HOW TO DO (AND HOW NOT TO DO) FIELDWORK ON FAIR TRADE AND RURAL POVERTY

CHRISTOPHER CRAMER

DEBORAH JOHNSTON

BERND MUELLER

CARLOS OYA

JOHN SENDER

ABSTRACT

Research for the Fair Trade, Employment and Poverty Reduction Project (FTEPR) in Ethiopia and Uganda is gathering new evidence on the consequences of Fair Trade for poor people engaged in wage labour for certified producers. This has broader significance for understanding the mechanisms through which agricultural commodity exports affect the welfare of poor people. This paper discusses the methodological contribution of this research, contrasting the project with standard approaches to rural development economics research and in particular with the shortcomings of the vast majority of research on the impact of Fair Trade. The paper highlights four methodological innovations. First, in marked contrast to virtually all previous evaluations of fair trade schemes, FTEPR methods were designed specifically to collect evidence on wage workers rather than producers. Second, the project adopted a form of contrastive venue-based sampling, aided by the use of GPS devices and handheld computers (PDAs). Third, within the selected research sites, stratified random sampling procedures were based on clearly identifiable 'residential units' as opposed to ill-defined 'households'. And, fourth, when constructing a 'household roster' the research used an economic definition rather than the more common and often misleading residential rules.

Key Words: Fair Trade, Agricultural Exports, Labour Markets, Africa, Methodology

INTRODUCTION

This paper addresses three themes of growing interest in the development literature: the mechanisms through which agricultural commodity exports may affect the welfare of poor people; labour markets in low-income countries; and advances in methodology in development research. It does so through a focus on a fourth issue that has attracted increasing attention (and resources): fair trade and its role in poverty reduction. Its focus is specifically on the methodology of rural research.

The paper discusses a methodological approach to assessing the consequences of fair trade for poor people engaged in wage labour for 'certified' producers in Ethiopia and Uganda. The methodological argument has broader implications for research on poverty and agrarian change, contrasting the approach developed for the Fair Trade, Employment, and Poverty Reduction Project (FTEPR) with standard approaches to rural development economics research.[1] The paper highlights four methodological innovations. First, in marked contrast to virtually all previous evaluations of fair trade schemes, FTEPR methods were designed specifically to collect evidence on wage workers rather than producers. Second, the project adopted a form of contrastive venue-based sampling, aided by the use of GPS devices and handheld computers (PDAs). Third, within the selected research sites, stratified random sampling procedures were based on clearly identifiable 'residential units' as opposed to ill-defined 'households'. And, fourth, when constructing a 'household roster' the research used an economic definition, discussed below, rather than the more common and often misleading residential rules.

The most recent review of research on Fair Trade and other ethical labels argues that field studies 'lack a convincing and consistent methodology' (International Trade Centre, 2011: 25). One issue common to previous Fair Trade research concerns the criteria used in the selection of research sites. Certified or Fair Trade production takes place in very different contexts, with certified schemes varying, among other factors, in terms of the level of external subsidy/support they have received, the number of producers participating, the number of years of operation, the degree of financial

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[1] Fair Trade, Employment and Poverty Reduction in Ethiopia and Uganda is a four year research project (2009-13) funded by the UK Department for International Development (DFID).

viability, distance from markets. The range of rural areas participating in Fair Trade schemes (and therefore the range of possible research sites within a country) is very wide, but the reasons for deciding to focus fieldwork in a particular rural area, or on one particular group of certified producers, have rarely been explained in any detail.

For example, the only rationale for choosing producers in one methodologically ambitious, 'quasi-experimental' study of the welfare impact of fair trade programmes is briefly (and unsatisfactorily) stated as: 'The selection of FT organizations for the analysis has been conducted in coordination with Solidaridad' (Ruben et al., n.d.: 17).[2] A recent impact evaluation commissioned by the Fair Trade Foundation selected three smallholder banana producer organizations in three countries, but provided little discussion of the choice of smallholder organizations or the countries themselves (Smith, 2010: 28). Nevertheless, this study did acknowledge that one very important country producing fair trade bananas (Colombia) was for some unstated reason excluded from this 'Global Assessment of Impact' and that the three banana plantations selected were not at all representative of the majority of fair trade certified plantations (ibid: 33). In particular, two of the case studies of smallholders involved organizations that were 'larger, more sophisticated and/or more supported by external partners' than other fair trade organizations. Further, all three banana case studies were also unrepresentative of the majority of fair trade producers in that they sold almost their entire output to the fair trade market (ibid: 138).[3]

Most Fair Trade research has concentrated on an ideal type of crop producer, i.e. the small farm household using more family than hired labour to produce the certified crop. One systematic review of the certification literature found that 'most of the studies reviewed deal with the producer as a self-employed individual and with producer cooperatives' (International Trade Centre, 2011: 19). The Fairtrade

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[2] A less sophisticated study comparing Fair Trade, Utz and Rain Forest Alliance smallholder tea and coffee production in Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia offers a similarly brief and unsatisfactory rationale for the choice of case studies (Riisgaard et al., 2009: 11). A research report comparing South African wine producers following ethical ''codes of practice'' with producers not following these codes did explain the methods used to select producers and research sites in some detail, but did not take full account of the biases resulting from the need to ensure producers' cooperation (Ewert et al., 2005).

[3] Griffiths's review of the Fair Trade literature suggests that: 'These studies are concentrated on high profile cooperatives, and appear to be studies of cooperatives which sell more than the median proportion of their output to Fairtrade, to be more successful than the average in fact' (Griffiths, 2010: 3).

Foundation commissioned a review of 33 case studies, which concluded that: 'there is limited evidence of the impact on workers of participation in Fairtrade, and more research is required … ' (Nelson and Pound, 2009: 35). The study of Fair Trade certified smallholder banana organizations referred to above failed to obtain any data at all on workers hired by producers or their organizations in two of the three case studies (Smith, 2010: 52). Other research on the impact of Fair Trade certification, based on case studies of six rather successful and unrepresentative small producer organizations, simply assumes that the landless, women and those with limited education do not benefit from and are 'outside the dynamics of' Fair Trade labelling (Laroche and Guittard, 2009: 34). The International Initiative for Impact Evaluation highlights the problem that 'many Fairtrade organizations … establish a minimum price for producers but do not deal with the conditions of workers that the producers may employ' (International Initiative for Impact Evaluation, 2010: 2).[4]

Thus, the majority of these studies do not even attempt to construct samples of seasonal and permanent wageworkers producing certified export commodities. On the rare occasions when wageworkers are included in Fair Trade research, information on these workers is often collected from lists of wageworkers provided, and sometimes selected, by employers or by officially sanctioned worker representatives (Barrientos and Smith, 2006: 4, Ruben et al., n.d.: 23, Omosa et al., 2006: 7). These lists may well be censored and are certainly unlikely to contain all casual workers, let alone recently dismissed or disgruntled workers. The other main source is focus groups, with group membership guided by employers' advice, or over-representing the leaders of the permanent workforce, rather than large numbers of illiterate casual (female) wageworkers. No convincing rationale for the selection of members of these focus groups is provided (Pound and Phiri, 2009, Gonzalez, 2010).

The unrepresentative workers who appear on these lists or in these focus groups are, all too frequently, interviewed on their employer's premises (Ewert et al., 2005: 22-3, Barrientos et al., 2009: 27). Such interviews are unlikely to solicit reliable information; workers who are not interviewed in private and with firm assurances of confidentiality may go to great lengths to avoid the risk of being seen to offend

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[4] An important exception to this neglect of wageworkers is research by Valkila and Nygren (2009), Leuchtford et al. (2008), Maertens and Swinnen (2011), and Maertens et al (2011).

dominant classes. In Nicaragua, for example, some workers for cooperative coffee processing mills were interviewed at their workplace and some while waiting for buses along the roads outside the mills. 'Unsurprisingly, workers interviewed outside the mills were more critical of their working place than those interviewed inside. According to these workers, visitors often come to the mill to ask about their working conditions, but they are afraid to say anything negative for fear of losing their job' (Valkila and Nygren, 2009: 5).

The methodological and ideological shortcomings of much previous research on Fair Trade are especially egregious examples of more widespread features of rural development economics research. And Fair Trade is just one among many institutional forms of the broader phenomenon of agricultural exports. It has been acknowledged that too little is known about the transmission mechanisms linking agricultural commodity trade and poverty reduction. Collecting more evidence, specifically on complex rural labour markets linked to agricultural export production, is therefore urgently required. The evidence needed is not available because almost all socioeconomic surveys in developing countries fail to capture data on the most vulnerable, poorly educated casual and seasonal workers, especially temporary migrant workers (Sender et al., 2005, Sender and von Uexkull, 2009: 64-66, Pincus and Sender, 2008).[5] As we will argue below, one reason for this failure is the *a priori* standardized, narrow and inappropriate definition of 'the household' and its

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[5] On the poor coverage of rural wage employment in commonly cited Ethiopian surveys specifically, see Rizzo (2011). The more general point has been made that 'in much of the development literature on pro-poor growth nowadays, little or not attention is paid to the underlying mechanisms that determine the dynamics of income…specifically, the dynamics of employment growth and of how and to what extent productivity growth translates into the growth in labour earnings is left out of the equation' (Wuyts, 2010: 10). On the 'jobs dementia' that affects development aid thinking and agencies more generally, see also Amsden (2011), who points out, for example: 'Despite championing the cause of poor people around the world, and dramatizing the human condition, the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals make not the slightest mention of employment generation as a means to battle poverty (2011: 57).

'residents', and the use of incomplete household lists that miss out migrant workers at their workplace.

The methodology presented in this article is based on research techniques that differ from the methods commonly used in both standard rural surveys in Africa and in the evaluation of Fair Trade: the use of contrastive case-studies to understand causal channels leading to differences in employment and poverty; the construction of up-to-date household lists using GPS technology in order to remove some common but damaging biases that emerge in the use of official household lists; and an innovative approach based on a wider and more useful definition of household membership. These techniques are designed to try to overcome both the technical challenges of gathering evidence on elusive populations and the common analytical evasion of the significance of wage employment to the lives and prospects of the poorest people.

The FTEPRP fieldwork methods focus on providing gendered information concerning the relative importance for rural poverty reduction of *both* wage and self-employment in a variety of carefully selected rural settings. While rural wage work may be extensive in scale, the ideological and practical factors that tend to limit the coverage of such workers suggests that rural casual wageworkers should be regarded as a vulnerable, 'hard-to-reach' or 'hidden' population, excluded from many official statistical surveys and rural development programmes. This is why rigorous epidemiological research on similarly 'hard-to-reach' populations, such as illegal migrants, refugees, commercial sex workers, injecting drug users and other groups at high risk of HIV, offers valuable lessons for the design of surveys of rural labour markets in Africa. Indeed, the method adopted in the FTEPRP shares many features with Venue-based Sampling as developed by the US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (Muhib et al., 2001, Vermund et al., 2010). As Landry and Shen (2005: 1) explain, excluded populations tend not to be missing at random, so that census or survey data is usually biased, 'particularly with respect to minorities, immigrant groups, or the homeless'.

The success of this method depends on the ability of researchers to triangulate limited quantitative data with ethnographic qualitative work to identify specific geographic areas (or 'Venues') with a high density of the target population to be sampled. Section

2 (Selecting the Research Sites) of this article describes in some detail the rationale for and the qualitative methods used to identify the Research Sites for the FTEPRP: the main examples are drawn from fieldwork in Ethiopia, though some information is given also on the work in Uganda. This follows criticisms of many other rural survey approaches to the issue of research site selection.

The underlying research method developed for FTEPRP research and discussed in this paper is based on a contrastive case study approach that highlights the rationale for the purposive selection of different research sites and that generates comparisons within as well as between sites. The purpose is to assess the strength of mechanisms connecting agricultural commodity export production with the lives, and prospects for poverty reduction, of poor rural people, particularly those involved in wage employment.

Section 3 (Selecting the research sub-sites and sampling) discusses the additional methods used by the FTEPRP to select Research Sub-sites, i.e. the 'hotspots' containing concentrated populations of wageworkers producing export crops. Section 3 also describes the innovative methods to obtain household lists that are more accurate than those used in many other studies. This approach may be regarded as an adaptation of techniques using hand-held computers and global positioning devices – also pioneered by epidemiologists (Vanden Eng et al., 2007). Section 3 also highlights our approach to household membership, where we eschew the misleading and narrow criteria used by many other studies, in favour of an approach that allows the linkages between geographically distant individuals to be better understood.

Besides describing some new (soft and hard) technology used in the research, the paper advocates a very simple reform to the way that most rural research on poverty reduction is reported, recommending and demonstrating a greater openness and clarity on how and why particular research sites are chosen and sampling methods adopted.

SELECTING THE RESEARCH SITES

Although the evaluative research literature on Fair Trade organizations is especially weak methodologically, the problems highlighted in the introduction are shared by much economic research in poor rural areas. For example, the most influential rural

surveys conducted in Ethiopia in recent decades have made little effort to justify their selection of sample sites. Debates on rural poverty in Ethiopia very often cite the results of The Ethiopian Rural Household Surveys 1989-2004. These surveys selected only 15 (out of more than 20,000) *kebeles*[6] in Ethiopia as the sites for data collection. The rationale provided for the selection of these *kebeles* is confusing: initially some *kebeles* were chosen on the grounds that they were typical (in some undefined sense) of areas affected by the 1984-5 famine; additional *kebeles* were later selected 'to account for the diversity of the farming systems in the country' and it was then claimed that that households in the survey are 'broadly representative of households in non-pastoralist farming systems as of 1994' (Dercon and Hoddinott, 2009: 6-8).[7] However, 18 agro-ecological zones have been defined for Ethiopia (CSA, 2006: 16) and within each of these zones there are many hundreds of alternative *kebeles* that could have been be selected as research sites. The reasons for selecting the 15 particular *kebeles* that continue to be the focus of so much research are not discussed. There were plans to study exactly the same 15 *kebeles* in 2010, not on the old grounds that they are representative of agro-ecological zones, but because they 'fall into five main livelihood categories of broad relevance for policy' (Bevan, 2009: 14). However, no less than 175 extremely diverse 'livelihood zones' have been identified and mapped in Ethiopia (Livelihoods Integration Unit (LIU), 2011). The 15 *kebeles* selected for the ERHS obviously provide a limited coverage of this wide range of livelihood categories (The Livelihoods Integration Unit, 2010: 121). The claimed policy relevance of the selected sites is also questionable; they will certainly not be useful to illuminate some key economic policy debates - about floriculture, coffee or

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[6] In Ethiopia, the *kebele* is the smallest administrative unit. It is broadly comparable to a ward.
[7] A similar claim was made concerning the choice of the 36 villages surveyed in an influential study of poverty in rural Uganda: 'The selected villages represent quite well the considerable diversity that exists within the two selected regions'. However, the researchers make it clear that the actual choice of villages was heavily influenced by the wishes of District-level bureaucrats; the measures, or the relevance to issues of poverty, of the indicators of 'diversity' are not discussed (Krishna et al., 2006). Another study in four Districts of rural Uganda (of coffee producers) sampled *only* those producers appearing in the Uganda National Household Survey (UNHS). Unfortunately, the UNHS was not designed to be representative of coffee producers (or of households in each District), so that the sample cannot be considered representative of *robusta* producers in the Districts concerned, let alone of coffee producers in Uganda as a whole. This fundamental problem did not prevent the World Bank funded researcher from drawing conclusions about 'the Ugandan coffee market' and 'the majority of coffee grown in Uganda' from unrepresentative data (Hill, 2010: 455 and 438). The fact that the UNHS specifically excluded larger scale coffee farmers in Uganda from the survey is another important reason for caution in extrapolating its results to the coffee market as a whole (Ssekiboobo, 2008: 7).

foreign exchange availability, since they do not represent key areas characterized by agricultural export production.[8] A much more transparent discussion of the choice of rural research sites for another longitudinal survey in Ethiopia notes that 'budgeting constraints and concerns regarding the long-term sustainability of the study meant that the rural sites selected were located in relatively better accessible areas. This is likely to have resulted in (surveyed) rural households being located in wealthier sites than the typical Ethiopian rural household' (Outes-Leon and Sanchez, 2008: 4).

The choice of fieldwork site may be expedient and more or less defensible. For example, an authoritarian ruling political party or the Fair Trade certifying body or manipulative Co-operative Union officials may have pre-selected the area for the researchers, discouraging research in other areas; there may be insufficient research funding to travel to more distant research sites; record keeping may be weak at other sites, or production volumes erratic; local managers and state officials may welcome (or refuse) visits from outsiders. These types of practical issue will always play a role, but it is difficult to make a judgement about the meaning of research results if all the reasons for the selection of research sites are not discussed in detail. It is necessary to weigh up and balance complex information about potential sites, since sampling will have little credibility if it appears to have been *ad hoc* or whimsical (Wilson et al., 2006). There is, therefore, a strong case for an unusually thorough discussion of the rationale for, and the methods of, site selection in the FTEPRP.

The FTEPRP carries out *contrastive* research on rural employment and poverty dynamics in two very poor countries and is based on a theoretical case for the importance of studying the impact of small- and large-scale export crop production, certified and non-certified production, and the production of different commodities. The point is to explore the factors responsible for differences between phenomena in conditions with some common features: first, to establish whether there are contrasts, and what they are, between Fair Trade and non-Fair Trade crop production, or

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[8] The broader political relevance of the sample is also questionable; the ERHS is not representative of the ethnic and religious composition of the rural Ethiopian population: e.g. Oromos are underrepresented (Kumar and Quisumbing, 2010: 2).

between Fair Trade production and labour in coffee versus flowers, for example; second, to try to explain some of these differences (Lawson, 2003, Lawson, 2004).[9]

Given that FTEPRP research includes an assessment of the 'impact' of Fair Trade, this approach may appear to have something in common with the randomized controlled trial (RCT), 'experimental' method used to evaluate development 'treatments' (Banerjee and Duflo, 2011). This paper is not primarily intended to provide a critique of RCT 'randomista' methods. However, it is worth briefly contrasting these with the methods designed for FTEPRP research. The purposive selection of sub-sites and the decisions to oversample certain groups (wageworkers) were key elements of the FTEPRP's effort to understand complex mechanisms and to accumulate new knowledge about rural development processes through old-fashioned theoretically motivated descriptive research. Such methods have been favourably compared to more fashionable 'quasi-experimental' methods promoted by the RCT advocates (Deaton, 2010). The argument is that it is far more important to achieve an improved understanding of how (through what mechanisms), for whom (which specific population groups), or why the production of export commodities might influence rural poverty, rather than to answer the narrow question of whether or not significant poverty reduction effects have been achieved on 'average' in the 'treatment' (e.g. the Fair Trade certified) group.[10] Our research questions go beyond the usually narrow scope of the parameters of interest to social experiments in RCTs (Ravallion 2009, 2). Nor does the contrastive research strategy adopted for FTEPRP fieldwork make over-ambitious claims to establish 'control' groups, emphasising rather the complexity and flux *within* specific rural populations and research sites. Further, the emphasis within FTEPRP research on the distributive implications of different institutional arrangements for agricultural export production contrasts with the typical RCT effort to isolate *average* 'treatment' effects.

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[9] See also George and Bennett (2005) on comparative case studies.

[10] Besides, randomized experiment methods are most readily applicable in the case of discrete, homogenous interventions with clearly delineated target groups, rather than in the study of more complicated sets of interventions to improve rural welfare through promoting commodity exports. 'A proper RE requires a high degree of homogeneity in intervention, target groups and context over time, conditions which are unlikely to hold in many cases' (Vaessen, 2010: 15). Moreover, as Ravallion (2009: 2) notes, 'randomization is only feasible for a non-random subset of the interventions and settings relevant to development… [and] better suited to relatively simple projects, with easily identified "participants" and "non-participants"', not the case in our research project.

A decision was taken early on in consultation with the funding agency to select two commodities in each country, allowing for further contrasts within – and in the case of one commodity across – the two countries. Thus, the research team chose to study labour markets in coffee and flower producing sites in Ethiopia and coffee and tea producing sites in Uganda. The reasons for choosing coffee, tea and flower production include: the macro-economic importance of at least two of these commodities in Ethiopia and Uganda; the labour-intensity and contribution to employment of all these commodities; the relatively long history of Fair Trade and other certification schemes for these commodities; the dramatic contrast between the dynamism of floriculture in Ethiopia and the relative stagnation in the production of both coffee and tea in Uganda and in the production of coffee in Ethiopia; and the opportunity to contrast techniques of *arabica* production with those of *robusta* production.

The contrastive objectives implied that it would be useful to identify several of the most important agricultural commodity exporting research sites in each country.[11] Table 1 indicates the degree to which the objective of studying certified and non-certified production on large and small-scale farms could be combined in each country.[12] It can be seen that it was impossible to identify appropriate research sites to complete all of the elements of the simple matrix in Table 1 because, for example, there are no small-scale Fair Trade certified floricultural enterprises in Ethiopia and no large-scale Fair Trade certified coffee estates in either country. This was one reason for the selection of only 6 research sites in each country, although the constraints imposed by the FTEPRP budget also limited the total number of research sites that could be considered. There are clearly difficulties involved in this approach. It may for example be difficult to attribute outcomes to certification as opposed to scale. This will present challenges that may in part be addressed through the detail

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[11] An effort was particularly made to identify cases exemplifying the 'best' producing sites in terms of reputation for quality and dynamism in addition to other relatively 'average' sites, in order to achieve a more consistent contrastive exploration.

[12] Large-scale farms are defined as enterprises employing at least 75 wageworkers; small-scale farms are defined as enterprises that are members of Fair Trade certified smallholder cooperatives, or as enterprises employing less than 75 workers.

and, especially, the qualitative research that the project will undertake in 2012 to complement the quantitative analysis of a large survey.

Table 1. Research Site Selection in Ethiopia and Uganda

	ETHIOPIA			
	Floriculture		Coffee	
	Large Scale	Small Scale	Large Scale	Small Scale
Fair Trade	Tefki	n.a.	n.a.	Fero, Sidama
Non-Fair Trade	Ziway	Holeta	Limu-Kossa	Kochere, Yirgacheffe
	UGANDA			
	Tea		Coffee	
	Large Scale	Small Scale	Large Scale	Small Scale
Fair Trade	n.a.	Kabarole-Mpanga	n.a.	Ankole-Ishaka (ACPCU)
Non-Fair Trade	Ankole-Ishaka	Kabale	Kaweri	Masaka

Within the boundaries of each of these six research sites, it was possible to achieve additional variation, i.e. to identify further contrastive opportunities, by careful selection of heterogeneous sub-sites, or 'venues', for sampling. For example, some export production sub-sites are in rural areas of very recent settlement and others in areas where people have been living for many years. The research sites in Ethiopia are shown on Map 1, while research sites in Uganda are shown on Map 2. The location of the (number….) sub-sites can be seen in Maps…

(Insert Maps 1 and 2, plus link to web site)

Selecting the Research Sites: Examples from Ethiopia

The selection of research sites and also the timing of surveys are important to the collection of useful data. The fieldwork process was timed to ensure that research in

coffee production sites coincided with the October-January peak in the Ethiopian coffee harvest in 2010/11, and with periods of relatively strong labour demand for tea and coffee production in Uganda.[13] Venue-based sampling by epidemiologists identifies days and times when the target population gathers at specific venues to construct a sampling frame of venue, day-time units. However, the FTEPRP venues (research sub-sites) are not strictly comparable to urban bars, for example.[14] In rural Africa, the target population of wageworkers may only work seasonally, but during peak seasons many of the wageworkers actually live within the research site continuously for several weeks, rather than visiting the 'venue' for a few hours on a few days per month. Targeting during peak periods may also help capture 'local' casual labourers from neighbouring villages by scoping at the workplace and identifying sub-sites within the broader 'venue' where daily casual workers come from.

Provided that the schedule of fieldwork was planned to coincide with harvesting periods of peak labour demand in coffee and the flush in tea, it was easy to create a sampling frame by listing *all* the residential units (RUs) within selected research sub-sites, as discussed in Section 3 below. The detail of selection of our sites in Ethiopia is presented below, in order to illustrate some key themes.

Floriculture Research Sites

Only one of the 61 operational flower farms in Ethiopia (Golden Rose) is Fair Trade certified. As Golden Rose has been described as 'one of the most successful farms' in the floriculture sector (Gebreeyesus and Iizuka, 2010: 17), it was important to investigate other farms that could provide contrasting evidence about non-Fair Trade flower production. So it was decided to select a large-scale comparator that was also widely regarded as extremely successful, but that aimed to achieve MPS[15] rather than

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[13] Floricultural labour input demand is much less seasonal than the pattern of labour input demand for the other two crops, especially coffee.

[14] The venue-based samples in the USA often attempt to reach stigmatized populations; it should be noted that female agricultural wage workers in Africa and elsewhere are also stigmatized – as sexually available to and promiscuous with male co-workers (Sender et al., 2006, Preibisch and Encalada Grez, 2010).

[15] The MPS Socially Qualified certificate is awarded to growers whose products are cultivated under good working conditions. The MPS-GAP certificate can be obtained by growers that satisfy all the requirements of supermarket sales outlets (Flower Council of Holland, 2011).

Fair Trade certification. Sher-Ethiopia, located at Ziway, was selected as it is the largest rose exporter from Ethiopia, employing more than 10,000 workers in the town of Ziway alone.[16] The third contrasting site would cover farms likely to be representative of smaller-scale, non-certified flower producers. The area around Holeta was chosen, including Menagesha Town and the nearby Ch'ri village. This area is one of the three key floriculture agglomerations in Ethiopia (Mano et al., 2010). Several farms in the immediate vicinity of this research site have had difficulties servicing their debt;[17] and repeated strikes by daily farm labour have also been reported in this area (Assefa, 2009). Floricultural exports from the third site were likely, therefore, to be having a different impact on wageworkers from the impact found at Golden Rose or Sher-Ziway. Whether this contrast – if revealed to exist – is influenced by the difference in certification or more by other factors would be one question for the research.

Coffee Research Sites

Fair Trade certified *arabica* coffee, unlike flowers, is produced in very many areas of Ethiopia, creating a much wider scope of potential research sites. Ethiopia has trademarked three different coffees – Sidamo, Yirgacheffe and Harrar, produced in different geographical zones (Rotstein and Christie, 2009, Arslan and Reicher, 2011), while other areas of Ethiopia are recognized as producing distinctive and highly priced specialty certified coffee, including Limu Coffee produced in Jimma Zone.

Among those involved in Fair Trade coffee production, the Oromia Coffee Farmers' Cooperative Union (OCFCU) has grown particularly rapidly and in scoping for the research OCFCU cooperatives were considered as potential research sites. OCFCU was the first coffee producer to obtain Fair Trade certification – in 1999. A total of 28 of the Primary Cooperatives in OCFCU are now certified and they sell perhaps the best-publicized Ethiopian Fair Trade coffee. The charismatic general manager of the OCFCU (Tadesse Meskele) features prominently on the websites of the Fair Trade Foundation and Oxfam America; he played a leading role in a frequently televised and widely distributed film on Ethiopian coffee (*Black Gold*).

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[16] It is also a subsidiary of Sher Holland BV, the biggest rose producer in the world
[17] The Development Bank of Ethiopia (DBE) has so far foreclosed on six out of the 42 flower farms to which it has made loans (Haddush, 2010).

Tadesse arranged visits in Yirgacheffe to the two most successful and well established of the Fair Trade Certified Primary Cooperatives in the OCFCU. Both of these cooperatives could have been selected as research sites for a study of the impact of coffee exports on wage employment: it was immediately obvious that, in sharp contrast to Fair Trade publicity, the certified 'smallholder' members used a great deal of wage labour on their farms.[18] However, these two sites had already been burdened with visits from so many foreign celebrities, ethical coffee tourists and graduate students that it would have been difficult to step outside the role of useful idiot to conduct rigorous research.[19]

The Fero 1 Primary Cooperative Society, part of the Sidamo Coffee Farmers Cooperative Union, was selected as the site to investigate Fair Trade *certified* smallholder coffee production. It has been Fair Trade certified since 2003 and is regarded by interview sources in Ethiopia as the best of the 39 certified Cooperative Societies in the Union. There are several arguments in favour of this site: the members of this Society (more than 700) include several relatively large farmers (cultivating about 5 ha. of coffee) who generate a great deal of wage employment on their farms and have received several prizes for the quality of the coffee they produce; Starbucks has a direct relationship with this Society and purchases a significant quantity of its output, providing researchers with an opportunity to study the operations of one of the largest purchasers in the world market for coffee; the Fero 1 Cooperative operates its own processing factories and the site is near four large private sector coffee processing plants, all generating substantial wage employment. The site provides opportunities for research into the scale and employment impact of cooperative members' sales to the large-scale local private sector processing and trading network, as well as to Fair Trade and Utz Kapeh certified cooperatives.

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[18] As it had been nearly ten years previously when one of the FTEPRP researchers visited one of the same cooperatives as part of a consultancy undertaken for the Ethiopian Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MOFED).

[19] The research team was taken to visit the same two flagship Primary Cooperatives (and to meet the same individual farmer) described on the web site of Cooperative Coffees, a Fair Trade Importing Cooperative (http://www.coopcoffees.com/what/trading-partners/oromia-ethiopia-1/oromia-ethiopia) and on several other websites promoting US-based 'ethical' coffee importers. On useful idiots and Potemkin Villages, see Doris Lessing, 'I was taken around and shown things as a useful idiot' (http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/podcasts/worldservice/docarchive/docarchive_20100804-0905a.mp3).

In choosing a site for *non-Fair Trade certified* smallholder coffee research site, industry advice suggested the area of Kochere, where experts reported a smallholder site consistently producing exceptionally high quality Yirgacheffe coffee. [20] Illycaffe S.p.A. - perhaps the most important multinational company operating in 'the quality-intensive segment of the coffee value chain' (Kaplinsky, 2007: 12) and supplying over 50,000 public venues in 140 countries – is a consistent buyer of Ethiopian coffee and has sourced over 80 per cent of its Ethiopian coffee from this area. Over a period of about 15 years Illy has built up a relationship with a processor operating in the Kochere area in an effort to ensure a supply of beans of consistent quality (Illycaffé, 2008). Illy claims to have improved the supply of precisely the type of beans they need by encouraging this processor to pay a price directly to coffee farmers (not to middlemen or to traders) that is up to 40 per cent higher than the prices offered by other processors.[21]

A third research site, producing non-certified coffee on large-scale farms, could not be found in the Yirgacheffe, Sidamo or Harrar areas, where there are no coffee estates. However, industry experts helped the team to identify best-practice coffee plantations[22] (in both private and state ownership), producing very high quality coffee in Limu Kossa *woreda*, near Jimma. The sites selected to examine the impact of large scale and non-certified coffee production were in Limu-Kossa *woreda*, Northwest of Jimma. Experts on coffee and representatives of coffee trading companies were able to identify three contrasting types of high quality and large scale farms easily accessible within this area. The Giday farm, which is Rainforest Alliance certified, is one of the largest privately owned coffee farms in the country, producing on 400 relatively high yielding hectares and employing about 800 workers. Also in the area are the Nigusie Lemma plantation (about 129 ha, of which 85 ha were in production in 2009), where the first exports last year achieved accolades for high quality in international competition (CoffeeShrub, 2010), and Kossa State Farm, which is not

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[20] This was the judgement of the President of the Ethiopian Coffee Exporters' Association, the Head of the Green Coffee Department of Illycaffe, and the Ethiopia Country Director of the Neumann Kaffee Gruppe.

[21] Interview with Alessio Colussi, Addis Ababa, February 2010.

[22] Coffee is produced on a large scale by state-owned plantations and by a large and growing number of private estates in Ethiopia. Coffee estates are spread across 137 woredas, but the most well established estates are concentrated in the Oromia (Jimma) area.

only the largest of the 7 plantations owned by the Coffee Plantation Development Enterprise (cultivating 1,451 ha, with about 2,700 workers), but achieves higher coffee quality and yields per hectare than all the other farms in CPDE's portfolio.

The selected plantations in the Limu-Kossa area employ very different amounts of local, migrant, permanent and seasonal labour; they recruit and remunerate labour by different methods and from a variety of locations, making this a very suitable area to study the employment impact of coffee exporting. One of the producers selected, Giday, is Rainforest Alliance certified, and this adds a level of variation and comparison within this area.

In summary, the detailed selection of sites in Ethiopia is presented to show how a contrastive exploration has been operationalized. The research strategy was always to focus only on sites successfully producing high quality coffees that fetched comparably high prices in export markets, while at the same time ensuring a mix of Fair Trade certified, non-certified, and large farm production sites. As noted above, the strategy was then to identify the 'best' within a given category to allow comparisons with other 'best' cases, as well as with 'average' and/or smaller-scale in the case of flowers. A similar strategy was followed in Uganda.[23]

SELECTING THE RESEARCH SUB-SITES AND SAMPLING

The FTEPRP aimed to interview *individual* respondents using a questionnaire to collect data on many aspects of employment, living conditions and poverty. The problem of how these respondents should be selected was solved through an innovative approach to stratified random sampling within each of the research sites. This approach succeeded in overcoming some of the obvious deficiencies of sampling methods used in other research on Fair Trade and in many other rural surveys.

As argued above, almost all socioeconomic surveys in developing countries fail to capture data on the most vulnerable, poorly educated casual and seasonal workers,

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[23] Details of site selection in Uganda, and an extended discussion of the FTEPRP methodology, can be found in 'Methodological Issues', FTEPRP Discussion Paper No.1 on the project website: www.ftepr.org

especially temporary migrant workers.[24] One reason for this failure is that the most influential of these surveys, the Living Standards Measurement–type household surveys (LSMS) promoted and funded by the World Bank throughout the developing world, rely on an *a priori* standardized, narrow and inappropriate definition of 'the household' and its 'residents'. So, in both Ethiopia and Uganda, the Rural Household Surveys and the National Household Surveys fail to collect detailed information from 'non-residents' concerning migration episodes in search of wage employment.[25] Important groups of vulnerable wageworkers, especially those engaged in seasonal, casual and low-paid jobs outside major urban centres, are frequently not 'resident' in 'households'. They live and work for long periods in hostels, labour camps, barracks, construction sites and illegal squatter settlements, or they have been given some space to sleep at their workplace during the harvest season, or while working as domestic servants. These are the 'nowhere people', the uncounted flocks of footloose migrants who 'drift in and out of temporary worksites' (Breman, 2010: 135). Such migrant workers remit part of their wage earnings to other individuals and these remittances are usually recorded in the LSMS Surveys covering the recipients' households. Unfortunately these wage earnings are not classified as wage income in the receiving households, leading to a serious underestimate of the degree to which poor rural households depend on income derived from wage employment.

Household surveys in Ethiopia and Uganda are based on samples drawn from lists of rural households provided by village-level authorities. Officially maintained registers of 'households' are often used as the basis for the distribution of scarce resources such as food aid, or subsidized agricultural inputs and credit; rural elites are likely to have good reasons for selective editing of the names appearing on lists of potential

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[24] At the other end of the scale, the largest and richest farmers in a rural area may also be excluded from lists of households or farm households, because their farms are not defined as being operated by 'households' (Choudhry, 2008: 11), or simply because surveys of households usually exclude the top end of the wealth/income distribution (Banerjee and Piketty, 2003: 4, Székely and Hilgert, 1999, Deaton, 2001). The domestic and farm servants living with and working for the rural rich are, therefore, also missing from rural household surveys.

[25] Some implications of the failure to collect information on young, mobile rural people who are defined as 'non-residents' in conventional household surveys have been quantified using data from Burkina Faso – their exclusion has a major influence on assessments of rural living standards (Akresh and Edmonds, 2010). In Vietnam, assessments of rural and urban living standards have been shown to be unreliable for the same reasons (Pfau and Giang, 2008).

beneficiaries.[26] Besides, fieldwork experience in these two countries, as well as elsewhere in Africa, indicates that these lists are frequently unreliable because, apart from excluding marginalized people who have encroached as squatters and all those living in arrangements that do not correspond to standardized households, the lists are not sufficiently up-to-date to include all newly arrived (or departed) residents.[27] For these reasons, the FTEPRP population frame was created on the basis of a new and complete census of *all* types of housing structures discovered in the research sub-sites, i.e. FTEPRP sampled from an up-to-date list of Residential Units rather than the conventional list of arbitrarily defined 'heads of households'. The process of listing Residential Units is described in more detail below.

Sample Size, Stratification and Oversampling

The budget for fieldwork was one of the determinants of the overall sample size. It was calculated that the first round quantitative survey could only afford to interview approximately 750 individual respondents, equivalent to about 120 respondents per site, in each country. Since comparisons between sites will be an extremely important part of the FTEPRP analysis, there were good arguments for achieving a roughly equal sample size in each site, also considering possible variation *within* sites (Wilson et al., 2006: 357-8).

The random sample at each purposively chosen site was large enough to be statistically representative of *all* adults (aged 14 years or older) resident in the

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[26] Ethnographic work in two villages in Northeast Ethiopia describes how local officials administering the Productive Safety Net Programme constructed lists of households so as to reserve the benefits of the programme for 'the more affluent and economically potent households', excluding 'the poorest and chronically food-insecure households', many of which depended on casual agricultural wage labour (Bishop and Hilhorst, 2010).

[27] For example, fieldwork in Kabale District in Uganda compared the official list of households maintained by one LC1 Chairman with a careful FTEPRP village census. The Chairman's list was found to be grossly inaccurate. There is evidence, insufficiently discussed in the relevant survey documentation, that lists of households at the *kebelle* level in Ethiopia, which are regularly used as rural sampling frames, are also unreliable. For example, a choice has to be made between alternative lists of households held by the *kebelle* Chairman, local Health Extension Workers or Development Agents; one or more of these lists may well have been amended by the survey team (IFPRI and EEPRI, n.d.). It has been admitted that not all villages sampled in the Ethiopian Rural Household Surveys had 'good' lists of registered households (Dercon and Hoddinott, 2009: 7). A quantitative survey in the Northeastern Highlands of Ethiopia, backed up by careful qualitative work, indicated that official *kebelle* lists usually excluded households that did not pay tax, as well as some single person households and people belonging to 'socially marginalized groups' (Sharp et al., 2003: 36).

research sub-site areas, as shown in Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5 and discussed below. However, the total sample at each research site was also designed to *over-sample* those adults whose experience has been neglected in previous surveys but was most relevant to FTEPRP research, namely casual wageworkers producing the relevant export crop. The design did *not* rely on an arbitrary definition of the 'Household Head' in selecting the target respondents; and the lists from which the samples were drawn were far more accurate and up-to-date than in most rural surveys.

In addition, the total sample at each research site was designed to ensure some variation in the characteristics of respondents, mainly through the choice of sub-sites. For example, in Ziway two distinctive sub-sites were selected, both of which contain a large proportion of flower wageworkers. The first was an established part of Ziway town, where most residents originated from Ziway or its immediate surroundings. The other sub-site was a very new neighbourhood on the border of the rapidly growing town. This is an area where most newly-arriving migrant workers settle, many of them originating from the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and People's Region (SNNPR) of Ethiopia. Exclusively sampling in only one of the two would have resulted in the virtual exclusion of either group of core respondents. By random sampling in several contrasting, purposively selected sub-sites it was possible to achieve much more heterogeneous samples – samples that included non-migrant and food crop wageworkers, females, more highly paid and permanent wageworkers, etc. The analysis could therefore be based on comparisons of data covering very different types of local people, leading to a better understanding of the complexities of the determinants of rural welfare.

During the fieldwork, sub-site selection and sampling proceeded in six distinct stages:

1. Several days of qualitative research and discussions with key informants living in each research site provided sufficient information to identify sub-sites (venues) where there was a relative concentration of Residential Units (RUs) housing wageworkers.

2. A boundary was drawn around each research sub-site with the aid of waypoints defined by the GPS Unit attached to a handheld computer (PDA).[28]

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[28] Epidemiologists have pioneered the use of these technologies for surveys in rural Africa; see for example Vanden Eng et al (2007). The FTEPRP benefited from advice and training in

In some cases the relevant boundaries were obvious, since a labour camp, for instance, covered a small well-defined area, or a village containing wageworkers as well as farmers was small and isolated from all other RUs. In other cases, the size of the sub-site was determined by a rough estimate of the total number of RUs required in that sub-site to achieve the target number of randomly selected respondents. The research officer and a field supervisor then made a complete enumeration (census) of all the RUs observed within the sub-site boundaries defined in stage 2. An RU was defined as *any structure in which at least one person was sleeping.* Special care was taken by these senior and experienced members of the research team to record the precise GPS location and to assign an identifier to all RUs, including non-conventional RUs, e.g. temporary shacks and the doors of rented rooms where migrants were sleeping. The complete census of a sub-site could be completed fairly rapidly, since it involved walking up to the door of each RU and entering its position on the PDA.[29] Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5 show the number of RUs identified in the census of each sub-site and the assumptions made to arrive at an estimate of the total number of individual adults likely to be resident in the sub-site. These assumptions were based on conversations with residents during stage 1 and later, while undertaking the census.

3. Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5 also show the percentage of randomly selected RUs that were subsequently revisited in order to compile an accurate and up-to-date list (sampling frame) of adult potential respondents living in RUs in the research sub-site. A high proportion of RUs - between 45 and 100 per cent of the total number of RUs identified in the census - were randomly selected, using the software installed on the PDA.[30] Enumerators were then sent to each of the

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the use of PDAs with GPS provided by Anja Terlouw and James Smedley of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine.

[29] The census of RUs in rural Ethiopia and Uganda was much less problematic than similar exercises listing unregistered urban populations in China with the aid of PDAs; there it was necessary to take a great deal of time to enumerate thoroughly, 'looking for doors behind doors' (Treiman et al., 2005: 13). Depending on settlement density and topography, the FTERP research teams might enumerate between 80 and 150 RUs a day in rural settings, while in the more urban settlements of Ziway this could rise to more than 300 a day.

[30] The software used for GPS navigation and the collection of GPS census data was CDC-GPS2, developed by a team of researchers at the Centre for Disease Control (freely available at http://ftp.cdc.gov/pub/gpscs/). The digital questionnaires were designed and programmed using 'Syware Visual CE' (http://www.syware.com/products/visual_ce.php). In some smallholder coffee research sub-sites in Uganda, *all* of the RUs identified in the census, as

randomly selected RUs (or to all of the RUs) to make contact with *any willing adult* who had slept in the RU on the previous night. It was usually easy, with the aid of the GPS device and the locations recorded in the census, for enumerators to find these randomly selected RUs and a willing respondent. The interviews were completed electronically, using a short questionnaire installed on the PDA. On average, completing an interview and entering all the basic data on the PDA required less than 15 minutes. Data on a very large number of adults could then be uploaded onto spreadsheets by the research officer, as the basis for the final random and stratified sample of respondents.

4. The research officer, in consultation with all the members of the research team (by email or Skype), analysed on a spreadsheet the data uploaded to his laptop computer from the electronic questionnaires. The key information used to define strata for the final sample of adults concerned labour market participation and migration. For example, adults could be classified into the following strata: 'never worked for wages'; 'currently working for (a named certified or non-certified export crop enterprise)'; 'currently working for wages for another farm'; 'currently working for wages for an export crop processing factory'; 'recent migrant'.[31] The size of the final stratified random sample of adult respondents for each research sub-site is shown in Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5. It was easy to confirm that the final sample was representative of the large population list of adults from which it was drawn – in the sense that the gender, mean age and education of the sample respondents closely matched the gender, mean age and education recorded in the population lists, as shown in Chart 1. This congruence was to be expected, since rather high percentages of the individuals in all the strata on the population list were sampled; and an even higher proportion (an oversample) of wageworkers had been drawn.

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opposed to a random selection of RU's, were re-visited to obtain the expanded sampling frame of individuals. This strategy was adopted in research sites where export crop wageworkers lived in scattered RUs interspersed with many other RUs containing no such workers. The aim was to ensure that the population list of individuals contained a sufficient number of the scattered wageworkers, so that a random sample drawn from the list of individuals was likely to capture both respondents with and without relevant labour market experience.

[31] The list of possible classifications of respondents varied across research sites. The electronic questionnaire included additional questions for some research sites, reflecting the type of variation that FTEPRP hoped to achieve in the context of different crops and production contexts.

5. Enumerators were instructed to visit the respondents selected for the final sample and they then completed a long, paper-based questionnaire that provided information not only about the selected individual respondent, but also about a large number of other individuals to whom the respondent was 'economically linked'. The concept of a roster of 'economically linked' individuals replaces the more conventional concept of a 'household roster' (based on *residential* criteria), providing additional and extremely useful information on labour market participation and the other characteristics of individuals usually considered 'absent' and therefore irrelevant to an analysis of the welfare of rural populations.[32] The problems and associated 'myths' surrounding the use of conventional (residential) definitions of the 'household' in rural surveys in Africa have been subject to extensive debate and criticism (Adato et al., 2007, Akresh and Edmonds, 2010, Guyer and Peters, 1987, O'Laughlin, 1995). Despite widespread knowledge of the limitations of traditional, simple residence coding rules for household membership, few alternatives have been applied in large-scale surveys. There are challenges in using a more realistic 'economic household' definition; but these are far outweighed by the benefits of not missing relevant linked members and therefore achieving a more solid basis for understanding individual and household welfare.

6. Finally, GPS identifiers helped enumerators to locate the individuals selected for the sample and to locate respondents randomly selected as substitutes by the research officer in case the individual originally selected could not be found or did not consent to the interview. On average the time gap between compiling the sample frame and conducting the eventual interview was about 10-14 days. However, given the highly mobile nature of the target group, it proved necessary to interview substitutes in 247 out of 1705 interviews (14.5

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[32] The definition was designed to include the four following categories of linked individuals: (1) those who *live permanently* with the principal respondent and who share income and expenditure; (2) those who, even if not sharing residence on a *regular* basis, make significant economic contributions (in cash or in kind) to the expenses of the household/respondent; (3) those who, even if not sharing residence, regularly depend on economic contributions in cash or in kind from the respondent or others in the RU; (4) those who, even if not resident *at all* in the same place as the respondent, either can be relied upon by the respondent, or receive contributions from the respondent.

per cent). All substitutes were drawn randomly within the specific sub-site where the originally selected respondent lived.[33]

CONCLUSION

Fair Trade is one institutional arrangement mediating people's involvement in world markets for agricultural commodities as producers and workers. Very little is known in general about the ways in which involvement in these markets affects prospects for poverty reduction. Especially little is known about the labour market dimensions of this set of linkages. It is hoped that by focusing on Fair Trade, employment and poverty reduction in Ethiopia and Uganda FTEPRP research will contribute to wider understanding of these linkages, as well as specifically to the currently woeful state of knowledge on wage employment in production for Fair Trade certifications schemes.

This paper has made it clear how fragile are the methodological foundations of many studies of the impact of Fair Trade. Again, these are particularly sharp versions of shortcomings that are much more widespread in rural economic research. Lack of clarity about research site selection and ill considered sampling methods are often compounded by ideological blind spots.

It is to highlight the significance of these methodological weaknesses and to begin to address them that this paper has summarized the fieldwork methods designed for the FTEPRP research. Aside from the aim of ensuring that rural wage workers were included, three methodological choices have been highlighted: a site selection protocol allowing for contrastive explanation; the construction of accurate and up-to-date household lists using GPS technology and a particular approach to sampling within research sites; and an approach to household membership emphasizing economic linkages rather than short-term residence criteria. The hope is that these methods can allow for more accurate evidence to be collected and more rigorous analysis developed of the larger number of 'hidden' wage workers in rural Africa.

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[33] The site selection and sampling methods and technology allow for a follow-up survey of a sub-sample of the original respondents. FTEPRP research also involves qualitative research methods, including life histories of a small sample of those included in the initial survey.

This marks the project out from much rural economic research in poor countries. Adapting technology that has more widely been used by epidemiologists, FTEPRP research used a combination of techniques, including global positioning satellite (GPS) devices, handheld (PDA) computers and traditional paper based questionnaires to carry out rural surveys that yield evidence that could not be so easily made available by other means. The methods adopted in this project may also be of interest to those hoping to carry out their own rural research while avoiding the pitfalls that so many researchers in rural Africa have failed to circumvent. In particular, the discussion here may be helpful to those with an interest in redressing the remarkable lack of evidence on the ways rural labour markets operate, the ways in which and extent to which wage employment is central to the lives of huge numbers of poor rural people, and the mechanisms through which involvement in successful and less successful agricultural export activities affects the welfare and prospects of extremely poor people.

The project's methods differ from 'traditional' area-sampling approaches. For aside from the convenience of using GPS and computer technology rapidly to generate reliable sampling frames, FTEPRP research has presented a clear rationale for and has described in detail the process of selecting research sites, instead of fetishizing the random first stage selection of administratively or geographically defined areas, or making dubious claims concerning the national representativity of the research sites selected.

Tables

Table 2. The Ethiopian Floriculture Sample

Ethiopia Flowers	Tefki	Ziway	Holeta	total
GPS census, RUs	629	1042	609	2280
PDA survey, RUs	294	432	340	1066
PDA survey, individuals	688	900	770	2358
PDA survey sample size (% of total RUs)	46.74%	41.46%	55.83%	46.75%
Average number of adults per RU	2.34	2.08	2.26	2.21
Extrapolated no of adults in site	1476	2171	1378	5043
Total number of individuals interviewed (paper-based questionnaire)	108	116	120	344
Estimated % of total population interviewed	7.32%	5.34%	8.71%	6.82%

Table 3. The Ethiopian Coffee Sample

Ethiopia Coffee	Jimma	Fero	Kochera	total
GPS census, RUs	823	958	660	2441
PDA survey, RUs	583	479	345	1407
PDA survey, individuals	1494	1396	1068	3958
PDA survey sample size (% of total RUs)	70.84%	50.00%	52.27%	57.64%
Average number of adults per RU	2.56	2.91	3.10	2.81
Extrapolated no of adults in site	2099	2790	2029	6867
Total number of individuals interviewed (paper-based questionnaire)	248	160	163	571
Estimated % of total population interviewed	11.82%	5.73%	8.28%	8.32%

Table 4. The Uganda Tea Sample

| Uganda Tea	Kabarole	Ankole-Ishaka	Kabale	total
GPS census, RUs	349	437	564	1350
PDA survey, RUs	228	284	378	890
PDA survey, individuals	489	623	902	2014
PDA survey sample size (% of total RUs)	65.33%	64.99%	67.02%	65.93%
Average number of adults per RU	2.14	2.19	2.39	2.26
Extrapolated no of adults in site	749	959	1346	3055
Total number of individuals interviewed (paper-based questionnaire)	113	132	102	347
Estimated % of total population interviewed	15.10%	13.77%	7.58%	11.36%

Table 5. The Ugandan Coffee Sample

Uganda Coffee	Mubende	Masaka	Ankole-Ishaka	total
GPS census, RUs	1020	430	456	1906
PDA survey, RUs	494	430	456	1380
PDA survey, individuals	906	960	899	2765
PDA survey sample size (% of total RUs)	48.43%	100.00%	100.00%	72.40%
Average number of adults per RU	1.834008	2.23	1.97	2.00
Extrapolated no of adults in site	1870.688	960	899	3819
Total number of individuals interviewed (paper-based questionnaire)	144	144	150	438
Estimated % of total population interviewed	7.70%	15.00%	16.69%	11.47%

Table 6. Summary of FTEPRP Sample Sizes

	ET flowers	ET coffee	UG tea	UG coffee	total
GPS census, RUs	2280	2441	1350	1906	7977
PDA survey, RUs	1066	1407	890	1380	4743
PDA survey, individuals	2358	3958	2014	2765	11095
PDA survey sample size (% of total RUs)	46.75%	57.64%	65.93%	72.40%	59.46%
Average number of adults per RU	2.21	2.81	2.26	2.00	2.339237
Extrapolated no of adults in site	5043	6867	3055	3819	18660.09
Total number of individuals interviewed (paper-based questionnaire)	335	571	347	438	1705
Estimated % of total population interviewed	6.64%	8.32%	11.36%	11.47%	9.14%

Chart 1. Comparing Selected Statistics for the FTEPRP Sample and the Total Population
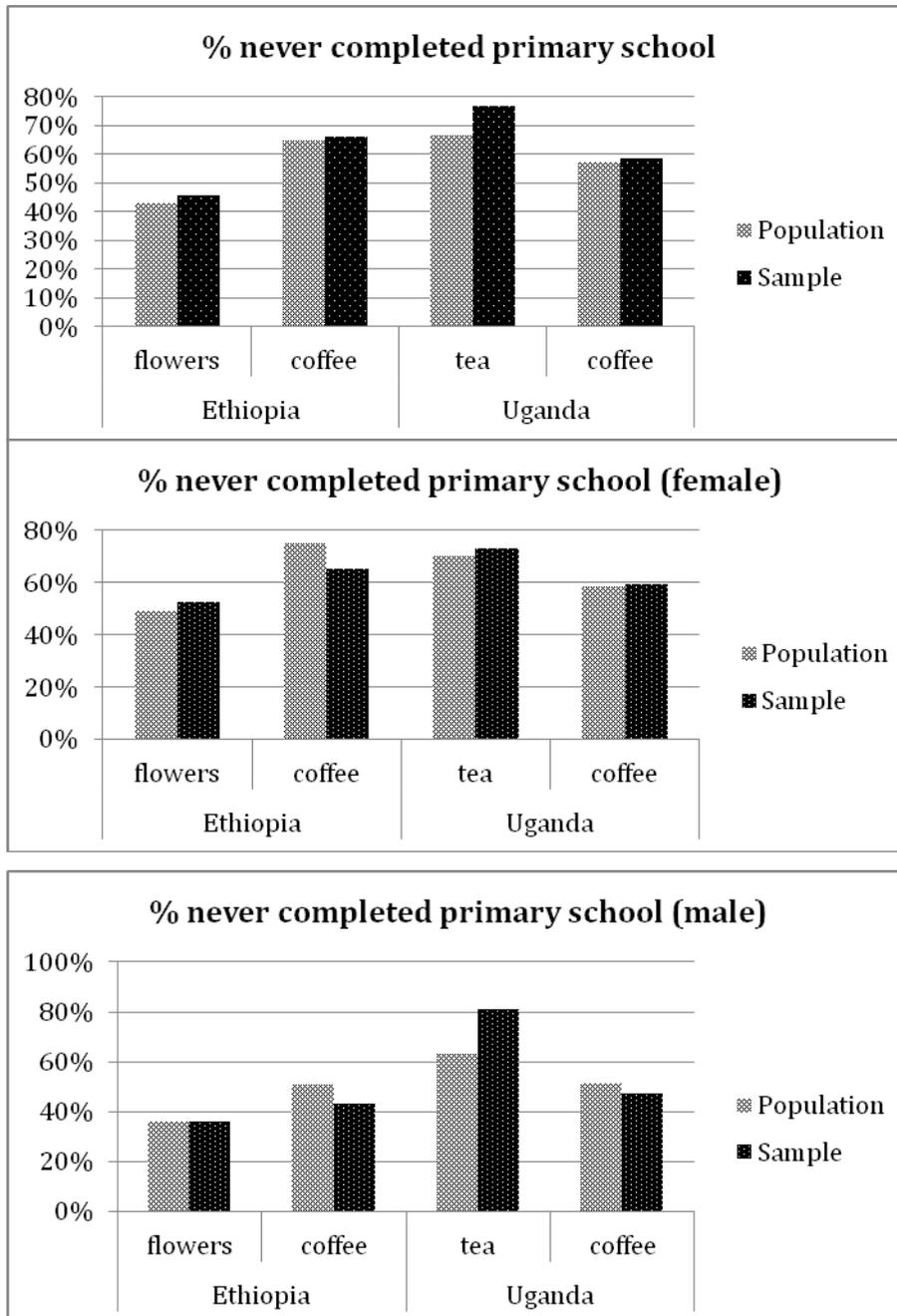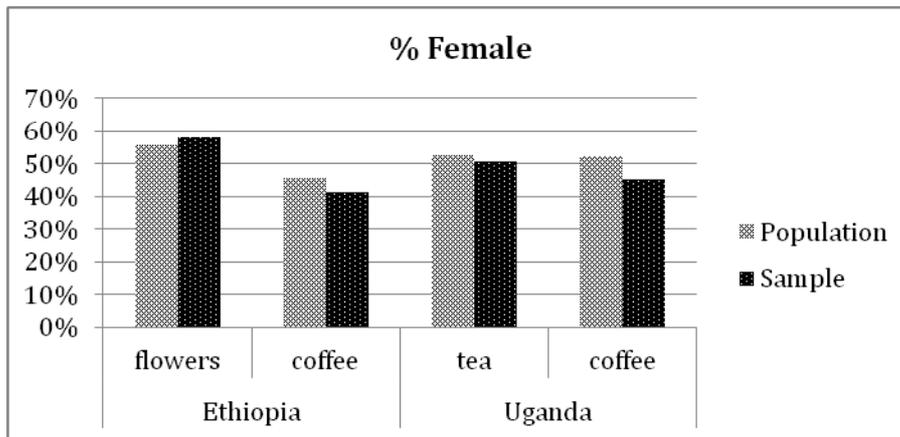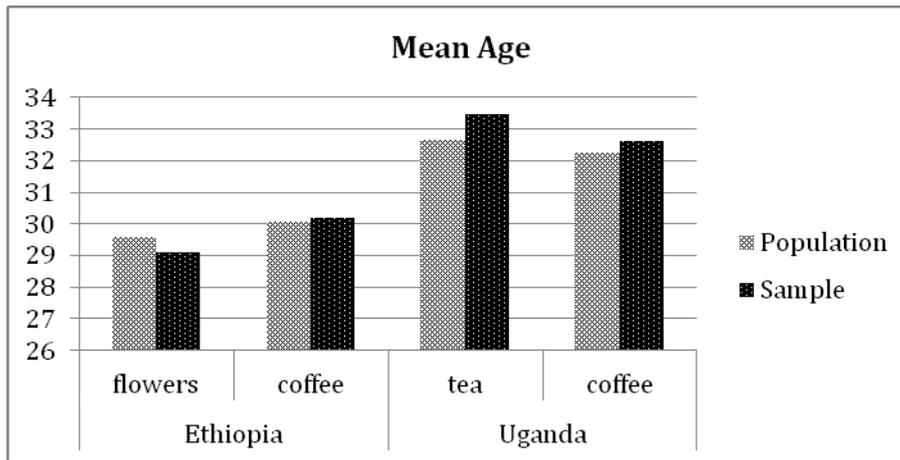
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