

Local dynamics of small-holder coffee certification in the Mount Elgon region of Uganda

How do heterogeneous actors in the Mount Elgon region in Uganda produce their own dynamic interaction with coffee certificates?



Msc thesis by M. W. Verschoor
July 2012

Rural Development Sociology Group
Wageningen University

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Master thesis International Development Studies

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July 2012

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Part I Introduction and background to the research

1. Introduction

1.1 Introducing the research

The certification of coffee has initially started out as a niche product, initiated by the European Fair Trade movement. These days the number of coffee certification/verification initiatives have grown, as well as the interest of consumers of certified coffee, such as Organic, Fair Trade, Bird Friendly, Rainforest Alliance and Utz Certified. The market for certified coffee has also grown, as many of the certified coffees can be found in supermarkets around the world, making it a 'mainstream' product. (Benoit, 2005) Part of this mainstreaming is attributed to the increase in interest of consumers, due to a larger knowledge of- and interest in the product they are buying, and the conditions under which it has been produced. (Codron et al., 2006) On the other hand some say that the interest of retail in the marketing of specialty coffees is a prevailing reason for the mainstreaming. (Daviron and Ponte, 2005) Especially where retail produce their own labels, and with proliferation of the coffee certificates, there are worries that the demands of the standards are watering down. This watering down would lead to little sustainable social, environmental and economic development for the coffee producers and their environment.

It is important to research the effects of coffee certificate standards, especially as the consumer buys certified coffee in the expectation that they help local producers by buying the coffee. Some scholars do this by taking a technocratic approach to the coffee certificates. They measure coffee certificate goals and the indicators for development used in the coffee certificates - for instance environmental impacts or changes in income of the farmers - to see whether the certificate standards reach their goals in the field (for instance (Utting-Chamorro, 2005); (Philpott et al., 2007)). Although such research provides valuable information on whether the particular issues which the certificates promotes come back in practice, such research often does not provide insight into the 'local' changes which coffee certificates sort in the coffee production areas of which they become part. If the social reality of which coffee certificates become part are placed central to research, a better understanding can be reached of what certification actually 'does' in coffee producer communities. Such an approach can also alter the 'policy based' idea which lies behind coffee certification - that rules can sort changes in coffee production environment no matter where they are implemented, as long as they are well implemented. That this is not necessarily true becomes clear in a research such as the ethnographic research by Mutersbaugh. It revealed that field-level certification officers cooperated with village level extension officers to interpret organic standards requirements so that they would come to match the social reality in a particular Mexican indigenous community.¹ (Mutersbaugh, 2002) Local dynamics made coffee certification 'work' in its own particular way, even though they did not match the idea on Organic certification as produced by its standard-setters.

Like Mutersbaugh's ethnographic research, this thesis focuses on local dynamics in the Mount Elgon region of Uganda which have come to exist upon the entrance of a number of coffee certificates - Fairtrade, Organic, Utz Certified certification, and 4C verification. The Actor-Network Theory (ANT) forms the conceptual basis of the thesis. It is based on the notion that heterogeneous actors - both human and material - together shape local reality by their interactions, and that their interactions in turn come to provide the actors involved with a meaning and a purpose. (Law, 1992) The dynamics which coffee certificates bring about in the Mount Elgon region do not need to match what the coffee

¹ An example of this reinterpretation: because most of the farmers do not earn as much as the minimum wage in Mexico, the requirement to provide workers with a minimum wage is reinterpreted to the average wage in the area.

certificates envisage – both certificate standards, as well as the roles of the actors involved in the certification, work according to the local dynamics which have come to exist around and with the coffee certificates. The term actor-network comes from the idea that heterogeneous actors – both human and material (for example: machines, buildings, documents) – receive meaning and purposes via other actors with whom they interact. The correlating view of ANT on ‘networks is that they exist only insofar actors repeat the interactions which form part of the interaction pattern. Hence the term actor-network: an actor is produced by networks, but networks are also produced by actors. It means that a certified coffee chain, often regarded as a network of certified coffee producing actors, is in reality an actor-network – unstable and changeable, dependent on the interactions of the actors which produce it.

The ANT term “punctualization” denotes a situation in which interactions of heterogeneous actors have become repeated to such an extent, that they follow a more or less stable pattern. The fact that Mount Elgon certified coffee is traded means that the interactions in the Mount Elgon region, and all the actors related to the certification of coffee from that area, must have become patterned to produce the same outcome. This pattern has gained stability to a certain extent, but remains unstable as it is dependent on the continuance of interactions of the actors involved. This thesis researches two Mount Elgon Certified Coffee Actor-Networks (from now on MECCANs) . The research aims to answer the question how the interactions of heterogeneous MECCAN actors in the Mount Elgon region, and those actors outside of the area enabling continued production of certified coffee in the Mount Elgon region, become patterned to the extent that they keep on producing the certified Mount Elgon coffee.

Some ANT theorist, such as Callon (Callon, 1991) and Latour (Latour, 1999), have made the research into patterns in actor-networks about the ‘strategies of actors’ to maintain this pattern, and the existence of ‘centers of power’ which have much power to draw actors into that particular order. Confusions have arisen with respect to this focus on strategy to maintain one particular order, because how can a heterogeneous set of strategies lead to “one” order? Law (1999) promotes ethnographic use of the theory, that actors should be followed into ‘*translation*’ - meaning that without preexisting thoughts about structures of interaction, actors are researched on how they come to be part of (or are ‘translated’ into) a particular actor-network order. Lee and Hassard (Lee and Hassard, 1999) note that the ANT has the “*habit of failing to forge its own internal and external boundaries*” (Lee and Hassard, 1999)(p392), because different scholars use the theory in different ways. This thesis has as solution to the ANT as ‘black box’ (Neyland, 2006). Unlike Law (Law, 1992) strategy is not regarded as product of an order in an actor-network, but it is also not viewed as intention of heterogeneous actors to establish the order as it is in a punctualized actor-network (like Callon). Rather, strategy may become part of an actor-network order if that strategy helps individual actors maintain benefits which they get out of the interaction. Strategy is thus dependent on individual desires, not from an intention to keep a particular order. Therefore it is individual motives of actors which in accumulation produce a pattern. Two theories are used to research these individual (inter)action motives. The first is the Theory of Access (ToA), which comes with the notion that actors (inter)act because they wish to access certain benefits. The second is the theory of semi-autonomous social fields (SASF), which explains how norms can become established within the MECCAN interactions and how norms outside of the interactions can influence the (dis)continuance of the (inter)action. When in those interactions the individual actor norms and/or benefits in that interaction align, an interaction becomes more stable. When an actor-network includes many of such alignments, relations of a more stable character have been produced, which make the order of MECCAN interactions more stable. In this alignment of norms and benefits particular MECCAN-actor roles are established, in which interactions become automatic and less costly, and which are particular to these MECCAN actors. Actors therefore get their own particular ‘functionality’ in those

interactions, and it does not necessarily correspond to the roles which the standard-setters of the coffee certificates had in mind when they negotiated over the terms of certification of coffee.

This approach to coffee certification in the Mount Elgon region aggregates individual actors' perspectives/norms, and analyses how they together come to produce MECCAN-roles of interaction, and MECCAN-effects of coffee certification (which would not have been there without the coffee certificates). From the effects it can be discerned also to whom the certification of coffee in the Mount Elgon region provides benefits, in what way, and for whom it is not – according to the Mount Elgon perspective.

1.2 Problem statement

The certification of coffee requires producers of coffee who wish to supply certified coffee to the world market to adhere to certain social, environmental, economic and organizational requirements. The certificates are based on policy-centred thinking – that rules can steer development, benefits which can motivate people to stick to the rules, internal control and third party assessments to ensure compliance. In their paradigm, or in the discourse which they are promoting, such a system can result in sustainable change for the environment, can ensure social change for the local producers as well as a change in position of the farmer in the coffee production chain. Research of Mutersbaugh in Mexico (Mutersbaugh, 2002) shows that local conditions can make coffee certification work, but not necessarily under the rules of the certificate. This research, based on the ANT, ToA and theory on SASF, takes this proposition a step further. It proposes that not only the rules of coffee certification are 'bent' in a local situation, but says that a complete new meaning of coffee certification is produced in the local interactions of actors in- and related to- certification in the Mount Elgon region. It means that in order to gain an understanding of what certification does in a locality, and how it comes to be maintained, there is a need to understand how certification as material actor (a number of documents containing somewhere else negotiated norms, and promised benefits) becomes part of a local dynamic, transforms the local dynamic, and is transformed by the local dynamic. Certified coffee may thus be supplied, but what this 'phenomenon' is and does in practice, is determined in dynamic interactions which take place in the Mount Elgon region.

Even though the number of coffee certificates in Uganda is growing, little research has been conducted on the effects of certification on Ugandan coffee producers and traders. In the Mount Elgon area farmers produce Arabica coffee, a preferred type of coffee compared to the more commonly grown Robusta coffee. It is a type of coffee the coffee market is interested in for the specialty coffees, and it is specialty coffees where the comparative advantage for Ugandan coffee has been assessed to lie. (You et al., 2003) It is not strange therefore that the Mount Elgon farmers are increasingly confronted with trader/exporter interest, and that certification of coffee increasingly takes place - it is an interesting market. With this increasing involvement of coffee certificates in Uganda, and especially the Mount Elgon region, it is of importance to conduct research into the developments which coffee certificates trigger. What dynamic interactions are produced because of the coffee certification, and the range of interactions they trigger? How does the individual Mount Elgon actor benefit from the maintenance of the interactions which establish the MECCAN order/assemblage of interactions they are part of? What norms are felt by the individual actors in these interactions, and how are strategies used by which actors to establish such a norm, or to maintain access to a benefit the interaction provides them? Such questions, posed from a local perspective and without following the discourse of the coffee certificate standards setters, will uncover how actors in the Mount Elgon region in their own way make use of the coffee certificates. Eventually this insight can help to clarify - from a local perspective - whether and to whom the certification of coffee has desirable effects.

1.3 Research objectives

The main objective of this research is to gain an understanding of the dynamics through which heterogeneous actors in the Mount Elgon region come to produce a MECCAN which can export coffee under certificate labels.

This research has three partial objectives. The first partial objective is to discover which Mount Elgon actors participate in the MECCAN-interactions, how and why. The reason for participation should uncover what benefits the actors wish to maintain in their MECCAN interactions, as well as the semi-autonomous social fields which the actors are subject to and which affects their normative perceptions towards their (inter)actions in the MECCAN. The second partial objective is to find out how these individual motives and strategies in participation come to form a MECCAN order stable enough to maintain the production and trade of certified coffee from the Mount Elgon area - a punctualized actor-network. The third partial objective is determining what roles the MECCAN actors take on in this MECCAN order of interactions, and what local meaning is produced to those actors as part of the MECCAN dynamic. Connecting these to the question whether they are beneficial for these actors, it is possible to figure out whether actors who cannot fulfil these actor-roles produced in the interactions miss out on benefits - because they lack means to access them or because they do not share the norm produced in the MECCAN interaction order.

1.4 Research questions

Main question:

How do the actor network theory, the theory of access and the theory on semi-autonomous social fields explain the production of a punctualized certified coffee actor-network in the Mount Elgon region of Uganda, by uncovering the benefits and costs of coffee certification from a local perspective?

Subquestions

1. What benefits do MECCAN actors wish to access via the MECCAN interactions, and who bears the costs?
 - a. What benefits do individual MECCAN actors access via their interactions?
 - b. What are the mechanisms by which these benefitting MECCAN-actors arrange such access?
 - c. What are their costs to maintain the access?
 - d. Which actors are unable to be part of these mechanisms and/or to bear the cost?
2. How do semi-autonomous fields relate to the motives of MECCAN actors to reproduce, or not to reproduce, the interactions by which they become part of the MECCAN order?
 - a. By who and in what way are norms used by MECCAN-actors in their strategy to maintain access to their interaction-benefits?
 - b. What norms external to the MECCAN interactions impact on the participation of MECCAN actors in the MECCAN interactions?
3. To what extent do MECCAN actor strategies to access benefits and/or to what extent do norms of MECCAN actors align in the MECCAN interactions they are part of?
4. What MECCAN actor-roles have become established through alignment of norms and benefits in interactions between MECCAN actors, and how stable are they?
 - a. Have joint norms established about roles to be played actors play towards the other actors in the MECCAN?

- b. Do actors continuously play a certain role to ascertain benefits they get out of that role?
- c. Both given the norms and the benefits accessed, how likely is it that the MECCAN actors will maintain this role in the interaction-order?
- d. What actors are unable to play such a role, and become excluded from the MECCAN interactions?

1.5 Structure of the thesis

Part I Introduction and background to the research

Chapter 1 provides the introduction to research into certified coffee actor-networks in the Mount Elgon region of Uganda, provides the problem statement for the research and the research questions.

Chapter 2 provides background information on the research. Topics are the international liberalization of the coffee market, and the coffee crisis that followed the liberalization with its effects on coffee farmers worldwide. Then it briefly discusses the development of certification in coffee, and explains the ideological question marks which have come to be associated with this development. The last part of the chapter focuses on Uganda, and discusses the role of coffee and the certification of coffee in the Mount Elgon region of Uganda.

Part II Research

Chapter 3 provides the theoretical background to the research. It explains how the actor-network theory, the Theory of Access and the theory on Semi-Autonomous Social Fields are linked together to provide a complete picture of the local production and the punctualization of Mount Elgon Certified Coffee Actor Networks

Chapter 4 is the chapter in which it is explained what approach has been taken to the research, and the methodology of the research.

Part III Results

Chapter 5 introduces the actors who are part of the MECCAN and the actors which impact on the interactions between the MECCAN-actors.

Chapter 6 provides the perspectives of the two certificate holders, Gumutindo and Kyaglanayi, on the MECCAN interactions and the actors part of those interactions. It also includes their strategies in those interactions to maintain access to their MECCAN interaction benefits.

Chapter 7 describes the Namayonyi and Busano case studies. It involves description of MECCAN interactions and actors involved on this level; farmers, primary society Peace Kawomera, and the certificate holders and their employees.

Part IV Analysing the Namayonyi and Busano MECCANs

Chapter 8 is the chapter in which analyses the interactions which take place in the effort of Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi to maintain their small-holder certificate holding, and therefore one of the two main interaction aims of these two organizations. The analysis incorporates perspectives of different actors on these interactions, and includes the analysis of the role of norms, access to benefits, strategies and roles of actors in those interactions.

Chapter 9 aggregates the information on the interactions of the two MECCANs, and establishes where actors and norms involved align so that they form more stable interactions, which maintain the MECCAN interaction order which causes the MECCAN to be viewed as punctualized network.

Conclusion

Discussion and recommendations

2. International and Ugandan coffee market developments and the certification of coffee

2.1 International coffee developments: liberalization of the international coffee market, the coffee crisis and certification/verification of coffee

2.1.1 Liberalization in the international market and the international coffee crisis, impacting mostly on developing country producers

Up to 1989 the international coffee chain was regulated by the International Coffee Organisation (ICO), which together with its member countries had “quote system” as part of the International Coffee Agreement (ICA). The major producer and consumer countries would send representatives to negotiate on these quotas, regulating supply and demand and thereby sustaining prices for coffee. (Raynolds et al., 2007) Internationally neo-liberal forces (development economists, World Bank and IMF market reforms) brought about a shift in regulation from public to private. (Akiyama, 2001) In this changing context of the international coffee market, members in the ICO came to disagree over the ICA. The quota system was disbanded. (Gresser and Tickell, 2002) Those countries who were previously bound by the quota system, now dumped their coffee in stalk on the international market. (Akiyama, 2001) On top of that, the number of producing countries expanded. Asia became an important new player in the coffee market, with Viet Nam becoming the third largest producer in only three years. (Rice, 2003) Without the centrally regulated supply, the uncontrolled competition which followed led to an imbalance between supply and demand. Consequently the world prices for coffee beans dropped, reaching an all-time low in 2002 where prices of coffee were over 50% lower than 3 years earlier.²

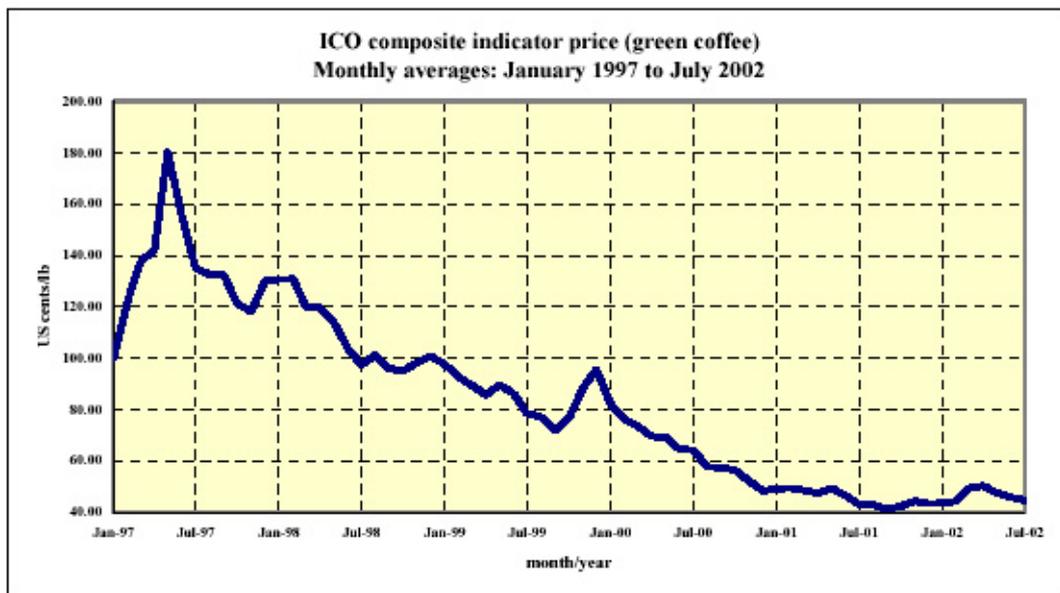


Figure 1 ICO indicator price (green coffee) January 1997 to July 2002³

² Data to be found on the World Bank Data and Statistics site:

<http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/DATASTATISTICS/0,,contentMDK:21725423~hlPK:1365919~isCURL:Y~menuPK:64133159~pagePK:64133150~piPK:64133175~theSitePK:239419,00.html>

³ <http://www.geog.ucsb.edu/events/departments-news/502/dying-for-a-cup-of-coffee/>>> assessed

Liberalization has tilted the character of the international coffee chain from a relatively balanced supply-demand ration (although negotiated in the ICA), to that of a *consumer-driven* chain. As coffee is primarily grown in developing countries (90% according to (Ponte, 2002)) and consumption takes place mainly in the 'western' countries, it is the developing countries which are on the losing side of the development. (Ponte, 2002) Although the demand has increased during the years, it has favoured specialty coffees. Specialty coffees benefit mostly coffee roasters. Most roasters are stationed in the coffee consuming countries, which means that the benefits for adding value to the coffee has also come to lie at the 'developed world'. (Osorio, 2002) The crisis has therefore been more of a crisis to the developing country producers - those without the means to add value - than of the coffee producing segments higher up in the chain.

2.1.2 Certification in coffee

Coffee was one of the first commodities in which certification initiatives have arisen, and is one of the areas in which there is a rapid growth of these initiatives. There are many types of coffee standard setting and certification initiatives. They have their particular focus, values, and systems of governance (Described in Annex 2). Some of the best known initiatives, such as Organic, Fair Trade, Bird Friendly, Rainforest Alliance, Utz Certified, sell certified coffee. Other initiatives do not sell certified coffee but have developed baseline criteria of coffee production, such as the Common Code for the Coffee Community and EUREP-GAP. Verification does not work with labels on pack, but allows those companies trading in the coffee to show that they buy from a verified supply. There are also initiatives trying to bring some coordination to the certification, such as the FLO (Fairtrade Labelling Organization) - of which Fairtrade is the certificate. (Raynolds et al., 2007) While the initiatives mentioned above are part of voluntary schemes, there are also mandatory government set standards and increasingly also private standards. The focus of these standards, whether in the government mandatory, NGO/corporation voluntary or the purely private standard setting, has increasingly been laid at the production process rather than the product in itself. While the product itself remains important to its appearance, taste, cleanliness and the absence of taints it is the authenticity of origins, the safety of the coffee, the environmental and social conditions under which it has been grown and have become at least as important. (Ponte, 2004) The coffee producers wishing to engage in certification have to alter their production process to suit the standards of the certificate. Coffee certificates are specialty coffees, and this is why it is interesting for retail as well as coffee traders/exporters to trade in certified coffee. Most of the coffee certificates have social and economic aims, which should help to establish more favourable conditions for the developing country producers.

2.1.3 Why do standard-setters produce coffee certificates/verification initiatives?

There are two dominant views on the reason why certification has become important in the coffee market. The most positive approach is that the consumer has become more aware of what they are consuming, that the expansion of these initiatives stems from an international concerns on food safety, biodiversity and the wellbeing of coffee farmers. On the other hand there are those (eg. (Freidberg, 2003), according to (Raynolds et al., 2007)) who believe certification is a 'packaging model' for coffee, and as such the initiatives are part of a market strategy of the large roasters and retail. (Raynolds et al., 2007) Sustainability initiatives by private corporations can create a positive image with their buyers, and thereby create a niche market which is profitable. As such certification can become a trend, and some feel that coffee certification has become a buzz word for image, rather than a real motor for change in practise. As there is no external control on the initiatives, it is difficult to find out to what extent one or the other is at play. Gupta (2010) raises the question how these standards are produced - who sets the standards and what value base do they stem from? (Gupta, 2010)

Relating to these two views on certification, different opinions can arrive on the value of these initiatives to the 'public' at large. To Giovannucci and Ponte (Giovannucci and Ponte, 2005) the coffee

sector before was regulated through 'national capitalism', and that 'market fairness' was embedded in a normative framework generated by governments, labour unions and in some cases religious authority. With the liberal developments new actors have come to play a role in the coffee sector – such as non-governmental organizations and retail - who according to Giovannucci and Ponte now bargain over a normative framework within the coffee sector. Together they produce a new form of “social contract” via their own normative framework. (Giovannucci and Ponte, 2005) Reynolds, Murray and Heller (Reynolds et al., 2007) think along the same lines. They speak of a governance gap since the deterioration of public control of the coffee production chain, and feel that within the new certification arrangements both private corporations and civil society have begun to play a role in filling the gap, or at least impact on governing dynamics of the international coffee sector and a way to formalize these sustainable values. Doubting the industries motives for certification, it can also be doubted whether there is real interest in the cooperation with non-governmental actors. Even if they do establish some sort of social framework, the 'social' leverage of non-governmental organizations over economic benefits which companies can secure cannot provide an equal power balance in the 'partnership'. furthermore the interests of the non-governmental organizations reflect the interest of the organization itself, not necessarily the producing actors in a coffee supply chain. (Reynolds et al., 2007)

2.1.4 Critical questions on certification: can the consumer trust the coffee certificates?

Why is the motive for coffee labelling a worry? Even if the coffee certification is favourable to retail, why would the producers of coffee not benefit? One of the worries is that the proliferation of coffee labelling – also stimulated and organized by retail - leads to a lowering of the standards and therefore their limited effects in the field. As coffee labels are in competition for a market share, the lowering of standards can help the rapid production of the coffee under the label. Fridell (2007) describes how Starbucks developed its own coffee standards, in which they did the bare minimum in the field of sustainable development, but did gain a market by having created the idea that those buying Starbucks are drinking 'fair' coffee. (Fridell, 2007) In the case of Starbucks, public scrutiny did lead to the FLO certification of all European Union Starbucks espresso's in 2009. But there does seem to lie some truth that certification/verification with less stringent standards, such as 4C verification and Utz Certified in comparison to Organic and Fairtrade, can more rapidly grow in market share. The 'barometer on coffee certificates' produced by the Tropical Commodity Coalition⁴ shows projections of available certified-verified coffee for the coming 10 years (from 2010 onwards), including a large increase in 4C, Utz Certified and Rainforest Alliance production, and a much lesser production growth for FLO coffees and Organic coffees. Another worry is that the proliferation of these coffee certificates will make it more difficult for the coffee producers to enter the market. Auld and Gulbrandsen (2010) explain that the extra demands which coffee certificate standards put on the coffee producers – extra to government set mandatory standards – puts extra barriers of access, because the production of certified coffee requires investment of money and time, knowledge and infrastructure, which small-developing producers often do not have. (Auld and Gulbrandsen, 2010)

2.1.5 Importance of research into the effects of coffee certification

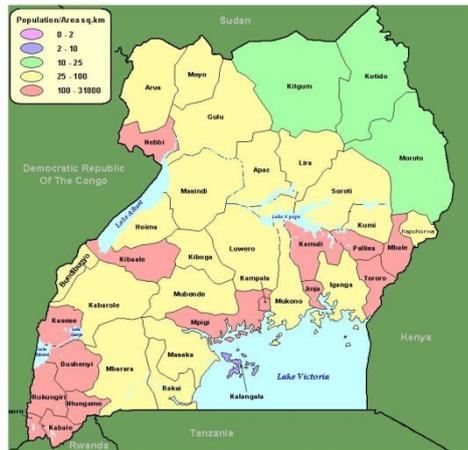
According to Ruben and Zuniga (Ruben et al., 2009) more empirical studies are needed to reveal the true effects at the country producer levels. It is true that these insecurities warrant research into coffee certificates and verification initiatives and their effects. This kind of research does need to incorporate the socio-economic and/or cultural contexts in which the labelling takes place, because as Mutersbaugh's 2002 study on Organic certification in a rural community in Mexico shows, the Organic coffee certificate has come operational according to the way in which the involved actors – farmers, field officers, field

⁴ To be found at: http://www.newforesight.com/sites/default/files/newforesight/TCC_CoffeeBarometer2012.pdf

inspectors – deal with the coffee certificate. In this case it was the interpretation/alteration of Organic certificate standards to match local social reality of coffee farmers and their wages. (Mutersbaugh, 2002) Hence the effects of coffee certification are also produced there.

2.2 Liberalization and developments of the Ugandan coffee market

2.2.1 Role of coffee in Uganda



In 2009 the world bank estimated the population of Uganda to be 32.71 Million (Bank, 2009), and this number is rising. Approximately 1.5 million Ugandans live in the capitol city Kampala, but most of the population lives in the countryside. Uganda's rural area exists of 241,038 km² of tropical land, with in the north-east a semi-arid region. Around 27.9 % of the land is arable, 11.2% is permanent crop land and 17.5% is forest. The Ugandan economy is largely based on agricultural activities and those activities related to agriculture (US Department of state, 2011), it employs over 80 per cent of the Ugandan population.

In the Ugandan agricultural sector a large number of cash crops are grown - thee, cotton, cassava, potatoes, corn, maize and cut flowers. Coffee is the most important cash crop. In terms of the global coffee market, Uganda's Robusta production is the second largest in Africa, making it the 7th Robusta-producing country in the world. Uganda is also the 3rd Arabica producing country in Africa. On a national economic level, it accounts for the largest export revenue⁵ - 17.9 % of Uganda's GDP⁶. On farm level, coffee is being grown mostly on a small scale, but the number of small scale farmers producing coffee makes the total output large. NUCAFE in 2005 estimated that coffee was grown by 3 million small scale farmers, cultivating on average on less than 1 ha. (Bigirwa and IFAP, 2005) The World Bank gave a more detailed estimate, providing that coffee farmers grow coffee on an average of 0,2 ha (Baffes, 2006b). Coffee in 2003 contributed on average 70 per cent to the incomes of the small holder farmers. (UCDA, 2003).

2.2.2 Change in regulation of the Ugandan coffee market due to international liberalization brought a role for export companies

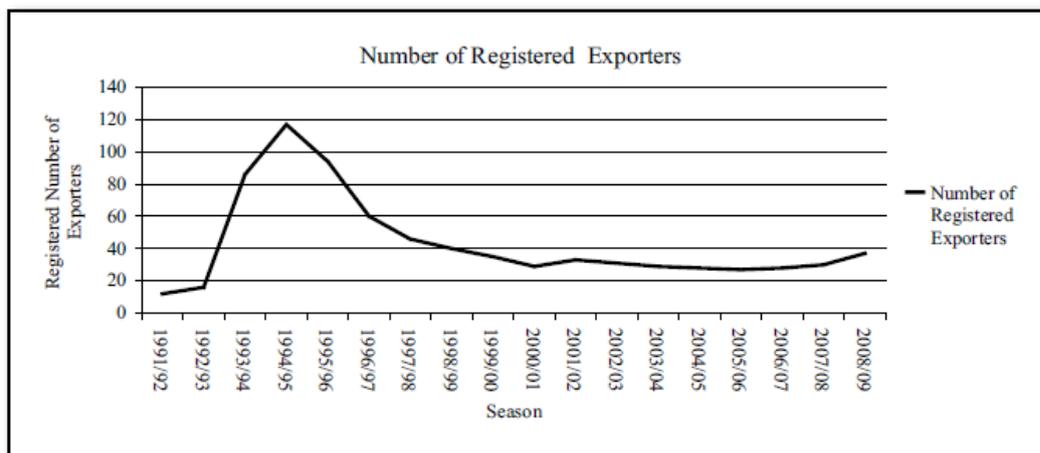
Before liberalization of the coffee market, the Ugandan government dominated the domestic coffee supply chain, and the export of the coffee. The Ugandan Coffee Marketing Board (CMB) set the domestic prices for coffee, controlled the coffee market and the export. (Parizat, 2011) The Structural Adjustment Program of the World Bank brought new requirements for Uganda's coffee production and marketing infrastructure. At the end of the 1980s the Ugandan government installed these required market reforms. The CMB lost its position as main regulator. It became separated into a publicly owned corporation (CMBL) which would from now on deal with the trading and processing functions of the chain, and the Uganda Coffee Development Authority (UCDA) which would monitor and regulate the industry and advise the government on policy issues. With the lessening of state control, private actors became increasingly free to engage in the export of coffee. At first four cooperative unions were allowed

⁵ Index Mundi, Uganda Economic profile, to be found at: http://www.indexmundi.com/uganda/economy_profile.html (2011)

⁶ The Monitor, to be found at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201102030214.html> (2011)

to engage in export next to the CMB. Later on this number expanded, and came to include export companies of a private nature. The involvement of private companies extended to the policy level: the UCDA's board came to include representatives from the private corporations.

At the end of the 1990s the newly formed exporters suffered heavy losses due to shortfall of coffee in the market, and heavy competition. Only the largest exporters were able to survive. By now this number has grown again. In coffee year 2009-2010 a number of 43 coffee exporters have been registered.⁷



(Parizat, 2011, p3)

2.2.3 Consequences of trader competition and the coffee crisis on the farmers and their coffee

The domestic coffee prices after the market reforms were no longer set at a uniform level by the CMB, but came from the coffee exporters. As the number of coffee exporters initially grew to such a large extent, the farm gate coffee prices became very high. The initial developments after the liberalization of the coffee market were therefore profitable to the Ugandan farmers, as well as the fact that they no longer had to wait for their money after selling their coffee. (Akiyama, 2001) However, when the coffee crisis set in and there were less traders in the Ugandan coffee market, the prices started to drop. In 2001 the Ugandan coffee income dropped 36 per cent compared to the year before. The fact that farmers had started to produce more during the period of high prices was now working against the farmers. (Save the children UK, 2004) Some of the Ugandan coffee farmers were pushed out of the market, and others were reduced to subsistence farming. Some of the farmers did not receive more for their coffee than it had cost to produce the coffee. After 2002 the coffee prices have risen slowly, with specialty coffee growing faster in demand. ((Giovannucci et al., 2001); (Bolwig and You, 2007))

Osario (2002) describes a number of effects of the low coffee prices after liberalization on the coffee farmers. Osario explains about three main scenarios for coffee farmers over the world:

1. Farmers with low production costs, well developed technologies and exchange rates favouring export, could still make a living (for example Brazil)
2. Where coffee is primarily seen as a cash crop in a subsistence farm, less money is available for health care, education, and communication (many African and some Asian countries)

⁷ UCDA Annual Report - 2009/2010 to be found at: http://www.ugandacoffee.org/resources/Executive_Summary_for_Coffee_Year_2009-10.pdf

3. Farmers depend on cash from coffee crop for income, and where indebtedness has arisen, farmers have more heavily indebted themselves, switched to other crops (loosing on investment - coffee trees only become productive after 2 years) and leaving their farms (Osorio, 2002)

As many of the Ugandan coffee farmers are subsistence farmers, they are part of the third category. Some farmers did not have an alternative to coffee farming and became indebted. Other farmers switched to other crops.

2.2.4 Effects of coffee crisis on coffee: lower qualities and quantities

After the institutional regulation of the coffee market by the Ugandan government decreased, Multinational Corporations were among the new exporters in the country. They tried to control the domestic segments of the producer chain by buying a lot of coffee at once - including that of less quality. The lack of price differentiation - which before had been incorporated in the CMB price setting - led to a low input into farm management by the coffee farmers, and led to a deterioration of quality. (Rosario, 2002) Eventually Multi-National Corporations decided to set quality demands for the larger quantities of coffee, but the initial low entry requirements for farmers which had shaped the Ugandan supply chain now made it difficult to enforce better growing and hulling practices. The low prices and absence of extension services, which had been provided before the liberalization by the cooperatives which would sell to the CMB, created a situation where the farmers could not or would not invest into their coffee. (Bussolo et al., 2006) Arabica growers were slightly better off than Robusta growers (grown by over 80% of the farmers). The better quality Arabica coffee retained some of its price, but also here the workers lost their jobs and quality of coffee had deteriorated do to lesser investment into coffee.

There is some uncertainty about the true measure of quality deterioration in Ugandan coffee. Baffes in 2006 in his World Bank Policy Research Paper wrote that the quality deterioration in Uganda is widely described, but that it has not been well researched. Baffes finds that the argument that quality control has slacked after liberalization has not been proven. He forwards two studies on other crops which have proven that there has no sign of '*post-reform quality decline*' (Baffes, 2006a) p6, and forwards two numerical measurements of quality which say that it did not deteriorate. One is that only five percent of the coffee brought in to the exporters contains foreign matter, and that the export unit value has increased and that grade SC 15 - the most commonly grown Ugandan Robusta - should have shown a downward flow. This argument can be countered however by the argument that it is difficult to test qualities of Robusta, and that the positive image of the Ugandan Robusta has been maintained for quite a while. (Aithal and Pinard, 2008)

The World Bank supply chain risk assessment of 2010 has found that bad expectations for income earning as a farmer has caused demographic movements to the city. It is sure that the coffee crisis has had negative effects on the coffee prices, and has caused coffee no longer to be a desirable trade to the younger people. Their lands have become unattended. (Sayer, 2002) This same study also notes that the decrease in extension services, and relatively old age of the farmers, has stagnated developments in the coffee sector - also those of quality enhancement.

2.2.5 The place of coffee in the current economy of Uganda

Today coffee is still one of the most important export goods of Uganda. Baffes (2006) noted that in the season 2005-2006 coffee accounted for 1/4th of merchandise export of Uganda, but at that time the revenues were only 2% of Ugandan GDP (Baffes, 2006b). According to the Coffee Supply Chain Risk Assessment by the Agricultural and Rural Development team of the World Bank, the income of export earnings of coffee in Uganda at this time is higher than that of all other agricultural export commodities combined. (Parizat, 2011)

There is no clear data on how many farmers there are in Uganda (Seaman et al., 2004). Estimates of different organizations in different years provide a range of numbers. NUCAFE in 2005 estimated that coffee was being grown by 3 million small scale farmers, cultivating on average on less

than 1 ha.⁸ In 2006 it was estimated that for 500,000 households coffee is the main source of income, growing coffee on an average of 0,2 ha ((Baffes, 2006a, p2). In 2011 the Agricultural Risk Management Team of the Agricultural and Rural Development department of the World Bank estimated the number of rural households in Uganda dependent on coffee to be 1.3 million. (Parizat, 2011) Whatever the exact number, there is a large number of coffee farmers in Uganda, and most of them operate on a small scale. Today it is still the local and middle-sized companies which dominate the buyers' market. Farmers most often sell their produce to the small scale private traders. They are often middlemen who move from house to house to collect coffee. They in turn resell the coffee on to the larger traders. The larger traders may own processing mills, or rent them, to process the cherries. After they processed the coffee, they in turn resell the coffee to exporters, who are usually stationed in Kampala. A small number of farmers is part of a farmer organization. The Agricultural and Rural Development team of the World Bank estimates that there are around 345 farmer groups in Uganda. These farmer organizations collect the coffee from the farmers who are member, and sell it collectively. An estimated 6,000 middlemen/traders work in the coffee sector. (Parizat, 2011) The middlemen make up an important part of the chain. As there are so many small holder farmers, collecting their produce requires a lot of work.

With this increased number of coffee traders and exporters, compared to the years of coffee crisis, the buying competition is high again. Consequently, the farm gate prices have also risen. Especially the Arabica prices are high. Although the general high altitude on which Arabica is grown makes it of a good quality on its own merits, the high prices do not stimulate change in agricultural practices. In the Ugandan Coffee Supply Chain Risk Assessment by an agricultural risk management team of the World Bank it is described how high trader competition leads to a lesser guard of the traders on quality. Connected to this, as farmers receive high prices, and there is hardly any price differentiation for the qualities of coffee, there is no incentive to work on quality of coffee for the farmers. On top of this the fluctuating weather conditions and an increase of pests and diseases (which has been exacerbated by low agrarian input), make that the Ugandan coffee supply is not what it could be, and may even be in a danger to farmers in the future. Diseases like Coffee Wilt Disease (affecting Robusta) and Leaf Rust (affecting Arabica) damage the coffee plants that they become unproductive, and the government has no system in place to reduce the occurrences of these diseases. As Ugandan farmers have little alternative income earning opportunities next to coffee (Parizat, 2011) a future with fluctuating coffee yields is a serious problem to the livelihoods of the Ugandan farmer.

2.3 Coffee in the Mount Elgon region

2.3.1 Arabica Coffee chain in the Mount Elgon region

The Mount Elgon region is one of the two regions in Uganda where Arabica coffee is being grown. The mountain itself - Mount Elgon - is situated in the outer eastern border of Uganda, and the Mount Elgon National Park extends into Kenya territory. Coffee is grown on the slopes of this area, and in the districts surrounding the park. Of central importance to trade in this area, also trade of coffee, is Mbale city - the fourth largest city in Uganda.

⁸ NUCAFE, jan 2005

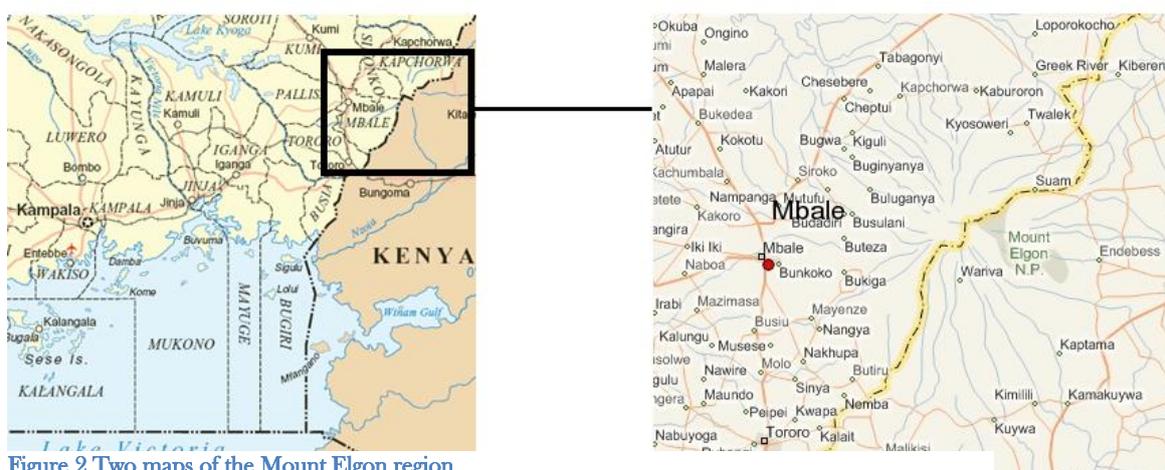


Figure 2 Two maps of the Mount Elgon region

Many coffee traders and exporters have their offices in Mbale. Also there are coffee stores (a “store” is a building to which farmers can bring their coffee to sell it), and a small number of traders/exporters have processing plants. Increasingly the traders and exporters have stores and processing plants in the fields as well, closer to the farmers. As coffee is mostly consumed outside of Uganda, the majority of the Mount Elgon region coffee collected and processed in Mbale town – and increasingly in the field – is transported to Kampala, to be exported from there.

2.3.2 Effects of the coffee crisis on the Mount Elgon Arabica farmers

There is not much data on the Mount Elgon region coffee farming during the crisis. A study by UK Save the Children conducted in 2004 in two areas in the Mbale region, found that most of the farmers around Mbale are subsistence farmers, they rely on agriculture for both household and cash crop income. The main agricultural crop is coffee, even though at that time vanilla was also becoming popular. In the two Mount Elgon villages under study (one on the high lands and one on the lower lands close to Mbale) it appeared that it is especially the poorest households are most dependent on the coffee production. Paid employment makes up the largest proportion of income in the two studies, but it is only a small number

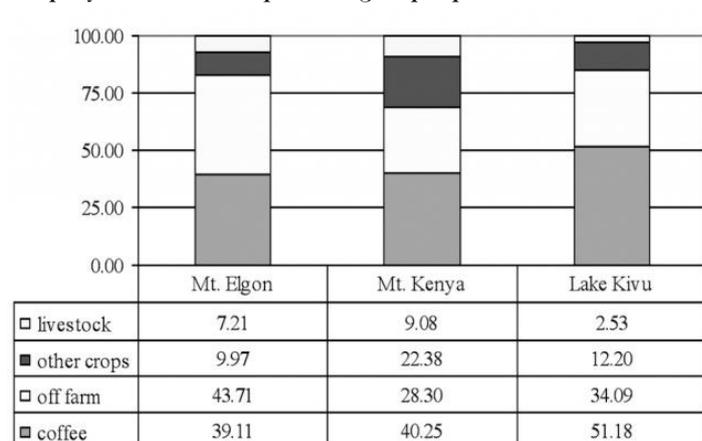


Figure 3 Results of a study of three East African coffee production areas, showing the mean annual income of the farmers aggregated around crops (2008)

of people – not the poorest families – who have paid employment. (Save the Children UK). This means that most families will depend at least in part on their coffee production.

The same study explains that the Mbale region coffee is known to produce high quality coffee – the Bugisu coffee. The quantities of coffee however fluctuate, due to the frequent weather changes and high rain fall. This study also finds that yields are generally low due to poor intercropping, poor harvest management and the low use of fertilizers and pesticides. The latter is especially bad for the yields as the coffee is affected by leaf rust (rainfall-related pest). As a consequence the poorest households are found not to be able to meet the food needs. In the two areas under research 37 percent and 22 percent of the households were found to be living under the defined minimum of standard living. (Seaman et al., 2004)

2.3.2 The conventional coffee supply chain: how does coffee go from farm to export?

A coffee cherry which grows on a tree on the slopes of Mount Elgon, or in the districts surrounding Mount Elgon, is first picked by a farmer. The farmer has the option to leave the cherry as it is, or can put effort into the processing of the cherry so that it becomes parchment. The processing of the cherry so it becomes parchment takes more time, and some costs come along (for instance paying money or coffee to borrow a pulp machine). When it has been completed, the parchment can be kept well longer than cherries. Therefore parchment is seen as a kind of 'saving', because the farmer can hold on to the coffee until money is needed. Selling a cherry takes less effort, but is often done when there is no time for the processing (the processing takes about two weeks) because there is an immediate need for money.⁹

In certain areas middlemen (traders who go from farmer to farmer to collect their coffee) on a Boda Boda (small motor cycle) come by the farmers' house and buy the coffee. The middleman offers the farmer a price for cherries or parchment, and takes the bags of coffee with him if the farmer accepts. The farmer may also transport the coffee him or herself, to a buying station or a processing factory of a trader. Depending on the area in which the farmer produces, they need to transport it to the settlements of the traders in the production area, or to Mbale town. There the farmer receives money for the coffee immediately. In some areas there may also be a farmers' cooperative active. The farmer can bring the coffee there, where it is bulked so that there is leverage in the determination of the price. The money may come only later.

Aithal and Pinard (2007) have identified two types of middlemen in the Ugandan coffee chain:

- Middleman 1 sub contracted by milling companies and other bulkers of coffee, at a commission, mostly per kilo of parchment
- Middleman 2 acts as a collection agent, purchases the parchment coffee at her/his own costs, and then sells is to whichever bulker and/or milling company that wants to buy it

So when the coffee comes into the hands of middlemen, it may be destined for a milling company or bulker for whom the middleman works. In case of the collecting agent middlemen, the coffee may come into several more hands until it reaches a milling company. When the coffee eventually reaches the milling company it will be in parchment form, and be milled to become green bean coffee. The green beans are bagged, and often the trader transports it from Mbale town to Kampala from where the export is further arranged. (Aithal and Pinard, 2008)

In the global coffee supply chain another part of the processing of the coffee is the roasting. In Uganda there are 12 coffee roasters.¹⁰ These play a minor role in the sector however, especially as domestic consumption is low (locally roasted coffee is for the regional and domestic markets) and competition for good coffee against high green bean export prices makes it difficult for them to obtain good parchment to roast.

2.3.3 Higher Arabica prices are not always positive in the long run

Although high farm gate prices of Arabica coffee and increasing trader competition are positive for the farmer incomes, it also presents a problem. High prices do not stimulate farmers to work on their quality - if traders will buy their coffee anyway. The high prices compensate for decline in production

⁹ Information also taken from own interviews with coffee farmers Mount Elgon region 2011

¹⁰ (figures UCDA, 2011) >> <http://www.ugandacoffee.org/>

due to lesser investment, but no precautions are taken against effects of weather, diseases, macro-economic development processes which can negatively impact on the revenue for the farmer in the future. (Bolwig and You, 2007) This is a very real danger in the Mount Elgon region. In 2010 heavy rain falls on Mount Elgon led to a large landslide and loss in coffee. Leaf rust is affecting Arabica coffee especially in the lower areas of Mount Elgon has also affected coffee supplies.¹¹ The harvest remains insecure, as the developments of weather and diseases are not to be predicted. According to Bolwig et al. in 2008 investments lacked in the coffee, which meant that the effects of diseases were not mitigated. (Bolwig et al., 2009) To the Mount Elgon region high prices are therefore not necessarily a recipe for long term development.

2.2.4 External funding and agricultural developments in the Mount Elgon coffee market

During this research it became clear that there are initiatives in the Mount Elgon to mitigate weather effects. The governmental organization NAADS provides seedlings to the farmers and the traders/cooperatives, and they occasionally offer the farmers something - copper for instance, to put in the ground to counter leaf rust (a disease in Arabica coffee plants resulting from shortage of nutrients in the soil). International NGOs like US AID and trading organizations like Twin Trading have started to cooperate with farmers' cooperatives (also Gumutindo Ltd) and coffee traders/exporters (also Kyagalanyi) to work on the farming practices and teach coping strategies for the weather fluctuations. Their money enables some of the developments of traders with processing plants in the production areas. In some areas devices have been introduced which farmers can use to send questions and receive answers to their agricultural problems. According to the World Bank Impact Assessment (Parizat, 2011) this will be good for the farmers because it is the specialty coffees which provide the best market opportunities to Ugandan farmers.

For a longer time there have been projects on the improvement of agricultural practices in the Mount Elgon area, especially US AID. In 2003 US AID brought the Uganda Agricultural Productivity Enhancement Program (APEP), now they have also the Community Livelihoods and Enterprises for Agricultural Development (LEAD) project, and the Community Knowledge Workers (CKWs) projects. These work on the improvements of livelihoods of the farmers, working on their agricultural practices, bringing tools and other farm inputs, and they aim to teach farmers to take a business approach to their agricultural activities (including diversification/switching crops). Such extension activities also do not take place evenly in the Mount Elgon region villages, but depend on organization via the trader organizations and/or cooperatives. The local involvement of the government seems to be limited; most farmers do not see people from the government or haven't seen them for a long time.

2.2.5 Arabica coffee certification in Uganda

Limited research has been done on the effects of certification in the Mount Elgon region in Uganda. Typical to this region however is the growing of Arabica coffee. There has been research on the effects of coffee certification in general in the Ugandan Arabica market (verification is excluded here, as the 4C verification has only just began to take part in the Mount Elgon coffee market). Bolwig, Gibbon and Jones (2008) explain how organic certification in the Ugandan market forms an alternative mode of coffee procurement for traders. It helps traders protect their market share, which is especially relevant with the heavy competition well known to the Mount Elgon Arabica coffee market. (Bolwig and You, 2007) Bolwig, Gibbon and Jones clearly take an economic approach to certification, regarding it as a form of contract farming, although they recognize that there may be a low commitment by farmers and traders towards each other. This research does not regard certification of coffee as a kind of non-binding contract, but as something which is produced meaning to by the actors who interact around and with the

¹¹ (UCDA, May 2011) >> <http://www.kyagalanyi.co.ug/ucda/may.pdf>

coffee certification (both the symbolic meaning it receives as well as the practical benefits and costs it brings to the actors interacting with and around it). What can be taken in account is that a farmer wishing to sell certified Arabica coffee, it only works via the trader/cooperative who is certified. Vice versa the certified trader can only sell certified coffee from the farmer they have helped become certified. This means that these actors are important actors for the research. This not because they implement coffee certification according to the produced norm in the semi-autonomous field of standard setters, but because the Arabica coffee certification actor-network is partially produced by their interactions.

Part II Research

3. Theoretical framework

Introduction

This chapter begins to explain that coffee certificates are the result of interactions of actors in a certain field, and that it will gain a different meaning in a local context. Next it is explained how the Actor-Network theory and the Theory of Access and the Theory on Semi-autonomous social fields can be linked to explain local interaction-dynamics which produce this Mount Elgon coffee certification dynamic.

3.1 Placing Mount Elgon certification and the ANT in perspective: an assemblage of certification

The discussion of the Mount Elgon region production of interactions on coffee certificates starts with the term ‘assemblage’. Assemblage is used here as an introduction to the research of a local actor-network of coffee certification, because it is term which helps grapple with the global character of coffee certification and the local (re)production of this global phenomenon. One of the first ANT theorists, Latour (2005), used this term in connection to the ANT to describe how social reality is an unstable construct. The term ‘actor-network’ (discussed later on in this chapter) tends to draw readers to the view that the ANT is about networks, the term assemblage helps understand that a network does not exist, because it is an unstable construct of repeated interactions. It is thus comparable to the ANT’s term “actor-network”, which is used later on in the chapter.

3.1.1 Globalization, global phenomena and assemblages

Collier and Ong (2005) in ‘*Global assemblages, anthropological problems*’ describe that “globalization” is a difficult term for social scientists. There are trans boundary effects of ‘global phenomena’, but these globalizing forces are intangible and therefore not easy to research. Collier and Ong introduce the concept of ‘spaces of assemblage’ to enable a more systemic discussion on the role of global phenomena. They distance themselves from the policy-based idea that global phenomena can determine particular structural changes, or that they can alter cultural configurations. Instead they view global phenomena articulating shifts in society which, in abstracted form, become mobile. They become part of different societies, economies and cultures and influence the dynamics which exist there. The global phenomenon does not restructure the societies it becomes part of, but it becomes reproduced, creating an entirely new dynamic of its own. That process takes place in an assemblage. (Collier and Ong, 2005)

An assemblage is a domain ‘*in which forms and values of collective existence are problematized or at stake*’ ((Collier and Ong, 2005)p4). In that domain different types of actors – organs, networks, individuals – morally and economically reflect on their existence. Those actors whose practices start to relate to one another around the same topics, create a collective dynamic. That dynamic becomes an assemblage because their linked moral and/or economic reflections accumulate to form problems and stakes in their joint collective existence is the assemblage. To a more or lesser extent the assemblage has become a semi-autonomous social field (SASF): actors in the assemblage have negotiated over assemblage-norms, which are followed to the extent that those norms prevail over those actors feel bound to in other SASF’s.

When a global phenomenon first become ‘(re)produced’ in an assemblage a particular shape and articulation of a message of the global phenomenon results. The abstracted document or message

into which the global phenomenon has been shaped becomes part of a different culture and economy. The reflections of collective existence in the assemblage produces a new meaning of the global phenomenon, because actors in who take part in these reflections negotiate over a practical meaning which fits to their practice – how they jointly exist. The concept ‘spaces of assemblage’ thus tells us that a global phenomenon will have different meanings all across the world, in each society, economy and cultural domain.

3.1.2 Coffee certificates as ‘global phenomenon’ which becomes (re)produced in every assemblage it becomes part of

Coffee certificates fit the description by Collier and Ong (2005) of a ‘global phenomenon’. Coffee certificates articulate shifts in coffee production chains, based on topics negotiated by standard setters – by them eventually portrayed as changes towards organic coffee production, towards a better position of farmers in the world economy, towards environmental conservation. These negotiated issues have become abstracted in coffee certificate standards and codes of conduct, and as such become mobile and start to move across coffee production – to the actors across the world who may think that they will benefit from this new phenomenon – and therefore into different societies, their economies and their cultures. (Collier and Ong, 2005) In the assemblage in which the legibility and functionality of the coffee certificates became articulated in the form of coffee certification, the actors who were part of that assemblage – the standard setters – negotiated on not only the content of standards, but also the form – the ‘functionality’ of the coffee certificates. Depending on the coffee certificate this has been retail, non-governmental organizations, and in some cases producer country organizations and farmers. From their own normative values, perspectives on life and to their own benefit, they have negotiated over the form and content of the coffee certificates. In a new assemblage – for instance in the Mount Elgon area of Uganda – the heterogeneous actors which become associated to the coffee certificate in this new area, reflect in their own manner on the shift in the coffee production the coffee certificate articulates. These heterogeneous actors rearticulate and renegotiate the legibility and functionality of a coffee certificate to their own benefit, in their own socio-economic and cultural context with their own normative values. In these interactions, the form and meaning of a coffee certificate – the content of the certificate standards, the manner in which the code of conduct is dealt with – can become rearticulated. Ultimately, the coffee certificate becomes ‘reproduced’ in every assemblage it becomes part of. When there is stability in those interactions, the heterogeneous actors have become drawn together, in a particular assemblage.

This performativity of the coffee certificate means that research into the coffee certificates in the Mount Elgon region should focus on the local dynamic interactions and reflections in which the new legibility and functionality of the coffee certificate is negotiated and reproduced.

3.2 Actor Network theory: coffee certificate assemblage in the Mount Elgon region as a punctualized actor-network

The Actor-Network Theory (ANT) provides an actor-centered approach to research an assemblage. The term assemblages suggests that they come to fit together, but how does this happen? The term ‘actor-network’ is denotes a complex relationship between actors and networks, useful to research how heterogeneous actors come to align and come to fit in a particular order in the assemblage. In this paragraph the concepts of the Actor Network Theory will be explained in relation to the phenomenon ‘coffee certificate’.

3.2.1 Complex actors and complex networks: actor-networks

Law wonders: ‘*why is it that we are sometimes but only sometimes aware of the networks that lie behind and make up an actor, an object or an institution?*’ (Law, 1992) P384 The actor-network theory (ANT)

begins with the notion that human and material actors in themselves have no meaning. They become 'something' only in interaction with other heterogeneous actors, when they become part of a network of actors – an actor-network. It means an actor does not intrinsically have agency, but that it is endowed with agency in interaction with others – in the actor-networks the actor is part of. The reason that material actors are also viewed as actors in the ANT, is because they often have a message – like coffee certification – but that message only becomes of relevance when others interact with and around it. The coffee certificates becomes part of the interactions by coffee farmers, certificate holders. They incorporate a certain function, may have a message, but their legibility and functionality becomes articulated in their interactions of other actors of which they become part. There is a 'relational materiality': one actor receives meaning by the actors it interacts with and at the same time is provided with a particular meaning by those same actors.

The term actor-network does not only describe the character of actors, but also that of networks. A network is 'performed' by its actors, produced in the interactions of the heterogeneous actors which are part of it. This makes networks dynamic and temporal: as long as the interactions of heterogeneous materials which produce the network are (re)created, the network exists. This recreation may happen when the benefits of (a large number of) actors align, or when a norm is produced through the interactions in which actors feel bound to reproduce the interactions (how this happens is discussed in paragraph 3.4.3).

3.2.2 Punctualization of a network

When the dynamic interactions of the heterogeneous actors who produce a network result in one continuous activity, it seems that the network acts with one purpose. For instance we regard actors who interact with a coffee certificate, and who together produce certified coffee, as actors part of a certified coffee production chain. They seem to form a network which has the purpose to produce certified coffee. It is in this situation that a network has become 'punctualized'. The result of punctualization is that we endow actors part of the network with a particular stable function: coffee certificates will lead to a better social situation for coffee farmers, safeguarding of the environment etcetera. Only when it becomes apparent that farmers do not benefit from the certificate as they would according to the certificate, or that pesticide use in the area from which the coffee comes has been unchanged even though the certificate wanted to change that, we may start to realize that there are many actors involved in the coffee certifications and that things may not go according to the plan 'encoded' in the coffee certificate. Suddenly the certification of coffee becomes a more complex issue.

When you describe networks you label it something fixed and that
*'limit[s] and homogenizes the character of links, of invariant connection, character
of possible relations and of possible entities'* (Law, 1999)

A 'punctualized' network of certified Mount Elgon certified coffee, is therefore better regarded as a Mount Elgon certified coffee actor-network (From now on MECCAN). The MECCAN is produced by the unstable interaction of heterogeneous actors. Understanding what happens in the MECCAN requires research into the interactions of the actors which have produced it.

3.2.3 How does a network become punctualized?

Law stresses that *'punctualization' is a process or an effect, rather than something that can be achieved once and for all'* (Law, 1992, p385). But how can the unstable and dynamic interactions of the heterogeneous actors in the Mount Elgon region make it seem as if they work like one network? To a certain extent an actor-network must reproduce a certain activity or outcome for us to forget that the

actor-network is not a 'single point actor'. This continuous reproduction by an actor-network of a certain effect, and certain stability in that reproduction, suggests that there has to be some stability in the interactions which produce the actor-network. The stability can be explained through a pattern which has arisen in the interaction. Within the pattern of interactions, somewhat stable legibility's and functionalities must have become articulated between the heterogeneous actors. Taking the certified coffee production actor-network in the Mount Elgon region, the pattern of interactions between the heterogeneous actors over time leads to the production of certified Mount Elgon coffee. This pattern can be explained through the relationships which the actors part of that network build with the other actors - they have become ordered interactions. As the pattern of interactions is produced specifically by the actors related to the Mount Elgon certified coffee, research in certification in that area becomes an empirical matter.

3.3 The empirical research of the interaction of heterogeneous actors in the punctualized Mount Elgon certified coffee actor-network

3.3.1 How to research ordering? Problematizing Law's 'translation'

The ANT methodology to research the interactions of heterogeneous actors is by 'following the actors into translation'. 'Translation' is the process in which interactions of heterogeneous actors become 'ordered' into a punctualized network. The order is unstable, as the structure it reveals comes from the relational effects of interactions between heterogeneous actors. These need to be reproduced and regenerated for it to be maintained, and it makes the order dynamic and changeable. ANT theorist Law (1992) forwards that researching translation means that you have to research the '*mechanics of power*' ((Law, 1992), p380). Law explains that actors borrow, bent, displace, distort, rebuild, and profit from a network, and that they do so to create effects of agency and power. ((Law, 1992), p387). Law then explains that there are strategies of translation, in other words the strategies to order interactions of actors. He circumvents ANT's resistance to individual determination by using Latour's '*centers of translation*' - where actors become central to the maintenance of the order, but that the position of those actors is a consequence of the network. Law does not explain what a center of translation is, but the term suggests that there are actors in the network are endowed with the desire to maintain the network order. Hence, Law can speak of 'methods of overcoming resistance' to a network order by actors, and that actors try to keep other actors from 'running off' in other directions. But, is it so that actors purposefully attempt to resist or maintain a particular order of interactions?

This research does take a pattern of interaction as starting point to discover how actors work on the maintenance of the actor-network order. This is because the principle aim of actors is not to draw others into an order of a network, but is to access certain benefits through interactions, or to conform to a norm the actor feels bound to. This corresponds to the Theory of Access and the theory on Semi-Autonomous Social Fields described in paragraph 3.4.3, which are theories which are used in this thesis to understand individual actor-level perspectives on interaction. Actors can reinforce patterns of interaction in the actor-network, and even the (inter)actions of other actors of the actor-network, but the motivation is an actor-centered one, not one centered on the maintenance of a certain pattern of interaction. It does happen, but as by-effect of the strategy of that actor to access - or to maintain access to - a certain benefit which arises in that actor-network interaction pattern, or as part of the desire to conform to norms which the actor perceives.

3.3.2 Deviating from ANT: Material actors do not have the same intentionality as human actors

The Actor Network Theory is a theory on socio/technical networks, in which material actors are believed not to be different from human actors. In this thesis however, material actors are not regarded

as being endowed with the same amount of determinism as human actors do. A coffee certificate may articulate certain normative values – like taking care of the environment, that coffee farmers should have a different position in the coffee market - but is still a puppet in a play: it can bring a message across, but it does not contain a desire to attain a benefit or to conform to rules it feels bound to. Material actors therefore can be researched on their initial legibilities and functionalities which was articulated to them in another actor-network, they can be researched on the extent to which the change it articulates has some effect in the dynamic interactions in the MECCAN, and the extent to which its legibility and functionality – and thus its message - becomes altered. It cannot be researched on their intentions for an interaction, or on change in conduct, as stabilizing or destabilizing to an actor-network.

3.3.3 Mapping morals and benefits of human actors

3.3.3.1 Human actors are part of semi-autonomous social fields

The theory on semi-autonomous social fields (SASFs) explains that norm systems can be created and enforced in a group – a social field – and that the SASF as part as a larger society can be influenced by norms from outside – whether ‘invited’ or not. Hence the ‘semi-autonomous’ character of a social field. The SASF itself is defined by the norm creation and enforcement of that norm, not by the group of human actors to which the norm applies. That is because the actors and groups in a SASF may also be part of other SASF, and as such SASF can form ‘complex chains’. (Moore, 1973)

The theory on semi-autonomous social field can map the SASFs which are part of the actors in the MECCAN. The MECCAN produces norms and mechanisms of compliance – those become embedded in the negotiated legibility and functionality of the standards and code of conduct of the coffee certificate. Thereby the MECCAN can be seen as a SASF on its own. Human actors in their interactions can feel more or less socially bound, or socially pressured, by the SASF of the MECCAN to reproduce the (inter)actions which make them part of the MECCAN. MECCAN actors may at the same time be bound to other SASFs – for instance to the social norms in a family or in the village. If the norms of these other SASFs the actor is subject to do not align top the SASF in the MECCAN, it is more likely that the human actor will not remain the interactions it would engage in under the MECCAN SASF. So, mapping the SASFs human actors are part of can help create an overview of the norms which the human actors struggle with in their interactions.

Having an overview of the extent to which human actors are susceptible to the SASF of the MECCAN, helps analyze the extent to which the order in the MECCAN interactions is likely to be maintained. When actors feel a normative pressure or social obligation to interact under the SASF of the MECCAN, in time they may forget why they (inter)act in a certain way, and their interactions can become more automatic. That would strengthen a particular role of this actor in the MECCAN interaction order. On the other hand, if human actors tend to connect more to other SASFs, those SASFs can be a cause of destabilization to the interactions in the MECCAN.

3.3.3.2 Individual abilities to benefit from certified network interactions

According to Neale (1998), the Theory of Access (AT) aims to map who does, and who does not, get to use what, in what ways, and when. Ribot and Peluso (2003) describe that access to benefits is related to social relationships of actors, which constrain or enable benefit. (Ribot and Peluso, 2003) Mapping access to benefits of the actors of the MECCAN does not only help to uncover the benefits the human actor is accessing through the interactions in the MECCAN, it also helps to understand why human actors try to influence the interactions of other actors. If the MECCAN interactions are beneficial to a human actor or a group of human actors, they will use strategies to get others to reproduce their interactions. The AT connects to the ANT because it says that human actors try to maintain an actor-network order if it is beneficial to them. Latour’s term ‘translation’ seems to fall in place here. (Latour, 2005) Human actors who are benefitting from the order in the actor-network interactions will have to

deal with not aligning interests and moral values of others. They will use strategies to keep the other actors performing the role that they wish them to perform.

Mapping the access of human actors to the benefits the MECCAN produces also shows that there are actors who did have access and lost it, or actors who cannot access those benefits at all. Mapping access can therefore also reveal where the costs lie of the interactions, either for the actors in the interaction, or for those outside who do not have the relations or means to access the benefits of the MECCAN, and who are disadvantaged because of the MECCAN.

3.3.4 Different analysis levels: Individual actor motives and the MECCAN order of interactions

The ANT methodology to research the actor-network is to ‘follow the actor into translation’, meaning that the researcher describes why and how an actor becomes part of an actor-network order. According to Law (1992) this should be conducted without a predetermined idea on structures which exist in the area under research. Yet, if human actors interact for their own reasons, those reasons can become central to uncover why and how human actors become part of translation. This ‘individual determination’ of a human actor does not go against the ANT approach, as it does not assume a structure in the interactions but uncovers it. The theory of access and the theory on semi-autonomous social fields provide the sociological insight to analyze how and why, on an individual actor-level, an actor interacts in the MECCAN and/or why the actor reproduces the MECCAN interaction the actor is part of.

The second level of analysis looks into the MECCAN-order. Actor-network theorist Callon (Callon, 1991) speaks alignment as a way to explain a stabilization of actor-network interactions. The Theory of Access and the theory on Semi-Autonomous Social Fields Again connect well also to this level of analysis. Following Callon’s alignment, the individual morals and perceived benefits which have been analyzed in the first level can be analyzed on their alignment so that it can be analyzed where more or less ‘stable relations’ have come to be produced. The production of practical roles with particular actors also becomes apparent in this level of analysis; if one group of MECCAN actors, for instance farmers, keep on reproducing their MECCAN interactions in a certain way, it means that they have adopted a role within the MECCAN order. This will happen more quickly when a MECCAN norm-system has been produced in which the actors accept the roles endowed to each other. It is also a sign of a greater stability of order in the MECCAN interactions, because if heterogeneous actors have established the same norm system, and legibilities and functionalities which are embedded in that norm system, transactions become more automatically reproduced. By focusing on the alignment of individual interaction purposes, and the production of functional relations, the order is revealed. Translation in this level is a product of the interactions, not the goal.

In short, on the level of analysis focusing on the order of a MECCAN, the individual actor interaction motives are accumulated, and a question becomes whether access to benefits have aligned, whether norms have aligned and are relations established in the MECCAN forming perhaps a new semi-autonomous social field.

3.3.5 Linking the two levels - how does a MECCAN punctualize?

Conversion is a concept used by Callon (Callon, 1991) to link alignment and coordination of actor-networks. The higher the alignment and the coordination in an actor-network, the more activities of the heterogeneous actors in the actor network fit together. The actors complement each other in their interactions, they share the same understanding of the norms in the actor-network, or social benefit and/or there are mutual material benefits which align. The practical roles the actors come to play come from the repeated interactions in which they act in the same manner. A totally convergent actor-network Callon compares to the ‘tower of Babel’ - although everyone speaks a different ‘language’, they build one thing together. Similarly heterogeneous actors may be subject to different norms, and wish to access different benefits, but if these benefits and norms align they start working together on the production of

the actor-network. So, a convergent MECCAN would be a punctualized Mount Elgon 'network' of certified coffee production, in which actors always interact in the same manner, the benefits remain, and the moral values are shared. So researching conversion in the MECCAN reveals whether the MECCAN is like a tower of Babel, or that it is a machine with loose parts about to collapse.

4 Research approach and methodology

4.1 Approach to the research

Because little was known about certification of coffee in the Mount Elgon region, the initial phase of the field work in Uganda has consisted of exploratory interviews with a certified coffee consultant in Uganda, Mr. Alan Tulip. Via Alan Tulip I contact was laid with Fiona Nakusi, director/managing director of Organic and Fairtrade certificate holder Gumutindo, and Fred Kafuko project manager of Utz certificate holder Kyagalanyi. The interviews were used to get a perspective on the Mount Elgon context of coffee production, on the arrangement and maintenance of coffee certification, and helped map the actors involved in certification of Mount Elgon coffee.

During this exploratory phase it became clear that it was that these small-holder certificate holders contributed to such a large extent to the certification of the Mount Elgon coffee, that following their interactions would enable an assessment of all the actors involved in certification in this area. Also the structure of these organizations of organizing certification of the farmers at the field level revealed that their organizations were layered – people of management and employees/cooperating organizations in the field who worked directly with farmers on the certificate holding. From the exploratory interviews it was identified which actors needed to be interviewed for the following phase: semi-structured interviews on benefits, norms and perceptions of actors in and on interactions with the other actors under research.

For the second phase a decision was made to focus on both the actor-networks of which Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi respectively were part. The reason is the difference in type of organization – Gumutindo is a cooperative organization, Kyagalanyi a traders organization. Because both organizations work in several villages in the Mount Elgon area, for both of the certificate holders one of the villages was selected. The selection was made based on the nearness of the villages in Mbale town, which made it easier to reach for interviews, but at the same time put them in a similar position: not in a very steep area and with relative close connection to Mbale town compared to the Mount Elgon villages. These two villages became the case studies for the MECCANs: Namayonyi MECCAN and the Busano MECCAN.

To follow the actor-network theory, as much as possible (because time has limited the scope of researching actors and their interactions in the MECCANs – some activities did not take place during the period of research) a focus has been laid at gaining an understanding of the individual actor perspectives on the interactions that were taking place between them and other MECCAN actors. Also contextual factors of these interactions has been taken into account, to enable a better understanding of individual level interactions.

4.2 Research method

From the period of December 2011 to April 2012 field work has been conducted in the Mount Elgon of Uganda. The research is a qualitative research of exploratory nature, so initial use was made of explorative interviews – to select actors and topics relevant for the semi-structured interviews in the second part of the research.

Exploratory phase in field work

Exploratory interviews were held with certified coffee consultant Alan Tulip, Fiona Nakusi (director/managing director Gumutindo), Luke Wepukhulu (certification officer Gumutindo) and Fred Kafuko (Project manager Kyagalanyi). Also, opportunities were taken to join visits into the field, resulting in participant observations of a training of farmers by Kyagalanyi and a field inspection by an external inspector of Gumutindo. During those field activities opportunities were taken to interview other actors involved in coffee certification. The aim of these interviews and participatory observations was to gain an understanding of both actors, (inter)actions and perspectives involved in the certification of Mount Elgon coffee and the certified coffee trade.

Exploratory interviews/conversations with certified coffee consultant Alan Tulip

The interviews with Alan Tulip initially these involved listening. As consultant, long term resident in Uganda, and coffee and three farmers, Alan Tulip could provide an informed perspective on coffee certificates in Uganda. His perspectives on certification of coffee in general, the certificate standards in the context of Uganda, standard setters and their motives, role of certificate holders and coffee farmers in Uganda, were critical observations providing an initial understanding of dynamics involved in Ugandan coffee production and certification.

Topics of exploratory interviews with certificate holders Gumutindo (director/managing director and certification officer) and Kyagalanyi (project officer and field assistant/field officer)

The exploratory interviews with Fiona Nakusi, Luke Wepukhulu and Fred Kafuko were held to find out how they organized the certificate holding: the actors and activities involved. It also involved the first exploration of perspectives these people had as part of their organization towards the actors involved in these interactions, and connected their activities with the other actors to the context in which they were taking place.

Participant observations and conversations/interviews

- External inspection of Gumutindo for a potential new Korean buyer, by independent certificate body inspector, in a village high up Mount Elgon. This provided insight into the conduct of an external inspector during the external inspection. It also involved two semi-structured interviews, with:
 - o Fiona, on:
 - Perspective on certificate standards
 - Perspective on external inspector and external inspection
 - o Field officer in the area on
 - Farmers and adaption of their practices to the Organic and Fairtrade certificate standards
 - Perspective on farmers
 - Perspective on external inspector
 - Strategies to maintain farmers' interest
- Farmer field school Kapchorwa, also high up Mount Elgon
 - o Two field assistants of Kyagalanyi on the interactions with farmers
 - On the interactions with the farmers (in general)

(To be found in Annex 3 and Annex 4)

Researching the Namayonyi and the Busano MECCAN interactions

For the research of the MECCAN interactions a range of actors were identified. On basis of snow-ball sampling the different types of actors have been encountered and interviewed in the respective areas. This has led to the following structure of Semi-Structured MECCAN interviews:

Semi-structured interviews with employees of certificate holders on:

- What certificates they work with and why
- How certificate holding is maintained
 - o Who is involved
 - o Activities involved
 - o Perspectives on the actors who are part of these interactions
 - o Perspectives on the interactions
- Benefits and costs of certification of coffee, such as
 - o How farmers involvement can be maintained
 - o Trader context in which the organizations work
 - o Coffee prizes
- The coffee certificate standards
- Processing of coffee
- Context of coffee trade for certificate holders
 - o Maintaining farmers' supply/conventional coffee trade
 - o Issues relating to demand

Particular Namayonyi village level interactions

Gumutindo director/managing director

- o On functional and social relation to primary society Peace Kawomera (also in the context of external aid)

Gumutindo certification officer

- o On the coffee certificates and the way certification is arranged in the field (in general)

Manager of primary society Gumutindo

- o Perspective on certificates and standards
- o Perspective on the relation with the villagers
- o Relation to Gumutindo
- o Conventional traders of coffee

Field facilitator Peace Kawomera

- o On what a farmer has to do for certification
- o On benefits/costs of certification

JJ Keki: Founder of Peace Kawomera/ representative for the farmer groups at Peace Kawomera

- o On the establishment of the organization
- o External aid

Farmers:

- Three not certified farmers
- Six certified farmers
 - o Three richer farmers with more coffee, to whom I was directed by manager of Peace Kawomera
 - o Three certified farmers of average wealth

The aim of the interviews with the farmers was to construct and understanding of how the farmers participated (or not) in coffee certification and why. Questions were posed on the benefits of certification, perception on the other actors (both coffee certificates, as well as the human actors they interacted with). These also included conventional traders. Also topic of the interviews was the perception of empowerment and whether farmers they felt certification/Gumutindo/Peace Kawomera had made changes to their lives and how (in terms of both material and non-material benefits - knowledge, qualitative changes in the field).

Particular Busano village level interactions

- Assistant washing station manager Busano
 - Perspective on Utz certification
 - Perspective on farmers
 - Producer organizations

- Farmers
 - Three not certified farmers outside the area
 - Three certified farmers in the area
 - One richer farmer with more coffee
 - Two farmers of average wealth
 - Two farmers partially interviewed (interviews were halted because they did not know of coffee certification - afterwards it appeared that they were probably certified)

The topic of interviews for the Busano farmers resembled those for the Namayonyi farmers, save the role of Peace Kawomera.

Limitation in the Busano case

Due to issues in time, and a misunderstanding with the project manager of Kyagalanyi (it appeared that earlier interviews in another village were not usable because the village was not certified) not more farmers were interviewed. However, the farmers interviewed in the other area provided more information on Kyagalanyi's activities as certificate holder

Interviews/observations after exploratory phase, indirectly relevant to the MECCANs under research

- Semi-structured interview with Alan Tulip on:
 - Coffee certificate/verification standards: Fairtrade; Organic; Utz Certified; 4C;
 - Certificate holders Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi
 - Kyagalanyi in relation to external aid
 - Primary society Peace Kawomera and external aid
 - Standard setters and altering of certificate standards
 - Difficulties in 'management' of certification
 - Difficulties in the application of standards
 - External inspection

- Six farmers in the Kapchorwa area, close to where Kyagalanayi was holding the farmer field school, farmers in the area were going to be certified the year after. (Full description Annex 5)

- Opinion of farmers on Kyagalanyi versus Kawacom (another certificate-holder active in the area)
 - Benefits Kyagalanyi versus Kawacom
 - Quality of coffee/field
 - Choice of farmers to supply to one or the other

- To get a picture of the conventional sector in the Mount Elgon region coffee sector I visited a conventional factory called Budadiri. Not much information has been used of these interviews for the rest of the research, save that it provided information that conventional traders also invest into the development of agricultural practices of the farmers. (Full description Annex 6)

General limitations of the method:

The limitations of the method relate mostly to the circumstances of the interviews. Because the farmers in the Mount Elgon area speak different languages, a translator was needed to conduct the interviews. With translation of questions and answers there is always the danger of interpretation by the translator and misunderstandings related to language issues. Furthermore, as the farmers in the Mount Elgon region relate a white person to certificate holder/standards body/external inspection/external aid, their answers to the questions must to some extent have been colored.

Part III Results

5. Introducing the MECCAN-actors, and the portrayal of coffee certification in the Mount Elgon region by the two small-holder certificate holders involved

Introduction

This chapter serves as introductory chapter to the results on the research into two coffee-certificate actor networks in the Mount Elgon area: the Namayonyi MECCAN - the actor-network with Gumutindo as certificate holder and Namayonyi area as case study for the farmer perspective, and the Busano MECCAN - the actor network with Kyagalanyi as certificate holder and the Busano area as case study for the farmer perspective. The most important actors who interact in the respective MECCANs are introduced, and specifically for some of the actors one or more persons are introduced - persons who have played an important role in representing one of the MECCAN actors during the research. Secondly, this chapter introduces a number of actors which proved to be of large impact on the MECCAN interactions and/or the MECCAN actor(s). It is also described how Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi, the two certificate holders, portray their organization of the coffee certification in the villages they work in (of which Namayonyi and Busano are one respectively) within the Mount Elgon area.

5.1 Namayonyi MECCAN

5.1.1 Certificate holder: Gumutindo Coffee Cooperate Enterprise Ltd.

How Gumutindo came into existence

Due to the structural adjustments to the Ugandan domestic coffee market, the cooperate financing mechanism in Uganda became strained. The Bugisu Cooperative Union (BCU), who before the liberalization arranged the buying from farmers around Uganda and selling it to the CMB, became affected by these developments. In concurrence with the fierce competition by the export organizations the organization came to lack finances in 2003. Four of the 250 village cooperatives in the Mount Elgon region who were supplying to the BCU decided to form a secondary cooperative on their own. They did so to maintain the cooperation with Twin Trading (an alternative trading organization, dealer in fair-trade products who was previously in business with the BCU) and to continue on working towards Fairtrade certification.¹² In 2002 the new secondary cooperative, Gumutindo, became operative. The company was unregistered, but most of the coffee became Organic certified. In 2003 the Gumutindo Coffee Cooperative Enterprise Limited became an official registered exporter of washed Arabica coffee. In 2004 Gumutindo became certified as a Fairtrade small producer organization. In 2005 Gumutindo bought its own premises and started to operate like an independent farmer business.* The secondary cooperative has grown from around 200 certified farmers in the beginning, to 7,000 certified farmers at this time.

Gumutindo nowadays

Gumutindo has a fully paid management team. The management team operates from an office in Mbale. At the officer there is also a curing factory and room for storage of coffee before export. The

¹² <http://www.scribd.com/doc/52057704/17/Local-Cooperatives-as-Training-Providers-Gumutindo>

management of Gumutindo arranges the buying and selling of the certified coffee, takes care of the curing of the parchment coming from the primary societies (curing factory is next to the office), arranges for trainings of the farmers – both to teach farmers about the certificate standards, as well as on broader issues such as the cupping of coffee (tasting of coffee quality) - and keeps a check on the implementation of the standards in the field. The latter involves the checking of the internal inspection forms - the primary societies which Gumutindo works with perform the internal inspection. Gumutindo pays the coffee certificates costs, and takes responsibility for the external inspection and the external inspector when he or she comes to inspect. At this time Gumutindo works with eleven primary societies, which are stationed in different villages in the Mount Elgon region. About 7,000 certified farmers are organized in those primary societies. The primary societies have their own management team and field staff.

None of Gumutindo's coffee goes to the conventional coffee market. All of the buyers are in Fairtrade, a number of the buyers are interested in Organic. All coffee farmers are Fairtrade certified, around 90 percent of the Gumutindo farmers are Organic certified. The certified farmers supply parchment to Gumutindo via the primary cooperatives.

Earlier research on Gumutindo

In a research on rural skill development, the Agence Francaise Développement describes that Gumutindo has the philosophy to produce high quality coffee which leads to high prices. The profits Gumutindo makes are invested into extension services, and also to build local infrastructure for farming and local services in general. The study notes that Gumutindo has been able to construct roads to fields, a clinic, and that they have repaired a school building.

What the study emphasizes is that apart from the 'narrow' agricultural trainings, Gumutindo works on ecological and social understanding of the farmers, and wishes to increase the basic knowledge of the farmer on coffee and price development, and the macro-economic context of coffee. This helps farmers understand why they should put the by them promoted techniques into practice. This according to the study sets Gumutindo apart from the capacity trainings which are organized in the conventional coffee chains. Whether Gumutindo is able to fully realize these ideas remains a question. Gumutindo being a small exporter has to put much effort in the competition with large exporters, therefore the money and energy cannot always go to the realization of this holistic approach. The study does conclude that the compliance with Fairtrade and organic principles keep them on this 'holistic' track, but in the field this it often only comes to the narrower agricultural techniques.

With respect to the coffee certificates, the research notes that farming in an organic way can lead to difficulties for the farmers, because it initially makes the yield drop. The farmers which depend on immediate returns for their livelihood do not stay as easily dedicated when this happens. Nonetheless it is concluded from interviews and group discussions which took place in 2008-2009, that the Gumutindo farmers have knowledge of the economic environment they operate in exceeding to other farmers in the region.

On the managerial level, the study notes that farmers lack trust of the Gumutindo management. This distrust is explained by past experiences of farmers with large agricultural organizations, who have mismanaged and lost a lot of money. The conclusion is that the Gumutindo Management Agency (GMA), which coordinates large parts of the agricultural training, needs to build on the trust of the farmers in order to continue to play that role.¹³

¹³<http://www.afd.fr/webdav/site/afd/shared/PUBLICATIONS/RECHERCHE/Scientifiques/Focales/03-VA-Focales.pdf>

Important persons representing Gumutindo: Fiona Nakusi and Luke Wepukhulu

Fiona Nakusi is the Director/Managing director of Gumutindo, and thereby responsible for all that goes on in the company.¹⁴ She comes across as a very hard working person, who is not only concerned with issues with the farmers which Gumutindo certifies, but also has to manage external contacts – for instance with buyers and the certificate body. She oversees a lot. Although my first interview at Gumutindo was with Luke Wepukhulu (certification officer), Fiona would once in a while break into the conversation to clarify some issues. It was during the participant observation - on the day of the external inspection (Annex 3) - that I got the insight into some of the actual issues for the organization as certificate holder, not only the ‘official discourse’ which was portrayed by Gumutindo. Fiona spoke about the way in which the external inspector was inspecting, and where she showed that she could worry about how things were going – that an external inspector could focus so much on the figures (registration of coffee in stalk) and that she could be ‘fighting’ with the standard setter about the use of the standard (Fairtrade and the requirement to list GMO crops). Later on she was open about the fact that there had been difficulties with Peace Kawomera (an actor also part of the Namayoni MECCAN, introduced below).

Luke Wepukhulu is the certificate officer of Gumutindo. He has greatly helped during the research, by taking me to the Namayoni area to visit Peace Kawomera and the farmers. In the conversations he remained formal in his answers, explaining how coffee certification was ‘officially’ arranged, but not very open on whether there were issues with coffee certificate standards or interactions with farmers. His emphasis on ‘being compliant to all the standards’ because the coffee certificates are ‘nothing difficult’ shows a distant attitude, probably related to maintaining a ‘clean slate’ for coffee certificate bodies/standard setters.

5.1.2 Organic and FLO certification

5.1.2.1 *Organic Certification*

The organic certificate aims at creating sustainable agriculture systems in which food is produced in harmony with nature, in support of the biodiversity and in which soil health is enhanced. The Organic standards focus on the environment and on farm production and processing. The producers get an organic premium per pound of coffee; this price is not a fixed price but depends on the market. Technical assistance and capacity building at the farmers level comes down to the role of the certifiers. For the USDA Organic standard accreditation is required for the certifiers of organic products sold in the US. The cost of inspection is paid by the certificate holder, but is kept low by using regional certifiers.

5.1.2.2 *FLO certified*

The Fairtrade certificate aims to establish fair prices, farmer access to direct trade, community development and environmental stewardship. The standards focus on social, environmental topics, on the democratic organization of cooperatives, and on placing the producers in a better position in the coffee market. The certification works with baseline and progress criteria, and continuous improvement is required via process requirements.

The Fairtrade certification applies to cooperatives formed by small-scale farmers which are democratically organized. Fairtrade works with a fixed minimum price for coffee, and adds a social premium per pound. If the coffee is also certified organic the producers receive an extra premium. There is an annual inspection of the certificate holders and the farmers, conducted by independent Fair

¹⁴ From external sources it became known to me that the actual Director of Gumutindo is suffering from a disease, and that it means that in practice Fiona oversees Gumutindo.

Trade inspectors. The cost of auditing and re-inspection comes down to the producers, who may apply for financial assistance to be able to cover the fees.

5.1.3 Certification body

For the certification of Organic, Gumutindo works with EcoCert. For the FLO certification, Gumutindo works with FLO-Cert. Both organizations send external inspectors once a year, who conduct external inspections. The external inspectors write up an inspection report to which Gumutindo needs to reply – for instance how they will remedy a non-compliance. On the basis of this report and the reply it is decided whether the certificate can be extended.

5.1.4 The Namayonyi area actors

5.1.4.1 Farmers' cooperative Peace Kawomera

Peace Kawomera is the primary society - or rather a village-level cooperative - which operates in the Namayonyi area, 10 kilometers away from Mbale city. The cooperative was founded in 2004, by JJ Keki. At that time JJ Keki was a leader in the Jewish community. He decided that it would be better for the farmers to work together, instead of growing and selling crops individually. JJ Keki has stimulated cooperation between people living in the Namayonyi area, marked by their diverse religious backgrounds. Jews, Christians and Muslims alike are member of the cooperative.



Since 2004 the primary society has grown into an independently operating village level cooperative, with its own paid staff.¹⁵ The cooperative has 2,000 farmer members, 547 of which are Organic and Fairtrade certified. The cooperative does not only trade in coffee, but includes cotton and vanilla in their trade. Peace Kawomera owns a warehouse where it can store these products. For coffee they have a central washing station – it is the only one of the 10 primary cooperatives which Gumutindo works with to have such a facility. Part of the Fairtrade social premium has been invested into these facilities, but Peace Kawomera also accesses a large number of external funds, most importantly US AID grants. These are used for both training of the farmers on agricultural practices in general, as well as the physical assets of the cooperative.

Important persons representing Peace Kawomera: Elias Hasurube/JJ Keki

Elias Hasurube is the manager of Peace Kawomera. He works from the office/storage area of Peace Kawomera cooperative in the Namayonyi area. During the research he has provided information on Peace Kawomera, not only about certification of coffee, but also their general role as a farmer's cooperative. As with Luke Wepukhulu his information on the certification of coffee remained somewhat formal – explaining about the activities Peace Kawomera should undertake for coffee certification. But he did tell about the cooperative's approach to development of the farmers – that Peace Kawomera is a cooperative which wishes to develop farmers in a manner that they, as the cooperative itself, become business minded.

JJ Keki is the founding father of the Peace Kawomera. He has been important to the development of Peace Kawomera as one of the primary societies which Gumutindo works with to certify

¹⁵ <http://gumutindocoffee.co.ug/gtindo/pkawomera.php>

coffee. At the time of research he had been elected as representative for the farmers groups in Peace Kawomera. Particular to JJ Keki is his search for change for farmers, clearly connecting to the idea that a farmer should be - and reason like a - 'business farmer'. To himself being a business farmer means that there has to be positive change when you work with an idea, but if something does not lead to results in the field, other options should be sought for. This is why he has been valuable as a source of critique to especially the organic coffee certificate.

5.1.4.2 Namayonyi farmers

Farmers are subject to both of the MECCANs. The farmers in both villages are small holder farmers. On average Mount Elgon farmers own 0,5 - 2 ha of land, of which on average 0,2 ha is used for coffee. Coffee is intercropped with cassava, beans, bananas, sweet potatoes and avocado's which are grown for home consumption.¹⁶ Some of the farmers also grow cotton and vanilla. The Namayonyi farmers are of diverse religious backgrounds: Muslims, Christians and Jews. Many of them are member of the primary society Peace Kawomera.

5.2 Busano MECCAN

5.2.1 Certificate holder: Kyagalanyi Coffee Ltd.

History of Kyagalanyi

Kyagalanyi Ltd. was found during the liberalization of the Ugandan coffee market at the beginning of the 1990s. The company was one of the first who received a license to privately process and export coffee. The company operates in all of Uganda, and trades and exports both natural Robustas, washed Robustas, natural Arabicas as well as washed Arabica. The company is member of Volcafe Group - and exporter of coffee operating worldwide.¹⁷ Volcafe has set up a global network of buying centers, warehouses, process facilities and export logistics in most of the coffee producing countries in the world. The organization supplies to roasters.¹⁸ Kyagalanyi works with local settlements all over Uganda. The coffee produced in these local settlements comes to the central office in Kampala, where it is processed into green beans and exported. Kyagalanyi and Volcafe are member of 4C, supply of coffee includes Rainforest Alliance, Utz, Fairtrade, Café Practices, AAA and organic.¹⁹

Kyagalanyi Mbale

Kyagalanyi Lt. in Mbale is a 'local settlement' of Kyagalanyi Ltd. In 2007 Kyagalanyi Ltd. started to cooperate with Main Traders Limited (an Arabica coffee trader based in Uganda) on a washed Arabica project. The company is both producer of coffee (because they conduct parts of the coffee processing) as well as coffee trader. They register small holder farmers from 6 districts in the Mount Elgon region: Sironko, Bududa, Manafwa, Mbale, Budadiri and Kapchorwa.²⁰

Since two years Kyagalanyi Mbale has been Utz-certified. During the time of research Kyagalanyi Ltd. in Mbale was also applying for the 4C verification, and was thinking about becoming Rainforest Alliance certified.²¹ Not all farmers are certified. Around 30 percent of the coffee which

¹⁶ http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/producers/coffee/gumutindo_coffee_cooperative_uganda/default.aspx?printversion=true

¹⁷ <http://www.edfman.com/> > assessed 20 april 2011

¹⁸ <http://www.volcafe.com.br/index.html>

¹⁹ http://www.tabj.co.za/food_drink/kyagalanyi.html

²⁰ <http://kyagalanyi.co.ug/index.php/2011-10-06-11-49-20/mt-elgon>

²¹ According to Fred Kafuko...

Kyagalanyi Mbale trades is Utz certified cherries, the rest – 70 percent – is conventional parchment. By now Kyagalanyi has over 5,500 registered small-holder farmers who grow certified coffee.

Organization of Kyagalanyi Mbale



The first ‘arm’ in this diagram shows the production side of Kyagalanyi’s organization – including the quality control and store keeping. It is in the stores that the stalk is kept up to date – the quantity in- and grades of the parchment and cherries. When demand comes from higher up (from Kyagalanyi in Kampala) Kyagalanyi Mbale registers what goes out of stalk, and in the harvesting season they keep track of

what is in stalk. If there is too little of one type, they need to ensure that they can buy more of that type. In case of certified coffee, it may mean that they need to get more farmers involved in their small-holder certification. The second ‘arm’ provides the processing part of the organizations, Kyagalanyi has 5 washing mills, and these all have their personnel and guards. The third arm is the most relevant to small-holder certification by Kyagalanyi. It is the arm which relates to the ‘projects’ by Kyagalanyi – also coffee certification. There is a project manager, and under him are three PTOs (assistants to the project manager), 15 field officers, and 5 wet mills (they are the same as under the second arm). The arm therefore largely exists of employees who work at the level of the farmers, and coffee processing equipment, which is also to be found in the farmer villages where Kyagalanyi is operational. Kyagalanyi also has buying stations (also called stores) in the villages. Farmers can bring their coffee to the store to sell it, and Kyagalanyi can process the cherries right away.²² Per village Kyagalanyi has around three field officers, who man the store and manage part of the certification – teaching the farmers and conducting internal inspection. The washing station also has paid staff.

Kyagalanyi receives the demand for different grades of certified and conventional coffee from the head office in Kampala. Kyagalanyi Mbale needs to make sure that the coffee in stalk matches the demand from the head office. If the demand for certified coffee becomes higher, the organizations need to expand the number of certified farmers.

Important persons representing Kyagalanyi: Fref Kafuko and Omar

Fred Kafuko as project manager of Kyagalanyi oversees part of the coffee certification process. He is responsible for the extension of the coffee certificate as well as trainings of field officers and arrangement of money for new projects. This is also how he works: he is lacerative, searching for money to do new projects. He was open about conflicts on Utz standards and especially the ‘western character’ of the standards.

Omar is one of the assistants to the project manager. He works not only at the office in Mbale, but also in the field with the farmers – so also in a role as field officer. He does so not only for coffee certification extension, but also other projects, like the Farmer Field School (see Annex 4). Omar was one of the persons who was sincerely convinced that farmers can have a better life if they farm

²² http://www.tabj.co.za/food_drink/kyagalanyi.html

differently. This is why his conversations laid bare worries about the interaction with farmers – their attitude towards change, motivations to keep farmers ‘on board’ of the small-holder certification, issues with pesticide use.

5.2.2 Utz Certified and 4C verification

5.2.2.1 Utz Certified

Utz Certified focuses on achieving sustainable agricultural supply chains, in which good practices are implemented at the producer level to enable better business opportunities, livelihood opportunities and which enable better care of the environment. The certificate standards are based on the social, environmental and economic conscious growing of the coffee. There are also requirements on food safety and quality. The standards are baseline criteria in which use is made of indicators which are field tested. Utz Certified works with third party auditing. Continuous improvement is required of the producers. Producers receive a premium, but this is below the organic and Fairtrade premium.

In alliance with Solidaridad Utz Certified provides technical assistance and capacity building to the producers at a very low cost. The external inspection is conducted by independent auditors which are accredited to the ISO 65 standard, and is conducted annually. Utz Certified works with a 10 % shadow/surprise audits. The producers pay auditing fees.

5.2.2.2 Common Code for the Coffee Community (4C)

4C is an initiative of the 4C association of which coffee farmers, trade, industrial and civil society are part, and they aim to improve economic, social and environmental conditions via more sustainable and transparent sectors for all in the coffee sector. The verification code focuses on the coffee economy and on social and environmental topics.

The code includes ten unacceptable practices and twenty-eight principles with eighty-four criteria according to a ‘traffic light system’ (red, yellow, green). The participation in the 4C verification is possible when there is an average of yellow in each of the topics of sustainability (economic, social, environment). It is required to make continuous improvement towards ‘green’ practices required. The red practices are unacceptable. A 4C unit - a group of producers - have to be able to jointly produce at least 330 bags à 60kg of green coffee before they can be verified. The 4C verification aims to be a stepping stone to other certificates. There is no 4C premium, but individual negotiation is possible between the members of 4C.

There is an annual fee to the producers. The membership fees differ according to the size and the position in the chain, so the produce fee is the smallest. Verification and trainings are free, and are conducted by independent third party auditors which are ISO 65 accredited and who are trained by 4C. 4C Units receive support by 4C via the training-of-trainer workshops and there is access to tools and manuals via the 4C tool library. 4C works with project facilitation, there are regional stakeholder meetings and sustainability for a. The trainings and tool development flow from in-kind-contribution of 4C Members and there is cooperation with other national and international organizations and between members of the 4C Association.²³

5.2.3 Certification body/external auditor

In Utz Certified documents the certificate bodies in Uganda are CERES and EcoCert. It is not clear which one certifies Kyagalanyi.

5.2.4 The Busano case: farmers

On average Mount Elgon farmers own 0,5 – 2 ha of land. On average coffee is grown on 0,2 ha land.

²³ More about these coffee certificates can be found in Annex 2.

Coffee is intercropped with cassava, beans, bananas, sweet potatoes and avocado's which are grown for home consumption.²⁴

5.3 Actors impacting on the interactions of the MECCAN actors under research, and an informant on coffee certification in Uganda

There are actors in this research which appeared to play an important role in the Mount Elgon market, and therefore influence the certification process. They are the conventional traders in the Mount Elgon area, US Aid via their agricultural projects in the Mount Elgon area, Kawacom which is a third small holder certificate holder and coffee trader in the Mount Elgon area and lastly the Ugandan Government. To understand more of the coffee certification process in Uganda in general, and the Mount Elgon area in particular Alan Tulip has become an important informant.

5.3.1 Conventional traders in the Mount Elgon area

In the Mount Elgon region there are many conventional traders operative. Of relevance to the MECCANs are foremost the coffee traders on Boda Boda. These traders on bike go from farm to farm, buying coffee also of the certified farmers. They are also operative in the areas in which the certificate holders certify their farmers, and therefore cause competition over the certified coffee.

5.3.2 US AID

US AID has projects on agricultural farming in both of the MECCANs under research. This involvement includes a project called APEP, which has finished but is impacting on the interactions between the MECCAN actors in the research areas. Part of the project is the farmer field school methodology, and both Kyagalanyi (although not in the Busano area, but studied in the Kapchorwa area where Kyagalanyi is also stationed) as well as the primary society Peace Kawomera receive funding from US Aid for this project. US AID has also financed washing mills for these organizations.

5.3.3 Utz and Organic certified Mount Elgon trader Kawacom

Kawacom Ltd. is a coffee trader/exporter operational all over Uganda. In the Mount Elgon area the company certifies farmers in Organic and Utz. Kawacom has come to be of relevance to this research because Kawacom operative in the Kapchorwa area up Mount Elgon, and the village they certify are close to a village in which Kyagalanyi operates. In general, certificate holders in the Mount Elgon area do not operate in areas close to each other. Here they do, and it provides an extra dynamic to the certified coffee trade, as it is a different kind of competition. Secondly, Kawacom provided a valuable insight into the external inspection, and the reply to the external inspection reports. This took place when I joined Alan Tulip on his farm, where he was discussing the external inspection report with staff from Kawacom.

5.3.4 Ugandan government

The Ugandan Government is not very active in the Mount Elgon region, except that they supply seedlings to the traders in the area, so they can provide young plants to coffee farmers. Once in a while they may come to some parts of the region to provide agricultural inputs. This becomes a problem where the agricultural inputs given out are not allowed under the coffee certification in that area.

5.3.5 Informant Alan Tulip

Alan Tulip is of British origin, but has lived in Uganda for many years now. He owns a farm in the west of Uganda, where he grows both Arabica coffee and tea. He is a coffee consultant for coffee

²⁴http://www.fairtrade.org.uk/producers/coffee/gumutindo_coffee_cooperative_uganda/default.aspx?printversion=true

certification in Uganda (for Utz certified among others) who occasionally trains the staff of Kyagalanyi, trains Kawacom (another trader and certificate holder of Organic and Utz Certified who also operates in the Mount Elgon area), and is on friendly basis with Fiona Nakusi (director/managing director of Gumutindo).

Alan Tulip has his own (strong) opinions about the growing of coffee and the certification of coffee. On his own farm he experiments with agricultural practices, and has a clear preference as to how to keep the soil fertile. Key herein is the maintenance of microorganisms in the soil – using organic material to do so and trying as much as possible not to expose the soil to sunlight and dehydration in the air. These strong opinions color his opinion on coffee certification. He believes that worldwide too little is being researched on organic farming, that a real sustainable change in agriculture has not been realized yet - no one has come up with a “sustainable system”. In his critique of the coffee certificates the lack of attention to agricultural practices of the farmers plays a central role. The social and environmental standards are less of his concern, except for critique on the fact that they tend to be impractical if you regard the Ugandan socio-cultural context.

Alan Tulip is relevant for the research as informant, but he is also known to the Mount Elgon area and the actors of certification under research. Alan has trained Fred (project manager Kyagalanyi) on his farm, but notes that Fiona Nakusi (Coffee manager/Director Gumutindo) has not been to Alan’s farm yet. He was especially happy that Fred Kafuko ‘*picked up on the topic*’ of soil enhancement. During the research Alan has also worked with Kawacom on their internal control system and the external inspection report. In such a manner he also becomes more directly involved in the maintenance of coffee certificates. Because he is so much acquainted with the research area and its actors he has provided valuable inside-information which is used here to contextualize some of the described findings, or to place a reinforcement of the ‘Ugandan’ perspective on coffee certification.

5.4 The explanation of Kyagalanyi and Gumutindo on how they organize their coffee certificate holding

5.4.1 The internal control system

Although the organizational structure and the position in the trade flow of coffee of Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi may differ, they are subject to mutual – formal – tasks for the maintenance of their certificates. Important part of the certificate holding is the “internal control system” (ICS). The ICS is a document which stipulates how the certificate holders will ensure that they comply with the certificate standards. The organizations have produced this document themselves, but have to do so as a requirement of the coffee certificates (notably: Utz certified and Organic, but automatically also for Fairtrade and 4C verification, as the certificate holders each work with Organic and Utz certified respectively). In the ICS document certificate holders have to assign roles to different actors, stipulating responsibilities and so ensuring that there is a responsibility for every step of the certification. The internal control system has some fixed items, such as the listing of group members, internal standard, tracking development of farmers via external inspections. It also involves a risks assessment for non-compliance, also by giving an analysis of the situation of the group members. Furthermore the procedures for the internal inspection and documentation of each group are described in the document, and the procedures for product separation and the tracing of the coffee.²⁵

²⁵ Smallholder group certification in Uganda - Analysis of internal control systems in two organic export companies (Sara Preißel, Moritz Reckling), interviews, general literature of Utz Certified, Organic, Fairtrade

5.4.2 Field staff

5.4.2.1 Field Officers

Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi work with employees at the field level – level of the certified farmers. Therefore these employees are called “field officers”. Field officers are responsible for the training of the farmers on the certificate standards and they also conduct internal inspections. These internal inspections take place once a year, and for the farmers who have not been complying may take place twice a year. The internal standards document is used for this inspection – a document produced by the certificate holders in which it is stipulated which of the certificate standards specifically apply to the farmers. During these inspections they may give immediate feedback to the certified farmers, when they notice something has not been according to the certificate standards. The field officers also document changes in the field, for instance the number of fields of the farmers and how many coffee trees the farmer has on the fields. This can be used to estimate the yields of the farmer, and will serve as a control during the buying of the coffee: can the farmer have so much certified coffee, is the farmer selling the certified coffee to another trader?

5.4.2.2 Contact farmer/key farmer

Next to field officers, both Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi work with farmers who are singled out for their performance under coffee certification. Gumutindo calls these farmers “contact farmers”, and Kyagalanyi calls them “key farmers”. A farmer is elected into such a position by the farmers in the area in which the farmer operates, but Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi do provide the farmers with criteria on the basis of which such a farmer is selected. It should not only be a friendly person, trusted by the community, but the farmer also has to do well in his or her field.

In each of the villages in which Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi have member farmers, such a farmer is appointed. Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi do provide the farmers with criteria to select such a farmer. These ‘example farmers’ come to serve as contact person between the farmers and the field officers. Farmers can come to them when they have issues with their coffee – either on the certificate standards or when something is wrong with their coffee – and they will either provide advice to the farmer, or take it up with the field officers. The contact/key farmer is trained by the field officers on the standards and on broader issues such as the formation of groups.

5.4.3 Document to symbolize certification of the farmers

When a farmer becomes registered as certified farmer, both Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi hand the farmers a document. Gumutindo calls this document a ‘contract’. Farmers have to sign this contract, but it is in no way legally binding. Rather they call it a symbolic way of the farmer to promise that they will stick to the coffee certificate standards. The farmer is also used for registration however, and as proof that the farmer is certified. They need to be able to present the document to the external inspector, and need to bring it with them to the primary societies when they wish to sell their coffee. Kyagalanyi calls this document a code of conduct. The Kyagalanyi code of conduct contains the best practices under the Utz certification.

5.4.4 Documentation of farmers

The small-holder farmers are placed in a small-holder group file which is maintained at the office of the certificate holder. Each file contains around 20-25 farmers. The Kyagalanyi files contain a map of the area in which the farmers are certified, which the external inspectors can use to find the farmers when they go visit the field. The farmer group files also contain the names of the farmers, their certification number, and internal inspection forms. The files can be used by the external inspector during the inspection of the farmers, but they are also useful to track development of the farmers.

5.4.5 Decertification of farmers

If farmers are not complying they can be thrown out of the small-holder group which is certified – so they become decertified. Some of the farmers with minor non-compliances are warned that they need to change. Those farmers receive an extra internal inspection. If they remain non-compliant they are decertified after all. It means that they have to be taken out of the farmers' group document and the buyers list – the farmer is no longer certified, so the coffee cannot be bought as certified coffee.

5.4.6 Ensuring that the coffee is certified coffee

An important part of the managerial task is the tracking and tracing of the coffee. It includes keeping track of what is in store, and separating the coffees under different labels and different grades. When the certificate holders or the primary societies buy the coffee from the farmers, they need to ensure that the farmer is a certified farmer. Therefore the farmers have a certification number, and the organizations work with a buyers list. Farmers need to have these documents when there is an inspection (internal and external), and when the farmers sell their coffee they need to take it with them. With Gumutindo the buying officer will check the contract, the buying record and the code of the farmer to see whether the farmer is certified. The amount the farmer brings in is also registered, and compared to the estimates of how much a farmer will bring in. This is not only done to see whether farmers are selling their coffee to them, but also to ensure that farmers do not sell conventional coffee of other farmers as certified coffee. These documents are used to check the supplying farmer, but are also seen as a symbol of the relationship between the farmers and the certificate holders which has come to exist upon registration. It is both a symbol which says that the farmers can trust that they will get benefits if they follow the requirements of the document, but it is also used as control because they are physically dependent on it if they wish to receive those benefits: they need to bring it when they sell coffee and need to be able to show it during internal and external inspection.

5.4.7 Internal inspection

On the internal inspection form not only compliance with the internal standard is documented also comments are made about the way the field of the farmer looks and what should change. Most farmers are subject of internal inspection once a year, but the farmers who did not deliver to the primary society the season before, and for Gumutindo the farmers who are in conversion to Organic farming, are checked twice a year. This is about 20% of the farmers. With both organizations the internal inspection can also become an on-spot training – when they notice that a farmer is not performing well on the standards or in their agricultural practices in general the field officer will explain what the farmer should do.

5.4.8 External inspection

Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi are responsible for the maintenance of their coffee certificates – they need to ensure timely external inspection by a certification body so that the certificate can be extended. They have to arrange the inspection with the certificate body, which sends an external inspector to come check their records and the farmers, as well as whether the promised improvements from the previous inspection have been made. The external inspector writes up an external inspection report, to which the certificate holders need to reply. In case of non-compliances the certificate holders need to explain what they will do to remedy the non-compliance. On basis of the external inspection report the external inspector decides whether the extension of the coffee certification is warranted.

5.4.9 Lacking in internal control can prevent extension of the coffee certificate holding

If an internal control system is not well implemented – for example if the farmers do not comply to the certificate standards to the extent deemed acceptable by the certificate and the external inspector, if coffee origin is not registered well – the certificate holders run the chance that their certificate is not

extended. The internal inspections can prevent this from happening. Farmers who do not comply with the certificate standards can be taken out of the small-holder group under certification. Hence they will not threaten decertification because of non-compliance – given that the decertification is processed well in the records (especially the buyers list in which the certified farmers are registered).

5.4.10 Differences between internal organization of Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi as

A large difference between Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi is that Gumutindo works with primary organizations in the field, while Kyagalanyi has its own staff in the field. Kyagalanyi has a more direct control over the field therefore, having three paid field officers stationed in each village as well as a washing mill which is manned by washing station manager and assistant. The primary organizations which Gumutindo works with are field level cooperatives. These cooperatives (should) work independently. They take care of a part of the extension services of the coffee certification, including the internal inspections and field training and the registering of coffee certified farmers and coffee sales. In the Namayonyi case study Gumutindo works with the earlier introduced cooperative ‘Peace Kawomera’. Gumutindo calls itself a ‘secondary society’, and although they do not call them as such themselves are a kind of ‘control body’ to the primary society and their internal inspections. The certification officer of Gumutindo checks the internal inspection forms which have been conducted by the primary society. Gumutindo and Peace Kawomera staff provides the trainings to the farmers together. Issues of external inspection are arranged at the level of Gumutindo.

Another large difference between Kyagalanyi and Gumutindo is that Kyagalanyi has its own washing mills in the certified villages. They conduct the primary processing of the coffee by themselves, meaning that the certified farmer can only sell cherries to Kyagalanyi. Contrastingly, Gumutindo only buys parchment from the farmers. In the Namayonyi case the primary society Peace Kawomera happens to have its own washing mill, it is the only primary society which Gumutindo works with to have such a mill. Farmers can use it for a small fee, and so do not have to hand pulp the cherries themselves.

6. Perspectives of the certificate holders Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi, and certification consultant Alan Tulip, on MECCAN interactions and the actors involved

Introduction

This chapter provides the description of how the certificate holders Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi, and Alan Tulip - as consultant for certificate holders - regard a number of topics and actors relevant to their certification. These topics are the coffee certificates, the farmers and the interaction farmers, the certificate standards and their standard-setters and certificate bodies. It relates these topics to their task as certificate holder, and the issues they encounter as certificate holder.

6.1 What benefits does a coffee certificate bring the certificate holders?

6.1.1 Holding a certificate as trader/exporter - not necessarily beneficial in the context of Mount Elgon coffee trader competition

According to Alan Tulip, certificate holders in Uganda do not necessarily earn a lot of money out of the certification of coffee. He explains that Gumutindo gets 20% of what the farmers get, Kyagalanyi 35% and Kawacom (another certificate holder who operates in the Mount Elgon area) 30%.²⁶ From this money they have to arrange the internal control system and the internal inspections - including the pay of management and field staff. Being a certificate holder in the Mount Elgon region provides another disadvantage. Certificate holders have to compete against conventional traders who are also interested in the certified coffee because of its high(er) quality. The conventional traders buy cheap conventional coffee, of bad quality, and increase the overall quality by buying the certified coffee. They are able to pay good prices, because their overall investment has been low. The certificate holders may get a premium, but the investment they make in the coffee is also very large. Losing the certified coffee to the conventional trader means that this investment is lost.

6.1.2 Coffee certificate holder for the premium and/or the market

Kyagalanyi gets the least out of the coffee certification/verification in terms of premiums. 4C verification does not have a price premium at all, and the premium of Utz Certified is very small when compared to the Organic and Fairtrade price premiums. This is probably why the premiums do not seem to play a very important role to Kyagalanyi. Fred Kafuko, project manager of Kyagalanyi, hardly discussed the Utz premium. He does emphasize the importance of providing good prices and bonuses to farmers - a "second premium" which is a bonus given to the farmers after the season. This money for this bonus comes from the sales however, not from the coffee certificate premium. What Utz means to Kyagalanyi is foremost an extra market. When the sales are going well - and Utz is providing a growing market - Kyagalanyi can offer the farmer more money for their coffee. Fred Kafuko was somewhat worried about the benefits of 4C verification. 4C does not work with premiums, nor do they *'have a market'*. Being at the start of the verification he wonders whether it will be able to provide benefits in the future. The reason why they are applying for the verification is because *'people from above'* gave Kyagalanyi the advice to verify 4C. The extra costs to Kyagalanyi Mbale are not very large because Volcafe is paying for the verification. So Fred Kafuko said that he would *'get the 4C verification'*, and later on see whether there was a market for 4C coffee. In some way Fred trusts that Volcafe will know what they are doing, because they always know *'where the markets are'*. At the same time, it seems that the advice from

²⁶ (at times this was been 60%).

above is not 'politics-free' as I was told that an old 4C employee was now working for US AID, who finances a lot of Kyagalanyi projects. In the context of not trusting the benefits of 4C and applying for the verification nonetheless it seems that there has been some downward pressure to engage in the verification. On the other hand the verification is paid for, and in the future it might bring benefits, so the losses of Kyagalanyi will not be too large.

The price premiums play a larger role with Gumutindo. Both Organic and Fairtrade certification provides premiums. Fiona Nakusi (director/managing director Gumutindo) explains that the Fairtrade premium plays a more important role than the Organic certification. The Fairtrade market is guaranteed for Gumutindo - all their buyers buy Fairtrade coffee, or Fairtrade and Organic - and compared to the prices of Organic Fairtrade is a more stable bet: they work with a stable minimum price which is always above the New York market price. Organic prices are based on putting a certain percentage on top of the world prices for coffee, therefore the premiums of Organic coffee depends on the fluctuation in market prices. Although the Organic premium can be higher than Fairtrade premium when the world market prices are high, it can also be lower than the Fairtrade premium when the market prices go down. With stable supply and stable prices of the Fairtrade coffee, it provides a more stable environment to trade in.

6.1.3 Alan Tulip: to work coffee certificates/verification needs to have premiums and a market

From the point of view of coffee consultant Alan Tulip coffee certificates will not work if they do not offer a premium and a market. The price premium is needed so that the certificate holders can cover the extra costs made by them to maintain the certificates - extension services to farmers, control system of the certification, including all the staff to manage it. These costs on average amount to 22 dollar per farmer, according to Alan.

In terms of price premiums Alan explains that farmers are served best if they are both Fairtrade and Organic certified, because their premiums reinforce each other. Gumutindo - as certificate holder of Organic and Fairtrade - will also benefit from this combination. They do need a market to sell in however. In this respect the prospects for Utz certified are looking well. The premium of Utz certified may not be that high, but the certificate is doing very good in terms of market shares which have been rising since its entrance in the Ugandan coffee market. Organic was the first coffee certificate operative in Uganda, but by now more Utz certified coffee is being sold than Organic, or Fairtrade. Out the top of his head Alan mentions that in 2002 3,200 kilograms of Utz certified was exported, and that this number has risen in 2009 to 74,000 kilograms.

On the basis of the two criteria - premium and market - Alan is not very positive about the chances of 4C verification. He wonders how the certificate is going to work without a premium to pay for the organization of the certification. According to Alan *'the idea of a cheap certification has fallen. Scaling up is not a solution, as the more coffee is certified, the higher the extension costs become.'* On top of this 4C does not have a market. So he wonders: where is the benefit for certificate holders to become 4C verified?

6.1.4 Kyagalanyi Mbale and the marketing of certified coffee

At this time the Kyagalanyi Mbale business is 30% of certified cherries, and 70% of non-certified parchment. Alan explains that conventional coffee is another market. Fred would like the division to be the other way around, meaning 70% certified cherries, 30% parchment. Kyagalanyi is dependent on its buyers however, and *'they have their own preferences'*. In general Fred comments that it is an advantage for Kyagalanyi to be a member of Volcafe, because he feels that they *'know where the market is'*, meaning that they have a good marketing network.

6.1.5 Gumutindo and marketing of coffee

Gumutindo has a close relationship with Twin Trading, the buyer of Fairtrade coffee who was involved with Gumutindo from the beginning on. Twin Trading has introduced them to other buyers (for example EZA FAIRER HANDEL GESMBH). All of the coffee Gumutindo sells is Fairtrade making all of their buyers Fairtrade buyers. Some of them are also interested in the Organic certificate and buy both. Gumutindo arranges the export itself, and maintains interactions with these traders to maintain their demand.

6.1.6 Difficulties with having several certificates

Having a certificate requires a good structuring of the organization, because all the coffee needs to be tracked and traced to ensure the origins of the coffee. With extra certificates this becomes more complicated, because the farmers do not necessarily have the same certificates. When I joined Alan to Kyagalanyi the first time, Kyagalanyi had just begun to work on the 4C application. One of the requirements of both 4C and Utz was that logos were put on the bags. When all farmers are certified according to the same certificates, they can be put in the same bag. Fred opted to Alan that the standards bodies should harmonize the labels. Alan agreed, and told Fred that within Utz there had been a discussion on this topic. He said that a solution would be to put ‘certified’ on the bags. These are issues of harmonization, but it can also be that a standards body requires complete separation of the certified coffee from other coffees. Such was required by a Korean buyer with a private label who had sent an inspector (report from the inspection can be found in annex 3).

6.2 Benefits which the certificate holders and their certificates brings to the farmer

6.2.1 What do Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi offer the farmers who supply coffee to them?

When asking about the benefits of certification, both the staff members of Gumutindo as well as the staff members of Kyagalanyi first speak of the prices which they are able to offer. Fred Kafuko, project manager of Kyagalanyi, proudly mentions that Kyagalanyi has been offering the best prices this year, and that this is the reason why farmers sell their coffee to Kyagalanyi.²⁷ Similarly, certification officer of Gumutindo, Luke Wepukhulu, first mentions the good prices which Gumutindo is able to pay for the coffee. In this pricing Gumutindo dedicates a larger role to the premiums of the certificates than Kyagalanyi. Luke Wepukhulu (certification officer Gumutindo) explains that the Fairtrade farmers receive a social premium, and that the organic farmers receive an organic premium on top of that. Fred of Kyagalanyi does not mention the Utz Certified premium, and relates Kyagalanyi’s good prices to the well doing of the company this season: *‘the washing mills have being operated 18 hours/day, as they were getting 45 tons of cherry a day while a mill can only do 2.5 ton per hour’*.

Secondly the certificate holders speak of the “second payment” – a bonus from the revenues of the coffee sale. This second payment is the initiative of the companies themselves. They are given to the farmers after the season, and the height depends on the amount of money the organizations have made out of the trade. Fred Kafuko explains that this bonus is an extra stimulant for the farmers to work on their coffee and to supply to Kyagalanyi. Depending on the season the bonus is around Ush 50/kg.²⁸

²⁷ This is in the context of high trader competition, described later on. Farmers can also buy their coffee to the middlemen who come by the farms. There is no interference however of the certificate holders in the Mount Elgon area in each other’s territory.

²⁸ Fred Kafuko came up with this number during the research, between the end of December 2010 and the beginning of 2011. It was an estimate for after the season in 2011.

Apart from the monetary benefits, both Kyagalanyi and Gumutindo arrange extension services for the farmers. These are not only to train the farmers on the coffee certificate standards, but also focus on countering diseases and how to manage the coffee well (although for all certificates this is to a larger and lesser extent required). Kyagalanyi, according to the Utz certification, focuses on the farm management of the certified coffee farmers. Gumutindo's coffee quality promoters teach the farmers on both specialty market requirements as well as on agronomic practices. They visit the villages once a month. Gumutindo's field officer explains that their field officers do not only work on the agricultural practices, but that they give broader advice, for instance that the farmers should keep their own records to have more insight on how they are performing. According to Luke (certification officer of Gumutindo) the focus on agricultural practices has had positive effects in the field – where farmers would get less yields each year, now that they stomp their coffee trees and they use shade trees the yields have come up again. Omar, field assistant/field officer of Kyagalanyi, tells that the improvements are slow, “We will see over time”. In time they will be able to measure it from the figures accumulated with the certification forms. Alan Tulip (coffee consultant) believes that the farmers do learn from the extension services of the certificate holders, but immediately after adds that it remains a question whether the farmers will actually implement that knowledge.

Part of the ‘agricultural enhancement’ is the provision of young trees to the farmers. Most of the primary societies which Gumutindo works with, and all of the Kyagalanyi buying stations, have nurseries to produce the young plants for the farmers. The seedlings for the nursery come from the UCDA (Uganda Coffee Development Authority). Omar calls it a “co-sharing business”: Kyagalanyi gets the seeds from the government, they bring them to the nursery and nurse the seedlings to little plants, and then Kyagalanyi gives the young plants to the farmer. Although the farmers would initially receive the coffee trees for free, people started to abuse the system: *‘even those with no land took them and tried to sell them on the market’*. Now the farmers have to pay 100-200 Ush to buy the small trees, or they can get them and deduct them from the second payment which comes later on. Omar reasons that it is still a benefit for the farmers, because nursing the seedlings is costly both in terms of time and labor. Nursing the seedlings demands water, weeding and takes around 3-4 months of labor. The farmers do not have the nursery practices. Omar ensures that it is not profitable for Kyagalanyi itself - 200 Ush is not enough for Kyagalanyi to get the money back which they invested in the nursery. With the Primary society Peace Kawomera, the farmers receive young coffee plants for free, as long as they register in a farmers’ group.

A specific benefit of Gumutindo Fairtrade certification is that a part of the social premium is invested in community development. The farmers themselves decide what this will be, but it is required that it builds on the society – so it can be the building of schools, or a storage room, medical facilities etcetera. The case study village, Namayonyi, has decided to build a storage room.

6.2.2 Organic certification initially may not seem to be beneficial to the farmer

Although the Gumutindo employees believe that Organic farming helps the farmer in yields and has a positive effect when it comes to pests (meaning the organic trees are not so much affected as those chemically fertilized), the initial period of organic farming - the first two to three years of ‘adaptation’ - causes a decline in yield. Farmers who are not participating in certification become *‘biased’* according to the certification officer of Gumutindo: *‘they hear that they need to avoid using chemicals, but in the first period chemicals are not used the yield goes down. So, then the farmers believe that you give bad advice’*. After this period however Organic farming leads to better yields and healthy coffee.

6.2.3 Alan Tulip on the certificate benefits to the farmer

In terms of monetary benefits in the form of price premiums, Alan Tulip explains that Fairtrade best serves the farmer, followed by Organic and then Utz. Alan believes that a farmer is best served by having several certificates – specifically Organic in combination with Fairtrade - because their benefits can reinforce each other. Organic has a premium of 5% (Alan’s comment: still too small) but it is mitigated

by the fact that most of the Organic farmers are also certified under the Fairtrade certificate. Fairtrade works with a fixed price, which can amount to a lower price premium than organic, but in times of low prices the Fairtrade premium will be larger than the Organic certification.

6.2.4 The ‘cherries or parchment’ issue – in whose benefit?

In conversations with Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi there were mixed signals on what product a farmer can best sell to benefit most – parchment or cherries. Alan explained to me that there are often troubles with calculating the conversion. In general pulping 5 kg of red cherries will mount to 1 kg of parchment. However, both Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi use this same conversion, what they differ in is the calculation of the profitability for the farmers to sell one or the other. Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi both offer prices in relation to what they demand from the farmers. Luke Wepukhulu, certificate officer of Gumutindo, explains that it is policy of Gumutindo that the farmers do their own processing: *‘farmers prefer to bring parchment, they understand that when they give it to a trader as cherry they will not get as much back as from parchment’*. With Gumutindo the farmers get 1,200 Ush per kilogram of red cherries, which means 6,000 Ush for 5 kilograms of cherries. The same 5 kilograms is necessary to get one kilogram of parchment, for which the farmer receives 6,300 Ush. Per kilogram of parchment the Gumutindo farmer therefore receives 300Ush more. Contrastingly, Kyagalanyi certified farmers can only sell red cherries. According to Fred Kafuko (project manager Kyagalanyi) this is more profitable to the farmers (that is also what they tell the farmers). This is true in their price calculation: farmers receive 1,250 Ugandan shillings for 1kg cherry and 6,000 Ugandan Shillings for dry parchment. So this means that per 5kg cherries, you get 250 Ush more than for 1 kg of parchment.

It seems that the two organizations are offering prices to the farmer which benefits their point of view most. Gumutindo offers 300Ush more, but that is per kilo, on average the Kyagalanyi farmer will earn more because they bring more kilograms of cherry than that they can bring parchment. On the other hand, the Kyagalanyi prices for parchment are lower than that which Gumutindo is offering. Making a direct comparison on the basis of money does not provide a complete picture however. Fred from Kyagalanyi explains that if the farmer sells parchment they need to put in extra work – pulping, washing, fermenting, drying, and then farmers have to leave the coffee for 2 weeks - and it requires fresh water. When a trader buys cherries and processes it at a central processing plant, the quality is better secured (for example that the water was clean and that the parchment has been uniformly dried. On the other hand Gumutindo argues that it is good for the farmers to be able to put more work into their coffee. Particularly it allows them to determine on their own when they will sell the parchment – it can be stored for a while, cherries need to be sold directly.

In conclusion, for the farmer the pulping of the cherries leads to extra work, and depending on the prices offered by the trader may be less or more beneficial. The farmer does get more say about when they will sell their coffee. In perspective of the trader it is more beneficial to buy cherries and to conduct the processing themselves, because they can guarantee that the processing does not affect the quality of the coffee. At least as long as they have their own processing factory.

6.3 Interactions with Mount Elgon certified farmers

6.3.1 Farming is not a desired profession in Uganda

Fred, project manager of Kyagalanyi, explains that there is little money in coffee. This unprofitability causes men in the rural families to enter into other businesses than coffee, and young people move away to the city. Consequently, he adds, the majority of the farmer population in the Mount Elgon *‘is old and woman’*. Alan

Alan Tulip:

‘If a farmer cannot get a proper job, he gets into coffee.’

Tulip, a consultant of coffee in Uganda, explains that the average age of the farmer is around 51 or 52 years old. Apart from the monetary disinterest in farming, also the image attached to being a farmer is not inviting for young people to become a farmer. Alan explains that Ugandans feel that if someone becomes a farmer, he or she has not been able to get any other kind of job. Although this negative farmer image is related to the fact that little money can be earned in agriculture, in view of the current market economics in the Mount Elgon region, the farm gate prices for Arabica coffee are high, and coffee is not necessarily bad business. It is felt by the certificate holders that a farmer who would take farming as a serious business would be able to earn quite some money²⁹. This does not change the fact that farming is not regarded as a desired profession by the young people in the rural areas. And farming remains an uncertain profession, as weather conditions and diseases can severely impact on yields. It remains an uncertain livelihood, and consequently the young people move away, in search of other types of jobs in the city.

6.3.2 Stubborn farmers and a difficult process to get farmers to change their practices

The staff of the certificate holders, and Alan Tulip, are not very positive on farmers. Fred Kafuko expressed the opinion that farmers would never be able to be ‘managers’: *‘they do not have the capacity to manage and will not do so in the future’*. What he meant by ‘managing’ did not become clear, but he himself is a ‘manager’, so it is likely he was referring to a job like his own. This remark links well to the general image of the farmer described above – farmers are incapable of doing other jobs. The old age of the farmers also makes them less ready to adapt to new ways of farming, and the farmers are regarded as inflexible. Alan Tulip and Mozes Mukombe (field officer of Gumutindo) expressed the opinion that farmers are not innovative, that they are inflexible. From both Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi’s employees this same image was portrayed; field officer Omar (field assistant/field officer Kyagalanyi) explained that it was difficult for farmers to change their practices when they have been doing what they do for a long time.

This negative characterization of the farmer does not come out of thin air. Both staff of Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi generally feel that changes in agricultural practices of the farmers can greatly benefit the farmers and their yields. Omar (field assistant/field officer Kyagalanyi) explained that the farmers are in need of better practices, and he expressed worries that farmers were using so much chemical pesticides because it was destroying their yields, that farmers needed to understand how important it was to apply manure, etcetera. From the perspective of Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi it is also necessary for the farmers to adapt their practices to adhere to the certificate standards. Especially the field officers referred to a stubbornness of farmers and their resistance to change, which is logical as they work directly with the farmers on the certificate standards. From the perspectives of the field officers this resistance to change amounts to a slow and challenging process.

Asking Mozes whether he gets angry when farmers promise to implement something, but they don’t
‘no, I can’t. You have to talk, control your temper.’

Field Officer Mozes:
‘Farmers often say: “yes, we will do this. Yes, we will do that”, but when we come back to visit, everything is still the same.’

Mozes Mukombe, field officer of Gumutindo, revealed such a frustration when he explained that *‘the farmers complain and cry. They keep their land for a long time, and don’t change their practices’*. He explains that it often happens that a farmer promises to make changes, but when the field officers come back to visit the farmer they have not changed

²⁹ Both the idea of farmer as a ‘businessman’ and an example of a farmer who thinks more like a businessman will come back later on in this chapter

anything. Especially the Organic standards provide problems; compared to the Fairtrade and Utz Certified they demand more changes in the field. For example in a case in which an organic registered farmer lives next to a conventional farmer. This farmer needs to create a buffer zone to prevent contamination. Many of the farmers have little land, and to remedy some of the loss, the field officers suggest that the farmers to grow elephant grass in the buffer zone. This grass can be cut, and used for the animals. In that way the area does not get totally lost. But even though alternative uses are suggested, the farmers do not easily comply. In this case the solution may even be problematic if the cow dung is used for the fertilization of the organic field.

6.3.3 Why farmers do not easily change their practices

Although in other conversations with field officers similar sentiments as described above were expressed, during the same conversations they often provided explanations for this resistance. One of the explanations is that the farmers have been doing what they do for a long time. They may simply see no reason for change if they feel it is ok as it is. It may at the same time be fear for the unknown however, if they know what effects their practices have in their field it may be difficult to try something new of which the effect is unknown.

Part of the difficulty of change is that many of the farmers cannot afford to think in the long term, or that they are simply not used to thinking in the long term - they cannot oversee it.

If a farmer gets the advice to stump an old tree - an advice which both Kyagalanyi and Gumutindo give

'When the time to apply manure is there, farmers tend not to have money for the manure (it will cost 10,000 - 30,000 Ugandan shilling, which is about € 3-10, at least a month's wage for these people).'

to their farmers - they may not do it because their old tree still produces a certain amount of cherries (say 2-3 kilogram). If the tree would be stumped, it would eventually grow more cherries (about 5 Kilograms), but it would take 2-3 years before the cherries started to grow again. Having to wait 2 or 3 years may not be possible when a farmer needs all of the coffee to sustain their livelihood. Such a practice does not provide immediate results, so it is difficult for the farmer to connect such a change to a positive outcome.

The lack of long-term thinking provides difficulties especially for the Organic certification. Farmers are only allowed to fertilize their field with manure. Mozes Mukombe (field officer Gumutindo) explains that as farmers have 2 cows at most, and that this is not enough to provide all the manure needed to fertilize all of the coffee field(s). When the rainy season comes (time to apply the manure), people come by with a vehicle to sell manure. But the farmers often do not plan ahead, and by the time that those vehicles come they do not have the money to buy the manure. Another difficult issue of organic farming is the dropping of the yield in the first 2-3 years. It takes a long term perspective on organic farming to realize its benefits. Farmers who are not participating in certification are therefore often *'biased'* against organic farming: *'They hear that they need to avoid using chemicals, but in the first period chemicals are not used the yield goes down. So, then the farmers believe that you give bad advice'* (Luke, certification officer Gumutindo).

Alan Tulip explains that it can also be the cultural rationale which stops farmers from changing their practices. Alan Tulip advises field officers and farmers not to weed in the dry season, because it causes all the moisture and nutrients to evaporate from the ground.

The field officers may pick up on the topic, but Alan expects the farmers not to change this practice -

Convincing farmers not to weed during the dry season

It is common practice of the Ugandan farmer to weed during the dry seasons. If farmers do not weed, other farmers can make them out to be lazy.

they will keep on digging because if they wouldn't the other farmers will think that this farmer is a lazy farmer.

6.3.4 Not all the farmers are the same

There are differences in the attitudes of the farmers. Omar (field officer of Kyagalanyi) explains that when Kyagalanyi arranges meetings for farmers - to teach the farmers about good practices - many of the farmers show up the first time because they think they will get a meal out of it. Sometimes Kyagalanyi cannot afford to give them lunch. When the farmers come to the next meeting nonetheless, Omar knows that these farmers are '*genuine ones*' - they come because they are interested in the knowledge which Kyagalanyi is able to provide them. Field officer Mozes (Gumutindo) refers specifically to different attitudes of the farmers, and that this attitude of the farmer determines whether the farmers adapt to the standards in a slower or quicker pace. But what is this '*attitude of the farmers*'? For the field officers this probably comes down to the openness of the farmer to change something in their agricultural practices, so it is an attitude open to change.

6.3.5 Altering the attitude of the farmers towards change

6.3.5.1 Importance of establishing a good relationship with the farmers so that they trust the advice of the field officers to be of good intention

The first thing the field officers say is that it is important to establish a good relationship with the farmer. It is the only way to get the farmer to listen to what you have to say. Often therefore, the field team is made up of people who originate from the area where the certificate is being implemented. The reasoning behind it is that the farmers more easily trust people who come from their own area. Mozes (field officer Gumutindo) used the word 'friendship' to characterize the kind of relationship he as a field officer needs to build with the farmers. Such friendship helps farmers to express their worries, and explain their farming issues in the field. Field officers can take these issues up, and help to provide solutions. The farmers then notice that the field officers have their best interest in mind.

Fred Kafuko (project manager Kyagalanyi) specifically explains the tactic to approach the farmers, and how to end up discussing coffee. He explains: '*first you have to tap into the mind of the farmer*'. It means that the field officers have to start a conversation on the topics which are worrying the farmers, for instance aids and domestic violence. [There sound like topic which NGOs would like to hear being talked about, so in this example my presence - as white woman - probably has been quite influential. Notwithstanding, the rest makes for a plausible tactic.] Then, the field officers have to find an 'entry point', to discuss things which are relevant to the coffee. For instance from the topic of domestic violence, to the topic of the role of women in a family. Then they can argue that a farmer needs to let his wife have a say, to let her come to meetings of Kyagalanyi. The latter is important for Kyagalanyi, as it is the wife who often takes care of the coffee. But the way they discuss the issue, is that it is also good for the husband as well: '*when she can take better care of the coffee, her husband will also get more money. You have to show the husband that there is benefit, else they will not change it.*'

The relationship with the farmers is not built only on the training on the certificate standards, both Kyagalanyi and Gumutindo focus on helping the farmers with their agricultural issues. When farmers have been open to the Gumutindo field officers, they can arrange meetings on the topics which have been identified by the farmers. In those meetings they will provide the farmers with advice. Mozes (field officer Gumutindo) explains that in some cases he may not know the answer, but then he can pose the question to the coffee quality promoter of Gumutindo. A similar 'service' - to provide answers to farming issues - is provided by Kyagalanyi. Kyagalanyi specifically encourages the farmer to signal problems with certification and farming, and to come to them with the issues. Either the field officers or the station manager then come up with an action plan. In some cases the field officers pass the question on to the government (UCDA) '*If it is beyond us, for instance for research*' (field officer Omar).

Kyagalanyi has also introduced a complaint booklet to the farmers. There is one at each station of Kyagalanyi. They are picked up each month, and go to the office in Mbale. Those farmers that wish to write down a complaint but are illiterate, can be assisted by the field officers. Now the complaints are mostly about the prices being offered by Kyagalanyi, and the prices being offered by other traders in the area. This also serves a purpose however, with strong trader competition they will know the market prices being offered.

6.3.5.2 Farmers need to see the effects of change in practice before they believe its use

Important to changing the farmers' practice is by showing them the effects of change. For instance to motivate the farmers not to use chemicals in their crops, they explain that it is better for their crops and point out that the farmers who are using chemicals are more affected by diseases. It helps when they see the effects at neighboring plots. Mozes (field officer Gumutindo) was very negative on the attitude of the farmers, but he commented that *'one farmer may see the [positive] long term results with another, and also starts doing it'*. This visual proof can also be cultivated with the individual farmer. Fred (project manager Kyagalanyi) explained about a farmer who did not want to use a certain technique in his field. Fred encouraged the farmer to apply the technique on four plants. Those bore more fruits afterwards, and the year after the farmer applied the technique to all of his coffee. To Fred, this is a good way to deal with a *'stubborn'* farmer. Not only Fred uses this tactic, in general field officers seemed to use this technique.

Kyagalanyi makes particular good use of the effects of healthy looking fields on the farmers. At the processing plant, or the store, Kyagalanyi has a field with coffee of their own. The field I witnessed in the Kapchorwa area was a field full of healthy looking coffee trees. It is an encouragement for the farmers in the area to follow the advice of Kyagalanyi. Omar (field assistant/field officer Kyagalanyi) explains it makes farmers see that Kyagalanyi can help them getting healthy trees.

Alan Tulip explained that on his own farm he would be able to lecture on the importance of micro-nutrients in the soil, and that farmers would really resist the idea. Only when they would go into the field, and the farmers could see how Alan his fields were looking, would they start wondering whether there was some value in what Alan was saying.

6.3.5.3 Dedicated field officer is important to convince farmers that certificate standards are good for their yields

Alan Tulip explained that the farmers resist change because they are protecting *'their own ways'*. He believes that it takes a field officer who is really convinced of the certificate standards, to get the farmers to change some of their practices. With both organizations the field officers and staff is convinced of the

Example of a field officer dedicated to the changes in agricultural practices of the Mount Elgon farmers

Omar (field assistant/field officer Kyagalanyi) after the farmer field school training in the Kapchorwa area

Omar speaks to the field officers stationed in the Kapchorwa area about Alan, how he tries things out on his farm, experiments. That he is able to get healthy coffee on a ground which is not that fertile. That he uses all kinds of organic material, tries them out. He also talks about the spraying. That most people cannot afford protective gear, and that it would be better for them to use only organic material (e.g. cow dung and husk). He explains that at one time the government was however giving out free pesticides to counter diseases, and that this is very bad, because it may not even be due to a pest that the plant is not doing well. It may be a nutrition deficiency. They should first identify what is wrong before taking action.

general use of the standards. They believe that the changes in agricultural practices will lead to positive effects in the field, especially that the farmers can raise their yields.

6.3.5.4 Kyagalanyi uses farmer prizes as stimulant to work on coffee and to sell to Kyagalanyi

Kyagalanyi has its own particular approach to stimulate farmers to follow their advice. It is handing out 'best farmer' prizes for the farmer who produces most, or does best in farmer practices. Because Kyagalanyi hands these prizes out to both conventional and certified farmers, Alan Tulip believes that this will not work that well for certified farmers. He explains that the farmers who also act as middlemen will be able to bring in the largest amount of coffee. The certified coffee farmers are not able to do so, because their production is closely monitored. Kyagalanyi keeps track of the amounts of coffee the farmers will produce, to mitigate the risk that registered certified farmers will bring in extra conventional coffee to earn the certified coffee price.

6.3.5.5 A number of limitations Kyagalanyi faces in the interactions with farmers

Field officer Omar tells me in the field that it is difficult to tie the farmers to Kyagalanyi, to get them to supply their cherries to them. They provide trainings etcetera, but for only 50 shillings more they will sell their cherries to traders. The trader competition thus affects the supply. On the other hand, Kyagalanyi may not be always able to buy all the certified cherries from the farmers. A field officer colleague of Omar is worried about this because Kyagalanyi has promised that when the farmers put through the changes for certification, they will buy cherries. They will not always be able to do so [this was during the farmer field school day in a village close to Kapchorwa, on Mount Elgon], because their mills are not able to take on the amount. What they try to do in such a case is tell the farmers that they will give them knowledge.

Another worry the colleague of Omar had was the relationship with the key farmers. The key farmers are not being paid for their cooperation, 'the organization' [it is unclear to me whether this is Kyagalanyi Kampala or Volcafe] is not willing to supply them with benefits. They try to give these farmers the tools first, so their effort is given at least some reward.

6.4 Standards issues: difficult application in the Ugandan context

6.4.1 The internal standard

Alan Tulip (certification consultant Uganda) explains that the standards document of the standard setters is often large. The local certifiers have to condense them to one page, if they want to use it in the field. Alan explains that there are language issues when it comes to the translation of the certificate standards. In the Mount Elgon region the farmers stem from a large number of tribes (Bagisu, the Sabinu and the Ndorobo), and these tribes all have different languages. This means that these internal standards need to be translated in several languages. Language always brings in ambiguity. Alan explains that a word like "artificial" does not exist in the local languages. Creativity is used to resolve such issues; in this case "off white" was used to substitute for "artificial".

Another issue with the standards and use in the field is the illiteracy of the farmers. According to Alan Tulip fourteen to fifteen per cent of the farmers are illiterate. It means that it is necessary to show the farmers in practice what they need to do for the certificate. After the training it is not enough to hand out a contract or code with the standards to ensure the compliance. Farmers need to be trained and reminded constantly. In trainings and during field inspections farmers are therefore practically shown what to do. Kyagalanyi also makes use of visual aids in the training of the farmers. Kyagalanyi makes use of posters on good agricultural practices in the trainings (showing how a farmer can prune, that only red cherries should be picked etcetera).

6.4.2 The certificate standards and questions on their applicability in the Ugandan context

6.4.2.1 Gumutindo - standards which do not work in Uganda

During the external inspection Fiona describes a number of issues with the certificate standards which can provide difficulties. For instance the outsourcing of milling to an external milling plant. The certified coffee needs to be traceable; it is not allowed to mix coffee with conventional coffee. They cannot control everything when this is outsourced, but they do not have their own facilities. Fiona tells me that she has argued about this with Fairtrade, and explains that “*they won’t listen if you are quiet*”. Another topic of dispute was the list of GMOs which they need to have. To Fiona this requirement is senseless: “*We have no GMO, not in coffee, and other GMO products have nothing to do with coffee*”. A third standard she mentions is the requirements for hiring of labor. Fiona explains that the farmers here are smallholders, not estates. If farmers employ anyone, the requirement says they need to have a document which shows how much they pay, provide proof of payment, work out some sort of employment contract. This is difficult for a small holder farmer. Their own living is insecure, and some may not be able to read and write. Fiona says that the external inspectors don’t hold on to these requirements so much, that they see these matters in a practical way, do not even put it down in the external inspection report. Fiona says that she did try to tell the auditor that the standards are applicable to Latin America, where they are way advanced and where there are plantation owners.

Luke (certification officer Gumutindo) explains that it is not difficult to comply with the Organic standards: ‘*most of the Organic standards are all about letting nature run its course, which is not anything complicated*’.

6.4.2.2 Kyagalanyi staff on the contents of the standards

The first time I asked Fred Kafuko about certification, whether it was difficult to apply the standards in practice, Fred answered ‘*Ugandans love trees*’. I suspect at that time he thought that I wouldn’t be staying for long, so he decided to give a short answer which would be to the liking of people whose foremost concern is nature conservation, but which actually didn’t say anything. When I returned to do a larger interview later on, and Fred found out that I was really interested in certification and how Kyagalanyi was managing it, Fred told me: ‘*standards, they do not fit as they are invented by people from above*’.

Fred on the standards:

‘standards, they do not fit as they are invented by people from above’.

According to Fred both certification bodies – Utz certified and 4C - have developed their standards ‘*for the first world, not the third world*’. A returning issue in the conversation on the standards is that Ugandan farmers are nearly all small scale farmers, but the standards are not well adapted to it. Like Fiona he explains that the standards are developed for South America, ‘*where they have big estates*’. For instance a standard which says that farmers have to provide housing for their workers. Ugandan small-holder farmers often use family labor. In case a farmer does use labor outside of the family, he will not be able to provide housing. He can hardly earn enough for himself. Omar, field assistant/field officer of Kyagalanyi, mentions that there may also be difficulties with the interpretation of the standards – a western interpretation and the Ugandan interpretation. He uses the example of child labor. In Uganda it is very normal that children help on the farms of their parents, and it is a question when something becomes child labor. He explains that it would be logical from the Ugandan point of view that a child will work for 1 or 2 hours, after school hours. He reasons, helping out on the farm does not prevent children from going to school. The Utz standard on child labor (10.F.5) says that children are not allowed to carry heavy loads. In Uganda often farmers have no means of transport, so the farmers carry the coffee on the

head. Farmers carry 50 kg bags on their heads, to him it should be allowed for children to carry some amount. He explains that the children do carry less: ‘20-30kg, no, 20-25 kg’.

There is a difference with the Utz certified and 4C certification/verification. Fred Kafuko is relatively positive on the Utz standards. He explains that Utz certified has held a workshop in Rwanda, organized by Solidaridad, in which he was given the opportunity to talk about the standards. What came up in the discussion on the standards, and following that report changes were made to the Utz standards. So, he concludes, ‘*the Utz standards keep on changing, and are getting better adapted*’. His opinion on 4C is not so positive: ‘*their communication is poor*’. He had to send in forms to apply for the certificate, but their format made it impossible to send the file. In a later conversation Fred explains that he’d ‘*had a big talk*’ with 4C. He told them that they should stop comparing the 3rd world to the 1st world (the standards discussed above). That was in a workshop. Fred tried to get 4C to take out ‘*a couple of things*’. He was waiting to see what would happen.

6.4.2.3 In the Mount Elgon context the certificate standards at the farmers’ level are mostly related to agricultural practices

Many of the standards relating to farming practices and the maintenance of quality and quantity of coffee enjoy a larger acceptance of the staff of the two certificate holders. In many of the interviews on the standards, the field officers would mention the importance of pruning and stumping of the coffee trees to get more yields out of old trees, and the importance to use manure instead of chemical fertilizers (even Kyagalanyi field officers, while Utz does allow limited use).

Utz Certified puts emphasis on the quality of the coffee. Kyagalanyi conducts a large part of the coffee production process itself, thereby having control over this aspect of the Utz certification. Managing and registering the coffee is also conducted by Kyagalanyi and the field staff. Given that most of the Busano farmers do not have money for chemical fertilizers and pesticides nor for workers, some of the environmental and social aspects need only limited control. What is left for the Busano farmers under certification is mainly the improvement in agricultural practices. Similarly, the Fairtrade standards on management and democratic governance are arranged by Gumutindo and Peace Kawomera/Gumutindo, not the farmers. The social standards of Fairtrade only become issue to larger farmers – those who are able to afford workers – and for their compliance decertification can be used as ‘motivation’ to comply. Many of these farmers also do not have money for chemical fertilization or pesticides. So, what is left for the Namayonyi farmers is again the agricultural standards – and here particularly the organic method of farming. The certificate holders and Peace Kawomera therefore do not need the farmers to know that they are certified and need to comply with the certificate standards. Instead they put in place mechanisms linked to agricultural farming and changing the agricultural practices.

This means that the compliance to the coffee certificate at the level of the farmer requires that the farmers adapt their farming practices. The certificate holders use different strategies to convince the farmer to change them. These are described below (paragraph 9.5).

6.4.2.4 Coffee Consultant Alan Tulip’s experience with, and opinion on, the certificate standards

Like Fiona of Gumutindo, and staff of Kyagalanyi, Alan Tulip provides many examples of standards not matching the local context of Uganda. Much of this inapplicability has to do with the character of the standards, and is based on the same critique as described in the previous paragraphs - that they are not developed for a small holder farmer context. One of the examples Alan gave was that standards would use words such as farm ‘owner’ and farm ‘worker’. This differentiation is a difficult one in Uganda, as most farm owners are also the farm workers. At the same time the family of the farmer often forms the work force. So what does the standard mean in the Ugandan context? Do they need to provide contracts to their family members? A requirement to have a certain amount of clean running water on a farm is

also a difficult matter, when a farmer only has little land. Two hectares maximum. This is a requirement which is applicable to large estates, for a small farmer this requirement is impossible to ensure. Other standards may simply not be relevant at all. Alan brings up that many of the standards bodies have standards on labor laws and the right to follow cultural beliefs. In Uganda mostly family labor is used, and sitting down to discuss issues of labor rights and cultural beliefs is not a relevant matter.

Some of the standards do not stipulate in a precise enough manner who has the responsibility for certain issues. Alan provides the example of a standard which demands that *'the operator must maintain sales and stock record'*. He asks - who is the operator? Is it the farmer? Is it the exporter? In practice it is often the external inspector who interprets these standards.

Alan's critique of the certificate standards which focus on management plans instead of the 'real issue', namely agricultural development, probably voices what certificate holders do not dare to say

Alan feels that if extension services solely focus on the certificate standards, they do not make a real change. In his opinion the coffee certificates incorporate too little standards on agricultural production and sustainable agricultural change. To illustrate this he explains that in the around 60 questions of the Utz certified standards, there are only 2 on soil fertility and soil erosion. The standards do dictate that farmers need to keep their receipts. Why? Alan wonders. *'Keeping receipts or not does not affect whether a farmer is farming sustainably'*. Even the agricultural standards which are part of the certification can be of limited use to the Ugandan farmers, when they focus on quantification instead of quality (see box). Alan's conclusion is that certification on the ground also becomes about the management plans instead of agricultural changes. Although the certificate holders did not say so themselves, Alan works with many of them, and it is likely that they share this opinion. One thing which substantiates this is the external inspection of Gumutindo (Annex 3) in which Fiona Nakusi became irritated with the focus of the external inspector on the numbers, instead of going into the fields to see the developments with the farmers.

Even agricultural standards can be
'top down'

Example: "application rates"

The Utz certification requires farmers to keep records of organic input, but, Alan wonders, *'is that really important?'* Finding out what is in the farmers' seedcake costs 700 dollars, but the real question should be: is the soil fertile? The standards are reduced to the numbers, and are not focusing on actual change for the soil. *'There are so many more important questions to be asked.'*

6.4.3 Room for interpretation of the standards - interactions with the external inspector

As Fred Kafuko, project manager of Kyagalanyi Mbale, explains: *'you never get a 100 per cent on the external inspection,'* which means that opportunities need to be seized to get the external inspector to understand their point of view on the standards. To pass the inspection, and not fail on those standards which arguably do not fit to the local circumstances, there is a need to be assertive. Fiona Nakusi, director/managing director Gumutindo, explained that *'they won't listen if you remain quiet'*. According to Alan Tulip it usually does not work to complain to the certificate holders about the (alleged) inapplicability of certificate standards, because they use their role of implementers *'as excuse not to do anything about it'*. What the certificate holder can do is try to *'soften up the report'* of the external inspector - meaning that the external inspector may not weigh very heavily some of the issues in the external inspection report which have arisen because a standard is not applicable. That does not change the standard in itself however, but does help to pass the inspection and get an extension for the certificate.

The external inspectors play an important role in the interpretation of the standards. Fiona explained that some of the auditors may disregard standards which according to them - and so also the external inspectors - do not make sense. Both Fiona and Fred explain that you need to speak up to the

external inspector/befriend them so that they will listen to what they have to say. Fred Kafuko in particular showed that a certain relationship needs to be established between with the external inspector, that this will make them listen better to the argumentation. According to him Utz inspectors ‘*know him*’, while he was having trouble with 4C and their standards. This strategy reaps effects, because it happens that inspectors leave out some of the standards in the external inspection report, if they come to regard them as not applicable to the Mount Elgon context. Fiona Nakusi says finds that the external inspector then takes a ‘practical’ approach.

Because not every inspector will interpret standards in the same manner, or disregard standards in the same manner, the certificate holders can focus on certain standards when they know which inspector is coming. At least that is what Alan does when he helps certificate holders with their inspections. The way in which Alan helps the certificate holders is described in Annex 7, where it is described how Alan helps Kawacom with their reply to the Utz inspection report. One of the non-compliances under discussion with Alan and Kawacom was the use of contaminated basins for coffee (meaning they had been used for washing clothes, dishes etcetera). From the perspective of the staff of Kawacom, it was not realistic to demand from farmers that they would use separate basins for coffee only. From a social and economic viewpoint this would make no sense: farmers do not have money for extra basins, and even if they would, they would not see the logic in using a basin for only a certain time of year (the coffee season is not year round). Alan advised the manager of Kawacom Mbale to counter the non-compliance in the reply, by explaining that it was impossible to demand farmers to have separate basins for coffee. He also proposed the solution: having the farmers rinse their basins well so that no contamination would occur.³⁰

Certificate holders cannot influence the inspectors in all matters. The external inspectors have their own personal focus with the coffee certificate standards. Alan Tulip explains that when he knows what external inspector is coming, he focuses on particular standards with certificate holders he is helping through an external inspection: ‘*inspectors focus on different issues, when you know what external inspector is coming, you know what issues to focus on*’. In some cases the certificate holders just have to accept this focus. During the external inspection of Gumutindo farmers (Annex 3) Fiona Nakusi’s agitation, directed at the external inspector who seemed only to be interested in the figures, showed her displeasure on his focus. She felt that he was niggling over something unimportant, and said that the inspectors would try to ‘*get you on anything small - it is their job*’. In this case not much was to do about it, except for helping the inspector in his calculations (who in this case was making a lot of mistakes, because he wanted to do too much in little time).

6.4.4 Alan Tulip: limited change by standard setters in their certificate standards

Alan has tried to take up on some of the certificate standards with the standards bodies, notably Utz Certified and Rainforest Alliance. He has had different results - successful with Utz certified but less so with Rainforest Alliance, who ‘*has no humor at all*’. Alan himself likes to joke, but is also seriously critical of certification. Characterizing rainforest alliance as humorless reflects that the interaction with Rainforest Alliance has not always been of a supple character. One example in which communication between Alan and Rainforest Alliance did not work out as planned was when he commented on their standard which said that all land which was not being used for coffee should be forested. He wondered - does this mean that the farmers cannot use the land for other purposes, such as timber and the grazing of the animals? - and suggested to Rainforest alliance that they should change this standard. The standard’s body did come to amend the standard, but did not have the intended effect. The standard

³⁰ A side remark has to be made here, because the requirement of use of separate basins was something which Kawacom itself had required in their internal control system document, something which they could alter themselves. Not having contaminations could be ensured by requiring farmers to rinse the basin well - eventually Alan advised them to change the internal control document (they were going to work on that as well).

had come to say that all land not used for coffee, grazing, timber (and the other possible uses Alan had provided) should be forested. Rainforest Alliance had completely missed his point - that farmers may have other kinds of economic uses for those lands, local purposes which will not be the same everywhere.

In general it is the experience of Alan that standards are never taken out: '*they only clean it up.*' Standard setters do not only hold on to standards they themselves have set, they may copy those of other standard setters. Alan came up with the example of Rainforest Alliance, who had adopted the idea of Fairtrade that the farmer needs to have '*all sorts of management plans*'. The resentment against management plans, instead of working on real agricultural issues, is clearly a thing Alan worries about. But it stems from a larger concern; do the standard setters consider their own interest or that of the farmer within the certificate standards? Alan had already provided the opinion that standards are invented by western companies. Lack of interest in the localities of the farmer can be contextualized by one more standard which is proliferated - the prohibition to the farmer to cultivate next to a river (Organic certification). Alan explains that such a standard really creates a problem for the Ugandan smallholder coffee farmers, because not being able to cultivate on a band of 5 meters on a small plot means that little room is left for any cultivation at all. Conclusion is that the revision of the standards often happens too high up, and does not involve the local. Alan had already come to this conclusion before, being part of the technical committee of EUREPGAP. During the meetings he felt like he was in another world, as the topics discussed in the committee seemed to have nothing to do with actual reality on the ground. For instance the topic of safety measures. The committee was discussing that small holder farmers would have to document where they sat down with the family to discuss safety measures. Alan commented that this does not even happen in Europe, where there are many more potentially harmful tools around the house. More generally there is no representation of people on the ground in the developments in the standards.

Alan mentions that Rainforest Alliance and Utz Certified wanted their standards revised, and asked the certification body to join the process. No one from the field level however was asked to join.

6.4.5 Internal inspection

6.4.5.1 Gumutindo and their internal inspections

During the internal inspections the field officers will provide training in the field when they notice that something is not being done well. Gumutindo also works with coffee quality promoters who '*move around the villages*' (they visit each of the villages once a month) and then visit especially the farmers who are not complying. When a farmer remains non-compliant, the field officer goes to the farmer who is not complying and writes a report. The farmer is advised to stop. The contract is immediately withdrawn. If the farmer accepts the changes he has to make according to the report, he or she will be taken back into conversion. For Organic this may mean three years, if for instance chemicals are used. There will be close monitoring of this farmer, meaning a visit of at least twice a year.

Most of the certificate standards are easy to check, however it may be difficult to check whether the farmers have been using chemicals. The use of chemicals especially in case of Organic certification is a severe non-compliance. As the farmers will not want to show their use of chemicals it may be difficult to find out about such a non-compliance. Luke (certification officer) explains that the field officer will closely observe a farm, to see if there is any chemical waste. In case of distrust the field officer will ask the farmer, but also the neighbors. They will also explicitly ask the farmer what they know about organic, and ask them to explain what it means. In general there is a need to check plots close by the plots of the Organic certified farmer.

Luke tells me about one village in which the farmers thought the certification was '*a joke*', and that they stopped complying. They had to take them out of the program. When however they saw the effects in other villages, they decided to '*come back into the program.*'

6.4.5.2 Kyagalanyi and their internal inspections

The internal checklist used during the internal inspection is a list of yes/no questions on both Utz and 4C standards. The field officers check this list. Like with Gumutindo, the field officers of Kyagalanyi tell the farmers during the internal inspection if they are not performing well on the standards – Kyagalanyi calls this ‘*on-spot training*’. The internal inspection occurs once a year, but the farmers are also monitored during the year. During the trainings for instance. The key farmers and field officers also may notice farmers not to be compliant, also then ‘on spot training’ is conducted.

6.5 Interactions at the periphery of the certification

6.5.1 Gumutindo’s funding and development programs

Gumutindo’s main financier is Root Capital, a nonprofit social investment fund. They first provided Gumutindo with a loan in 2005, and since then has continued to loan money to Gumutindo, increasing the amount due to the growing of the society. Gumutindo has also received training by a Root Capital employee on financial management, in cash management, accounting and internal controls. By 2011 Gumutindo is also involved with a private Ugandan bank.³¹

Via their joint marketing initiative (JMI), founded by Gumutindo itself and involving other Fairtrade and Organic coffee producing organizations in Africa as well as Twin Trading, Gumutindo attempts to get buyers who will buy a premium for certified coffee grown by women. By doing this they hope to secure better access to the coffee market for women. Twin trading has also arranged for money from the Welsh Assembly and Comic Relief to conduct a pilot climate change adaptation project. Together with Gumutindo they have developed a ‘best practice approach’ to support small holder farmers in the adaptation to climate change.³²

6.5.2 US AID provides financial aid to Kyagalanyi and Peace Kawomera

Contrastingly to what Alan Tulip said about aid money going to farmers cooperatives instead of traders, in the Mount Elgon region it is Kyagalanyi who receives large amounts of funding, especially from US AID. At the time of research Kyagalanyi was going to receive more funding for the US AID/LEAD project, and a new project was on the way. According to Alan US AID paid for even more: Fred (project manager), the staff, the office, wet processing equipment and even the salaries and the hardware. All the processing machines come from US AID funds. Alan explains that the projects for which US AID give money result in short term plans, 3 years often. Then Kyagalanyi needs to apply for a new fund. In conversations with the employees of Kyagalanyi it was indeed mentioned that the wet processing plants were paid for by US AID, and Fred Kafuko was applying for money for the farmer field school with US AID. As soon as US AID would endorse it, Kyagalanyi would start with the project. This money can be used to pay the field officers (a number of 6 field officers were mentioned) who conduct the farmer field school. It is safe to conclude that there will be a challenge for Kyagalanyi once the US AID funding runs out, as Alan Tulip put it. Obtaining and maintaining US AID funding seems to have become part of Kyagalanyi’s strategy. The question whether Kyagalanyi can do without US AID funding remains a serious one.

Peace Kawomera, the primary society of the Namayonyi research case, has also been receiving funding from US AID. Alan explains that this has resulted from the primary society’s involvement with the Jewish community in the US. He says that someone in the US remarked that US AID was not doing

³¹ . <http://www.rootcapital.org/our-impact>

³² <http://www.twin.org.uk/projects/climate-change-adaptation-mount-elgon-uganda>

anything for Peace Kawomera, and that they started to receive funding. At the time of research Peace Kawomera was under inquiry by US AID, because they have mismanaged the money from the funding.

6.5.3 Alan Tulip's critique on NGOs in general and US AID in particular

According to Alan the worth of traders in the Mount Elgon area is undervalued, especially by NGOs – which have a preference for farmers organizations because they feel direct trade leaves more money for the farmers. The traders however undertake many undesirable tasks and risks in the coffee trade, which farmers and traders consequently do not have to take. For instance, many traders carry and store large amounts of money, to be able to pay for the coffee at the farms and to keep stalks for the season. Then the transport of coffee can also be risky. Transport on a lorry from the farmers or a traders store to export offices in Kampala is risky on the Ugandan roads. Often the lorries are not insured; if something happens the trader may both lose the coffee and has to be damaged. On top of these risks, traders need to take risks in business. They need to find markets for their coffee, but when they have found the market their business is still unsure. Buyers only provide indicative prices, but according to Alan these '[do] *not have a real meaning*'. This means the traders also have to juggle with the prices they are offering to the farmers, the supply and quality they need and the indicative price. As Alan explains, they need a 'business mind' to survive. It is here where the crux of the story lies: NGOs prefer to help farmers organizations, and they would like middlemen and traders to be outside of the trade. However traders according to Alan perform important and dangerous tasks, and are therefore important to keep the sector going – apart from the fact that they are often better able to compete as they work on basis of business. The underlying critique of Alan with respect to the NGOs disliking middlemen is that they fail to understand the nature of the business; it is not easy to play the markets, and cover risks. Those cooperatives which are there in Uganda are heavily funded by donors, but '*Organizing a business or running a business is something different*'.

US AID has many connections with players in the Ugandan coffee. They are funding NUCAFE – a relatively new Ugandan farmers union employed by people who are not farmers themselves. This is exemplary for what Alan generally thinks about US AID: that they have no idea what is going on 'on the ground', or at least the person running things for US AID in Uganda. Alan feels that US AID is not connected to the people on the ground. They '*waive around studies, but nothing is actually happening in the field*'. US AID is quite influential in the certification of the coffee sector. The organization funds 4C, and is focusing on having farmers 4C certified. Alan says that this is happening because at the time 4C came to Uganda, a guy from US Aid was representative for 4C. US AID is also covering the funding for certification of Rainforest Alliance, as well as funding Rain Forest Alliance itself. The interest of US AID does not seem to extend to Organic certification.

6.5.4 The governmental involvement with Mount Elgon farmers and the certificate holders

Governmental involvement is limited, but can impact on certification

A positive relationship which Kyagalanyi has with the government is the seedlings project. The government supplies seedlings to Kyagalanyi, who nurses the seeds up to small plants and provides these to the farmer. The government sometimes provides other things as well, for instance a transport allowance, and sometimes gives out pesticides. The latter can be counterproductive to certification however. The government does this to counter diseases but, as field officer Omar explains, it is bad because '*it may not even be due to a pest that the plant is not doing well, it may be a nutrient deficiency*'. He finds that it should first be identified what is wrong with the coffee before taking such measures.

Apart from the technicalities of plant diseases, the Omar explains that it is very difficult to bring/enforce organic standards when the government is supplying pesticides. Although Kyagalanyi is not certifying farmers, Omar in general expresses a preference for Organic farming. Kyagalanyi does have to secure under the Utz certification that farmers who use chemicals also use protective gear. Most of the farmers do not have money to buy chemicals, and when they do get it from the government they will

often use the chemicals without using protective gear. Omar explains that although it is a non-compliance, it is difficult to stop the farmers from using it if it is free and their trees are not doing that well.

As to Gumutindo, Alan spoke of the fact that the government had been handing out copper in one of the areas in which Gumutindo certifies its farmers. He was hoping for Gumutindo that the external inspector would not get to see it. It seems that also with Gumutindo farmers it is difficult to convince the farmers that they should not use it. This is a must for the Organic farmers. More about this in the case study involving Gumutindo and Peace Kawomera.

Chapter 7 Case studies

Introduction

This chapter provides a description of the two village level case studies of the two MECCANs under research. The first is the Namayonyi case study, and covers Gumutindo, Peace Kawomera and Namayonyi farmers - both certified and not certified farmers. The second is the Busano case study, which covers Kyagalanyi, a washing mill employee and certified Busano farmers and some of the conventional farmers who live about 2-3 kilometers away from the Kyagalanyi washing mill in Busano.

7.1 Case Study: Namayonyi

7.1.1 Introduction to the Namayonyi case study

The Namayonyi case study and the interviews have been conducted in the near surroundings to the primary society Peace Kawomera, in the Namayonyi sub county. The primary society is an independently operating farmers' cooperative, and therefore the first part of the case starts with the description of the perspective of the farmers' cooperative on the role of the cooperative in the Namayonyi area, how they regard the farmers, certification and Gumutindo. This perspective is largely based on the interviews with JJ Keki, founding member of Peace Kawomera, and Elias Hasurube, the manager of Peace Kawomera. The perspective of Fiona Nakusi, director/managing director of Gumutindo, is given on Peace Kawomera and their cooperation with Peace Kawomera, which has seen some difficult times in the year before this research. In the second part of the case it is described how the interviewed Namayonyi farmers regard Peace Kawomera in connection to their own development and the community at large, what they know of Gumutindo and the certification of their coffee.

7.1.2 How primary society Peace Kawomera was founded: JJ Keki

As founder of the Peace Kawomera cooperative, JJ Keki is an important person in the Namayonyi area. He likes to talk, about Peace Kawomera, about his own life as a farmer and his connections to the Jewish society in the United States. He knows how to engage people, and in particular uses the idea of intercultural cooperation - which according to him lies at the basis of the cooperative to create empathy with the listener - to create an empathy and willingness to help him in his purpose. This has sorted its effect so far: via the Jewish network he has been able to arrange a lot of external aid for Peace Kawomera - as will be discussed later on in the case.

To create the cooperative JJ Keki '*mobilized the group, gathered all the members, invited DCO [a Ugandan Bank], and talked about a cooperation*'. A treasurer and a chairman were chosen, and the cooperative began to function. Since then the cooperative has grown. JJ Keki has retained an important function, for many years he was elected by the farmers to be a chairman for the farmers. In 2010 he was reelected with a majority vote. He arranges for meetings; that of the Peace Kawomera committee, who meet once a month and in which he represents the farmers groups. He also arranges for the general assembly, which takes place each three months and in which they work on specific topics: '*it is aimed to learn something*'.

JJ Keki is a story teller, and describes that his presence in New York in 2001, with the airplanes which crashed into the Twin Towers, gave him the insight that cooperation between people is very important, it was actually a more practical issue which mad him start a cooperative: the benefits of organized farmers. Before the cooperative came - in 2001 - he explained that coffee was 'grabbed' by the middlemen - the farmers would get Ush 800 for a kilogram of parchment. Now the price the farmers get is 7,000 Ush per kilogram of parchment. It was Gumutindo who formed an inspiration to him '*they were having 3*

(primary cooperatives which Gumutindo started), *and they were already enjoying more than Ush 800 before*. He came to realize that if the farmers weren't organized, they would not *'find'* these markets - the markets which offer good prices for the coffee.

When JJ told the founder of Kulanu - a Jewish non-profit organization in New York which supports isolated Jewish communities around the world, the same who had invited JJ to come to New York - that he had gathered a number of farmers in Uganda and that he had started a coffee store, she told him that she would help to find buyers. Hence, Peace Kawomera came to organize its first buyer in the US.³³

7.1.3 Peace Kawomera and the Namayonyi farmers

Peace Kawomera society manager Elias Hasurube explains even farmers coming from far, up to an area of 60-70 kilometers, bring their coffee to Peace Kawomera. They bring the coffee on their heads, on bicycles. They travel so far, he says, because Peace Kawomera has pays a higher price for the coffee than the middlemen - *'maybe as high as 7,800 Ush'* (per kilogram parchment). Although the price according to Elias is often most important to the farmer (which presents a challenge sometimes to Peace Kawomera), the farmers benefit from the cooperative in many more ways:

- Peace Kawomera provides a market to the farmers.
- prices which they offer are fair, while traders may cheat
- farmers get second payments (bonus paid out of the revenue of the coffee sale)
- Peace Kawomera is close by. The farmers no longer have to bring the coffee to Mbale, before they had to go on foot and by bicycles.
- Peace Kawomera is forming groups, and the farmers are gaining knowledge, farmers are united
- Peace Kawomera provides an opportunity to meet new friend (like you, he says to me).
- The farmers can get money without borrowing (they can get it from 'the circle' or from Peace Kawomera), and then they can plant new trees.

JJ Keki adds to this list that Peace Kawomera has built a store and has been able to build a processing mill. Proudly he adds that Peace Kawomera is the only primary society which Gumutindo to have processing mill. With the other cooperatives the farmers have to process their cherries individually, the registered Peace Kawomera farmers are not charged for the processing at the mill - if the parchment is sold to the cooperative.

7.1.4 Peace Kawomera and certification of coffee

7.1.4.1 Only a part of the Peace Kawomera farmers is certified

Not all of the Peace Kawomera farmers are certified. Peace Kawomera also trades in conventional coffee and other crops, such as vanilla and cotton. It means that a member farmer of Peace Kawomera has a choice what to supply. Elias says that it depends on the interest of the farmer whether they will become certified, *'as long as they follow the rules'*. Some farmers did not become certified because they feared the registration, which includes the counting of trees, because they thought it would lead to higher taxes. So *'some farmers did not cooperate'* (manager Peace Kawomera).

7.1.4.2 Peace Kawomera took the initiative to become certified via Gumutindo

JJ Keki explains that when Peace Kawomera became interested in certification, they got into contact with Gumutindo. They did so because Gumutindo was already certified, and would be able to help them with their certification. At that time Gumutindo did not take on any more primary societies because they did not have enough buyers to take on more members. As Peace Kawomera had its own buyer, Gumutindo agreed to take them on as member. The Peace Kawomera farmers became Fairtrade certified

³³ This buyer is the "Thanksgiving coffee company", a roaster in Northern California. Film about Peace Kawomera and how they became connected to the company can be seen at <http://www.mirembekawomera.com/movie>

immediately, and started on the Organic conversion. JJ explains that the process of organic conversion was not difficult, because to the Peace Kawomera farmers organic farming *'is not a practice, it was already a tradition'*. In 2005 the certified farmers had also become organic certified. Since then Gumutindo started to sell the Peace Kawomera coffee under the Fairtrade and Organic label.

7.1.4.3 Peace Kawomera is an independent cooperative and arranges many of the certification tasks itself

Peace Kawomera is an independent cooperative, and this shows in the organization of the certification. Elias Hasurube, manager of Peace Kawomera, explains that Peace Kawomera is responsible for the conducting of internal inspections and that they keep the records of how the farmers are doing at the office of the primary society. The primary society also buys the certified coffee from the farmers, and has an own coffee grader to check on the quality of the coffee that is brought in by the farmers. A moisture meter is used to check the moisture content in the coffee, if it is too high the farmer has to take the coffee to dry it a little longer. If the coffee grader finds defects in the coffee the farmer has to sort the coffee. It may happen for instance that the farmers put stones in the bag, to increase the weight of the coffee. Elias says that this is a *'clear violation'* of the rules. Under certification the farmers need to take good care of their coffee quality, which includes measures for processing and delivery. Farmers are for instance not allowed to dry their coffee on the bear ground. When the farmers bring the coffee in, Peace Kawomera first checks whether the farmer is certified, and its quality. Then they transport the parchment to Gumutindo.

Peace Kawomera works with contact farmers – Elias explicitly adds *'either man or woman'* - who is chosen by the farmers. Peace Kawomera hands criteria to the farmers and advise them to use when selecting a contact farmer, because *'it should not only be a good person, it should also be a practical person'*. The reason is that the contact farmer becomes part of the agricultural extension services. The contact farmer receives agricultural training - on how to implement farm management practices - and is also taught how to provide extension services (including how to conduct towards other farmers). When farmers gather for the trainings the farms of these contact farmers are often used. The contact farmers do not get paid, but when Peace Kawomera gives out farming tools, the contact farmer gets them first. They are also responsible for the distribution to the other farmers.

Agricultural trainings are given to the farmers by both Gumutindo and Peace Kawomera. Peace Kawomera and Gumutindo arranges for trainings relating to the Fairtrade and Organic farmers together. *'They gather farmers in groups of 25 people and discuss pruning etcetera'*. Peace Kawomera has six field facilitators of its own; they arrange group formation and call meetings separate to those of Gumutindo. In those meetings they discuss together with the farmers how the production and the quality of the coffee can be improved, and what can be done to cure diseases. The trainings which Peace Kawomera field staff organizes is not only for the certified farmers, and as such are organized rather in the general benefit of the farmers than certification only. Peace Kawomera is able to afford these trainings via external aid, as US AID has paid for the 6 field facilitators (more about this in the paragraph on external aid).

7.1.4.4 The role of Gumutindo in the certification of Namayonyi/Peace Kawomera coffee

Gumutindo as secondary cooperative arranges that the coffee certificate is maintained – they control the internal inspection forms of Peace Kawomera, ensure that the farmers are trained on the issues which are not going well yet, and the extension of the coffee certificates via the certification bodies. JJ Keki explains that *'they [Gumutindo] bring the external inspector, from Madagascar'*. Gumutindo pays the costs for the external inspection, accommodates the inspector during the external inspection period, and conducts all the formalities (including dealing with the external inspection report) needed to maintain the certificate holding.

A second thing which Gumutindo arranges for Peace Kawomera is the export of the coffee. After Peace Kawomera has brought the coffee to Gumutindo in Mbale, Gumutindo processes the

parchment to green beans, grades the coffee, and arranges the transport for export. Luke Wepukhulu (certification officer Gumutindo, present during the first visit to Peace Kawomera) explained that the traceability of the coffee is an important part of the certification. He explains that all the steps of the coffee certification are traced and documented - from the farmer to the truck. At the level of Peace Kawomera he and Fiona Nakusi (director/managing director Gumutindo) check the internal inspection forms which have been conducted by Peace Kawomera staff. They do this to keep an eye on the developments with the Peace Kawomera farmers. The coffee which Peace Kawomera has brought in is also checked again on quality, before it is processed into green beans and is bagged and shipped for export.

7.1.4.5 Organic farming or organic certification?

When I ask Elias Hasurube, why he works at Peace Kawomera, he explains that he supports the Organic - *'fertilizers have brought much trouble*. He mentions how children on occasion have mistaken fertilizer for cooking oil, *'many people have died from it'*. So now they no longer use it, they use cow dung and banana leaves instead. Later on he expands this view on organic farming, explaining that organic farming is about *'having a natural system, leaving nature to go its course'*, that natural fertilization should be used, and that chemicals kill micro-organisms in the ground. The focus of Elias when it comes to Organic is this 'organic farming', the abstention in the use of chemicals and using natural fertilization. Little is mentioned about organic requirements for certification (measures on the handling of the processing of the coffee, and management of their coffee trees).

In the replies to the questions on non-compliance Elias mentioned that farmers do not have money to buy chemicals, and that they have seen negative effects of chemical pesticides. *'So they stick to organic farming'*. The only reference he makes to the Fairtrade standards is that the farmers also comply because they know that they will get a social premium - *'the farmers know what has to be done to get that premium'*.

7.1.4.6 Do the farmers comply according to the manager of Peace Kawomera?

Elias Hasurube himself conducts part of the field inspections, which he himself calls "field visits". During those visits he reminds farmers that they should sell their coffee to Peace Kawomera, and he checks on the implementation of the certificate standards using the internal standards list of Gumutindo. On the internal inspection form he documents what happens on the farm, writes recommendations on what the farmers should change, and tells farmers directly what he sees in the *'what you see you tell them, no spoon feeding'*.

Elias says that the farmers comply with the certification, because organic farming is already logical way of farming to the farmers. But in the past there have been issues with compliance. There has been a time in which the government came to the area and supplied chemical pesticides to the farmers. Elias says that the certified farmers know not to use it. They know that if they do they will be disqualified, and that it takes them back into conversion if they do use it (which means 3 years). But it is difficult for the farmers not to accept it according to Elias, especially *'when they are dying of poverty'*. Some farmers may use it anyway.

7.1.4.7 Elias Hasurube: Loyal farmers will sell their coffee to Peace Kawomera

Elias Hasurube tells me that there is competition to buy in the area. There are farmers who are loyal to Peace Kawomera, *'they say: this is my society. I know the society will help to pay for the school, medical bills, mobilize funds'*. Those farmers appreciate the social premium. In Elias' opinion those "loyal" farmers understand Fairtrade. They understand that it is the *'heart of the community'*. *'Another common farmer who does not understand wants cash, is not interested in building society'*. Peace Kawomera does find out what other traders are giving. He explains that the decision to sell is sometimes for short term reasons, a farmer just wanting money, for else he may die of poverty.

7.1.5 Apart from certification of coffee with Gumutindo, Peace Kawomera arranges for much more outside development

7.1.5.1 *Peace Kawomera has generated a large involvement of NGOs via JJ Keki's Jewish contacts*

JJ Keki was very proud that Peace Kawomera was able to offer the farmers in the Namayonyi area a washing mill, as only cooperative which Gumutindo works with for certification. The reason that Peace Kawomera is able to arrange such things is that the cooperative arranges a lot of help from non-governmental organizations. A lot of this external aid comes from the connections of JJ Keki in the Jewish community in the United States. Alan Tulip explained that Jewish contacts of Peace Kawomera in the United States noticed that US AID was not helping Peace Kawomera. After Peace Kawomera started receiving help: US AID has paid for the construction of the washing mill. The first buyer of coffee was also arranged via the contacts in the United States. Further external aid is the creation of 'cooperative circles', which the 'United Religion Initiative' has invested in.³⁴ This organizations of the farmers has drawn in other funds. Elias tells me that the LWR (Lutheran World Relief) have a project in the 'circle'. They train the farmers how to see farming as a business. Further funding for agricultural training has come from Solidaridad and Oxfam.

JJ Keki himself keeps busy with networking with people outside of Uganda. He explains that he receives visitors almost every month. He hosted a group of 12 people in his house, who come and see how he lives: *'they come and ask many questions, work on his garden, they stay a full week, and then they go. "Carpe diem"'*. Last time he hosted six people who came from the United States and who were interested in Peace Kawomera and Fairtrade. He took them to the church and to the mosque, to show them what Peace Kawomera does and what it stands for.

7.1.5.2 *Particularly large involvement of US AID*

Particularly US AID has a large involvement with Peace Kawomera. It extends much further than the paying of the washing mill. US AID has incorporated Peace Kawomera in their Livelihoods and Enterprises for Agricultural Development (LEAD) project, a project which aims to improve the agricultural production practices of the farmers, the post-harvest handling. The project makes use of the farmer field school, a methodology in which farmers themselves deliberate and find solutions for their agricultural issues in the field. As part of the project US AID is paying for six extension workers, selected from different zones which US AID uses in their development plan, who are trained on forming of groups and on agricultural practices. The funding is for five years and includes the work of these field officers. According to JJ the six extension workers are also trained how to supervise each member so that they don't lose the certification. This means that US AID indirectly contributes to the internal inspections which Peace Kawomera conducts for the certification of the farmers.

The groups which are formed by the field staff consist of around 25 farmers. The extension workers discuss the issues which the farmers have, and the farmers learn from each other. JJ: *'when a farmer has had success they also share it in the group'*. Farmers in a group also benefit from the use of tools; JJ explains that US AID has supplied the groups with saws and cutters. The chairman of the group gets them, and if a member of the group needs it, they can go to the chairman to get it. JJ Keki is convinced that US AID will continue to invest into Peace Kawomera and the formation of groups: *'These people who come (US Aid), they continue to organize, there are members who are not organized yet.'*³⁵

³⁴ An initiative in which farmers are grouped into a 'circle', where they pay a fee and create a fund together which can provide them a loan in times of need.

³⁵ The US AID/LEAD project is a project for 5 years, it was introduced to Peace Kawomera in 2008

Not all farmers in the Namayonyi sub-county are in a group. JJ explains: *'you can't survive if you would help all'*. In principle he says that all farmers can join a group, they do not have to pay a fee to enter them. But the farmers themselves can decide to work with an entrance fee.

7.1.6 Certification, Peace Kawomera and Gumutindo: what will happen in the future?

7.1.6.1 Independent attitude of Peace Kawomera towards Gumutindo

Upon the acceptance of Peace Kawomera as a new member JJ Keki told Gumutindo that Peace Kawomera would not only bring their own buyer, they would help Gumutindo to find even more buyers. Although Gumutindo has helped Peace Kawomera with the certification of their farmers, the Peace Kawomera sentiment is that Peace Kawomera is an asset to Gumutindo. JJ Keki: *'from 2004 onwards we sold all our coffee organically, so we have helped Gumutindo'*. It is an attitude which comes with the ability to arrange for funding from outside, Peace Kawomera is not dependent on Gumutindo.

7.1.6.2 Peace Kawomera as business promoter has a broader interest than trading in coffee

According to Elias Peace Kawomera is now a coffee business promoter, changing the image of farmers, making them proud of their trade. They tell the farmers to save up money, so that they can invest money in the coffee, to make coffee farming a business: *'make it so that they have to forget about money problems. Show them that a coffee farmer can be better off than someone in an office in Mbale'*. This business-mindedness is not only directed at coffee. Part of the project funded by the Lutheran World Relief is getting farmers to think like a business farmer -stimulating farmer groups to analyze their farming, to rank the crops. The farmers can then select the best crop, and work on enterprise selection. Certification has brought a change that farmers keep their receipts, and so track how they are doing and enabling to get second payments. The idea to teach farmers to be a business farmer is much more encompassing.

7.1.6.3 Fiona Nakusi (director/managing director Gumutindo) on the 'bigheadedness' of Peace Kawomera

Fiona explains what effect the external funding of Peace Kawomera has done to the relationship of Peace Kawomera with Gumutindo: *'When they got this support, they got big headed, went to do things on their own'*. Peace Kawomera stopped selling parchment to Gumutindo³⁶. Alan Tulip had explained that Peace Kawomera mismanaged their funding, and came under inquiry. They also started to fall short in complying with the Fairtrade standards. Fairtrade focuses on governance issues, the rules on meetings and employment are stricter than that of Organic, as are the rules on farm management, traceability and the governance of the societies. According to Fiona Peace Kawomera this period has lead Peace Kawomera to lag behind on their 'governance'. But this year they have been supplying to Gumutindo again.

7.1.6.4 Weather issues make the future of coffee farming insecure

There are worries about the effects of climate change on the coffee production in the Mount Elgon area. JJ Keki says that environmental changes will lead to a decline in coffee production, that it will become very small even. Then he adds that the year before was a really bad year for coffee farmers, it was cold and rainy³⁷. To counter the effects he and the farmers have been advised to plant trees, mostly shade grown. They (it is unclear who they is, it will involve at least Peace Kawomera) are planning to teach the farmers how to grow bug trees. JJ is not scared that the coffee prices will decline, but is afraid that coffee production will be small in the future. He himself was already focusing on other crops, as part of the

³⁶ This was the year before the research, 2009

³⁷ This was the year that heavy rain caused mud slides. Much of the harvest was lost, and one village perished in a mud slide. In a report on diseases in the Kapchorwa area Alan tulip connects the heavy rainfall to an increase in coffee diseases, destroying large parts of the coffee harvest of the Kapchorwa farmers.

enterprise selection. Gumutindo in cooperation with Twin Trading has done a pilot project on countering the effects of climate change. How it will affect the farmers, as well as the coffee trade, in the future is uncertain.

7.1.7 Namayonyi sub-county farmers

The following part describes how the farmers in the area close to the Peace Kawomera store and factory regard Peace Kawomera, Gumutindo, agricultural trainings and coffee certification. According to JJ Keki every farmer with coffee can join Peace Kawomera, and that every coffee producing farmer in the area is a Peace Kawomera member. Not all of the interviewed farmers were certified however, or in groups, and this has provided a broader perspective on certification in the Namayonyi sub-county. The interviews included one field facilitator, six certified farmers and two not certified farmers.

7.1.7.1 Before Peace Kawomera

Before Peace Kawomera came to the Namayonyi area the farmers would sell to both middlemen as well as the BCU (Bugisu Cooperative Union). One farmer explained that the BCU ‘*brought the prices*’, referring to the fact that they started offering better prices to the farmers, compared to the traders. The BCU also started to train the farmers. The organization ‘*collapsed*’ however, and that is why their prices started to drop.

Many farmers relate positively to BCU and what they have done for the farmers in the past. But the BCU has also brought farmers trouble. One farmer said that the BCU was giving them a hard time in the last years of its functioning in the area, as the farmers would supply their coffee to the BCU but would have to wait a long time before they would be paid for it. According to this farmer Peace Kawomera is different; they give money to the farmers right away.

7.1.7.2 Farmers prefer to sell to Peace Kawomera over middlemen and traders who are further away

Prices of Peace Kawomera are good, they are close by and always open

The farmers like the prices which Peace Kawomera offers for their coffee. One farmer explains that the price for a kilogram of parchment has gone up from 5,000 Ush kg to 7,000 Ush, and adds ‘*it is a good price*’. Another farmer says that she would receive 6,400 Ush for a kilogram of parchment, and now at times it can be 8,000 Ush. The differences in the prices are both related to competition, to whether the farmers are certified and to whether they supply in groups. One farmer explains that he himself grows 20kg, but as a group they supply 200 kg, that is just enough to earn such a bonus. The farmer specifically adds that this bonus can be spent by the farmers themselves, on what they want. Probably he refers to the social premium which Kyagalanyi also gives them, but of which part goes to community development (the Fairtrade certificate premium). It is not only the certified farmers and those in farmers groups however who receive good prices from Peace Kawomera. The farmers who are not certified say that they get around 6,000 Ush/kg parchment from Kyagalanyi. They say that the middlemen prices range from 4,000 up to 6,000 Ush per kilogram of parchment.

Apart from good prices farmers also appreciate that the store of Peace Kawomera is close by. Not only because they do not need to travel with their coffee, also because they can sell their coffee at any time. For the farmers who were selling to the middlemen before, instead of bringing the coffee to Mbale (often the farmers with less coffee will have been dependent on middlemen), it is a large advantage that they can sell at Peace Kawomera now, at any time.

Farmers trust Kyagalanyi, and have a distrust in middlemen

A farmer explains that he sells to Peace Kawomera because ‘*the people at the primary society are from the area, and the prices beat those of the middlemen*’. The prices have been discussed above; they are high compared to the traders. It is not only the prices which make that the farmers prefer to sell their

coffee to Peace Kawomera however, it is also a trust that Peace Kawomera does not only uses the farmers for their own good. As described above farmers appreciate that Peace Kawomera have a permanent settlement which always gives them a place to go to – for selling but also in case of issues with the coffee. It stands in sharp contrast to the middlemen who come by their houses on Boda Boda’s (small motor cycles), buy the coffee, and leave not to be seen again.

The permanent settlement of Peace Kawomera enables the farmers to receive another benefit: the second payment. Traders will not offer such benefits as ‘*they do not come back*’ after they have come to take the coffee. Neither can the traders help when the farmers experience troubles in their fields. When something goes wrong, the farmers are now able to complain at Peace Kawomera. Another farmer also refers to this availability of Peace Kawomera. According to this farmer you can always go to Peace Kawomera when you experience troubles. ‘*They always come with a solution*’.

The distrust in the middlemen extends further than the limited investment of traders. One of the farmers explained that the BCU would tell the farmers that they shouldn’t sell their cherries to traders on Boda Boda, because they would cheat the farmers. This argumentation could have been a smart move of the BCU to secure that farmers would supply their cherries to them, but in other conversations it seemed that there was cheating. And not only in the sense of providing low prices (the word ‘cheating’ is also used by Ugandans to say that the prices offered are ‘unfair’), but also in terms of measuring quantities of coffee. One of the farmers explains that the traders have ‘*bad weighing scales*’. She had her coffee weighed by middlemen, and by Peace Kawomera. The scales of the middlemen showed fewer kilos. Since then she has stopped to sell her coffee to the traders who come by her house. She doesn’t trust them anymore.

7.1.7.2 Confidence in own coffee makes farmer feel stronger in their selling position, which favors Peace Kawomera

Mr. Wadundu used to sell to traders, but now says that the middlemen ‘*make me sell at low prices*’.

One of the reasons that he is no longer interested in the middlemen is because he has come to realize that the quality of his coffee is good. He relates the improvement of the quality in his coffee to the organic farming, but the reason that he is aware of having good quality coffee is because he had tastings of coffee. Now when he has coffee he waits with the sail, knowing that he will be able to sell it: ‘*I know that I am the boss*’. He saves the coffee for Peace Kawomera.

A farmer exclaimed that even if a trader was offering 20,000 Ush/kg, he would not sell his parchment to a trader because ‘*they move away*’.

7.1.7.3 Peace Kawomera builds on the community

The farmers find that Kyagalanyi is good for the community, they build on it. The permanent settlement of the store, the construction of a milling machine which the farmers can use to them stand symbolic for this development. Even one of the farmers who was not certified, not in a group, and was complaining that Peace Kawomera would be good for the richer farmers only, explained that he would sell the little coffee he had to Peace Kawomera because “*we have to develop our community*”.

7.1.7.4 Extra benefits which Peace Kawomera offer lie in the cooperation and group formation

A Gumutindo/Peace Kawomera contact farmer explained that Peace Kawomera works with 11 groups, which the field officers have put together. The groups meet monthly, sometimes twice a month. He explains that Peace Kawomera encourages farmers to work together. In the group they learn together and work together, to bring up quality and quantity of coffee. The farmers who are in the group do not only speak of the agricultural trainings, they also refer to the fact that the farmers have come to work together, which they did not do before the groups were formed. Another farmer has recently become part of a group, and although it hasn’t not started to work yet, but she is expects that they will ‘*develop*

minds’, that she will receive knowledge, to get some good money (farmers supplying together – over 200 kg - get a bonus) and develop their ways of farming.

Although the groups provide benefits to the farmers, not all farmers can be member of a group. It is especially difficult for farmers with little coffee. One of the farmers in a group explained that everyone can be in a group, that the only requirements are that they are a farmer, and that the farmer grows coffee, at least 30 plants. Upon the question what happens to people with little coffee he says that they are allowed to join, but that they have to start planting coffee. The farmers can get these plants for free from Peace Kawomera, if the farmer is registered with the group or with Peace Kawomera. This seems to be problematic for farmers with little coffee and little money – they cannot get into a group without enough coffee, and cannot get help for coffee when they lack money to register with Peace Kawomera. One of the farmers who is not in a group explains that it costs 20,000 Ush to join, or 40,000 Ush even. And then he wonders if it is worth it, because the people who own large farmers get free instruments, while those with little coffee are not listened to.

7.1.7.5 Groups are visited by people from outside, farmers do not always seem to know who they are

One farmer explains that he has been in a group for a long time. He explains that his group started with the ‘Namayonyi society’, which Peace Kawomera took over. The farmer spoke of six Mzungus (whites) who came to a big farmer meeting, with all the groups. These ‘white people’ told the farmers that if the condition of coffee growing and the quality of the coffee was good, the price for the coffee would go up. JJ was there as well, but the farmer has no idea what the whites were actually doing there. He wonders, research? Later on, he also talks about 6 women who came with Hasurube (manager Peace Kawomera). He remembers that they joined in the mosque for prayers. What he remembers is that ‘*they came with Peace Kawomera, in three vehicles; they were not wearing a headscarf when they came to the mosque*’.

Farmer: the group agreed to help each other, ten farmers help one take care of the farm, then the next day they go and work on someone else’s farm.

7.1.8 Farmers and certification

7.1.8.1 Farmers do not know the term Fairtrade

During the interviews most of the farmers did not know of Fairtrade. Fiona Nakusi (director/managing director Gumutindo) explained that farmers often do not know the term ‘Fairtrade’ because it is difficult for the farmers to know what it means – more about management. But, she explains, the farmers do know what a social premium is.

7.1.8.2 Organic farming is equated with not applying chemical fertilizers

When speaking to the farmers about certification they often refer to organic farming. The word Fairtrade they do not use. But it is not necessarily the organic certification they mean by Organic, it is

One farmer explained that he was Fairtrade and Organic certified:
I am not using ‘special fertilizer’, just manure.

often related to farming without chemical fertilizers and with the use of manure. Therefore one of the

farmers explains that it makes sense to *'start working with organic'*, because most farmers do not have money for the chemical fertilizers. In this understanding of organic farming, it does not take much effort from the farmers. As far as Fairtrade is known to the farmers, they will also relate it more to Organic farming.

7.1.8.3 Certification requires work, but it is worth it

The farmers do refer to the work they have to put in the field for the certification (both Organic and Fairtrade, even though the farmers do not use the word Fairtrade). One farmer says that it is a lot of work: *'pruning, putting cow dung, stomping'*, on top of the fact that they can only use cow dung and waste materials to fertilize his fields. More tasks mentioned by other farmers: digging of the plot, drying coffee on a raised platform (after pulping cherries), pruning the coffee. Despite of the complaints, the farmer answered positively upon the question whether it was worth it – it was better for his coffee. Another farmer says that he likes to put in the effort, and that he has done so from the beginning on, because when he follows the advice given in the trainings he gets higher yields. *'My fields are so green, yields heavily'*. This is an important motivation to the farmers, that they see what effects the changes make in their fields. One of the farmers explains that he was one of the first farmers to be certified. He explains that Mayeye (contact farmer) came as a teacher, he taught him about Organic farming. He believed in this man, because the experiments which he asked them to conduct in their fields worked well. Some farmers spoke of cuppings – coffee sampling/tasting – which they had done. They (3) explained that their coffee tastes better if it is grown under the organic standards. One of these farmers now explains that the pulping of only red cherries helped improve the taste of his coffee. Another farmer is convinced that even his matooke has come to taste better. The third When I ask him why, he says that they were told to do so by Peace Kawomera. And, he explains, there will be an effect in the coffee, the taste is different. He tells me that the farmers realized this themselves first, *'when you cook it, it smells different'*. Afterwards Peace Kawomera explained to them why this was so. Also he has discovered the difference in taste of the matooke and banana.

One of the certified farmers says that in the long run organic farming, in combination with cooperation with other farmers, will lead to better yields. He says that the yields are also better when you compare them to the farmers who use chemical fertilizers. Another farmer also says that the certification provides benefits, that the farmers get a good harvest. She herself didn't the year before however, because of the heavy rains.

7.1.8.4 Not certified farmer Waguti Augustin desires to become organic certified

This farmer is at the washing station of Kyagalanyi. He explains that he is not Organic certified because they *'have not reached his home'*. He would like to join however. Now he is missing trainings, prices. He hears from the trainings from the other farmers, and has seen in their fields that their quality of coffee is good. He is already putting some of what the organic farmers do to practice: puts the pulped and washed coffee on the racks. He does sell it to the traders however. The traders give variable prices, 4,000, 5,000, 6,000 Ush, but at Peace Kawomera the certified farmers are getting 7,000Ush. The traders do not help in any way. Once they have bought the coffee they are gone.

Although the farmer does not use chemical fertilizers, he may apply some pesticides. Other farmers advise him not to do so if he wants to be certified. He observed it with one member who violated. That farmer was advised to use organic material – cow dung, to use shade trees, to use planting materials.

One farmer motivates the other to farm organically

During the interview of the farmer mentioned above another farmer walked in. He explained that he was not certified, but would like to be certified. Other farmers had told him about the price of 7,000 Ush/kg for the certified parchment, that there was a higher demand for certified coffee, and that he would get free trainings. He also said to be 'inspired' by organic farmers to farm organically, because he thought their coffee was looking good. He already started to put some of the organic farming strategies into practice even without reaping the benefits. This farmer explained that he was still using chemical pesticides (not fertilizers), but the certified farmers advised him not to do so if he wished to be certified.

7.1.8.5 Critique: means are needed to make the changes required

From the perspective of the farmer it is understandable that they do not like it when they get advice, or are urged to put some agricultural techniques into practice, while they are not given the tools to do so. Many of the farmers do not have money to invest into tools. Although the farmer groups are handed tools, this particular farmer is not in a group, and therefore cannot access those tools.

One of the non-certified farmer who did receive trainings on organic growing of coffee and cacao initially stated that he did not use the knowledge which Peace Kawomera was providing them. Peace Kawomera taught him about the application of manure, but he complained that the farmers are not getting help with applying them. With this help he meant instruments. The farmers groups of Peace Kawomera may receive instruments – such as scissors and hoses – but this farmer was not in a group, so he could not comply. Some farmers do not have enough manure for their fields, which makes it difficult to comply with the advice on fertilization.

7.1.9 JJ Keki is not sure about the benefits of certification and has critique on the standards

With regards to the standards JJ has to deal with more standards issues than most of the small scale farmers. For one, he has many workers, according to him 20-30 (earlier he said 40, but possibly these do not all work in coffee). He asks: *'should I provide them all with a contract?'* JJ is the only one in the region with this many workers, and has so many because he is a business man. He explains: *'because of being a businessman, you need to grow big. Most of the farmers use their coffee for own consumption and education, but I want to drive a car, be able to help people when they are sick, drive them'*. So, he has started a 'business' 3 years before. From JJ's perspective he is helping out the workers already, because they are often jobless and have no land. When he provides them a job, they can *'fulfill their needs at home'*. Also, the people who do not have enough money come to him. The point he is making is that he is already doing much for the Namayonyi people.

7.1.10 The financial calculation on the earnings of an Organic farmer

JJ believes that farmers who choose for Organic comply with the regulations. *'A business farmer is wise'*. But then he starts talking about some of the effects of Organic farming on the yield, and about the business calculations which he made. JJ himself had a small garden. It was producing 2,000 kg of cherries a year. He was advised to stop using pesticides. The first year his yield dropped from 2,000 kilograms to 1,700 kilograms, the second year it dropped from 1,700 kilograms to 1000 kilograms and it eventually dropped to 700 kilogram. Pesticides cost 2,000 Ush. The farmers do not have the knowledge of the benefits of pesticides. The lands of the farmers who use fertilizers and pesticides have coffee trees which give 2-3 kg cherries per year. With organic this is only half a kilogram. Conventional coffee also fetches a price of 7,000 Ush/kg parchment. With conventional there is no organic premium of Ush 200.

But this may be the only thing the farmer misses. It costs about Ush 2,000 to add fertilizers and pesticides. So the farmer wins Ush 14,000 per tree (2 kilo * 7,000 Ush) and loses Ush 400 per tree (2 kg * 200 Ush) His conclusion is that it is better to lose 200 Ush and make a lot of money. Traditionally farmers are organic, but would be smarter not to go for the extra 200Ush. Some members use pesticides, but they are members of Fairtrade, not of Organic.

7.1.10.1 An organic farming is not easy, and it doesn't teach how to deal with diseases which are in the area

JJ Keki also explains that organic farming is not easy. He explains that applying manure does work, but that *'is not something which you go and find'*. The farmers who do not have enough animals need to buy manure from others. Some people clean their homes and sell it, and there is a slaughter house in the area which loads manure on pick-up trucks and sell it to the farmers for fertilization. JJ does not know the price of manure, but does explain that even with money a farmer is dependent on availability of the manure *'you have to wait for it'* as there is no place to get it (no store or some selling point).

There are many diseases in the area. And there are no solutions. Organic teaches the farmers to weed, and other things, and although JJ feels that he did it properly, but diseases came and hit everywhere. The result was that his coffee didn't ripen. He lost a market, stored only 20 sacks (of about 60 kilogram) this year.

7.1.10.2 Consequences of JJ's rationale for certification or not, and coffee or not

JJ has not 'crossed' as he calls it. He has not stopped producing according to the organic and Fairtrade rules. *'But'*, he says, *'when I think of poverty I think of crossing'*. JJ is one of the few farmers with a large farm; he is able to afford workers. He is now thinking about a change, or to have both organic and non-organic, to see which one will 'give him more', so which method earns the most. He doesn't want to tell 'his farmers' - the farmers from Peace Kawomera - though. JJ has already planted coco into the coffee fields. He will stop with coffee if the coco takes over. He has heard that they grow coco in the Ivory Coast, and that they are very rich. JJ says he knows about things, about chances. He explains this to be because he has moved outside of the country.

The reason that JJ does not want to tell 'his' farmers about other possibilities, or that he is thinking he might stop, is that he feels responsible for the primary society, for its whole existence. He asks: *'Are we not powerful, are we not strong?'* He feels that if he runs away everything will collapse; no one will take over and do something powerful there.

7.1.11 Farmers perspectives on the field officers, internal and external inspection, Gumutindo and JJ Keki

7.1.11.1 Field officers

The farmers mentioned a number of activities of the field officers. Many of them refer to the farmers in relation to groups and the teaching of agricultural enhancement. One farmer summarizes that the field officers *'go around farmers, call meetings, to discuss on how to improve the production, quality and how to cure pests and diseases'*, and that the field officers have formed groups of around 25 people to discuss on 'things'. It is not always clear to farmers how this is arranged, or for whom. Another farmer explained that last year April (2010) the field officers last came to her home. Usually they would go into her field to show her *'practically'* what should be done, but this time they came with a *'Mzungu'* (white person). She did not know who the Mzungu was, but seemed surprised that the field officers didn't visit her field this time. It is speculation why, the white person could have been an external inspector, but they usually do walk through the fields to see whether farmers are complying with the certificate standards. This farmer was dealing with diseases in her coffee and explained that she had little left, so maybe there was not use for the field officers to go into her field.

The farmers also know that the field officers come to check on them. One farmer explains that Peace Kawomera comes to correct the farmers when they do something wrong. Another farmer explains that people from Peace Kawomera come to check whether the farmers are really doing 'it'. The farmer does not explain what he means by 'it', but does say that when they come they check the health of the coffee, and they ask questions (like 'we' - my interpreter and I - do) and check the fields.

7.1.11.2 What do the farmers know of Gumutindo?

Most of the farmers do not speak of Gumutindo. Only the three farmers during the first interviews, when the certification officer of Gumutindo was present, spoke of Gumutindo. They were selected by the manager of Peace Kawomera, and were living very close to the store and washing station of Peace Kawomera. It seems that this has brought them into more frequent contact with Peace Kawomera and also Gumutindo.

Mr. Edilisa, one of those farmers, explains that Gumutindo often comes to visit him, also with visitors. Then he tells the people that come how it works at his farm. Last time they talked about shade, that there was enough shade on his farm. He told the visitors why. That there should be enough light, but no heat stress. He stumps the coffee when it gets too old, and prunes them when the amount of cherries the tree produces reduces. He is used to speaking from people from outside, and probably is used a lot as example farmer.

Later on we meet a farmer who is not certified. He also says that he likes Gumutindo, because they give better prices and free trainings. He also explains that when the quality improves there is also a higher demand, and that non-certified traders are exploiting them - like the opinion of most of the farmers. He has been consulted by other farmers (many, he says), who advised him about the organic certificate, that he should join and then will receive benefits. He explains that he has come to understand that when he does not work on his field he will get a low yield. So now he plows in the dry season, to keep the nutrients in the soil. He explains that the BCU the farmers were advised to dig and then leave the field on its own but that Gumutindo has helped them to manage well.

7.1.11.3 External inspection

The farmers that speak of the external inspection are not afraid of it, the external inspection even makes some proud, that it feels good when they check on him and he has '*conformed*'. One of them also explains that it is ok when the external inspector comes because '*he needs to know where the coffee comes from. Visitors are most welcome*' (he explains that this is also in the bible). He also understands that it needs to be done, because it makes that '*the coffee is now guaranteed*', probably referring to the fact that an extension of the certification is needed for the selling of the coffee under the certificate label.

One of the farmers feels that the external inspector comes to check on Peace Kawomera, that they '*come to see whether the farmers receive benefits and whether Peace Kawomera is doing its job well*'. He sees the external inspection as a guarantee for the farmers, and a check on Peace Kawomera.

7.1.11.4 Contact farmer?

Many of the interviewed farmers do not interact with the contact farmer. Some of the farmers have heard of the contact farmer, but have never seen him. One of the farmers who wasn't certified had heard of him, explained that it was something like 'Djidje'. Probably he meant JJ Keki. The certified farmers interviewed a little further away from the store and washing mill of Peace Kawomera say that the contact farmer was introduced to them, but that he never came to help, only a long time ago. One of the farmers who was experiencing troubles with diseases in her field said that she did not try to find help via the contact farmer (nor via the field officers).

7.1.12 Peace Kawomera and extension services: benefits as well as inequalities

7.1.12.1 Agricultural extension services help the farmers with their yields

One of the farmers says that Peace Kawomera has taught the farmers: *'sanitation, not to lose hope and how to take care of the coffee'*. This sentence combines the trainings of certification, emotional benefits, and training on agricultural practices (not necessarily related to coffee certification. Peace Kawomera arranges for trainings broader than the coffee certification alone some of which are unrelated to Gumutindo. Gumutindo arranges trainings like cupping of coffee (which also comes back with the Namayonyi farmers). Similar counts for the groups. It makes it difficult to identify when the farmers speak of agricultural enhancement by Peace Kawomera and Gumutindo for the certification, or trainings which Peace Kawomera has arranged for the farmers via external funding. This can be seen as something confusing, but is not when you take into account that this description is about how the farmers themselves regard the trainings, the certificates, Peace Kawomera and Gumutindo.

An older lady talked about the day that Peace Kawomera came to them to teach. She explained that field officers came with the teachers, and that they gathered at the electricity pole (not too far from her house). This farmer had heard of the meeting through rumors. When she went to the meeting the farmers were taught how to take care of the plants, about trees that could be used to protect the coffee against the wind and she was taught to dig trenches (against erosion). Some information was new to her, especially the information on organic farming. She says that it is good, but that the farmers have their own knowledge, for instance on how to counter erosion. She is not the only farmer who expresses that the agricultural trainings do help them, but that not everything is new. It is slightly confusing when farmers say that they know most of what they are taught, but then start explaining how Peace Kawomera taught them. One of the farmers started to explain that he knew about the management of pests and diseases, and the application of fertilizer (non-chemical). But then he explained that Peace Kawomera had given plants to control pests, and had told him how to do it, and that his life has changed because of the agricultural training. A quite vital example was that he did not consider manure as serious fertilization before, and never had used banana plants in his fields, but that he understands now that shade is important for his coffee.

The segment of farmers who is well off (the three farmers interviewed during the first visit) is happy about all the involvement of Peace Kawomera. One of them exclaimed: *'knowledge is power!'*. Another one of these farmers explains that he is proud of his 'post-harvest management' in his fields. He has come to wash the coffee well and it has improved the taste of his coffee. The farmer has clearly made a connection between the advice of Peace Kawomera and positive effects in the field. It makes sense to him to dry the coffee properly *'so it doesn't become wasted'*.

Lastly, one of the farmers explains that they are not helped by Peace Kawomera, but that they teach themselves. It is very likely that this farmer has been involved with the farmer field school approach (for more information on the farmer field school read Annex 4), in which farmers are promoted to analyze and discuss their farming issues together.

7.1.12.2 Trainings are not only organized for the certified farmers

Even some of the farmers who are not certified can go to the Organic farming meetings. Only one of the interviewed farmers, with very little coffee who would sell to traders as well as Peace Kawomera, said that she did not know anything about organic farming. She did say that Peace Kawomera would call meetings, and that they would sometimes go to. In those meetings they were taught how to fertilize and how to grow the coffee. As this woman was not allowed by her husband to join a farmers group, it seems that she cannot become certified. Another not certified farmer does know about organic farming, and also goes to Organic meetings. This farmer even had a training of 2 days two months before the interview. That these trainings were probably not in cooperation with Gumutindo can be deducted from the fact that it was about organic growing of both cacao and coffee. As it focuses on several crops, this

was likely a training from the Peace Kawomera extension workers. At first he said that he wasn't learning anything from the trainings, but later on said that he did listen to what Peace Kawomera says, because he wants to learn. Even though he is not getting instruments from Peace Kawomera they need to learn.

7.1.13 Giving advice which works gives hope to the farmer, diseases create worries

Two farmers speak of hope which Peace Kawomera has brought the farmers. One farmer explains that this is what Peace Kawomera has taught the farmers: not to lose hope. The other is an elderly lady speaks of hope which Kyagalanyi has brought her. She has come to benefit from the coffee, and she looks hopeful into the future. The reason that she is so positive is that the changes she has made in her field has made her benefit more from her coffee. A measure such as growing banana trees for shade for the coffee now also supplies her with matooke (a type of banana typically eaten by Ugandans). Peace Kawomera has also given the advice to grow '*big trees*'. To her it sounds logical because she remembers that her ancestors also had them. She says that they stopped growing them because of 'the regime'. What is meant by the regime, if it had to do with advice from BCU or to do with the reign of Idi Amin (a Ugandan dictator), is unclear, but she does remember that the trees can provide her with wood. She likes that.

At the same time as this woman is positive about the change which the agricultural practices have brought her, she is worried about her plants, because they are sick. They have been drying up, and she does not know what to do about it. Although she has heard of the contact farmer, she has never seen him. He does not help. Neither did she speak to other people from Peace Kawomera. In the past she used pesticides, because the BCU would supply them for free. She stopped using them when they stopped supplying. This woman was also sickly, and so unable to come to the meetings of Peace Kawomera, because the doctor had told her not to move. She was hoping that her brother in law would represent her in the next meeting, that he would be able to give her the information given during the meeting.

7.1.13.1 Diseases and troubles with farming

There is a range of possibilities of farmers, diseases and the help they do or do not have when they experience diseases in their coffee. A farmer who is not certified, is not in a group and has little coffee explains that they '*gamble*' when they have diseases. This means that they may sell a cow or a goat. Another farmer, who is certified, explains that you have to uproot a tree if it is sick, or call someone to come and do it. According to this farmer Peace Kawomera tell the farmers how to treat the trees against diseases, but not how to treat the insects. He had a vague story about a lady from Peace Kawomera who came to tell them how to spray African natural medicine against pests. The farmer doesn't know who she was; she just directed them to enter the bush and showed them.

Another certified farmer says that he has been trained on diseases. It seems that he knows how to make '*natural African medicine*'. He takes plant extracts, mixes them and applies them: first he takes tithonia, adds tephrosia, and he adds to that chili and ash, puts in in a liquid and in a syringe (it is unclear what tithonia and tephrosia is, possibly certain plants in the local language). He has tested it on Stem borer. He is also in a group in which they brainstorm on diseases and on the management of their coffee. When someone '*has done very well*' in the coffee they discuss how come. They do this around 2 or 3 times a month. There are more farmers who discuss diseases in their groups. One farmer explains that the farmers brainstorm together what to do, and that he has been trained on how to manage most of the diseases. He monitors his plants, tries to plant what Peace Kawomera advises him, and applies materials he is advised to apply.

One farmer is particularly positive on his coffee. Mr. Wadundu says that other farmers come to him to ask for advice, because they are surprised that he is not losing leaves on his coffee trees. To those farmers he emphasizes the on-farm management. He also tries to get them to farm organically, not to use chemical fertilizers. And he says that it has helped the other farmers. Most areas around are not

certified, and most of their coffee has dried up. *'When you use chemical fertilizer and the rain does not come, the coffee is gone'*.

7.1.14 Some farmers mention unequal treatment by Peace Kawomera

7.1.14.1 Peace Kawomera favors its own people for tools – socialism

Not every farmer benefits as easily with Peace Kawomera. One farmer explains that he would like to follow all the advice of Peace Kawomera, but that they need more materials to actually be able to do so. At this point every farmers group (of around 20 farmers) gets one pair of scissors together, which they need to share. He finds that all farmers need to have a pair of scissors. Another farmer says that there are not enough materials to dig, which is needed to make the trenches required to counter erosion. The people in the group get more than farmers who are not in a group, but there is some bitter feeling towards Peace Kawomera because the people in the committee of Peace Kawomera do get all of the materials individually. When the farm tools are supplied to the groups³⁸, the contact farmer gets them first, and farmers have to wait and see when they will get it. The contact farmers tend to give it to their friends first, and not all farmers eventually get to use the tools. It seems that Peace Kawomera favors those people who are in direct contact with the primary society, and that those benefit the people closest to them. This story seems to be backed up by one of the interviewed farmers who was doing very well with his coffee and under certification. He had 10 fields and 4 workers in the field. He was very happy with Peace Kawomera because he did not even have to invest in tools. Another farmer in contrast explained that he wanted to get tools, a saw particularly, but that he did not get it. *'But some got them'* he added. This someone was JJ Keki. What followed was a case of what the farmer himself called “socialism”. He says that JJ gives the tools to ‘bad people’ who do not pass the tools on to others. The farmer feels it is bad, making a reference to JJ Keki his own ideal for the primary society: the farmers are supposed to work together. He does not take these issues up with Peace Kawomera. He explains: *'it is the way it goes in Uganda. Corruption is normal'*. If he would say something he expects that somehow these farmers will get back at him. So, he needs to mind his own business.

7.1.14.2 People with much coffee are favored at the processing mill

Favors are also given in respect to the processing mill of Peace Kawomera. Two farmers explain that even though all farmers get the opportunity to use the processing mill – not certified farmers have to pay 500 Ush/ 3 kg however – the farmers with a lot of coffee get to go first. Or as another farmer explains, the people with much coffee and money, who are well off and have vehicles, get to go first. The people with less coffee, those carrying the coffee on the head or on the bicycle, have to wait. This farmer calls it a disadvantage of Peace Kawomera, especially as there are too little hand pulp machines and the coffee needs to be sold as parchment.

The people who are not certified farmers, and who are not in a group, need to pay 300 Ush per 3 kilograms of coffee. One of the farmers explains that it doesn't help. He also thinks it isn't fair. He heard that the mill was built with money from people from abroad, and that the primary society had initially said that its use would be free for upcoming farmers. He does not find that this suits the idea of Peace Kawomera that they are there for the community. He explains that when the store was built Peace Kawomera said: *'this is our store!'*. Now it appears that they are not there for everyone. This same farmer feels that the field officers only come visit those people with a lot of land and healthy coffee. He said *'you would think PK would help upcoming people, but they only think about the bigger ones'*.

³⁸ Examples of such tools are scissors which can be used to prune, tarpaulins to dry coffee off the ground, spades to dig

7.1.14.3 What role has coffee come to play in the lives of the farmers?

According to one farmer coffee can *'pay the bills'* with the coffee they sell to Peace Kawomera. He himself says that he supplies over 4000 kilograms of cherries, which is very high comparing it to some who supply 20 kg (and are certified via a group). He also has an exceptionally high number of plots, 10 plots with 4 workers, and earns money enough to meet 'basic needs' such as food, clothing, medical bills and education, but also has been able to increase his standard of living. He has been able to pay for the construction of a house, and can now afford different types of food. He then noted that it does depend on how much coffee a farmer gets whether it is possible to pay the basic needs.

The farmers with diseases in their coffee can lose almost all yields. But there are also farmers who are still doing well. One farmer said that the high prices of Gumutindo have allowed him to buy cows – which is quite an investment. Having many fields and coffee trees, and the help in extension services, can make a large difference – if diseases do not strike.

7.1.15 Parchment or cherry?

To the interviewed certified farmers the parchment or cherry question is not an issue – they are happy that they can sell parchment. It allows them to put in extra work, and they get higher prices for it. One farmer even said that he was *'losing money'* when he sells cherries. One of the farmers who was not certified explained that he supplies both cherries and parchment. The cherries he sells when they are short on money.

7.1.16 Farmers on 'outside' involvement

The government is not active in the area, as far as the farmers know. One farmer says that they would come a long time ago, but not anymore. Now every farmer is responsible from himself. JJ has in his own words always been "stubborn" when it comes to politics. Always on the side of the opposition. No one from the government comes and interferes with Peace Kawomera, and he doesn't want them to come. They don't come to "his" farmers. The government did infiltrate the Bugisu cooperative, but they don't know about Peace Kawomera. The primary society has lived for 6 years, but the government has never seen the society and the primary store. JJ is not worried about it, but he is sure about one thing – that he will die and go.

The contact farmer explains that two years earlier US AID/ LEAD provided trainings to Peace Kawomera. *'They came to the bosses, provided trainings on how to manage coffee, stomping, how to control diseases.'* They also introduced the farmer field school, in which farmers can bring topics to discuss, and they discuss among themselves what they know. It is what the farmers refer about in the groups, when they say they work together now. After discussing they also have practical trainings in the field. They have 8 weeks to meet 11 groups. One farmer knows that US Aid/LEAD is involved in the area. One time his group gathered and a teacher from Peace Kawomera came to teach. He brought someone from US Aid with him. Later on this farmer tells me that the processing mill which has been built near to the Peace Kawomera store was financed by LEAD (program of US Aid). He says that it is free to use. You don't have to pay for the use if you sell to Peace Kawomera. If you don't sell the coffee to Peace Kawomera you have to pay.

7.2 Case Study: Busano

7.2.1 Introduction to the Busano case study



The village Busano is relatively close to Mbale, about 20 kilometers away from Mbale. The village lies on the foot of the slopes of Mount Elgon. Visits to the village were made on Boda Boda (a small type of motorcycle) and the driver, Dennis, translated during the interviews. As there are little signposts in Uganda, on the way to Busano we had to stop regularly to see if we were still going in the right direction. We asked a group of 2 men and one woman whether we were almost there. They answered positively. As conventional coffee

farmers who sell to Kyagalanyi, and not further than 5 kilometers away from the Busano store and washing mill of Kyagalanyi, the first part of this case provides a perspective on Kyagalanyi by three non-certified farmers. Then follows the summary of the conversation with the assistant washing station manager and four of the Busano farmers.

7.2.2 Not certified farmers prefer to supply to Kyagalanyi because of their prices

The farmer who talked the most was selling parchment to Kyagalanyi. As Kyagalanyi only accepts cherries in the sale of certified coffee, I concluded that this farmer was not certified. When I ask him why he sells parchment and not cherries, he says: *'it gives good money'*.

According to the farmer both BCU and Kyagalanyi buy coffee in the area. He tells me that BCU is a farmers cooperative, but that they are not doing so well. He explains that *'many people in the region say that BCU is infiltrated by the government and that they are having serious problems.'* In effect they are not really in business at the time. Still, the farmer thinks positively of BCU, noting that *'BCU a long time ago had pulp machines'*. And he particularly likes the fact that it is required to form groups with BCU. Groups which together can sell at least 5,000 kilograms. He says: *'Kyagalanyi does not require groups, but say it is better to have groups'*. The reason that he feels that it is better to be in a group is that it is a way to get free things, that you get to sell both first and second grade coffee on its own price, that you get fertilizers and a hose. He tells me about a farmers group, number 35, called Mototo. But BCU is not working well any more.

Even though the farmer clearly likes BCU, the farmer is also positive about Kyagalanyi. He even *'serves'* Kyagalanyi, because *'there things are easy. You reach, get money, don't have to wait'*. Kyagalanyi also gives free fertilizers, provides gloves, goggles and covers for the mouth. The season before (2009-2010) Kyagalanyi gave the highest price. According to this farmer the farmers in general feel empowered by Kyagalanyi, as they provide them with everything they need - you can sell both cherries and dry parchment to them. When you bring dried parchment they give you some money, and later you can go back to get more. Although it is good to get a second payment, BCU also used to give second payments. In between the selling of the coffee and the second payment, Kyagalanyi *'donates'* gifts. What is better with Kyagalanyi than with BCU is the fact that Kyagalanyi gives money right away, while BCU could take some time. Kyagalanyi does not however give out loans.

7.2.2.1 Extension services?

Kyagalanyi hasn't physically visited them. In the past three years only a teacher of BCU has come, to tell them how to spray, how to dig channels to stop soil erosion.

7.2.3 Busano washing station

Since about 2006 Kyagalanyi has been active in the Busano area. They have built a storage room (where the farmers bring the coffee to sell it to Kyagalanyi) and a washing station - a building with a processing plant and also has a store, where the farmers bring their coffee to sell. The staff at the washing station was not very willing to provide help to find certified farmers, and to take some time to talk even though I had gotten permission from Fred Kafuko (project manager Kyagalanyi) to interview farmers at Busano village. Several times we were directed to farmers, and were told that all of them were certified. When we started to interview the farmers however, it seemed that they were not certified. The farmers gave vague answers, and it was not clear whether the translated term for certification was wrong or whether they really did not have any idea. The last interview I held shed at least some light on the certification issue. It was with the assistant washing station manager. The description of the village case starts with this interview, because it puts things into perspective. It seems that the farmers themselves did not know that they were Utz certified, but that they in fact were certified.

7.2.3 Meeting the assistant washing station manager

The washing station assistant tells me that it is the fourth year that the washing station and Kyagalanyi are in Busano. As a typical straightforward Ugandan he explains that the washing station was built in the Busano area '*because Kyagalanyi wanted to buy coffee*'. So far he says it is going well, the fourth year of buying in Busano has been good so far.

When I ask the assistant washing station manager about certification, he tells me about the system that is in place. When farmers are certified they get a code. There are three extension workers in Busano who conduct internal inspections twice a year, and who register farmers. There is also an external inspection, which takes place once a year. The assistant washing station manager believes that the external inspection is good, as the external people come to interview the farmers, and then the internal inspection report can be compared to that of the external inspector. When there is a non-compliance, there is a violation form and the farmer gets taken out of the register.

7.2.3.1 Utz certification

When I ask him about the certificate itself he tells me that Utz certification is related to the quality of their coffee. It means that they focus on processing a good quality coffee; coffee that is 'good inside'. It is a good thing, as there is a good market for this coffee which pays high prices. For certified cherries farmers get 1,200 Ush, while for conventional cherries farmers can only get 800 Ush/kg.

In the village there are groups called 'producer organizations'. According to the assistant washing station manager all farmers in the PO's are certified farmers, those not in the PO's are not certified. The farmers in the PO's are taught how to handle coffee. The assistant washing station manager tells me that a number of the farmers in the village thought they Kyagalanyi was joking about certification, but he thinks that in a couple of years all of the farmers will be certified.

7.2.3.2 Extension service: farmer field school?

According to the farmer field school project has come to Busano, but he does not know a lot about it '*the field officers have been handling it*'. Later on in the conversation with the farmers it becomes clear that the farmer field school has not started yet in this area. What a farmer field school is can be read in Annex 4. Prior to selecting Busano as case study, Kapchorwa was chosen, because a participant observation of the farmer field school had taken place there. Although the case study now is Busano, the participant observation at the farmer field school in Kapchorwa (where farmers are in conversion to Utz certification) does provide insight into the extension services of Kyagalanyi. Why the farmer field school

was first started in the Kapchorwa area is unclear. A reason could be that the things taught during the farmer field school are well connected to the Utz certificate standards, which focus on the production of good coffee. It could thus be seen as a strategic choice for certification.

7.2.3.3 Local competition is overcome by high prices Kyagalanyi

The assistant to the washing station manager explains that there are some middlemen active in the area. They compete against the washing station, but explain that this is not really a problem for Kyagalanyi because *'with their prices they overcome'*. The other traders do not give second payments and gifts to those farmers who have done best. They do still keep a check on what the farmers are doing, and put effort in the offering of good prices. Kyagalanyi field officers go to the fields of the farmer to estimate their yields, so that they can check whether the farmer has brought all the cherries to them.

7.2.3.4 Kyagalanyi Busano only buys cherries, to keep quality uniform

The reason that they only accept cherries at the washing station is that it is desirable to get uniform parchment. That can only be reached if you use one temperature. The farmers have no facility to handle the premium coffee, for instance they often do not use enough water.

7.2.3.5 Project APEP and chemical fertilizers

A few years before Busano was part of project APEP (Uganda Agricultural Productivity Enhancement Program), a project by US AID. The people from APEP introduced chemical fertilizers in Busano. Now, the assistant washing manager explains, the farmers only have organic fertilizer -at least that is what they are advising the farmers. Putting too much onto the ground is not good. If the farmers do use chemical fertilizers it is a violation.³⁹ The field officers will go to the farmer and warn them not to use it.

7.2.4 Uncertainty whether farmers were certified

As we were told initially that all the farmers in the area are certified, we walked randomly to a house next to the road. A farmer there told us that he was not certified. Other farmers came also and explained that they were not certified. When we walked back to the washing station again people told us that all farmers close by were certified. We took the road in opposite direction and eventually started a longer interview with a farmer about coffee and Kyagalanyi.

7.2.4.1 Certified or not?

To illustrate the confusion, and the eventual conclusion that most of the farmers were certified, first one of the farmers will be introduced. We met a woman at her farm. From the beginning that we started to talk with her, she let us know that she didn't know as much as her husband did about the coffee. Nonetheless she was willing to try and answer the questions I had. According to this farmer she and her husband were not certified coffee farmers. With Kyagalanyi they were earning 1,200 Ush/kg for the cherries however - according to the washing station manager that is the price for certified coffee (for a kg of conventional cherry Kyagalanyi offers 800 Ush). Because the conversation with the washing station manager had not taken place yet I was in confusion - the people at the washing station said that everyone was certified. To gain more clarity some questions were asked which might reveal more about possible certification. I asked whether Kyagalanyi had rules. The farmer replied that Kyagalanyi did not have any rules. When I asked her about contact farmers however, she told me that they come to the farm, to tell them how they can keep their coffee in a good quality. Either they were helping out on general agricultural practices, or they were checking on the implementation of the certificate standards, providing *'on the spot training'*.

³⁹ Utz does not prohibit use of certain chemicals, but does request minimum use and protective gear.

7.2.4.2 Yes, a certified farmer

When Kyagalanyi first came to the village, the farmer explains, Kyagalanyi convinced the farmers to come and meet them. All farmers were allowed to join the meeting. They gave the farmers advice on how to take care of the coffee trees, and advised the farmers to form groups – not below 20. Her husband is in one of the groups, but she doesn't know anything about it. Visits of field officers in concurrence with her husband being in a producer group – I was told that all farmers in the producer groups are certified – now strengthens the idea that she – or rather her husband – was certified. Why she did not know I am not sure of. It is possible that in the interpreter used the word “contract” – as we could for Peace Kawomera farmers, as Gumutindo works with certificate contracts. Kyagalanyi works with a code system, and the farmer may not have linked this to certification. It is also possible that she as the woman in the family does not know about certification. She also did not know what happened in the producer groups her husband was member of. What can be said however is that the farmer was not as aware of certification as the farmers in the Namayonyi area were.

To provide more illustration of why this farmer was certified, although unaware, is a change she mentioned since the arrival of Kyagalanyi. When you sell coffee, she explained, you are given receipts. She then negatively states that Kyagalanyi gives out the receipt so Kyagalanyi can see how much they benefit from the farmers. On the other hand Kyagalanyi is required to document sales under the Utz certification. The handing out of receipts is part of such documentation.

This farmer was not the only farmer encountered who did not seem to realize that she, or at least her husband, was part of the Utz certification. Another (male) farmer did not know of certification. He explained that Kyagalanyi was paying him 1,200 Ush for his cherries - which is the certified cherry price of Kyagalanyi. He also explained that the field officers come to his farm to teach. They show practically what needs to be done, for instance how to prune.

7.2.4.3 One 'conscious' certified farmer

When we return to the washing station for the third time to ask which of the farmers are certified, the people at the washing station point us at a different direction, and to a certain farmer. Initially we speak with a number of very old farmers, trying to find out whether the people from the washing mill meant these farmers. They could not tell us much, so we kept on walking. Finally a man approaches us. He came walking out of a field with very healthy looking coffee plants. He was the first farmer to know exactly what we are talking about – also the word certification - and explains that Kyagalanyi has been training them on certification. They are training them how to look after the coffee nicely – how to do terracing, how to prune, to remove suckers and leave three stems (that gives the best yield). Furthermore he applies organic manure, and at the end of the season he stems the coffee.

7.2.5 Perspectives of the Busano farmers

7.2.5.1 The farmers have mixed feelings about Kyagalanyi, but in general their presence has benefited the farmer

None of the farmers mention any premium of Utz, not even the farmer who was aware that he was certified. All the farmers do speak of the bonus which they get from Kyagalanyi, and the second payment. The farmers know why Kyagalanyi is offering a bonus, one of the farmers explains that ‘*it is used to convince*’. Farmers receive a bonus for each kilogram of cherries they deliver, so it convinces farmers to sell their cherries to Kyagalanyi. It also means however that the farmers will get good money when they work on the quality of their coffee – more coffee is a higher bonus. The first farmer who was interviewed, and who said she didn't know much about the coffee, could tell exactly how the bonus was calculated. She explains that with a good production the price increases – ‘*they count from the last three years, and the kilo's that you have sold to them, and then they give you a bonus*’. Although it is seen as an advantage, the farmer does not completely trust Kyagalanyi – she was the farmer who said that Kyagalanyi was using receipts to see how much Kyagalanyi was benefitting from the farmer. One thing

which takes away the distrust of the farmer is that Kyagalanyi is that the trader pays for the cherries immediately, and also gives balance after some months (the second payment). To him this signifies that the purpose of the company (Kyagalanyi) is to get a good price, not to earn immediate money. Another statement which hinted at the fact that Kyagalanyi may be regarded as more than a trader who just wishes to benefit from the farmer is the statement that Kyagalanyi searches for markets for them. Although this is what Kyagalanyi tells the farmer, it is also exactly what cooperatives do – bulk coffee and find (better) markets for their larger supply.

Although Kyagalanyi pays the certified price, they appear not always to pay the highest price. One of the farmers says that sometimes selling to Kyagalanyi is advantageous, sometimes it is not. Another farmer however explains how his income has risen since Kyagalanyi has come. He would first earn 50,000 Ush in a year (around 17 euro's) for his coffee before Kyagalanyi came, now he earns 200,000 Ush (about 66 euros). Part of this price change is probably due to the trader competition in the area, not necessarily Kyagalanyi. But the farmer who was of the opinion that Kyagalanyi is not always advantageous may have referred not to the price, but the fact that the farmers cannot sell parchment to Kyagalanyi (the parchment issue is described further below).

The 'conscious' farmer explained on a more general level what the benefits of certification have been for the Busano farmers. He explained that farmers no longer have balance loans, and that the money they get is enough. This comment can be contextualized by the previous presence of the BCU in the area, who would not immediately pay for the coffee which the farmers brought in. Consequently farmers had to take out loans to bridge the period in which the coffee was not sold yet. Now no bank money is needed any more. Another benefit specifically to the liking of this farmer – who has money enough to buy fertilizers (also chemical) – is that the fertilizers are cheaper. In general he explains to have gained confidence with Kyagalanyi, that the farmers are earning good money.

7.2.6 Internal inspections and decertification

The internal inspections in general seem to take place as visits by field officers of Kyagalanyi who teach them practically what they should do in their fields. It was explained that the field officers of Kyagalanyi come and prune for the farmers, another farmer explained that they practically show how to prune. The field officers also provide advice about fertilization, especially to the 'conscious' farmer. He explains that if too much fertilizer is used '*they say, no, it is over the limit*'. He explains that they also say that the farmers should use protective gear, but they do not supply it. Logically, only this farmer realized that farmers can be decertified. He explains that when farmers do not apply the techniques which the field officers teach, the farmer can be decertified. This does not happen immediately: '*you have to conform next time, or you are thrown out of the producer's organization*'. This is also what the assistant washing station manager explained: when a farmer does not comply the farmer is thrown out of the producer organization. This will hamper the farmer in the coffee selling, as it is the POs who bargain with Kyagalanyi over the prices.

7.2.7 The extension services of Kyagalanyi are not always regarded as helpful/useful

When I ask the first farmer whether the information Kyagalanyi give to them is useful, she says that she isn't sure whether it helps. She says that they may follow some things the field officers tell them, and some they don't. I ask her when they do listen and when they don't. She explains that they were asked to take out the old coffee tree, while there were still three branches which were giving coffee. As they cannot afford wait for the new trees to start producing they do not follow the advice (it takes around three years before a new tree gives full production). Another farmer says that he does not learn anything from Kyagalanyi. This particular farmer mostly remembers however how BCU and project APEP (discussed below) would help them with the spraying of their coffee. He complains that Kyagalanyi is not helping them with that, and concludes that Kyagalanyi only teaches them what they already know.

The 'conscious' farmer is more positive about Kyagalanyi. He accepts the advice of Kyagalanyi not to use too many fertilizers, and explains that it is important to mulch. He also explains that certification brings the idea to use shade trees, which, the farmer explains, helps protect the mulching.

7.2.8 Most farmers cannot afford chemical pesticides and chemical fertilizers, Kyagalanyi prefers them not to use it

Except for the farmer conscious of him being certified, most of the farmers do not use pesticides. More so because they do not have the money for it, than in lack of wanting it. One of the farmers says that her family has never used pesticides because they have never bought any. As their money is used for clothing, soap, paraffin and in case of sickness, it seems that indeed the money goes directly into the livelihood. Another farmer explained that since project APEP they had not been using chemical fertilizers, and that although farmers could see its positive effects in the field, the farmers '*failed to buy*' - a typical Ugandan way of saying that the farmers did not have money to buy it.

It was Kyagalanyi who arranged for project APEP (a US AID project). Kyagalanyi gathered to farmers for meetings at the washing station. Both men and women would come to these meetings. During these meetings APEP '*brought groups*'. Or in other words, they helped farmers to form groups. They also taught farmers how to mulch and fertilize however. One of the farmers particularly reminisced about project APEP and fertilization. He said that 'they' - the people from project APEP - were providing '*it*' for the farmers. Here 'it' represents is a change in the field; the farmer explained that the fertilizing and the mulching worked. Even though the project was two years passed, he can still explain how to fertilize: you make a hole, fertilize and then cover. When I ask him about protective gear, he says that you can use it if you have it, or use plastic bags to cover your hands. Then he complained that Kyagalanyi was not helping them, because they are telling them to do all kinds of things (mulching, terracing), but they are not even providing them with fertilizers. To this farmer the chemical fertilization and mulching was an important change, and now Kyagalanyi is not helping them. In his opinion Kyagalanyi did not teach the farmers anything new. It is true that Kyagalanyi is not promoting the use of chemical fertilizers (as became clear from earlier conversations with management, and the last two interviews in Busano). Now this farmer resists the 'advice' of Kyagalanyi because it is a long process. It seems that to some extent he was voicing a frustration, and that he was following some of the advice of Kyagalanyi, because afterwards he explained that he uses manure on the soil, and explains that because the soil is different they do not chemically fertilize.

The 'conscious' farmer in the interview referred to NAADS (National Agricultural Advisory Services, a governmental organization). The governmental organization was giving the farmers pigs, so that they no longer have to buy manure. This is especially useful for this farmer because he tells me that he is 'organic' which, he explains, makes the farmers benefit the same amount as with artificial fertilization. He adds that artificial fertilization does take less time, but then explains that you affect the coffee if you use too much fertilizer. He concludes that there is a need to balance the manure and fertilizer. If you balance the two well, you will earn more.

In essence most farmers do not use chemical fertilizers because they cannot afford it. The farmer who can afford chemical fertilizers is advised by the Kyagalanyi field officers to use it as little as possible, under the argument that it can negatively affect yields if it is applied too much. Most farmers do seem to apply manure, but they are not explicitly positive about the effects.

7.2.9 Bonus and Producer Organizations used as means to control the certified farmers

The Producer Organization (PO) is only for the certified farmers, the groups mobilize farmers during the harvest, it brings people together, and the chairman takes the 'burden' to argue over the price. They argue with Kyagalanyi over the price. Whether a price is accepted the chairman decides: '*If we would get 900 Ush, the chairman says "no, BCU gives this price, so we want a higher price"*'. One of the farmers explains that a change which Kyagalanyi has brought is the bonus at the end of the season (in May). But

they also hand out bonuses via the producer organizations: the Producer Organization which has done best receives gifts, such as phones and hoses.

The ‘conscious’ farmer was very positive about the group. He calls the producer organizations empowering to the farmers, as they can negotiate over the price. If prices are low, the group sits together and searches for a solution. On the other hand the groups are not empowering when a farmer is in a group which is not doing well. One of the farmers explains that he *‘feels like collapsing’*, because the farmers group he is member of is not working well. He explains that it has been a long time since they have met. He says that they are no longer useful, because the group cannot decide what buyer they will work with. So farmers do not sell in groups, but individually. He feels that it leads to a reduced price. But the group now cannot decide for the buyer. It also means that he will not get the certified coffee price, because farmers who are not in a group lose their access to many of the benefits which Kyagalanyi provides.

7.2.10 Options to sell to other traders and middlemen are limited

The farmer who feels like collapsing says that there are no middlemen in the area, and that this is the reason that he has no choice but to sell to Kyagalanyi. He used to sell the coffee to BCU, but, he says that BCU is corrupted now, so he is selling to Kyagalanyi. He was clear that when BCU would gain its strength he will sell to them again, because he does not prefer to sell to a trader (Kyagalanyi). Another farmer says, however, that middlemen do sometimes come by, and that they sometimes sell to them. One other farmer explains that when she and her husband sell cherries they will sell it to Kyagalanyi, but when they sell parchment they will sell it in Mbale, because traders there will provide good prices for parchment as well.

7.2.11 Limited choice in the selling of cherries or parchment is disempowering to the Busano farmers

One of the farmers explains that ‘the law’ does not allow Kyagalanyi to buy parchment from the farmers in Busano. Kyagalanyi has told the farmers that the Kyagalanyi store in Busano is not licensed to buy parchment. Specifically he adds “from this side”, because only a few kilometers away Kyagalanyi does buy parchment (where the first interviews of this case study were held). Some of the farmers are able to sell parchment in town. They are aware however that Kyagalanyi keeps track of what they do with their coffee. Still some things weigh against Kyagalanyi. Kyagalanyi does not take the overripe cherries - they reject those - and it means that the farmers ‘loose coffee’ when they have to sort their cherries at the buying station.

Not all farmers have the option to sell parchment. There is need for money to transport the parchment to town, and the farmers need access to hand pulp machines. One of the farmers explains that she and her husband borrow a hand pulp machine from different friends, and as payment *‘you have to give them little coffee’*. The fact that Kyagalanyi does not buy parchment, and there is limited access to the sale of parchment, is disempowering to some of the farmers. This disempowerment has to do with the livelihood strategies of the farmer. Especially when the farmer has a small cherry yield, being able to process it to parchment *‘is a kind of saving’*. The parchment can be stored, while cherries have to be sold immediately. The sale of parchment can wait, and at the right time it can for example be *‘sold at once to meet school fees’*. Having the choice to sell parchment or cherries is therefore something which allows for ‘self-determination’, independence. When the farmers pulp themselves, they can use their own pulp to fertilize their fields.

7.2.12 Divided feelings about Kyagalanyi and empowerment

The interpreter explains that the word “empowerment” does not exist in the local language. To the local people empowerment is means “confidence”. This confidence does seem to play a large role between farmers and Kyagalanyi. It seems to relate to the extent to which Kyagalanyi allows the farmers to be self-determining in their coffee business. Farmers are mixed in their feelings towards Kyagalanyi. Some

explain that Kyagalanyi can provide the farmers with confidence, compared to the BCU who no longer has a market and was not able to pay good prices for the coffee. Kyagalanyi pays for the coffee right away and gives a fair price. Like BCU Kyagalanyi also provides trainings, and importantly the prices and bonuses for good amounts of coffee '*gives the courage to work hard, to get more coffee*'. If the farmers put effort into their coffee, and they get more coffee, they are sure to get more money. The farmers in a producer organization also feel 'empowered' because they are able to bargain over the prices. But they dedicate the farmers groups more to project APEP than to Kyagalanyi.

One particular farmer, the one whose producer organization was not working well and who would prefer to supply to the BCU if they were operating well, was not happy about the effort he had to put into his coffee (the mulching, digging trenches) and the fact that Kyagalanyi did not provide fertilizers. He was also the main person complaining about the fact that he could not sell cherries to Kyagalanyi. He explained that if he would have money he would spray, put manure, use fertilizers, and dig channels. It seems that his limited means and the fact that his farmers group is not working well disempowers him, especially compared to the farmer who is doing well and has healthy coffee. His interest in the trainings of the field officers is limited, he explains that Kyagalanyi teaches them what they already know and emphasized that Kyagalanyi does not teach them how to use chemicals. Another farmer also explained that the advice of Kyagalanyi did not help them, but part of this resistance to the advice of Kyagalanyi also came from the inability of the farmers to comply. Their livelihood did not allow them to make long term decisions; they needed all the cherries they could get so they could not prune.

7.2.13 Farmer field school

The 'conscious' farmer had heard of the Farmer Field Schools of Kyagalanyi. He explained that Kyagalanyi was going to introduce it in Busano. It is not there yet. The farmer field school will further help the farmers to work on their coffee. Annex 4 provides a description of the participant observation of Kyagalanyi conducting a farmer field school in the Kapchorwa area. In short, it is a method in which farmers have to identify deficiencies in the coffee, identify diseases and pest, and identify deficiencies in the management of the coffee in the field where the farmer field school is held. Together they need to deliberate about the solutions to the issues they have encountered. In practice it is still the field officers who provide most solutions, but they do motivate farmers – both women and men – to think for themselves and together to find solutions. They emphasize constantly that the farmers have lot of knowledge themselves, at the same time however they can reinforce what they have taught earlier – for instance that the coffee trees need to be a certain distance apart from other plants and trees, and whether the trees have been pruned well.

7.2.14 Do the farmers know what is made from their cherries/parchment?

When I ask one of the farmers if he knows what happens to the cherries and the parchment, he explains to me that 'Kawa' means coffee. And then he mentions supermarket. There it is sold as sweets, and as coffee spirit. Another farmer does not know what happens to the cherries once they have been sold. She says that they hear from Kyagalanyi that it goes abroad. She has no idea for what. Her daughter shouts out from the back: '*Coffee! To drink!*'

Part IV Analyzing the Namayonyi and Busano MECCAN's

Introduction

In this part of the thesis the MECCAN interactions or two certified Actor-networks are analyzed, to unravel how its actors produce a punctualized Mount Elgon actor-network of certified coffee. The analysis involves two 'levels'. One is the level of the individual actors. A combination between the Theory of Access (ToA) and the theory of Semi-Autonomous Social Fields (SASF) is used to analyze the individual MECCAN-actor perspectives: what are the benefits the actors try to access, or the norms they comply with, when they interact in the MECCAN? And what are the costs which result? The other level of analysis is the level on which accumulated MECCAN actor interactions produce an order stable enough to produce Mount Elgon certified coffee. To research this order, the individual motives for interaction of the MECCAN-actors are aggregated, and analyzed on the alignment of norms and/or benefits between the MECCAN-actors and the strategies and means of MECCAN-actors to maintain the order which is beneficial to them. From the order the roles of the MECCAN-actors which have arisen in this dynamic can be distinguished.

Frame and structure of analysis

During the research a frame has been developed which will be used for the analysis of both individual MECCAN-actor perspective on the MECCAN interactions, as well as the aggregation of the interactions to a certain MECCAN order of interaction. The frame is based on the interactions of the certificate holders Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi. The reason that their interactions are taken as directory to the analysis is that they are part of almost all MECCAN-interactions. They are as it were a center in the web of the actor-network interactions, interacting both on the farmer level, as well as the (inter)national level. Thereby these actors also have much to gain by maintaining the order of interaction which was produced during the research, because part of Kyagalanyi Mbale's trade and all of Gumutindo's trade and export depends on it. Analyzing what they do to maintain the MECCAN-interactions they are part of, in combination with their centrality, makes that other MECCAN actors come to pass, as well as the semi-autonomous social fields of those actors- the contextual basis of the interaction.

Two very general goals have been distinguished, which Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi need to pursue to maintain access to the certified coffee trade. The first is the holding and extension of coffee certificates - Organic and Fairtrade certified for Gumutindo; Utz certified and 4C verified for Kyagalanyi. This allows both organizations to sell coffee as certified coffee. The second is the arranging of supply, and in case of Gumutindo also the demand, for certified coffee. This is necessary to maintain trade. In chapter 8 the interactions of Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi in their MECCANs are analyzed, with on the background these two aims. Because the research focuses on the motives of interaction of all the MECCAN actors, and recognizes the importance of a contextual understanding of norms, benefits and roles produced, every interaction involves a discourse analysis of all actors involved in the interaction. This will reveal individual norms, benefits and costs which play a role within these interactions. Chapter 9 aggregates the norms and benefits which have been found to play a role in the MECCAN interaction, and analyzes them for their alignment and the role which MECCAN actors come to play in that alignment.

8. Analyzing the individual interactions of the Namayonyi and Busano MECCAN

8.1 Certificate holders attempt to produce a MECCAN certificate norm of ‘practical’ nature in their interactions with the standard-setters and the external inspectors

8.1.1 Certificate holders and the strategy to produce a ‘practical’ certificate standards’ norm

Even though Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi benefit from the certified trade, and invest in the maintenance of the certificate holding, from their position in the actor network – with the responsibility to make sure that farmers follow the certificate standards rules – they have the critique that the standards are ‘estate/South America oriented’ and that they are produced by ‘western’ people. Therefore they emphasize the fact that the standards need regionalization. They promote this regionalized norm especially in their interactions with the external inspection and to a more limited extent with the standard setters. They wish to produce a ‘practical’ norm of coffee certificates in these MECCAN interactions, meaning that those standards which in their view do not fit the Ugandan socio-economic practice are left out of the external inspection.

8.1.2 The production of this norm is limited between the MECCAN certificate holders and the standards bodies

Because there are only limited interactions between the certificate holders and the standard-setters, the certificate holders have only limited influence on the standards norm which the standard-setters have produced. It is not only the limited number of interactions however which limit their ‘regionalization strategy’, it also seems to be the negative attitude of the standard setters towards change in their standards – or as it were, against the alteration of the norm which they have produced in their own semi-autonomous social field in the standard-setters’ assemblage. An illustration to this is the ‘fight’ Fiona Nakusi spoke of, a large argument with Fairtrade on the GMO standard, which she found to be irrelevant to the Ugandan context. Both actors were holding on to their own standards norm: Fiona on the regionalized/practical norm (why list GMO crops when there are none in the area, and when non-coffee GMO crops have nothing to do with coffee) and Fairtrade on their norm that for coffee certification under Fairtrade it is important to list GMO crops close to the Fairtrade coffee production. Alan Tulips’ experience with standard setters substantiates the idea that the standard setters have limited interest in the alteration of their own standards’ norms to those of local ‘practical’ reality. His experience with coffee certificates is that standard setters do not take out standards, but will only modify them shows a reluctance of standard-setters to let go of a standards norm once they have produced the norm as being theirs. That standard setters do take over standards of other standard setters, and not from their own experience with farmers and certificate holders in practice leaves the question: how much room is there for the actors in the field to influence the norms of the standard-setters? Given the seemingly limited interaction between certificate holder and standard-setters in the two MECCANs, not much. An exception is standard setter Utz Certified. Not in direct interaction with the certificate holders does Utz certified allow for ‘regionalization’ of standards, but they allow interpretation of the norm by the certificate body. This is why Fred Kafuko says that Utz Certified is regionalizing their standards.

It seems to be dependent on the coffee certificate/verification at hand whether there is room for such changes. In the conversations with Fred Kafuko (project manager of Kyagalanyi) it became clear that it depends on the coffee certificate whether changes are possible. According to Fred the Utz standards were ‘*becoming more regionally specific*’. Utz had organized a workshop during which Fred had been able to give feedback on the standards. Fred was not so positive on 4C verification as many of the 4C standards were western related, and communication with 4C had been difficult. Fiona spoke of a ‘big discussion’ which she’d had with Fairtrade on the listing of GMO crops. She called it a ‘fight’, in which she tried to convince Fairtrade to change this standard, but that they were very stubborn. In

general Gumutindo says that the Organic standards do not provide issues, because organic farming is natural to the Ugandan farmers anyway.

8.1.3 A MECCAN set of standards becomes produced mostly in the interactions of certificate holders with the external inspectors

The interactions of the certificate holders with the external inspectors are more important to the production of a ‘practical norm’. Both Gumutindo’s Fiona Nakusi and Kyagalanyi’s Fred Kafuko showed an assertiveness towards the external inspectors, and explained that it helps to discuss on the certificate standards which they wish to see ‘regionalized’. Creating a local perspective with external inspectors helps leave out those standards they find difficult to apply in the Mount Elgon region, and to some extent they are thus able to produce a MECCAN norm via these interactions.

The external inspection report is another moment in which certificate holders can influence the practical application of the coffee certificates standards. To use Alan Tulip’s terminology (in his capacity as advisor to the certificate holders), the non-compliances that do end up in the inspection report can be ‘softened up’. This softening up of certificate standards did not come up in the interviews with Gumutindo or Kyagalanyi, but as they show assertiveness during the external inspection, they are likely to be assertive also in the external inspection report. What the session of Alan Tulip with Kawacom (Utz and Organic certified coffee exporter also active in the Mount Elgon area) showed is that per non-compliance there is room to reply – not only how a non-compliance can be remedied, but also to explain/argue on ‘local interpretation’ of a standard. The effects of these tactics have not been researched in depth, and therefore it remains unclear how far external inspectors go in their interpretation. It is likely however that in this case – where a lot of non-compliances had been established – any contextualization of the standard is good for the next inspection – maybe the inspector will remember and take a ‘practical approach’. It seems understandable that external inspectors would employ leniency in case of some of the standards, if the certificate holders can explain to them why a standard is impossible to ‘implement’. It does not help anyone to write it up as non-compliance – especially not if this would mean that many certificates could not be extended due to having too many non-compliances. An external inspector will want the certificate to work as well. On the other hand, it will be impossible for them to ignore important non-compliances (such as use of chemicals which the coffee certificate does not allow). Alan Tulip was surprised during the meeting with Kawacom management and staff that the company was not decertified, as they had a severe non-compliance relating to the selling of not-certified coffee as certified coffee. Apparently the leniency of the external inspector can go far.

The role of the certificate standards produced in the two MECCANs is a ‘practical’ norm. This contrary to the idea of standard setters on the role of certificate standards as rules which all need to be applied to maintain access to the benefit of premiums. Utz Certified is an exception to this, because the certification allows for space of ‘practical interpretation’ by certificate bodies.

8.1.4 The preference of the external inspector also produces the certificate standard norms

It is not only the certificate holders which influence what certification norms are applicable in the MECCANs, the external inspector also has an influence on the norm. Partially because some standards do not specifically dictate the meaning of certain terms and therefore have to be interpreted by the external inspector⁴⁰, and partially because external inspectors can have their own preferences or emphasis on what they find are important standards. In her irritation towards the external inspector (during the external inspection described in Annex 3) Fiona Nakusi (of Gumutindo) revealed her dislike

⁴⁰ This became clear in the sessions of Alan Tulip with Kawacom in Annex 7. The external inspector had decided that a farmer had an unregistered new field, but to the standard setters it was one field with a small path running through it.

towards the focus of the external inspector – close calculations of the numbers of coffee bags in store. He was very particular in his focus on the calculation of these numbers and whether they were correct. Alan Tulip also noted that he would focus on particular standards with certificate holders when he would help them get through the external inspection. The norm is therefore also produced by particular external inspectors.

8.2 Certificate holders focus on agricultural change in the interactions with the farmers, and benefits and trust become important factors in the (re)production of the MECCAN interactions they wish to maintain

Gumutindo and Kyaglanayi, and to a lesser extent Peace Kawomera, wish to maintain access to the certified coffee of the Namayonyi and the Busano farmers. In order for this to happen they need the farmers to stick to the certificate rules which are applicable to them, and they need the certified farmers to sell the certified coffee to them and not to conventional traders who are also offering high prices. Gumutindo, Peace Kawomera and Kyagalanyi in part employ similar strategies to maintain these interactions. Regulating access to benefits is important in this strategy. But they are also dependent on the already existing norms with regard to coffee trade and agricultural change which exists at the level of the farmers, and the effect it has on the relationship between these actors. These norms provide a different context for interaction, and reveal how both MECCANs produce their own dynamic of interaction benefits, interaction norms and interaction strategies.

8.2.1 The role of coffee certificates at the farmer level MECCAN-interaction is limited, the interactions are more about agricultural change

Because the Mount Elgon context is as such that there are only a little number of farmers with workers, and that only a few have money to buy chemical pesticides or fertilizers, the certificate standards (as produced by the standard setters) applicable to the farmers foremost comes down to those standards which demand change in agricultural practices. This explains the somewhat strange phenomenon that a large number of Busano certified farmers, and some of the Namayonyi certified farmers, were unaware of their status as respectively Utz Certified and Fairtrade certified farmers. That Organic certification was known to the Namayonyi MECCAN farmers, can be explained by the fact that Organic certification demands large changes in the agricultural practices of the farmers, and that it is demanded by the certificate standard that the farmers know the name of the practice⁴¹. It shows that Gumutindo, Peace Kawomera and Kyagalanyi make limited symbolic use of coffee certificates as a manner to induce compliance. This is contrary to the role the standard-setters portray for their coffee certificate as transparent mechanism of coffee production – that farmers know what changes they have to make because if they don't they risk decertification, and being shut out from monetary benefits. Still, benefits do remain an important part of the interactions of certificate holders with the farmers, because the certificate holders need to provide benefits to motivate farmers to change their agricultural practices. The symbolic role of certificates is thus limited, and the provision of access to benefits by Gumutindo, Peace Kawomera and Kyagalanyi if advice is implemented is an alternative strategy which takes place in both MECCANs.

⁴¹ All the interviewed farmers explained that Organic meant that no chemicals were used in the field, only manure. They also knew how to apply the manure. This was particularly something the external inspector of Gumutindo farmers focused on during his inspection, and what he expected the farmers to know. (see also Annex 3)

8.2.2 Producer organizations are used as alternative mechanism to steer the activities of the farmers, via the regulation of farmers' access to benefits

The Namayonyi MECCAN farmers are acquainted with the term 'price premium'. They are aware that following the rules which Gumutindo and/or Peace Kawomera set them enables them to access a "social premium" (from Fairtrade, but better known for its character that part of it is for the community to spend) and an "organic premium". They are also told that they get these premiums if they supply to Peace Kawomera, and that they come from the 'markets' which Gumutindo is able to access if they follow those rules. The farmers of the Busano MECCAN do not know about price premiums, and are not told that they will access market premiums if they follow certain rules. They do know that if they produce a good amount of coffee they can get farmer prizes, and that their Producer Organization allow them to access high prices if they follow certain rules. It shows that the term 'premium' is not necessarily of relevance to the MECCAN interactions, but that a promise of monetary benefit is important. The farmer relates to practical benefits rather than the quite abstract idea of coffee certification and little price benefits it brings at the sale.

The certificate holders use the producer groups as alternative way to control access to the these premiums/bonuses. It makes the producer organizations membership of producer organizations - via which the farmers can access these extra benefits - an important means of compliance. Especially in the Busano MECCAN, where farmers are largely unaware of the fact that they are certified, such producer organization membership becomes important: farmers are thrown out of the producer organization if they do not make the changes the field officers demand (or as the farmer said: if you do not apply the technique), or change the practices after a warning. Farmers will want to maintain access to the benefits which a producer group brings - given that it is a functioning group. Also however the Namayonyi MECCAN works with producer groups, and it appeared that the groups served as a means to ensure supply of coffee. Only if the groups supply 200 kilogram together are they able to get a premium, and if some farmers stop supplying their group they may compromise the extra benefits for the other farmers as well. Social pressure therefore also becomes part of the producer organization mechanism of compliance for both the following of certification rules and the supplying of the certified coffee.

Both Kyagalanyi, Gumutindo and Peace Kawomera also supply famers in the groups with farming tools, and provide the trainings to these certified groups. In both MECCANs the tools are seen as desirable objects, as they make it easier to follow the agricultural advice given by Kyagalanyi, Gumutindo and Peace Kawomera. Tools function in the same way as monetary benefits, but they bring extra access-dynamics. Often the tools are handed to the key/contact farmer, who can then pass them on to the certified farmers in the groups. This can help strengthen the idea that the farmers who do well can expect more benefits - they get the tools first - but it also produces a side effect. Farmers have their own social networks, and by distributing them via the contact farmers they become part of a networks of farmers who are closely associated to the contact/key farmer.

In context of trader competition, producer organizations also provide an important means to the certificate holders and Peace Kawomera to maintain access to the certified coffee of the farmers

The certificate holders are aware that farmers attach a large value to the prices being offered. They are conscious of the fact that even when they establish a relationship with the farmers, it is no guarantee that they will sell their coffee to conventional traders who come by and offer a good price. Although Peace Kawomera manager Elias Hasurube stated that it was a difficult task to stay 'on top of the prices', most of the interviewed Namayonyi farmers stated that they had such a large connection to Peace Kawomera that they would not sell to others. Little came up in the Namayonyi interviews, only of a farmer with very little coffee who received no extra benefits from Peace Kawomera explained that she would sell to

middlemen. It is likely that community building really does bind the farmers to Peace Kawomera, or that the 'community-building norm' makes them not be honest about it.

The Busano farmers' sense of community building is less strong, and so the pricing is of larger importance. Often field officers and contact/key farmers are used as informant on the prices. A less direct way to find out about prices is the complaint box which Kyagalanyi introduced. Although it was not the main purpose of the complaint box, the complaints were often on the prices which Kyagalanyi was offering, indirectly helping Kyagalanyi to stay informed on the prices which are being offered by other traders. More importantly, the Producer Organizations form an automatic mechanism of control. The Producer Organizations of the farmers in the Busano area help in price negotiations, but at the same time make it easier for Kyagalanyi because they know which price they have to compete against. If there are problems with the prices, the farmers via the POs will tell them about it and enable them to adjust their prices.

8.2.3 To get farmers to change their agricultural practices not only access to benefits, but the production of trust in relation is an important strategy of field officers in both MECCANs

Field officers view the interaction-process via which they try to teach the farmers new farming practices as a long and difficult, because many of the farmers are 'resistant to change'. Apart from the fact that this change is exactly what farmers are trying to get the farmers in motion for, it is also frustrating because the field officers genuinely believe that the agricultural advice can benefit farmers in their harvest and help them develop more livelihood possibilities. This is why they say that a smart, innovative farmer will work with their advice. At the farmers level however, the change of agricultural practice is not such a simple matter - they have to deal with livelihood insecurities. Small holder farmers cannot afford to make changes in their farming practices, unless they are sure that they will still produce enough to maintain a living. It also means that an agricultural change which only reaps effect in the long run - such as the uprooting of old trees and to plant a new one - may be impossible to follow.

Although field officers may get frustrated by the fact that farmers do not easily change their practices, they do know that there are livelihood issues at stake. This is why they use the strategy to befriend a farmers, to become a trustee to their issues in the field. This is a way to gain the listening ear of the farmer, and if the advice they give with a problem the farmer has works, farmers may become willing to alter other practices as well. Specifically the advice to try a technique only on a limited number of plants helps to convince also farmers with little coffee to see the effects of the advice in their own fields. When it reaps beneficial effects, repeating the practice becomes less risky. Another strategy by both certificate holders is to make use of local people to take on the role of field officer; friendship is also more easily made where the field officers come from the area in which they work. In both cases the change of practices is based on trust - trust that the change will reap the effects, and trust in the people who are giving the advice give good advice.

8.2.4 Contextual issue: the semi-autonomous social field of the farmers in both MECCANs favors trust in organizations which have 'cooperative traits', and benefits those organizations with that trust with the supply of their coffee

The cooperative histories in both Namayonyi and Busano area has led to the current discourse of farmers towards traders, which is that they do not wish to sell their coffee to traders who do not care about the farmers after they have bought their coffee. In both the Namayonyi area and Busano area, the Bugisu Cooperative Union lies at the heart of this norm. The cooperative has shown to the farmers that there is a possibility to command higher prices when coffee is bulked, that if trade has been good farmers can receive more money after the season, and that a trader can provide other benefits such as tools to help the farmer develop their practices. In effect, many of the farmers (especially those who have the choice to do so) express that they will not sell to a trader on Boda Boda (the motor cycles often

used for transport in Uganda). From the perspective of the farmers in both MECCANs not every trader is the same.⁴²

The Namayonyi farmers more so than the Busano farmers exhibit a strong sense of 'community' both to each other as well as to Peace Kawomera – to whom they deliver the certified coffee and to whose advice they have to listen to remain compliant. It was JJ Keki, one of their own, who started the cooperative society Peace Kawomera – the cooperative which works with Gumutindo on the certification of the farmers. Since then Peace Kawomera has brought them high prices and development - clearly to see in the building of a storage facility and a washing mill, but also in the form of cooperation and knowledge. Now most of the farmers, except maybe for those with little coffee, feel that they should supply their coffee to Peace Kawomera. They feel the need to do so, because they feel a responsibility to build on the community of which Peace Kawomera to them is part - many of the farmers regard the cooperative as 'theirs'. They therefore strongly feel a 'community norm'. Some farmers claimed even if the prices were lower than what other traders are offering, and even one of the not certified farmers who was complaining about the fact that he was not benefitting from Peace Kawomera as other farmers (certified farmers in groups) said that they would sell their coffee to Peace Kawomera because they needed to '*build the community*'. This contrasts the Busano farmers and their relationship with Kyaglanayi.

Busano farmers do have a cooperative history, but their community does not have a strong social cohesion as in the Namayonyi area. Neither between farmers, nor between farmers and Kyagalanyi. In negatively impacts on both the supply of certified coffee in their MECCAN, because there is no link between supplying coffee to Kyaglanayi, and building on the development of the community. Because Kyagalanyi is a trader, the farmers are unsure whether Kyaglanayi makes choices in their benefit, and farmers are divided in their opinion of Kyagalanyi. On the one hand Kyagalanyi has cooperative traits; the organization provides high prices, second payments after the season, and bonuses. However, Kyagalanyi does not buy parchment from the farmers, only cherries, and it impairs the farmers in their choices of livelihood – not a very cooperative-like trade. The Kyagalanyi field officers have tried to legitimize this buying strategy by explaining that they cannot help it, that it is 'the law' from outside. The impairment which farmers feel is large however, and they do not necessarily trust this explanation. Those farmers who wish to sell parchment, and have the money to transport it to another trader, will do so without regret towards 'the community'.

8.2.5 Different dynamic of norms, benefits, and therefore strategies, of the certificate holders in their MECCAN interactions on agricultural change

What really sets the dynamics of the Namayonyi MECCAN interactions on agricultural change apart from the dynamics of agricultural change in the Busano MECCAN interactions, is the trust which exists in the organizations giving the advice. The Namayonyi farmers were generally very welcoming to the advice of Peace Kawomera, and as far as they spoke of the organization also of Gumutindo. This in contrast to the Busano farmers, who cared less about the advice of Kyagalanyi, preferring to depend and trust on their own practices.

8.2.5.1 Importance of a community norm, trust and benefits in the Namayonyi MECCAN dynamic interactions on agricultural change between farmers and Peace Kawomera

With the character of organic farming – that it initially leads to declines in yield – the trust in the advice of Peace Kawomera, and to a lesser extent Gumutindo, is really necessary to maintain the farmer dedication to the organic practices. The related communal norm also helps: farmers tend to look into the practices of other farmers and discuss practices, so where farmers are doing well under the organic

⁴² Here the cooperative Peace Kawomera is also regarded as a trader, as they are an organization with a management team which pays and works to keep farmers involved in the supply of coffee to them.

practice (higher yield and less issues with diseases) other farmers become, and are more likely to remain, motivated to follow the organic rules. This community norm also helped the first number of farmers through the period of decline in yield; the possibility to cooperative and discuss with other farmers helped them in the continuance of the practice, and apparently trust in the choices of Peace Kawomera was large enough that they still felt that benefits could come. The communal norm also enforces the norm that farmers should remain compliant to the organic practices if they wish to access benefits, because one farmer will advise the other not to deviate. Positive effects in the field reinforce the trust between farmers and Peace Kawomera, and to some also to Gumutindo. Gumutindo makes use of a strategy to reinforce this trust with the farmers that organic farming is beneficial – their cuppings cultivate a positive attitude of the farmers towards their own product, producing a sense of pride and self-determination. This pride and self-determination in turn reinforces the idea that Peace Kawomera and Gumutindo are providing advice which is to be trusted.

The correlation between large communal interaction and benefits of the agricultural advice in the field of the farmers, can also work in the opposite manner when the effects in the field are not found to be so beneficial. JJ Keki expressed doubts about the benefits of organic certification. Via his calculations on organic and their premium, versus conventional farming and a larger harvest and no premium, he came to conclude that conventional farming would pay off better, even after deducting costs for the fertilizers and pesticides. As founder of Peace Kawomera and as representative for the farmers JJ Keki has an important position in the community, and if he would change his organic practice to conventional it is possible that other farmers will follow his practice. Just as farmers doing well under certification can help other farmers in their motivation to farm organically, JJ Keki could come to demotivate farmers, especially if they would follow his rationale on the benefits of organic farming.

7.2.5.2 Semi-autonomous social field between farmers and Peace Kawomera in which the community norm is socially enforced?

Not only farmers feel that they need to invest in the community and that they can do so by supporting Peace Kawomera, also the staff of Peace Kawomera itself believes in this importance of community building. The manager of Peace Kawomera, Elias Hasurube, distinguished farmers between those farmers that are loyal, and those that are not. To him those farmers that do not sell their coffee to the primary society do not understand its value. As farmers regard the traders that do not invest into the farmers as traders who only want money for themselves, so does Elias regard the farmers who do not sell their coffee to Peace Kawomera as farmers who are only interested in cash. Elias explains that the ‘loyal’ farmers see Peace Kawomera as an organization that is theirs. ‘*The loyal farmers say “this is my society. I know the society will help to pay for the school, medical bills, mobilizes funds”.*’ The fact that many of the farmers, even those not accessing all the benefits which Peace Kawomera was providing, felt this norm means that there has to be some sort of social enforcement mechanism in the Namayonyi area. This does not extend however to farmers with little produce. Their access to benefits which Peace Kawomera provides is limited (for instance the farmer who would be interested in seedlings but could not easily access it), but also the interest of the community in these farmers is limited – they have little to offer.

7.2.5.3 As the community norm is less strong in the Busano MECCAN, the dynamic interactions on agricultural change depend much more on the provision of material benefits, and the production of the norm that putting work into the coffee can provide access to these benefits

Most of the Busano farmers did not express a large interest in the agricultural knowledge which Kyagalanyi was providing them in the agricultural trainings. Part of this negative attitude towards the farming practices which Kyagalanyi promotes is the absence of a norm which says that following those practices will help the farmer and their community. As explained before, the norm of Kyagalanyi as

organization which works in the interest of the farmers is impaired by their unwillingness to buy parchment from the farmer. But also the Busano MECCAN also lacks the cooperative attitude of the farmer – there is less attention of one farmer to the other, and less exchange of ideas on farming practices. As trust plays a limited role, the visible effect in own fields become more important, and preferably visible effect on the short term. An illustration to this dynamic is project APEP (project on agricultural enhancement, arranged by Kyagalanyi via US AID), in which the farmers had been taught how to chemically fertilize. One of the Busano reminisced this period and remembered mostly how he had witnessed changes in his fields immediately. Now such an expectation of a farmer – that advice will show positive effects in the field immediately – stands in the way of the promotion of other agricultural norms which reap effects only on the long term. It is a difficulty for Kygalanyi because much of the agricultural advice is on post-harvest management such as pruning, which only reaps positive effects in the long run. Trust in Kygalanyi is also lessened because their advice now is opposite to that given in project APEP: limit the use in chemicals. This limited trust and belief in the advice of Kygalanyi means that the adoption of the agricultural practices they propose needs to be promoted in another way. This is where the offering of benefits becomes of central importance to the Busano MECCAN dynamics in interactions on agricultural change.

Kyagalanyi uses a strategy in which they establish a norm that putting effort into the management of the coffee fields will reap benefits to the farmers. Farmer prizes for farmers and their producer organizations are used to motivate the farmers put effort in the management of their coffee. The Busano farmers were sensitive to this approach; most of the farmers then referred to the possibility to get bonuses, and explained that if they would work hard they could earn more money. It seems therefore that Kyagalanyi is successful in the production of such a norm with the farmers. It does not necessarily mean that the farmers implement all of their agricultural advice, but at least the incentive to change practices is there. If the agricultural practices they promote in the field reap similar successes as they did with one of the more successful farmers in the Busano area, the community may come to a larger acceptance of Kyagalanyi. That would benefit their access to the certified coffee of the farmers, and make the changing of agricultural practices a lot easier.

It was not in Busano but in another village, close to Kapchorwa and further up Mount Elgon⁴³, that another strategy of Kyagalanyi became apparent: a field with very healthy looking coffee right next to the road leading up to the processing plant. This field is used to show the farmers that Kyagalanyi knows what they are doing. That it reaps effects became clear in an interview with one of the farmers who lived a little away from the area in which Kyagalanyi was active (Annex 5). Even though the village in which Kyagalanyi was stationed was far away from her, she was considering delivering to them because she had seen how healthy the coffee was looking ‘*up there*’. She hoped that Kyagalanyi would come to help her as well, but was afraid that she would not be able to catch up on their quality.

8.2.6 Certificate holders' common strategy to ensure supply of certified coffee: providing access to extra benefits to farmers with a lot of coffee

A strategy of Peace Kawomera as well as Kyagalanyi to secure coffee supply is the pleasing/rewarding of farmers with large quantities of coffee. Peace Kawomera provides farmers with larger amounts of coffee with better access to the washing mill, and better access to tools. Similarly the key farmers of Kyagalanyi get first access to tools and the bonuses befall those farmers who are able to supply the most coffee. In the interviews in both case studies, it was the farmers with a lot of coffee who were the most positive about Peace Kawomera/Gumutindo (both) and Kyagalanyi. So it seems to work.

⁴³ I joined Kyagalanyi there on a Farmer Field School trip.

8.2.6.1 Cost of the strategy is borne by the other certified farmers who are shut out

A number of 'smaller' farmers in the Namayonyi area spoke of 'socialism' (referring to the way in which tools would be distributed) and felt it was unfair how Peace Kawomera was treating them compared to the farmers who were doing very good in coffee. Farmers with little coffee would have to let the farmer with large quantities of coffee, the richer farmers, first. They did not express however that this was a reason to stop supplying to Peace Kawomera. As other traders do not provide any benefits at all, the choice is easily made. The Busano farmers did not refer to Kyagalanyi favoring other farmers. Social cohesion could be found in producer groups, but apparently the farmers are not so much connected to each other yet that they feel disfavored if other farmers receive more than they do.

8.3 Access of Gumutindo to certified coffee via Peace Kawomera is limited as Peace Kawomera does not always play the role of 'primary society'

Gumutindo works with Peace Kawomera under the assumption that the cooperative plays a role as 'primary society'. However, Peace Kawomera is an independent organization with an independent management team which runs its own course. Certified coffee is a part of their business as a farmers cooperative, but they also work with conventional coffee and other crops. Moreover the role which the cooperative has produced for itself is that it needs to be a business organization, which makes decisions on the basis of benefits in the business. This is why Gumutindo for a while did not benefit from the supply of Namayonyi farmers via Peace Kawomera; the cooperative found business elsewhere. Because Peace Kawomera mismanaged funds, they have renewed their interactions with Gumutindo, which secure to them at least good prices and access to certified coffee market. So now they play the 'secondary society' role again, allowing Gumutindo to help them get back in line with the management standards of the Fairtrade certification.

The relationship between the two actors remains unstable. Peace Kawomera still works with external funding, and has development projects which advice enterprise selection: selecting the crop most beneficial to the farmers. In the case of JJ Keki this enterprise selection was taking hold, both in his calculations whether organic certification was really beneficial as well as his interest in cacao as new crop. So it remains to be seen what happens when new development opportunities present itself. This is not a far off scenario, as Peace Kawomera has been able to access many external beneficial relations because of the Jewish network which JJ Keki is part of. On the other hand the past has proven that Peace Kawomera does need Gumutindo in the organizational aspects to maintain coffee certification. So, the relationship depends on whether certified coffee will remain a good business opportunity for Peace Kawomera.

8.4 Maintaining certified coffee trade via export-related interactions of the certificate holders

This research did not focus on the demand side of the MECCAN, because it aimed to know what was happening locally. However, the interactions of Gumutindo with the exporters, and for Kyagalanyi the demand and influence of the office in Kampala, does have effects on their interactions that take place in the Mount Elgon area. For instance the discrepancies in supply and demand can provide severe problems for Gumutindo/Kyagalanyi, affecting their interactions with the farmers. For certification they ask the farmers to invest in their coffee, with a promise that the farmers will be able to sell their coffee as certified coffee and under certified prices. However, they are dependent on the demand for the certified coffee (as well as the money they have) to be able to buy the coffee.

8.4.1 Gumutindo builds on personal export relations, in which the Fairtrade certification is very important

Gumutindo since its start has worked in close cooperation with Twin trading, a trader based in the United Kingdom, who trades directly with producer groups in the global south. Twin Trading has helped Gumutindo to get other buyers, for instance by sending a proposal to EZA FAIRER HANDEL GESMBH certified organic products). The latter organization became interested and is now a customer. Other customers of Gumutindo are (GEPA German Fair Trade company) Cafedirect, Trade Aid. These are all organizations which wish to sell coffee directly from producer organizations, and they do so under Fairtrade or Fairtrade and Organic labels. Twin Trading aids Gumutindo as organization, arranging not only for more buyers but also money for a project on resilience to climate change.

As to any trader/exporter of coffee the maintenance of the quality of the coffee is important. Gumutindo has a special division in the organization which focuses on the agricultural practices of farmers which can enhance their quality.

8.4.2 Maintaining quality is important for the export relations of Kyagalanyi

The importance of good quality for Kyagalanyi can be directly related to the Utz certification which they work with. The Utz certification has as main slogan: “good inside”. If Kyagalanyi would not work on the quality, it is likely that the Utz would not be able to extend their Utz certificate. Kyagalanyi also has an institutional dependence to the head office of Kyagalanyi in Kampala. If they cannot supply the coffee grades which the head office demands, it will also have negative consequences for the organization in Mbale, and the jobs of the people who work there.

8.4.3 Certificate holder general strategy: conducting (part of) processing themselves to ensure quality

Part of the processing of the coffee Gumutindo and Kawacom take care of themselves. They own processing mills in which they make green coffee out of parchment, and have the possibility to select the good quality parchment themselves and to grade it. This part of the processing is not a task which the farmers themselves are performing or have performed in the past, in contrast to the processing of cherry to parchment. Gumutindo works with the Fairtrade philosophy that farmers have to do as much of the value addition as possible. Kyagalanyi has processing mills in the villages which perform that task. They say that delivering cherries pays off to the farmers, because the farmers get a good price for the cherries and do not need to put in the extra work. However, it is also a strategy which matches the objective to maintain the Utz coffee certificate – which focuses on quality issues. Kyagalanyi is thus better able to control the quality of the coffee, but Gumutindo works with Fairtrade buyers who wish farmers to conduct as much as the production process as they can.

Although Kyagalanyi benefits from the good quality in their trade due to this strategy, and has more control over the Utz certification quality standards, the relationship with the farmer suffers from this strategy, because the impairment of the livelihood choices of the farmers affect the trust they have in Kyagalanyi. This can lead to a limited supply of certified coffee and a limited willingness of farmers to listen to agricultural advice of Kyagalanyi.

8.4.4 Maintaining markets via new coffee certificates is tricky as it is unsure whether investments in the new coffee certificate will pay off: new coffee certificate, benefit or burden?

Uncertainty would be the key word in the interaction between the local certifier and a new standard-setting body. The local certifier does not know whether the investments they will have to make pays off. Will the standard-setting body listen if their standards are not well applicable to the Ugandan context, will there be a market? So, will it work? Will the investment pay off?

For Gumutindo a question of profitability came up in respect to the Korean buyer. The external inspection which I joined was by an external inspector who was operating for this Korean buyer. The Korean buyer was bringing an own certificate. Their political dependence to engage with this investor is

less directly present than Kyagalanyi in the case of 4C, although it could have been financially necessary. This Korean buyer was demanding many extra investments on the side of Gumutindo – a separate supply line to that of Organic and Fairtrade, many farmers had to be inspected (which is on the cost of Gumutindo). Fiona was not sure that all these troubles would pay itself back in the supply, especially as they were for now only demanding one container of coffee. Gumutindo now has to weigh the extra requirements (creating a local supply chain separate to that of Fairtrade and Organic; only limited new market) to the benefit (a new market).

Kyagalanyi Mbale had been advised/pressured to start with 4C verification⁴⁴. Now Kyagalanyi Mbale had started the process of verification, without being sure that it will benefit the organization. The costs associated with 4C verification at this point seemed high for Kyagalanyi Mbale – large number of inapplicable standards, difficult communication with 4C (including Fred Kafuko having to demand for external inspection himself). Benefits seem to be little, because 4C does not have a market (Fred Kafuko). Alan Tulip also had its doubts whether 4C was going to work for Kyagalanyi, because 4C does not have a market for their coffee, nor does the coffee certificate provide extra benefits built into their system of coffee certification.

In general the benefit of a new coffee certificate to Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi will indeed depend on price premium or a market. Having no market for certified/verified coffee makes the chances of the certification/verification limited: where does the coffee producer get their benefit from which stimulate them to maintain access to the label? Having a premium or not may make a difference, but if a certificate – like Utz – provides a large market, this can provide a trade advantage large enough for a certificate holder to benefit. But the success of a new certificate is also dependent on the external support which comes with it –for instance the payment of verification by outside actors and extra external funding options, may make a coffee certificate more attractive even if the benefit does not come from the market itself. The costs to certificate holders also depends on whether the certificate/verification standards place large demands on farmers, on tracking and tracing (as with the Korean buyer for whom the external inspector visited Gumutindo, Annex 3), on whether the external inspectors are willing to interpret standards, or disregard some of them.

8.5 External influences and (un)intended negative consequences of strategies influencing the MECCAN dynamics of interaction

8.5.1 Heavy trader competition limits benefits of certificate holders, but due to the MECCAN dynamics more so for Kyagalanyi than Gumutindo and Peace Kawomera

Alan Tulip explained the investment of the certificate holder is not always profitable to the certificate holder, especially given the investments these actors make on extension services and the control of the farmers. As the agricultural practices of these farmers improves, their coffee quality improves and the coffee becomes interesting also for the conventional traders. Because the certified farmers have no contractual obligation to sell their coffee to the certificate holders, conventional coffee traders can access their coffee. As conventional traders can offer high prices for this better quality of coffee, Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi risk losing the investment they make in the certified farmer.

⁴⁴ There are two story lines which explain why Kyagalanyi has started 4C verification. According to one of the field officers this was advice which came from “higher up”, and it means that Kyagalanyi Kampala has requested it. According to Alan Tulip the idea for Kyagalanyi to be 4C verified came from someone from US Aid who had been previously involved with 4C. It can also have come from Volcafe, the coffee procurement network of which Kyagalanyi is part and who pays for the certification. Volcafe itself is 4C verified and it makes sense that they wish their suppliers to be 4C verified as well.

Both certificate holders expressed a fear of these conventional coffee traders and the prices which they offer to the farmers. Exacerbating circumstances in the Mount Elgon area are diseases which are affecting the Arabica coffee yields. Because there is little coffee, especially towards the end of the season when the traders have to compete over the little coffee that is left, competition increases and the prices which the certified traders have to offer are very high. In the Namayonyi MECCAN however, the farmers have a loyalty to Peace Kawomera, and the earlier discussed community norm forms a social control on the farmers and who they supply to. Kyagalanyi does not benefit from such a relation in the Busano area.

8.5.2 The large dependence by Kyagalanyi and Peace Kawomera in their MECCAN interactions on external aid provided by US AID makes that many MECCAN interactions and their dynamic depend on continued access to this aid

Both Kyagalanyi and Peace Kawomera are able to provide extension services – including trainings, tools, processing mill and store – because US AID funds them. As explained before such material benefits are important to the interactions of these organizations with the farmers, not only for the control of the farmers but also in the maintenance of trust in the interactions. An issue with large dependence on such external aid is that it can run out. It could be said therefore that both Namayonyi and Busano MECCAN exist because there are external funds involved. For now Fred Kafuko of Kyagalanyi is very able in the accessing of these funds, and the Jewish connections of JJ will not disappear. But these organizations do have to invest time and money in such activities and relations to maintain the access to such funding.

8.5.3 Governmental aid to the farmers can be a cost for certificate holders

In the past government intervention has involved the handing out of pesticides and chemical fertilizers, to help the farmers in their fields. This was done via the BCU, but also occasionally after the BCU came into trouble. Although the Kyagalanyi farmers are allowed use of some chemicals under the Utz certificate – as long as protective gear is used, the Gumutindo/Peace Kawomera farmers cannot if they are Organic certified. Elias Hasurube, manager of Peace Kawomera, however felt that little could be done to stop farmers from using the freely distributed chemicals if they experience troubles in their fields and their livelihoods are at stake. According to Alan certificate holders sometimes look away, especially when the certificate holders have only found out right before the external inspection. It means that the government can distort the compliance to the standards on use of chemicals. On the other hand the government supplies seedlings to the certificate holders, and these can use the seedlings to increase the farmers' yields and to provide them more benefits.

8.5.4 Strategies of Gumutindo, Peace Kawomera and Kyagalanyi can lead to a stratification in the community

In both MECCANs it was the richer farmers with more coffee who were extremely positive on agricultural changes in their fields, and who said expressed that they would follow the rules of the field officers. As explained before, they have better opportunities to try out the new practices which allow their certification – and thereby to access the benefits which Gumutindo, Peace Kawomera and Kyagalanyi offer the certified farmers. Another way in which stratification comes about is that not all farmers can access the producer organizations, via which farmers are certified. In the Busano MECCAN one of the causes was a dysfunctional producer organization, in the Namayonyi area groups worked with fees and a minimum amount of coffee trees to be allowed to join.

The stratification of farmers is not only unintentional. In both MECCANs it appeared that the farmers with good quantities and qualities of coffee were better aware of their status as certified farmer. It seems that the certificate bodies inform them about certification in a larger context (that it is useful for the coffee trade, that it provides premiums because farmers comply), because the farmers need to

understand that they need to comply with the certificate standards to maintain the overall certificate holding and trade of certified coffee. As these were also the farmers who clearly stated that benefited from the agricultural effects of certification in their field, decertification is a term which makes sense to them: they will feel the risk of losing access to these benefits if they do not comply. It also seems that these farmers receive more benefits than farmers with less coffee. In the Busano area for instance the farmers get quantity bonuses - farmer prizes for the farmer who brings in the most - and in Namayonyi area the farmer with more coffee get first access to washing mills and it seems their closer connection to Peace Kawomera gives them closer access to farming tools.

In the Namayonyi case one of the farmers used the word 'socialism' to describe this preference of farmers with large amounts of coffee. Because the cost of certification to the farmers are limited, and benefits to at least the Namayonyi farmers with little coffee is still high enough, this does not become an immediate problem of trust between these farmers and Peace Kawomera and/or Gumutindo.

9. Order produced by the MECCAN-interactions

Introduction

This chapter aggregates the norms, benefits, costs and strategies of MECCAN-actors which have been revealed in the analyses in the previous two chapters, and analyzes the MECCAN order which these produce. It searches for the alignment of norms and/or benefits of different MECCAN actors, the costs which can stand in the way of the alignment, and the production of MECCAN-actor functionalities (roles/reactions which have come to exist between the heterogeneous MECCAN-actors) in which a longer term relationship is assured. The chapter is divided into the discussion of the Namayonyi MECCAN order and then continues to the Busano MECCAN order. The MECCAN actors who are part of the Mount Elgon area –Gumutindo, Kyagalanyi, Peace Kawomera, Namayonyi farmers, Busano farmers – are central to this analysis, because it is mostly their interactions which make the MECCAN order one specific to the Mount Elgon area.

9.1 Ordering of the Namayonyi-MECCAN

In general the Gumutindo-MECCAN orders depend on their ability to interact a new certificate functionality with the external inspector

When it comes to the maintenance of the certificate standards, the interactions between Gumutindo management and the external inspectors make that the certification works, even though not all coffee certificate standards are applied as according to the coffee certificate should be done. It means that the rules of the certificate standards become negotiated rules. To what magnitude this negotiation takes place with which certificate cannot be said on basis of this research, but that it does take place is sure. The negotiation has worked so far, there has not been a suspension of the coffee certificates.

Of specific importance for the Namayonyi order is the relationship between Gumutindo and Peace Kawomera

The fact that many of the standards come down to registration by Gumutindo and their primary societies, means that much of the certification in the Namayonyi area comes down to Gumutindo and Peace Kawomera- and their relation. It provides a great instability in the Namayonyi MECCAN order, as Peace Kawomera regards itself as business organization, and it mismatches the idea of Gumutindo that they should act as a primary society. During the research Peace Kawomera had just rediscovered one of the benefits of the relationship with Gumutindo – a certainty that the maintenance of the relation provides them with price premiums for the coffee. But it has come in the context that access to external funding has become less stable. So, Peace Kawomera is willing to work on the certificate management standards again. Both benefits and functionalities have been re-alignment. However, with continued arrangement of agricultural projects outside of certification, and the search for other markets in the context of enterprise selection, the question remains how stable the relation is. For how long will the benefits be aligning?

At the farmer's level both material benefits, mechanism of access to benefits, as well as the community norm are of relevance to the MECCAN order

The farmers may not all know that they are certified, they do know the benefits which Peace Kawomera supplies them. Mostly importantly it does not bring them very large costs. They have to alter some farming practices, and some of the social and environmental standards (providing a contract and terracing against erosion). Although there is some resistance, and the farmers themselves do not share

the same norms as the coffee certificates do (for instance that a contract is needed to help social development), the farmers generally do feel that the work is worth it - they receive high prices and most can get access to farming tools via Peace Kawomera. Benefits on top of the strong community norm makes supply of coffee to Peace Kawomera very secure. It does mean that in the interaction-order the supply of farmers to Gumutindo is again dependent on the relationship of Gumutindo with Peace Kawomera - not necessarily the farmers.

When it comes to the agricultural changes which the farmers need to make under the Organic certificate, the application of manure may present a problem, as well as the initial decline in yield. It may make it impossible for especially poorer farmers to comply. Because the community sense is strong between the Namayonyi farmers, it helps that some farmers and their fields physically show the possible benefit of organic farming. When the struggling farmers see that they have better yields and healthier coffee, they can more easily maintain motivation to bridge the period. (Whether this is attributable to organic farming remains unclear in this research, but both attitude of complying farmers and the field officers - including one of Kyagalanyi who does not need to certify the farmers organic - does make it seem very likely that it benefits yield and health of the coffee.) Why also farmers who do not benefit from better yields do comply to the certification rules, is that it helps them maintain their benefits. The access to benefits of the certified groups is only maintained when the rules are followed, so the farmers feel that they need to comply to the rules. Maintaining access via the groups is a stronger motivation than the threat of decertification. This is why the field officers do not function as 'enforcer of certificate rules'. Field officers in capacity of extension worker/helper serves the community norm, and build on the relationship of Peace Kawomera with the farmer.

The demand side for at least Fairtrade coffee seems to be a secure factor in the order

As far as possible to say from the information gathered during the research, it seems that Gumutindo has enough demand for at least Fairtrade coffee to be able to maintain coffee trade. The relations of Gumutindo and the buyers are based on the joint norm that traded coffee should be Fairtrade certified, and as long as Gumutindo maintains the certificate holding the trade is likely to continue. The demand side of the MECCAN remains stable.

The supply-side is dependent on the relation of farmers with Peace Kawomera, and Peace Kawomera and Gumutindo respectively, that is the order

When it comes to the supply of certified coffee from the Namayonyi area, there is more uncertainty. Peace Kawomera - who arranges large part of the certification in the field with the farmer - has a different norm to that of Gumutindo: they are a business organization who wishes to develop farmers, not a primary society who works for Gumutindo and who truly believes that coffee certification is a way to make more money. The meaning of the coffee certification is not the way to trade to Peace Kawomera, but 'another option' for agricultural trade. Not necessarily the best option to the farmers, as many standard setters do believe. So, this interaction is of temporary certainty only. When Peace Kawomera stops investing into the management of the standards, the small-holder certification in this area is endangered (it was for Fairtrade certification). It makes the order insecure.

Important in the relation of Peace Kawomera with the Namayonyi farmers and certification, is that they are able to arrange funding for training, staff (for formation of groups and agricultural trainings) and for facilities which make it easier to maintain coffee quality. This role of Peace Kawomera as facilitator of change comes to benefit certification. This role towards the farmer maintains the trust of farmers in Peace Kawomera as community builder, and it benefits organic farming as the trainings arranged via external funding are based on organic farming. What has to be noted here is that it is easier for farmers with more coffee and more money to comply - they receive the most benefits (for instance access to the washing mill and access to tools, network of help) and have the money to comply with the

rules. This ‘socialism’ doesn’t seem to affect the supply to Peace Kawomera, but it does increase differences between opportunities of Namayonyi farmers.

Gumutindo and difficult certification decisions: benefits and costs do not always match, making it difficult to produce an order

The questions on beneficially of a new coffee certificate well shows how costs of certification to Gumutindo may not match the benefits. So, it is not only Peace Kawomera who acts as a business organization, Gumutindo also has to do so. If Gumutindo does not benefit enough from their interactions with the Korean buyer with its private label, they do not align and the relationship is not formed. It means that there will be no new MECCAN via these interactions.

9.2 Ordering of the Busano-MECCAN

The Utz norm of quality aligns with Kyagalanyi’s norm

The Utz certificate standards largely focus on the improvement of quality in the coffee – via processing and some via the agricultural practices of the farmers. Kyagalanyi is in line with this focus, and has been enabled to arrange processing facilities via external funds of US AID.

A new ‘practical’ norm becomes produced in the interactions with Kyagalanyi and the external inspectors, the function of Utz Certified as produced by the standard setter favors this production and therefore the order

Like with Gumutindo, Kyagalanyi negotiates over the norms, altering the certificate standards to match what they feel is useful for the practice of the farmers. As Utz Certified allows for more regionalization than other standards (such as 4C verification standards, or Organic and Fairtrade), and negotiation between certificate holder and certificate body to allow the norm to adapt to the local circumstances aligns. Some standards will remain issue of debate, but the Utz certified adaptability is good for the MECCAN dynamic order and is a better relationship than for instance that of Gumutindo and Fairtrade, who have to ‘fight’ over issues.

As Kyagalanyi had just began 4C verification it is unclear how this will work out, but it seemed that Fred Kafuko, project manager Kyagalanyi, was fearing the 4C standards, because he found many of them lacking a match to the Ugandan circumstances. It will take effort to build a relation which helps regionalize standards – whether in a formal way or via negotiations with external inspectors. The fact that Kyagalanyi Mbale did not choose to start this verification itself is in itself not a problem for the MECCAN order, because the standards are formed by basic requirements, an internal control mechanism already exists because of Utz certification, and Volcafe pays for the verification. Nonetheless, Kyagalanyi Mbale has to invest time and money further on to maintain the certificate, and is unsure whether this will benefit them in the sales – without a premium. Whether the verification will last in the Kyagalanyi MECCAN dynamic remains to be seen. For the Busano MECCAN it has not become an issue yet.

As long as Kyagalanyi remains access to external funding by US AID, Kyagalanyi can offer benefits to the farmers which is the most important in their interactions with the farmers

What is of great importance to the MECCAN order is the funding of US AID. The funding contributes to a large range of investments Kyagalanyi has to make to maintain their Utz Certification: training of farmers, the internal inspection, maintenance of quality needed under the Utz standards. As part of the Busano interactions these activities are important to build on the relationship with the farmers, which is necessary for compliance to the Utz certificate standards (not known as such to many of the famers) and

the supply of the farmers. As long as US AID keeps on investing money into agriculture, and believes Kyagalanyi is using the money well, each couple of years new funding will be arranged. During the research Kyagalanyi was able to arrange for new funding from US AID for the farmer field school approach. In general Fred Kafuko is very creative in the arranging of the fund, and Kyagalanyi Mbale is doing well, so at least for the near future there is no reason that US AID would stop investing. When it comes to the role of benefits, and benefitting, money is of great importance in the relationship between Kyagalanyi and the Busano farmers. The Busano farmers do not have a community sense as strong as in the Namayonyi MECCAN, and therefore Kyagalanyi needs to offer good prices, bonuses and second payments to both build on trust (also that the farmers come to trust the advice of the field officers) and secure supply. Good prices work on this trust because those symbolize to the farmers that this trader works for the farmers, as well as itself - it could be said that the norm that the farmer should benefit from trade of the coffee align.

The role of agricultural benefits plays a small role. Even though a limited number of farmers were interviewed, most of them did not cheer about the agricultural teachings, or talked about positive effects in their field. It means that Kyagalanyi depends on other mechanisms than positive enforcement in the field to get farmers to implement their advice. Producer organizations - farmers groups who supply certified coffee - are an important means to control farmers. By giving out benefits in the producer organizations, and throwing farmers out of these organizations if they do not comply, the farmers will implement the rules to maintain access to the benefits in the group. A less harsh strategy is to stimulate farmers to put effort into their coffee by rewarding those farmers who do it, and do well. The farmers are sensitive to the 'work in coffee - you get more money' norm, and it means that in the future compliance to the Utz rules will be more easily maintained through this mechanism.

From this research it cannot be said to what extent certificate standards are complied to by the Busano farmers. What can be said is that Kyagalanyi so far has maintained the certificate. In the future, if Kyagalanyi's business stays well, and they are able to maintain the monetary benefits they provide the farmers via the producer organizations, this MECCAN order at the Busano level is likely to be maintained. Perhaps in time the trust in Kyagalanyi by farmers will grow, and a more stable relationship is produced which strengthens some of the interactions in the MECCAN order.

The strategy of Kyagalanyi has inhibited the livelihood strategy of farmers with little other trading opportunities, but they do not depend on these relations for the maintenance of the MECCAN order
It is mostly the farmers who benefit less from Kyagalanyi - for instance with a producer organization which does not run well, or with too limited amounts of coffee to get bonuses - who feel disempowered and are disinterested in the rules which Kyagalanyi sets. They bear the costs of Kyagalanyi's permanent presence, as they do not get the choice to sell parchment - if they want to continue supply to Kyagalanyi and receive benefits.

The farmers with more coffee, sensitive to the idea that access to these benefits can be lost are however of greater importance to Kyagalanyi (they are able to supply more) and in their relationship there is an alignment of benefits, and resulting an alignment of norms, which keeps the certification interactions more stable. They also have the costs of not being able to use chemicals as much as they want, but if they see positive effects in their fields they will not mind eventually. Like in the Namayonyi MECCAN, it is the richer farmers who more easily benefit from certification - via bonuses. Although it cannot be said to what extent the bonuses are paid from certification money (Utz premium is limited, but the market is large and growing) or from the external funding. Also in this MECCAN order these funds are intermingled, both needed to maintain the current Busano MECCAN order.

9.3 Future of the MECCAN interactions?

9.3.1 Particular issue for the Namayonyi MECCAN interactions: the Fairtrade social standards are costly to coffee farmers with workers, as the Namayonyi farmers develop these costs may become an issue to maintain farmer compliance to certificate standards

Fairtrade social standards do not place a large demand on most Namayonyi farmers because of their small holder farming. For instance, on a small plot there is no need to hire workers, and many of them cannot afford them if they would. The limited number of farmers who do have workers however, are more affected in their coffee business – for instance having to supply them with a contract. One of the Namayonyi farmers who was in this –exceptional – position did not understand he had to provide for his workers. He explained that there was not a lot of work to be found in the Mount Elgon area, and that people without money and land are very happy to get work. According to his view he was already helping these people by offering a job, which the farmers were happy to have.

As there are little farmers with workers this as of yet does not present a large problem for the certificate holders. Still, from the objective of the certificate holder there are a number of scenario's which are not too positive. If this farmer feels that this is too much asked, he might stop certification and Gumutindo loses a large quantity of supply in coffee. If the farmer continues under the certificate but does not comply, the external inspection and the coffee certification may be compromised. If the farmer does pay the cost for the contracts, there could be negative social consequences nonetheless, for instance if this farmer stops to hire workers because it becomes more costly. Depriving Ugandans from the rural area from jobs badly needed.

9.3.2 Uncertainties for agriculture and agricultural change in the future

As the Mount Elgon coffee farmers are affected by diseases in their coffee, one of the questions for the future of coffee production in general, and that of certified coffee production in particular, is whether the farmers will keep on investing into their coffee. In the Namayonyi MECCAN some of the interactions depend on the belief that organic farming is good for the quality of the coffee and will help against diseases. One of the three farmers who was well off emphasized this positive effect of organic farming. JJ Keki on the contrary, said that his fields were affected by diseases, and he was also an organic farmer. The future will show how coffee diseases develop in the area, and whether it forms an impairment to the agricultural motivation of the farmers.

Conclusion

The use of the three theories in this research has amounted to a dynamic understanding of what coffee certification ‘does’ in the Mount Elgon region, for two Mount Elgon Certified Coffee Actor Networks. The word ‘does’ is related to the fact that interactions specific to the actors involved in these MECCANs produce their own dynamics, and the order of interactions through which a supply of Mount Elgon certified coffee is maintained can be traced back to the individual purposes in the interactions. The search for these dynamics – the individual purposes of interaction, and the production of a dynamic order – has come from the actor-network theory. The theory of access and theory on semi-autonomous social fields have enabled the unraveling of the interaction-dynamics from an actor-perspective, by unraveling norms and benefits which lie behind the interactions of the heterogeneous actors. Understanding how benefits, costs, norms and strategies produce a MECCAN-interactions order, has helped to find fixed roles and relations within the MECCANs. Those roles and relations enable a determination which actors benefit how from the MECCANs under research. This approach has resulted in the following dynamic conclusion, of how order in interactions of two MECCANs has produced its own particular coffee certification dynamic:

After the initial exploration of the Mount Elgon area, certified coffee production and the actors involved, it soon appeared that the certificate holders Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi are like spiders in a MECCAN web of interactions. Their need for the continuance of certificate coffee trade has placed them in a position where they interact with many of the MECCAN actors, in search of maintenance of their small-holder certificate holding and the continued supply of- and demand for certified coffee. In principle the coffee certificates spell out the activities small-holder certificate holders need to conduct to maintain the certification. However, it is the interaction with the actors who are part of the certification actor-network which actually determine how the certificate holders need to conduct to maintain the certificate holding and supply. The order which has come to exist in their relations with other MECCAN actors has proven to be dynamic and unstable, with the following results as most important to that order:

Limited symbolic meaning of coffee certificates, importance of access to benefits as mechanism for compliance

Following the interactions of Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi in the respective villages in which they certify farmers, it becomes clear that coffee certification is of limited symbolic meaning. Decertification is a term hardly used with the farmers, although does take place if a farmer repeatedly does not comply. To the farmers certification is mostly about following the rules which the certificate holders set, and getting money and benefits in return. If following rules helps them access benefits, they may be willing to follow them. To the farmers coffee certification is not about fair trade – better social and environmental conditions – but about rules and benefits.

Although decertification is not often used as argument that farmers should comply, a similar access-benefit mechanism can be found in the use of the certified farmer groups. In the Busano area the farmer who did not comply with Kyagalanyi’s rules could be thrown out of their producer groups – taking away access to benefits such as tools, premiums and bonuses. This will work similarly in the Namayonyi area. Losing certification to the farmers does not mean loss of certified coffee trade, but loss of the benefits they get via their producer groups.

Importance of a community norm and trust, next to benefits

The socio-economic context of the Mount Elgon farmers – small holder farmers, use of family labor, too limited budget for chemicals – make that these ‘rules’ for the farmers (the coffee certificate internal standards, from now on called “certificate rules”) mostly relate to the agricultural practices of the

farmers, and good management of their fields. Certificate holders Gumutindo and Kyagalanyi invest in trainings on these issues, and supply certified producer groups with farming tools. These benefits are not necessarily enough however to motivate farmers to comply. For one the Mount Elgon economic context is as such that the prices traders offer for certified coffee can be very high, because they are willing to pay for good quality coffee. Secondly, farmers do not just accept new farming practices, especially when they have little coffee and their livelihood depends on what happens to that coffee. The field staff of the certificate holders explain that a relationship needs to be built with these farmers, so they will listen. As became apparent in the two villages it is indeed a relation which shapes farmers acceptance of the rules. If there is trust that the agricultural practices which the certificate holders promote will serve the coffee of the farmers well, they are more open to change than if there is not such a trust. It shows in the Namayonyi village, where trust of farmers in Primary Society Peace Kawomera was higher than in the Busano area between Kyagalanyi and the farmers. The Busano farmers expressed a limited acceptance of the advice of the Kyagalanyi field officers, while the Namayonyi farmers were wanted advice from the field officers and were much focused on the organic way of farming to maintain their 'garden' (way the Ugandan farmers call their land).

Trust also appeared to be an important issue in the maintenance of supply by the farmers to the certificate holders. A historically grown normative perception of the farmers in both villages, is that coffee should only be sold to those traders who bring the farmers development. A norm based on reciprocity, which preferably goes farther than giving fair prices. The traders have to be able to show a cooperative mentality. Between the Namayonyi farmers and the primary society Peace Kawomera (who conducts part of the certification process in cooperation with Gumutindo) such trust existed. In this village there was a strong sense of 'community', and belief that Peace Kawomera was good to the farmers and their development. This norm is beneficial for the supply of certified coffee, as farmers feel that they need to sell coffee to Peace Kawomera, to enable them to continue on the development of the community. This contrasts to the Busano farmers and their relationship with Kyagalanyi. The Busano farmers felt that Kyagalanyi was offering good prices, but they did not always supply to Kyagalanyi because at times they wished to sell parchment instead of cherries. Kyagalanyi under its quality strategy only wants to buy certified cherries – it saves them the control and risks in processing. They also pay for this choice because it limits the farmer in the livelihood strategy, thereby not showing a cooperative mind. Farmers who have money for transport supply their coffee to a trader in Mbale who does accept parchment. Price premiums are not enough.

This shows that the relation between a certificate body, or cooperation who they work with, and the farmers for both 'implementation' of the certificate rules as well as the securing of supply, trust is an important factor.

A community norm between farmers is also important for the certification in the Mount Elgon area

A strong sense of 'community building' also influences the way in which farmers demand compliance from each other. In certified producer groups a minimum amount of coffee needs to be supplied to the certificate holder (this is 200 kilogram for the Namayonyi farmers) to get a price bonus. If there is strong cohesion the farmers will keep an eye on each other, because they depend on the supply of other farmers to get the bonus. Farmers who do not comply with the rules, or who do not supply via the group injure other farmers. That a whole group can suffer when the norms in a group do not align became clear in the Busano case. The group couldn't decide on the buyer – probably Kyagalanyi or another. Apparently the cohesion between farmers and between farmers and Kyagalanyi was limited, that they could not come to the conclusion that the coffee should be sold to Kyagalanyi.

In the Namayonyi area the social cohesion serves an important purpose to the organic farming. Farmers who do well under organic farming – both in yield and with respect to diseases – are an example to other farmers how organic farming can help their yield. It can help farmers get through the

initial period of decline in yield, also the fact that farmers can discuss what goes on in their field together. It did not come out of the research, but it probably makes farmers feel that they have some sort of control over the agricultural process.

Stratification on the level of the farmer, because of the dynamic MECCAN interactions

Certification in the Mount Elgon context offers farmers better chances, but the way in which the certificate holders maintain the certification in the field also leads to stratification. It is often the richer farmers with more coffee who can most easily access tools via the producer group. In the Busano area farmers receive bonuses and presents for a large supply of coffee, it is the richer farmer with more coffee plants and larger fields who can access these bonuses. In the Namayonyi area Peace Kawomera favors the richer farmers with larger supply when it comes to the use of the washing mill - farmers with less coffee have to wait. Richer farmers more easily access benefits, also those which help them to follow the certificate rules (for instance if they get first use of washing mills and do not have to use hand pulps to get their coffee pulped, or get first use of scissors to prune plants).

When it comes to following of the certification rules, richer farmers are also in a better position - they can try out new practices, demanded by the field officers, without risking their livelihoods. This is especially important when it comes to the organic certification, and the decline in yield in the first few years of organic practice. They are therefore better able to comply with the certificate rules and maintain the benefits they get via the certificate holders/Peace Kawomera. It has to be noted that the Namayonyi there are projects, such as the circle, which enable farmers to get a loan (from a fund which the farmers themselves have set up). Farmers who can be part of such a circle can help each other through the period, without having to use of bank money. Also coffee plants are supplied, but again it is the farmers who are part of groups (sure to sell their coffee to the certificate holders) who have access to such a benefit.

Certificate benefits alone are not enough to maintain MECCAN interactions

The flow of benefits which are so important to maintain the interaction dynamics which exist in both MECCANs, it is not certain whether certificate dynamics alone are able to maintain the dynamic. Certificate holders need to invest in certification, and according to Alan Tulip the returns of the certified coffee market do not necessarily cover those investments. With high trader competition the prices premiums do not necessarily make that the certificate bodies can offer higher prices than conventional farmers - who can save their best prices for the farmers with good quality coffee, the certified farmers. In both MECCANs external aid plays a large role to maintain MECCAN interactions, both in terms of extension services as well as non-monetary benefits which maintain relations between certificate holders and the farmers.

Dynamic MECCAN interactions, and so coffee certification, depend on external aid

It is especially US AID funds which are (indirectly) very important to maintain the MECCAN interactions. Peace Kawomera and Kyagalanyi both received large funding from which they have been able to provide agricultural trainings to farmers, form producer groups, and build processing equipment. These benefits are an important contributor to the relations between the farmers and the certificate bodies, and also pay for a large part of the internal control system because trainings incorporate certification rules, and field visits of field officers paid form these funds also allow for the internal inspection of the farmers. Although Kyagalanyi and Gumutindo also get aid via the certificate networks (Kyagalanyi via Solidaridad, Gumutindo via the Fairtrade network/Twin Trading), on the basis of the people spoken to in this research it seems that external aid projects have a much larger impact.

Namayonyi MECCAN: Certificate benefits do not always tempt the primary cooperative Peace Kawomera

On purpose Peace Kawomera is referred to here as a ‘cooperative’ and not a ‘society’, because Peace Kawomera functions more as an independent organization. It is a farmer’s cooperative which regards itself as a business organization, not an extension piece of Gumutindo. Since Peace Kawomera has been able to access many external funds, they felt that the relation with Gumutindo did not pay off enough to make up for the investment into certification. Now that Peace Kawomera is less secure in external funding, it retakes its role as primary society of Gumutindo. It shows that from the perspective of a farmers cooperative, with a business attitude, the benefits accessed via certification (and how it is arranged in the Mount Elgon area) are not always high enough compared to other trade opportunities. It also shows that Gumutindo may put in the work, but supply is not always secured under a certificate label – because the benefits can at times not be high enough. The relation between Gumutindo and Peace Kawomera in the MECCAN order is thus limited, and the functionality of Peace Kawomera in the order is unfixed.

Altered functionality of coffee certificate standards

To maintain the holding of certification, the meaning of the certificate standards as produced in the semi-autonomous social field of the standards bodies becomes reproduced/interpreted in the Mount Elgon interactions. As interpretation of standards by certificate bodies under Utz certification is allowed to some extent, formally the change in norms is allowed. But there is a line, because the norms in the coffee certificates need to be reached to a large extent – interpretation can only go so far. When it comes to the interaction on standards between Gumutindo and the external inspector there is an informal alteration of the standards, because those which are deemed impossible to arrange seem to be disregarded.

Fred Kafuko, project manager Kyagalanyi, explained that the inspectors of Utz ‘knew’ him. What he meant by this is that the relationship with the external inspector was as such that they would listen to his argumentation on standards and the Mount Elgon context of small holder farmer coffee production. The relation between Gumutindo and the external inspectors seems to be more formal. It results in having to ‘fight’ over standards. This formal relationship costs energy to Gumutindo if they wish to get changes in a standard which they find inapplicable in the Mount Elgon area. With Kyagalanyi there were doubts about the 4C verification standards and the people of 4C: many of their standards do not match the Mount Elgon context, and communication with people from 4C is difficult. It is a recipe for trouble with standards in the future, if interaction on the certificate standards is difficult with the people of 4C.

Future developments can seriously impact on the MECCAN orders

Whether the order of the two MECCANs will remain in the future depends on many contextual factors. Not necessarily in the Fairtrade, Utz or Organic, as it seems that their market is growing and certificates in the current order are maintained. 4C verification determines its own future, if it is able to make investments pay off it will be maintained by Kyagalanyi, if not 4C will probably stop to take part in the Kyagalanyi MECCAN (Busano at time of research was not 4C verified yet). More worrisome for the future are the diseases which are striking the Mount Elgon area. They potentially corrupt faith in new farming practices, and they can cause dramatic declines in yield. Especially when weather issues continue impacting on the area (such as 2010 floods). With fewer yields, fewer farmers will be able to maintain access to certified trade, which requires a minimum amount of production by farmers groups. It may also impact on supply-demand, if there is not enough coffee to sell.

Because the external aid in the two MECCANs is so extensive for the existing MECCAN order, the order will be dependent on the external funding to continue to be maintained. Misconduct in the

case of Peace Kawomera has caused some insecurity on these funding, and it is unclear whether Peace Kawomera would be able to maintain the arrangement of the internal control for certification if it would fall away. Similar goes for Kyagalanyi, however they have good trade and have not been found displacing funds. The funding will probably remain for the organization if US Aid keeps on investing in agriculture of the Mount Elgon region.

Lastly, particular to the Namayonyi MECCAN are the development programs of Peace Kawomera which focus on farming as a business. If Peace Kawomera comes to find other business more beneficial, and farmers come to invest in other crops than coffee (because they are more attached to Peace Kawomera than Gumutindo), the interactions of Gumutindo and this region will not be continued, destroying the Namayonyi MECCAN order and the production and trade of Namayonyi certified coffee.

Who benefits how from certification in the Mount Elgon region?

Certification in the Mount Elgon area is very dependent on contextual factors – type of relations between the supplying actors, external funding, and diseases even. So basically on the MECCAN order which is produced by all of its actors – not only the dynamic which the coffee certificates envisage.

In the MECCAN dynamics the farmers with large funds and larger amounts of coffee benefit the most, because they can access the most benefits which arise in the Mount Elgon order of interactions. Poorer farmers can also benefit if they maintain access to groups. What they feel they benefit from is both higher prices as well as the material and non-material change (farm materials, better yields) which has led some to raise their standard of living. The position of the farmers in the coffee supply chain has been altered more in the Namayonyi MECCAN than in the Busano MECCAN, because Namayonyi farmers are enabled to process their coffee to parchment. Peace Kawomera has made this processing easier because they allow use of a washing mill. However, the benefits which this position brings the Namayonyi farmer is related more to their livelihood strategies and the sense of control, than the effects of value addition. This is mainly the case because Kyagalanyi in the strategy to be supplied with cherries to keep a check on quality of the coffee, pays high prices for the cherries. Prices equivalent to the prices Gumutindo offers for parchment.

Whether the coffee certificate benefits –in the sense that is a material actor wishing to make sustainable social, environmental and economic change - does not become completely clear in this research. What can be said is that social change based on the altering of labor relations is limited, as most farmers cannot afford workers and there is thus a low applicability of the standards. Environmental change may be changed when it comes to terracing against soil erosion, but there is little change when it comes to pesticide use because it was limited anyway. Only the future will show what happens with the standards if the farmers earn more, have more workers and have money for chemicals and certification comes to demand more of them.

Certificate holders have to invest much money and time into certification, and may not gain large monetary benefit nor are they secure of supply of certified coffee by farmers. They do benefit from the maintenance of the trade. Certified coffee has become an increasing part of Kyagalanyi's market, and Gumutindo's whole trade depends on certification. The certificate label does help establish relationships for external aid, because buyers of the coffee may be more interested in the development of these organizations than conventional buyers.

Returning to the notion of assemblages

When thinking of the assemblage of the standard setters and the perspective on coffee certification which was produced there, and comparing that to the Mount Elgon assemblages which have been researched via the concept of actor-networks, it becomes clear that they are a completely different thing. Coffee certification in the Mount Elgon MECCANs is not about following rules and benefitting from

price premiums, but it is about a MECCAN-order which is produced around a redefined role of the coffee certificate and of which the existence depends largely on external aid, where not decertification but the social cohesion of the MECCAN actors and producer groups are important in the 'compliance mechanism'. Even between the two MECCANs researched there are different dynamics of MECCAN interactions, and a different kind of order, because the norms, benefits and relations of the actors part of those MECCANs differ. Therefore coffee certificates documents may be blueprints for development of coffee producers in the mind of the assemblage of the standard setters, they will not work in the same manner in another assemblage where new actors reproduce meaning to the phenomenon. Discussions on the 'worth' of coffee certificates and their standards, doubts on the stringency of the standards, therefore become superfluous. Rather, gaining an understanding of the local reproduction of coffee certificates, and the dynamics around it, will provide more valuable information to the effects of coffee certification on farmers.

Discussion and recommendations

Due to the explorative character of the research of the two Mount Elgon MECCANs, the research is of a broad nature: exploring many actors and their perceptions, and many topics in the interviews with the actors. It brings costs to the value of the research. With regards to some topics the research has lacked depth to unravel all the delicacies of interactions which have existed. One of such topics is the coffee certificate standards. Because of the many number of coffee certificates involved in the MECCANs, and also a verification initiative, the research into their individual standards has remained superficial.

Similarly, with regards to the actor the research has also limited itself to particularly the actors who were in the Mount Elgon region at time of the research. This is why the certificate bodies and the external inspector themselves have not been interviewed. Due to the limited time, and issues of information at the time of research, the number of farmers interviewed also has remained too limited. However due to the context, and in view of the explorative nature of the research, the information gathered did come to explain at least part of the dynamics produced by the MECCAN interactions at the farmers' level. Particularly the different way in which richer and poorer farmers are affected by the MECCANs.

From the research it has become clear that there are many contextual factors as well as personal motives of actors, which determine how coffee certification comes to work, and what it means for an area. In future research, further understanding of the Mount Elgon dynamics and the role of coffee certification could be reached by focusing on particular coffee certificates and their standards, and how they are rearticulated in the interaction with both farmers (for instance certificate holders disregarding them in the field) and the external inspector. Further research could also focus on the effects of stratification by limiting or enabling access to benefits to groups of farmers (richer/poorer; much coffee/little coffee/no coffee, etcetera). Because so much external aid is provided to the region, it is unclear what benefits of the farmers really comes from certification, and what has been enabled by external aid. Conventional traders can also provide extension services, so how do services offered for the maintenance of the certificates differ from those services? Similarly a focus could be laid at the agricultural changes which take place in the field – which farmers get better yields and which don't, and what is there in the determining factor? The farmers' attitude? trust in advice? Money? Part of such research should include an agronomist, who can determine which changes can be attributed to what practices.

In terms of coffee certification in general the research has shown how important local contexts are – both physical as well as social/cultural – to the effect of certification of coffee in producer areas. For research into coffee certification in general, or for standard setters, it would serve to be willing to understand these local contexts. To truly be able to sort effects in coffee production areas, blue print standards and formats may not be enough. Enabling contextual interpretation in the certificate standards for instance, can help the certificate become more realistic for the coffee producers, as more honest to the certified coffee consumer.

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Figures

- Figure 1:** Sources Mbale town map – left to right:
[http://www.google.nl/imgres?q=Mbale+town+map&um=1&hl=nl&biw=853&bih=420&tbn=isch](http://www.google.nl/imgres?q=Mbale+town+map&um=1&hl=nl&biw=853&bih=420&tbn=isch&tbnid=60pii9avV98JsM:&imgrefurl=http://www.richardsilverstein.com/tikun_olam/2005/02/27/abavudava-music/&docid=UAKwfBRscG2FfM&imgurl=http://www.richardsilverstein.com/tikun_olam/uganda%252520map.gif&w=477&h=461&ei=Na3UTuTQH5DrOevCsUg&zoom=1&iact=hc&vpx=91&vpy=97&dur=296&hovh=106&hovw=110&tx=118&ty=116&sig=100687661133320105554&p age=1&tbnh=106&tbnw=110&start=0&ndsp=10&ved=1t:429,r:0,s:0;)
<http://www.google.nl/imgres?q=Mbale+town+map&um=1&hl=nl&biw=853&bih=420&tbn=isch>

<http://www.weather-forecast.com/locations/Mbale&docid=kacW6Euuk8leKM&imgurl=http://www.weather-forecast.com/locationmaps/Mbale.10.jpg&w=600&h=371&ei=Na3UTuTQH5DrOevCsUg&zoo m=1&iact=hc&vpx=501&vpy=134&dur=3276&hovh=176&hovw=286&tx=125&ty=139&sig=100687661133320105554&page=1&tbnh=82&tbnw=133&start=0&ndsp=10&ved=1t:429,r:8,s:0>

- **Figure 3: (Aithal and Pinard, 2008) p384**

Annexes

Annex 1	Coffee terms and coffee processing
Annex 2	Aims and developments in the best known transnational sustainable coffee initiatives
Annex 3	Gumutindo external inspection
Annex 4	Kyagalanyi Farmer Field School
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Annex 8	Concept definitions

Annex 1 *Coffee terms and coffee processing*

Coffee Cherry

Coffee beans start out as ripe coffee cherries which are harvested and processed various ways to remove the skin, pulp, and parchment. The dried parchment of coffee cherry seeds are removed to expose the two (sometimes one) "coffee beans". If properly stored, unroasted coffee beans can stay alive for months, and may even germinate into new Coffee plants if planted and watered.

Outer Skin

The thick outermost membrane of the coffee cherry (fruit), similar to the skin of a grape. In the wet, and semi-dry processes, the skin of ripe coffee cherries is removed before drying the coffee beans. In the dry process, the skin is left in place while the whole ripe coffee cherries are dried to allow easier separation of the skin, pulp and hull from the coffee beans.

Pulp

The mucilage between the coffee cherry skin and the pit (coffee beans). Coffee cherry pulp has a texture similar to a grapes and is normally dried or fermented to allow easier separation from the coffee beans.

Parchment

Parchment Skin is the hull of a coffee cherry seed that surrounds the "coffee bean". The parchment skin is removed from the coffee bean during processing. The silver skin usually remains until it floats away, burns away, or otherwise separated as "chaff" during the roasting process.

Silver Skin

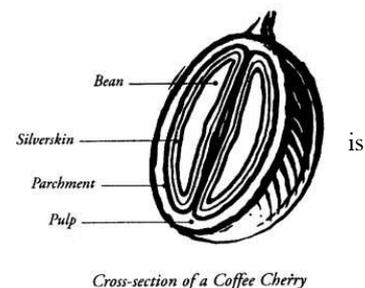
The thin membrane, similar to rice paper, that adheres to coffee beans after removing the husk (hull). Processing may "polish" the unroasted coffee beans removing much of the silver skin. Any remaining silver skin is removed during the roasting process.

Red cherries

Only ripe coffee cherries should be harvested for processing. Ripe cherries are plump and depending on variety have a red or yellow color. Under-ripe cherries are hard and green. Over-ripe cherries have a dark and shriveled appearance. Ripe cherries are separated from under-ripe and over-ripe cherries by hand picking and by machine during processing.

Dry Processing

In the dry process, ripe cherries are first dried in the sun, after which the dried skin, pulp, and parchment are removed from the bean (seed). The process takes about two weeks and the cherries must be raked while drying to avoid mildew. Dry processing produces coffees with less acidity and more body compared to the wet process. Dry processing is only done in growing regions with a naturally hot and dry climate. Brazil, Ethiopia, and Yemen produce most of the world’s dry processed coffees. Dry processed coffee is also called "unwashed", or "natural".



Wet Processing

In the wet process, ripe cherries are first immersed in water where any floating cherries are removed as defective. The remaining cherries are then pressed by machine against a perforated surface, allowing only the seed, and some attached pulp, to pass through the holes. The remaining pulp is then removed by placing the beans into a fermentation tank to loosen the pulp before washing the pulp away with water. After the pulp is removed, the coffee beans are then dried to about ten to twelve percent moisture content, usually by a combination of sun drying and machine drying. Machine drying is common practice, especially in damp climates, to prevent mildew. Wet processed coffee is sometimes called washed coffee, in reference to the washing done to separate the pulp from the beans. Also called the wet method.

Wet Mill

Equipment for processing harvested coffee cherries by the wet method.

Pulping

Removing the pulp as part of the wet process. After picking coffee cherries, the first step of processing, using the wet method, is to remove the skin and pulp. Conventional pulping machines have a rotating cylinder that collects harvested cherries immersed in water and presses them against perforations just large enough for the beans to pass. The beans of soft cherries are pushed through the perforations and collected separately while the harder green cherries along with the skin and much of the pulp from the ripe cherries are passed through the machine.

Floater

Coffee cherries that float in water and are 'floated-off' during wet-processing. Overripe, dried, damaged, or deformed coffee cherries tend to float and are discarded at the beginning of wet processing. Also called "lights".

Hulling

Removing the parchment, or hull, that surrounds the coffee beans in a coffee cherry.

Green Coffee

Unroasted coffee beans that have been sorted, pulped, dried, and separated from the hull.

Sorting

Processed coffees are sometimes hand sorted to remove defects or to separate by grade.

(Source of annex: <http://www.zecuppa.com/coffeeterms-farming-processing.htm>)

Annex 2 *Aims and developments in the best known transnational sustainable coffee initiatives*

Organic

Organic started in the 1970s and thereby was one of the first certification initiatives. It was initiated by an NGO, but has since become state/NGO controlled. It is a global initiative and advocates for the worldwide adoption of ecological, social and economic systems which are based on the principles of organic agriculture. Its most important focus is therefore environmental. In its approach Organic works mostly with small farmers and some plantations (Raynolds 2007), and focuses on organic standards of production, processing and handling. (Raynolds, Murray, Heller, 2006) Organic uses a consumer label, and aims at the mainstream coffee market. The initiative has private certifiers which are regulated by the state and accredited by the NGO. The certification is monitored annually and emphasis is laid on knowing what route the product travelled; a chain of custody. Organic stands out against other initiatives for its increased institutionalization in state regulations, and although the standards were initially developed by local and national organisations, they have been internationally harmonized. (Raynolds, 2007)

Fair Trade

Fair trade was initiated in the 1980s, and arose to challenge the inequality in international trade. It focuses on poor producers, ensuring minimum socio-economic standards for registered farmer organisations globally. The larger

aim of Fair Trade is to empower producers and thereby change the trade conditions. The initiative uses consumer labels as market strategy, and aims at the mainstream market. The initiative works on a non-profit basis and the monitoring of certifications is autonomous, by a private certifier which has been approved by the initiative. The certification is granted to producer cooperations. Annually the producer groups and the importers are monitored. Specific to Fair Trade is that it is the only initiative only open to small scale coffee producers. Next to that both the producing and importing enterprises are monitored for compliance with the basic standards.

Fair Trade as a system of private “governance” that organizes the production and trade of specific commodity goods. The aim of such governance is to increase the benefits of these commercial activities for southern producers, a group seen to be marginalized and even exploited by “conventional”¹ governance arrangements (Barratt Brown, 1993; Nicholls & Opal, 2005). (Smith 2009)

Utz Certified

Utz Certified was initially called Utz Kapeh. Utz Kapeh was initiated in 2002 by the coffee industry, but over time has become Industry/NGO controlled. It has a code of conduct based on the European Retailer Group (EUREP) including environmental and social standards. (Giovannucci, Ponte, 2005, p288) It wishes coffee to be grown in a decent manner, with respect to producers and the environment, and uses a corporate responsibility approach. This means it focuses on mainstream coffee, on roasters and on brands. The initiative has approved private certifiers and annually monitors farms, as well as the chain of custody. Often a consumer label is used. Within production there is mainly a focus on plantations and some small scale farmers.

4C - Common Code for the Coffee Community

The Common Code for the Coffee Community Association (from now on referred to as 4C Association) is a transnational verification/certification initiative which has a very broad goal. The association is a voluntary initiative which wishes to establish a minimum baseline of economic, social and environmentally sustainable production of coffee worldwide and along the whole of the coffee production chain. Transparency and participation of all actors along the chain and the inclusion of civil society are deemed important to reach this goal.¹ The main pillars of the association include a code of conduct, rules of participation for trade and industry, support mechanisms for coffee farmers and a verification system.¹ These pillars provide participants with responsibilities, rules to abide by and standards to adhere to, as well as benefits such as trainings and knowledge for farmers on sustainability and a verification system of which the costs are borne by the association¹. The governance structure is shaped to include representation from three ‘chambers’ which the association found to play a role along the coffee supply chain. These chambers are the Producer Chamber, the Trade and Industry Chamber and the Civil Society Chamber.¹ The entry criteria of 4C are low, as to enable also small holders to participate. The association has determined that there cannot be a label on the packs of 4C produced coffee, as this would lower the sustainability standards.

Annex 3 *Gumutindo external inspection*

We drove for about 2,5 hours from Mbale up into the Mount Elgon slopes. The roads were very sandy, and a 4 wheel drive car was needed to be able to take this road. A year before heavy rainfalls had destroyed large parts of the road, and it had been disastrous for the farmers and their yield. A part of the road was pressed in between two stone walls, and it was explained to me that during the rainy season, this part of the road would be like a river. It would make it practically impossible for people living in the area to transport goods.

We arrived at a buying station, where local managers were waiting for us. The local managers are keeping contact with the certified farmers in this area. They register the farmers, manage the buying station and do internal inspections of farmers to check whether they are keeping to the standards. The buying station itself has a small office where all the paper work is being kept, and a large room where some coffee bags are still stored. A weighing scale is hanging from the sealing. There is one large desk and there are some chairs.

The working method of the external inspector

We sit down on the chairs, and the external inspector starts to explain why he is there, what he is going to do in the couple of days he is there. The name of the inspector is Nestor. He has been inspecting Gumutindo projects since 2002-2003. He inspects for both the European and the US market. Now he is also inspecting for the new Korean certification EAFA, which is certifying organic. It is a standard similar to the EU NOP standards - environmental

conservation, reduction of pollution, pesticides and chemicals. Also farmers need to be trained to practice environmental friendly practices. The Korean company has the wish to keep all IEAFA coffee separate from the organic coffee or any other EU certified product. This means that separation has to be done in the fields, in the warehouse, in storage. Gumutindo needs to select 182 farmers, and separation has to be in place before the buyer will start buying.

The external inspector (from now on Nestor) explains that he will be there for 3 days, in which he wishes to do a document check and field inspections. For the document check he wants the internal field inspector report (to get an overview of the activities in the area), inspection form of 2010 and the two years before, the records of production of the 182 farmers of the last 2 years, prognosis for 2010 and stalk records of these farmers and how much has been processed in Mbale. During the request the local managers look somewhat confused. Fiona explains that they do not have the records of production of the 182 farmers of the last 2 years. Fiona says she will arrange it on management level. Then Nestor continues explaining that for the field inspection he wants to make a schedule, to go to all of the 3 selected villages, to interview 50% of the selected farmers. He needs a picture of every field and of the farmers. Then he asks if there are questions. No one replies.

The document check

Nestor asks for the monthly report. The local managers are slow to move. The first of the papers they have brought are from the B area. But the selected farmers are from the A area. The papers of the B area are well kept, the document of the A area which one of the local managers brings later is a piece of paper with about ten sentences. No remark is made on this. There are 7 villages in the A area, and three of those villages have been selected to supply to the Korean buyer. The field officer notes down the name of these three villages. After having read the report of village A of this month, Nestor requests the report of December. Fiona and Luke ask something to the local managers in their local language. There is some reply, and then Fiona says in English: 'You have to have it!'

External inspector is big on numbers

Nestor moves on to the stalk record. There is little activity with the local managers. Nestor wants to see all the data from the stalk records on coffee from the past season. He takes the numbers from November and grabs a calculator. The productivity of the selected farmers (to supply the Korean market) are not separate, therefore he starts marking a large number of lines on the papers of the farmers included in the selected group. The external inspector remarks that it would be easier if the stapled pages he is calculating from were a book which you can flip over. More folders are brought from the office room. The external inspector keeps calculating. Fiona is right on top of it, as he makes mistakes while typing the numbers in. The officer also asks how much there is in stalk, and when he calculates how much is sold and how much is there it doesn't add up. There has to be 1500 kg of parchment, but the sacks actually there add up to 650kg. Then Fiona remarks that some bags contain not 65 kg but 75 kg max. But then still 600 kg is missing. Luke translates the discussion into the local language to the local managers, and they all debate in the local language. Then they find that something was left out from what the inspector marked, so the difference has become smaller. The external inspector tells Luke that he needs to check what is in stalk, and that the checking needs to be documented. The external inspector goes on about the figures, asks about quality management and asks questions on the selling of coffee on one particular date. When glancing at the buying record, I could see that all the farmers on there are female. There are large differences in amounts supplied.

Because the Korean buyer wants the coffee separate from the coffee for the European market, the external inspector asks how they will separate the coffee. Fiona answers that they will put the coffee from one area on one side, and the other area on another side. When farmers come to sell the buying station will check their contract and then put it on the right side.

The external inspector notices that different colors of pens have been used in the records, and wonders whether this has a meaning. Luke says no, that they just grab a pen which happens to be there. The external inspector keeps on calculating things. It is a slow process. Once in a while people walk in and walk out again. I walk outside to take a break.

Surrounding buying station

There are A4's hanging on the window of the office of this local buying station. One of them is on the environmental policy of Gumutindo, another on the special general meeting of 17 December 9.00, an agenda will be on the table. The chairman of the committee is Malori Francis, of the Kiwali parish, Kidwesu village. There is another A4 with information on prices, and parchment targets as agreed on at the society workshop in September 2009. Price to the society is 6,200 of which 6,000 goes to the farmer, and 200 as buying commission. There are quality penalties. Furthermore there is a notice on the door of the storage: "Farmers must come with contract when delivering coffee to the primary society, avoid smoking."

Conversation with Fiona during the external inspection

Fiona is also outside, taking a break from the long tedious process with the external inspector. She explains to me that currently the primary society is paying out fees. The farmers get a good price. I had just been talking to Mozes, and Fiona tells me that the field officers like Mozes Mukombe are themselves are trained once a year. Alan conducts the training.

Fiona on the external inspector and external inspection

Fiona is not very happy. To get this certification they need to put in a lot of extra work, and she is not sure whether it is worth it. The external inspector wants more documentary evidence, pictures of the farms. They have selected three villages, based on the fact that they sold coffee to this company before from these people. Else they would have gone to farmers nearer to Mbale.

When I ask what she thinks of the external inspection, Fiona starts with explaining that when something is wrong, it is good to improve. When an external inspector finds something to be wrong, she discusses with him and agrees or agrees to disagree. Fiona does not think they always focus on the right issues: '*Sometimes they focus on silly mistakes and then they note non-compliance*'. I gather she is talking about the clumsily adding up of the figures by the external inspector. She feels that they try to get you on anything small: "*that is why they exist, these organizations*" - referring to the organizations of the external inspector. Although she knows that they need to comply with the standards, Fiona tells me that she did have a fight with Fairtrade on some of their standards. Some of them do not work in Uganda.

Standards which do not work in Uganda

Fiona describes the issue with a milling plant. Gumutindo outsources the milling. Because the certified coffee has to be traceable, and because it is not allowed to mix with conventional coffee, this forms a problem. Fiona tells me that she has argued about this with Fairtrade a lot: "*They won't listen if you are quiet*". Another topic of dispute was the list of GMOs which they need to have. To Fiona this requirement is senseless: "*We have no GMO, not in coffee, and other GMO products have nothing to do with coffee*". A third standard she mentions is the requirements for hiring of labor. Fiona explains that the farmers here are smallholders, not estates. If farmers employ anyone, the requirement says they need to have a document which shows how much they pay, provide proof of payment, work out some sort of employment contract. She explains that this is simply impossible for the small holder farmer [why she did not say, but given that some farmers cannot read and write, and that their own living situation is often insecure, providing a contract will be practically impossible]. Fiona says that the external inspectors don't hold on to these requirements so much, that they see these matters in a practical way, do not even put it down in the external inspection report. Fiona says that she did try to tell the auditor that the standards are applicable to Latin America, where they are way advanced and where there are plantation owners.

The interviews of the farmers by the external inspector

From the buying station we drive a little ways further, and in a small village we stop. One of the local managers brings us to the farmers the inspector is to interview for that day. He ends up interviewing 4 farmers, while he wanted to do 90 in 3 days.

Luke translates the questions of the external inspector to the farmers. The first farmer is a middle-aged woman. Next to her house is a field where coffee is being grown, it is one of the 6 fields her husband owns. The external

inspector starts with asking what “organic” is. The farmer explains that it means applying manure, pruning, and digging trenches. Then he states that fertilizers are not allowed, and asks the farmer to give him an example of a fertilizer. She replies that she does not know any names, but knows it is sold in shops and that it is prohibited. The external inspector asks her to name the 6 fields on which they grow coffee. With little trouble she names 2 fields, but does not know any more. She explains that they are her husbands’ fields. Then he comes back to the subject of pesticides. The farmer does not remember when she last used chemicals, but it was a long time ago, when she was young even. What does she apply to improve on the coffee yield? She answers manure (external inspector asks “how much”), last applied in March, and she is planning to apply it again. Then he asks how she gets manure, and she answers: “When the animal drops” and continues to explain that she spreads the manure, turns it to dry, then covers it up with soil. In the dry season it forms ‘soil’, and then they take it to the field. She prefers dry cow dung because it is easier to weed. Then the external inspector asks how often she weeds. She answers that she does it twice a year, and that the last time was in August. She has started pruning, or she will around February. Then he asks about diseases and pests. She explains that they get Stem borer (inspector - what does she do to control it?), takes out the tree and burns it when it comes. She tries to keep the coffee clean to prevent it. Then he asks about the processing. Gumutindo buys parchment from the farmers, cherries from the plant need to be pulped and dried before it becomes parchment. He asks whether she has her own pulping machine. She does not, but contacts a lady to tell her who does organic, and she borrows from those farmers. Lastly he asks her how the pulping works. She explains that you het the ripe cherry, pulp it immediately, wash it and leave it in the water for two days, then dry it on a raised platform.

Similar questions are asked to the second farmer he interviews. Organic to this farmer means using manure, no need of agro-chemicals. The external inspector asks why, the farmer answers that it is against the standards. Then an ownership issue comes up. The external inspector wishes to see the ownership document of the land, and wants to take it away from the farmer to make a copy. Fiona and Luke look confused; you cannot take someone’s paper away from him. It is a very improper question of the external inspector. Eventually he does not pursue it. This farmer also suffers from coffee Stem Borer⁴⁵, and controls this by stumping the trees. Next to coffee he grows maize. To the question what he uses to make the soil fertile he says he applies manure, and similarly to the first farmer he explains how he makes the manure – with cow dung. He has a cow and a calf standing under a self-built construction. The animals are tied there, and he has given the mother cow (plucked) grass to eat. The pulping machine this farmer gets from his farther, who is also an organic farmer. He uses plenty of clean water which he applies during and after the pulping, leaves it to ferment for 2 days and then washes it. He puts it on mats to dry, but this year it got spoilt, he has no parchment.

To the third farmer, the external inspector asks more questions with regard to the trainings they receive. From 2002-2006 the farmers received organic training on farm every year. Last year he can’t remember when he got training. He also grows matooke, beans and yams. He has two fields, but does not have a document. The external inspector asks how he would prove the fields are his. The farmer replies that everyone knows that it was his father’s land.

The fourth farmer has 2 fields. He talks too much to the external inspectors taste, and has an alcoholic odor hanging around. During the interview his cow is calving and actually born during the interview. The interview is held on one side of the little house of the farmer, while on the other side the cow is tethered. It is difficult to keep the attention to the interview with so much going on, and the farmer though speaking much, does not very well answer the external inspector’s questions. He did tell that the government used to come and spray. We all see the calf being born; it is a healthy looking calf.

⁴⁵ ‘*Stemborers (Coleoptera: Cerambycidae) are the most important pests of Arabica coffee in Asia and Africa. The larvae bore into the stem causing death of young plants. Older plants may survive but yield is drastically reduced and susceptibility to diseases and termites greatly increased. Control methods are limited, and infested trees should be removed and destroyed to prevent infestation of surrounding trees.*’ >> Natural resources institute, <http://w3.gre.ac.uk/~hd18/chemecol/cwsbfcf.html> assessed 12/12/2011

The external inspector decides to continue the next morning as it is getting late, and also he notes: people are either going to church, or getting drunk. He was planning to interview 90 farmers in three days, in half a day they managed to interview 4.

Annex 4 Kyagalanyi farmer field school

Fred told me about the farmer field school which they were going to introduce to their farmers. US AID has introduced it to Kyagalanyi, and subsidizes part of it. Omar explains to me that it is a facilitation/guiding tool to help the farmers with their coffee farming practices. He explicates that the field officers do not teach, that they work with knowledge of the farmers, that they know a lot about farming themselves. The field officers only guide them in the sharing of information and help them to argue about farming practices.

The training was conducted in the Kapchorwa area, not too far from Sipi falls. It was quite a ways off the tarred road passing through Sipi, and the windy dirt roads with many levels of elevation provided a little challenge to the motor bikes the two field officers (and assistants to Fred in the Mbale office) were driving (I was on the back of one of them). We first stopped in the village, but Omar and the other field officer could not find the three local field officers stationed here. So we drove on to a processing mill Kyagalanyi a little further on. Close to the processing mill was a field full of good looking coffee. Omar explained to me that they use the coffee field so that farmers can see that Kyagalanyi can help them to get healthy trees. The processing factory itself was a small one, next to it there was a building for storage, and behind it there was a nursery. From the processing plant you could see the water pump, which the surrounding farmers were allowed to use.

While we were waiting for the local field officers (there are 3 field officers and 2 key farmers in this area) I had a conversation with Omar and his colleague about how Kyagalanyi operated in this village. After waiting some time the local field officers were found. Only two of them were present. The local field officers had been gathering the farmers, and we drove back to the village to go to one of the farmers' houses where the training was to be conducted. A few benches had been put close to one of the houses, and a structure had been devised to block the sun. Omar and the other field officer were there to assist the field officers working in the village; in practice they played a quite important part. At the beginning of the gathering there were about 9 farmers who had showed up, of which two were woman. The women kept to the side of the gathering place however.

Elements of the farmer field school

One of the techniques of the farmer field school is the "Ballot box". It is a form of gap analysis, consisting of 25 questions, on everything from planting to processing. A maximum of 25 farmers participate, and they get ballots with numbers corresponding to the questions. A kind of bag is hung on trees in the field which have the questions attached to them. In those bags are four pockets, with four options of answers labeled A, B, C and D. D stands for "don't know". The farmers have to put their ballot into the pocket with the letter they think is the right answer, or they can put it in bag D to say that they don't know. They tell the farmers that it is very ok to say that they don't know, and explain that if they do so '*we will know what you don't know.*' A whistle is blown to start the exercise. Farmers need to spread out in the field and stand at the different bags with questions. When the next whistle blows they have to get over to the next question, and so on till all 25 questions have been covered. Kyagalanyi will put the results of the answers in a table and therewith identify in what area farmers are lacking knowledge.

A second technique they use is the "Afro-eco system analysis". It is an exercise which helps stimulate the farmers to observe what is going on in their own field. A group of five farmers go into the field together to observe a number of issues, for instance the effects of shade on a coffee plant. They are given a number of tools in this exercise; a measuring tape and a big white blanket and a cup with magnifying glass. With those they can measure distances of trees and plants to each other, and shake trees and catch insects to find out what kinds are in the crops. They are asked to observe the effects of that what they have witnessed (or measured). The farmers are encouraged to make connections from what they see to what the coffee tree looks like. At the end of the exercise the group has to make a presentation on what they observed, and they present it. Omar explains that it provides the farmers with a chance to share their knowledge.

Because there is a lot of emphasis on the knowledge of the farmers and field officers not being there as a teacher, I asked Omar what he would do if the farmers would express an opinion that he himself did not hold. He told me that the majority would *'have its way'*.

Farmer field school in practice

At the start of the training the group first prays, in their local language. Then Omar and the other field officer tell the farmers – including the women – to join them, to sit in front of the flip-overs. It is explained to me by the second field officer that the women are afraid to take the position up front, but they do get the women to join in at the front. By then the number of farmers present increased to 14, of which 3 were women. The field officers have a list on which farmers can register themselves. Omar walks to a man and woman sitting on the side of the house next to the training area. Omar tells the man: *'she knows how to write a little, let her do it herself'*. But although she is clearly interested, she does eventually not participate in the farmer field school. By then the number of farmers has increased to 23, of which 6 are women.

One of the local field officers uses the flip-overs hanging on the house to go through the topics they will cover. He does so both in English as local language. They read as follows:

Agenda

Ballot Box

- General objective → measure level of knowledge of knowledge on coffee
- Special objective → diagnosis of level of knowledge of participant
 - Identify group
 - Adjust topics FFS

Agro-eco system analysis

- Make design of forms being analyzed
- understand relation coffee and surrounding
- Identify how agricultural practices can modify in processing unit → diagnosis of form to start training cycle

AESA data

1. Age of plantation
2. Planting system
3. Tree condition
4. Type of soil
5. Diseases in: branches, beans, leaves
6. Insect types
7. Nutritional deficiency
8. General description of the farm

Illustration

- draw the pest insect and the symptoms of diseased, identified

After the presentation of the topics for the farmer field school, the farmers one by one introduce themselves – who they are and where they come from. During the overview of the topics Omar and the other field officers had been writing numbers on pieces of paper, and after the introduction they hand them out to the farmers – they are the ballots for the Ballot Box exercise. The field officers then start explaining about the Ballot Box exercise. They tell the farmers that if they cannot read the questions, there

The house next to which the training is conducted is a typical house for the Mount Elgon area. It is a squared, one roomed house. The house stands right in between the coffee fields. Chickens and a dog are running around. During the farmers field school many farmers not participating come to watch. There are also a large number of children who are very interested in what is going on – including the presence of a Mzungu (white person).

will be someone who can translate. They also tell the farmers that the exercise is meant to identify the knowledge gaps, and that they then will be able to fill it. Omar urges the farmers not to put their names on the ballots, and adds that it is not an examination.

The farmers walk into the field with their ballots, searching for the questions. Many of the women stay behind, but eventually there are four who participate, one is carrying a child. A number of farmers stand together at the numbers with more than one person, although the exercise is supposed to be individual and anonymous. They laugh and talk. Then one of the farmers explains that there is a problem - a number of the farmers don't know what to do. Omar replies that the field officers will help, and explains that the farmers need to go to the number on their note. The field officers have to help translate as well, the questions are in English. Omar softly murmurs that they should have brought the questions in the Lugisu language.

The first whistle blows. Farmers put their ballots in the bag, some more hesitantly than others. The second whistle blows, some farmers change. Many are still discussing. Omar says: move, move! During the exercise two women come closer to watch, interested in what is happening. One of the field officers shout: '*Numbers are supposed to have one person!*' Omar tells me that it is going wrong, that they should be spaced. At the end of the exercise some farmers are still lingering. Omar shouts that the exercise is over, to those still standing in doubt: '*just put in "I don't know"*'.

The next part of the farmer field school is the agro-eco system analysis. Omar explains to me that this is a joint exercise. They will make four groups, and every group gets a number. The farmers stand in one line and have to say which number they are (starting with the first "one", the second "two" etcetera). Several times the farmer after farmer 4 says "five", the people laugh. When everyone has a number they join together to form the group with their number. There are around 21 people participating, which means there are about 7 in each group. Each group gets a white blanket with a number of 'analysis tools'. They take it to the field where they put the white cloth on the ground. They are shaking the tree, and identify what falls out: both insects as well as the leaves. They use magnifying glasses to look at the insects. They use the markers and paper to write down what they have found, for the presentation later on. The bugs they find are put in a closed cup. The direct colleague field officer of Omar tells to the farmers keeping themselves off side '*he! Join in!*' - mostly they are women.

There is a lot of a-ha and many murmurs. The farmers are noting things down, not only on the large piece of paper, some of them carry their own piece of paper and a pen. A small child also comes to sit, and observes what is happening. The farmers then start measuring the distances between the matooke plant and the coffee tree. The group I joined selected one spot, the distance was 5,5 feet, the height of the plant was 9,5 feet. There is also another tree they later look at, only 1 foot apart from the matooke. One of the farmers murmurs: '*very dangerous!*' Once in a while the field officer mingles, and tells something, or notices something to get the farmers to think about. For instance that the branch of one of the trees is too long, that there are too many branches, therefore it will break easily. A farmer comments that it is poor management. The field officer asks, what can you do? One of the farmers calls out: '*pruning!*'. The field officer notices that there is a sickness in one of the branches of a coffee tree, and explains that it may dry before there is time for the tree to produce cherries. Again he asks: '*what can you do?*' One of the farmers answers: '*nothing, research is being done by the government!*'. The field officer then exclaims: '*present the question at the presentation!*'. Another issue about soil fertility came around. The farmer used husk to fertilize the soil, it is a good practice to manage the garden, but the husk in this particular case was keeping the tree too close to the banana plant healthy. Then the effect of weeding and slashing was discussed. When is the proper time for weeding? (to one of the farmers the field officer is talking to, whenever he gives an answer: this is what you tell at the presentation. Finally the issue of spraying comes up. The field officer asked a farmer: '*do you have protective gear? (No) Do you care about your life? (yes)*'.

Then the groups return to the main meeting area, where each of their posters with the presentation was hung. During the presentation there are a number of farmers who really dare to speak. Although it is only men who do the presentation, the women do dare to say things. One woman in particular speaks a lot.

The first group who presents gives four observations they made in the field. They measured the length of one of the trees and the distance between the trees, and concluded that compared to the preferred height and distance in both cases it was not good. Also did they find that the soil was not fertile? The field officers ask them to come with

a solution, and one of the farmers answers: '*organic manure*', then the field officer asks when they have to apply it, the farmer answers '*in April*'. Omar adds that it is necessary to put 250 g of organic fertilizer with each tree. Then he asks in what season? Another farmer answers, in the dry season, then the nutrients evaporate, and there is only nitrogen left in the soil. They continue talking about nutrients in the local language. At one point a very actively participating farmer begins to speak in English, I suspect it is because I am here and he wants also me to understand what he is saying. There is some confusion with other farmers what he is saying however and the field officers urge him to speak in the local language. He was explaining his experience with fertilizers; the colleague of Omar asks him about his experience with Urea. The next conversations I cannot follow, but I do pick up that Omar says that they want to move away from conventional coffee. Also at one point in the discussions he exclaims: '*I myself have no coffee trees, who am I to tell you, you should listen to the experience of the other farmers. This is a farmer field school! We are just here to guide.*' So the farmers discuss among themselves, what they found in the field, was it right or was it wrong? They are encouraged by the field officers to search for solutions. Once in a while Omar and his colleague do explain some things, or place remarks. They also recapitulate what has been said and what the farmers can actually learn from it.

One of the men is showing a leaf they found in the field. A white substance is covering the bottom part of the leaf. The farmers discuss the leaf in the local language. I can just distinguish the words "water" and "sugar". A "solution" paper is hung on the wall of the house. Per issue of observation in the field they think of a possible solution. Some of the answers are:

- Supper Sumerthion, 20ml/20L water
- Pruning
- Spacing

Although Omar themselves explain that they are here to 'facilitate', it is mainly them two who think of the actual solutions. The farmers can identify what is wrong in the field, but it is more difficult for them to bring a ready solution. Their identification is not always correct however. A farmer explained that one of the leaves his group found was leaf rust. Omar asked him what the outer signs of leaf rust are, but himself answers 'What are the signs of leaf rust? *Yellow spots, buffu, no powder if you rub, so it is not leaf rust*'.

The second group presents, and they discuss on matters like beneficial pests, how leaf rust works - leaf rust with yellow spots, black leaves, dropping of leaves, drying of tree, drying of the branches. And how they can keep the condition of the coffee tree well: pruning, spraying.

The third group presenting was the group I joined into the field. The man presenting did not use the entire sheet, wrote observations down in very small letters. He had also made a bigger drawing of a coffee tree - for illustration - but is asked to use it to explain what they found.

Omar to the field officers and me, when we eating food together after the training

After the training we join the two field officers to an office (barely big enough for a table and four seats. Omar was surprised, Kapchorwa has highest show rate. He also thinks that they must be disappointed that they are not getting lunch.

He speaks to the field officers (who have offered us a soda and later would bring chicken and matooke) about Alan, how he tries things out on his farm, experiments. That he is able to get healthy coffee on a ground which is not that fertile. That he uses all kinds of organic material, tries them out.

He also talks about the spraying. That most people cannot afford protective gear, and that it would be better for them to use only organic material (e.g. cow dung and husk). He explains that at one time the government was however giving out free pesticides to counter diseases, and that this is very bad, because it may not even be due to a pest that the plant is not doing well. It may be a nutrition deficiency. They should first identify what is wrong before taking action.

Annex 5 Interviews Kapchorwa area

Along the road Sipi to Kapchorwa

In the guesthouse in Mbale where I stayed the manager had a good friend who was from the area. She agreed to come with me to be my interpreter. When we arrived up Mount Elgon we first went to visit the cousin of my interpreter, who was also a coffee farmer. Before we got the chance to begin the interview, we had to wait because she was cooking a meal for us – she killed a chicken for us, and had prepared matooke and gave us milk tea. When we were finished another woman joined us, also a farmer, and we got to start the interview. It appeared that we did not go far enough into the side road, as it appeared that a large number of farmers living here delivered their cherries to Kawacom. This now provides an interesting case because of that: which certifier is preferred, and why?

First I started talking with the cousin of my interpreter. A friend of her joined in later. She was also a coffee farmer, and both of them coffee is the main source of income – for all the farmers in general. The cousin of the interpreter sells 10 bags of coffee per season. As one bag is 60 to 70 kg, which means it totals up to around 600 to 700 kg. The processing plant of Kawacom is close by, so she can bring the coffee in herself. The closeness of the processing plant is one of the reasons why she brings it to Kawacom, but apart from that *‘they give a good price’*. Both women would however sell their cherries to a trader when he comes by and offers a similar price. On the other hand, the second farmer tells me that with other buyers (meaning not Kawacom) there is no good practise, *‘those are boys who just come and take it’*.

What she means by good practise I did not ask, but inferring from the conversation it seems to be that Kawacom tells them how to grow their coffee – they tell them to use cow dung and not fertilizer. People from Kawacom come to their houses, house to house, to teach and to check on their fields. What Kawacom checks on is whether they have removed the hard grass. Sometimes they have given out seeds, but the young plants she has to buy from Kawacom herself – it costs 300 Ush per plant.

Once a year they meet with Kawacom, in a central place. They go there for advice, and always ask why the prices do not go up, *‘but Kawacom never answers’*. When I ask her about the benefits of supplying to Kawacom, she first of all tells me that it is a lot of work. When they bring their cherries, they have to sort before they can sell it, and it gives them less kilograms. If the cherries are not clean, something is deducted from the price. Benefits like credit and seedlings go to the personnel of Kawacom only, and to the people they know. When I ask whether she knows why Kawacom advises them use only cow dung to fertilize, she tells me that it has to do with the acids that otherwise end up in the ground. She and the other farmers do use chemical fertilizers once in a while, when Kawacom isn’t watching. If they do come by, she reasons, they cannot see it, and when they ask about it she will tell them that it is animal fertilizer. If she does tell them about the fertilizer, Kawacom will not buy her coffee. Both farmers have not heard of the term “Organic”. The farmer does not know anything about the term “organic”. Nonetheless Kawacom will not buy their coffee if they have used chemical fertilizers, and they do come to check the fields.

Kyagalanyi provides loans. If she would be able to get a lone, she would sell coffee, buy coffee, sell coffee, and buy coffee... Both farmers have heard of Kyagalanyi, but the cousin says: *‘it is far and the price is not good’*. Kyagalanyi never came by their homes either to buy the coffee, or to teach them anything. The cousin of my interpreter answers positive to the question whether has given them advice on farming, and whether she has used it. She answers yes. She does listen to the advice of Kawacom and finds it an addition to their knowledge, although she only uses the information she thinks is useful. Later on in the conversation, the second farmer who has joined (a middle aged woman) tells me that Kawacom hasn’t told them anything new. Moreover they start talking about Kyagalanyi and how they have more techniques to get a larger harvest. With Kyagalanyi the farmers receive benefits based on the amounts they have harvested. She feels that Kyagalanyi would be able to add something to their knowledge, as they can see that the quality of coffee at Kyagalanyi is better. This farmer apart from cow dung uses chicken dung and husk. If she has too little she gets some.

Both farmers prefer to sell processed berries (cherries which she peels, washes and dries), because the price for processed berries is higher. When she is in a hurry however she does sell the cherries. If the trees are sick, the farmers pray. They do not go to Kawacom or the government, and there is no farmers group in which they discuss.

In the next part of the interview many things come up on both Kawacom and Kyagalanyi, it becomes a sort of comparison between the benefits of one over the other on a number of topics. Contrary to what the first farmer said when I talked to her alone – that she heard that Kyagalanyi was too far away and did not offer a good price – now this second woman is here she says that if both companies would be near, they would choose Kyagalanyi. They would choose Kyagalanyi because of the benefits they provide – even if Kawacom would pay more for the coffee. But, Kawacom stopped buying coffee in the dry season, Kyagalanyi buys throughout the season.

I have become curious how they know so much about Kyagalanyi while they are clearly still in the Kawacom area. I believe that this farmer lives nearer to Kyagalanyi however, as she says that Kyagalanyi comes by and tells them about the benefits. She says '*they may come by at any time*'. When I ask her why she does not register with both Kawacom and Kyagalanyi, she answers that she is afraid that they are too far behind on the farmers who are already working with Kyagalanyi.

Kawacom has brought a change. First they had to take the cherries to Mbale. Kawacom is close. Now that Kawacom has come, there is also competition. Kawacom raised its price because of that. But Kyagalanyi also gives bonuses, not money, but a cow or a goat for instance. Kyagalanyi also gives seeds and medicines for plants, and the farmers with Kawacom form groups. Also they have better harvest. Another reason why the farmer does not switch is that they are afraid to miss the benefits which may come with Kawacom. If they switch they might miss out on something Kawacom will offer later on.

The farmer would like to form groups, she believes it will help them to collect money, they will sell better. Also she believes that it would help her gain more knowledge on how to grow coffee in a better manner. She does not keep any records, but she knows if the prices increase/decrease comparing to the year before. This year is better than last year.

We drive further along the road, deeper into the mountain, and stop at a house where a man and a woman are sitting outside. I first wanted to ask whether they were delivering cherries to Kawacom, but then figured that I might as well interview these people too. Mostly the man talks, but the woman sitting with him adds in something sometimes. This farmer harvests 2 bags in a season, but he says that the year before the season had been better – he had harvested three bags then. Then he adds '*a long time ago the prices were even better*'. Like the two farmers before, coffee is the crop which he depends on. He sells parchment because it gets a better price than cherries. In order to pulp the cherries he borrows the pulp machine from the neighbours. He pays a little for it.

When I ask him who he sells it to, he explains to me that he sells parchment to Kawacom, and cherries to Kyagalanyi. So he is registered to both traders. He explains to me that he is trying to gain as much knowledge as he can. Apparently NUCAFE is also active in the area – it is a national farmers union which also has begun to by – but the farmer does not sell to them because they want 'green beans'.

When I ask him to explain about Kyagalanyi and Kawacom he says that Kyagalanyi has all kinds of terms which they need to keep to, otherwise they will not buy. They need to spray something. It is unclear to me what, but they do not use gloves. If they bring the produce to Kawacom they need to do more work, and it is further away. Kyagalanyi is closer, and many people from his area go there. Kawacom is just after their coffee, they do not care about groups. You just have to register and that's it. Kawacom just comes once a year, and the farmer does not find their advice useful. '*They don't provide us with anything*'.

The farmer has not invested in his coffee in a long time. He says that before it was better. This year is a worse year than last year – he was having 'problems'.

Then a man approaches us. He is also a farmer. He has a lot to say, and takes over the conversation. He tells me that the prices have been very low the last years, but that now they are coming up again. He believes this is happening because of the competing companies, and because '*they know where to sell the coffee*'.

According to this farmer the use of fertilizers (both natural and chemical) will increase the yield, however he says, using chemical fertilizer is dangerous, and the companies will not buy if you have used it. He himself did not sell his coffee to the traders, he brought it to Mbale.

He says that the farmers do not have a long term planning. Many people do not record what they sell as they are analphabetic. '*They want to earn money quickly, when they get the money they quickie spend it*'. This farmer does keep records of what he is doing. He wants to buy things and start constructing in

town. In the future. He is going to invest in something other than coffee. Little people here do this *'they drink too much alcohol and don't care about their future'*.

When we drive on, there is a large group of people sitting together on the side of the road. When we step out of the car, they are all very interested to see what is happening. They ask us to come and sit, many more people come to see us. Although they all talk a lot, it is eventually 3 men who answer most of the questions. The first of the three tells me that they are all coffee farmers, and they sell to Kyagalanyi, Kawacom and Cacofa. Who they sell to depend on the money that they offer. They have formed a group, and 'create' one ton per season. The pulp machine they get from Mbale. When I ask whether they know about the farmer field school a second farmer steps in. Last time he did not come to the farmer field school because he is also a Boda Boda driver. He was working last time the farmer field school was held. He did hear about the things that were being discussed, on the maintenance of coffee - pruning spraying. They need to wear gloves for spraying and when they use 'natural medicine'. Kyagalanyi comes to visit 3 times a year. This farmer likes them, because they bring them money. Comparing the benefits of Kyagalanyi and Kawacom, the end-conclusion of the farmer is that Kawacom does not invest like Kyagalanyi does. Kyagalanyi does not give all the money at once, they give a second payment. The bonus remains apart from the second payment. Also Kyagalanyi gives a higher price and brings education.

The farmer did hear about organic, but says that it is not there. For fertilizing he uses natural fertilizer, as he does not have money for the chemical fertilizer. Kyagalanyi warns them about the use of fertilizers, that some may have expired, or that they are fakes. They also tell them to wear protective gear. Field assistance comes by them once a season to check whether they comply with the rules on the use of fertilizers. If they do not, they are advised.

These farmers do have a farmers group. There are teachers from Cacofa which come and teach them 'things'. There are 15 farmers in the group, and they come together each three months. The teaching is on the maintenance of coffee, having latrines at home. Sometimes they will come together with two villages, and Kyagalanyi comes to advise them. It does help, the farmer says, but there is no change in the coffee quality or their productivity. During these visits the field officers of Kyagalanyi help the groups to arrange the materials.

Kawacom was present in the area first, and then Kyagalanyi came. The third farmer tells me that he sells to the company which provides the best price, and that he gets knowledge from both companies - he finds their advice to be good. If he had to choose between companies he would prefer Kyagalanyi. Although both companies provide seedlings - in exchange for their coffee, Kyagalanyi also provides scissors and panga's. This is not given to all of the farmers however, only to the contact farmers. They see these contact farmers once a month. They provide them with information on price and diseases, he finds this information useful. The contact farmer is voted on by the farmers, and he is chosen because he is trustworthy.

Both Kawacom and Kyagalanyi have brought change, because they encourage farmers to do more work. There are more machines and there is less transport, more employment. The prices have gone up compared to 10 years before. Now they can invest some money in cows, school fees, in buying land and constructing. Although there are groups now, it is not easy to work together. Everybody has their own business. Although if they would work together, they would be able to buy more.

Annex 6 Budadiri - Conventional Processing Factory

First a mechanic worker shows me the machines, then I get to talk to Wasukika Samuel (mechanic/production manager), then to the overall manager of the factory.

The Budadiri processing factory is operational during July to August. From July to August the harvest from the lower areas is processed. The harvest of from the mountain comes later, from August to September. March is thus the end of the processing season. When the season is off, the machines are maintained, they do general cleaning, the workers rest and do work at home. Wasukika Samuel tells me that the Ugandan government has promoted that there are at least 30 trees on the farms with the Lugu, so there is enough to do.

In 2002 Budadiri became a private milling company. They started on a small scale: 800,000 kg - 900,000 kg. In 2005-2006 they had more money and became bigger. UDB (the bank?) funded them. Last year was a bad year.

There were many diseases, as there was too much rain. Last year they bought a total of 1,5 million kg. This year they expect 2,000,000 kg. The ones they sell the parchment to may directly buy themselves, so may be competitors too. Farmer now receives 7,000 shillings/ 1 kg parchment. 60 kg goes in a bag.

I get my first practical lesson when Wasukika Samuel shows me how to physically determine whether the parchment is too humid - the parchment will have a green color instead of greyish, and when you bite it, it will be soft. This is before he shows me how the secondary processing machine works.

The processing machine

There are farmers sitting in the factory hall (most of them women). They are selecting the parchment. The processing machine leads to graded coffee, so it is the secondary processing (first is pulping to make parchment).

Wasukika Samuel explains to me how it works when the parchment enters the machine. The first part of the machine removes dust, rubbish. A magnet takes out the metal, and stones are filtered. The coffee which remains goes to the grading machine. There are different slots for the grades, AA, A, B. Sometimes they check the grade which is selected. Sometimes the UCDA or the buyer comes and checks it as well. The parchment is hand selected, *'the hand is more secure than the machine'*. The people take out the dark ones (??)

The parchment comes from the farmers and from middlemen and goes to a number of traders

The parchment the factory is being supplied comes either directly from the farm, or it is brought by middlemen. Wasukika Samuel tells me that they prefer farmers to bring it themselves because *'they do not cheat'*, they bring in better coffee. The middlemen, he says, do cheat by putting stones and rubbish in the bags to make it heavier. They may also put in beans in the bags instead of parchment.

As required by the UCDA, 60 kilogram of parchment goes in a bag. They sell their processed parchment mainly to Kyagalanyi, Kawacom, MTL (Main Traders Limited), and Job Coffee (that is in Kampala).

Heavy trader's competition and the need to provide benefits to the farmers

The competition is hard, I am told. There is BCU and many other competitors. Middlemen go from house to house to collect coffee from the farmers. They go from village to village, talk with the farmers, to get them to supply to them. The Budadiri factory also tries the farmers to supply to them. They do this by providing transport (sometimes go to the farmers themselves), presses, hand pulps, tarpaulins (drying tables?), storage (at the factory), the farmers can dry their coffee at the factory (drying facilities). The factory also provides *'medicine'* when the trees are ill, fertilizers, spraying pumps. These are also used to persuade the farmer to sell their parchment to the factory. Most of the traders move around to convince the farmer. *'You need something to convince'*. The Budadiri factory has a second payment, a bonus.

Teaching of farmers on farming practices and how to spray

People from the factory visit farmers. They take a look at the crops, teach farmers how to spray and how to wash the coffee with clean water. They teach them when the cherry is ripe, how to harvest, that they have to pulp within 24 hours, how to wash and dry. The moisture has to be in the range of 11-14%. They also tell the farmers that matooke can bring shade, and that leaves can act as manure. The farmers can also come to the factory and take husk (outer layer of parchment??) as fuel and to use it as manure or underground for their chickens.

Money issues

It is not good to have a large amount of money as a farmer. The Budadiri factory can keep the money of the farmers with the organization, it is safer. *'Before people would get robbed after being paid'*. The Budadiri factory also gives out loans, in form of money and materials. The farmers then sign a contract and provide a collateral. When they don't pay back they convince them to pay, but they don't want to have a bad relation with the farmers, so they say: *'next season try!'*

Issues with farmers

How much the farmers bring differs. On average they bring 500-1,000 kg "good parchment" each season. A middleman can bring in as much as 10 ton. The farmer may demand more money, and often they do so to persuade the farmer to sell their parchment to them.

When the farmer comes, they check each bag. It may contain even fuel, which can contaminate all of the rest of the parchment if it gets together in the machine. The buyers can come and trace you, when something is wrong with the coffee. The factory runs the risk of being penalized, even banned from selling of coffee if it happens. At the factory they have a sampling roaster, to taste. Big roaster and packing facilities are in Mbale (with BCU and Zigoti) and in Tororo.

Conversation with manager: Julius

The company used to export coffee.

Dry parchment from the farmers. They themselves are not doing wet processing, as they do not have machines and it requires a lot of labor to do it by hand. In the future they want to engage the farmers herein.

There are groups in the area

Some of the Budadiri farmers are organized in groups. The groups are given hand pulps. They are sensitized about quality and agricultural inputs. He tells me about a Danish man who is starting up something to organize the farmers into cooperatives. A cooperative society could access capital, get machines etcetera. The farmers like it. The Budadiri factory is working in with him; he should come for 2/3 years to be able to become a citizen. Those farmers organizations which are already there negotiate on prices, and the factory negotiates on their demand, they want consistency of quality.

Competitive advantage to e.g. Kyagalanyi

The manager explains that the people in the area are Bugisu. He says that Kyagalanyi does not have the knowledge of the people as they do. He tells me that they have a wide network, agents even, who work also to the southern Lugisu side, and even in Kapchorwa.

Ugandan coffee history, meso-economics

Before liberalization the coffee market was monopolized by the Coffee Monitoring Board. Now the farmer gets the money at home.

The farmer is benefitting more than the businessman

The manager says to me that the farmer benefits more than the traders. He tells me that the future prospects are that there will be 1 million bags, which means 60 million kilograms. Whether he means in his area, or the whole Arabica area I am not sure of. He does tell me that the demand is high enough - 85% goes to Europe and the US, 15% goes to Arab countries. Little stays in Uganda.

The factory also works together with “Good Coffee”, with whom they export coffee to Japan.

Annex 7 *On Alan’s farm with Kawacom: checking non-compliances and the internal control system*

Kawacom arranged a training with Alan. Both management and field staff of Kawacom came to Alan’s farm in the west to discuss the certification. Also, there is a Belgium man present – Thomas – who is working with the exporting office of Kawacom in Kampala. The office in Kampala is the overall management of Kawacom, higher up, who takes care of the export. The main reason for this training is a threat of decertification. The Organic certificate might not be extended, as there are many non-compliances in the report of the external inspector. Although Alan felt like it would have been better if only the (local) management of Kawacom would have come, the field supervisors were here as well. So he devised a structure for the training which allowed everyone to participate. The first part was addressing the non-compliances as determined by the external inspector. The second was the revision of the Internal Control System.

The non-compliances

The non-compliances as determined by an external inspector were provided in a document with tables. It was a document of many pages long. The local manager of Kawacom had replied to most of the non-compliances, as

required. Alan also went over these. The following part is a description of the non-compliances discussed. It reveals much of the organizational problems within Kawacom, which caused imprecise activities in the field leading to a number of the non-compliances. Also, the standards are not always straight forward, and farmers may also not be as straight forward, making it difficult for Kawacom to control the whole process of certified coffee production. Both making sure that the coffee is pure, as well as dealing with the external inspector and the farmers.

Imprecisions in the record keeping leading to non-compliances

Issues of record keeping at the farmers level and the local management level

There were many non-compliances which had to do with the keeping of records. One of the non-compliances was that growers lists of different field supervisors showed different numbers. Alan explains that this does not provide Kawacom with a very good image, as *'people don't know exactly what is going on'*. One of the field officers, who explained to be relatively new at Kawacom, commented that somebody at the station (in the field) should count the numbers. Because when *'someone does it for all the projects, mistakes can easily be made'*. The Belgium suggests the same, that the growers list should be taken care of *'at the project level'*. He notes that the growers list is only updated once a year, while every day it may change (someone may be taken out of the list). He identified the need for direct feed-back. The lists should be checked each week.

Alan took over the conversation, commenting that updating the growers list was not the topic they were discussing. He did reply that the update of the growers list happens twice a year, but then stated that the real issue at hand was that the people were giving different figures on the growers list (how much a farmer has produced), not *'about whether there were actually two dead farmers or not'*. It is possible, he says, that during the field officers' update they forget to put it in the growers list. The documentation officers can also make mistakes. He recommends that updating of the growers list can easily be done in the field. The manager of Kawacom recapitulates what Alan says, as emphasis towards his field officers: *'Alan is making the point of consistency, consistency and doing things in time'*. Then he replies to the issue of recording the production number in the field that there is computer illiteracy. He told Kawacom (head office in Kampala) that they needed computers at the field level. Alan, himself now coming to the topic of number of updates, replies that in his opinion there is no need to update the sellers list every day. He comments that Kawacom keeps it at twice a year, but that it should happen in better cooperation with the field staff. *'If you update too often, it brings too many versions, and that also leads to different numbers in different records.'* He also reminds the staff to avoid issues of handwriting on a growers list.

Record keeping details

That not all corrective action from the last inspection was implemented was also a point of non-compliance. One of the requirements is that on each receipt there is a date. Allen comments that 5 to 6 years ago this was normal.

Non complying farmers not taken out of the buyers list

A serious non-compliance in the report of the external inspector was that Kawacom had sold coffee from farmers who had been using chemicals. The manager of Kawacom explained that this had not been detected by the internal control system. It was not exactly a non-detection however. The farmers who had been using chemicals were had been registered as not complying, but somehow they had not been taken out of the buying records. Alan concluded that the buying records were not up to date. The manager of Kawacom explained that this impreciseness may have been caused by the high turnover of field officers, of which some had not received trainings yet. Also, there was a new internal control system, and many of the field officers were not trained on this. Many did not understand how to use the forms of the new system.

Alan recommended that the field officers should be included in the process of devising the internal control system, and that they should all be trained on it afterwards. Later on in the non-compliance list this topic came up again. Many of the farmers had been removed from the growers list because of non-compliance. As the form was *'done in a hurry'*, no one checked whether it was taken out of the buying list.

Avoidance of the truth in answers to the external inspector?

Like the missing date on the receipts, the farmers entrance forms were missing signatures from the farmer, and there were no dates on there. This was also a non-compliance. Alan asked how this happened. One of the field officers explained that the farmers this was about had left Kawacom. They didn't buy from the area any more. The

field officer had gone as well. When the external inspector came, the form was still in the office. To this the Belgian man asked: *'why are you still holding it in the office?'* Alan first noted that the answer to this point in the report was that those had been mostly new farmers, and that farmers have fear of signing forms. Alan explains: *'it should have been: farmers are not going for certification, "area has been withdrawn"'*. Then he notes that the field staff should find a form of preparedness. The farm entrance form should be approved, if it is not, it cannot be inspected.

Managing non-compliances may not be as straight forward as it seems – issues of culture in, and translation of, the application of standards in practice

One of the non-compliances is that the farmers use the same basin for mixing carbofendoside (??) and coffee. Alan adds to this that the farmers probably also use the basins to wash their clothes. One of the field officers asks: is that permissible? Alan says, yes, if you wash it three times afterwards. It is thus permissible to use a same basin provided that there is no contamination left when washing the coffee. One of the field officers is afraid of what will happen in the field, when the external inspector comes. He feels that the external inspector can easily see the issue of basin as a non-compliance, but that is because his focus is not right. He explains: *'The external inspector will ask: what basin do you use for picking? What do you use for bathing? The farmer will say that he or she uses the same. The inspector is not asking the right question, he should ask: what are you doing to prevent contamination?'*

In the non-compliance document the local manager of Kawacom replied that there would be more sensitization of the farmers on the need to use different basins. Alan finds that on this point there is a need to go against the external inspector. He brings this message across subtly to the people from Kawacom. He says: *'I wonder, what can the farmer do?'* Farmers often simply have only one basin. So he concludes that it is necessary to point out in the answer that farmers are not going to have different basins. Next to using it for clothes, a farmer will also use the basin for bathing. Practically, there is no risk of contamination when it is rinsed well afterwards. The manager of Kawacom adds: *'else the farmer will start to ask Kawacom for basins'*.

For a local managing organization sensitization of farmers is not the answer to all non-compliances. Alan here clearly preferred that the external inspector would understand the local situation, that farmers are not going to have basins for everything they do, and that using one basin may not necessarily be wrong.

There are local cultural contexts and issues of interpretation which play a role in non-compliances

According to the external inspector some of the certified farmers had unregistered fields. Uganda is a country in which there is no clear documentation, and changes in landscape are not planned as may be in more developed countries. To this non-compliance the local manager of Kawacom immediately reacts: *'this is a problem with these inspectors. The field the farmer owns may be the same, but may have become divided by a road or footpath [in Uganda this may be a small path, nothing like a road] or geographical conditions may have changed the plot.'* What happens is that the external inspector then sees two fields (or an altered field), and writes down that there is a non-compliance as the documentation is not correct. Alan finds that this should be challenged in the inspection. The reply to the external inspection report should mention that some of the plots are concealed but also should address that there may be a different definition of 'new plots'.

Alan throws up another issue. It is also possible that a farmer has purchased new plots after the internal inspection. He finds that a policy solution for this needs to be found on the managerial level. It should be clear that in such a situation the field officer cannot be blamed. He suggests that farmers themselves should tell them if there is new land, maybe during a training. Maybe it should be in the contract? To that the Kawacom manager comments that compliance therewith falls and stands with the compliance of the farmers, being able to make them comply. *'If they benefit, chances are high'*. Alan also remembers that there is a procedure on this in the ICS, but apparently they do not look at it too much, as none of the staff replies to this.

Farmers

Farmers may not always tell the truth

During inspection it is a problem for the field officers when a farmer claims: I have ten plots! And it is not true. One of the field officer explains: *'Farmers see a foreign person, and he says he has more plots, thinking he will get*

more inputs'. Another reason for farmers not to tell the truth is that they have fear of taxes. Farmers need to realize that Kawacom does not tax.

Alan gives two advices with respect to this point. One is for in the field. It is difficult for a field officer to say on the spot that what the farmer said is not right. Alan suggests that when they are walking out, the field officer tells the inspector that the farmer has just two plots instead of ten. If in doubt, the field officer can tell the external inspector that he may check it with a neighbor farmer or the LC (?? LL).

Non-compliance of farmer in ICS

Farmers have been sprayed herbicides and pesticides. One of the field officers explains that they cannot stop them: *'they need income and food'*. The Internal control system says it is a violation to use chemicals, it does not allow the farmer to use chemical inputs into the fields. Alan adds to this that in the ICS update Kawacom needs to determine whether they will allow the farmers to have chemical fields or not. In the answer to the report of the external inspector it says that Kawacom does not see that as a violation, while the Internal Control system does say it is a violation.

Risk of chemical drift

A number of the Kawacom farmers faces chemical drift from the land of their neighbours. Alan asks whether they did not have a buffer zone. The manager of Kawacom replies that they visited the farmers later on, and it appeared that farmers higher up on the mountain were spraying, and it trickled down to the valley. Alan comments that this should be in the answer, and that they should add pictures of that. G → someone answered before checking.

Local management and staff involvement in the non-compliance report

Alan wonders whether the external inspection report is reviewed with the field staff.

Contamination, organic farming, pesticides

Contamination

The external inspector in the report noted that there was a risk of contamination where joint storerooms and drying areas were used. Especially where the other farmers are coffee traders. In the reply it was written that if that is the case, the farmer is suspended. One of the field officers went into defense, saying that the external inspector would not even stop in the field, to see how the joint storing and drying works out in practice. Alan explains that this is not an accusation. He does suggest that the farmers of Kawacom can use their own tarpaulins and keep coffee in separate bags.

Checking the farmers through their supply

The Belgium man comments that there is no need to suspend the farmer uses joint drying and store rooms. He says: if you have a better system, estimate how much a farmer can deliver, then if he is supplying too much you stop buying. Alan links to this with respect to Sipi. He says the buying records were not there, until months after the buying season. The internal inspection takes place off season, when no body is offering or storing coffee. For the revision of the internal control system Alan wonders *'if we can come up with bright ideas to control this'*. The Belgium man emphasizes again that they should make it impossible for a farmer to *'overdeliver'*, *'You stop buying'*. The local manager says that this provides a dilemma. The local coffee trading is complex. Kawacom has to ensure that they provide a high price. Farmers want additional income if you want them to grow more coffee, else they will engage in another income raising activity.

Issues with other trades of the farmer

A farmer may have parallel trades of coffee. A farmer may be a middlemen, buying from others selling to other traders. When the external inspector comes around and goes to a farmers house, there may be 10 bags over there. The farmer can say: I just bought it. That seems like a non-compliance to the farmer - contamination can easily occur. One of the field staff member comes with a practical solution to this. The field officer or field staff can get in contact with that coffee trader, and if most is organic, they can tell them to record where they buy the coffee from.

Someone else from the field staff is not happy with this: *'you cannot put the lion in the house with...'* He opts for a producers organization, they have that in Kachusa. *'Me within my group can help you to bulk your coffee.'* His idea is to form groups at the village level, so the farmers can together get to a larger supply of certified coffee.

Alan says that a certified farmer who is middlemen as well is not a violation. The issue needs to be discussed in the ICS.

Kawacom is not in a good position in the competition with the 'conventional' traders

The middlemen take certified coffee. The local manager of Kawacom explains that Kawacom starts buying late, the middlemen have money and start buying early. When a farmer needs money, he will sell it to that trader. So his conclusion is that they need to start buying early. The middlemen however prefinance, out of season, and therewith has a comparative advantage to Kawacom. This is because Kawacom is dependent on the office in Kampala. And so the local manager concludes that there is a need to pressure the 'people in Kampala' (the management of Kawacom in Kampala) to start buying earlier. Alan agrees that buying earlier in the season is important. He is worried what will happen though if they pressure the *'two big guys'* in Kampala. The Belgium man says they just have to say that the coffee is there. So, Alan follows up, it is necessary to make sure that the information on the ground passes through to management higher up. The Belgium man says that the management is getting better. Ben (someone from the Kawacom management) has been to the field.

A member of the field staff says that opening the station throughout the year may not help, when the middlemen keep offering a higher price. In Sipi the middlemen have *'more cash in their pockets, they are buying at 8,900 Ush now for the little that is there'*. Alan says that he knows that this is going on. He notes that Gumutindo is still buying coffee. One of the field staff notes that Kyagalanyi is still offering a high price for the conventional cherries, 5,500 Ush.

Compost manure

In the reply on non-compliance with respect to compost manure, there was a reference to the wrong application of the manure. Alan explained to the manager that this was not the question. The non-compliance said that farmers were not making compost manure. Almost none of the farmers use compost manure. Alan noted that he himself did not use compost manure, that he does not believe in it. *'Green manure can be used just as well'*. He said that in the reply to the inspector he would have argued on the standard, it is about fertility, but there is no EU regulation on this.

General

The feedback to the external inspector's report

The local manager of Kawacom at the beginning of the day explained to Alan that he was under pressure when he replied to the external inspectors' report. Many of the replies were probably not the best replies given the standard, and Alan identifies that the problem with this threat of expired certification is that there is one crisis adding to another. Alan notes to the local manager: *'you say you were under pressure, you should avoid putting yourself in this place'*. He emphasizes that Kawacom should allow time for inspections, and allow time for response. The local manager replies that the external inspector comes in May, in July the report is not out yet, then 4 reports come in at once, and suddenly an expiration date comes in.

Uncertainty with field staff how to reply to such allegations by external inspector

One of the field officers comments that more in general, the internal inspector sometimes gets carried away, and then they don't know what to reply. G: this is something we need to change. The Belgium man says that they should have field staff and field officers come to Kampala to go over it. Alan says that as a rule he would go back with the non-compliances, include the field staff. Take the farmers' number, check who is the field officer of the farmer, ask him what happened - *'put them on the spot'*.

Staff issues of Kawacom

The old staff was last trained in 2008 on certification. Alan says that external inspectors love the training records. The internal inspectors are short on reporting the internal inspections. The local manager tells that he *'let go of the*

old inefficient staff. As a result most of the field officers are new staff. Alan says that he worries about the high staff turnover. He says it is not good for a company. Time and money have been invested in the training of the staff, and when you let them go, that is gone. The new staff is now being thrown in the firing line.

A field supervisor says that there was not really that big of a staff turn over. He explains that two field officers have gone, and that two new ones were recruited. According to Thomas it is a fact that field officers come and go. The percentage of people leaving is high according to him. Alan asks the staff to look at the comment to the external inspector, it says that most of the staff is new, that the old staff was not doing their work correctly. But, he concludes, that is not actually the case. Another field officer says that one of the field staff transferred, that one left. *'Two staff out of twelve sounds oke'*. Alan replies that in Sipi in the past year seven out of fourteen of the staff left. Ten to twenty percent turnover according to him is ok, but thirty to forty percent is not. The local manager says that Bushenyi is getting staff from Sipi to other projects. Two of the staff have resigned. Early 2009 staff also left. Thomas feels like these numbers are getting them no where. He says, lets leave the question of the old staff, there is a new staff now, so he wonders what should be done. He asks when they were trained, says that it is necessary to have knowledgable field officers. According to Thomas it is *'all about communication'*. They need to be honest to the external inspector, inform him before that the staff is new. Then the local manager replies that it is also important to know why the old staff left. Thomas replies: *'but we know, new job opportunities, payment by for instance NAADS'*.

One of the effects of new unknowledgable staff was that the field officer did not know the contact farmer. That is what one of the field officers tells to the group. Thomas replies again, saying that there is a need for a production program for new field officers. Per week they should know who is in charge. Alan says that there is need for a record showing responsibility, organization.

New certificate with a 'young' field staff

A field supervisor says that many people in Sipi are new, and that they are now getting Rainforest Alliance certificate. He says that it is better to have the 'informed inspectors' to take the lead on that. In 2007 he was contact farmer at the village level. He then suggested that it was better not to recruit staff from outside of the community. But there is not much money so there is a need to train them on less (???) The local manager says that the field supervisor made a point. He concludes that the staff does not only leave because of the money, also because they are not respected. Thomas asks how come they are not respected, wants to know as he *'is in Kampala'* and so does not know what is going on.

Relation local management and staff and management in Kampala

Kawacom is number two in export of coffee in Uganda. They are number one in certification, small factories. Kyagalanyi and NUCAFE have larger factories. Thomas explains to the local staff that it is not because.....

Not 100% of inspections performed in one of the parishes

The report says that in one of the parishes not all of the internal inspections had been performed. One of the field officers says this is correct, that they checked it with the farmers. Alan says that in that case they need to tell the farmer that Kawacom cannot market his coffee before they are sure that the farmer is organic. The field supervisor replies that this is a problem with the farmers organization. Many say that the internal inspection forms are there to Kawacom staff, but when the external inspector comes it is not there. He also says that some of the field officers fills in internal inspection forms without actually going to the farmer. The areas are large, there is a need for more people to be able to do the job right.

Alan is very surprised that the parish got through the inspection. He says that not inspecting farmers is a gross non-compliance. He double checks that a field officer has faked the internal inspection. He says that if this really happens, *'then we come down'*. The field officer has to be responsible. Apparently farmers have been filling in the internal inspection forms, faking field officers' handwritings. Alan says: *'this cannot be subcontracted!'*

One of the field officers says that sixty per cent of the internal inspections are conducted with the heads of home. Also sometimes with the wife or daughter. In most of the cases they know the field officers. Alan is not happy, as farmers can give wrong information. As to the answer to the external inspector Alan says that the answer should not be that a wrong answer was given by the farmer, but that the internal inspection *'belongs to this parish'*.

Short on time to do all the inspections

One of the field supervisors explains that as they are busy with buying – to keep customers – there is less time to do the inspection. That causes fake forms. And the new field officers are registering farmers without having received training. Another field supervisor opts that they can tell the farmers that they buy from one date to another, and that they need time to do other things afterwards.

Working on the Internal Control System

A part of the internal control system is the listing of threats to the certification. Alan says that if you add too many threats – eg. that a man may fall off his bike while carrying fertilizers and contaminate the coffee. That there is a risk of telling inspectors too much in such a control system becomes apparent again when they talk about the livestock farmers. Kawacom teaches those farmer to maintain a bufferzone. The local manager of Kawacom suggests that they also put in that they teach farmers to manage their livestock organically. Then Alan tells him not to get carried away. Putting down more than necessary will bring along more responsibilities. If they mention for instance that they tell the farmers how to control the animals *‘they will want a form of control on how animals are controlled. Don’t give them a rope to hang us with’*.

Another risk is that of the government. The UCDA is giving out fertilizers (chemical). NAADS and LEAD are also promoting the use of chemical fertilizers to increase production. Alan suggest that field officers should inform them of organic. It is an issue however if they do not bring enough weight.

NAADS also gives sprayed mangos, and they do not explain to the farmer that it is chemically fertilized. One of the field staff asks if they should check all the places where farmers might have sprayed. Alan says that it is the job of field officers also to observe. For instance when they see a mango at the farmers’ they should ask the farmer what happens to it if you don’t spray? When they are clean mango’s it is very likely that they have been sprayed.

The local manager of Kawacom brings the conversation back to NAADS. He wonders how they can *‘develop points to influence policy’* of NAADS. Alan says that they can in general inform other organizations in the area of their project, then they can see what they do with it.

The conversation comes back to how they can prevent mingled coffee with the farmers who are also traders. They can make the farmer aware of the ‘mingling risks’. A field officer asks: *‘Do you think a farmer will listen? He is only interested in money’*. The local manager says that they need to find a way to go forward, storing coffee separately, show a receipt who the farmer sold the conventional to. But as he says it he realizes that this will be difficult. This solution will probably mean that they have to sanction 80% of the farmers, as most farmers do not receive a receipt when they sell conventional coffee. Again the conversation comes to the external inspector. When he sees a lot of coffee at the house of the farmer he will ask whether they really got all of the coffee from his own trees.

Annex 8 Concept definitions

Concept definitions

Actor-network

The constructivist view on actors and networks which exists in the ANT theory. Actors are produced by the networks of which they are part, networks are produced by the actors which interact in it. Both are unstable in their existence, because one can transform the other.

Actor-network order

The state of an actor-network in which the (inter)actions of heterogeneous actors in an actor-network have become somewhat stable, forming a pattern of interactions.

Alignment

Term to describe the situation in which all heterogeneous actors in an interaction benefit from an interaction and/or where they normatively feel that they should interact in such a way.

MECCAN-actors

Heterogeneous actors which are part of the interactions directly related to coffee certification of Mount Elgon coffee, either in trade or in the small-holder certification process.

MECCAN strategy

Strategy in the interactions of MECCAN-actors aimed at the accessing of benefits (determined per actor individually) produced in the MECCAN interactions.

Punctualized network

A concept used by ANT theorists to describe a state in which interaction of heterogeneous actors in an actor-network has become patterned to such an extent that it seems to be a network in which actors perform a fixed role with the intention of producing certified coffee. This is an actor-network which exhibits a somewhat stable order of interactions.

Semi-autonomous social field

A field which is chosen as area of study which becomes generate rules and customs and symbols internally, but that it is also vulnerable to rules which emanate from other semi-autonomous social fields which surround and/or overlap. (Moore, 1973) In this research the SASF has a double application: the MECCAN can produce its own rules and customs explaining an order in MECCAN interactions, but the actors part of the MECCAN are also influenced in their decisions to participate by other other semi-autonomous social fields of which they are part. This can destabilize

Translation

A concept used by ANT theorists to describe the process in which the (inter)actions of heterogeneous actors become part of a punctualized actor-network.