2021.⁶ Twenty seven out of the fifty nine were men, and thirty two were women.

Questionnaire survey forms collected from individual farmers were used to identify two things.

Table 3. Numbers of Certified BOFA Members in the Jewa Lower Zone by Category in March 2021

	Male	Female
Joined BOFA before 2017-18	32	12
Joined BOFA after 2017-18	26	24

Source: Compiled by the author

⁴ See Chambers (1997).

⁵ These four dimensions follow those used to calculate a gender index by Fairtrade International. For details see Fairtrade International (2020a).

⁶ It was not possible to collect the survey forms from all of the certified farmers (94 farmers) due to the influence of Covid-19. Three sanctioned members were removed from the list.

The first was to investigate whether the impact of participation in the BOFA differs between male and female farmers. The other was to determine whether the impact differs between male farmers and their spouses. The investigation of the latter is also important to analyze whether the benefits as well as the costs of participation in the BOFA are equally distributed within the household.

Third, data were collected using personal interviews that were conducted on September 11, 2021.⁷ The interview was conducted to determine which benefit BOFA women farmers appreciate the most from their participation in the producer organization. Personal interviews were conducted because; as Nelson and Pound (URL 1) pointed out; whether Fairtrade producers are better-off or not is a complex question. Therefore, a holistic analysis is necessary wherein not only are price and income differences considered, but also a broad range of welfare/quality indicators, empowerment indicators, and most importantly, the views of participants.

4. Empirical results

4.1 What determines women's participation in Fairtrade? (pre-conditions and agency)

Table 4 illustrates some basic characteristics of BOFA members by gender. There are some differences between male and female members, such as land area, family size, and age. Female members tend to be younger, tend to own a smaller amount of land, and the family size of their households tends to be smaller than that of their male counterparts. However, coffee farmers are very similar in other aspects. Land is jointly owned by the husband and wife even before they join the BOFA. The reasons why the land is owned by them solely are either because they are unmarried, divorced, or that their

spouses have passed away. As long as the couple continues to live together in the family, the land is jointly owned by the couple even before participation in the BOFA and fair trade. The level of educational achievement was the same for female and male members. Moreover, the couple tends to jointly decide how the coffee sales income is used even before they enter the producer organization. Table 4 demonstrates that the joint ownership of land, equal level of educational attainment prior to participation, and joint decision-making on family matters could be considered as some of the factors that may have facilitated the participation of female farmers in producer organizations such as BOFA. This is consistent with the findings of earlier studies, such as Meier zu Selhausen (2016).

However, the results in Table 4 do not explain why the participation rate of female farmers sharply increased more recently in the BOFA. The answer seems to lie in the BOFA's gender policy. According to the GM, the BOFA has introduced its own gender policy in 2017 in addition to meeting the mandatory or recommended requirements set up by fair trade. That is, the BOFA set its own target of the increase of the share of female members; at least up to 50 percent; and the organization introduced its own measure to achieve the target.⁸ The measure is to offer female farmers a slightly higher purchasing price of parchment coffee than their male counterparts, although the price difference is not very large. In addition, the BOFA separates female coffee and sells it to international buyers at a higher price.

The GM of the BOFA posited two reasons as to why the organization introduced this measure. One is the argument for 'justice'. To date, women have belonged to marginalized groups of society in Uganda. Although women engage in substantial parts of coffee production, they do not participate in marketing activities in the coffee value chain, so they cannot manage family income independently.

⁷ The zoom meeting was held on September 11, 2021 to conduct the personal interview toward 4 women farmers of BOFA. Those women are not only BOFA farmers but also are now heading the newly established BOFA's craft training center. The center was established specifically for empowering women farmers in 2021. This is one of the income diversification strategies adopted in 2020 by BOFA as well.

⁸ Based on the results of the questionnaire survey conducted toward the GM of BOFA in March 2021.

Table 4. Mean Values of Some Basic Characteristics of BOFA Members by Gender

Category	Male Members	Female Members	T-test ¹	Number of OBS ²	
				Male	Female
Land area for coffee production before joining BOFA (acres)	1.76	1.30	*	27	32
Land area for coffee production after joining BOFA (acres)	1.93	1.26	***	27	32
Land ownership before joining BOFA (Sole=1, Joint=2)	1.7	1.7		27	32
Land ownership after joining BOFA (Sole=1, Joint=2)	1.7	1.6		27	32
Current number of family members living together	9	7	**	26	30
Age	60	52	*	27	32
Number of school years (education)	6	6		27	32
Method used to decide the usage of coffee income before joining BOFA (By yourself=1, Joint decision making=2)	1.7	1.7		27	30
Method used to decide the usage of coffee income after joining BOFA (By yourself=1, Joint decision making=2)	1.7	1.7		27	30

Notes: 1 A paired two-tailed t-test was conducted for each category to examine whether the mean values were statistically different between male and female members.

*** indicates the statistical significance at the 1 percent level.

** indicates the statistical significance at the 5 percent level.

* indicates the statistical significance at the 10 percent level.

2 OBS stands for observations.

Source: Compiled by the author

The second is the business argument. Nowadays, some international buyers solely demand women's coffee and offer higher prices than regular coffee. Under these circumstances, it makes sense to separate women's coffee from the point of view of business as well. Smith et al. (2015) also emphasize the importance of the diversification of marketing strategies in the attainment of gender equality.

Since April 2021, the BOFA has adopted a minimum ratio of 2:3 for women to men, particularly in the governance structure.⁹ This means that, at every level, the minimum ratio of women to men is always 2:3, beginning from the zonal level. Women now have a voice and participate in the governance of the organization. Women are highly active in the association's political structure. The construction of a governance structure that takes gender balance into consideration has become possible only because of the recent, higher rate of participation of female farmers in the organization.

In the opinion of the GM of the BOFA, mandatory requirements of Fairtrade promote gender equal-

ity, but Fairtrade International asks producer organizations to promote gender equality in any possible way. In other words, it is up to each organization to find ways to achieve it. This implies that, as Smith (2013) points out, fair trade gender impacts are also heavily influenced by the outlook and commitment of certified producer organizations.

4.2 Achievements and outcomes

4.2.1 Economic well-being

Table 5 shows the impact of participation in the BOFA and Fairtrade from the perspective of economic well-being, and based on whether the member is male or female. Table 5 reveals some similarities as well as differences. First, small-scale farmers tend to benefit from BOFA participation and engagement in Fairtrade activities. They do this by means of their access to various trainings offered by the BOFA, which were not available to many before, and through their receiving of higher prices

⁹ See appendix for the governance structure of BOFA.

per kilogram for the sales of parchment coffee.¹⁰ As such, the level of income from the coffee sales increased after participation in the BOFA. The participation in the BOFA and Fairtrade benefits both male and female members.

Table 5 also reveals an important difference between the two member types. That is, the productivity measured by the amount of parchment coffee produced by each coffee tree increased significantly more in female-member households than in male-member households, to the point wherein the productivity differed statistically significantly at 10 percent between the two types of members. In fact, male members tend to own more land and coffee trees and hire more external laborers than female members do. This finding seems to imply that male members tend to follow input-driven growth. On the other hand, female members seem to follow productivity-driven and/or quality-driven growth,

because they are constrained by the amount of land and coffee trees they own. The amount of coffee cherries collected from each tree depends greatly on the intensity of care provided by the owner of the trees. This is consistent with the observations of some BOFA staff. That is, compared to males, female members tend to bring higher quality BOFA coffee.¹¹

The gender policy implemented by the BOFA appears to have been effective for two reasons. First, it follows a rights-based approach. Women joined the BOFA and benefited from fair trade in a manner equal to men. Second, the gender policy succeeded in the improvement of the quality of BOFA coffee. According to a Japanese company that sells BOFA coffee exclusively in Japan, the quality has increased substantially since the coffee year of 2020-21; therefore, BOFA coffee is currently categorized as specialty coffee, at least in Japan.¹²

Table 5. Gendered Impacts of Participation in BOFA and Fairtrade - Economic Well-being

	Male Members	Female Members	T-test ¹	Number of OBS ²	
				Male	Female
Land area for coffee production before joining BOFA (acres)	1.76	1.30	*	27	32
Land area for coffee production after joining BOFA (acres)	1.93	1.26	***	27	32
Number of coffee trees before joining BOFA	460	390		27	32
Number of coffee trees after joining BOFA	701	465	**	27	32
Parchment coffee produced before joining BOFA (kg)	374	357		27	32
Parchment coffee produced after joining BOFA (kg)	702	555		27	32
Parchment coffee produced per tree before joining BOFA (kg)	0.83	0.95		27	32
Parchment coffee produced per tree after joining BOFA (kg)	1.06	1.30	*	27	32
Number of external temporary laborers employed	1.6	0.5	*	26	30
Access to farming training before joining BOFA (Yes=1, No=2)	1.5	1.7		27	31
Access to farming training after joining BOFA (Yes=1, No=2)	1.0	1.0		27	31
Increase in the selling price of parchment coffee per kg by (>2000 UGX=1, 2000 UGX=2, 1000 UGX=3, No change=4)	2.3	2.5	*	27	31
Degree of increase in coffee income (Very high=1, High=2, No change=3, Lower=4, A lot lower=5)	1.8	1.9		26	29

Notes: See Table 4.

Source: See Table 4.

¹⁰ See Okamoto (2020) for the details regarding the mechanism in which certified coffee farmers can sell their parchment coffee at the higher prices than otherwise.

¹¹ This information is provided by one of the staffs of BOFA in September 2018.

¹² This information was provided by a CEO of the Japanese company located in Nagoya, Japan on November 26, 2021.

Table 6. Expenditure Pattern of Increased Income Resulting from Joining BOFA and Fairtrade (Number of Households and Share by Category)

Category of Household Expenditure (Items on which each household spent their increased income the second most)	Households of Male Members		Households of Female Members	
	Numbers	Shares (%)	Numbers	Shares (%)
Health	27	100	23	77
Business purposes (like purchasing equipment)	0	0	4	13
Radio or TV	0	0	0	0
Mobile phone	0	0	0	0
Clothes	0	0	3	10
Food	0	0	0	0
Leisure	0	0	0	0
Total	27	100	30	100

Source: See Table 4.

Table 6 demonstrates the patterns of household expenditure. Households spend on the basis of their increased income from coffee sales to the BOFA, and this depends on whether BOFA members are male or female. It was found that both types of households spend the most on children's education. However, there is a difference in their second choice, as shown in Table 6. Although male members unanimously spend the increased income on the improvement of health, female members use it on something else, such as purchasing equipment for business purposes or clothes. This implies that being a member of the BOFA enables women to manage and control their cash revenue more than otherwise, since women are now the main bread earners from coffee sales.

4.2.2 Social well-being

Table 7 reveals the gender impacts of participation in the BOFA and in Fairtrade from the perspective of social well-being. Table 7 shows two things. First, Fairtrade benefits households of both male and female members almost equally. Today, regardless of the gender, farmers have more opportunities to participate in external organizational activities than

before, and the accessibility to financial services such as microcredit has improved after they joined the BOFA and engaged in Fairtrade. Moreover, both types of households now possess greater awareness of the environment that surrounds their community than before.

What strikes the author the most is that the allocation of daily time is almost the same for male and female members. After entering the BOFA, both spent more time on coffee production and learning, and less time on the production of subsistent crops, leisure, and sleeping. Female farmers can spend more time on coffee production and learning than before, just like male ones, because their time is not constrained by such work as childcare and household chores.

4.2.3 Does the participation in the BOFA and Fairtrade as a member matter?

Table 8 shows how the benefits of joining the producer organization and becoming certified farmers are distributed within male-headed households.¹³ What we would like to see is whether female spouses are likely to benefit from Fairtrade just as their husbands are even when the latter are the registered

¹³ The number of observations between Tables 4, 5, 7, and Table 8 is different because although the former include single-headed households, the latter does households in which both husband and wife live together only.

Table 7. Gendered Impacts of Participation in BOFA and Fairtrade — Social Well-being

	Male Members	Female Members	T-test ¹	OBS ²	
				Male	Female
<External relationships>					
Participation in any external organizational activities before 					

Notes: See Table 4.

Source: See Table 4.

Table 8. Impacts of Fairtrade on Households of Male Members

	Male Members	Spouse	T-test ¹	OBS ²
Access to farming training before joining BOFA (Yes=1, No=2)	1.5	1.8	**	20
Access to farming training after joining BOFA (Yes=1, No=2)	1.0	1.1		20
Participation in any external organizational activities before joining BOFA? (Yes=1, No=2)	1.7	1.7		20
Participation in BOFA's activities other than training after joining BOFA? (Yes=1, No=2)	1.0	1.2	*	20
Access to financial services before joining BOFA (Yes=1, No=2)	2.0	1.9		20
Access to financial services after joining BOFA (Yes=1, No=2)	1.3	1.5		20
Level of awareness of the importance of environmental preservation before joining BOFA (Very high=1, High=2, Average=3, Low=4, Very low=5)	3.3	3.8	***	20
Level of awareness of the importance of environmental preservation after joining BOFA (Very high=1, High=2, Average=3, Low=4, Very low=5)	2.0	2.5	***	20
Hours spent on coffee production before joining BOFA	3.5	2.6	***	19
Hours spent on coffee production after joining BOFA	5.3	4.2	***	19
Hours spent on subsistence crop production before joining BOFA	2.8	3.4		19
Hours spent on subsistence crop production after joining BOFA	2.6	2.9		19
Hours spent on child-care before joining BOFA	2.2	2.8	***	19
Hours spent on child-care after joining BOFA	2.3	2.8	**	19
Hours spent on household works before joining BOFA	2.6	3.2	**	19
Hours spent on household works after joining BOFA	2.9	3.4	**	19
Hours spent on learning before joining BOFA	1.8	1.4		19
Hours spent on learning after joining BOFA	2.7	2.1	**	19
Hours spent on leisure before joining BOFA	2.7	2.1		19
Hours spent on leisure after joining BOFA	1.6	1.6		19
Hours spent sleeping before joining BOFA	8.4	8.6		19
Hours spent sleeping after joining BOFA	6.7	7.1		19
Level of overall satisfaction with livelihood before joining BOFA (Very high=1, High=2, Average=3, Low=4, Very low=5)	3.3	3.3		20
Level of overall satisfaction with livelihood after joining BOFA (Very high=1, High=2, Average=3, Low=4, Very low=5)	2.1	2.2		20

Notes: See Table 4.

Source: See Table 4.

members of producer organizations.

Table 8 shows that fair trade seems to benefit both men and women, but the intra-household distribution of benefits does not seem to be equal between the two. First, although spouses now have more opportunities to join the BOFA's training like their husbands do, some still do not have access to them. Thus, the spouses' awareness of the importance of environmental preservation tends to be lower than that of their husbands, and spouses are less likely than their husbands to participate in the BOFA's various group meetings, or have access to financial services.

The difference in bargaining power within the household between husband and wife also seems to be reflected in the patterns of the allocation of daily time. In Table 8, the pattern of the allocation of daily time reflects the more traditional division of labor between husbands and wives. Although the spouses of male-headed households spend more time on the learning and production of coffee, and less on subsistence crops now than before, spouses cannot change the allocation of time by the same magnitude as their husbands. This is obvious because spouses must spend more time on childcare and household work than their husbands. As spouses spend less time on training, learning and the production of coffee, and more time on childcare and household chores, the degree to which spouses have control over income is lessened.

4.2.4 Psychological well-being

The interview conducted with several female members of the newly established women's hand-craft center on September 11, 2021, reveals that the benefit of being free from domestic violence is one of the important benefits generated by their participation in the BOFA as a member, and their engagement in fair trade. Since women now own their land and coffee trees, they can manage their income from coffee sales. This led to the substantial reduction or the elimination of domestic violence in households because women farmers do not have to 'beg money from their husbands' any longer. In other words, there was nothing to quarrel about.

Women farmers appreciate BOFA and fair trade because they now have access to training, and can earn a higher amount of income than before. In addition, they have a voice and agency in the organization and society. Moreover, they are now free from domestic violence and enjoy a sense of security.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

This study uses the Uganda Organic Coffee Farmers' Association as a case study to investigate the gender impacts of membership and participation in producer organizations, and engagement in organic and fair trade activities. The association was chosen because of its uniqueness, in that the rate of female farmers' participation has substantially increased over the past couple of years. This is unique because the percentage of global women farmers who are members of Fairtrade have been on the decline since the latter half of the 2010s, despite the introduction of the Fairtrade Gender Strategy 2016-2020 by Fairtrade International. The BOFA case contrasts with the global trend.

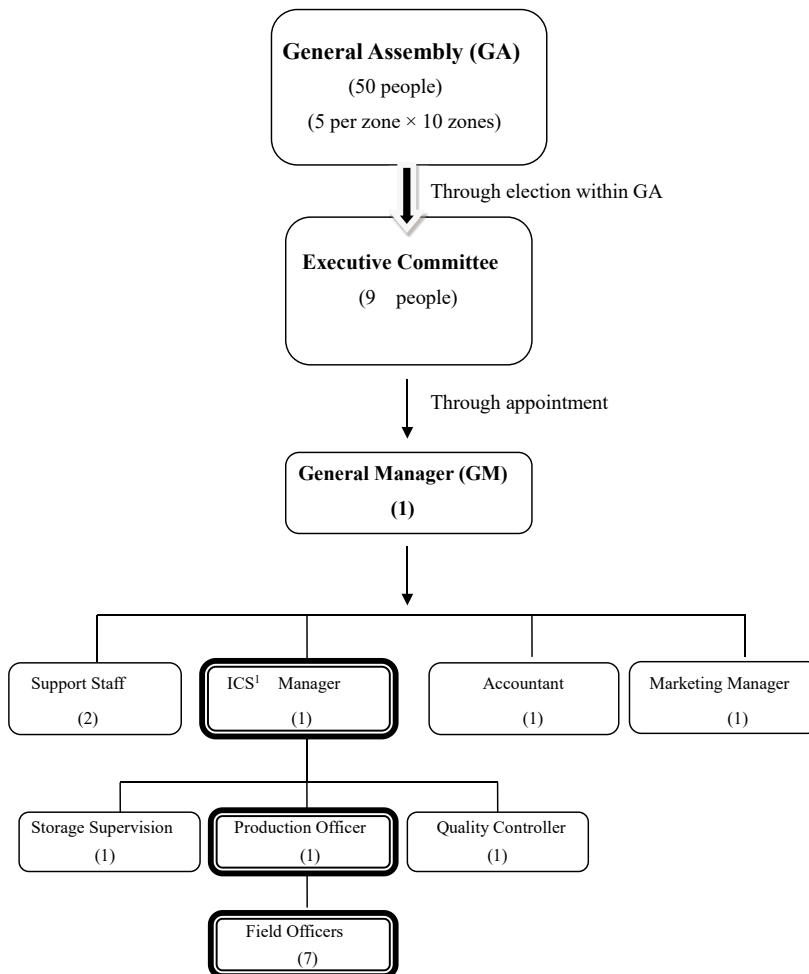
The study found that joint ownership of land, equal levels of education, and joint decision-making regarding income from cash crop sales, might have facilitated the membership registration of female farmers in fair trade. The three determinants alone, however, do not explain why the rate of participation of female farmers has increased in the BOFA in recent years. The unique and innovative gender policy introduced by the BOFA is considered one of the major factors for the recent increase in the female participation rate in the BOFA. Since 2017-2018, the BOFA introduced a unique pricing policy, according to which they purchase coffee at a slightly higher price from female members than male ones, separate female coffee, and sell it to international buyers at a higher price. Although BOFA introduced the policy based on the 'justice' argument, the policy is found to be compatible with productivity growth and quality enhancement because women farmers tend to grow coffee with greater care than their male counterparts.

The study also found that although women ben-

enefit from fair trade despite their non-participation in the producer organization as main members, the distribution of benefits is not equal between husbands and their spouses. This is primarily because women's domestic workload is much heavier than that of men, wherein women have to spend more time on childcare and household chores.

In conclusion, gender equality is important for two reasons. First, female farmers tend to contribute to the production of higher-quality coffee than their male counterparts. Second, the intrahousehold distribution of benefits that arise from participation in

fair trade is not equal between husbands and wives. Some scholars, such as Meemken and Qaim (2018), argue that gender equality could be addressed more explicitly in standards, for instance, in the form of mandatory certification requirements. Equally important was the effort made and the ingenuity shown at the level of each producer organization. In this sense, it is advisable for the regional Fairtrade network, such as Fairtrade East Africa, to take the initiative in collecting examples of best practices and sharing them widely among the relevant organizations.



Appendix Changed Management Structure of the BOFA during 2018-2019

Note: ¹ ICS stands for Internal Control System. indicates places that changed during the coffee year of 2018-2019.
Source: See Okamoto (2020).

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