Fairtrade certification in the banana hired labour sector

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Summary UK

Evidence is needed about the difference that certification makes to workers on banana plantations. The Fairtrade system is therefore investing in monitoring to understand the difference certification makes to banana workers' employment, living and working conditions, and empowerment. This study meets this need by gathering data on a range of indicators.

This study 1) gathers baseline data on indicators and themes that monitor the progress of implementation of Fairtrade's revised hired labour standards on certified plantations in key banana origins; 2) based on this data it researches and analyses the difference that Fairtrade makes across key themes in comparison to non-certified contexts; it prioritises workers' voices and perspectives in achieving the objectives of the study. It particularly focuses on understanding the role of Fairtrade in supporting worker empowerment and empowerment-related goals. Focus countries are Ghana, Colombia and the Dominican Republic.

Key words: banana, wageworkers, impact evaluation, Fairtrade certification

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Preface

In recent years, several studies have become available that provide detailed insights into the direct effects of Fairtrade on primary producers, especially farmers involved in coffee, tea, cocoa or banana production. Most attention is usually devoted to changes in yields and input use, adjustments in cultivation practices, and ultimately improvements in family income. Moreover, effects of the Fairtrade premium payments for enhancing social welfare of other households in the surrounding villages has been widely documented.

Increasingly, it has been recognised that – in addition to farmers – rural workers are also dependent on Fairtrade for improving their livelihoods. This is particularly true on plantations where production relies on contracted wage labourers. Consequently, labour standards were developed that specified primary and secondary labour conditions, paying attention to wages, social security, workplace security and worker treatment at Fairtrade certified farms.

Once defined, it becomes of critical importance to guarantee compliance with Fairtrade labour standards, but also to remain informed about the further effects of these standards on working labour behaviour. Fairtrade standards usually go further than legal requirements, and intend to enhance a stronger sense of company identification and job security, while establishing an open and constructive relationship with plantation management. These adjustments benefit in the first place the wage labourers themselves but are also advantageous to the enterprise, since stronger worker commitment usually becomes manifest in higher product quality and/or better productivity performance.

This study conducted by LEI Wageningen UR at the request of Fairtrade International and the Fairtrade Foundation is one of the first comparative appraisals. We included a large number of socio-economic, welfare and behavioural variables to guarantee a comprehensive assessment of employment conditions. We used non-certified plantations or previously certified farms as a counterfactual that reflects previous conditions. A considerable sample size was used to capture significant and sound effects in a cross-section framework. Of course, these data are only a baseline assessment, and further studies after a follow-up survey will provide more definitive insights.

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Executive Summary

Fairtrade way of working, standards and strategy

Fairtrade's vision is a world in which all producers can enjoy secure and sustainable livelihoods, fulfil their potential and decide on their future.

Fairtrade's vision is founded on the belief that trade can be a fundamental driver of poverty reduction and greater sustainable development, but only if it is managed for that purpose, with greater equity and transparency than is currently the norm. Fairtrade began work to address the problems faced by landless workers in 1994 with the first Fairtrade certified tea plantations. Workers on farms and in factories are among the most vulnerable people in global trade. Fairtrade works to improve the lives of workers by requiring that their employers comply with Fairtrade's hired labour standards which was developed to make sure workers receive a fairer share of the economic benefits of trade. The Fairtrade premium, an additional amount of money paid based on certified volumes sold, is distributed to a Fairtrade Premium Committee made up of workers. Together they decide how best to invest the Fairtrade premium to meet their needs and the needs of their communities.

In 2012, Fairtrade International adopted a new strategy which moves Fairtrade beyond a traditional corporate social responsibility model based on standard-setting and auditing, to help build conditions where workers have the tools and ability to negotiate their own work terms and conditions.

Fairtrade strives to support mature systems of industrial relations based on mutual trust, respect and regular dialogue between workers, their unions and employers. This concept is based on the notion that labour practices will improve if workers participate in the governance of the workplace. For workers to share this role with their employers, their basic human rights in the workplace need to be assured and investments in their empowerment need to be made. Mature systems of industrial relations go beyond collective bargaining to regular dialogue between workers and employers on occupational health and safety, conflict management, elimination of sexual harassment, productivity and organisation of work. Close collaboration with trade unions is also necessary to ensure that Fairtrade will be a conduit for the development of free and independent workers' unions instead of encouraging parallel structures. Beyond the Standards, fairer wages are essential to individual empowerment. Fairtrade views a living wage as a benchmark for a decent standard of living and a key tool for ensuring personal autonomy.

Fairtrade recognises the influence of economic and social environments in which workplaces are embedded.

Performance in social compliance from employers in the South, particularly on wage levels, requires also the commitment from businesses in the North that 'drive' the global production networks. Moreover, Fairtrade recognises that depending on the economic and social realities of the regions that have hired labour setups, certain issues can be relevant to some employers and workers and less to others. Therefore, there may be differences in regional implementation focus. While staying firmly committed to their strategic goals, producer networks, regional trade unions and local worker representatives will be invited to collaborate in developing region-specific capacity building and living wage programmes.

Introduction

Bananas are a significant product within the Fairtrade system

Fairtrade International aims to contribute to sustainable livelihoods, empowerment and achieving Fairtrade and does so through various interventions, such as setting standards for hired labour organisations. Bananas, one of the most highly traded fruits in the world and a product that makes up a significant percentage of the export revenues of many Latin American and Caribbean countries, is a significant product within the Fairtrade system – both in terms of market demand and producer coverage. In February 2014 the Fairtrade Foundation launched a major campaign around Fairtrade Fortnight calling on businesses and governments to Make Bananas Fair.

Rationale behind the research

Although the hired labour (HL) sector has been part of the Fairtrade strategy for several years, the body of evidence on how and to what extent Fairtrade certification is having an impact in hired labour contexts is limited. Fairtrade has recognised the need to invest in monitoring and evaluation so that it can better understand the impact that Fairtrade certification is having on the employment, living and working conditions of those workers employed by Fairtrade certified plantations compared to those employed by non-Fairtrade certified plantations. Given the significance of the banana sector within the Fairtrade system this research focuses solely on the banana hired labour sector. It is the first study commissioned by Fairtrade to do so.

Robust data needed to demonstrate the benefits of Fairtrade certification

This study contributes to this by collecting data on a range of indicators. This study:

1. collects baseline data on a range of indicators and themes, aimed at monitoring the progress of the implementation of Fairtrade's revised hired labour standards on certified plantations in key banana origins;
2. uses the data to analyse the impact that Fairtrade certification has across a number of key themes and compares this with non-certified contexts; and
3. prioritises workers' voices and perspectives in achieving the objectives of the study. It particularly focuses on understanding the role of Fairtrade in supporting worker empowerment and empowerment-related goals.

Focus countries Ghana, Colombia and the Dominican Republic

The study focuses on Latin America (traditionally a major origin of Fairtrade certified bananas) and West Africa (an important emerging origin for Fairtrade certified bananas). Ghana, Colombia and the Dominican Republic were chosen as focus countries. The selection of these countries was based on the number of hired labour organisations (HLOs within the Fairtrade banana system in 2013. Small producer organisations (SPOs were not considered in the selection process as this research explicitly focused on the hired labour context. In 2013, 41 of the 46 certified HLOs in Latin America were located in Colombia (27 and the Dominican Republic (14) while in West Africa 3 of the 4 certified HLOs were located in Ghana.

Methodology

Fairtrade certified plantations compared to non-Fairtrade certified plantations, or plantations certified at a later stage

This study compares the situation of wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations to the situation of wageworkers from non-Fairtrade certified plantations, often referred to as the 'counterfactual'. In the case of Ghana, where no suitable counterfactual existed, the year of certification was used for comparison purposes. The plantation certified in 1996 (referred to as FT 1996 is compared with the plantation that was certified in 2012 (referred to as FT 2012).

Wageworkers were randomly selected from the plantations

In order to select a representative group of wageworkers, a sampling frame was developed based on a list of workers provided by plantation management. Special care was taken to ensure that the list of workers provided by both Fairtrade certifie and non-Fairtrade certified plant tions was complete. The fin l selection of workers was conducted at random. For the in-depth interviews and games a nested design was used, meaning that participants were selected from those who completed the worker survey. This allowed us to compare the results of both tools and enabled us to gather additional information based on the workers' gender, migrant status and experiences in the banana sector.

Sample size based on internal and external validity

The desired sample size was based on the following criteria:

1) The number of plantations was preferred above the number of respondents.
2) In each country a minimum of 40% of the certified plantations was included to ensure sufficient external validity.
3) Sample size was partly determined by the expected variation in outcome indicators among wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations as well as between wageworkers from Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations.
4) Sample size within the plantation ranged from 10% on large plantations (>400) and 50% on small plantations (<100).
5) In estimating sample size we adhere to the international standards for significance level (α=0.05) and predictive power (1-β=0.8), with corresponding z-scores of respectively 1.96 and 0.84.

With these considerations and assumptions in mind we selected a total of 1,137 wageworkers; 653 from certified plantations and 485 from non-FT certified plantations

A sequential mixed methods approach was used

The study was conducted in five steps; each phase is characterised by different methods and tools. First, an inception mission was conducted in each country including plantations and interviews with various stakeholders to select the appropriate visits to plantations. Second, a qualitative research phase was conducted including semi-structured interviews with management and observational visits to the selected plantations. Third, a structured survey was conducted among wageworkers. Fourth, in-depth interviews were conducted and various experimental games were implemented. Finally, a workshop was organised with plantation management and wageworkers to discuss results.

Focus themes based on the Fairtrade theory of change

The list of themes was based on Fairtrade's theory of change and revised hired labour standards. Each theme covers various sub-themes, and each sub-theme includes various 'topics of analysis'. In translating these topics of analysis into specific questions for the structured worker survey, we built as much as possible on existing indicators, definitions and instruments.

Rigorous data analysis to identify Fairtrade's contribution to observed differences

The data from the various tools were analysed in three steps. First, we describe the situation of wageworkers on certified plantations. Second, we investigate how this situation differs from wageworkers on non-certified plantations; and whether observed differences are statistically significant. Third, we explore to which extent Fairtrade certification has contributed to this difference. For almost all sub-themes the survey data is leading, with the qualitative data being used for explaining or triangulating results. At this stage we cannot yet attribute all differences solely to Fairtrade certification. While our method is designed to maximise the capacity to attribute observed differences to Fairtrade, results are written in a sometimes seemingly indefinite fashion. In the future, with a second wave of data, these findings can be explored in more detail, depth and confirmed with more certainty.

Theme	Sub-theme	Topic of analysis
Economic benefits	Wages	Hourly wage rate How wages are paid
	Diversification of income sources	% of income that wage represents
	Security of employment	Type of contract Sense of job security
	Non-wage (in-kind) benefits	Received benefits Satisfaction with benefits
	Standard of living	Household assets PPI Household Food Insecurity Access Scale
Social benefits	Working conditions	Working hours and holidays Worker rights Health and safety
	Quality of dialogue	Relationship to supervisors Grievance and sexual harassment issues and policies Trust in relationships
	Use of the Fairtrade premium	Premium / Fairtrade awareness Premium use Fairtrade premium management committee Individual decision making power
Empowerment-related benefits	Sense of ownership	Sense of ownership
	Social capital	Membership of groups Group cooperation
	Sense of control and life satisfaction	Life satisfaction Sense of control Development perspectives
	Work satisfaction and progression	Satisfaction with job Reaching full potential at work Training
	Worker representation	Culture around unionisation Women's committee Health and safety committee Collective bargaining agreements

Results

Below we present results for each country by theme.

Ghana

Although Ghana is a small player on the world market, its banana production has increased sharply over the last 15 years, from 10,000 tonnes in 2000 to 84,000 tonnes in 2013. There are only two major banana plantations operating in Ghana and both plantations are Fairtrade certified; one since 1996 (referred to as FT 1996) and the other since 2012 (referred to as FT 2012). In total 326 workers were interviewed, 78 from FT 1996 and 248 from FT 2012. Twelve of the workers were randomly selected for in-depth interviews and 28 workers participated in the gaming sessions. Without a suitable counterfactual the year of certification was used for comparison purposes. However, there are considerable contextual differences between the two plantations that need to be taken account when considering the findings of the analysis. For example FT 1996 is considerably smaller than FT 2012 both in terms of number of employees (420 versus 2,043) and planted area (81 versus 506 ha). While the analysis for Ghana in terms of baseline evaluation is very relevant and robust, it can be said that it is less robust in terms of impact evaluation. Future research is needed.

Economic benefit

Fairtrade certification contributes to the receipt of in-kind benefits, while for other economic benefits plantation-specific factors appear to be more influential

Four conclusions can be drawn with respect to the (potential) economic impact of Fairtrade certification in Ghana. First, results indicate that Fairtrade's role in the determination of primary wages in Ghana is limited. Despite the majority of surveyed wageworkers saying that Fairtrade had positively influenced wages, the minimum wage at FT 2012 is slightly higher than at FT 1996. The differences are clearly a result of the different plantation-specific factors rather than Fairtrade certification. Second, anecdotal and survey evidence supports the hypothesis that Fairtrade contributed to an improvement in non-wage economic benefits, especially in terms of sanitation, food and health care. These areas are clearly linked to investments made by the Fairtrade premium management committee. Third, workers employed by FT 2012 feel more job secure than those employed by FT 1996. This is surprising since FT 1996 has been certified for more almost 20 years. Job security is of course dependent on a range of factors and cannot be solely attributed to Fairtrade certification.

Fourth, the impact of Fairtrade on the living standards of wageworkers is inconclusive. We find that FT 1996 wageworkers have slightly though significantly more assets (out of a list of ten) than FT 2012. Yet there is no significant difference between the living standards of FT 1996 wageworkers compared to FT 2012 workers, as measured by the Progress out of Poverty Index (PPI) or the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS). A potential reason for this could be the large difference between the two plantations and the challenges this presents for comparative analysis. FT 2012, for example, has only been certified for two years but is a much larger operation owned by a large multi-national firm. This may have led to better working conditions when the plantation became Fairtrade certified.

Social benefit

The contribution of Fairtrade certification is inconclusive

Three conclusions can be made with respect to the (potential) social benefits of Fairtrade certification in Ghana. First, while a number of workers indicate an increase in awareness of worker rights since they started working at the plantation (between 12% to 32%), no actual difference is observed between FT 1996 and FT 2012. This could imply that the scope of Fairtrade in Ghana is limited in this particular area. Second, wageworkers report a lot of improvement in health and safety measures and they attribute many of these changes to Fairtrade (45% on average). Anecdotal evidence, however, indicates there are still challenges in the proper use of protective equipment on the plantations. Third, the influence of Fairtrade on the quality of social dialogue between wageworkers and those in management is still uncertain. Based on the perceptions of wageworkers about past changes it appears that Fairtrade certification is not an essential ingredient for change; wageworkers from FT 2012 feel more listened to and have more trust in the workers' union and the Premium Committee than FT 1996, despite the fact that FT 2012 wageworkers have on average been employed by the plantation for a shorter period of time.

Empowerment-related benefit

Potential impact of Fairtrade certification uncertain as wageworkers from FT 2012 are similar or better off in terms of empowerment-related benefits than workers at FT 1996

Wageworkers from FT 2012 report similar levels of a sense of control, group membership, development perspectives and training to workers from FT 1996. Contrary to expectations, workers from FT 1996 indicate a lower level of life satisfaction and feel less capable of reaching their full potential. The latter finding is surprising given that FT 1996 has been

certified for such a long time and one would expect progress in some areas to be realised only after a few years. At the same time, wageworkers from FT 2012 might simply be more optimistic about the (potential) impact of Fairtrade certification. The benefits that certification brings may also be more fresh in their minds compared to workers at FT 1996. Once again inter-plantation differences make comparative analysis in the Ghanaian context difficult. The size of the plantation, sales security and financial health of the plantation are perhaps much better determinants of the difference than Fairtrade certification. This needs to be taken into account when considering the results of the analysis. A combination of a qualitative methods such as 'Process Tracing' and a second measurement in the future will allow the (potential) effect of Fairtrade certification in situations such as this to be captured with more certainty.

Dominican Republic

The large majority of the banana plantations in the Dominican Republic are located in the northeastern provinces of Montecristi and Valverde with a few also found in the southern province of Azua. According to Fairtrade and Adobanano (Asociación Dominicana de Bananeros), there are approximately 22 banana plantations operating in the northeastern region in close proximity to the Haitian border. As a result it is estimated that more than 80% of workers on the banana plantations in these regions are from Haiti. Fourteen banana plantations are Fairtrade certified. Five Fairtrade certified plantations, one Fairtrade applicant and five non-Fairtrade certified plantations were included in the study sample. In total 369 wageworkers were randomly selected to participate in the worker survey: 161 at Fairtrade certified plantations and 208 at non-Fairtrade certified plantations.

Economic benefit

Contribution of Fairtrade in terms of economic benefits seems high

Four conclusions can be drawn with respect to the (potential) economic impact of Fairtrade certification in the Dominican Republic. Combined, these conclusions point to a positive contribution of Fairtrade certification. First, results indicate that the potential for Fairtrade certification to influence primary wages is limited. There is no observed difference in wages between Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. Second, Fairtrade certification has a clear positive influence on in-kind benefits in terms of adult education, transport, health care and schooling for children. The positive influence on in-kind benefits can be directly traced back to the Fairtrade premium as adult education and health-care projects account for a large part of Fairtrade premium expenditures. Third, there are signs of a positive impact of Fairtrade certification on a plantation wor er's sense of job security with workers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations reporting much lower levels of job security. Fourth, Fairtrade certification appears to play a significant role in impr ving the standard of living of those working on banana plantations. Wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations are more food secure (34% versus 19% on non-Fairtrade certified plantations) and have more savings (22% versus 8% on non-Fairtrade certified plantations). Together these results suggest that in-kind benefits are an important impact pathway. A second wave of data and follow-up research should help to confirm these findings

Social benefit

Contribution of Fairtrade to labour conditions unclear, but high on social dialogue

Three conclusions can be made with respect to the (potential) social benefits of Fairtrade certification in the Dominican Republic. First, the (potential) impact of Fairtrade on working conditions in terms of worker rights and health and safety measures is still uncertain. This is in large part due to the difficulties associated with collecting reliable data on the actual worker rights that plantation workers receive or have access to. In many cases wageworkers seem unaware of their rights in the event of illness or injury. In addition, evidence on the type of OH&S measures employed by plantations was hard to find. Although workers on Fairtrade plantations did appear to use some OH&S measures more often, no convincing anecdotal or observational evidence is available to prove that these measures are indeed more desired on Fairtrade certified plantations or that their use can be directly traced to Fairtrade certification. Approximately 44% of the workers surveyed indicated that positive changes in terms of OH&S were influenced by Fairtrade either 'quite a bit' or 'a lot'. However, it is not clear exactly how this influence is achieved. Both plantation workers and management were also unable to concretely explain how exactly Fairtrade is believed to influence OH&S during the verification workshop. Second, while the awareness of grievance and social harassment policies is still low, it is 13% higher among workers on Fairtrade plantations compared to workers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations and 19% higher in relation to sexual harassment policies. This result is believed to be a direct result of Fairtrade policy in this area and is supported by anecdotal evidence. For example, survey results indicate that workers on Fairtrade certified plantations are educated on recognising signs of sexual abuse and how to deal with any case of sexual abuse that arises. Third, survey and anecdotal evidence indicates that Fairtrade certification contributes strongly to positive changes in social dialogue on the plantation. Workers on Fairtrade certified plantations appear to be more easily able to present their concerns to their supervisors and plantation management than workers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations and also have the feeling that their concerns are listened to.

Empowerment-related benefit

Fairtrade seems to have a large potential to empower wageworkers

Two conclusions can be drawn with respect to the (potential) empowerment-related impact of Fairtrade certification in the Dominican Republic. First, Fairtrade workers are found to score higher on a number of empowerment-related indicators including living wages (through in-kind benefits) and the amount of training received. As mentioned previously these differences can be directly traced back to the use of the Fairtrade premium. Second, more workers see the benefits, and are member of, a plantation workers' committee. Anecdotal evidence also points to another way in which Fairtrade contributes to worker empowerment on banana plantations. Surveyed workers indicate that they feel better able to communicate with plantation management due to the existence of the various workers committees. They also feel more competent due to the technical training that they receive. Wageworkers on Fairtrade certified plantations are more positive about the effects of joining a worker committee as they see the benefits while workers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations perceive fewer benefits and, as a result, are less positive about the achievements of workers committees.

Colombia

The region of Urabá (Eje Bananero), and specifically in and around the Municipality of Apartado, is the largest banana-growing region in Colombia. Almost all Colombian banana plantations are located here and the region is responsible for more than 85% of Colombian banana exports and almost all exports of Fairtrade bananas. All Colombian banana plantations included in this study are located in the Urabá region. There are three large groups in the region who manage almost all banana plantations and commercial banana production. A total of 20 plantations were included in this study with sampling carried out on the basis of plantation size (in hectares) and ownership. Twelve out of the twenty plantations are Fairtrade certified and eight are non-Fairtrade certified. The four plantations left are very recently certified Fairtrade plantations. Some of the plantations are Rainforest Alliance certified; four since 2014 and two since 1998 – the ones certified since are both non-Fairtrade certified plantations. It is important to be aware that this may exert downward pressure on the estimates of the (potential) impact of Fairtrade certification. In the future research we would like to explore in more detail how the two certification schemes differ, compare, or complement each other in improving wageworkers livelihoods.

Economic benefit

Fairtrade seems to have a high contribution in terms of economic benefits as a result of the Fairtrade premium

Four conclusions can be drawn with respect to the (potential) economic impact of Fairtrade certification in Colombia. First, as is the case in both Ghana and the Dominican Republic, results indicate that the (potential) impact of Fairtrade certification on wages is limited. There is no difference in the primary wages received by workers on Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. This is not unexpected in the Colombian context given that union representatives are responsible for negotiating wages with individual plantations on behalf of all workers in the region. 54% of wageworkers indicate that Fairtrade has had a positive effect (quite a bit or a lot) and that this change is linked to the in-kind benefits that workers receive in addition to their primary wages. Second, Fairtrade certification has a clear positive influence on in-kind benefits especially in terms of housing and education for young people and adults. These benefits can be directly traced to the use of the Fairtrade premium. Third, while there are signs of a positive impact of Fairtrade certification on a worker's sense of job security – workers on non-Fairtrade certified plantation report a lower level of job security (9% versus 98% on Fairtrade certified plantations). Exactly why this is the case is an interesting topic for future research.

Fourth, despite the higher in-kind benefits in terms of housing and adult education, the role of Fairtrade certification in improving a worker's standard of living remains ambiguous. Convincing evidence to this effect was not found with no statistically significant difference between wageworkers on Fairtrade certified plantations and non-Fairtrade certified plantations in terms of savings, household assets, food security or the progress out of poverty index. This despite the fact that workers have been employed by Fairtrade certified plantations for 12 years on average and most plantations have been certified for more than two years. A second wave of data is needed to confirm these results and explore their implications in more detail.

Social benefit

Contribution of Fairtrade in terms of social benefits is inconclusive

Three conclusions can made with respect to the (potential) social benefits of Fairtrade certification in Colombia. First, survey evidence indicates that the (potential) impact of Fairtrade certification in terms of social benefit is limited as banana plantations are already required to comply with many of the working conditions required by Fairtrade and/or Rainforest Alliance certification, either by law or through collective bargaining agreements. In fact, in some cases wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations

indicate to have access to certain worker rights more often than workers on Fairtrade certified plantations. Second, the (potential) impact of Fairtrade certification on OH&S remains unclear. While workers on Fairtrade certified plantations do not use more measures, workers on Fairtrade certified plantations do indicate more changes in protective and safety measures. Third, while awareness of grievance and sexual harassment policies is generally good across all Colombian banana plantations, it is higher on Fairtrade certified plantations than on non-Fairtrade certified plantations. Anecdotal evidence clearly links this to the requirements of Fairtrade.

Empowerment-related benefits

Fairtrade seems to have large potential to empower wageworkers

We can draw one main conclusion with respect to the (potential) impact of Fairtrade on worker empowerment in Colombia. The vast majority of surveyed workers were satisfied with their personal situation and progress at work and they credit Fairtrade with playing an important role in that. The higher in-kind benefits and specialised training in particular appear to be the mechanisms through which workers feel more empowered. One important point to mention is that a number of banana plantations in the sample have been Rainforest Alliance certified since 1998 with two in the comparison group obtaining Rainforest Alliance certification in 1996. It is important to be aware that this may exert downward pressure on the estimates of the (potential) impact of Fairtrade certification.

Cross-cutting themes

This section explores the (potential) impact of Fairtrade certification on a number of specific themes across the three countries studied. The themes were selected on the basis of the Fairtrade theory of change. It is important to remember that this study is primarily a baseline study and future research will need to be conducted in order to consider the impact of Fairtrade certification over time.

Fairtrade's contribution towards a living wage
Contribution to living wages through in-kind benefits (increasing living wage), but not through primary wages

The concept of a 'living wage' is defined as 'remuneration received for a standard work week by a worker in a particular place sufficient to afford a decent standard of living of the worker and her or his family'. No significant differences were found in terms of wages or the share of total wages coming from the plantation between workers on Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. Fairtrade certification did, however, clearly contribute to the number of in-kind benefits received by wageworkers in all three countries, primarily as a result of the Fairtrade premium. The in-kind benefits received are used to provide workers with access to some of the basic requirements as well as allowing them to save money for investment in other issues of their choosing. This finding is supported in Colombia and in the Dominican Republic where workers from Fairtrade certified plantations perceive more improvement in absolute wages than workers from non-Fairtrade certified plantations. Wages in Colombia appear to meet the criteria for what is considered to be a 'living wage' and this can perhaps be explained by the fact that the sector is very strong and stable and workers are well represented. Anecdotal evidence supports the claim that wages are suf icient to not only cover basic needs but also allow workers to save for the future. In Ghana however, anecdotal evidence indicates that wages are not sufficient to cover such basic needs as suf icient food and education. In the Dominican Republic the situation appears to be even more concerning with wages 40% below the living wage benchmark developed recently (Anker and Anker, 2013) and only 22% of workers surveyed saving for unexpected events.

Fairtrade's contribution to workers' standard of living
Few positive and significant differences are found between the standard of living of workers on Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations, except in the Dominican Republic

Evidence has been found that suggests Fairtrade certification contributes significantly to an increased standard of living among hired labour workers, but not across all countries. In the Dominican Republic, Fairtrade workers are more satisfied with their standard of living, have a higher level of savings and can on average be considered to be more food secure. In the Dominican Republic Fairtrade workers appear to be generally more optimistic than wageworkers from non-certified plantations as a result of the higher number of in-kind benefits received and career development prospects. In Colombia and Ghana we find no such evidence. The current progress of 'the out of poverty' index (PPI) does not differ much between workers on Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade (or certified at a later stage in Ghana) plantations. There are also no significant differences in land ownership or the number of household assets. This despite the fact that many workers have been employed by Fairtrade certified plantations for many years and many plantations have been certified for more than 2 years (or even more than 20).

Fairtrade's contribution to labour conditions on plantations
Mixed evidence on impact of Fairtrade certification on improved labour conditions

Workers on Fairtrade certified plantations appear to be more often aware of sexual harassment and grievance policies and workers on Fairtrade certified plantations more often indicate an improvement in terms of health and safety measures. That said, results also indicate that in all three countries studied many wageworkers are not fully aware of all rights; also on Fairtrade certified plantations. There is no significant difference between Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations in terms of the worker rights that workers have access to. This is not surprising because the Fairtrade premium, the most direct benefit of Fairtrade certification, is in most cases not used for supporting workers in this way as worker rights are generally set according to national laws or collective bargaining agreements.

Reflections on Fairtrade's contribution to collective bargaining
Positive differences are found in terms of worker representation

The right to organise and form employers' and workers' organisations is a prerequisite for sound collective bargaining and social dialogue. We captured this prerequisite by looking into quality of dialogue at the plantations, trust in relationships and membership in various types of groups. Survey results point to a positive contribution of Fairtrade certification in terms of worker representation in two out of three case study countries. In the Dominican Republic workers are more often member of plantation workers' committees and report higher levels of trust in these committee. They also feel more listened to by their supervisors. In Colombia positive differences between workers on Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations were found for trust in the workers' Union, fellow workers and the community. In Ghana there is a lower level of trust in the workers' union and a lower level of satisfaction with being able to express ideas to supervisors amongst workers from FT 1996 than FT 2012.

Reflections on Fairtrade's role in empowering workers
Workers on Fairtrade certified plantations feel more empowered than their non-Fairtrade certified counterparts

Generally speaking, workers on Fairtrade certified plantations feel more empowered than their non-Fairtrade certified counterparts, though statistically significant differences are not found for all empowerment issues. Workers on Fairtrade certified plantations generally have a higher level of job satisfaction, a stronger sense of ownership, better past and current development perspectives on issues such as income, health and schooling than workers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations. Some positive differences with regard to worker perceptions on ability to reach full potential, training received, life satisfaction and control over own life are also observed. In Ghana both plantations score similarly, although workers employed by FT 1996 feel less able to reach their full potential than workers at FT 2012. Surprisingly, wageworkers on Fairtrade certified plantations are not more optimistic about future development perspectives than workers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations in any of the three countries. This may be because they have low expectations or because their expectations have already been met. Overall wageworkers on Fairtrade certified plantations appear to be more satisfied with their standard of living and are more optimistic about the future. This optimism may be responsible for the positive differences observed in the empowerment indicators.

Insights on women workers
Female workers on Fairtrade certified plantations are not necessarily in a better position, but neither are they in a less advantageous position

In terms of economic benefits, it seems that female workers on Fairtrade certified plantations are not necessarily less better or better off than their male colleagues. In Colombia, for example, female workers on Fairtrade certified plantations report lower levels of in-kind benefits and a lower sense of job security. In Ghana and Colombia women report lower levels of trust in work relationships, especially with fellow workers. However, in Ghana women feel better listened to by their supervisors. In Colombia and the Dominican Republic women on Fairtrade certified plantations are also more aware of grievance polices. There is no difference in equality of male and female workers between Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. In terms of empowerment, it seems that female wageworkers on Fairtrade certified plantations perform similarly in all three countries. That said, a number of workers mentioned that there are still very few women in supervisory positions. The percentage of workers that are aware of a policy against sexual harassment varies a lot across the three countries. While in Ghana it is relatively high at 93%, in Colombia it is 71% and in the Dominican Republic it is a very low 31%. The larger turnover rate at plantations and high number of migrant workers might explain this difference. Three percent of Fairtrade certified workers in the Dominican Republic, 13% in Colombia and 29% of workers in Ghana have heard of cases of sexual abuse, which indicates that it remains an issue of concern.

Insights on migrant workers
Migrant wageworkers are disadvantaged in terms of economic and social benefits

In terms of economic benefits it appears that migrant wageworkers are less well off in terms of poverty and food security – especially in the Dominican Republic while on non-Fairtrade certified plantations they are as well off as the rest of the workforce. In terms of social benefits migrant workers appear to be less well off in various areas both at Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. This is especially the case in terms of the self-reported level of trust in relationships at the workplace. Migrant workers do not appear to be disadvantaged or less well off on either Fairtrade certified or non-Fairtrade certified plantations in terms of issues related to worker empowerment.

Role and coordination of the Fairtrade Premium
A high level of awareness of Fairtrade, a clear contribution of the Fairtrade premium to in-kind benefits but possible improvement in terms of individual decision-making power

In all three countries, the majority of Fairtrade workers are aware of the existence of the Fairtrade premium (97% in Colombia, 93% in the Dominican Republic and 87% in Ghana). Based on wageworkers' perceptions and actual expenditures of the premium (for as far this data was available), a clear link can be made between the investment of the Fairtrade Premium and economic benefits - especially in terms of in-kind benefits such as the provision of food, housing and education. While the decision on the Fairtrade premium is clearly structured on plantations across all three countries, doubts were raised by various stakeholders (including workers) as to whether this structure and the process that governs the use of the premium are transparent enough – especially in Colombia. In terms of individual decision making, there is some doubt regarding the ability of individual wageworkers to decide on how the premium is spent, especially because of the low percentage of workers that actively contributed to how the premium is spent. Future research should clarify whether this is indeed a challenge or whether the processes and leadership around the premium are sufficient to reflect workers' interests.

Recommendations

The main purpose of this research was to gather baseline data on a range of economic, social and empowerment-related benefits in key banana origins in Latin America and West Africa. Despite it being a baseline study for a revised standard only implemented recently, the results so far lead to the following recommendations related to the (potential) impact of Fairtrade certification on economic, social and empowerment-related issues in key banana origins in Latin America and West Africa.

- *Awareness-raising of in-kind benefits.* Fairtrade could do more to improve awareness among wageworkers of the in-kind benefits and worker rights that are made possible by Fairtrade certification and the Fairtrade premium. On-plantation Fairtrade representatives could also do more to ensure that workers know what is not possible and what rights and entitlements are the responsibility of plantation management and the workers' union (e.g. social security payments).

- *Compliance to health and safety equipment.* Fairtrade could improve the timing and supply of health and safety equipment and work with both supervisors and workers to ensure compliance as non-compliance can occur for a number of reasons.

- *Explore individual decision-making power in Fairtrade premium use.* Fairtrade may like to explore whether individual wageworkers have enough say in how the Fairtrade premium is spent and/or whether the processes and leadership concerning premium use are sufficient to reflect workers' interests.

- *Putting M&E data to use to gain insight into work-related accidents and sick leave.* The number of sick-leave days due to work-related accidents or poor working conditions was very low in all countries, except in Colombia. Future research should indicate why this is the case; it might simply be more realistic because workers feel better able to report in sick. The possibility to gather more information on these topics in monitoring activities should be explored.

- *Awareness-raising grievance policies.* Fairtrade could put processes in place to have plantation management provide more wageworkers on Fairtrade certified plantations with information on the grievance and sexual harassment policies that the plantation has put in place.

- *Fairtrade could explore in more detail the different pathways through which they intend to influence the position of women and migrants.* While the current standard includes various themes related to this, Fairtrade could explore in more detail the exact pathways through which they intend to influence the position of women and migrants.

Research recommendations

- *Measuring food security.* In Ghana, results with respect to the HFIAS tool were somewhat contradictory. The use of the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS) should be adjusted to better reflect the food access status of wageworkers.

- *Worker perceptions.* Further research should focus on the role that worker perception plays when they are asked to compare the past with the present, or when asked about self-reported subjective indicators related to job satisfaction, trust and satisfaction. While a baseline study resolves the first, much research is still based on single measurement.

- *Use of experimental games.* Future research could invest more in the use of experimental games, in addition to surveys, to better capture Fairtrade's influence on complex constructs such as trust, empowerment or gender equality.

- *Second wave of data needed to strengthen impact evaluation.* Given the fact that our research is a baseline study we could not (yet) fully attribute any major differences solely to Fairtrade certification. A baseline can only act as a starting point and cannot be used to measure impact. While our method was designed to maximise our ability to attribute observed differences to Fairtrade, a second wave of wageworker data is needed to explore the findings in more detail, more depth and confirm them with more certainty. This follow-up should be combined with qualitative methods such as 'Process Tracing' to provide more certainty when proper comparison plantations are non-existent, as was the case in Ghana.

1

Introduction

This image was found on http://www.todayus.com/ and is not intended for commercial purposes.

1 Introduction

Bananas are one of the most highly traded fruits in the world making up a significant percentage of the export revenues for many Latin American and Caribbean countries. They are an essential source of income and employment for many households and provide a critical source of nutrition and food security. Bananas are a significant product within the Fairtrade system – both in terms of market demand and producer coverage.

Through various interventions, such as setting standards for hired labour organisations, Fairtrade International aims to contribute to sustainable livelihoods, empowerment and making trade fair. It has established a Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) system to track how its interventions lead to these goals.

It is important for the Fairtrade system to periodically monitor the difference that Fairtrade is making to banana farmers and wageworkers who are part of Fairtrade certified organisations. Therefore, it has asked LEI to undertake this research study to better understand the work of Fairtrade in the banana sector with specific reference to the hired labour or plantation production context.

1.1 The banana value chain

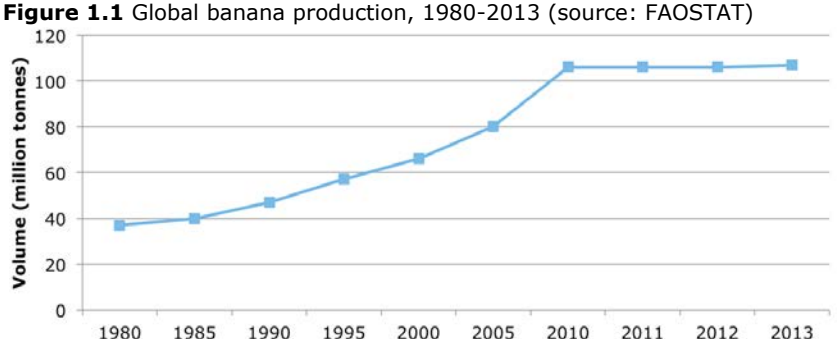
Global production of bananas steadily increased between 1980 and 2010 with stable production between 2010 and 2013. In 2013 production was estimated at approximately 107m tonnes[1] (see Figure 1.1).

India is by far the largest producer of bananas, accounting for 25% of global production, followed by China, responsible for 11.2% (see Appendix 1). In 2012, global exports reached a record high of 16.5m tonnes. Ecuador was the largest exporter, followed by the Philippines, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Colombia. Together these five countries are responsible for 80.6% of global exports (see Appendix 1). In their 2014 review of the banana market the FAO Market and Policy Analyses of Raw Materials, the Horticulture and Tropical (RAMHOT) Products team noted that in 2012 a 'remarkable shift was observed from exports originating in South America towards greater exports from Central America and Mexico'. They suggested that this shift could be explained as 'anticipation of trade preferences for Central American bananas in the European market as part of the Comprehensive Association Agreement between Central America and the European Union'.[2]

The European Union (EU) is the largest importer of bananas, followed by the USA. Together they imported approximately 55% of all bananas traded internationally in 2012. Within the EU the largest importers are Belgium, Germany and the UK (see Appendix 1).

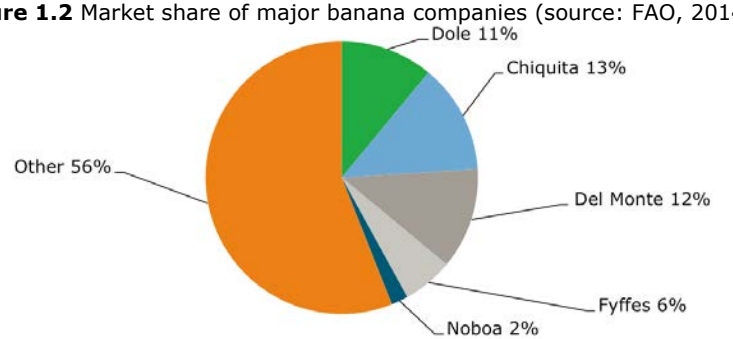
1 FAO (2014), Banana Market Review and Banana Statistics 2012-2013, FAO, Rome.

Figure 1.1 Global banana production, 1980-2013 (source: FAOSTAT)



2 EU, 2012 Comprehensive Association Agreement between Central America and the European Union, 29 June, Brussels http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-12-505_en.html

Figure 1.2 Market share of major banana companies (source: FAO, 2014)



The banana value chain has traditionally been characterised by a few vertically integrated multinational companies that are engaged in the growing, purchasing, transport, distribution and marketing of bananas. The combined market share of the top three companies (Dole, Del Monte and Chiquita) has gradually declined since peaking at around 65% in the 1980s to slightly over one third (36%) in 2013 (see Figure 2). The market share of the top five companies was 44% in 2013, down from around 70% in 2002.[3]

The declining market share of the major companies is the result of gradual divestment of their own production in favour of greater purchases from independent producers. This has been caused by both economic challenges at the plantation level and a change in power relations along the banana value chain. Major supermarket chains, both in the US and the EU, have become important players in the global banana trade due to the increasing concentration of market power in the retail markets of the main banana-consuming countries and because large retailers are increasingly purchasing directly from growers or smaller wholesalers. There is also a noticeable trend towards less concentration among exporting firms in the major banana producing countries. The traditional large multinationals are responding to these challenges by paying greater attention to expanding marketing and distribution networks and focusing investments on logistics rather than production.

1.2 The Fairtrade banana sector

Bananas are a significant commodity within the Fairtrade system. In 2013 there were 113 Fairtrade certified banana producer organisations in 11 countries, including 63 small producer organisations (SPOs) and 50 hired labour organisations (HLOs). As Table 1.1 shows, the large majority (92%) of Fairtrade certified banana producer organisations are located in Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Peru and Ecuador. These countries are obviously also responsible for the lion's share of Fairtrade certified banana production, producing 110,000 tonnes, 134,700 tonnes, 62,300 tonnes and 55,700 tonnes respectively.

Table 1.1 Number of Fairtrade banana-producing organisations (POs) in 2013, by country

Country	Type of certified organisation		Total
	SPOs	HLOs	
Colombia	9	27	36
Dominican Republic	18	14	32
Peru	23	1	24
Ecuador	9	3	12
Costa Rica	1	0	1
Panama	1	0	1
Ghana	0	3	3
St. Lucia	1	0	1
Mexico	0	1	1
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	1	0	1
Cameroon	0	1	1
Total	63	50	113

Source: Fairtrade annual report, 2014.[5]

Fairtrade provides additional figures for the Fairtrade banana sector in its annual monitoring report. As Table 1.2 shows, the total certifiable volume has increased by 61% in a relatively short period of time, from 491,800 tonnes to 793,800 tonnes. This corresponds to a sharp increase in the total number of farmers and wageworkers involved in the Fairtrade system and the number of hectares being used to produce Fairtrade certified bananas. Total sales of Fairtrade certified bananas have increased by 26% over the same period, with the volume of Fairtrade certified bananas sold as Fairtrade certified falling by 10%. Fairtrade certified banana producer organisations received more than €17m in Fairtrade premium payments in 2012/2013.

3 FAO (2014), The Changing role of Multinational companies in the global banana trade, FAO, Rome.

4 FAO (2014), The Changing role of Multinational companies in the global banana trade, FAO, Rome.

5/6/7 http://www.fairtrade.net/fileadmin/user_upload/content/2009/resou - ces/2014-Fairtrade-Monitoring-Scope-Benefits-fina web.pdf

Table 1.2 Key characteristics of the Fairtrade banana sector

Key characteristic	2010 2011	2011 2012	2012 2013
Total number of farmers and wageworkers	18,200	24,500	27,100
Total number of hectares under Fairtrade banana cultivation	27,900	33,000	38,700
Fairtrade total certifiable volume (tonnes)	491,800	623,200	721,300
Fairtrade/Organic total certifiable volume (tonnes)	189,700	290,800	291,800
% Fairtrade certifiable volume also Organic	39%	47%	37%
Total Fairtrade premium received (million €)	14.12	16.25	17.02

Source: Fairtrade annual monitoring report, 2013[6] and 2014[7]

Between 2008 and 2013 the total volume of Fairtrade certified bananas purchased from producers has increased by approximately 25%, from 299,205 tonnes to 372,708 tonnes (see Table 3). Sales of conventional Fairtrade certified bananas increased by around 18% over the entire period while sales of Fairtrade Organic certified bananas increased by 40%.

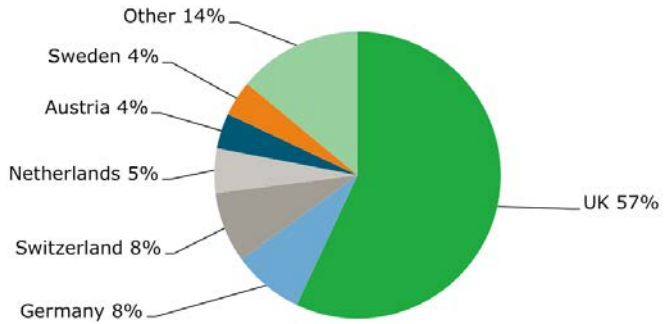
Table 1.3 Estimated volume of Fairtrade certified bananas purchased from producers, 2008-2013 (tonnes)

Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Conventional	209,400	229,369	205,629	221,373	228,072	246,784
Organic	89,805	82,097	88,819	99,550	103,908	125,924
Total	299,205	311,465	294,447	320,923	331,980	372,708
Growth rate	-	0.04	-0.05	0.09	0.03	0.12

Source: Fairtrade.

According to their annual monitoring report Fairtrade estimates that approximately 62% of total production volume of SPOs in 2012/2013 was sold as Fairtrade certified; for HLOs this is slightly higher at 69%. Both percentages increased slightly (by 1 and 4% respectively) compared to 2011/2012. Figure 3 shows the estimated volume of bananas purchased by consuming countries between 2009 and 2013. The UK is by far the largest market for Fairtrade certified bananas, responsible for 57% of Fairtrade certified banana sales in 2013.

Figure 1.3 Sales Fairtrade bananas purchased by consuming countries for 2009-2013



Source: Fairtrade.

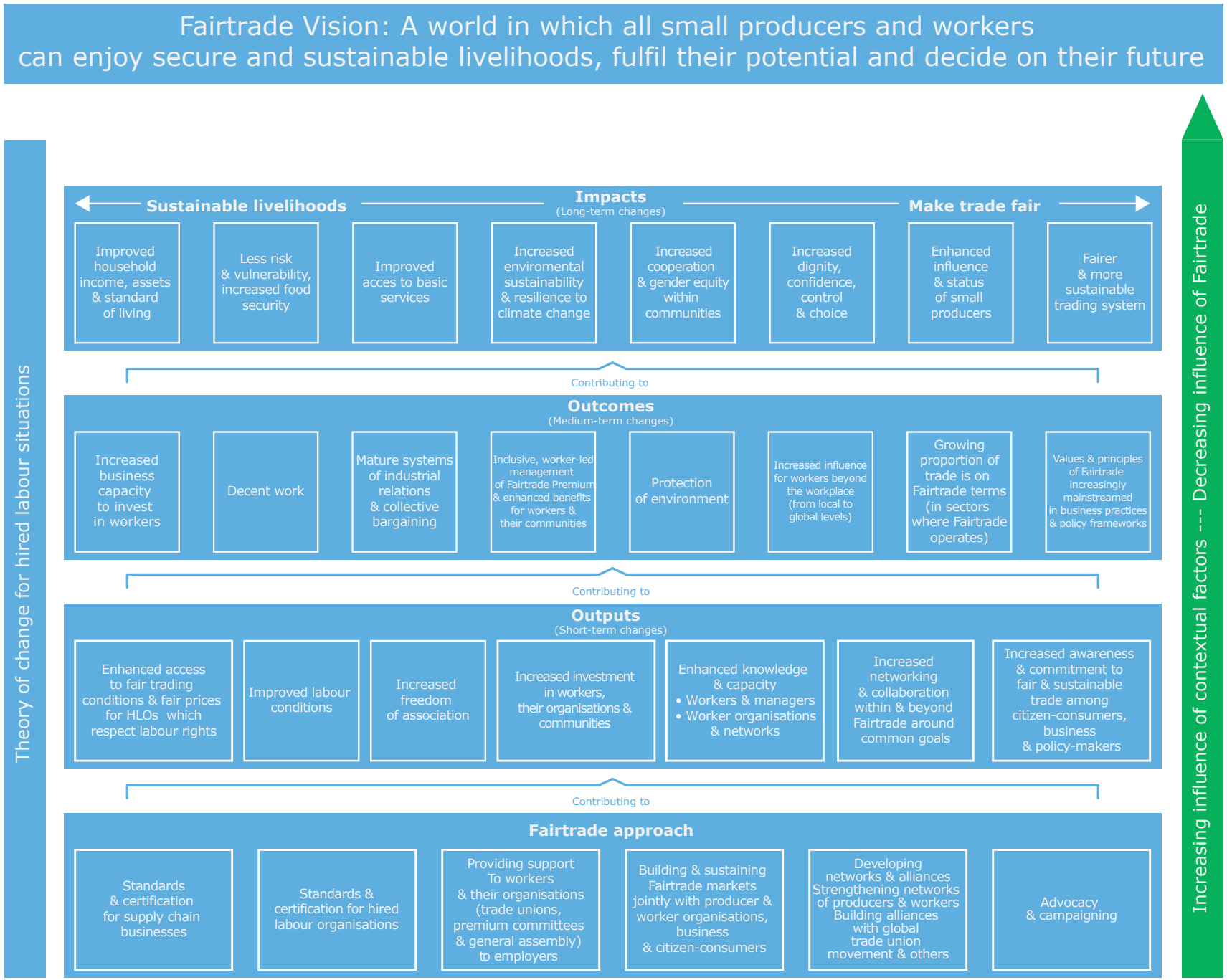


Figure 1.4 Simplified Fairtrade theory of change for hired labour situations (source: Fairtrade)

1.3 The Fairtrade theory of change

From hired labour standards to sustainable livelihoods, empowerment and making trade fair

Through various interventions, such as setting standards for hired labour organisations, Fairtrade International aims to contribute to sustainable livelihoods, empowerment and making trade fair. To conceptualise how Fairtrade's interventions lead to these goals, it has developed a theory of change.[8] A simplified version is presented in Figure 1.4 (see Appendix 2 for a more detailed version). In 'Fairtrade Theory of Change', published in January 2014, Fairtrade outlines its framework for identifying appropriate indicators to measure the results of its work and the progress that activities are making towards achieving Fairtrade's stated goals.[9] In developing its theory of change, Fairtrade has recognised that *'the steps in the change process are different for small producer organisation situations and hired labour situations'.*[10]

The standard is used to develop a list of criteria that (potential) certified producer organisations must comply with in order to become certified. Fairtrade began paying specific attention to hired labour in 1994 when the first tea plantations became Fairtrade certified.[11] In 2012 Fairtrade International launched a new Workers' Rights Strategy to review its hired labour standards (HLS). Environmental requirements were excluded from this review as they had been reviewed in 2010 during the New Standards Framework (NSF) – a project implemented for small producer organisations (SPOs) in 2011 – and were included in the HLS in 2011.

The revised HLS was approved by Fairtrade's standards committee in November 2013 and published in January 2014.[12] See box 1 for key changes.

Box 1: Key changes made to the standard.[13]
The integration of the key action points from the 2012 hired labour strategic review into the standard requirements, in particular those regarding;

- Collective empowerment – strengthening of the rules around wageworkers organisation and freedom of association;
- Premium use and governance – introducing flexibility with the aim of increasing workers' disposable income and enabling wageworkers to decide for themselves how the premium should be spent. Two specific changes that were made in this regard are to be found in section 2.1 on the management of the Fairtrade premium and are as follows:
  - 2.1.19. The modification of an option that removes the restriction on in-kind use of the Fairtrade premium. Projects that involve individual disbursements of non-consumable goods are allowable when these are accessible to all wageworkers equally. These are not considered to be salary supplements.
  - 2.1.20. The inclusion of a new option that allows 20% of the Fairtrade Premium to be distributed equitably amongst all wageworkers in cash as a Fairtrade bonus if wageworkers choose and if the change is approved by the General Assembly (GA);
- Living wage – adding clarity and introducing a timeline for application; and
- Strengthening the position of migrant workers.

A revision of the standard requirements according to the results of on-going monitoring of the application of the HLS since the last review in 2005.

Application of the New Standard Framework (NSF) and integration of the feedback from the initial NSF consultation in 2010 which included:

- A reorganisation of the standard into 5 chapters (general requirements, social development, labour conditions, environmental development and trade);
- Standard presented in table format;
- Specification of the timelines for each requirement in the standard, i.e. the number of years after first certification when each requirement becomes applicable;
- Classification of the requirements as 'core' or 'development' with a different certification approach to each;
- Rewording of the requirements and guidance into simpler and more direct language, with a clearer distinction between mandatory requirements and non-mandatory guidance;
- Deleting duplicated and unnecessary issues and merging requirements for simplification; and
- Inclusion of requirements from the Fairtrade Trade Standard that apply directly to producers. Most producers will only have to refer to one document to know all the rules they have to comply with.

8 On its website, Fairtrade defines a theory of change as something which 'describes the change that an organisation wishes to see in the world and how it contributes to that change'. See also Fairtrade Theory of Change, December 2013, http://www.fairtrade.net/fileadmin/user_upload/content/2009/resources/140112_Theory_of_Change_and_Indicators_Public.pdf

9 http://www.fairtrade.net/impact-and-research.html

10 Fairtrade Theory of Change, December 2013, http://www.fairtrade.net/fileadmin/user_upload/content/2009/ resources/140112_Theory_of_Change_and_Indicators_Public.pdf

11 http://www.fairtrade.net/workers-rights.html

12 Terms of reference for 'Research and baseline study: Fairtrade certification in the Banana Hired Labour Sector', dated August 2014

13 Document titled 'Standard main changes', dated January 2014.

The latest version of the HLS[14] came into effect on 1 February 2014. Companies that became certified before 1 July 2014 are required to comply with all applicable requirements of the revised HLS in line with their regular certification cycle while companies certified on or after 1 July 2014 are required to comply with all applicable requirements. The next full review of the HLS is expected to be conducted in 2019.

1.4 Study objectives

Rationale behind the research

It is important for the Fairtrade system to periodically monitor the difference that Fairtrade is making to banana farmers and wageworkers who are part of Fairtrade certified organisations. There have been important recent developments which call for the need for targeted research on hired labour (HL) contexts in bananas. Three issues are considered of primary importance.

First, recent research to understand the difference made by Fairtrade in the banana sector[15] did not cover the hired labour contexts in great depth.

Second, Fairtrade International completed work on and published revised Fairtrade standards for hired labour in January 2014. The new standard offers greater support for workers' freedom of association, steps toward living wages, greater autonomy in decision making and more interventions. The standard is now being implemented in various contexts and it is imperative that Fairtrade gathers baseline data to see how the standards are making a difference to working conditions and the empowerment of wageworkers in Fairtrade plantations. Research is also ongoing to develop benchmarks for a 'living wage' across all banana-producing countries within Fairtrade.

Third, the Fairtrade Foundation launched a major campaign for Fairtrade Fortnight[16] in February 2014, calling on businesses and governments to 'make bananas fair'. Feedback during and after the campaign has stressed the need for Fairtrade to provide further 'evidence' of the difference that certification makes to wageworkers on banana plantations as a means to further engage with major commercial partners (especially retailers).

Need to gather robust data and evidence of the benefits of Fairtrade

Fairtrade decided to invest in gathering baseline data in the banana hired labour sector in major origin countries to understand the difference that certification makes to workers' employment, living and working conditions and empowerment. Such baseline data will allow Fairtrade to monitor the right indicators over a period of time, in comparison to non-certified plantations, and to evaluate impact at a later stage as well as to track progress against the revised hired labour standards. There is also a need to gather robust data and evidence to support the current anecdotal understanding of the benefits that Fairtrade certification brings to wageworkers in this sector to support further work on Fairtrade bananas.

Therefore, Fairtrade Foundation, UK and Fairtrade International asked LEI, through an open tendering process, to better understand the work of Fairtrade in the banana sector with specific reference to the hired labour or plantation production context. The main objective of this study is:

1. To gather data on a range of indicators important to production, workers' employment, working and living conditions and employment relations from key banana origins in Latin America and West Africa from Fairtrade certified plantations/contexts in comparison to non-certified plantations/contexts in the same region.

The three additional objectives of this study are:

2. To gather baseline data on indicators and themes relevant to monitor the progress against the implementation of Fairtrade's revised hired labour standards on certified plantations in key banana origins in Latin America and West Africa;

3. To analyse, based on this data, the difference that Fairtrade makes across key themes in comparison to non-certified contexts; and

4. To prioritise worker voices and perspectives in achieving the objectives of the study and especially understand the role of Fairtrade in supporting worker empowerment and empowerment-related goals.

14 http://www.fairtrade.net/fileadmin/user_upload/content/2009/standards/documents/2015-01-19_HL_EN.pdf

15 Including the 2012 impact study 'Fairtrade Bananas: a global assessment of impact' by Sally Smith, IDS (commissioned by the Fairtrade Foundation) and the 2014 research report by CODER, Colombia on the Impact of Fairtrade on Banana Farmers and Workers in Colombia (commissioned by Max Havelaar Netherlands). Both studies provide valuable insights into Fairtrade's producer impact in the banana sector and challenges.

16 See http://fortnight.fairtrade.org.uk/

1.5 Origin focus

Latin America, traditionally a major origin of Fairtrade certified bananas, and West Africa, an important emerging origin for Fairtrade certified bananas, are focus regions. After the awarding of the project, LEI Wageningen UR and Fairtrade selected Ghana, Colombia and the Dominican Republic as focus countries. The selection of these countries was based on the number of hired labour organisations (HLOs) within the Fairtrade banana system in 2013 (see Table 1 in section 1.2). Small producer organisations (SPOs) were not considered in the selection process as this research explicitly focused on the hired labour context. In 2013, 41 of the 46 certified HLOs in Latin America were located in Colombia (27) and the Dominican Republic (14) while in West Africa 3 of the 4 certified HLOs were located in Ghana.

1.6 Report structure

In chapter 2 the methodology and research design of the study are explained. In chapter 3 the results from the fieldwork in Ghana, Colombia and the Dominican Republic are presented and discussed while in chapter 4 the similarities and differences between the three countries across the different research topics are discussed. Chapter 5 contains the study's conclusions and recommendations.

2

Methodology

2 Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology used for this study. The research design is first introduced including a detailed description of the sampling strategy, followed by a detailed description of the themes covered, the data collection tools, methods of analyses and the limitations of the study.

2.1 Research design

2.1.1 Counterfactual design

Field research and data analysis is based on a careful selection of plantations ex-ante (see sampling strategy in section 2.1.2) and econometric analysis ex-post (see section 2.4) to control for selection bias and allow for data collected on a range of indicators to be compared across Fairtrade certified plantations and non-Fairtrade certified plantations in Colombia and the Dominican Republic. In Ghana, indicators were compared between wageworkers at a plantation certified in 1996 and wageworkers at a plantation certified in 2012.

An important factor in any impact evaluation is the selection of a suitable counterfactual. Preferably a baseline study such as this one will include both Fairtrade certified plantations as well as plantations that are not Fairtrade certified or in the process of becoming certified (applicants). Doing this makes it possible to compare Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations over time taking into account the fact that non-Fairtrade certified plantations may seek to obtain Fairtrade certification during the course of the study. This means that sample selection is somewhat dependent on the purpose and timeframe of the research. In this study different types of plantations (e.g. Fairtrade certified, Fairtrade applicant and non-Fairtrade certified, including those plantations not likely to become certified in the near future) are included (local context permitting). This approach optimises the advantages of both options discussed above.

In the case that there is no suitable counterfactual (non-Fairtrade certified plantations are either not willing to cooperate or do not exist), then an alternative counterfactual had to be found. A preferred alternative is to use the length of time that a plantation has been certified, also called the pipeline approach (Ruben, 2008). The pipeline approach constructs a counterfactual by comparing wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations to wageworkers from (other) Fairtrade certified plantations, which were certified at a later moment in time.

2.1.2 Selection of plantations

Given the large difference in the number, size and type of plantations, the applied sampling strategy differed by country. Factors that were taken into account included, but were not limited to, plantation size, location, length of certification, supply chain and compliance with other certification standards (e.g. organic). In at least two of the case study countries, size was one of the key variables for sample distribution. Initial visits indicated that size is often related to scale issues in production and commercialisation and these are related again to productivity. Productivity is most often strongly related to worker conditions like the ones Fairtrade wishes to influence. Although plantation size is one of the key characteristics of the hired labour sector (i.e. HLOs are larger than SOs) many small sites were included in the list of HLOs provided by Fairtrade. In Colombia, for example, 9 plantations were listed as having less than 20 wageworkers while an additional 11 had less than 100. Additional certification other than Fairtrade is another factor that varies between countries. In the Dominican Republic for example, a large number of plantations are certified as organic. This means the design is better able to capture the effects of Fairtrade.

In each country we aimed to find a balance between different types of plantations (small and large, different supply chains, organic or not, etc.) because the different dynamics will have an influence on the results. However, there was clearly a trade-off with sample size: including different types of plantations, especially if they are 'a-typical', may mean less statistical power in estimating differences between certified and non-certified plantations. The exact trade-off, and therefore choice of plantations, was decided upon after the inception mission and is described in more detail in the country chapters.

As discussed in the previous section, a high degree of importance was placed on a consistent sampling approach for the selection of the 'counterfactual' plantations across the three countries, while also taking into consideration the specific country context. The outcome of this approach is described in sections 3.1.1, 3.2.1 and 3.3.2 (in results).

2.1.3 Selection of workers

To ensure a robust selection of workers, a sampling method was developed that ensured that both seasonal and/or otherwise unlisted wageworkers were included and that also made sure that access was granted to wageworkers from non-certified plantations.

For the survey this meant that for both Fairtrade certified and non-certified plantations in the sample, a sampling frame was developed based on the list of wageworkers provided by plantation management.

Special care was taken to ensure that the list of wageworkers provided by both Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations was complete. This was necessary as some wageworkers might not be registered (e.g. those working part-time, those who have just started or those who are unregistered

migrant/seasonal workers. The final selection of wageworkers was conducted at random. Although significant effort was invested to gain access to non-certified plantations, all of them cooperated and provided the list of workers. In the Dominican Republic the cooperation of non-Fairtrade certified plantations turned out to be vital since migrant wageworkers would not have permitted us to do surveys without the assurance of management.

Whenever possible, the worker interviews were conducted at the workers' homes as this was considered to be a safe, neutral and unbiased location that would lead to more accurate and robust results. The decision to carry out interviews at the wageworkers' homes instead of at the plantations was based on work done by Cramer et al. (2014). In the Dominican Republic interviews were also conducted at the plantation because migrants often live in areas not considered safe for the enumerators, especially for the female enumerators. In those cases interviews were done after working hours outside the plantations.

For the in-depth interviews and games we used a nested design, meaning we selected wageworkers from the worker survey. This allowed us to compare the outcomes of the tools with the survey data and enabled us to use some quotes based on experiences in the sector, gender and migrant status.

2.1.4 Sample size

The decision on sample size was based on several considerations and assumptions. These assumptions were tested, and where necessary revised, after the three inception missions had been completed. The aspects considered included:

1. Variation between plantations versus within plantations

For this particular study both the number of plantations and the number of wageworkers to be interviewed per plantation need to be considered when optimising the sample size. There is a trade-off between the two as a smaller number of plantations will mean that it is possible to interview a larger number of wageworkers at each plantation and vice versa. While the research team acknowledges that differences may occur between different categories of wageworkers on the same plantation (e.g. permanent, temporary and migrant workers) for the purposes of sample selection it was decided that a certain degree of homogeneity could be expected in the degree to which Fairtrade certification impacts upon the wageworkers employed by the same plantation. Because of this, preference was given to optimising the number of plantations and not the number of wageworkers interviewed per plantation.

2. Variation in the population of wageworkers

The sample size is partly determined by the expected variation in outcome indicators. The variation among the population of wageworkers is estimated using the coefficient of variation (CV). The CV represents the extent of variability in relation to the mean of the population and is calculated by dividing the mean by the standard deviation. For this study a CV of between 0.5 and 0.6 is expected. This estimate is based on studies previously conducted in Ghana (on one of the Fairtrade certified plantations), India and Kenya (Nelson and Martin, 2013). The CV for some of the key outcome indicators in this study ranges between 0.15 and 0.50. The upper limit has been taken as a basis for the calculation of the sample size. The CV is expected to increase with the number of plantations in a country.

3. Expected difference in key outcome indicators between Fairtrade certifie and non-Fairtrade certified (or recently Fairtrade certified)

The sample size depends on the average difference between wageworkers working at Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations (or recently Fairtrade certified): if this difference is large (e.g. >50%) a small sample size will be sufficient to detect a significant difference, if it is small (e.g. 1%) a larger sample size is needed. For this study, the research team expected to be able to measure an average difference in key outcome indicators of 12%. This may seem very high for some indicators (e.g. living wage, which depend on many factors) and very low for others (e.g. binary indicators such as the right to maternity leave).

4. Sample size per plantation

Given the size of the plantations currently included, in which the number of wageworkers ranges from 8 (Colombia) to 2,369 (Ghana)[17], some rules were set with respect to the number of wage wageworkers interviewed at each plantation. For plantations with more than 400 employees a minimum sample of approximately 10% of the entire population is maintained; for plantations with between 100 and 400 employees we maintain a minimum sample of 25% of the entire population; and for plantations between 1 and 100 employees a minimum sample of 50% of the entire population is maintained. These simple rules should ensure a balanced sample, even in the case of a small population size or non-random sampling (for the non-certified plantations).

5. Significance

In estimating sample size, international standards for significance level (α=0.05) and predictive power (1-β=0.8), with corresponding z-scores of respectively 1.96 and 0.84, have been adhered to.

With these considerations and assumptions in mind, Table 2.1 provides an overview of the sample size used for this study.

17 Figures based on data provided by Fairtrade.

Table 2.1 Sample size

Parameters	Ghana	Colombia	Dominican Republic	Total
Sample				
Ratio of means	0.88	0.88	0.88	
Coefficient of variation (CV)	0.5	0.6	0.55	N/A
Estimated	245	352	296	
Certified plantations				
# Fairtrade certified plantations	2	27	14	43
# Fairtrade certified plantations in sample	2	12	5	19
# wageworkers interviewed	326	258	148	652
Non-FT certified plantations				
# Non-Fairtrade certified plantations	0	8	6	14
# wageworkers interviewed	0	173	222	485
Total sample of workers	326	431	370	1,137

2.2 Theme selection

A number of focus themes and sub-themes were listed by Fairtrade in the terms of reference that accompanied the call for tender for this study. This list was edited by LEI Wageningen UR and Fairtrade. The final list of themes used for the analysis of both the quantitative and qualitative data collected is listed in Table 2.2. The list of focus themes is divided into three overall themes: economic benefits, social benefits and empowerment-related benefits. Each theme covers various sub-themes, and each sub-theme includes various 'topics of analyses'. Please note that the empirical definition of sub-themes – in particular related to empowerment and collective bargaining – may deviate from the conceptual definition used by Fairtrade.

Table 2.2 List of focus themes and sub-themes based on Fairtrade's theory of change and revised hired labour standards

Theme	Sub-theme	Topic of analysis
Economic benefits	Wages	Hourly wage rate How wages are paid
	Diversification of income sources	% of income that wage represents
	Security of employment	Type of contract Sense of job security
	Non-wage (in-kind) benefits	Received benefit Satisfaction with benefit
	Standard of living	Household assets Progress out of Poverty Index Household Food Insecurity Access Scale
Social benefits	Working conditions	Working hours and holidays worker rights Health and safety
	Quality of dialogue	Relationship to supervisors Grievance and sexual harassment issues and policies Trust in relationships
	Use of the Fairtrade premium	Premium / Fairtrade awareness Premium use Fairtrade premium management committee Individual decision making power
Empowerment-related benefits	Sense of ownership	Sense of ownership
	Social capital	Membership of groups Group cooperation
	Sense of control and life satisfaction	Life satisfaction Sense of control Development

Theme	Sub-theme	Topic of analysis
		perspectives
	Work satisfaction and progression	Satisfaction with job
		Reaching full potential at work
		Training
	Worker representation	Culture around unionisation
		Women's committee
		Health and safety committee
		Collective bargaining agreements

The sub-themes covered under the economic benefits includes wages, diversification of income sources, sense of job security, non-wage (in-kind) benefits and standard of living. Another key theme for Fairtrade that could be conceptualised under economic benefits is living wage. The concept of a 'living wage' is defined as 'remuneration received for a standard work week by a worker in a particular place sufficient to afford a decent standard of living of the worker and her or his family'. Elements of a decent standard of living include food, water, housing, education, health care, transport, clothing and other essential needs including provision for unexpected events. Living wage thus depends on many factors and is clearly a contextualised concept; it was outside the scope of this study to investigate this in its fullest extent (as has been done by Anker and Anker, 2013, for example). However, we did gain insight into the notion of 'living wage' in various ways. First, we include various themes under the sub-theme of living standard that are strongly related to the living wage discussion including savings (provision for unexpected events), poverty levels and food insecurity access (two measures of a decent standard of living). Both measured are based on existing instruments (see section 2.3.3).

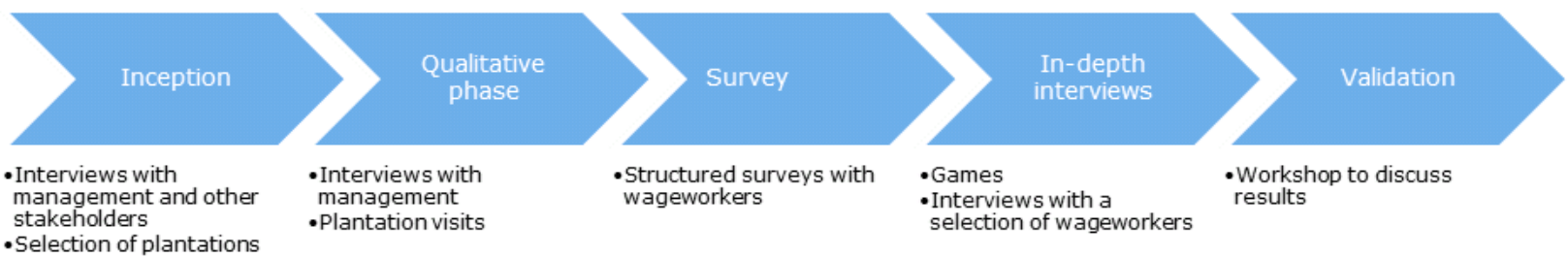
The themes covered under the theme social benefits include awareness of working conditions on the estates (hours, holidays, worker rights and occupational health and safety, quality of social dialogue (grievance redressal), relationship to supervisors and trust in relationship and the use of the Fairtrade premium. Many of the indicators related to working conditions are based on ILO concepts and definitions. The sub-theme on Fairtrade premium will provide insight into the way the Fairtrade premium was used, in particular in relation to community health, housing, education and education infrastructure, and community infrastructure. Moreover, we provide insight into the functioning of the Fairtrade premium committee and the individual decision-making power over premium use.

The themes captured under empowerment are in line with the Ecuadorian flower study (Lyall, 2014). This study investigated worker perceptions of empowerment induced by Fairtrade in the Ecuadorian flower sector. Our definition finds a balance between the general literature summarised in this study and the definition of empowerment in practice. The sub-themes listed under empowerment are: sense of ownership, structural social capital, sense of control and life satisfaction as indirect intangible empowerment benefits, individual worker empowerment through participation in training and through career progression, culture around unionisation and the functioning of various worker committees. Please note our empirical definition of empowerment might deviate from the conceptual definition used by Fairtrade.

Fairtrade also identified various cross-cutting themes on which Fairtrade wishes to gain insight. The themes were chosen based on discussion with Fairtrade and mostly reflect themes at a higher level in its theory of change (also see section 1.3). We elaborate on Fairtrade's contribution towards a living wage, standard of living, labour conditions on plantations, collective bargaining and empowering workers. We also elaborate on the role and coordination of the Fairtrade premium and give some insight into women and migrant workers.

For each theme we analyse the indicators from the survey. While reading this section two limitations should be taken into account. First, the quantitative analysis is based on one survey round. While we designed the methodology in such a way that maximises the possibility to contribute differences to Fairtrade, we would require another round of surveys to contribute the change to Fairtrade with more certainty. Second, the reason why these themes are discussed in a separate heading is not only to enable a cross-country analysis to be made but also to reflect on the results from the survey at a higher level.

Figure 2.1 Overview methodology



That being said, concepts such as living wage or collective bargaining are not easily or fully captured by our survey data. We clearly identify which proxy indicators we use to reflect on these themes at the beginning of each section.

2.3 Data collection tools

Given the mixed methods design, different data collection tools were used.

2.3.1 Overview of methods and timeline

In the blue timeline (Figure 2.1) we give an overview of the different tools used and the sequence in which they were implemented.

2.3.2 Qualitative semi-structured interviews

During the inception mission a number of sector stakeholders were interviewed. These interviews served as background knowledge of the banana sector in each of the focus countries and were used to assist in the selection of both Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. For each of the plantations included in the sample a field visit was organised. During this field visit interviews with management and various committees were conducted (see Appendix 3 and 4 for more details).

The quantitative worker survey was followed by a small number of in-depth interviews. The cases support inferences about the quality and attribution of the statistical associations that result from the statistical analysis of the survey data. The wageworkers who participated in the in-depth interviews were selected from the list of wageworkers who participated in the quantitative worker survey (see Appendix 5 for more details).

2.3.3 Survey

The main component of this research is the structured survey presented in Appendix 6. Like the other research tools, the survey builds on the indicators listed in Table 2.2.

In converting these topics of analysis into specific questions for the structured worker survey we built as much as possible on existing indicators, definitions and instruments. Important sources are the International Labour Organization (ILO), the poverty scoring card developed by Schreiner (2014), the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale developed by FAO, the IRIS indicators managed by the Global Impact Investing Network (GIIN), the World Value Survey (WVS) and other impact evaluations (Anker and Anker, 2013; Fort and Ruben, 2008; Ostertag et al., 2014; Smith, 2010; Nelson and Martin, 2013; Lyall, 2014). Using these sources not only improve the indicators used, making it possible to build on the work of others, but also increases comparability to other impact evaluation efforts.

This is particularly important given Fairtrade's wish to develop indicators for more structural measurement on the role of certification in wageworker well-being.

Two particularly interesting tools are the PPI and the HFIAS scales. The first tool is a poverty scoring card (Schreiner, 2014). The poverty scoring card provides a selection of key criteria that capture the level of poverty in each country. Indirect measures of poverty are useful when direct measurement of poverty through income or expenditure data is too expensive or time consuming. For each country, a one page survey is developed capturing 10 indicators that are strongly correlated to the level of poverty (measured by expenditures) as reported in national surveys. We adopted the indicators from each sheet not yet covered under other outcome areas. This means a country-specific section was adopted in the survey. The second existing tool we use is the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS). The HFIAS tool is composed of nine questions about access to food in the past month. As can be seen in Appendix 5, living wage is also one of the themes covered in the in-depth interviews.

Where the interpretation of concepts is ambiguous, we used both objective and subjective indicators or various indicators that measure the same underlying factor. For example in measuring worker opportunities we ask for training received as well as self-reported job satisfaction. We measured sense of ownership based on a conceptual model used by Fransen and Ruben (2007) in a study in the banana sector in Ghana and Van Dyne and Pierce (Van Dyne and Pierce, 2004). It is based statements like: 'I sense that this is my company', and 'I sense that this is our company'. In total, eight key statements will be used to measure sense of ownership, recording responses at a 5 point Likert scale. For the statistical analyses we create a new variable that captures the different statements in one underlying factor of ownership. The questions on sense of control and life satisfaction are based on World Bank Value survey questions. Various themes that fall under empowerment-related benefits were also included in the in depth interviews with workers.

For some indicators we have added recall, self-assessment and attribution questions. Recall questions ask the respondents to identify the changes in the specific indicators compared to the year they started working on the plantations. Self-assessment questions ask respondents to identify their satisfaction with certain issues. Attribution questions ask respondents to which extent they think these changes can be attributed to Fairtrade certification. For example: does your company provide on-site water supply; are you satisfied with this service, has this service improved compared to the start of their employment, to which extent did Fairtrade contribute to this change? We only ask these questions for those indicators that are at the lower level of the theory of change – in others words, that are within the more immediate scope of influence of Fairtrade.

2.3.4 Gaming sessions

A number of the indicators listed in section 2.2 are concepts that are difficult to define and are not measured in a standardised way (e.g. empowerment and trust). Many of these indirect and sometimes intangible topics can be captured under the concept of social capital, a term broadly defined as 'a multidimensional phenomenon encompassing a stock of social norms, values, beliefs, trusts, obligations, relationships, networks, friends, memberships, civic engagement, information flows, and institutions that foster cooperation and collective actions for mutual benefits and contributes to economic and social development' (Bhandari and Yasunobu, 2009). Attempts to measure these complex concepts can be based on using either surveys or experimental games (Cardenas and Carpenter, 2008; Guiso et al., 2010). Although both are subject to criticism - surveys may lack the right the right incentives for the reporting of true behaviour or attitudes and games are difficult to replicate – we chose to measure trust on the plantation using experimental games.

The experimental games used for this study are based on two classical and well-defined games. The first is the 'trust game', which is designed to measure trust by tracking the amount of money passed from player A to player B, and back again after the money received by player B has been doubled by a third party (e.g. Glaeser et al., 2000; Karlan, 2005). The second game is the 'public goods game' a game designed to capture group norms of cooperation by creating an incentive to invest money in a group account rather than an individual account (e.g. Anderson et al., 2004). In this game each player is given an endowment and asked if and how much they would like to donate to the group account, knowing that the money in the group account would be doubled and divided equally among all players in each group. The games were played four times with the level of information provided about the player's opponent varying. In the first variation no information was given while in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th variations the gender, position and gender & position was provided respectively.

Our main measure of trust is the amount of money given to player 2 as a percentage of the total sum they started with. Our main measure of trustworthiness is the amount of money given back to player 1 as a percentage of the money they received; in Ghana this was GHS2 (USD0.45), in the Dominican Republic DOP30 (USD0.67) and in Colombia COP2,750 (USD1.04). Ideally player 1 would give everything to player 2; this would maximise the combined payoff. If player 2 is trustworthy (s)he would give back at least what (s)he was given. In Ghana a small sample of 28 wageworkers participated; 14 on each plantation with 50% being female workers. In the Dominican Republic games were conducted on three plantations (two Fairtrade, one applicant and one non-Fairtrade) with a total of 64 participants with 25% women and 75% men. In terms of position, the positions of participants varied among packaging, field wageworkers and administrators. Results need to be interpreted with care because it is an experimental approach. More background on the games provided in Appendix 7.

2.3.5 Validation workshop

A validation workshop was held in each country to verify the preliminary results of the quantitative worker survey with both plantation management and worker representatives. The topics of the validation workshop were similar to those covered in the survey and in-depth interviews, but the focus of the workshop was more on whether the participants recognised and/or agreed with the observed results and on discussing 'how' and 'why' certain results emerged, 'why' certain results were perhaps not observed and what role they see for Fairtrade, both in the past and going forward. Participants included management, wageworkers and the local Fairtrade representative. While the results were presented in a plenary fashion, discussions were done separately by wageworkers and management to ensure wageworkers could speak freely.

2.4 Analysis

The data derived from the various tools was analysed using the following steps

Situation of wageworkers of Fairtrade certified plantations

An overview of the situation among wageworkers of Fairtrade certified plantations was constructed for each indicator based on the survey. For many indicators we do not only reflect on the current situation, but also on the self-reported changes in this situation since the respondent started working for the plantation and on the self-reported attribution of these changes to Fairtrade. Data for the survey were accumulated by, and triangulated with, information from the interviews and field observations.

Differences between wageworkers on Fairtrade certified plantations and non-Fairtrade certified plantations

The difference between wageworkers on Fairtrade certified plantations and wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations was calculated for each indicator. In the case of Ghana this step involves comparing the two plantations based on the length of time that the plantations have been Fairtrade certified. In the Dominican Republic and Colombia we compare wageworkers from Fairtrade certified to wageworkers from non-Fairtrade certified plantations. An additional analysis done in Colombia excluded the plantations certified more recently (before 2012). A t-test is used to verify the statistical significance of the differences between different groups. In case indicators are measured by (various) statements or sub-indicators, we use an index for the statistical analysis by creating averages or by using a factor analysis.

Attribution of differences between wageworkers to Fairtrade certification

The extent to which the statistical significant differences can be contributed to Fairtrade are presented and discussed for each indicator. Differences and/or changes might be the result of factors other than Fairtrade certification. Three alternative sources of influence are generally acknowledged. First, wageworkers may differ in terms of observable characteristics such as education, age or gender. These factors can be controlled for using advanced statistical models. Experience from previous impact evaluations has taught us that applying multiple matching models to data derived by observational studies can lead to an increased robustness of conclusions (see van Rijn et al., 2012, for more details). These differences are controlled for statistically by using propensity score matching, regression analysis and a combination of both (more details on these models available upon request). We use other model specifications to test for robustness in case of binary or categorised answer data. Second, differences between wageworkers from Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade plantations could be the result of differences in the type of plantation other than whether or not, and for how long, the plantation where they work has been Fairtrade certified. This could involve such things as additional certification (e.g. organic), the size of the plantation or in which major supply chain they are involved in. Third, observed differences could be explained by unobserved differences in worker characteristics, such as motivation to work or the fact that certified plantations might have had better working conditions to start with (which is why they became attracted to Fairtrade.) Both sources of bias were accounted for as much as possible in our methodological design, either by careful selection of counterfactual plantations, or by identifying the sources and evaluating them based on interviews or the discussion in the verification workshop.

2.5 Limitations of the study

Both before and during the course of the study a number of limiting factors were encountered. These have had an impact on the ability of the research team to conduct the research as planned and may have an adverse effect on the results, something which needs to be considered for future research of this nature. The three major limitations encountered include the following:

• The main objective of this research is to gain insight into the working conditions of wageworkers on plantations, including the construction of a baseline for the revised hired labour standards. The focus has also been on identifying differences between wageworkers on Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. A limitation of this study, given its 'baseline study' nature, is that it cannot (yet) attribute any major differences solely to Fairtrade certification. While our method is designed to maximise the capacity to attribute observed differences to Fairtrade, results are written in a sometimes seemingly indefinite fashion. In the future, with a second wave of data, these findings can be explored in more detail, depth and confirmed with more certainty.

• Gathering accurate information about Fairtrade certified plantations was not an issue although data provided by Fairtrade was not always up to date. Fairtrade certified plantations were cooperative and were able to provide information in a timely manner. However generating the same information about non-Fairtrade plantations was challenging. Plantation management was often reluctant to provide information or allow worker interviews. While the latter could have been prevented in some countries, by interviewing them outside working hours in their homes, in other countries this would have been impossible (see notes above on the Dominican Republic). In addition, cooperation was required for management interviews and plantation visits. With due diligence, patience and extensive communication from the LEI Wageningen team and especially our local partners we managed to convince all to participate.

• Budget constraints proved to be a major challenge, especially considering the fact that there has been very limited research in the hired labour sector in general – and in the banana sector in specific – let alone of such a scope, depth and rigour. Finding experienced and knowledgeable local partners, gaining access to non-Fairtrade certified plantations and implementing innovative research methods (i.e. the games) proved very challenging within the budget.

In addition to these limitations we recognise some limitations with respect to specific sub-themes:

• Health and safety. It is not necessary for all wageworkers to use all kinds of protective equipment. For some tasks on the plantation, certain types of equipment are needed. Only looking at the protective measures taken by wageworkers who are exposed to chemicals solves part of this issue, as this eliminates, for example, the administration jobs from the analysis. However, for certain jobs, some protective measurements are required but not all of them. This could be taken into account in future analysis.

• Living wage. Living wage depends on many factors and is clearly a contextualised concept; it was outside the scope of this study to investigate this in its fullest extent (as is done by Anker and Anker, 2013, for example). More generally speaking, subjective experiences with issues such as living wage or collective bargaining are not easily or fully captured by our survey data. We clearly identify which proxy indicators we use to reflect on these themes at the beginning of each section.

3

Results

3 Results

In this chapter, survey results are presented in line with the main objectives of the study and the research themes presented in section 2.2. The baseline situation of wageworkers on Fairtrade certified plantations is compared to that of wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations, or in the case of Ghana plantations that became Fairtrade certified at a later stage.

3.1 Ghana

3.1.1 Introduction

Certification and hired labour in the banana sector

Although Ghana is a small player on the world market, its banana production has increased sharply over the last 15 years, from 10,000 tonnes in 2000 to 84,000 tonnes in 2013. The sharp increase from 2005 onwards is the direct result of the incorporation of a large plantation in 2003. This plantation was certified in 2012. Prior to that there was only one commercial banana-growing enterprise in operation. This plantation was certified in 1996. Original data provided by Fairtrade indicated that there were three Fairtrade certified HLOs in operation in Ghana in 2013. It was later discovered that the third HLO had been decertified in August 2014 and had actually been acquired by the plantation certified in 1996 for possible future expansion. While future plans remain unclear, this HLO was not producing bananas at the time of this study and could not be considered for inclusion. In addition to the two Fairtrade certified plantations, there is a new banana plantation under development. This plantation is not expecting its first harvest of bananas until late 2015/early 2016 and as a result plantation management did not feel as though they were ready or able to participate in this study.

Description of the sample in terms of plantation characteristics

As described in section 2.1.2, our sample of wageworkers was drawn from the two major plantations mentioned above. One of these plantations was certified in 1996 (referred to as FT 1996) and one was certified in 2012 (referred to as FT 2012). Aside from the year of certification, the two plantations differ a lot; the plantation certified in 1996 is much smaller in terms of number of employees (420 versus 2,043) and planted area (81ha versus 506ha). As there was no counterfactual available in Ghana to allow for the comparison of Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations, the length of time that a plantation has been Fairtrade certified will be used to create a counterfactual in what is referred to as the 'pipeline' approach (Ruben, 2008). For some indicators it is expected that Fairtrade certification will result in immediate changes (e.g. in terms of certain labour conditions that Fairtrade requires certified plantations to comply with) while for other areas change is expected to happen over a longer period of time (e.g. in terms of changes in welfare). Therefore data on self-reported change is used to measure any recent changes that have occurred.

Description of the sample in terms of wageworker characteristics

In total 326 wageworkers were interviewed, 78 at FT 1996 and 248 at FT 2012 (Table 3.1). 21% of the respondents were female (32% at FT 1996 and 17% at FT 2012) and the average age of the wageworkers was 37. Twelve of the wageworkers (4 at FT 1996 and 8 at FT 2012) were randomly selected for in-depth interviews while 28 wageworkers (16 at FT 1996 and 12 at FT 2012) participated in the gaming sessions.

Almost half of the wageworkers (45%) surveyed cultivated their own land in the last 12 months, with this figure being slightly higher among workers at FT 1996 than at FT 2012 (60% versus 40%). The difference can be explained by the fact that land is inherited, meaning that Fairtrade certification is not believed to have influenced this difference in any way. The average size of the land owned by the wageworkers is 0.94ha. 52% of the wageworkers surveyed said that they had savings with no significant difference between the two plantations while almost 40% of those wageworkers with savings said that education was the most important reason for saving. 26% said that saving was important for covering the costs of unexpected illness or health problems. Only 10% said that saving for retirement was the main reason for saving. The low rate of wageworkers who save money for unexpected events or for funding their retirement said that this was because wages are below a rate that makes this possible.

Wageworkers at FT 1996 are significantly different from wageworkers at FT 2012. Wageworkers from FT 1996:

- have a longer work history at the plantation (and in the sector);
- are slightly older;
- have a larger household size;
- are more often female;
- are more single households (or widowed etc.);
- are more often households that rely on other sources of income than just the plantation; and
- are less often migrant workers.

These differences in wageworker characteristics are controlled for in the statistical analysis.[1]

1 Because of these large differences, the imposed common support (the area where the two samples overlap in terms of propensity score) excludes 79 workers from the plantation certified since 2012.

Table 3.1 Descriptive statistics of the wageworkers interviewed on Fairtrade certified plantations in Ghana

Characteristic	Fairtrade	FT 1996	FT 2012	Difference	Significantly different
Total number of wageworkers interviewed	326	78	248		
Number of years employed by plantation	4.98	9.88	4.58	5.30	***
Age of respondents (in years)	37.02	42.37	35.33	7.04	**
# Female respondents (as % of total)	21%	32%	17%	15%	***
# respondents not married (as % of total)	33%	17%	38%	-21%	***
Years of residence in the area	18.15	22.73	16.71	6.02	***
Years of residence in the village	17.34	22.71	15.66	7.05	***
Years of employment in the banana sector	6.22	9.85	5.08	4.76	***
Years of employment in other hired labour sector	3.72	4.47	3.49	0.99	
Respondent is a migrant	27%	14%	31%	-17%	***
Respondent lives in a temporary house	13%	4%	15%	-11%	***
Average size of household	4.07	5.05	3.77	1.29	***
Respondent is not the household head	0.08	0.15	0.06	0.09	**
Education level respondent	3.05	3.19	3.00	0.19	
Highest level of education obtained in household	3.56	3.91	3.45	0.46	***
Own farm is main source of income	34%	27%	37%	-10%	*
Owner of inherited, family or stool land	25%	28%	23%	5%	

Significant levels indicated as follows:
*** ($\alpha = 0.01$)
** ($\alpha = 0.05$)
* ($\alpha = 0.1$)

3.1.2 Economic benefit

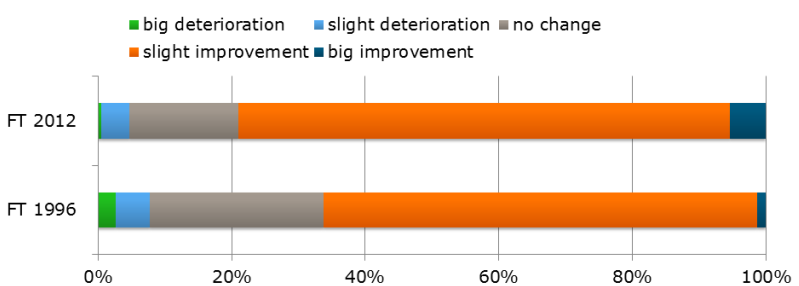
In this section we compare the situation of wageworkers on both Fairtrade certified plantations with respect to wages (current and trends over time), diversification of income source, security of employment, non-wage economic benefits and standard of living.

Wages

Fairtrade certification contributes to the receipt of in-kind benefits, while for other economic benefits plantation-specific factors appear to be more influential

The average hourly wage of all surveyed wageworkers in the sample is GHS 1.91 (Ghana Cedis) per hour (see Appendix 8). This translates to an average daily wage of GHS 15.28 for an 8-hour work day. These wage estimates, as given by surveyed workers, are much higher than the official wages paid by both plantations. In 2014 the minimum wage at FT 1996 was GHS 7.2 while at FT 2012 it was GHS 8.35. For 2015 the minimum wage at FT 1996 had risen to GHS 9.28 while at FT 2012 it had risen to GHS 10.53. The minimum wage at both FT 1996 and FT 2012 is higher than the official minimum wage set by the Ghanaian government. The official national wage in Ghana has risen from GHS 3.11 in 2010 to GHS 6.00 in 2014. For 2015 the official minimum wage was set at GHS 7.00. Fairtrade certified wageworkers therefore earn signficantly more. In the absence of a clear non-certified comparison group, this difference cannot be attributed to Fairtrade at this stage. In the absence of comparable non-certified plantations, this difference cannot be attributed to Fairtrade at this stage.

Figure 3.1 Self-reported change in wages (n=77/238)*



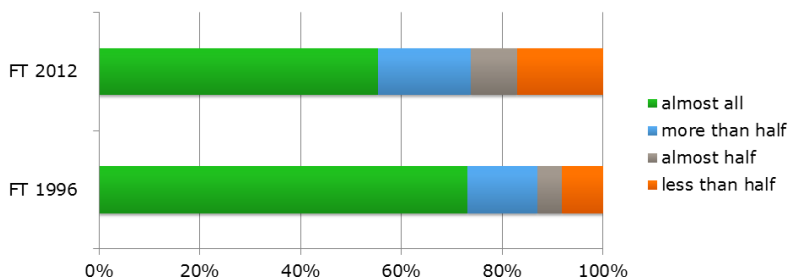
*Significantly different between the plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

While the actual daily wage paid to wageworkers at both plantations varies between plantations, with major determinants of variation being type of task, level of education and work experience, the wageworkers' estimates of wages most likely include all overtime and bonus payments, while the plantations only quote the official base wage rate. The bonus structure at FT 1996 and FT 2012 varies. At FT 1996 wageworkers receive a 'Fairtrade premium' payment of GHS 20 per month, which is topped up by an additional monthly payment by management of GHS 13. This means that wageworkers receive an additional GHS 33 per month on top of their wages. This cash payment is referred to on the plantation as the 'food subsidy'. At FT 2012 management has introduced three bonuses aimed at increasing production. These are a production bonus (based on workers reaching production targets), a production incentive (based on extra work done during normal working hours) and an attendance bonus (workers earn an additional GHS 10 per month for 100% attendance, GHS 5 per month for a maximum of one unexplained absence and GHS 0 for two or more unexplained absences).

Workers employed by FT 2012 report more improvement in wages than the workers employed by FT 1996, with half attributing this to Fairtrade

More than 70% of the surveyed workers felt that there had been an improvement in wages (Figure 3.1). There was a significant difference between the two plantations in terms of self-reported change, even after controlling for the observed differences in wageworker characteristics (section 3.1.3). Wageworkers from FT 2012 report significantly more positive changes in wages than wageworkers from FT 1996. In the cases where workers have identified a positive change in wages, approximately 50% said that Fairtrade has contributed to this change. This appears to be mostly based on the perception that the Fairtrade guaranteed minimum price makes the wage increases possible. At the same time, 37% of surveyed workers indicated that Fairtrade did not influence the positive change in wages as wage increments are made nationally on a yearly base. These results seem to suggest that while Fairtrade certification can have a positive influence on wages, the (potential) impact in the Ghanaian context is limited. The financial position of the plantation seems to play a more important role.

Figure 3.2 Share of individual income coming from plantation (n=76/245)*



*Significantly different between the plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

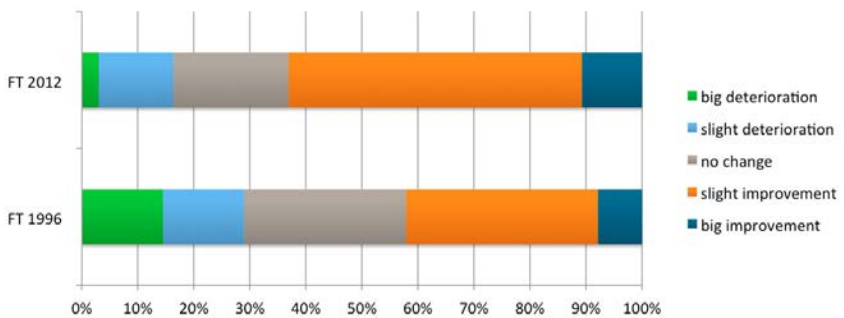
Income diversification

Reliance on income from plantations is significantly lower for workers employed by FT 2012 compared to workers employed by FT 1996

Generally speaking, the surveyed wageworkers and their households are heavily reliant on the income they earn from the plantation with 69% indicating that their income from the plantation makes up all or almost all of their total income. Yet other income sources remain vital as well; during in-depth interviews, wageworkers commented that 'almost 90% of workers have other jobs because income from the plantation is very low and families cannot survive on these salaries alone'. Another wageworker indicated that 'a daily wage of at least GHS 15 would be enough for the household and to make some savings', but she receives only GHS 7. In fact, during the in-depth interviews most wageworkers on both plantations indicated that the income they earn at the plantation is insufficient to cover their basic costs.

Reliance on plantation income is significantly higher for those workers employed by FT 1996 than for those employed by FT 2012 (see Figure 3.2). This may be because FT 1996 is a multi-site plantation with wageworkers living in different communities, but it may also be because workers at FT 1996 live in more remote areas and do not have the same opportunities to earn additional sources of income. Another possible reason for the difference may be that FT 1996 wageworkers have on average been employed by the plantation for a longer period of time. This may have resulted in wageworkers becoming unconsciously more dependent on their wages from the plantation.

Figure 3.3 Self-reported change in job security (n=76/233)*



*Significantly different between the plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

Security of employment

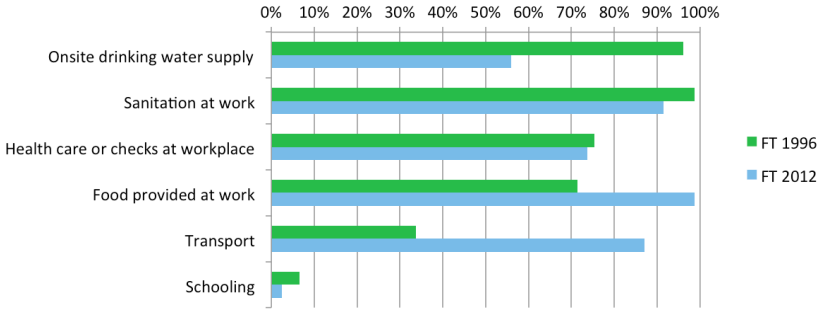
FT 2012 wageworkers see more improvement in job security than FT 1996 workers, yet FT 1996 have permanent contracts more often

78% of the wageworkers in the sample have permanent contracts; at FT 1996 95% of the workers have a permanent contract while the remaining 5% have a temporary or probationary contract. 72% of workers at FT 2012 have a permanent contract while 20% have a temporary contract. FT 1996 offers its workers a permanent contract after a probation period of 3 months, while at FT 2012 a probationary period of 3 months is followed by a 2-year temporary contract before a permanent contract is offered. With the majority of wageworkers on permanent contracts it is surprising to see that 31% of those surveyed responded either neutrally or negatively when asked if the plantation offered them a secure job, with no significant difference between the two plantations. Wageworkers indicated they sometimes failed to do what was expected of them, and as a result were fearful of being fired. However, the majority of wageworkers (71%) indicated they feel job secure.

Despite job security concerns, over half of the surveyed wageworkers indicate that their sense of job security has improved

The majority of wageworkers (58%) indicate that their sense of job security has improved since they started working for the plantation. The self-perceived change is significantly more positive for wageworkers from FT 2012 than for workers from FT 1996. This is surprising given that FT 1996 has been certified for much longer than FT 2012. However, it does indicate that Fairtrade certification is just one factor that can have an influence on the financial position of a plantation. FT 1996, for example, has faced many challenges since 1996, including severe weather damage that threatened the plantation's existence. That said, 15% of wageworkers on FT 1996 said that their sense of job security has deteriorated significantly since they started work at the plantation. Of those who indicated a positive change in their sense of job security, 40% said that Fairtrade played a role, while 40% said that the change was not due to Fairtrade (see Appendix 8). During the

Figure 3.4 Non-wage (in-kind) benefits (n=77/247)



*Significantly different between the plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

verification workshop, wageworkers indicated that many of the practices promoted by Fairtrade were already used before the plantation became certified, and many practices were abolished to meet the standard requirements at the time the plantation first became certified (e.g. employing people as causal workers, employment of minors and 'hire and fire'). The abolishment of some of these practices has led to an increase over time in the job security of those workers surveyed.

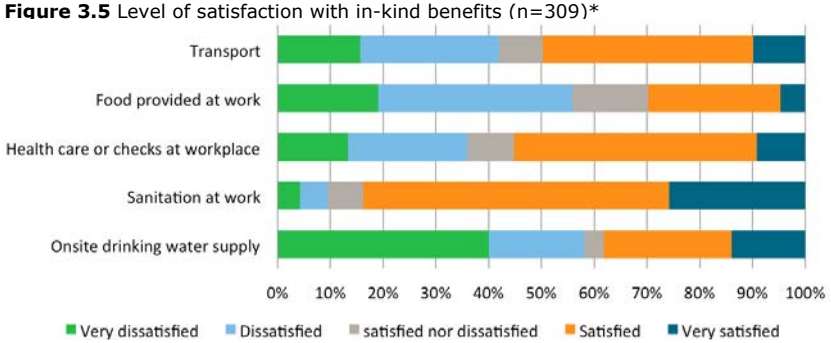
Non-wage economic benefits

FT 1996 and FT 2012 wageworkers report different in-kind benefits

Both plantations provide a variety of in-kind benefits to their workers in addition to wages. In-kind benefits include onsite drinking water, sanitation facilities, health-care services, food, transportation and schooling (Figure 3.4.) A small number of workers also indicated that they receive schooling (11 people), housing assistance (3 people) or childcare support (3 people). There are some major differences between the two plantations; wageworkers from FT 1996 report onsite drinking water as an in-kind benefit more often, whereas significantly more workers from FT 2012 say that they receive assistance with food and transport. The latter is more obvious as wageworkers at FT 2012 live further away from the plantation. Wageworkers at both plantations indicate that the in-kind benefits they receive helped them to save some of the wages that they would otherwise have spent on these items, especially food, schooling and health care.

For example, one respondent indicated that scholarships of GHS 600 per child at senior high school and health care lessened financial burdens on workers. When a worker passed away, the family was given GHS 1,500 and wageworkers were transported to the funeral. Subsidised food and health care are other often considered as other sources of saving on expenditures.

Figure 3.5 Level of satisfaction with in-kind benefits (n=309)*



*Significantly different between the plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

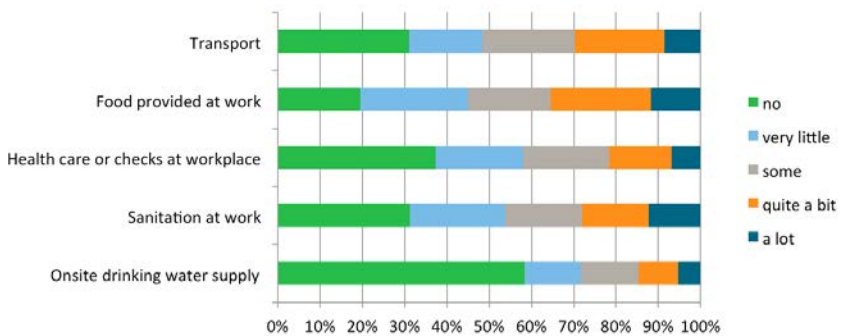
The level of satisfaction about in-kind benefits varies (Figure 3.5). For example, 40% of those wageworkers who said drinking water was supplied were very dissatisfied with the supply of onsite drinking water, while 56% were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the food they received at work. Wageworkers perceived the daily amount of GHS 1 given as food subsidy at FT 1996 as too low. FT 2012 wageworkers complained of poor food quality and quantity. At the same time wageworkers explained that before the FT premium was used as a food subsidy, wageworkers were buying food on credit and paying when they received their salaries. This resulted in more absenteeism because of lack of food or money to buy food. The importance of providing food during working hours was also raised various times during the in-depth interviews. Interviewees welcomed daily feeding. In the words of one of the respondents: 'Fairtrade provided a meal for each worker daily, thereby preventing hunger during work.'

Most farmers are satisfied with sanitation at work; access to onsite drinking water is a challenge on FT 2012, but not on FT 1996.

The low level of satisfaction with drinking water stems mostly from FT 2012. FT 1996 provided potable water from Ghana Water Company Limited for use on the plantation. However, FT 2012 pumped water from the canal used for irrigation for the use of workers, though treated; wageworkers do not consider this to be a good source of drinking water. Most of the workers, according to a participant 'had health conditions (urinary problems) because of the water'. However, perceptions rather than actual quality might also have played a role, since some wageworkers were not even aware that the water was treated.

On the other hand, wageworkers are very satisfied with other in-kind benefits. 84% of the wageworkers who received sanitary services at work were either satisfied or very satisfied. Despite the small number of people that receive child-care benefits, wageworkers are satisfied with child care for a number of reasons. Management and Fairtrade supported the education of wards of wageworkers on both plantations. Also, maternity leave was granted, two hours were given to nursing mothers daily for breastfeeding, and they were also given fewer daily targets (this means they work less).

Figure 3.6 Self-reported change in in-kind benefits of FT wageworkers (FT 1996 and FT 2012, n=309)*



*Significantly different between the two plantations, but only at 10

Management also provided medical care for children of wageworkers (payment of medical bills. There is no significant difference in the average level of satisfaction between the two plantations.

Half of wageworkers report that transport and food at work have improved, while onsite drinking water is still a problem

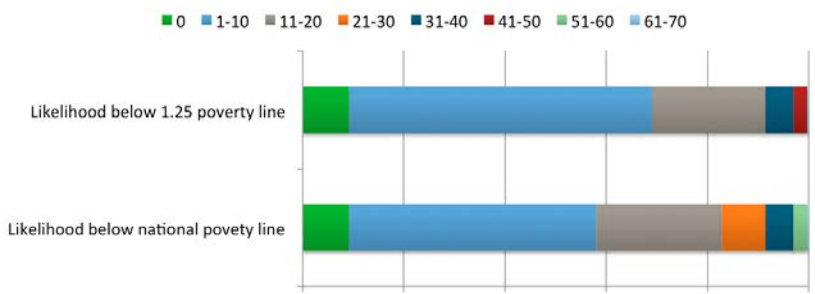
Survey results suggest improvement has been made in sanitation, health care or the supply of onsite drinking water, and even more so in the food and transport provided by the plantation (Figure 3.6). There was no significant difference in the level of change in non-wage benefits across the two plantations. About 50% of wageworkers who indicated an improvement in non-wage economic benefits contributes this to Fairtrade quite a bit or a lot. For sanitation provided at work this was even higher (75%), whereas it was significantly lower for food provided, even though during interviews wageworkers applauded the provision of food during work hours.

Living standard

The majority of wageworkers have a low probability of falling below the poverty line according to the PPI, but can be characterised as suffering from food insecurity due to access constraints. FT 1996 have slightly more assets.

To calculate the probability of falling below the poverty line (PPI scores – see section 2.2), we analyse various indicators. First of all, we analyse various proxies of housing quality. Our analysis indicates that 88% of the wageworkers live in houses with the roof made out of more modern materials; the majority of the people (78%) have access to good drinking water in or near their house and 85% of the houses have access to electricity. There is no significant difference in terms of housing quality between the two plantations. FT 1996 wageworkers did appear to have significantly more assets than FT 2012 (5.53 versus 4.35 out of 11). 52% of the wageworkers surveyed said that they had savings with no significant difference between the two plantations.

Figure 3.7 Probability of falling below the poverty line*



*Not significantly different between the two plantations

No difference is found between FT 1996 and FT 2012 wageworkers with regard to the progress out of poverty score (Figure 3.7). Results indicate that the majority of the wageworkers have a low probability of falling below the national poverty line; more than 80% of the wageworkers have a probability of below 20% of falling under the poverty line. This is even lower for the USD 1.25 poverty line (91% probability below 20%). At the same time, results indicate that the level of food security access is very high: 95% of the wageworkers are categorised by moderately or severely food insecure access (see Appendix 8).

This result is somewhat contradictory. While investigating the data in detail, we noticed respondents are often categorised as having 'severely insecure food access' because they indicated that they suffered from many of the conditions, yet 'rarely' (once or twice in the past 4 weeks). The categories are defined in such a way that as soon as quite a few of the questions were answered with yes, the respondent automatically falls in the higher categories, even though they might not have experienced the situation very often. It is debatable whether answering 'rarely' to many of the questions actually makes one severely food insecure. Quite a few respondents have very low HFIAS scores (a score calculated on the basis of the frequency questions, with a scale from 1 to 27), but still fall in the highest category.

3.1.3 Social benefit

In this section we describe the situation of wageworkers of Fairtrade certifie plantations with respect to (knowledge from and appreciation of) working conditions on the plantations (hours, holidays, worker rights and occupational health and safety), quality of social dialogue (grievance redressal, relationship to supervisors and trust) and the use of the Fairtrade premium.

Working conditions

Working conditions are considered good

On average the sampled wageworkers work a little more than 41 hours per week. Overtime is paid at both plantations for every hour worked after 16:00. The average number of paid holiday days per year among the sampled wageworkers is 18; which is in line with management policy of providing between 16 and 25 paid leave days (depending on work history). In addition to paid holidays, wageworkers at both plantations are granted sick leave and 5 days of compassionate leave annually.

Worker rights are considered satisfactory but wageworkers are often not aware of these facilities

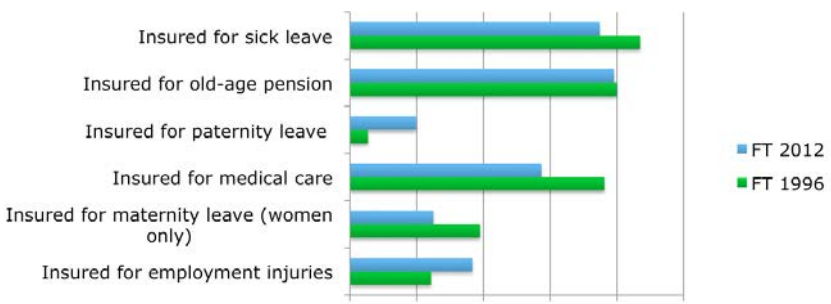
In the survey we also asked wageworkers for the number of worker rights they received (see Figure 3.8). Interestingly, quite a few differences emerged with respect to the social securities they receive according to management. Women at both plantations are entitled to 12 weeks maternity leave. At FT 2012 men are also entitled to 5 days paternity leave per delivery. Women at FT 1996 who experience complications during delivery are granted extra leave as recommended by a physician and an additional two hours daily for breastfeeding. Moreover, FT 2012 registers all wageworkers with the National Health Insurance Scheme and all bills covering medical treatment for spouses and children are paid for by management upon submission of a claim. All wageworkers at both plantations are registered with the Social Security National Insurance Trust (SSNIT), and their contributions into the fund are paid monthly by management on behalf of all workers. At FT 2012, management also pays 10% (5% from management and 5% of wageworkers' salary) of each workers' monthly salary into a provident fund. Finally, compensations were paid to wageworkers on both plantations.

Some workers, especially those who had not benefited, might not be aware of these insurances. More generally, during the validation workshop, management indicated that some of these differences are based on a misunderstanding. They indicated that there is a need for more education and awareness because results reflect wageworkers' limited knowledge on a number of issues such as compensations, bonuses, water supply, etc. Some of these results could be attributed to high labour turnover on the plantations and low levels of education. The lack of awareness was confirmed by the wageworkers themselves; for example, none of the FT 2012 wageworkers at the validation workshop were aware of an insurance for employment injuries.

Majority of wageworkers consider at least some improvements in worker rights due to Fairtrade

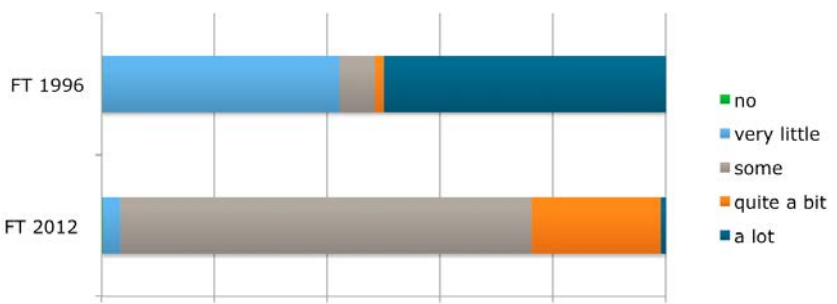
The majority of wageworkers indicate there has been no change in terms of worker rights since they started working at the plantation (Appendix 8). On average between 12% (for maternity leave) to 32% (for medical care) of wageworkers indicate an improvement in one of the listed worker rights since they started working for the plantations. There is no statistically significant difference between the two plantations. However, of those who did experience an improvement, most wageworkers attribute the change to Fairtrade (see Figure 3.9). At the plantation certified since 1996, 50% of the wageworkers even attributed 'a lot' of the changes to Fairtrade; while at the other plantation most wageworkers attributed only 'some' of the changes to Fairtrade. On average wageworkers for the plantation certified since 1996 attributed more changes to Fairtrade.

Figure 3.8 Worker rights (n=76/233)*



*The total number of securities is not significantly different between the two plantations

Figure 3.9 Self-reported influence of FT on change (n=76/233)*



*Not significantly different between the two plantations

Provisions for health and safety are a priority, but still leave room for improvement

Slightly over 40% of the wageworkers indicate that they are exposed to chemicals during their work. The measures where the two plantations differ most is in terms of received training in OS&H (Occupational Health and Safety) and the presence of a safety officer, both being much higher among FT 1996 wageworkers (Figure 3.10). Of those exposed, 94% take at least one precautionary measure. At the same time, 6% indicate not to take any measure at all even though they do report to be exposed to chemicals, of which all persons except one work at FT 2012. It is not necessary for all wageworkers to use all kinds of protective equipment. For some tasks on the plantation, certain types of equipment are needed. Still, the total number of measures taken at FT 1996 is slightly higher (4.4 vs 3.7), but the difference is not statistically significant. Based on semi-structured interviews it appears that both plantations have active health and safety committees in place, but FT 1996 is particularly active in this area. Those who directly work to ensure health and safety on the plantation are the health and safety officer, four nurses (one at each site clinic), supervisors and 15 trained first aiders. The health and safety committee has recently been successful in organising, among other things, training for staff on chemical use, health and safety, first aids, fire, personal hygiene and HIV/AIDS, and engaging resource persons from Globalgap, Red Cross and Ghana National Fire Service for their training programmes.

Both management and wageworkers recognise the importance of the use of protective equipment; however, in reality its use is not without challenges. A number of reasons were given for the failure to apply OS&H measures consistently, which included delay in supply, failure of supervisors to enforce strict compliance and failure of wageworkers to use personal protective equipment (PPEs). One worker indicated that

> 'supply was always limited to the extent that wageworkers did not even wear gloves during emergency harvest. There should always be extra at the store to cater for emergencies. There should be unannounced visits by Fairtrade and other inspectors because it is only when we hear of planned visits of inspectors that we put our house in order'.

This quote is representative for many of the other concerns that were raised in relation to this topic. During the verification workshop, participants indicated that they complained, Fairtrade did not allow management to punish wageworkers who fail to use PPEs. The need for an external force to make PPE equipment available and enforce its use was raised by various people during the semi-structured interviews. Explaining the failure of some wageworkers to use PPEs, a participant had this to say:

> 'Considering our (African) climatic conditions coupled with inferior products from China, it is sometimes not comfortable using some of this equipment. There should be alternatives; special equipment should be provided for our wageworkers in Africa taking into consideration our climatic conditions.'

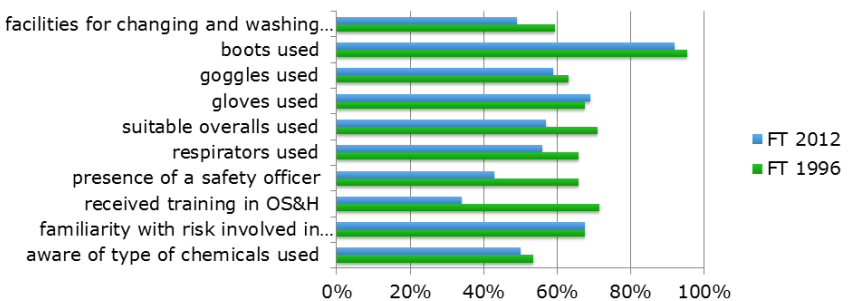
Majority of wageworkers report that health and safety measures have improved

More than 90% of the wageworkers indicate a positive change (some improvement or big improvement) since they started working for the plantation in terms of precautionary measures taken when dealing with chemicals; this is true for self-reported changes in the use of better protective gear, less use of hazardous pesticides, improvement of washing facilities and better health education (Figure 3.11). There is no statistically significant difference between the two plantations. Between 40% to 60% indicate that Fairtrade has had 'quite a bit' or 'a lot' of influence on this change (see Appendix 8). At the same time, more than 23% indicate that Fairtrade did not play a role.

Majority of wageworkers indicate no missed working days due to poor working conditions

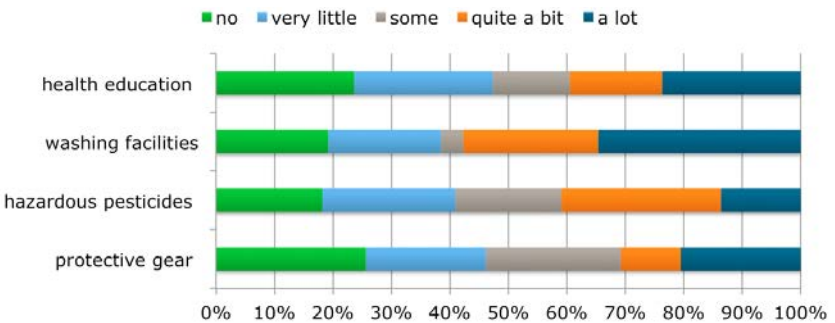
The majority of wageworkers report 0 (zero) days of missed worked resulting from poor working conditions (83%) or work-related accidents (90%). The plantation certified since 1996 reports a slightly lower number of missed days on average (0.29/0.21 vs 0.87/0.54), but this difference is not significant when controlling for other wageworker characteristics.

Figure 3.10 Safety measures chemical use (n=43/87)*



*The average diference is not significantly significant

Figure 3.11 Self-reported change in all safety measures (n=130)*



*The average change is not significantly dif erent between the two plantations

Quality of social dialogue

Workers are aware of grievance and sexual harassment policies but do not submit complaints easily

Both plantations have policies in place for grievance redressal and sexual harassment. 93% and 90% of sampled wageworkers are aware of the grievance and sexual harassment policies at the plantation they work for, with no significant difference between plantations (Appendix 8). The policies at both plantations stipulate how grievances should be managed.

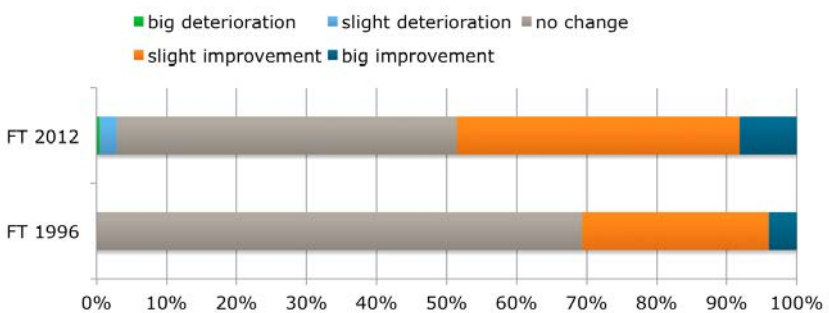
One fourth of the wageworkers indicate they submitted a grievance; 60% of these grievances was between wageworkers and management, and 40% between workers. When asking the same wageworkers whether they felt they could submit their grievance without being disadvantaged 56% indicated they could not. Moreover, 36% indicated their grievance was not examined. This result is surprising given the large focus of Fairtrade on this theme. There is no statistically significant difference between the two plantations.

While 29% of all respondents claimed to have heard of a case of sexual/ physical abuse there was a significant difference between the plantations with 19% of wageworkers at FT 1996 and 32% of wageworkers at FT 2012 claiming that they had heard of a case of sexual/physical abuse. The mere fact that so many wageworkers have heard about it indicates that it is an issue. The difference can probably be explained by the recent occurrence of two serious cases of sexual abuse by foremen at FT 2012; the men involved were fired.

A majority of wageworkers (65%) state that grievance and sexual harassment policies have improved

FT 1996 wageworkers indicate slightly less improvement in terms of grievance and sexual harassment policies than FT 2012 wageworkers (Figure 3.12); this difference remains significant after controlling for other characteristics, although the difference is small and only marginally significant. 45% of the wageworkers indicate that Fairtrade influenced this change 'quite a bit' or 'a lot', whereas 15% indicate that the change was not due to Fairtrade (see Appendix 8).

Figure 3.12 Self-reported change in grievance policies (n=320)*



* Not significantly different between the two plantations

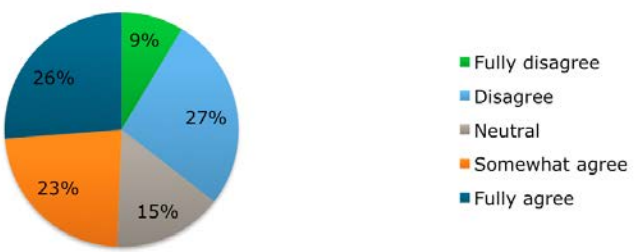
Relationships between wageworkers and supervisors are generally good but there is room for more appropriate protective material

Almost 70% of the wageworkers indicate that they fully agree or somewhat agree with the statement that they 'feel free and comfortable to express ideas and concerns to administrators and supervisors' (see Appendix 8). FT 1996 indicates a significantly lower level of agreement with the first statements (65% vs 72% agreeing fully or somewhat). One of the wageworkers from FT 1996 explained that about three years ago a worker was fired because off his role in a demonstration that took place on the plantation. According to this worker, this discouraged some wageworkers to raise concerns in the company. Although it is unclear why this man was fired exactly, and whether this was a just decision or not, it could explain the lower percentage of people who indicate that they freely share their ideas with supervisors and administrators on FT 1996.

Almost half of the wageworkers fully or somewhat agree that administrators and supervisors adequately listen and respond to their ideas and concerns

49% of the wageworkers agree with the statement that they 'feel that administrators and supervisors adequately listen and respond to my ideas and concerns' (Figure 3.13); there is no significant difference between the two plantations. Another 36% disagree. This indicates that, while many wageworkers feel free to raise these concerns, many wageworkers feel they are not being listened to. The results from the semi-structured interviews indicates that this might be because no actions were taken to resolve some of their concerns. For example, one of the wageworkers said that 'when your boots are spoiled, it is difficult to replace them. If you go to the field right now, you will meet people in the field without boots'. The issue of the improvements in PPEs was mentioned several times during the semi-structured interviews in relation to FT 2012.

Figure 3.13 'I feel that administrators and supervisors adequately listen and respond to my ideas and concerns' (n=318)*



* Not significantly different between the plantations

Trust in the Premium Committee and wageworkers' union is high, but low in fellow wageworkers and management

Wageworkers seem to trust the Premium Committee and the wageworkers' union more than the people in their village and fellow wageworkers (Figure 3.14). Wageworkers indicated dishonesty, theft, laziness and violation of company rules and regulations as causes of distrust in co-workers. Less than 50% of the wageworkers indicate they trust management.

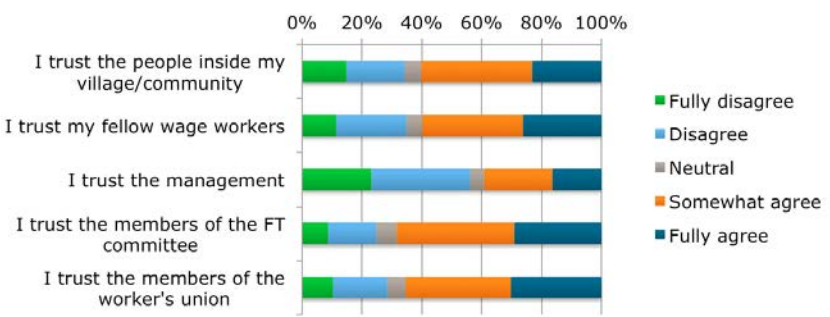
Wageworkers raised their concerns with respect to the transparency of management decisions, and some indicated that they felt 'management placed more value on bananas than on the workers'. An example that was raised to back up this claim was that they could not attend the funeral of one of the workers. Management on both plantations is aware of this challenge and is trying to address it by raising the level of awareness of various policies, training and education.

Wageworkers from the plantation certified since 2012 are slightly more optimistic about their trust in all the reference groups; for trust in the Premium Committee and the workers' union, this difference is even statistically significant when controlling for other wageworker characteristics (see Appendix 8).

Measuring pro-social behaviour or trust using games

Another innovative measure of trust applied in this research was based on trust games (section 2.3.4). In the basic variation, player 1 gave 54% of the GHS2 to player 2, whereas player 2 gave 47% back. The only variations that differ significantly are trustworthiness in the variation where position is known and player 1 gave 31% back (vs 47% in the first game) and trust where position and gender are known and player 1 gave 37% (vs 54%). The fact that knowing about gender does not significantly change results confirms the results from the survey; gender did not have a significant influence in any of the trust measures. The measures from the games are not significantly related to the measures from the trust measures from the survey in terms of trust in fellow wageworkers.

Figure 3.14 Self-reported trust*



*Significantly different between the plantations for trust in workers' union and trust in FT

Fairtrade premium

Awareness of Fairtrade is high overall and premium is seen as main benefit

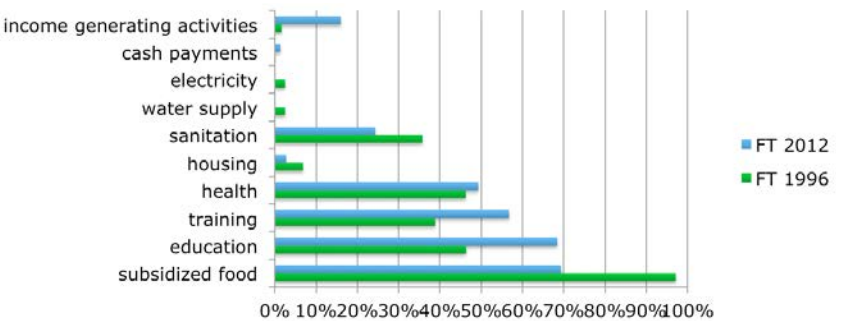
All but eight wageworkers are aware of the fact that the plantation where they work is Fairtrade certified; these eight workers all work at FT 2012; six for more than one year. On average 87% of the wageworkers are aware of the Fairtrade premium. At both plantations the majority (59% vs 63%) indicate the premium as the main benefit; a guaranteed purchase of products (29% vs 10%) and guaranteed work (7% vs 24%). These numbers indicate a rather good awareness of Fairtrade.

Most premiums were spent on subsidised food while education is the most preferred use of the premium

FT 1996 spent the largest part of its FT premium in 2010/2011 on education (66%) and health (19%). In these years they spent more than they received, which means that they probably saved part of the premium from previous years to spend on projects during these years. FT 2012 spent a large part of its premium on food and saved a large part for future investment.

Both plantations indicate subsidised food as the most common use of the premium in the past, followed by education, training and health (Figure 3.15). The food project was a response to workers' request. When asked for preferences on how to spend the premium most wageworkers indicate education followed by housing (for the plantation certified since 1996) and cash payments (for the plantation certified since 2012). The interest in cash payment is particularly high at FT 2012, with 65% indicating that they would like the future premium to be used for this purpose (vs 32% at FT 1996). This can be explained by the recent change in the HHL. The issue was also raised at the end of the verification workshop as a special request and raised various times during the semi-structured interviews. Various wageworkers indicated that cash was needed to meet other demands, such as school fees, utility bills and the purchase of household items. The case payment FT 1996 is currently paying out is 20% of the premium, and FT 2012 is planning to do the same.

Figure 3.15 Expenditure of Fairtrade premium in the past according to workers



Wageworkers were also asking for credit facilities to be established with the premium. Wageworkers were of the view that this will help them to invest in other income-generating activities.

Wageworkers seem satisfied with worker representation in the Premium Committee

The Fairtrade Premium Management Committee (FPMC) at FT 1996 has ten members. Each of the four plantation sites is represented by one elected representative. The other six members are comprised of two management representatives, two women's representatives, one workers' union representative and one support services representative. The premium committee collates all of the submitted proposals. All wageworkers are invited to a meeting during which the various proposals are voted on. This process leads to a list of specific premium projects for the year ahead. At FT 2012, the premium committee has a total number of 17 members. It is comprised of nine elected representatives from the plantation, one from each of the nine sectors. In addition to this there are three representatives from support services, a supervisor representative, an officer representative and three management representatives. There are six formal committee meetings (held annually), one annual general meeting and emergency meetings during which any urgent issues are discussed.

On average, wageworkers have attended 0.97 Fairtrade meetings in the last year; the average is higher for FT 1996 (1.86 vs 0.69). In fact, only 21% of the wageworkers from FT 2012 attended a meeting last year versus 57% of FT 1996. These differences are significant even when controlling for other wageworkers' characteristics. Given the fact that FT 1996 is much smaller, this might not be surprising. At FT 2012 there is no general Fairtrade meeting; wageworkers are represented at all these meetings by their representatives, and they are given the opportunity to contribute to discussions by filling a form. At FT 1996 there are general and site meetings every year and each person is given the opportunity to attend these meetings. 49% of wageworkers have proposed an idea for how the premium should be used. The reasons why wageworkers do not submit an idea are not yet evident. Many wageworkers indicate that they are satisfied and aware of how to submit a request. One the wageworkers at FT 1996, for example, clarified she was satisfied with the management of the premium and stated 'whatever we tell them [management] is what they do'. At the same time, one of the wageworkers indicated that (s)he had 'no knowledge of how the premium was managed', even though the wageworkers had been employed at FT 2012 for almost one year.

3.1.4 Empowerment-related benefits

In this section we describe the situation of wageworkers of Fairtrade certified plantations with respect to various empowerment-related themes: sense of ownership, structural social capital as an indication of worker representation in various groups, sense of control and life satisfaction as indirect or intangible empowerment benefits, individual worker empowerment through participation in training and through career progression, and the functioning of various worker committees.

Sense of ownership

Sense of ownership is high with 78% feeling it is 'their' company

More than 75% of wageworkers agreed with the statement that they 'feel that the company is their company' (Figure 3.16). This shows that wageworkers felt a sense of ownership of the plantation they work for. Around 98% felt that the success of the company was directly related to how hard they worked, while more than 88% felt that they should also contribute to a solution if the plantation encounters any problems (Appendix 8). During the validation workshop, wageworkers confirmed this high level of ownership. Although they were not satisfied with their salaries, they had made some gains in their lives as a result of the company. For example, one wageworker indicated during the semi-structured interviews that '[before I started to work at FT 2012] I could not feed myself, I could not access health care, and now I am able to do all these on my own'. They feel these gains would not have been possible without a properly managed plantation, for which they are partly responsible. There is no significant difference in sense of ownership between the two plantations.

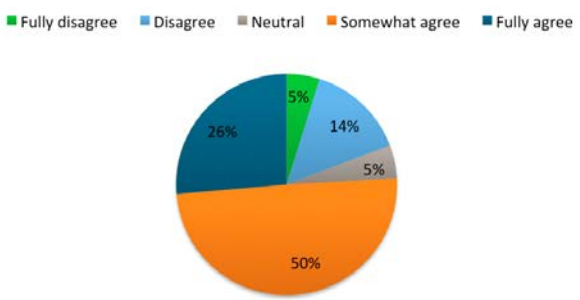
Social capital

81% of the wageworkers indicate that they are a member of at least one group. Most are a member of church (67%), followed by the workers' union (22%) and community groups (14%). The reasons most often mentioned for group membership are cooperation to improve livelihood situation and making friends, while no time (63%) and no relevant organisations present (29%) are reasons mentioned for not being part of any group (Figure 3.17). There are no significant differences between the two plantations.

Measuring pro-social behaviour or level of cooperation with games

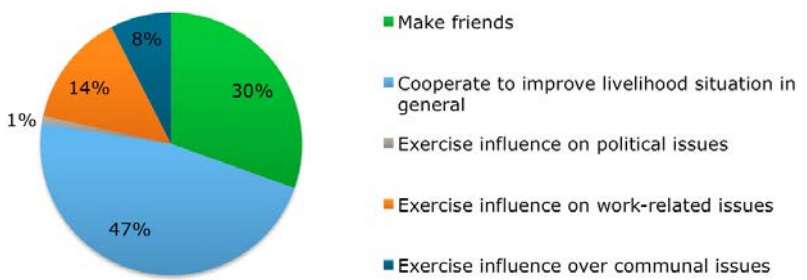
Another innovative indicator we used to capture social capital is based on the public goods game (see section 2.3.4). This game investigates the behaviour of the participants when contributing to a public good. We use the share that wageworkers contribute to the public goods game as an indication of the level of cooperation. Ideally they would contribute all, which would double their total and individual payoff. The share given to the common pool is 33%, which indicates a moderate level of willingness to cooperate.

Figure 3.16 Average level of agreement with ownership statements (n=320*



*Not significantly different between the plantations

Figure 3.17 Reasons for participating (n=217)*



*Not significantly different between the plantations

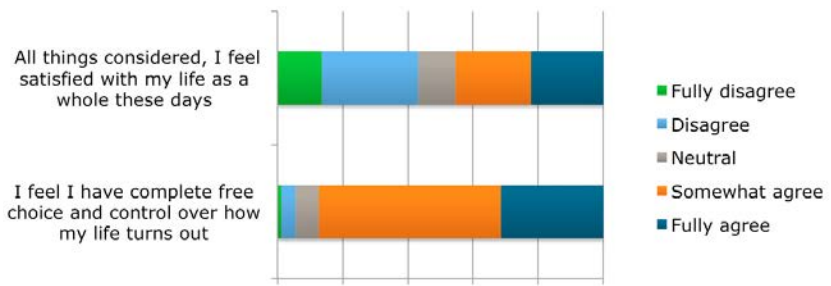
Sense of control, life satisfaction and development perspectives

Sense of control is high but life satisfaction is rather low; wageworkers are most dissatisfied with income

The majority of wageworkers (87%) feel that they 'have complete free choice and control over how life turns out' (Figure 3.18). At the same time only 45% agrees with the statement that 'all things considered, I am satisfied with life as a whole these days'. There is no statistically significant difference between the two plantations. During the verification workshop, wageworkers explained that the challenges of life (such as addressing the needs of their children, payment of rent and utility bills) were responsible for their lack of satisfaction with life.

On average wageworkers indicate positive changes. On a scale of -2 (big deterioration) to +2 (big improvement), the average score is 0.20. Most change has been experienced in terms of income, food and health. These are also the areas for which most of the FT premium was used. On average wageworkers are slightly unsatisfied about their current situation with a score of -0.17, which lies between dissatisfied (-1) and neutral (0). They seem most satisfied with health and sanitation and most unsatisfied in terms of income. Interestingly income is also the area where they experienced the most change. Wageworkers seem slightly more optimistic about their future perspectives. On average wageworkers indicate that they expect between 'some' and 'quite a bit' change in the future. They are most optimistic about health and food and least optimistic about access to loans. Although there are some slight differences between the plantations, there is no statistical difference in the average level of indicated change, satisfaction or future perspectives.

Figure 3.18 Development perspectives (n=324)



*Not significantly different between the plantations
Scale: -2 = very dissatisfied, -1 = dissatisfied, 0 = neutral, 1 = satisfied, 2 = very satisfied

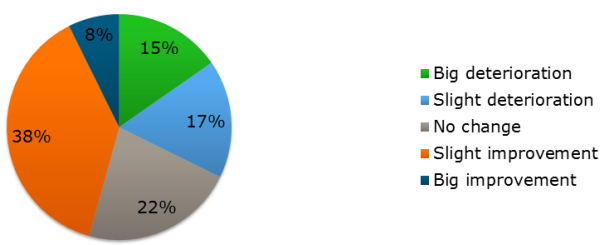
Work satisfaction and progression

Most wageworker feel they can reach full potential in their work, almost half say job satisfaction has increased

63% of the wageworkers fully agree or somewhat agree with the statement 'I can reach my full potential in my work'. Another 27% disagrees. slightly fewer wageworkers from FT 1996 agreed with this statement (57% vs 65%). The difference is statistically significant even when controlling for other wageworker characteristics. 46% of the wageworkers indicate an improvement in terms of their happiness with the job and 38% of the wageworkers contribute the improvements to Fairtrade 'quite a bit' or 'a lot' (figure 3.19).

While the average change in happiness since they started working at the plantation is lower at FT 1996 (31% versus 50% at FT 2012) this difference is not statistically significant when controlling for other worker characteristics. Wageworkers identified a number of things that would influence this happiness including good relationship with management, good wage and job security. They stated that their involvement in the various issues/activities of the company, job promotion and good health were also paramount to their happiness. 46% of wageworkers say happiness with their job has increased, which 28% contribute to a large extent to Fairtrade. Finally, 67% of the wageworkers indicate to have received training; again this is slightly lower for FT 1996 (59% vs 70%) but this difference is no longer significantly different after controlling for other wageworker characteristics.

Figure 3.19 Change in happiness with job (n-313)



*Significantly different between the plantations, but not after controlling for other wageworker characteristics

Worker representation

Worker representation is secured through different unions and committees

Both plantations are united, though in different unions, and have collective bargaining in place. All wageworkers at FT 1996 are members of the General Agriculture Workers' Union (GAWU). The GAWU committee has ten members: eight of them are elected representatives from the four plantation sites and two are from support services. These ten representatives are elected for a term of four years and they meet to elect people for the various executive positions. Local GAWU meetings are held at four levels: plantation representatives only, plantation representatives plus management, GAWU regional meetings and GAWU national meetings. The function of the trade union committee is to promote the interests of wageworkers on the plantation. It has the responsibility to collaborate with GAWU during the Collective Bargaining Agreement (CBA) negotiations that take place every three years; negotiate daily wages on an annual basis with management; and encourage wageworkers to work as productively as possible. Trade union representatives from FT 1996 said that they enjoyed much support from GAWU especially with management training for local union leadership and training for plantation wageworkers on health and safety. GAWU representatives also regularly visit FT 1996, which is appreciated.

All wageworkers at FT 2012 were members of GAWU; however, in 2014 the majority moved across to the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICWU). The mass migration came after the then vice-chairman of GAWU and two others accused GAWU leadership of non-performance. As of December 2014, GAWU claimed to have 25 members with the rest of the more than 2,500 FT 2012 wageworkers now members of ICWU. The committee has nine executive positions and 64 representatives who represent the interests wageworkers at various activity levels. FT 2012 ICWU committee members are elected for a term of four years with a maximum of two terms. The executives of the committee formally meet once a month, but more often in case of emergencies. Executive members engage with plantation management, sector representatives and ICWU representatives at a regional and national level. The ICWU charges members a membership fee of 2% of monthly wages which is deducted from the workers' salaries each month. This fee helps to support the operations (1%) and projects of the committee (1%) such as six months' support for union members who lose their jobs. Those wageworkers who are still members of GAWU also pay 2% of their salary each in union fees. 30% of this goes to the Trade Union Congress (TUC), 50% to GAWU national, 5% to GAWU regional and the remaining 15% is for the GEL GAWU committee. The 15% allocation to the GAWU committee is used to provide drinks to members on May First (workers' day) and for the payment of out-of-pocket expenses for executive members of the committee. The current CBA at the plantation was agreed upon by management and GAWU in 2013. As the union with the largest number of members ICWU has taken over negotiating with management on behalf of the workers.

In early 2015 representatives from ICWU completed their first annual wage negotiations and they will negotiate on a new CBA when the current CBA expires in late 2015.

Both plantations have health and safety committees in place. The health and safety committee at FT 1996 has 10 members, consisting of the four nurses from the four plantation sites (automatic membership), one elected representative from each of the four sites, one elected representative from support services and the health and safety officer (automatic membership). The committee meets every quarter and any other time deemed necessary to deliberate on health and safety issues on the plantation. At FT 2012 the health and safety committee is a 15-member committee with representatives appointed from all the nine sectors of the plantation plus management and a women's representative. The committee members elect people to fill the various executive positions in the committee.

There is no specific committee that represents the interests of women. Members of the various other committees in this section are responsible for representing the interests of all wageworkers including women. The health and safety committee at FT 2012 has an elected women's representative who is charged specifically with the interests of women on the plantation.

3.1.5 Position of disadvantaged groups

Female wageworkers

Based on the survey results we can conclude that male and female wageworkers are characterised by similar positions for most economic, social and empowerment-related indicators. We find an indication of some statistical difference (at FT 1996 and/or FT 2012) in only 2 out of 14 economic indicators (14%), 6 out of 24 social indicators (25%) and 4 out of 8 empowerment-related indicators (50%).

On FT 1996 female wageworkers differ significantly from male wageworkers in that they indicate to receive more in-kind benefits, on average have a more optimistic view about the future development perspectives and have a higher probability of falling below the poverty line according to the PPI scores. On FT 2012 female wageworkers receive fewer days paid leave days, have less awareness about the policy against grievances and receive less training. On the other hand, female wageworkers seem to have a higher awareness of policy against grievances; take more measures when applying chemicals; indicate more change in the use of safety measures while applying chemicals; and indicate more agreement with the statement that they feel listened to and are able to reach full potential in their job.

The differences from the survey do not point at a disadvantaged position of women, with some differences being to their advantage while others are to their disadvantage. The semi-structured interviews partly support this finding with all women in our semi-structured interviews indicating that there was no discrimination based on gender. Semi-structured interviews indicate there are differences in terms of the activities performed by women; but these are not to their disadvantage, on the contrary. For example, one of the wageworkers indicated that spraying is something only done by men (on FT 1996), while women are more involved in quality control and packing (FT 2012). Moreover, there are various women in leadership positions, e.g. women organiser (union) and head of quality control (both at FT 2012).

At the same time various wageworkers indicated that there are still very few women in supervisory positions (1 at FT 1996, and none at FT 2012). One of the wageworkers explained this might be because 'only men were made foremen on the plantation because women might not be able to control wageworkers on the field'. One female wageworker indicated that leadership positions were offered (at FT 1996) but that women continued to decline. Illiteracy and low levels of education, rather than gender as such, were mentioned as possible reasons why women are not often found in leadership positions. When the same respondent was asked whether she would accept such an offer, she answered, 'I will also decline because I am not literate. Those offered are all educated'. Finally, results presented in the previous section indicated that 92% of wageworkers are aware of a policy against sexual abuse (90% of women).

Most female wageworkers indicated that they did not know about any events of sexual abuse at their plantation, neither in the survey nor the semi-structured interviews. Yet 19% of the total sample heard about cases of sexual abuse, and one of the wageworkers clarified that there were at least two cases of sexual abuse in the recent past of FT 2012.

Migrant wageworkers

While the issue of migrants is not as salient as it is in Dominican Republic, we analysed the position of migrants versus non-migrants to confirm whether or not they belong to a disadvantaged group that deserves particular attention. Based on the survey results we can conclude that migrant wageworkers are characterised by similar positions for most economic, social and empowerment-related indicators. We find a statistical difference at FT 1996 and/or FT 2012 in 2 out of 14 economic indicators (14%), 2 out of 24 social indicators (8%) and 2 out of 8 empowerment-related indicators (25%).

At both plantations we find few differences. On FT 1996 migrants received significantly higher wages and more training. However, they state to have lower levels of job security than non-migrant workers. On FT 2012 the differences do seem to indicate migrants are slightly disadvantaged. Migrant wageworkers heard about more events of sexual or physical abuse; experienced more grievances; and have experienced less increases in job satisfaction. The results from the semi-structured interviews did not confirm these findings while all wageworkers indicated there is no difference between migrant and non-migrants.

3.2 Dominican Republic

3.2.1 Introduction

Certification and hired labour in the banana sector

The overall majority of the HLOs in the Dominican Republic (DR) are located in the north-eastern provinces of Montecristi and Valverde, and only a few of them in the southern province of Azua. According to information provided by Fairtrade and Adobanano (Asociación Dominicana de Bananeros), there are approximately 22 HLOs operating in the north-east region, close to the border with Haiti. Because of this proximity and the large immigration of Haitians into DR, it is estimated that more than 80% of wageworkers in the banana plantations in these regions are Haitians.

Of these 22 HLOs, 14 are already FT certified,[18] one is in the process of applying to Fairtrade, and seven are not certified and mentioned not to be interested in applying in the near future. It is also important to mention that as this region is suitable for organic banana production, many of the HLOs, including Fairtrade HLOs, are organic certified (Table 3.2).

Another important difference amongst the banana HLOs in this region of DR is their different size in terms of number of workers employed. During our first visit to the sites, we were able to collect accurate information on the total number of wageworkers on each plantation from ADOBANANO and the plantation managers that we interviewed. Twelve (around half) of the total number of plantations in the region have fewer than 100 workers, five have between 100 and 200 workers, and the other five have more than 200 workers.

Description of the sample in terms of plantation characteristics

The characteristics of HLOs in the Dominican Republic were taken into account when sampling the plantations for the study. We decided that the two most important characteristics to consider in order to have a representative sample of Fairtrade plantations were the number of wageworkers and whether the plantations are organic certified or not. We consider these most important as both can have an effect on productivity and profitability and as such could influence workers' conditions. Another aspect that could also have an effect on the economic indicators of plantations has to do with the value chain that they are part of, and the type of relation with the exporter. Some HLOs have their own exporting company and some buy bananas from other HLOs to export, while most of them work with different international companies to export their bananas.

As the market is fairly diversified in DR, we made sure to select HLOs with all these different value chain arrangements (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Distribution of sampled plantations

	Fairtrade		Applicant Fairtrade		Non-Fairtrade*		Total
Size (number of workers)	Organic	Not Organic	Organic	Not Organic	Organic	Not Organic	
Small	2	1	1			1	
Medium	1				1		
Large	1				3		
Total	4	1	1		4	1	22

*One of these plantations was Fairtrade certified in the past for 2 years

As we mentioned before, our principal goal was to have a representative sample of Fairtrade plantations, and then try to find suitable controls for those. We managed to get a sample of Fairtrade plantations that was very well distributed regarding the characteristics given in Table 3.2, and also we convinced the owners of five HLOs to agree to participate in the study. It is important to observe that even though the sample is well balanced, there were not enough small non-Fairtrade plantations to include in the sample as most of the non-certified plantations are medium or large in terms of number of workers.

We randomly selected wageworkers from the lists of wageworkers received from plantation managers, making sure to have well-balanced proportions of male/female wageworkers and wageworkers of different nationalities. For larger-sized plantations (more than 200 workers) we selected around 10% of their workers, while this percentage was 25% for medium size, and close to 50% for small plantations.

Description of the sample in terms of wageworker characteristics

In total 369 wageworkers were interviewed: 161 at Fairtrade certified plantations and 208 at non-certified plantations (Table 3.2). 12% of the respondents were female (14% at Fairtrade, 12% at non-Fairtrade) and the average age of the wageworkers was 31. Twelve wageworkers were randomly selected for in-depth interviews (six at Fairtrade and six at non-Fairtrade) while 64 wageworkers (32 at Fairtrade and 32 at non-Fairtrade) participated in the gaming sessions.

18 However, during our first visit to DR we were told that 2 of these HLOs will be abandoning the Fairtrade certification this year. So when doing the sampling analysis we did not take those into account.

Table 3.3 Descriptive statistics of the wageworkers interviewed in the Dominican Republic

Characteristic	Total	Fairtrade	Non-Fairtrade	Difference	Significanc
Total number of wageworkers interviewed	369	161	208		
Years of employment at plantation3.35	4.06	2.80	1.26		***
Age respondent	32.73	34.26	31.55	2.71	**
Female respondent	12%	14%	11%	3%	
Respondent not married	41%	33%	48%	-15%	***
Years of residence in the area	12.96	15.48	11.00	4.47	***
Years of residence in the village	11.61	13.90	9.84	4.06	***
Years of employment in the banana sector	1.69	2.03	1.42	0.61	*
Years of employment in the hired labour sector	3.24	4.20	2.50	1.70	**
Worked at other plantation before	46%	52%	42%	10%	*
Respondent is a migrant	64%	66%	63%	3%	
Respondent lives in temporary house	55%	57%	54%	3%	
Household size for current home	1.38	1.14	1.57	-0.44	**
Household size back home for migrants - if applicable	1.69	1.62	1.74	-0.11	
Education level respondent	1.87	1.88	1.87	0.01	
Highest level of education obtained in household	2.30	2.42	2.21	0.21	
Main source of income outside hired labour	12%	16%	9%	7%	**
Owner of land	4%	4%	4%	0%	

Significant levels indicated as follows:

*** (α = 0.01)

** (α = 0.05)
* (α = 0.1)

Wageworkers at Fairtrade plantations are significantly different from wageworkers at non-Fairtrade certified plantations.[19] Wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations:

- have a longer history at the plantation they work in, in the sector and living in the area;
- are more often migrants;
- have a smaller household size (of the household they currently live in);
- are more often female;
- are less often single households (rather than married); and
- are more often households that rely on income outside hired labour in agriculture.

The first two differences are especially interesting. In our first visit we talked to many wageworkers and they told us that wageworkers in non-Fairtrade certified plantations were always looking out for a job opportunity at Fairtrade plantations because they prefer to work at Fairtrade plantations. And managers told us that workers, even Haitians, tend to stay longer in Fairtrade plantations than in non-Fairtrade certified plantations. A worker from a Fairtrade plantation who has worked there for 12 years said 'I looked out for that job because I knew the bosses treat employees better there, and wageworkers enjoy more benefits'. Recent changes in Fairtrade policies make it mandatory for managers to help wageworkers from Haiti to get all the required papers to become formalised workers in DR. Because of this, working at Fairtrade plantations is especially attractive to migrant workers.

19 Only one of the wageworkers fell outside the common support (the area where the two samples overlap in terms of propensity score), which indicates a good overlap for statistical analysis in terms of observable characteristics.

3.2.2 Economic benefit

In this section we describe the situation of wageworkers of Fairtrade certified plantations with respect to wages (current and trends over time), diversification of income source, security of employment, non-wage economic benefits, and standard of living.

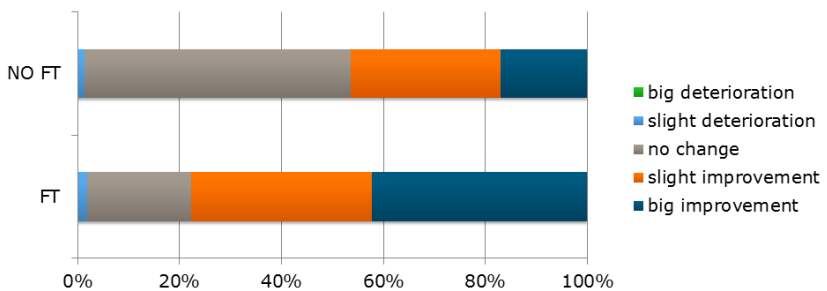
Wages

Hourly rates do not differ between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade, yet Fairtrade wageworkers perceive more increase in total wages

The average hourly wage of the wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations in the sample is 38 Dominican Pesos/hour, including extra hours or working on a holiday (which have to be paid double according to law). While the actual daily wage paid to wageworkers at both plantations varies across plantations, with major determinants for variation being type of task, level of education and work experience, the wageworkers' estimates of wages most likely include all overtime and bonus payments. The wages received by wageworkers on non-Fairtrade plantations are not significantly different from this. The average is in line with the minimum daily wage in Dominican Republic's law, being 250 pesos for a 44-hour work week, including half a day on Saturdays.

However, when wageworkers were asked to report changes in the wage rates, very significant differences were mentioned (Figure 3.20). Wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations perceived a higher increase in their wages than wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations. More than 75% of wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations indicated positive changes in hourly wage rates since they started working for the plantation, against slightly less than 50% for non-Fairtrade certified plantations.

Figure 3.20 Self-reported change in hourly wage rate (n=157/101)*



*Significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations

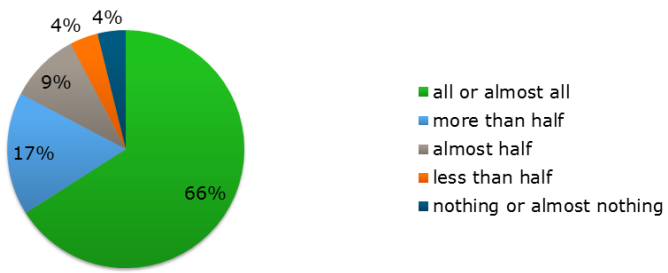
Both managers and wageworkers mentioned that the perceived wage increase has to do with the non-salary benefits that Fairtrade wageworkers receive (see next page). This perception might have even increased more because of the recent direct use of the FT premium as bonus (20%). However, it is also possible that this perceived improvement has to do with them having more opportunities to be promoted in the Fairtrade plantations and hence get better salaries. For example, one of the interviewed wageworkers who had worked at a Fairtrade plantation for eight years, mentioned that he feels that his salary has improved in the last three years. 'When I arrived I worked as a simple wageworker but because of the courses and training I now have a better position and five people under my command'.

Income diversification

No difference in reliance on plantation income between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified workers

The sampled wageworkers rely heavily on their income from the plantation: 66% indicated to receive all or almost all of their individual income from the plantation (Figure 3.21). For the total household income, this percentage is even slightly higher. The dependency of wageworkers on plantation income does not significantly differ between the Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations.

Figure 3.21 Share of individual income coming from plantation (n=363)*



*Not significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations

Security of employment

Fairtrade wageworkers feel more job secure than non-Fairtrade certified workers

99% of the sampled wageworkers have permanent contracts, and we found no difference between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified workers. Still, this does not mean that most wageworkers also feel they have a secure job.

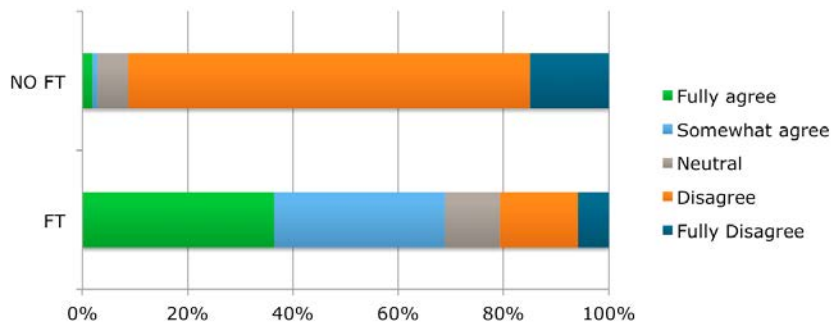
On non-Fairtrade certified plantations, more than 90% of wageworkers disagreed when they were asked whether the plantation offered them a secure job (Figure 3.22), while 20% of Fairtrade wageworkers disagreed with that statement. On average, wageworkers report positive changes in their confidence about being able to continue their jobs, but significantly more wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations are confident about job continuation. The reason why Fairtrade wageworkers feel more secure is, according to non-Fairtrade certified plantation management, a matter of perception rather than them actually firing more wageworkers or firing them more easily.

Non-wage benefit

Fairtrade wageworkers receive more in-kind benefits than non-FT wageworkers

Besides their wages, wageworkers receive different sorts of in-kind benefits. Figure 3.23 shows these in-kind benefits and the percentage of wageworkers who said they received them. According to wageworkers and management all plantations provide at least food, health care, water and transport. Interestingly, quite some wageworkers indicate not to receive these basic non-wage benefits, or are not aware that they are being provided. This is more common on non-certified plantations than on Fairtrade certified plantations.

Figure 3.22 'The plantation offers me a secure job' (n=363)*



*Significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations

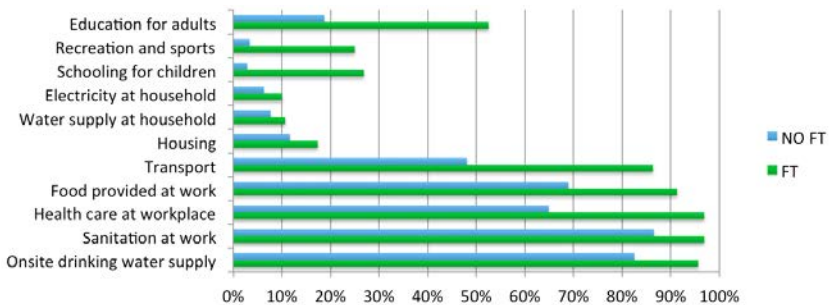
Whether this is because of a lack of awareness or whether wageworkers actually do not receive them has not become clear during our research. Wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations receive significantly more in-kind benefits than wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations. This difference is mostly apparent for adult education, transport, health care and schooling for children.

Fairtrade and non-FT wageworkers are equally satisfied with in-kind benefits

Satisfaction levels of Fairtrade and non-FT wageworkers with the benefits they receive does not differ. In general, the majority of wageworkers reported to be satisfied or very satisfied with the in-kind benefits received. Only for housing and recreation and sports did a considerable percentage (43% and 39%, respectively) of wageworkers report to be neutral, instead of satisfied/very satisfied. Whereas satisfaction with in-kind benefits received does not significantly differ between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations, wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations did report more positive changes in in-kind benefits received than wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations. Furthermore, 65% of the Fairtrade wageworkers felt that this change was influenced by Fairtrade.

While the strongly significant differences between wageworkers on Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations in terms of actual benefits received are clearly linked to Fairtrade policies, it is surprising that satisfaction levels do not differ. Field observations indicate that this is probably attributable to the fact that wageworkers at non-Fairtrade certified plantations would not easily say they are dissatisfied and do not know what kind of benefits the Fairtrade wageworkers receive. There is not much flow of information between them, as there are no general unions or wageworkers' associations combining wageworkers of Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations.

Figure 3.23 Non-wage (in-kind benefits (n=162/208)*



*The average number of in-kind benefits recieved is significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

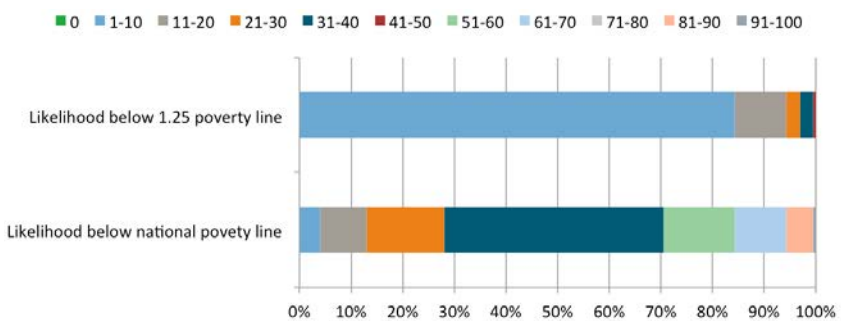
Fairtrade wageworkers have better housing and better food security

To calculate the probability of falling below the poverty line (PPI scores, see section 2.3.3) we analyse various indicators. Only 10% of the wageworkers in the sample cultivated land outside the plantations in the last year, with no significant difference between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. This is not surprising because the majority of workers is migrant. 12.5% of non-Fairtrade wageworkers owned their own house, as opposed to 29% of Fairtrade workers. This difference might be attributable to the fact that Fairtrade has invested in various housing projects using the FT premium.

Fairtrade wageworkers have savings significantly more often than non-Fairtrade wageworkers (22% compared to 8%). Fairtrade wageworkers most often use a savings account (57%) for their savings while non-FT wageworkers mostly save privately (52%). The majority of both groups said that they save to anticipate the costs of unexpected illness or health problems. Other purposes mentioned were building a house (20%) and improving housing (13%). However, since only a low number of wageworkers reported to have savings, these results should be interpreted with caution. Wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations live in houses of higher quality than wageworkers of non-Fairtrade certified plantations. Housing quality was defined using the PPI indicators on roofing quality, sanitation, water supply and cooking fuel used (PPI indicators). However, Fairtrade wageworkers and non-FT wageworkers do not differ in the number of household assets.

No difference is found between Fairtrade and non-FT wageworkers regarding the progress out of poverty score (Figure 3.24, section 2.2). The progress out of poverty score reflects the probability that a household will fall below a certain poverty line. The probability of falling below the poverty line does not differ significantly between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations but Fairtrade wageworkers are more food secure than non-Fairtrade certified workers. These results could not be explained by workers, management or other stakeholders. The instruments used (the PPI and the HFIAS) might explain these seemingly contradictory results (also see recommendations in chapter 5). The results for the Dominican Republic's national poverty line and the USD 1.25 a day poverty line are depicted in Figure 3.24. The vast majority of the sampled wageworkers (70%) have a probability below 40% of falling below the national poverty line. When the USD 1.25 a day poverty line is used, almost 85% of the sampled wageworkers have a very low probability (1-10%) of falling below this line. Regarding food security (see Appendix 8), more wageworkers at Fairtrade plantations are classified as food secure (34% versus 19%) according to the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale, while fewer wageworkers are classified as severely insecure food access (48% versus 69%). Future research should clarify why this is the case and how Fairtrade contributed to this.

Figure 3.24 Likelihood of falling below poverty lines (n=363)*



*No significant dif erences between FT and non-FT plantations

3.2.3 Social benefits

In this section we describe the situation of wageworkers of Fairtrade certified plantations regarding (knowledge and appreciation of) working conditions on the estates (hours, holidays, worker rights and occupational health and safety), quality of social dialogue (grievance redressal, relationship with supervisors and trust) and the use of the Fairtrade premium.

Working conditions

Fairtrade wageworkers have more paid holidays

On average the surveyed wageworkers work about 44 hours a week, which is in line with national law. This does not differ significantly between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. On Fairtrade plantations, the average number of paid holidays per year among the sampled wageworkers is significantly higher with 15, more than twice as much as on non-Fairtrade certified plantations, where the average is 7. This difference might be explained by the fact that on one of the large non-Fairtrade certified plantations many wageworkers do not take vacations during the year but at the end of the year (December). According to plantation management this leave was paid for. Another non-Fairtrade certified plantation hires people by day and therefore does not provide holidays.

Coverage of wageworkers by social security remains unclear

In the survey we asked wageworkers for the details of the social security received. Access to social security turned out to be a sensitive issue in the Dominican Republic. Instead of asking wageworkers whether or not they received a certain security, it was decided to ask for the details on the type of securities received. However, these data turned out to provide unreliable data, probably because interviewees were often not aware of the exact details of the type of securities they have access to (like in Ghana).

In the Dominican Republic the law of social security states that all Dominicans and legally residing foreigners must be part of one of three social security schemes. These schemes require the beneficiary to have valid identification documents, including the members of the direct family of the employees. The Dominican wageworkers at the plantations are officially enlisted in this system. It includes a basic health plan which provides (also preventive) health services. Other social security benefits that are included in this system are: maternity leave, health care, sick leave, social benefits and employment injury, which are all included in the price established by law. A 2010 WHO report indicates that complete coverage is probably unlikely, however (WHO, 2010). The Dominican Social Security Institute (IDSS), which is the old social security system, is still in place for wageworkers from Haitian origin.

The management of the plantations indicates that besides being part of the IDSS, the Haitian wageworkers are also registered for a private health risk administrator.

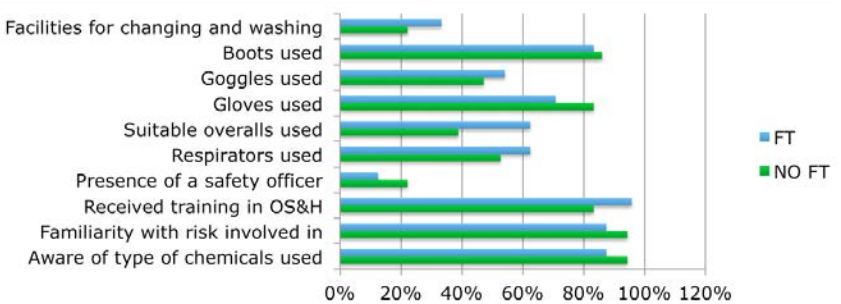
The provision and use of protective equipment is slightly better among Fairtrade than non-Fairtrade certified plantations, and Fairtrade wageworkers indicate more decisive change.

16% of the surveyed wageworkers are exposed to chemicals in their work; this does not differ significantly between Fairtrade certified and non-certified plantations. Of those exposed, everyone at Fairtrade certified plantations takes at least one precautionary measure, with an average of 3.8 measures; this is only slightly yet significantly higher than at non-Fairtrade certified plantations (3.8 versus 3.5). This small difference can be explained by the fact that while certain measures are clearly more common on Fairtrade certified plantations others are less common (Figure 3.25). The measures on which the Fairtrade certified plantations score significantly better are the use of suitable overalls, facilities for changing and washing clothing, use of respirators and training received.

However, 88% of the wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations report positive changes (an improvement or big improvement) since they started working for the plantation in terms of precautionary measures taken when dealing with chemicals in terms of protective gears, less use of hazardous chemicals, better washing facilities and more health education. This is significantly lower among non-Fairtrade wageworkers, of whom 64% reports improvement. About 50% of the wageworkers indicate this change was influenced by Fairtrade 'quite a bit' or 'a lot'. However, it not clear how this is linked to Fairtrade; both wageworkers and management were unable to explain these results during the verification workshop.

On average, the wageworkers did not miss many days of work due to work related accidents (94% of Fairtrade and 86% of non-Fairtrade reported not to have missed a single day). 97% of the surveyed wageworkers did not miss a day of work due to illness caused by poor working conditions (no difference between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade).

Figure 3.25 Safety measures for chemical use (n=162/208)*



*The average number of measures taken is significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

Quality of social dialogue

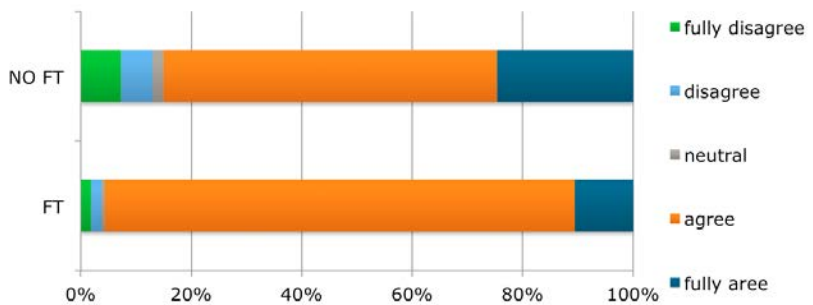
Awareness of grievance policy among Fairtrade wageworkers is significantly higher, but still only one-third of wageworkers is aware

On both Fairtrade and non-FT certified plantations, less than a third of the sampled wageworkers are aware of grievance and sexual abuse policies. However, differences between Fairtrade certified and non-FT certified plantations are significant. 32% of the surveyed wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations are aware of grievance policy, against 19% on non-Fairtrade certified plantations. For sexual abuse policy, these numbers are even lower, 30% for Fairtrade and 11% for non-Fairtrade certified plantations. During the verification workshop, wageworkers indicated that on Fairtrade plantations, wageworkers are educated to recognise signs of sexual abuse and how to communicate these.

Fairtrade wageworkers also report a more positive change in these policies, and 78% of them indicate that Fairtrade has had 'a lot' or 'quite a bit' of influence on this change. During the erification worksho , managers highlighted that these changes might not necessarily be related to Fairtrade because many of these policies (like sexual harassment) are required by all international certifications, including GlobalGap, which applies to all plantations included in the sample which is required for export to Europe. Nevertheless, Fairtrade wageworkers are more aware of them.

The wageworkers reported very few actual cases of grievance, only one on a Fairtrade plantation, and eight on non-Fairtrade certified plantations. During the verification workshop it became clear that this does not necessarily mean that the number of grievances is indeed low. Wageworkers indicated that some might fear to report complaints or are unable to communicate them properly. In the words of one of the wageworkers: *'those who don't have a passport, don't complain'*. In total thirteen wageworkers indicated that they had heard about cases of sexual harassment (two on Fairtrade and eleven on non-FT). In the in-depth interviews all wageworkers consistently indicated that sexual harassment does not happen in the plantations as there is 'a lot of respect' .

Figure 3.26 'I feel free and comfortable to express ideas and concerns to administrators and supervisors' (n=162/208)*



*Significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations

Fairtrade wageworkers are equally confident in expressing ideas to supervisors but feel significantly more listened to

More than 90% of Fairtrade wageworkers feel free and comfortable to express ideas and concerns to administrators and supervisors (Figure 3.26). For wageworkers from non-Fairtrade certified plantations this percentage is slightly over 80%, yet more wageworkers fully agree. The average difference in level of agreement is not statistically significant. However, FT wageworkers do feel significantly more listened to by their supervisors. This difference results from the fact that a significant portion (20%) of non-FT wageworkers disagree that 'administrators and supervisors adequately listen and respond to ideas and concerns'.

High trust in people inside the community, fellow wageworkers and management

Wageworkers self-report high levels of trust. More than 90% indicate to trust other people inside the community, their fellow wage wageworkers and the management of the plantation.

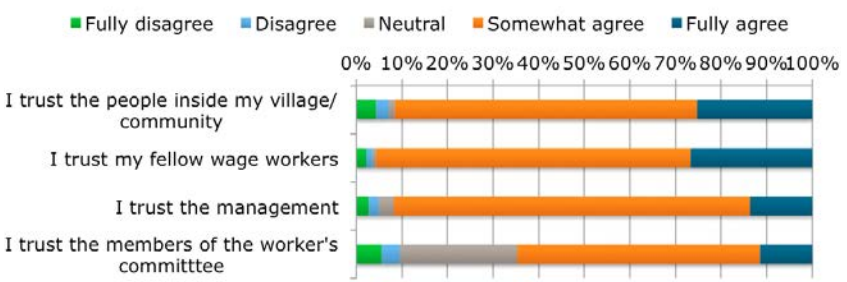
Fairtrade wageworkers have significantly more trust in worker committees

However, the level of trust towards the members of the plantation wageworkers committees is much lower, with about 64% reporting to trust them. The percentage is significantly higher for Fairtrade wageworkers (81% versus 61%, see Figure 3.27). Wageworkers indicated that the worker committees on Fairtrade plantations are very much appreciated. One wageworker articulated that ' *... this committee helps wageworkers to present their concerns to the administration and be heard'.*

Measuring pro-social behaviour or trust using games reveals considerable reciprocity

Another innovative measure of pro-social behaviour or trust applied in this research was based on trust games (see section 2.3.4). In the basic

Figure 3.27 Self-reported trust (n=155/144)*



*Significantly different between the FT and non-FT plantations for trust in plantation workers' committee, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

variation where no information was known about the other player, players that first received the money gave 54% of the GHS2 to the player without endowments; whereas those players gave 47% back. Differences to these averages were found in two variations. First, in the variation with position known, the players gave back 31% instead of 47% as in the first game. In the game with position and gender known 37% was given to the other players rather than 54% as in the first game. The fact that knowing about gender does not significantly change results does not confirm the results from the survey; female wageworkers report significantly lower levels of trust on non-Fairtrade certified plantations. The measures from the games are not significantly related to the trust measures from the survey in terms of trust in fellow wageworkers. Results need to be interpreted with caution because it is an experimental approach based on a small sample of 48 wageworkers.

Fairtrade premium

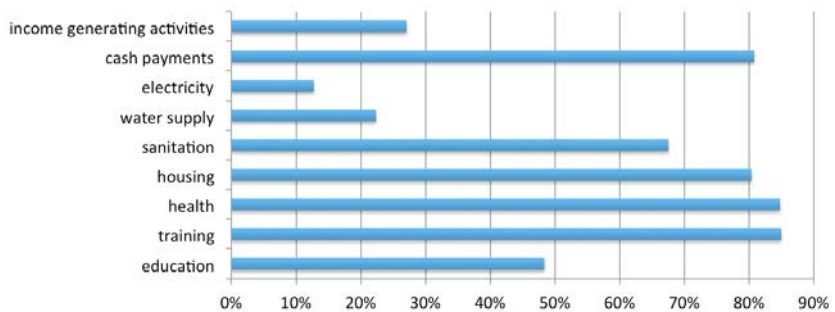
Awareness of Fairtrade is high, and half of wageworkers submitted a proposal for the FT premium

96% of the sampled wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations are aware of the Fairtrade premium and attended the last Fairtrade meeting. Slightly more than half of the wageworkers submitted a proposal for the Fairtrade premium. Fairtrade premium decisions are taken in the worker committees in which wageworkers are selected by vote.

Most FT premium investments are preferred for cash payments, health, training and housing

According to wageworkers FT premiums were mostly used for cash payments, training, health and housing (Figure 3.28). The cash payments were first paid out in 2014. Even though the information is not complete for all plantations, in general the plantations in the Dominican Republic seem to spend most of the FT premium on administration costs, community support and loans. When asked what they would like to see the next premium being spent on, the surveyed wageworkers seem to prioritise housing (57%), cash payments (46%) and education (42%). Managers mentioned food, health and education as being priorities during the validation workshops well as education.

Figure 3.28 Use of Fairtrade premium in the past according to workers (n=144)



Migrant wageworkers want to be able to spend premium benefits in Haiti

Because many migrant wageworkers still have family in Haiti, it is not surprising that they would like to use premium benefits in Haiti. This was mentioned several times during the in-depth interviews and is perceived as one of the major positive changes in the hired labour standards. One of the wageworkers, for example, said that *'education for my kids in Haiti is very expensive. I requested money from the FT premium for a scholarship for them but they told me that this money cannot be used in Haiti'.* Another one mentioned that *'I need just 10 sacks of cement to finish my family house in Haiti but they told me I cannot get money from the premium for that, while for houses in DR it is possible'.*

3.2.4 Empowerment-related benefits

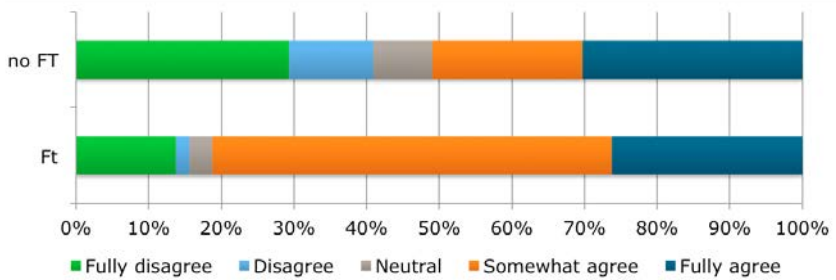
In this section we describe the situation of wageworkers of Fairtrade certified plantations with respect to various empowerment-related themes: sense of ownership, structural social capital as an indication of worker representation in various groups to give their voice, sense of control and life satisfaction as indirect/intangible empowerment benefits, individual worker empowerment through participation in training and through career progression, and the functioning of various worker committees.

Sense of ownership

Sense of ownership is higher for Fairtrade wageworkers than for non-Fairtrade certified workers

Workers feel a sense of ownership of the plantation they work for (feel that the company is their company). Wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations have a significantly stronger sense of ownership than wageworkers from non-FT certified plantations (80% compared to 51%). The same pattern can be identified for other ownership-related issues: whether they feel that the plantation is their company (75% versus 27%) and whether they should share the consequences when the company has financial problems (61% versus 27%). The difference is much smaller for the statement 'If I work hard, the company makes more profit' (96% versus 90%). Overall, wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations have a significantly stronger sense of ownership compared to wageworkers from non-FT certified plantations (Figure 3.29). In the in-depth interviews various wageworkers explained that this sense of ownership is a way of expressing their gratitude for the extra benefits given by the FT premium. Furthermore, they feel better able to communicate to the administration via the wageworkers committee.

Figure 3.29 Average level of agreement with ownership statements (n=160/208)*



*Significant difference between FT and non-FT plantations

Social capital

The overall share of wageworkers who are member of at least one group is quite low

82% of wageworkers are not a member of any group. Wageworkers have different reasons for participating in a group (Figure 3.30) but, despite higher levels of membership in worker committees, there is no significant difference between reasons to participate in groups between wageworkers from Fairtrade certified and none FT certified plantations.

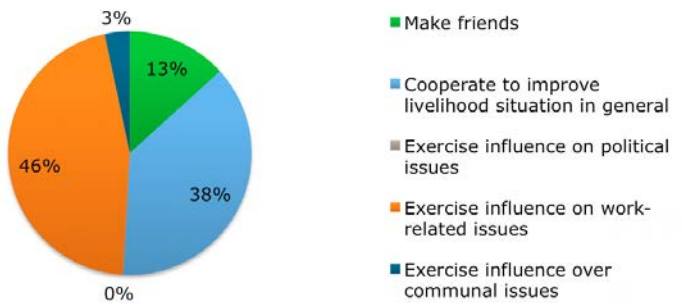
More Fairtrade wageworkers are members of a worker committee because they see more benefits

Significantly more wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations are member of a group (30% vs 8%, and this difference is mostly attributable to the relatively high rate of worker committee membership (20% versus 2%). 'No time' is most often indicated by wageworkers as a reason not to participate (76% versus 63%), followed by 'no relevant organisation'. The latter is less common among wageworkers at Fairtrade certified plantations (9% versus 23%). During the verification workshop wageworkers indicated that on Fairtrade plantations it seems more worthwhile to join a worker committee because they see benefits arising from it, while on non-FT wageworkers perceive less benefits.

Pro-social behaviour through willingness to cooperate is relatively high

Another innovative indicator we used to capture social capital is based on the public goods game (see section 2.3.4). This game investigates the behaviour of the participants when contributing to a public good. We use the share that wageworkers contribute to the public goods game as an indication of the level of cooperation. Ideally they would contribute all, which would double their total and individual payoff. The share given to the common pool is 52%, which indicates a relatively high level of willingness to cooperate. This is surprising given the low number of wageworkers who are members of a group. There is no significant difference between the different variations. The share given to the common pool was significantly lower on the Fairtrade certified plantation than on the two non-certified plantations. Perhaps not surprisingly, migrants invest significantly less.

Figure 3.30 Reasons for joining groups (n=63)*



*No significant difference between FT and non-FT plantations

Sense of control, life satisfaction and development perspectives

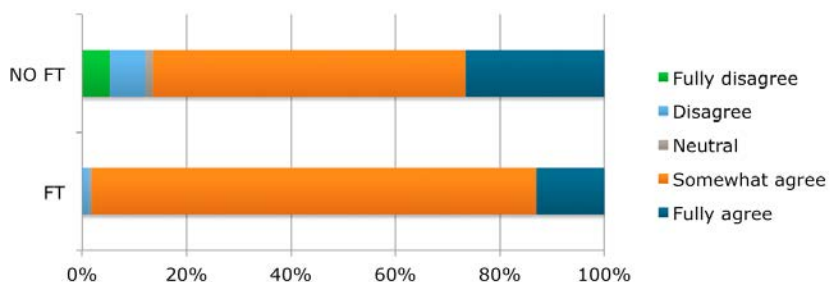
Wageworkers indicate that they are generally satisfied with life

The majority of wageworkers (92%) agrees somewhat or fully on being satisfied with life (Figure 3.31). This percentage is sign ficantly higher for wageworkers from certified plantations (98% versus 87%). The difference is not statistically significant. A similar pattern is found in wageworkers' feeling to have complete free choice and control over how life turns out; Fairtrade wageworkers are more positive, but the differences are not statistically significant. In the validation workshop, most wageworkers agree that these perceptions are strongly related to the extra benefits that Fairtrade wageworkers get from the premium and better working conditions. Also, several wageworkers, mostly from Fairtrade plantations, mentioned that they are confident that they will achieve their life goals as they are getting good training that allows them to do more qualified work and also are able to receive some credit from the Fairtrade plantations to send money to Haiti and improve the living conditions of their family.

Fairtrade wageworkers are more satisfied with their development perspectives

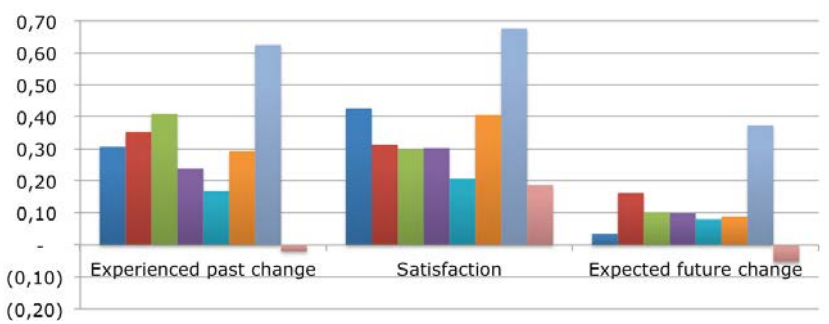
On average, wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations are significantly more positive about past changes, more satisfied with their current situation, and slightly more optimistic about the future than wageworkers from non-FT certified plantations (see Figure 3.32 for differences between Fairtrade and non-FT). Managers indicated that these results stem from a clear advantage of Fairtrade plantations because they have the funds to improve these services for their workers. Figure 3.32 presents the difference in the level of change, satisfaction or future perspective for each theme. Based on these results the more optimistic development perceptions appear to be based on various themes (including housing, income and schooling), with access to loans being a salient difference for all themes, while there is hardly any difference in terms of better public services.

Figure 3.31 'All things considered, I feel satisfied with my life as a whole these days' (n=161/207)*



*Average change is significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

Figure 3.32 The difference in average self-reported development perspectives between FT and non-FT (n=161/208)*



*Average change is significantly dif erent between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

Work satisfaction and progression

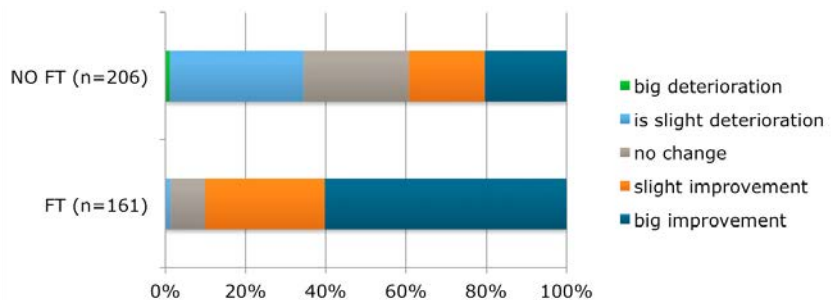
Most wageworkers feel able to reach full potential: Fairtrade wageworkers report significantly more improvements in happiness with their job

The majority of the wageworkers indicate that they fully agree with the statement that they are 'able to reach full potential in their work'; another 8% somewhat agrees. There is no significant difference between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. However, wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations do report significantly more improvement in terms of jobs satisfaction since they started working at the plantation (Figure 3.33); 60% of wageworkers at Fairtrade plantations indicate a big improvement versus 20% at non-FT certified plantations.

Far more wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations receive training and they also receive it more often

71% of wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations receive training. This is significantly higher than the number of wageworkers who receive training on non-FT certified plantations. During the interviews with wageworkers from FT plantations, many of them were proud to mention they feel more 'competent'. Some started at the plantation as regular wageworkers and through training and opportunity got a better position. Some former Fairtrade wageworkers even gained positions as technicians elsewhere. The major difference according to wageworkers between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations is that Fairtrade also provides technical training in areas different from the ones they need on the plantation. This also explains the significant higher increase in happiness among Fairtrade wageworkers since they started working at the plantation.

Figure 3.33 Self-reported change in happiness with job n=(161/206)*



*Signific ntly different between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

Worker representation

Contrary to the other countries in this research, the banana sector in the Dominican Republic does not have institutions that ensure worker representation and collective bargaining. Although Fairtrade has established contact with the dominant labour union to drive them towards social bargaining, the sector is as yet not well organised. It is a long-term impact Fairtrade is pursuing with which they hope to facilitate a massive shift in culture in this respect.

Worker representation is of a more structural nature on Fairtrade plantations

Nevertheless, survey analysis already pointed at higher participation in wageworkers' committees on Fairtrade certified plantations and a higher level of trust in members of these committees. Most managers of Fairtrade plantations agreed that the wageworkers' committees required by Fairtrade perform very well and are much appreciated by their workers. The committees are elected by vote of all wageworkers and have at least two mandatory assemblies each year. Committees are registered in the Ministry of Labour and have their own office for meetings. Within this committee there is a department in charge of the FT premium. Furthermore, the committees also assist in grievance submission and other requests to the managers through the committee. One of the managers of a recently certified plantation mentioned during the interview that 'communication between wageworkers and management has improved a lot since the establishment of the committee'. Even though it is called a workers' committee, and some wageworkers confuse it with a 'union', the committee does not do collective bargaining with the owner or manager.

This type of worker committee is not necessarily present on non-FT certified plantations. In fact, one plantation that was certified in the past indicated that the worker committee no longer existed because they did not believe it was necessary. However, one of the biggest non-Fairtrade plantations has a wageworkers committee very similar to the committees at Fairtrade certified plantations, also registered under the Ministry of Labour and under the OIT/ ILO (Organización Internacional del Trabajo) international regulation.

3.2.5 Position of disadvantaged groups

Female wageworkers

Female wageworkers are respected and treated as equals by co-workers and managers, but there are no women in leadership positions within the plantations

We ind various indicators where female wageworkers differ from their male colleagues, on Fairtrade as well non-Fairtrade certified plantations. Our analysis points at statistical differences differences in 4 out of 14 economic indicators (28%), 1 out of 24 social indicators (4%) and 0 out of 8 empowerment-related indicators (0%). Female wageworkers differ significantly from their male colleagues on Fairtrade plantations on two indicators: female wageworkers are more dependent on plantation income and work less hours. The latter is also true at non-certified plantations. Other indicators where female wageworkers differ significantly from their male colleagues on non-Fairtrade plantations is that female wageworkers indicate more positive change in in-kind benefits; have more assets (out of nine) and self-reported lower levels of trust in fellow wageworkers.

These results are partially confirmed by the in-depth interviews. Almost all wageworkers in the in-depth interviews mentioned that female wageworkers are much respected and treated as equals by co-workers and managers. However, two wageworkers (one Fairtrade and one non-Fairtrade) mentioned that there are no women in leadership positions within the plantations and that this is not fair. That might be true in most cases, yet during fieldwork the research team also observed women in management positions: for example, the Fairtrade official of one of the visited plantations was a woman, and two of the managers of wageworkers' affairs in non-Fairtrade certified plantations were also women.

Migrant wageworkers

Migrant wageworkers have a higher chance to fall below the poverty line, indicate fewer paid leave days and report less trust in the Fairtrade committees

The majority (about 80%) of wageworkers in the banana sector are migrants. Many of them have already been in the country for many years. Previously, migrant wageworkers enjoyed protection under Fairtrade standards, but not under Dominican Republic law because they were not documented. Due to pressure from other institutions (including Fairtrade) this has changed. However, many wageworkers do not have a work visa because they rely on temporary contracts. Officially they can only st y for a maximum of two years; this has resulted in a large informal sector.
The revised HLS standard was written with a special focus on migrants, including an emphasis on minority groups (migrants) in premium committees and the change in rules for using cash for income. This should ensure that migrant wageworkers benefit if they do not have their principal community close by.

Migrant wageworkers differ significantly from their non-migrant colleagues on Fairtrade plantations on three indicators: migrant wageworkers have a higher chance to fall below the poverty line, indicate fewer paid leave days and report less trust in the Fairtrade committees as represented through the worker committees. Indicators where migrant wageworkers differ significantly from their non-migrant colleagues on non-Fairtrade plantations are that migrant wageworkers indicate higher paid leave days and a slightly less positive change in grievance policy since they started working for the plantation.

Evidence from the qualitative research is mixed. Responses from wageworkers interviewed are pretty much consistent in saying that migrants are not treated differently than Dominicans in both Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. One of the wageworkers said: 'We the Haitians even get jobs more easily than Dominicans as we are not afraid of working hard'. Another one mentioned 'we are all treated equally as we drink from the same water, eat the same food, and get paid the same amount for a similar job'. On the other hand, during the verification workshop one migrant indicated that migrants do feel less secure in terms of filing complaints: 'Those who don't have a passport, don't complain'.

3.3 Colombia

3.3.1 Introduction

The banana sector

Bananas are the second-most important export product of Colombia after coffee. Total production value equals USD 700 m, produced on 46,700 hectares.

There are three main regions where bananas are produced in Colombia. The largest one is in the Urabá region (Eje Bananero), located mainly around the municipalities of Apartadó, Chigorodó, Carepa and Turbo. This region accommodates almost all banana plantations, more than 85% of banana exports from Colombia, and almost all Fairtrade exports. The second region is around Santa Marta, and most of the banana production there is produced by associations of small producers. The third region is located around the Coffee Region (Eje Cafetero), where bananas are used to provide shade for coffee and to diversify income. However, this production area is oriented towards the internal market. Because of this, the study was conducted in the Urab region.

There are three large groups in the regions that manage almost all the banana commercialisation. The first group is Uniban which is a commercial company, owned by different producers, that trades Fairtrade and non-FT bananas. Uniban manages several plantations, as owner or associate, but also works as the trader of bananas for many other plantations. The second group is Banacol, which is a big producer and exporter of its own non-FT certified but Rainforest Alliance certified bananas. The third group is Banafrut, which owns various plantations and commercialises its bananas directly. Most of its plantations are Fairtrade, and all of them Rainforest certified since this year. Apart from these big groups of producers and traders there are some other independent plantations that export directly. Most of them are non-FT, but there are a few Fairtrade. Various stakeholders explained that this is because Uniban and Banafrut have almost all the contacts with Fairtrade buyers and it is very difficult to find a market for Fairtrade if you do not trade with them.

Description of the sample in terms of plantation characteristics

Sampling was based on the commercial group and the size of the plantation (hectares). In addition, we distinguished between partners and independent plantations within Uniban; various stakeholders indicated that partners tend to get a better price for their bananas than independent plantations who usually got a discount in the price for Uniban's commercialisation service. We also included a small sample of recently certified Fairtrade plantations (certified after 2012). We selected a sample of Fairtrade certified plantations that were proportional to Fairtrade plantations in terms of size, group and whether they were partners or independent within the group. Based on that, we looked for a similar group of recent and non-FT certified plantations. The final sample was distributed as follows (see Table 3.4).

We have a total sample of 20 plantations for the study. Six are within the smaller size group and a similar amount in the middle size. Eight them are of a larger scale. Twelve out of the twenty are Fairtrade plantations and eight are non-FT certified. The four plantations left are recently certified Fairtrade plantations. It is important to stress that Banacol is Rainforest (RF) certified since 1998, and Banafrut since this year. In the interviews, management indicated they consider RF certification a better way to find buyers for their bananas.

Table 3.4 Overview of plantations in the sample in Colombia

		Fairtrade		Non-Fairtrade		Total
		Partner	Inde-pendent	Applicant	Partner	Inde-pendent	
Uniban	<75	0	2	1	1	1	
	<150	1	1	1	1	0	
	>150	2	0	1	1	1	
Banafrut	<75	1	0	0	0	0	
	<150	0	0	1	0	0	
	>150	1	0	0	1	0	
Banacol	<75	0	0	0	0	0	
	<150	0	0	0	1	0	
	>150	0	0	0	1	0	
Total		12 Fairtrade certifie			8 non-FT certifie		20

Description of the sample in terms of wageworker characteristics

Table 3.5 contains descriptive statistics of the sampled wageworkers who completed the worker questionnaire. In total 423 wageworkers were interviewed, of which 249 worked on Fairtrade certified plantations and 163 on non-FT certified plantations. 12% of the respondents were female (15% at Fairtrade plantations and 8% at non-Fairtrade certified plantations). The average age of the respondents was 41. Sixteen wageworkers were randomly selected for in-depth interviews (9 at Fairtrade and 7 at non FT) while 60 wageworkers participated in the gaming sessions.

Table 3.5 Descriptive statistics of the wageworkers interviewed in the Dominican Republic

Characteristic	Total	Fairtrade	Non-Fairtrade	Diff.	Sign.
Total number of wageworkers interviewed	423	249	163		
Years of employment at plantation	11.06	12.15	10.64	1.51	*
Age respondent	41.56	42.13	40.98	1.15	
Female respondent	12%	15%	8%	7%	**
Respondent not married	34%	33%	37%	-4%	
Years of residence in the area	27.45	26.55	28.50	-1.95	
Years of residence in the village	19.92	18.85	19.72	-0.87	
Years of employment in the banana sector outside this plantation	2.43	2.61	2.02	0.59	
Worked at other plantation before	53%	55%	48%	7%	
Respondent is a migrant	28%	27%	30%	-3%	
Respondent lives in temporary house	9%	8%	11%	-3%	
Household size for current home	4.19	4.15	4.19	-0.04	
Respondent is not the household head	5%	5%	6%	-1%	
Education level respondent	3.66	3.65	3.65	0.00	
Highest level of education obtained in household	5.07	5.12	4.96	0.16	
Main source of income own farm	8%	12%	2%	10%	***
Owner of land	1%	2%	0%	2%	**

Significance levels indicated as follows: *** (α = 0.01) ** (α = 0.05) * (α = 0.1)

Wageworkers at Fairtrade plantations are significantly different from wageworkers at non-FT plantations[20] in only a few characteristics. Wage wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations:

- have a longer work history at the plantation;
- are more often female;
- more often rely on their own farm as a source of income; and
- own land more often.

The similarity of wageworkers on Fairtrade and non-certified plantations can be explained by the fact that the sector has been providing stable and good-quality jobs to its workers for many years. However, the significant differences in terms of sources of income, a tendency to hire more women and to remain for longer in Fairtrade plantations seem to be related to Fairtrade.

20 Only two of the wageworkers fell outside the common support (the area where the two samples overlap in terms of propensity score), which indicates a good overlap for statistical analysis in terms of observable characteristics.

3.3.2 Economic benefit

In this section we describe the situation of wageworkers of Fairtrade certified plantations with respect to wages (current and trends over time), diversification of income source, security of employment, non-wage economic benefits and standard of living.

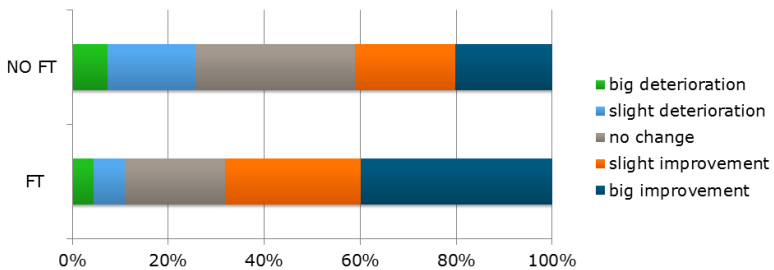
Wages

No significant differences in hourly wages, although some results indicate Fairtrade wageworkers earn more

The average hourly wage of the surveyed wageworkers is 6,227 Colombian pesos an hour[21] (see Appendix 8). On Fairtrade plantations, the sampled wageworkers earn 6,376 pesos an hour on average, and on non-Fairtrade certified plantations, the wageworkers earn 5,997 pesos an hour on average. The difference is not statically significant. Average salary in the banana sector is around 980,000 Colombian pesos per month, which is equivalent to 5,177 Colombian pesos per hour. This salary includes payments for extra hours. This salary is significantly higher than the minimum wage, which amounts to 644,350 pesos per month. According to Colombian law, they have to pay 25% more than the hourly salary on Saturdays and 75% on Sundays and festivities. During the verification workshop some of the representatives of Fairtrade wageworkers mentioned that there are some differences in wages in favour of Fairtrade wageworkers mostly because it is common for them to work on festivities in order to ship on time to European markets. On those days they get paid a higher salary. Also, they mentioned that there is some additional wage resulting from Fairtrade certification-related positions that are better paid in Fairtrade plantations than in non-FT ones.

21 Six workers earning more than 50,000 Colombian pesos an hour (all on Fairtrade plantations) were excluded from the analysis.

Figure 3.34 Self-reported change in wages (n=275/163) *



*Significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

Fairtrade wageworkers indicate significantly more positive wage change, and attribute this to Fairtrade

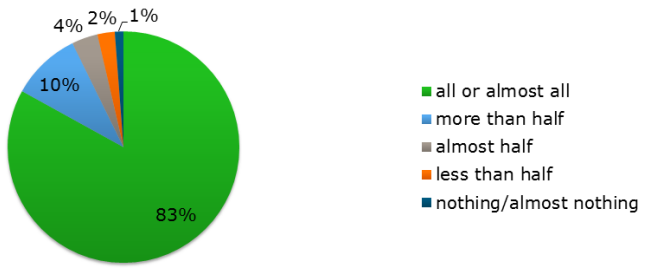
Almost 70% of the sampled Fairtrade wageworkers felt that there had been an improvement in wages, whereas on non-Fairtrade certified plantations this was slightly more than 40% (Figure 3.34), which is a significant difference that also remains when controlling for the observable differences in wageworker characteristics (see Appendix 8). In the case of positive change, about 80% of the wageworkers indicate Fairtrade has contributed to this change (65% said 'a lot' and 15% 'quite a bit', see appendix). At the same time, 15% indicate Fairtrade did not influence this change (or only very little). This finding is consistent with the observation that the difference in wages is almost significant. Management and wageworkers in the workshop agreed that it might have to do with the other benefits that Fairtrade wageworkers get from the premium and that they associate this with better overall payment. However, most wageworkers interviewed relate the salary improvements to their own efforts. For example, one worker mentioned: 'I felt that my salary has improved because I put more effort into my job. I am satisfied with that'.

Income diversification

There are no significant differences in terms of income diversification

The wageworkers and their households are heavily reliant on the income they earn from the plantation; 83% of the sampled wageworkers indicated that almost all of their household income is earned on the plantation (Figure 3.35). There were no significant differences between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. The same is true for the personal income of the surveyed workers, where even 95% indicated almost all income came from the plantation. Participants at the validation workshop fully agree with this result.

Figure 3.35 Share of household income from plantation (n=410)*



*Not significantly different between the FT and non-FT plantations

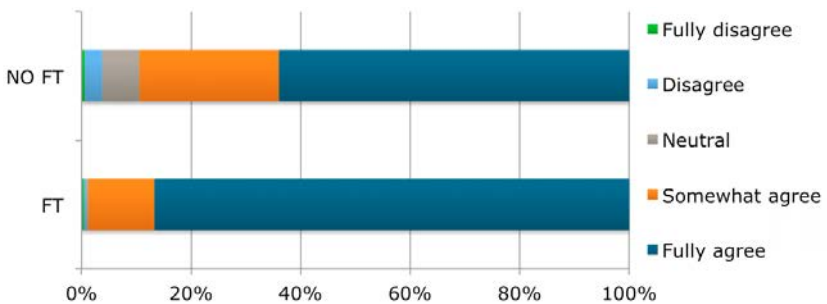
Security of employment

The banana sector is very stable for workers, and even more so for Fairtrade wageworkers

The vast majority of surveyed wageworkers have permanent contracts (87%), while the remaining wageworkers mostly have contracts for defined terms, and a few reported to have temporary contracts. On both Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations, most wageworkers agree that the plantation offers them a secure job (Figure 3.36). The whole sector is quite stable for wageworkers and particularly for the Fairtrade plantations where some wageworkers stay for more than 11 years. They mentioned that firing people is very uncommon, which is partly attributable to the fact that they are all unionised, and there is stability in all positions. This result is also validated when looking at the interviews from Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified workers. A non-Fairtrade certified worker mentioned that 'current work gave me labour and salary security'. However, Fairtrade wageworkers do report 87% of Fairtrade wageworkers fully agree with this statement compared to 64% of non-Fairtrade certified workers. Fairtrade wageworkers also report many more positive changes in job security (70% versus 47%).

These differences remain significant when we control for observed differences in worker characteristics. 66% of the Fairtrade wageworkers who reported positive changes self-attributed the change to Fairtrade (see Appendix 8). The difference between wageworkers from Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations is probably explained by the finding that Fairtrade wageworkers appear more happy and optimistic (see section 3.3.4), which can explain why they feel their job is more secure.

Figure 3.36 'The plantation offers me a secure job' (n=257/161)*



*Significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

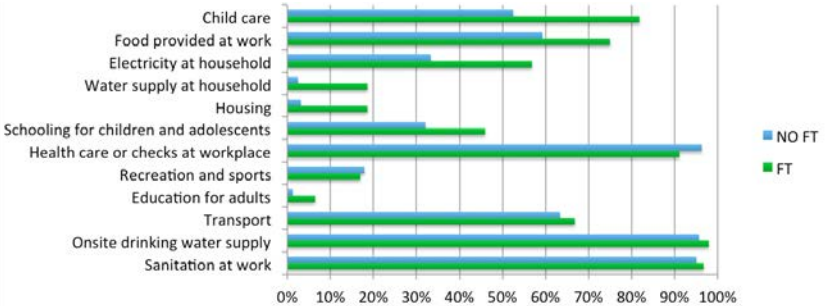
Non-wage economic benefits

Fairtrade wageworkers report more in-kind benefits

Both Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations provide a variety of in-kind benefits to wageworkers in addition to wages. Figure 3.37 lists the in-kind benefits received and the percentage of sampled wageworkers who said that they received these. Benefits include child care, food, electricity and water at the household, housing, schooling, health care, recreation and sports, education for adults, transportation, onsite drinking water and sanitation. Fairtrade wageworkers report receiving significantly more in-kind benefits (6.7) than non-FT wageworkers (5.5). This significant difference is mostly due to large differences in housing (19% for Fairtrade and 3% for non-Fairtrade) and schooling (46% for Fairtrade, and 32% for non-FT).

Wageworkers and management confirmed these results. On the one hand, they indicated that there are indeed no differences between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade plantations in terms of benefits on child care, pro vision of food, or household services like electricity or water. On the other hand, they agree that benefits related to housing and education for young people and adults were better for Fairtrade workers. These bene fits are clearly linked to the use of the Fairtrade premium in Colombia (see section 3.3.3).

Figure 3.37 Non-wage (in-kind) benefits (n=258/163)*

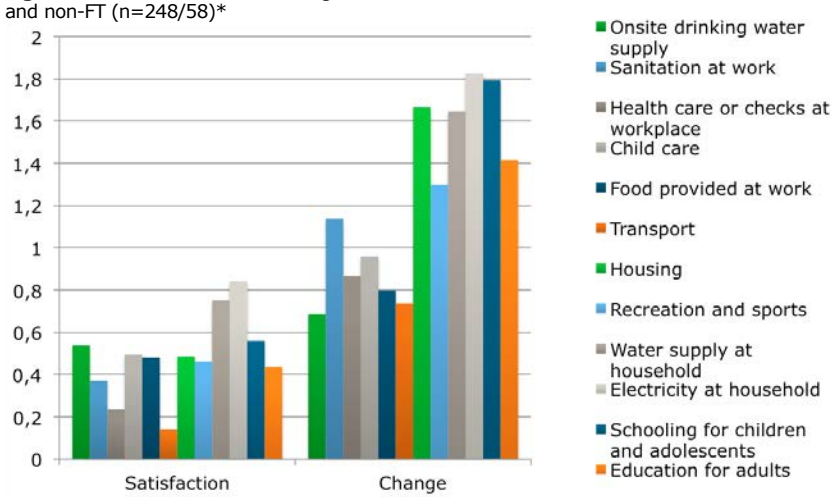


*The average number of in-kind benefits recie ed is significantly dif erent between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

Fairtrade wageworkers report more positive change and are more satisfied in all areas of in-kind benefits

These results are supported by the fact that Fairtrade wageworkers also report significantly more change in in-kind benefits received (Figure 3.38). These changes are not only in these areas where most differences were perceived (housing and schooling) but in all areas. Also, even though differences are smaller, Fairtrade wageworkers are on average more satisfied with the in-kind benefits they receive. Again, this is the case for all areas, not just those related to housing and schooling. Results remain significant, even when we control for observed differences in worker characteristics.

Figure 3.38 The difference in average level of satisfaction between FT and non-FT (n=248/58)*



*Differences remain significant, e en after controlling for CVs

Living standard

There are no significant differences in savings or household assets

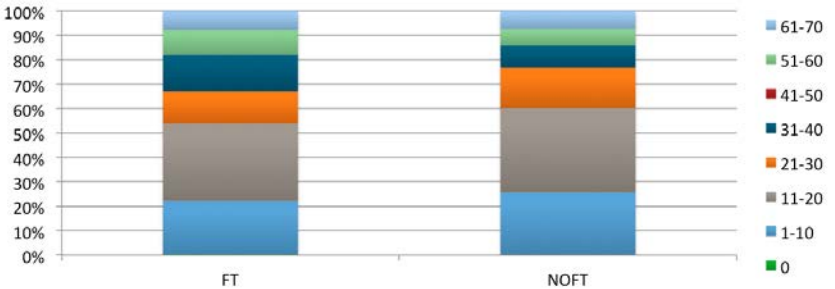
Very few wageworkers own land (0 for non-Fairtrade certified plantations and only 4 for Fairtrade plantations). For savings, much more data is available. 43% of the Fairtrade wageworkers have savings, which is not significantly different from non-Fairtrade certified workers. For the Fairtrade workers, the most important savings goal is an old-age pension, whereas non-FT wageworkers mostly save for education and the accumulation of assets. All wageworkers mostly use the plantation to save (67%), followed by private means of saving (18%). These findings have to be interpreted within a context where savings for old-age pension are mandatory by law; these savings are deducted from the bi-weekly payment and transferred to a pensions account by the firms. Education is covered by the premium for Fairtrade workers, which explains why they do not worry about saving for it. But this could also be related to the 'Cesantias', another form of mandatory saving for workers. This is an additional month of salary that goes to an account that wageworkers do not manage, and is supposed to be used only for housing, education or when the worker is unemployed.

The number, and kind of household assets the wageworkers possess, does not significantly differ. On both Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations, the wageworkers possess on average 6.8 out of the 13 household assets included in the survey.

The probability of falling below the poverty line is slightly higher for Fairtrade workers, yet they are more food secure

The probability of falling below both poverty lines is slightly, albeit significantly, higher for wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations (Figure 3.39). Fairtrade wageworkers have on average a chance of 26% to fall below the national poverty line, whereas non-FT wageworkers have a 22% chance. However, Fairtrade wageworkers are more food secure according to the HFIAS. However, this difference only becomes statistically significant when we compare Fairtrade plantations that were certified before 2012 with non-FT plantations, and stays significant when we control for observed differences in worker characteristics. In general, most wageworkers fall in the 'food secure' category (59% of Fairtrade workers, 50% of non-FT wageworkers – see appendix).

Figure 3.39 Probability of falling below the national poverty line (n=258/163)*



*Significant difference between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

3.3.3 Social benefits

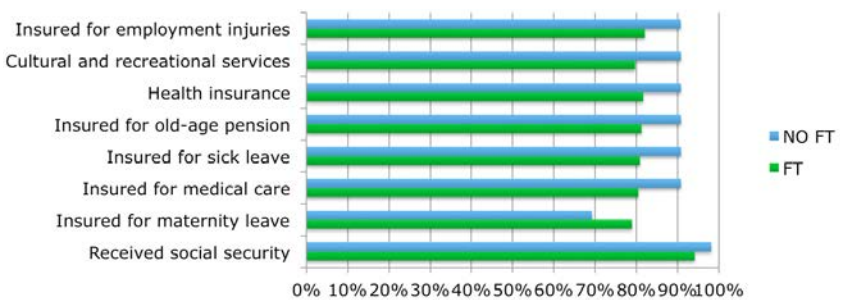
In this section we describe the situation of wageworkers of Fairtrade certified plantations with respect to (awareness of) working conditions on the estates (hours, holidays, worker rights, and occupational health and safety), quality of social dialogue (grievance redressal, relationship to supervisors and trust) and the use of the Fairtrade premium.

Working conditions

On average the sampled wageworkers work 48 hours per week. There are no significant differences between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. The average number of paid vacation days per year among the sampled wageworkers is 16, one more day than the legal 15 days per year. However, Colombia has 18 holidays within the year that must also be accounted for and in which the wageworkers either rest or earn additional salary for working. According to Colombian law, they have to be paid 25% more than the hourly salary on Saturdays, 35% on night shifts and 75% on Sundays and festivities. Also, payment for social security is 12.5% of wageworkers' salary, of which 8.5% is paid by the employer and 4% by the employee. Pensions are calculated over 16% of the worker's salary, 12% paid by the employer and 4% by the employee.

Every 6 months, the wageworkers receive a 'Prime' of half a month of salary and the companies pay the yearly 'Cesantias', which is an additional month of salary plus 12% interest that goes to an account that wageworkers do not manage, but that they can use for housing, education or when unemployed. In Colombia all employers must make a mandatory contribution of 4% of the wageworkers wage to the 'Cajas de Compensación Familiar', that provide benefits for the wageworkers in terms of family subsidies, housing, health, education, credit, child care and recreation.

Figure 3.40 Worker rights (n=421)*



*The average number of social securities recieved is significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

Fairtrade wageworkers on average indicate to have less access to certain worker rights, or are less aware of them, yet they experienced more positive changes

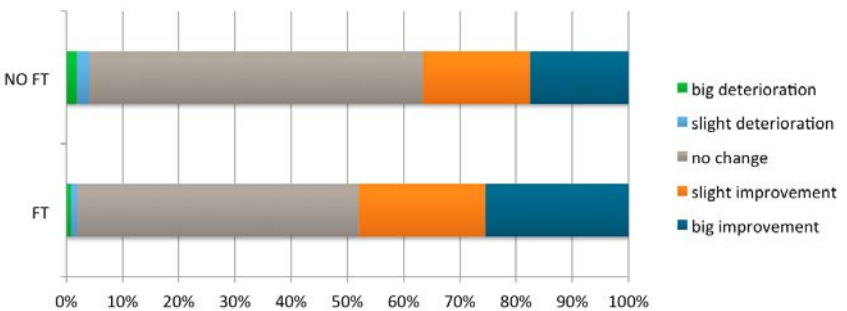
In the survey we also asked wageworkers for the number of worker rights they received (see Figure 3.40). For all of the worker rights except maternity leave, non-FT wageworkers report receiving more worker rights. The difference in the average number of worker rights received is small but significant (5.57 for Fairtrade and 6.34 for non-FT). As shown in the graph, 'no certain worker rights' is the cause of the result, but all of them are reported to be received by a slightly higher percentage of wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations. The difference is surprising in such a formalised sector. Almost all of the wageworkers are unionised and there is a collective negotiation between the Union of wageworkers and the Association of Producers. The working conditions do not vary significantly from one plantation to the other. The results could, however, indicate a lower level of awareness of worker rights.

Fairtrade wageworkers experienced more change in worker rights (Figure 3.41).The majority of wageworkers indicate that there has been no change in terms of worker rights since they started working at the plantation. On Fairtrade plantations, on average between 38% (for maternity leave) to 53% (for medical care) of wageworkers indicate an improvement in one of the listed worker rights since they started working for the plantations. On non-certified plantations, on the other hand, these percentages are much lower. There, they vary between 22% (for sick leave) and 29% (for cultural and recreational services). Of those who did experience an improvement, 39% indicated Fairtrade to have 'a lot' of influence on this improvement (see appendix). According to the worker's interviews, the Premium Committee played a crucial role in channelling their demands to the employers. These demands and concerns have differed in nature, and most of them were positively solved for workers.

Protective measures taken do not differ on average

Slightly over 62% of the wageworkers indicate they are exposed to chemicals during their work. In Figure 3.41 we list the measures taken at

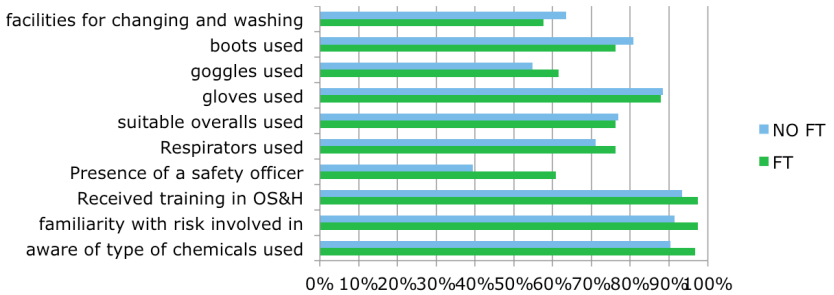
Figure 3.41 Average change in worker rights (n=238/162)*



*Significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

the plantations, the biggest difference being the presence of a safety officer, which is much higher among Fairtrade wageworkers. Of those exposed, almost all take at least one precautionary measure, with an average of 5 measures. Only one worker (on a non-FT plantation)

Figure 3.42 Safety measures for chemical use (n=154/104)*



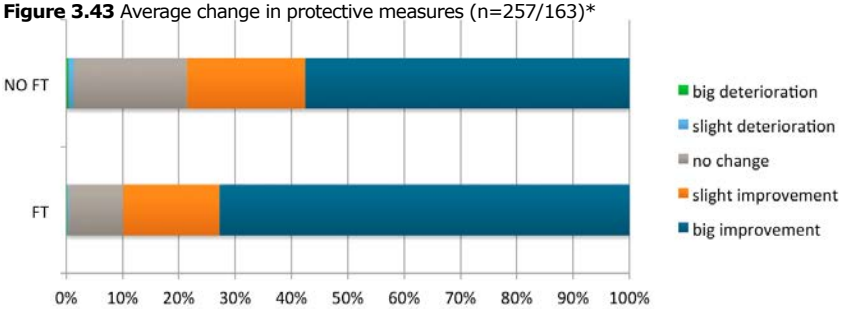
*The average number of measures taken is not significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations

indicates not to take any measure at all. This result is verified by the worker interviews, where both Fairtrade and non-FT wageworkers reported that plantations provide them with the necessary tools. One worker mentioned that 'plantations give us the appropriate tools as well as favourable conditions to work'. This result is verified by the worker interviews, where both Fairtrade and non-FT wageworkers reported that plantations provide them with the necessary tools. One worker mentioned that 'plantations give us the appropriate tools as well as favourable conditions to work'.

Fairtrade wageworkers report more positive change in health and safety measures

All wageworkers indicate a substantial positive change in protective measures (see Figure 3.43). Fairtrade wageworkers reported significantly more large improvements since they started working for the plantation in terms of precautionary measures taken when dealing with chemicals. 78% indicate that Fairtrade has had 'a lot' of influence on this change (see appendix). At the same time, more than 8% indicate Fairtrade did not play a role.

Figure 3.43 Average change in protective measures (n=257/163)*



*Significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

Majority of wageworkers indicate no days of missed work due to poor working conditions

A final indicator we looked at is the number of missed days due to work-related accidents and the number of missed days due to illness caused by poor working conditions. The majority of wageworkers report 0 days of missed work resulting from poor working conditions (94%) or work-related accidents (67%). There are no significant differences between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations in days missed due to work-related accidents and illness caused by poor working conditions.

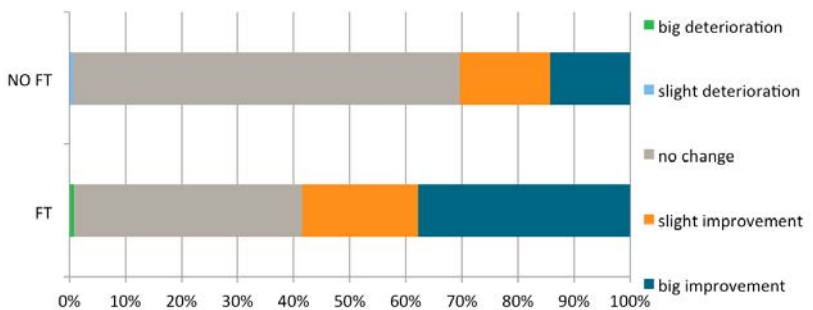
Quality of social dialogue

The majority of wageworkers are aware of grievance and sexual harassment policies

Both plantations have policies in place for grievance redressal and sexual harassment. 75% of sampled wageworkers are aware of the grievance policies at the plantation they work for, with no significant difference between plantations (see Appendix 8). On the other hand, there are significant differences in awareness of sexual harassment policy. 71% of Fairtrade wageworkers and 60% of non-FT wageworkers are aware of these policies; the difference is statistically significant.

The sampled wageworkers reported some actual cases of grievance. 10% of them reported to have experienced grievances in the past, and 27% heard of such events. The experienced cases were almost equally often between wageworkers and wageworkers and management, on both Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. Also, around 10% of the sample heard of events of sexual harassment and sexual abuse. Of those who experienced an event of grievance, 63% felt they could submit the grievance without experiencing any disadvantages. Of those who did, 88% of the submissions were followed up.

Figure 3.44 Self-reported changes in grievance policies (n=246/161)*



*Significant difference between FT and non-FT plantations

Fairtrade wageworkers report more improvement in grievance and sexual harassment policies

Fairtrade wageworkers report significantly more improvement in these policies: 58% reports a slight or big improvement, compared to 30% of wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations (Figure 3.44). These changes are attributed to Fairtrade: 61% said that Fairtrade had 'a lot' of influence on the changes. According to wageworkers these results are clearly explained by Fairtrade campaigns; workers' committees spent a lot of time implementing these campaigns.

Relationship between wageworkers and supervisors is generally good

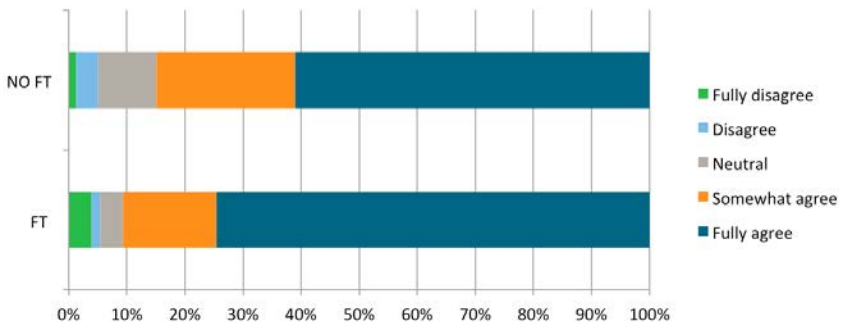
Another indicator of social dialogue is the relationship between wageworkers and management. Almost 90% of the wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations and more than 80% on non-FT plantations indicate that they fully agree or somewhat agree that they 'feel listened to by superiors' (see Appendix 8), which is a statistically significant difference. However, this difference is not robust to all the models used.

The fact that differences are not statistically significant in all models can be explained by the fact that wageworkers also feel listened to on non-Fairtrade certified plantations. Most interviewed wageworkers assured that their voices are heard and that their bosses hear their opinions. A Fairtrade worker said 'I am 100% sure that administration and management of the plantation take our complaints and suggestions seriously'. Similarly, a non-Fairtrade certified worker mentioned that they are always told their opinions are very much valued, and when differences are observed compared to Fairtrade certified plantations they try to make improvements. However, another non-Fairtrade certified worker interviewed mentioned that 'even though the communication channels are implemented, I do not feel that they take our opinion into account'.

Trust in Premium Committee and workers' union is high, but low in fellow wageworkers and management

Wageworkers seem to trust the management more than the people inside their village and fellow wageworkers (Figure 3.46). Wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations report statistically significant higher levels of trust in all the reference groups, even when controlling for other wageworker characteristics (results reported in Appendix 8). During field observations the trust between wageworkers and administration

Figure 3.45 'I feel listened to by superiors' (n=257/159)*



*Significant difference between FT and non-FT plantations is not robust to all models

indeed seems higher, probably because they have more dialogue on projects, the FT premium and other subjects that are creating a closer relationship.

Measuring pro-social behaviour or trust using games reveals considerable reciprocity

Another innovative measure of pro-social behaviour or trust applied in this research was based on trust games (see section 2.3.4). In the basic variation where no information was known about the other player, the players that received the money gave 68% of the 2,750 Colombian pesos to the non-endowed player; whereas they gave 52% back. This amount is the highest among all countries; and confirms the high levels of self-reported trust.

Fairtrade Premium

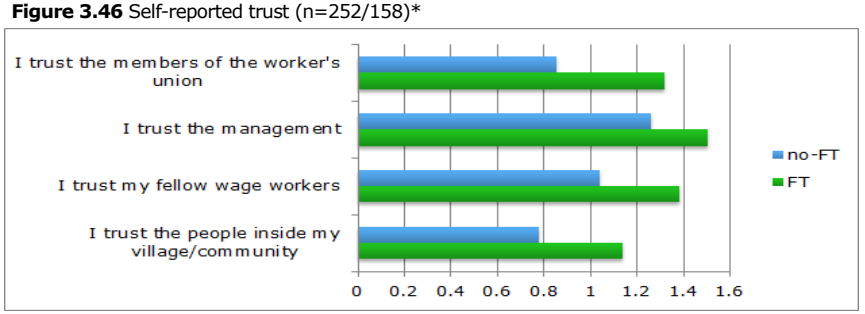
Awareness of Fairtrade is high overall and premium is seen as important

Almost all wageworkers are aware of the fact that the plantation where they work is Fairtrade certified. Also, the percentages of wageworkers indicating that Fairtrade provides benefits (97%) and the Fairtrade premium being important (97%) are very high. These numbers indicate a rather good awareness of Fairtrade.

Most FT premium investments perceived in relation to housing and education

Even though the information is not complete for all plantations, in general, the plantations in Colombia seem to spent most of the FT premium on administration costs, housing and education. Furthermore, most of the plantations did not fully spent their premium in the years we analysed (2013 and 2014).

Figure 3.46 Self-reported trust (n=252/158)*



*Significantly higher for FT than for non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

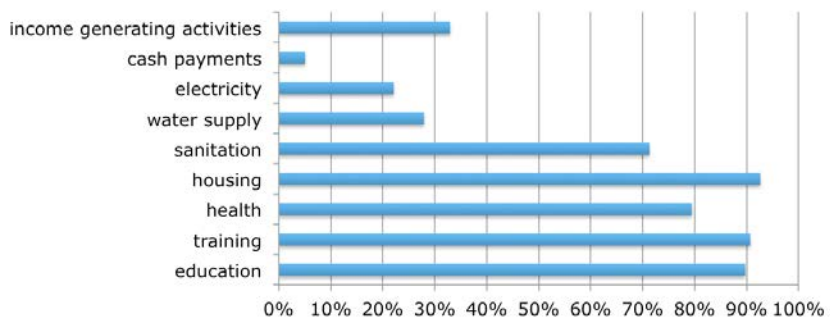
Some of them indicated to save the money for larger projects in upcoming years. Both plantations indicate housing as the most common use of the premium in the past, followed by training, education and health. When asked for preferences on how to spend the premium, most wageworkers indicate housing followed by education (Figure 3.47). This perception was reinforced during the validation workshop, and in line with several comments from the interviews. One Fairtrade worker mentioned that 'without Fairtrade almost none of us will have access to education or housing'.

Debate about potential future role of Fairtrade premium

Various stakeholders indicated that a larger and/or better organised committee is needed to increase the leverage of the premium. For example, to become attractive for a housing project co-financed by the Cajas de Compensación Familiar, the municipality or another government institutions, a certain scale is required. Otherwise all the cost would have to be covered by the premium. There are many examples of foundations from the banana sector and larger committees that show the benefits of collective action and have experience in leveraging resources; this knowledge could be transferred to the smaller committees.

On the other hand, a few committees that have progressed significantly in terms of housing and education are now facing very interesting debates on what else the premium should be oriented to. Some raise the concern that even if their own situation has improved, they still live in communities that have not progressed at the same pace, and raise the question on whether a larger share of the premium should be invested in community rather than individual projects (like business initiatives). An organisation and initiative for collective action of Fairtrade wageworkers was established for this purpose but was significantly weakened by the retreat of many committees. Many wageworkers and managers indicated the need for community projects that would increase the sense of community, improvement of family bonds, alternative income-generating projects and personal finance training.

Figure 3.47 Use of Fairtrade premium in the past according to workers (n=253)



Wageworkers are satisfied with worker representation in FT premium but there is room for improvement

The Premium Committee has three types of meetings: the general assembly that all the workers should attend and which takes place at the beginning of each semester or at the beginning of the year depending on how often they occur within each plantation. The second type is the ordinary meeting, where the decisions are made. The participants of such meetings are the members of the Premium Committee, the company's representative, the Fairtrade Officer and sometimes the worker-employer committee. In some cases there is a representative for the employees of the plantation (Administration, Accounting, and HR). Many of the plantations have already implemented the supervisory committee (comite de vigilancia), which is in charge of monitoring the process of the FT premium and ensures that the due process is followed. There is a third type of meeting, which is the extraordinary meeting that takes place when the need arises and which can have the characteristic of an assembly meeting or an ordinary meeting except that there have been some cases where decisions have been made in an extraordinary assembly meeting. The decision making on the Premium Committee is taken to a vote and if it is not unanimous then they check if they have a majority in order to make a decision. The number of members of the Premium Committee depends on the size of the plantation.

Several interviewed wageworkers mentioned they are satisfied on how the funds are managed: 'funds administration has been very good, and I am confident that there are many wageworkers who are qualified to manage this money'. Also, the plantation management can help us to make good decisions by advising the committee'. Another worker said 'at the beginning it was difficult for us to accept the way the funds have to be spent, but when we saw the results we changed our minds. We thought it was what the plantation owner wanted us to do, but when we saw the benefits we started believing'.

On average, wageworkers have attended nine Fairtrade meetings in the last year. In fact, all wageworkers attended at least one Fairtrade meeting. However, only 35% submitted a proposal for the FT premium, which might point at a relatively low level of individual decision-making power over premium use. In fact, anecdotal evidence points at room for improvement.

However, during our visit and discussion with some union representatives, they mentioned that the decisions for spending the premium should be more independent of the plantation managers, and also that the wageworkers in the committee should be paid from the fund and not from the plantation so that they can decide freely. At the same time, some plantation representatives, as well as some former wageworkers who now work for the committees have some concerns about what happens when there is no guidance, follow-up or help on how to spend the money and guarantee its efficiency.

3.3.4 Empowerment-related benefits

In this section we describe the situation of wageworkers of Fairtrade certified plantations with respect to various empowerment-related themes: sense of ownership, structural social capital as an indication of worker representation in various groups to give them a voice, sense of control and life satisfaction as indirect/intangible empowerment benefits, individual worker empowerment through participation in training and through career progression, and the functioning of various worker committees.

Sense of ownership

Sense of ownership is generally high

Almost 73% of Fairtrade wageworkers agreed with the statement that they 'feel that the company is their company'. Figure 3.48 indicates the average levels of (dis)agreement with various statements reflecting the extent to which the sampled wageworkers feel a sense of ownership of the plantation they work for. 75% of Fairtrade wageworkers and 56% of non-FT wageworkers agreed with the statement that they 'feel that the company is their company'. This shows in general all wageworkers felt a sense of ownership of the plantation they work for. Around 77% of Fairtrade and 71% of non-FT wageworkers felt that the success of the company was directly related to how hard they worked while 57% (Fairtrade) and 44% (non-Fairtrade) felt that they should also contribute to a solution if the plantation encounters any problems. Wageworkers have faced difficult periods in many plantations and are aware of the need to have a profitable business. Furthermore, their income partly depends on overall production and productivity, so when things go bad they also feel a drop in their income.

Sense of ownership is even higher on Fairtrade plantations

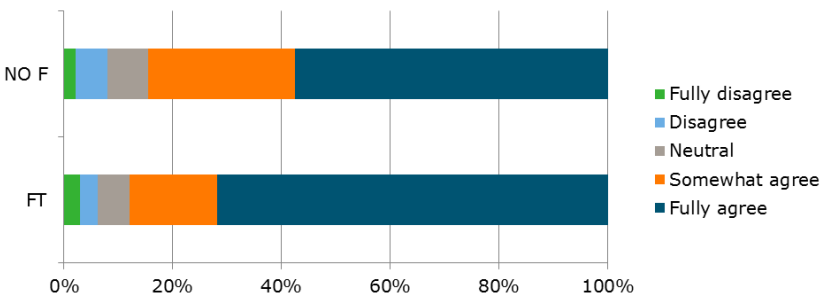
Fairtrade wageworkers have a significantly stronger sense of ownership than non-Fairtrade certified workers; this mainly stems from the fact that Fairtrade wageworkers tend to report 'Fully agree' instead of 'Agree' more often. One of the managers interviewed said 'when wageworkers participate in the Fairtrade committees they learn how to better use their voice in the company and increase their sense of ownership'.

Social capital

Most wageworkers cooperate to exercise influence on work-related issues

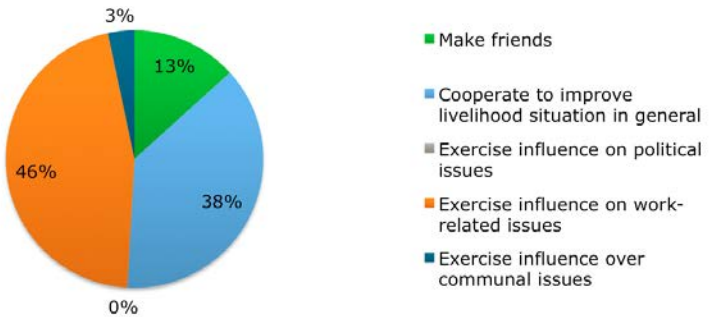
58% of the Fairtrade wageworkers and 51% of non-FT wageworkers indicate that they are a member of at least one group. However, this difference is not significant. Most wageworkers are a member of a labour union. It is interesting to note that this percentage is lower at Fairtrade (72% Fairtrade and 87% non-FT). The reasons for group membership most often mentioned are to exercise influence on work-related issues and cooperation to improve livelihood situation, while no time (75%) and no relevant organisations present (8% Fairtrade and 16% non-Fairtrade) (Figure 3.49) are reasons mentioned for not being part of any group. This high level of cooperation is explained partially because the wageworkers have seen and benefited from cooperation. Through historical protests, labour unions have managed to have a significant impact on wages, compliance with labour rights and legislation as well as discussion on work conditions and benefits. Since there is a collective negotiation that sets the bar for the sector and region, some wageworkers benefit from it without even having to participate or contribute to these organisations. A possible reason why some Fairtrade wageworkers don't participate is that the Fairtrade premium creates additional benefits that they get that others have to negotiate for through cooperation with other workers.

Figure 3.48 Average level of agreement with ownership statements (n=255/156)*



*Significantly higher for FT than for non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

Figure 3.49 Reasons for participating in groups (n=121/77)*



*Not significantly different for FT and non-FT plantations

Pro-social behaviour through willingness for cooperation is extremely high

An innovative indicator we used to capture social capital is based on the public goods game (see section 2.3.4). This game investigates the behaviour of the participants when contributing to a public good. We use the share that wageworkers contribute to the public goods game as an indication of the level of cooperation. Ideally they would contribute all, which would double their total and individual payoff. The share given to the common pool is 90%, which indicates an extremely high level of willingness to cooperate. This high percentage might reflect, or be a consequence of, the high level of worker representation. There is no significant difference between the different variations.

Sense of control

More than 90% of wageworkers feel they have control over life and are satisfied with life

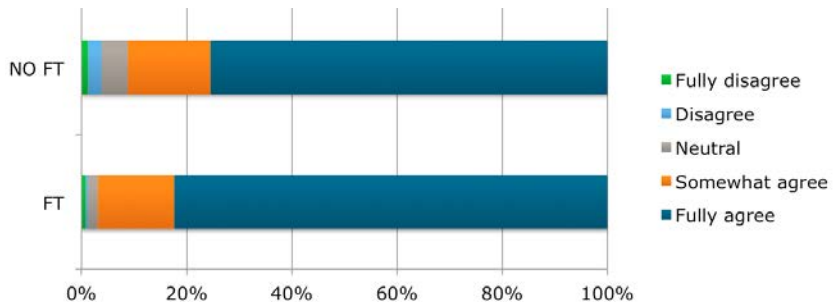
The majority of wageworkers on both Fairtrade (98%) and non-Fairtrade certified plantations (92%) feel that they 'have complete free choice and control over how life turns out'. Also, 97% of Fairtrade and 91% of non-FT wageworkers agree with the statement that 'all things considered, I am satisfied with life as a whole these days'. Therefore, Fairtrade wageworkers feel significantly more satisfied over life and sense more control over their lives (Figure 3.50). More Fairtrade wageworkers answered 'Fully agree' and 'Neutral' while '(Fully) disagree' was answered less often. These high levels of satisfaction are related to the environment within which the wageworkers live. When comparing themselves to their neighbours, the wageworkers see they have more income, more benefits and a clearer perspective, which fills them with satisfaction.

Fairtrade wageworkers feel significantly more satisfied and report more positive differences

In Figure 3.51 we give an overview of the past change, level of satisfaction and future perspectives in relation to various important development themes. On average wageworkers indicate positive changes: on a scale of -2 (big deterioration) to +2 (big improvement) the average score is 0.45. Most change has been experienced in terms of loans, training of adults and health. Training and health were also areas for which most of the FT premium was used. On average, Fairtrade wageworkers feel significantly more satisfied, and the biggest differences are in the areas of training, income and health.

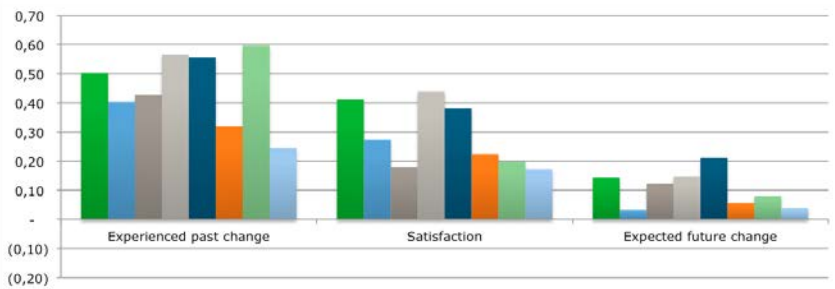
On average wageworkers are slightly satisfied about their current situation with a score of 0.29 which lies between satisfied (1) and neut al (0). They seem most satisfied with t aining of adults and income and most unsatisfied in terms of schooling and public services. On average, Fairtrade wageworkers indicate significantly more change. The biggest differences between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations are in access to loans, training of adults and health. Wageworkers seem very slightly optimistic about their future perspectives. The average score is 0.10 They are most optimistic about health and income and least optimistic about housing and public services. In terms of future perspectives, there are no significant differences between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations.

Figure 3.50 'All things considered, I feel satisfied with my life as a whole these days' (n=255/159)*



*Significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations, but only at 10%, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

Figure 3.51 The difference in average self-reported development perspectives between FT and non-FT (n=256/163)*



*Average change is significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

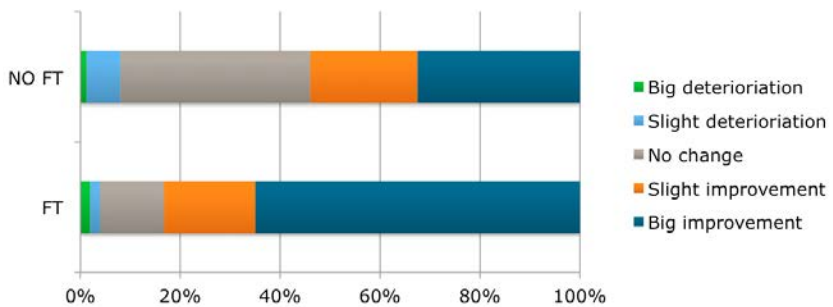
Career satisfaction and progression

Fairtrade wageworkers report more change in happiness with their job and feel better able to reach full potential

93% of the Fairtrade and 88% of the non-FT wageworkers fully agree or somewhat agree with the statement 'I can reach my full potential in my work' (see Appendix 8). The difference is statistically significant, but the significance is not very strong, 83% of Fairtrade wageworkers and 54% of non-FT wageworkers indicate an improvement in terms of their happiness with the job (Figure 3.52), and almost 70% of the wageworkers contribute to the improvements to Fairtrade 'quite a bit' or 'a lot'. This difference remains significant even when controlling for worker characteristics. Finally, 77% of the Fairtrade wageworkers indicate to have received training; again this is slightly lower for non-FT (67%) but this difference is not robust to analysis with different models.

The vast majority of interviewed wageworkers show satisfaction with their personal and labour progress, and Fairtrade seems to have played an important role in this. For example, a Fairtrade worker who is currently under training to become an electrician mentioned that 'the support I get from Fairtrade makes it possible or me to study without having to pay for it'. Another female Fairtrade wageworker said: 'I want to become a professional in psychology and work on occupational health at banana plantations. I can achieve this goal because Fairtrade gives me the opportunity to study at low cost without quitting my job'.

Figure 3.52 Change in happiness with job (n=256/163)*



*Average change is significantly different between FT and non-FT plantations, also when controlling for other wageworker characteristics

Worker representation

Worker representation is well organised through different unions and collective bargaining organisations

In this section we elaborate in some more detail on the structure and functioning of a number of committees set up to ensure that the interests of the wageworkers on the plantation are represented. The FT premium committee was discussed in the previous section.

It is important to understand the history of this region in the last decades to put in context the high level of wage representation. Since the 1980s two of the most important revolutionary movements in Colombia fought against each other to control this region, the FARC against the ELN. Later on, the ELN stopped fighting, but many joined the self-defence (comités de auto defensa) committees that started to operate with help of the government and some enterprises. For more than a decade violence was everywhere and the banana sector struggled to survive. During the 1990s the committees forced the FARC out of the region. Many of the union fighters started to work in banana plantations and formed a union. Negotiations between the union and plantations were very hard at the beginning. The union got a lot of recognition and several wageworkers start to join them.

With time, both the plantations and wageworkers started to negotiate collective agreements for the entire banana sector. Plantations were represented by AUGURA (Asociación de bananeros de Colombia), and wageworkers by SINTRAINAGRO (asociación de trabajadores de la industria agropecuaria). They began by negotiating salaries and working conditions by each plantation (beginning around the year 2000), and later on they moved to negotiation of increments and other working conditions for the banana sector as a whole. As a result, banana wageworkers in Colombia enjoy more benefits than in any other agricultural sector, including salaries that are significantly higher than the minimum wage, social protection and health insurance.

There are other committees such as the Health and Security in the Workplace Committee known as COPASST. COPASST is in charge of proposing and organising occupational health activities aimed at employees and managers. It also monitors the development of activities in the field of medicine, hygiene and safety: companies must follow the rules of hygiene and safety and current regulations and propose their dissemination and observation. Periodically they inspect workplaces and environments, equipment and operations by employees and inform the Occupational Health Programme and the Chief of Staff's department of the existence of risk factors and suggest corrective measures to supervisory authorities. COPASST serves as a coordinating body between the employer and employees to solve problems related to occupational health. It assists in the analysis of the causes of accidents and occupational hazards and proposes to the employer or the head of Occupational Health Programme corrective measures to prevent disease occurrence.

The other committee is the Worker-Employer Committee which is the link between the union and the company in the workplace, while at the same time it is the representative and defender of the workers in the workplace. The committee is made up of two members and two substitutes or alternates. The members of such committees organise meetings within the plantations to update or inform wageworkers on current union related issues. They also use these meetings to listen to the workers and solve some of the questions or issues that arise.

The COPASST and the Worker-Employee committees are mainly the same in Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations.

3.3.5 Position of disadvantaged groups

Female wageworkers

We find few, though important, indicators where female wageworkers differ from their male colleagues, on Fairtrade as well non-Fairtrade certified plantations. Our statistical analysis points at differences in 4 out of 14 economic indicators (29%), 3 out of 14 social indicators (21%) and 0 out of 9 empowerment-related indicators (0%).

Female wageworkers differ significantly from their male colleagues on Fairtrade plantations on six indicators. Female wageworkers reported more negative change in confidence of job continuation and in-kind benefits, feel less job secure, and trust others in their community and fellow wageworkers less. However, they are also more aware of grievance policies. Indicators where female wageworkers differ significantly from their male colleagues on non-Fairtrade plantations: female wageworkers reported more negative change in confidence of job continuation and feel less job secure, and they trust their fellow wageworkers and community members less. At the same time, they received more in-kind benefits and own more household assets.

Most of the Fairtrade and non-FT wageworkers interviewed mentioned that there is no discrimination against women because they are not in a disadvantaged position. One of the female wageworkers affirms that 'I am a woman and I have a lot of opportunities in this enterprise'. However, there are also a couple of wageworkers who argue that there is discrimination, and they blame the administration for not thinking that women have the same capacity as men.

Migrant wageworkers

On both Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations, slightly less than 30% of the wageworkers are migrant with 13% living in a temporary house. Migrant wageworkers are characterised by similar positions for most economic, social and empowerment-related indicators in relation to their non-migrant colleagues. We find statistical differences (within Fairtrade or within non-Fairtrade plantations) in 3 out of 14 economic indicators (21%), 5 out of 14 social indicators (36%) and 0 out of 9 empowerment-related indicators (0%).

Migrant wageworkers differ significantly from their non-migrant colleagues on Fairtrade plantations on four indicators. Migrant wageworkers are less confident in expressing their ideas to supervisors and trust the wageworkers' union and others in their community less. However, they also reported receiving more in-kind benefits and more change in these benefits.

On non-Fairtrade certified plantations, migrants have a higher chance of falling below the poverty line, reported less change in grievance policies, and are less trusting towards the management and the wageworkers' union.

According to most interviews, there is no disadvantaged position for migrants. Wageworkers did not experience or observe any case of a worker that came from another region who was treated differently for this reason.

4

Cross-cutting themes

4 Cross-cutting themes

In this section we present results of a cross-country analysis on indicators related to some of the major themes on which Fairtrade aspires to have an impact. The themes were chosen based on a discussion with Fairtrade and mostly reflect themes at a higher level in its theory of change (also see section 1.3).

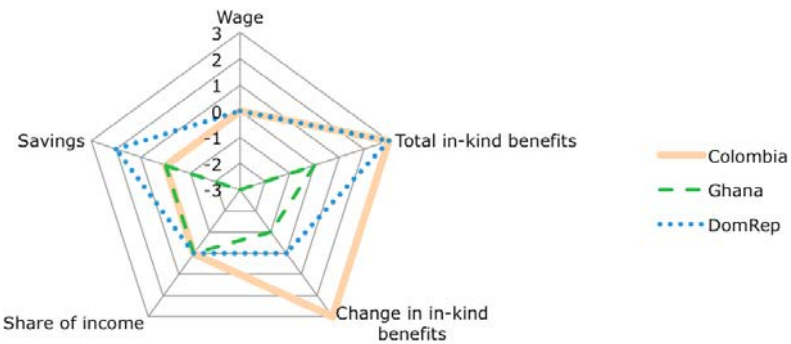
For each theme we analyse the indicators from the survey. While reading this section two limitations should be taken into account. First of all, the quantitative analysis is based on one survey round. While we designed the methodology in such a way that maximises the possibility to attribute differences to Fairtrade, we would require another round of surveys to attribute the change to Fairtrade with more certainty. Second, the reason why these themes are discussed in a separate heading is not only to enable a cross-country analysis but also to reflect on the results from the survey at a higher level. That being said, concepts such as living wage or collective bargaining are not easily or fully captured by our survey data. We clearly identify which proxy indicators we use to reflect on these themes at the beginning of each section. Because we focus on the contribution of Fairtrade to each of these themes we control for differences in wageworker characteristics using regression analysis (see Section 2.4).

4.1 Fairtrade's contribution towards a living wage

Contribution to living wages through in-kind benefits (increasing living wage), but not through primary wages

In this section, we present the findings concerning living age levels, which includes wages, share of income from wages, whether respondents have savings (and which type) and the total number of in-kind benefits. The concept of a 'living wage' is defined as 'remuneration received for a standard work week by a worker in a particular place sufficient to afford a decent standard of living of the worker and her or his family'. Elements of a decent standard of living include food, water, housing, education, health care, transport, clothing and other essential needs including provision for unexpected events. Living wage thus depends on many factors and is clearly a contextualised concept; it was outside the scope of this study to investigate this in its fullest extent (as is done by Anker and Anker, 2013, for example). However, we did gain insight into the notion of 'living wage' in various ways. First of all, we included various themes under the sub-theme of living standard that are strongly related to the living wage discussion including savings (the provision for unexpected events), poverty levels and food insecurity access (two measures of a decent standard of living. Both measures are based on existing instruments (see section 2.3.2). We also reflect on the living wage benchmark for the Dominican Republic, using the methodology developed by Anker and Anker.

Figure 4.1 Significance of Fairtrade's contribution towards a living wage*



*Positive significant differences are indicated by +, while negative significant differences are indicated by -. The number of signs indicate the size of significanc rather than absolute difference.

Fairtrade has adopted the Ankers' methodology as an important point of reference on living wage. They perceive the methodology as a major step forward in measuring living wage. According to the Ankers' methodology, the rural Dominican Republic living wage was estimated at DOP 11,966 per month (USD 277) on farms that provide free transport, breakfast and lunch, or DOP 13,869 (USD 319) per month without in-kind benefits. In section 3.2.2 we registered that the average hourly wage was DOP 38 with an average workweek of 44 hours. This would bring the monthly salary to about DOP 7,189.60; which is still DOP 4,700 below the living wage benchmark.
We did not find a statistically significant difference between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations in terms of wage. However, we did find that Fairtrade wageworkers receive more as well as different in-kind benefits than non-Fairtrade certified workers; with a high proportion (above 80%) of Fairtrade wageworkers receiving health care in addition to transport and food. It was outside the scope to calculate how much these in-kind benefits increase the living wage. For non-FT wageworkers the share of wageworkers who indicated that they receive these in-kind benefits was much lower (between 55% and 65%). Another important result is that significantly more wageworkers at Fairtrade plantations report that they have savings. Savings can reduce financial vulnerability and could imply higher worker empowerment.

We observe a similar pattern for Colombia (Figure 4.1). Wageworkers at Fairtrade certified plantations do not receive a significantly higher wage but they do receive significantly more in-kind benefits than wageworkers on non-certified plantations. The difference for Colombia mostly results from the fact that Fairtrade wageworkers receive housing, water supply at household, electricity at household and schooling significantly more often.

In Ghana, a different picture emerges with wageworkers at FT 2012 receiving significantly more in-kind benefits than the earlier certified plantation (FT 1996). However, results should be interpreted with caution. The result emerges from the fact that significantly fewer wageworkers at FT 1996 receive food (71% versus 99%) and transport (34% versus 78%) from the plantation. While the first is an obvious advantage in terms of living wage, the second is not, since FT 1996 wageworkers simply live closer to the plantation and do not all require transport. Moreover, significantly more FT 1996 wageworkers indicate receiving drinking water (96% versus 56%).

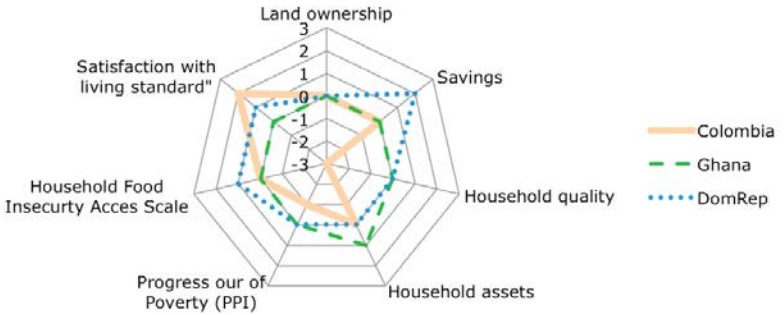
4.2 Fairtrade's contribution to workers' standard of living

Few positive and significant differences are found between the standard of living of workers on Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations, except in the Dominican Republic

In this section we present information on the standard of living based on: asset ownership, progress out of poverty scores, household food insecurity access scale and satisfaction with the standard of living.

We find few positive and significant differences between wageworkers of Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations (Figure 4.2). In the Dominican Republic, Fairtrade wageworkers are more satisfied with the standard of living, have more savings and are on average more food secure. In Colombia, Fairtrade wageworkers are also more satisfied with their standard of living, but at the same time score lower in terms of the PPI score and household quality. In Ghana both plantations score similarly, although wageworkers from the FT 1996 plantation own more assets.

Figure 4.2 Significance of Fairtrade's contribution to workers' standard of living*



*Positive significant differences are indicated y +, while negatively significan differences are indicated by -. The number of signs indicate the size of significanc rather than absolute difference.

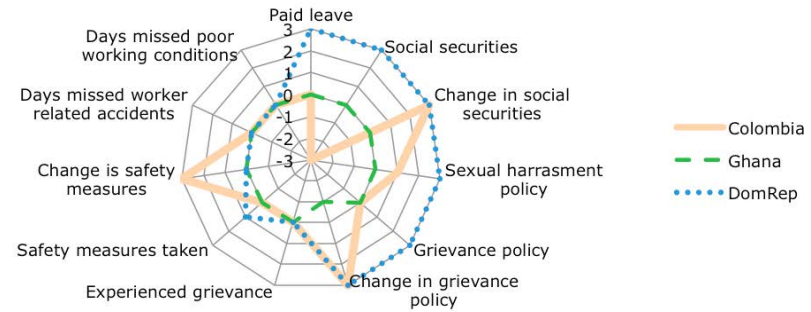
4.3 Fairtrade's contribution to labour conditions

Mixed evidence on impact of Fairtrade certification on improved labour conditions

In this section we present information on secondary labour conditions related to: paid leave days, worker rights, awareness of sexual harassment and grievance policies, and health and safety. In Figure 4.3, we illustrate whether there is a difference between wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations and wageworkers from non-Fairtrade certified plantations (or certified more recently in the case of Ghana).

Results indicate that there are several significant differences between wageworkers of Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations.
In the Dominican Republic, Fairtrade wageworkers receive more paid leave, are more aware of grievance and sexual harassment policies and use more safety measures. In Colombia Fairtrade wageworkers self-report significantly more improvement in relation to worker rights, grievance policies and the use of safety measures, while they have fewer worker rights, higher awareness of grievance policies or use more safety measures. In Ghana both plantations score similarly, although FT 1996 indicates slightly less improvement in grievance policy. The fact that no differences are measured in Ghana could result from the small sample size; comparing two very different plantations.

Figure 4.3 Significance of Fairtrade's contribution to labour conditions on plantations*



*Positive significant differences are indicated y +, while negatively significan differences are indicated by -. The number of signs indicate the size of significanc rather than absolute difference.

4.4 Reflections on Fairtrade's contribution to collective bargaining

The principle of freedom of association is at the core of the ILO's values: it is enshrined in the ILO Constitution (1919), the ILO Declaration of Philadelphia (1944), and the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (1998). It is also a right proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The right to organise and form employers' and workers' organisations is the prerequisite for sound collective bargaining and social dialogue. We present our cross-country analysis on collective bargaining taking into account quality of dialogue at the plantations, trust in relationships and membership in various types of groups. These indicators are a reflection of social capital. This can be broadly defined as 'a multidimensional phenomenon encompassing a stock of social norms, values, beliefs, trusts, obligations, relationships, networks, friends, memberships, civic engagement, information flows, and institutions that foster cooperation and collective actions for mutual benefits and contributes to economic and social development' (Bhandari and Yasunobu 2009).

Positive differences are found in terms of worker representation

Survey results point to a positive contribution of Fairtrade certification in terms of worker representation in two out of three case study countries (Figure 4.4). In the Dominican Republic workers are more often member of plantation workers' committees and report higher levels of trust in these committee. They also feel more listened to by their supervisors. In Colombia positive differences between workers on Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations were found for trust in the workers' Union, fellow workers and the community. In Ghana there is a lower level of trust in the workers' union and a lower level of satisfaction with being able to express ideas to supervisors amongst workers from FT 1996 than FT 2012. These differences in results should be interpreted with care in light of the very different culture of collective bargaining that exist in the different countries

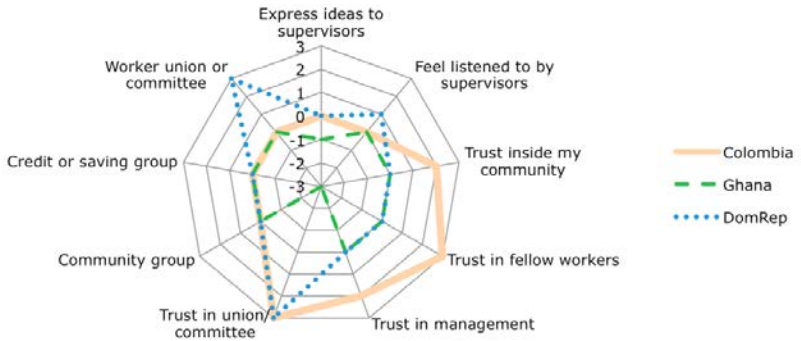
4.5 Reflections on Fairtrade's role in empowering wageworkers

We define and capture empowerment along the lines of the Ecuadorian flower study, finding a balance between the general literature summarised herein and the definition of empowerment in practice. In this study wageworkers described empowerment in terms of 'increasing levels of control or power of decision in hierarchical relationships on the plantations and increasing control over their family economies'. For the themes related to empowerment, we present findings on sense of ownership, sense of control and life satisfaction, development perspectives and career progression. However, as becomes evident from the definition ab ve, empowerment is not limited to these indicators, but also relates to poverty, income earning capacity, voice, gender and migrant/non-migrant status. These issues are covered in other sections.

Workers on Fairtrade certified plantations feel more empowered than their non-Fairtrade certified counterparts

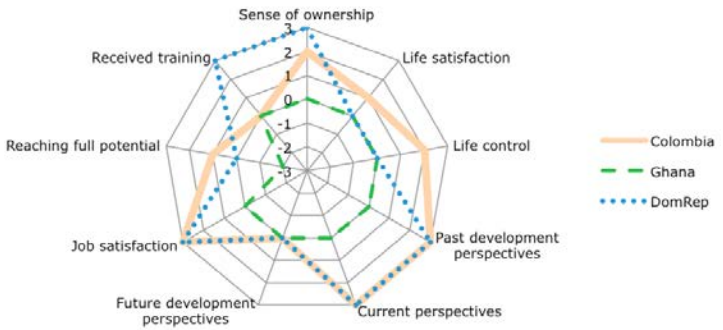
Generally speaking, Fairtrade wageworkers feel more empowered than their non-FT counterparts, though no strong differences are found for all empowerment issues (figure 4.5). Fairtrade wageworkers generally have a higher job satisfaction, stronger sense of ownership, and better past and current development perspectives than non-Fairtrade certified workers. We also see some positive differences with regard to perceptions to reach workers' full potential, received training, life satisfaction and life control. In Ghana both plantations score similar, although FT 1996 wageworkers feel less able to reach their full potential. Surprisingly, Fairtrade wageworkers are not more optimistic about future perspectives than non-FT wage wageworkers in any of the countries. This is possibly because their expectations regarding their potential/ perspectives are already met.

Figure 4.4 Significance of Fairtrade's contribution to collective bargaining*



*Positive significant differences are indicated by +, while negative significant differences are indicated by -. The number of signs indicate the size of significanc rather than absolute difference.

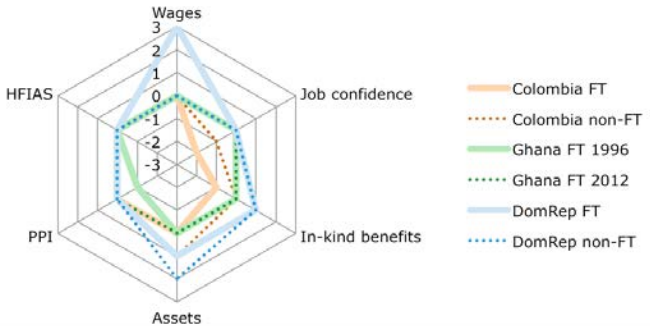
Figure 4.5 Significance of Fairtrade's contribution to collective bargaining*



*Positive significant differences are indicated by +, while negative significant differences are indicated by -. The number of signs indicate the size of significanc rather than absolute difference.

4.6 Insights on women wageworkers

Figure 4.6 Significance of Fairtrade's contribution to the position of women in terms of economic benefits*



*0 means no difference between male and female workers. Significant differences are indicated by +, while negative significant differences are indicated by -. The number of signs indicate the size of significance rather than absolute difference. The Fairtrade certified plantations are indicated by a solid line and the non-Fairtrade certified plantations (or plantation certified at a later stage in Ghana) is indicated by a dashed line. When various indicators were used to capture a sub-theme, we only report the observed differences (see Appendix 8 for full results).

Female workers on Fairtrade certified plantations are not necessarily in a better position, but neither are they in a less advantageous position

In terms of economic benefits, it seems Fairtrade female wageworkers are not necessarily disadvantaged (see Figure 4.6). In the Dominican Republic female wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations do not seem disadvantaged in terms of economic benefits; on the contrary, they receive higher average wages and in-kind benefits and own more assets. The higher wages appear to be explained by a few extreme observations. However, in Colombia female wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations do report lower levels of in-kind benefits and sense of job security.

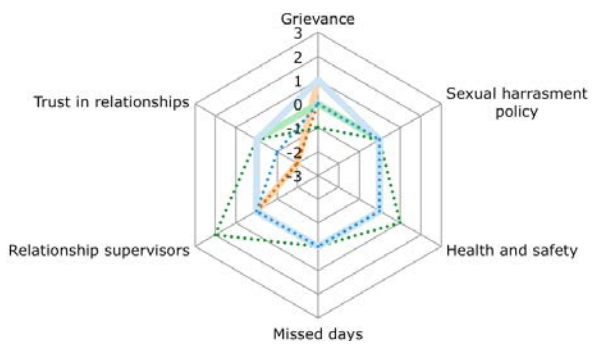
In Ghana, women on FT 1996 have a higher chance of falling below the poverty line according to the PPI. The position of female wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations is similar based on these indicators.

In terms of social benefits, again a mixed picture emerges. Female wageworkers perform worse in some areas while they perform better in other areas (see Figure 4.7).

In the Dominican Republic, female wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations are more aware of grievance policies than their male co-workers. The same holds for Colombia; although female wageworkers do self-report lower levels of trust in relationship, this stems from lower levels of trust in fellow wageworkers and in the community (see Appendix 8). In Ghana, women at FT 2012 feel more listened to by their supervisors and have experienced more improvement in the use of health and safety measures. At the same time, these women are less aware of grievance policies. The position of female wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations is more or less similar. One exception is that female wageworkers have a lower level of trust (in co-workers) than their male colleagues.

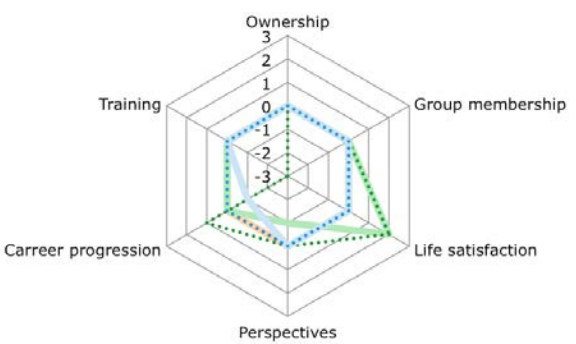
In terms of empowerment benefits, it seems female wageworkers perform similarly in almost all areas (see Figure 4.8). In the Dominican Republic, female wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations indicate lower levels of career progression (they have experienced less change in job satisfaction). In Colombia, there are no statistically significant differences. In Ghana, women on both plantations feel more satisfied with life than their male co-workers. Women on FT 2012 also feel more positive about prospects for career progression; they feel better able to reach their full potential at work, even while they receive significantly less training.

Figure 4.7 Significance of Fairtrade's contribution to the position of women in terms of empowerment benefits*



*0 means no difference between male and female workers. Significant differences are indicated by +, while negative significant differences are indicated by -. The number of signs indicate the size of significance ather than absolute difference.

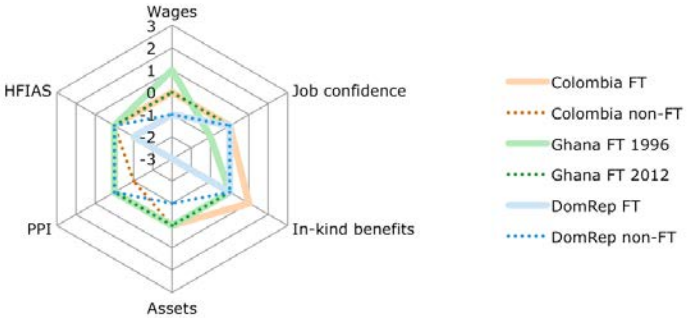
Figure 4.8 Significance of Fairtrade's contribution to the position of women in terms of empowerment benefits



*0 means no difference between male and female workers. Significant differences are indicated by +, while negative significant differences are indicated by -. The number of signs indicate the size of significance ather than absolute difference.

4.7 Insights on migrant wageworkers

Figure 4.9 Significance of Fairtrade's contribution to the position of migrants in terms of economic benefits*

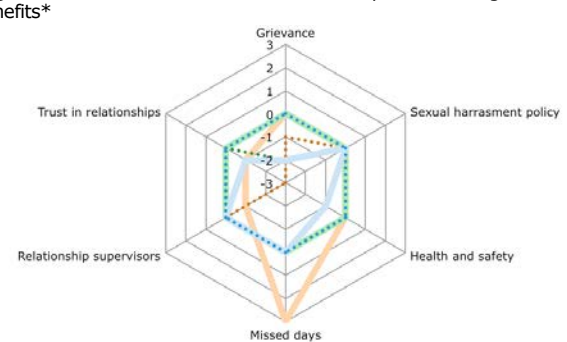


*0 means no difference between male and female workers. Significant differences are indicated by +, while negative significant differences are indicated by -. The number of signs indicate the size of significance rather than absolute difference.

Migrant wageworkers are disadvantaged in terms of economic and social benefits

In terms of economic benefits it seems migrant wageworkers do appear less well off in various areas (see Figure 4.9). In the Dominican Republic, migrant wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations have a higher chance of falling below the poverty line and of being food insecure. However, in Colombia, migrant wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations even seem to receive more in-kind benefits. In Ghana, where migrant status is less relevant than in the other countries, migrant wageworkers on FT 1996 have significantly higher wages and lower perceived job confidence. The position of migrant wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations seems a bit more equal based on these indicators both in terms of positive as well as negative changes.

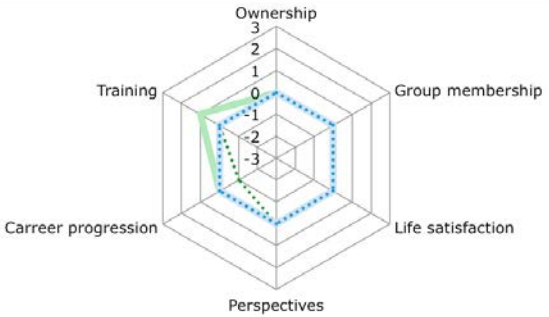
Figure 4.10 Significance of Fairtrade's contribution to the position of migrants in terms of economic benefits*



*0 means no difference between migrant and non-migrant workers. Significant differences are indicated by +, while negative significant differences are indicated by -. The number of signs indicate the size of significance rather than absolute difference. The Fairtrade certified plantations are indicated by a solid line and the non-Fairtrade certified plantations (or plantation certified at a later stage in Ghana) is indicated by a dashed line. When various indicators were used to capture a sub-theme, we only report the observed differences (see appendix for full results).

In terms of social benefits, it seems migrant wageworkers do appear disadvantaged or less well off in various areas (see Figure 4.10), especially in terms of self-reported trust in relationships. In the Dominican Republic, migrant wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations report lower levels of trust in relationships resulting from lower levels of trust in wageworkers' committees (see Appendix 8).

Figure 4.11 Significance of Fairtrade's contribution to the position of migrants in terms of empowerment benefits



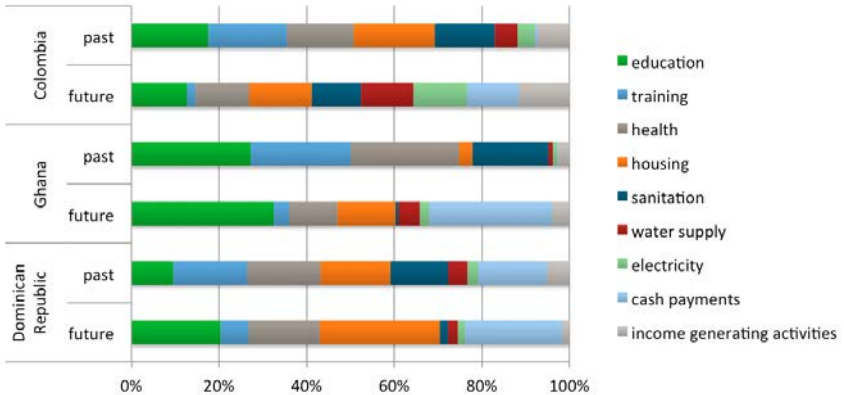
*0 means no difference between male and female workers. Significant differences are indicated by +, while negative significant differences are indicated by -. The number of signs indicate the size of significance ather than absolute difference.

In Colombia, migrant wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations also self-report lower levels of trust, but this result stems from lower trust inside the community. They also feel less able to express ideas to supervisors. The position of migrant wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations is similar in Ghana and the Dominican Republic. In Colombia, the lower levels of trust at non-FT results from lower levels of trust in management.

In terms of empowerment benefits, migrant wageworkers do not appear disadvantaged or less well off (see Figure 4.11) on either type of plantation (Fairtrade or non-FT). The only difference we find is for Ghana, where more training is provided to migrant wageworkers on FT 1996 and the satisfaction with career progression is lower on FT 2012.

4.8 Role and coordination of the Fairtrade premium

Figure 4.12 Past and future premium use according to wageworkers



The Fairtrade premium is one of the core principles of Fairtrade. Therefore, it is interesting to look at how this premium is used across the different countries, and how the wageworkers relate to it. In all three countries, most Fairtrade wageworkers are aware of the FT premium (97% in Colombia, 93% in the Dominican Republic and 87% in Ghana).

The use of the premium was inspected from two sides. First, as a part of the worker survey, the participating wageworkers were asked what the premium had already been spent on in the past, and what they would like to see it being spent on (Figure 4.12). Second, the reports stating what premiums were spent on were used. However, the information from the reports was not complete, so it is not possible to perfectly compare the premium use according to the wageworkers to the use according to the reports.

According to the wageworkers, the premium has been used for different purposes in the different countries. In Ghana, 90% of the sampled wageworkers said that the premium was spent on food subsidy. In Colombia, the premium was mostly used for education, training and housing. In the Dominican Republic, training was also a priority, but many reported the premium was spent on cash payments and health. However, wageworkers across the three countries proposed more similar goals for the spending of future premiums. In Ghana, cash payments and education are considered most important. Education is also prioritised in Colombia, together with housing, which is also important to wageworkers in the Dominican Republic. The wageworkers in the Dominican Republic also proposed that the premium to be spent on cash payments, like the Ghanaian wageworkers. Semi-structured interviews confirm that cash payments are indeed not only an expectation of workers, but also a strong wish. One important and clear difference between what the wageworkers reported the premium to be spent on and the reports of the spending is administration costs. On quite a few of the plantations, in all three countries, a large part of the premium was spent on administration costs, whereas none of the wageworkers reported this. Administration costs, for example, include the cost of initial certification, audits or premium committees. The Fairtrade premium was clearly linked to the increased economic benefits especially in terms of food, housing and education.

Wageworkers on Fairtrade plantations have the opportunity to be a part of the decision process. In the survey, they were asked whether they submitted any ideas for the use of the premium, whether they attended the last Fairtrade meeting, and how many Fairtrade meetings they attended in the last year (Table 4.1). While these data have to be interpreted within the correct context (e.g. in Ghana, one of the plantations is so large that the participation of each worker would not be feasible, and they are thus represented through others), they do raise some doubt on the individual decision-making power of wageworkers, especially the low percentage of wageworkers who proposed an idea for spending of the premium.

Table 4.1 Individual involvement in decision making regarding the Fairtrade premium

	Ghana	Dominican Republic	Colombia
Attended last meeting	30%	65%	91%
Average amount of meetings attended in last year	1	4	9
Proposed idea for spending of premium	44%	51%	35%

5

Conclusions and recommendations

5 Conclusions and recommendations

Combining the information from different research tools makes it possible to draw some conclusions. However, the reader should take into account that this study is a baseline study for an only recently revised standard. This means we cannot yet fully attribute all the difference, or lack thereof, to Fairtrade. In the case of Ghana we could not compare the situation of wageworkers to those from comparable non-FT certified plantations; this decreases the possibility to attribute changes fully to Fairtrade at this stage even more. Yet our methodology was designed to identify other issues that could have influenced the observed differences. We control for them by sample design, statistically and by being explicit about them while drawing conclusions. Below we present an overview of conclusion by country and theme.

5.1 Ghana

Economic benefit

Wageworkers from FT 2012 are similar or even better off in terms of various economic benefits

Wageworkers from the plantation certified at a later stage (FT 2012 have a similar sense of job security; receive an equal number of in-kind benefits; are equally satisfied with the benefits they receive; have savings as often; and score similar in terms of the PPI and HFIAS. However, contrary to what one might expect, wageworkers from the plantation that was certified at a much earlier stage (FT 1996) receive significantly less wages; indicate less improvement in wages since they started working at the plantation; and are more dependent on income from the plantation. As noted before, there are, however, considerable contextual differences between the two plantations that need to be taken account when considering the findings of the analysis.

Fairtrade certification contributes to the receipt of in-kind benefits, while for other economic benefits plantation-specific factors appear more influential

We can draw four conclusions with respect to the (potential impact of Fairtrade. First, results indicate that the potential to influence wages as such is probably limited in the context of Ghana. The plantation that was certified in 2012 has higher wages than the plantation certified in 1996. The fact that 68% of wageworkers indicate that Fairtrade influenced positive change quite a bit or a lot deserves more attention in future research.

Second, both anecdotal and survey evidence supports the hypothesis that Fairtrade contributed to an improvement in non-wage economic benefits especially in terms of sanitation, food and health care. These areas are clearly linked to investments by the FT premium. Third, it is not evident that Fairtrade increases the sense of job security; 18% on FT 1996 still feel job insecure despite the fact that they have been certified for more almost 20 years and wageworkers on FT 2012 feel more job secure. Fourth, the potential impact of Fairtraáde on living standard results is at the very least ambiguous. Wageworkers on FT 1996 have worked on the plantation for an average of ten years and the plantation has been certified for almost 20 years; yet there is no difference to wageworkers' situation in terms of PPI or HFIAS with FT 2012. At the same time, it should be realised the FT 2012 plantation is also already certified for two years, and appears to have managed a fairly modern plantation in terms of working conditions long before they became Fairtrade certified. Therefore, this could potentially hide the effect Fairtrade might have had on FT 1996 wageworkers.

Social benefit

Wageworkers from FT 2012 and FT 1996 are similar in terms of most social benefits

Wageworkers from the plantation certified at a later stage (FT 2012 perform similar in terms of working conditions and social dialogue but, contrary to what one might expect, they feel better able to express ideas to supervisors and self-report higher levels of trust in workers' union and the Premium Committee. However, the wageworkers from the plantation take slightly more measures, with those who did not take any measures while exposed to chemicals are all from FT 2012 except one. The awareness of Fairtrade is also higher at FT 1996.

The contribution of Fairtrade certification is inconclusive

We can draw three conclusions with respect to the (potential) impact of Fairtrade. First, few workers indicate a change in terms of worker rights since they started working at the plantation (between 12% to 32%) and we see no differences between FT 1996 and FT 2012. This could imply that the scope of Fairtrade is limited in this area. Second, wageworkers report much improvement in the use of health and safety measures, and they attribute many of these changes to Fairtrade (45% on average). However, it is especially in this area that anecdotal evidence points at some serious challenges. Third, the influence of Fairtrade the quality of social dialogue is still unsure. Based on wageworkers' perceptions of past changes it seems that changes are possible without Fairtrade support: wageworkers from FT 2012 feel more listened too and have more trust in workers' union and the Premium Committee than FT 1996, despite the fact that FT 2012 wageworkers have worked on the plantation for a shorter time.

Empowerment-related benefits

Potential impact of Fairtrade certification uncertain as wageworkers from FT 2012 are similar or better off in terms of empowerment-related benefits than workers at FT 1996

Wageworkers from the plantation certified at a later stage (FT 2012) report similar levels of sense of control, group membership, development perspectives and training. Contrary to expectations, FT 1996 indicates a lower level of life satisfaction and wageworkers feel less capable of reaching full potential. The latter finding is surprising. FT 1996 has been certified for a long time and one could expect that impact in some of these areas would only materialise after a few years. At the same time, wageworkers from FT 2012 might simply be more optimistic because Fairtrade certification and the immediate benefits it brings (e.g. FT premium) is still fresh in their minds, while FT 1996 wageworkers have gotten used to it.

5.2 Dominican Republic

Economic benefit

Wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations receive more in-kind benefits and are more food secure

Wageworkers from non-Fairtrade certified plantations receive a similar wage, are equally reliant on plantation income, are equally satisfied with in-kind benefits and have an equal probability of falling below the poverty line. However, wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations self-report more improvement in wages, feel more secure about their jobs and are more food secure according to the HFIAS. They also receive more in-kind benefits: in particular more adult education, transport, health care and schooling for children. This probably explains the fact that they perceive more improvement in wages while it is the same in absolute terms.

Contribution of Fairtrade in terms of economic benefits seems high

We can draw four conclusions with respect to the (potential) impact of Fairtrade. Combined, these conclusions point to a positive contribution of Fairtrade certification. First, results indicate that the potential for Fairtrade certification to influence primary wages is limited. There is no observed difference in wages between Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. Second, Fairtrade certification has a clear positive influence on in-kind benefits in terms of adult education, transport, health care and schooling for children. The positive influence on in-kind benefits can be directly traced back to the Fairtrade premium as adult education and health-care projects account for a large part of Fairtrade premium expenditures. Third, there are signs of a positive impact of Fairtrade certification on a plantation worker's sense of job security with workers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations reporting much lower levels of job security. Fourth, Fairtrade certification appears to play a significant role in improving the standard of living of those working on banana plantations.

Wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations are more food secure (34% versus 19% on non-Fairtrade certified plantations) and have more savings (22% versus8 % on non-Fairtrade certified plantations). Together these results suggest that in-kind benefits are an important impact pathway. A second wave of data and follow-up research should help to confirm these findings.

Social benefits

Wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations are better off in more than half of the social benefits

Wageworkers from non-Fairtrade certified plantations have a similar work week in terms of hours, total number of safety measures used, number of missed days of work due to work-related accidents or poor working conditions, expressing ideas to supervisors and have equal levels of trust in almost all relationships. However, wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations indicate they receive more paid leave days and report more improvement in terms of health and safety measures. Moreover, they have a higher awareness of grievance and sexual harassment policies and report more improvements of these policies. Finally, they feel more listened to by their supervisors and have more trust in the workers committees.

Contribution of Fairtrade to labour conditions unclear, but high on social dialogue

We can draw three conclusions with respect to the (potential) impact of Fairtrade. First the potential impact of Fairtrade on working conditions in terms of worker rights and health and safety measures is still unsure. We could not gather reliable data on actual worker rights received, and did not find convincing evidence in terms of OH&S measures used. Although Fairtrade workers did appear to use some measures more often, no convincing anecdotal or observation evidence is available to prove these measures are indeed more desired or are linked to Fairtrade. About 44% of the workers indicate that positive changes were influenced by Fairtrade 'quite a bit' or 'a lot'. However, it not clear how this is linked to Fairtrade; both workers and management were unable to explain these results during the verification workshop.

Second, while the awareness of grievance and social harassment policies is still low, it is 13% higher among Fairtrade workers, and even 19% higher in relation to sexual harassment policies. This result is clearly linked to Fairtrade policy and supported by anecdotal evidence. For example, workers indicated that on Fairtrade plantations, workers are educated on recognising signs of sexual abuse and how to communicate these.

Third, survey and anecdotal evidence indicate a strong potential contribution of Fairtrade in terms of social dialogue. The worker committees appear to explain part of this higher satisfaction with various social dialogue indicators giving workers a way to present their concerns to the administration and be heard.

Empowerment-related benefits

Wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations feel more empowered

Wageworkers from non-Fairtrade certified plantations indicate similar levels of life and work satisfaction. However, wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations feel a stronger sense of ownership, are more often members of a worker committee, are more optimistic about their development perspectives – especially in terms of housing, income, schooling and access to loans – feel more improvements in terms of job satisfaction, receive more training and are better represented in the workers committees.

Fairtrade seems to have a large potential to empower wageworkers

We can draw three conclusions with respect to the (potential) impact of Fairtrade. First, many the observed differences are clearly linked to the Fairtrade Premium, especially in relation to income (through in-kind benefits), health care and training. This points at a high potential impact in the area of empowerment. Anecdotal evidence points at another mechanism of Fairtrade's contribution to empowerment: workers indicated various times that they feel better able to communicate to the administration via the workers committee and feel more 'competent' as a result of the technical training they received. Second, the higher representation through the plantation workers' committee is also linked to Fairtrade. Third, wageworkers indicated that on Fairtrade plantations it seems more worthwhile to join a plantation worker committee because they see benefits arising from it, while on non-FT wageworkers perceive less benefits.

5.3 Colombia

Economic benefit

Wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations receive more in-kind benefits

Wageworkers from non-Fairtrade certified plantations receive a similar wage, are equally reliant on plantation income, are equally satisfied with in-kind benefit and have savings as often. However, wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations report that they have experienced more improvement in wages, feel more secure about their jobs and are more food secure according to the HFIAS. At the same time, they have a slightly higher probability of falling below the poverty line. They also receive more in-kind benefits: in particular more adult education, transport, health care and schooling for children. This probably explains the fact that they perceive more improvement in wages while it is the same in absolute terms.

Fairtrade seems to have a high contribution in terms of economic benefits as a result of the Fairtrade premium

We can draw three conclusions with respect to the (potential) impact of Fairtrade. First, results indicate that, as is the case in the other countries, the potential to influence wages as such is probably limited. The fact that 54% of wageworkers indicate that Fairtrade influenced positive change quite a bit or a lot is linked to the increase in in-kind benefits. Second, Fairtrade clearly influences in-kind benefits in terms of housing and education for young people and adults. These benefits are clearly linked to the use of the FT premium in Colombia. Third, there are signs of an impact on the sense of job security, with non-FT wageworkers reporting a lower level of job security (9% versus 98%). Future research has to reveal the exact mechanisms of this increased sense of job security. Fourth, the role of Fairtrade in influencing standard of living remains ambiguous. We find no convincing evidence that wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations have a higher standard of living, despite the fact that workers have been employed there for 12 years on average and most plantations have been certified for more than two years. Future research should confirm these results based on a second wave of data; this should also enable us to disentangle more clearly the effects of Fairtrade from Rainforest Alliance certification.

Social benefit

Fairtrade wageworkers do not necessarily do better in terms of social benefits

Wageworkers from non-Fairtrade certified plantations have a similar work week in terms of hours, equal number of paid leave days, number of safety measures used, number of missed days of work due to work-related accidents or poor working conditions, awareness of grievance policy and expressing ideas to supervisors. However, wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations report more improvement in terms of health and safety measures, are more often aware of sexual harassment policies and report more improvements in grievance and sexual harassment policies. Surprisingly, Fairtrade workers receive slightly less worker rights while they indicate more improvement since they started working at the plantation.

Contribution of Fairtrade in terms of social benefits is inconclusive

We can draw three conclusions with respect to the (potential) impact of Fairtrade. First, survey evidence indicates a limited scope for impact on worker rights. Anecdotal evidence supports this; many of the working conditions required by Fairtrade or Rainforest Alliance are already assured though union agreements or by law. This might explain the fact that we do not find any significant differences and that wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations in fact indicate that they receive slightly more worker rights. Second, the potential impact on health safety remains unclear. While Fairtrade workers do not use more measures, Fairtrade wageworkers do indicate more changes in protective and safety measures. Third, while awareness of grievance and sexual harassment policies is generally good, it is even better on Fairtrade certified plantations. Anecdotal evidence clearly links this to Fairtrade policy.

Empowerment-related benefits

Wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations feel more empowered

Wageworkers from non-Fairtrade certified plantations appear to feel less empowered. The only indicator where they score equally is in training received. Wageworkers from Fairtrade certified plantations feel a stronger sense of ownership, a stronger sense of life satisfaction and control, are more optimistic about with their development perspectives, especially in terms of in access to loans, training of adults and health, have experienced more change, feel more able to reach full potential, feel more improvements in terms of job satisfaction. Surprisingly, relatively more wageworkers from non-Fairtrade plantations are member of the workers union (87% versus 72%).

Fairtrade seems to have a large potential to empower wageworkers

We can draw one main conclusion with respect to the (potential) impact of Fairtrade. The vast majority of interviewed workers show satisfaction with their personal and labour progress, and Fairtrade seems to have played an important role in that. The vast majority of interviewed workers show satisfaction with their personal and labour progress, in which Fairtrade seems to have played an important role. The higher in-kind benefits and specialised training in particular seem mechanisms through which workers feel more empowered. It is important to mention that various plantations in our sample have been Rainforest Alliance certified since 1998; in particular two in the comparison group were certified Rainforest Alliance since 1996. If anything, this should have biased our estimations downwards – showing less impact of Fairtrade.

5.4 Cross-cutting themes

We explored various cross-cutting themes that are important to Fairtrade's theory of change. Given the focus in this section on Fairtrade contribution to the various themes, it is important to note again that this is a baseline. Future research should address the various themes and confirm the contribution, or lack thereof, using at least a second wave of data.

Fairtrade's contribution towards a living wage – *Contribution to living wages through in-kind benefits (increasing living wage), but not through primary wages*

We did not find significant differences regarding wages and share of income from wages in total income between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified workers. However, Fairtrade did clearly contribute to in-kind benefits using the FT premium in all countries. These in-kind benefits give workers access to some of the basic necessities for a decent living and to save money to invest in other issues. This finding is supported by the fact that workers in both Colombia and the Dominican Republic perceive more improvement in absolute wages than workers from non-Fairtrade certified plantations. The wage in Colombia appears to meet the criteria for a living wage. This can be explained by the fact that the sector is a very strong and stable sector and workers are well represented. Anecdotal evidence suggests that wages are sufficient to cover basic needs and allow for saving. In Ghana, however, anecdotal evidence indicates wages are not sufficient to cover basic needs such as sufficient food and education. In the Dominican Republic the situation appears even more dire, with wages being 40% below the Ankers' living wage benchmark and few people saving for unexpected events (22%).

Fairtrade's contribution to workers' standard of living – *Few positive and significant differences are found between the standard of living of workers on Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations, except in the Dominican Republic*

We do not yet find convincing evidence that Fairtrade contributed to an increased living standard. Despite the fact that wageworkers have worked at the plantations for many years, and many plantations have been certified for more than two years (even almost 20 in Ghana), the progress out of poverty score does not differ much between Fairtrade and non-FT (or certified at a later stage) wageworkers. Nor do land ownership, household quality or household assets differ much. By contrast, in the Dominican Republic, Fairtrade workers are more satisfied with the standard of living, have more savings and are, on average, more food secure.

Fairtrade's contribution to labour conditions on plantations – *Mixed evidence on impact of Fairtrade certification on improved labour conditions*

We cannot conclude strongly that overall working conditions on Fairtrade plantations are better than working conditions on non-Fairtrade certified plantations in terms of worker rights. The lack of difference in this area might be explained by the fact that FT premium does not directly contribute to this area, and worker rights are generally defined according to national law or collective bargaining agreements. Yet, research also indicated that in all countries many wageworkers are not aware of these rights. We do find Fairtrade workers are more often aware of sexual harassment policies and grievance policy. Moreover, Fairtrade workers more often indicate improvement in terms of health and safety measures but this research could not exclude whether this is because of perception, or actual more improvements compared to non-Fairtrade certified plantations.

Reflections on Fairtrade's contribution to collective bargaining – *Positive differences are found in terms of worker representation*

The right to organise and form employers' and workers' organisations is a prerequisite for sound collective bargaining and social dialogue. We captured this prerequisite by looking into quality of dialogue at the plantations, trust in relationships and membership in various types of groups. Survey results point to a positive contribution of Fairtrade certification in terms of worker representation in two out of three case study countries. In the Dominican Republic workers are more often member of plantation workers' committees and report higher levels of trust in these committee. They also feel more

listened to by their supervisors. In Colombia positive differences between workers on Fairtrade certified and non-Fairtrade certified plantations were found for trust in the workers' Union, fellow workers and the community. In Ghana there is a lower level of trust in the workers' union and a lower level of satisfaction with being able to express ideas to supervisors amongst workers from FT 1996 than FT 2012. These differences in results across countries should be interpreted with care in light of the very different culture of collective bargaining that exists in the different countries. Given the scope of improved collective bargaining in the Dominican Republic, the possible contribution of Fairtrade is even bigger.

Reflections on Fairtrade's role in empowering workers – *Workers on Fairtrade certified plantations feel more empowered than their non-Fairtrade certified counterparts*

Generally speaking, Fairtrade workers feel more empowered than their non-FT counterparts, though no strong differences are found for all empowerment issues. Fairtrade workers generally have a higher job satisfaction, stronger sense of ownership, and better past and current development perspectives than non-Fairtrade certified workers. We also see some positive differences with regard to perceptions to reach workers' full potential, received training, life satisfaction and life control. In Ghana both plantations score similarly, although FT 1996 workers feel less able to reach their full potential. Surprisingly, Fairtrade wageworkers are not more optimistic about future perspectives than non-FT wageworkers in any of the countries. This is possibly because their expectations regarding their potential/perspectives are already met. Overall wageworkers from FT-plantations appear more happy and optimistic; this optimism seems to trickle down in the empowerment indicators.

Insights on women workers – *Female workers on Fairtrade certified plantations are not necessarily in a better position, but neither are they in a less advantageous position*

In terms of economic benefits, it seems Fairtrade female wageworkers are not necessarily disadvantaged. In Colombia female wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations report lower levels of in-kind benefits and sense of job security. In terms of social benefits, a mixed picture emerges. Female wageworkers perform worse in some areas while they perform better in other areas. In Colombia as well as the Dominican Republic women are more aware of grievance polices. However, in Ghana and Colombia women self-report lower levels of trust in relationships, especially with fellow workers, although in Ghana they also feel better listened to by their supervisors.

There is no apparent difference between intra male/female differences of Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations. In terms of empowerment benefits, it seems female wageworkers perform similarly in almost all areas, and in some even better. At the same time various wageworkers indicated that there are still very few women in supervisory positions. Moreover, the number of workers that is aware of a policy against sexual harassment differs a lot by country; while it is relatively high in Ghana (93%) and Colombia (71%), it is dramatically low in the Dominican Republic (31%). Between 10% (in the Dominican Republic) and 29% (in Ghana) have heard of cases of sexual abuse, which indicates it remains an important subject of concern.

Insights on migrant workers – *Migrant wageworkers are disadvantaged in terms of economic and social benefi*

In terms of economic benefits it seems migrant wageworkers do appear less well off in terms of poverty and food access, especially in the Dominican Republic. The position of migrant wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations seems a bit more equal based on these indicators, both in terms of positive as well as negative differences. In terms of social benefits, it seems migrant wageworkers do appear disadvantaged or less well off in various areas, especially in terms of self-reported trust in relationships. The position of migrant wageworkers on non-Fairtrade certified plantations is almost similar. In some economic areas the inequality is larger on the Fairtrade certified plantation; this is true for various economic and social indicators in the case of the Dominican Republic. Future research should clarify why this is the case. In terms of empowerment benefits, migrant wageworkers do not appear disadvantaged or less well off on either Fairtrade or non-Fairtrade certified plantations.

Role and coordination of the Fairtrade premium – *A high level of awareness of Fairtrade, a clear contribution of the Fairtradepremium to in-kind benefits but possible improvement in terms of individual decision-making power*

In all three countries, most Fairtrade workers are aware of the FT premium (97% in Colombia, 93% in the Dominican Republic and 87% in Ghana). Based on wageworkers perceptions and actual expenditures of the premium (insofar as these data were available), we could clearly link the Fairtrade premium to the increased economic benefits, especially in terms of food, housing and education. While the decision on the Fairtrade premium is clearly structured in all countries; doubts were raised on whether this was transparent enough, especially in Colombia while workers seemed very satisfied in Ghana. In terms of individual decision making, we raise some doubt on the individual decision-making power of wageworkers, especially because of the low percentage of workers that proposed an idea on how to spend the premium.

5.4 Recommendations

The main purpose of this research was to gather baseline data on a range of economic, social and empowerment-related benefits in key banana origins in Latin America and West Africa. Despite it being a baseline study for a revised standard only implemented recently, the results so far lead to the following recommendations:

Main policy recommendations

Fairtrade could do more to improve awareness of in-kind benefits and worker rights that workers are entitled to.

In all countries we found a gap between the in-kind benefits and worker rights that workers are entitled to according to management, and those indicated by wageworkers themselves. A lack of awareness among wageworkers on these benefits or worker rights could partly explains this result. A topic for further research is to delve deeper into this issue: what benefits do wageworkers actually receive, and to what extent does lack of awareness explain this gap? On-plantation Fairtrade representatives could also do more to ensure that workers know what is not possible and what rights and entitlements are the responsibility of plantation management and the workers union (e.g. social security payments).

Fairtrade could explore how to (better) support the supply, quality and use of health and safety equipment.

In all countries both management and workers recognise the importance of the use of protective equipment. The problem lies in the use of this equipment. In particular in Ghana, a number of reasons were given why occupational health and safety measures were not applied consistently. Reasons included delay in supply, failure of supervisors to enforce strict compliance and failure of workers to use personal protective equipment. Similar observations were made in the Dominican Republic. Although Fairtrade workers do indicate more positive change, Fairtrade certification has apparently had little impact on improving this. We often found no difference between the Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade certified plantations in the provision and use of protective equipment.

Fairtrade could explore in more detail the different pathways through which they intend to influence the position of women and migrants.

Based on this research we do not find evidence that Fairtrade has contributed to reduced inequality of female or migrant workers. Our analysis indicated that the difference between female and male wageworkers, and migrant and non-migrant wageworkers, is indeed a challenge (although not across the board, and in all contexts), yet it is similarly challenging on Fairtrade certified plantations. While the current standard includes various themes related to this, Fairtrade could explore in more detail the exact pathways through which they intend to influence the position of women and migrants. Future research could support this by developing a set of indicators sensitive enough to capture inequality-related issues (also see research recommendations).

Fairtrade may like to explore whether individual wageworkers have enough say in how the Fairtrade premium is spent and/or whether the processes and leadership around the premium use are sufficient to reflect workers' interests.

We could clearly link the Fairtrade premium to increased economic benefits. The decision-making process on the Fairtrade premium is clearly structured in all countries. However, doubts were raised as to whether the process was transparent enough – especially in Colombia. In terms of individual decision making, some doubt on the ability of individual wageworkers to decide on how the premium is spent is raised, especially because of the low percentage of workers that actively contributed to how the premium is spent. Future research should clarify whether this is indeed a challenge, or whether the processes and leadership regarding the premium are sufficient to reflect workers' interests.

Fairtrade could explore in more detail missed days of work due to work-related accidents or poor working conditions.

The number of reported days missing due to work-related accidents or poor working conditions was very low in all countries, expect in Colombia. Future research should indicate why this is the case; it might simply be more realistic because workers feel better able to report in sick.

Fairtrade officers should provide wageworkers on Fairtrade certified plantations with more information on the grievance and sexual harassment policies that the plantation has put in place.

Only one third of wageworkers in the Dominican Republic is aware of grievance policies. While it is higher in Colombia and Ghana, they still do not submit a grievance easily. The number of workers aware of a policy against sexual harassment differs a lot by country; while almost all workers in Ghana are aware, only one-third of wageworkers in the Dominican Republic is aware. The fact that between one tenth (in the Dominican Republic) and one-third (in Ghana) of wageworkers have heard of cases of sexual abuse indicates increasing the awareness on these policies, especially in the Dominican Republic.

Main research recommendations

The use of the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS) should be reassessed in future research to better reflect the food insecurity access status of wageworkers.

In Ghana, results with respect to the HFIAS tool were somewhat contradictory. While the probability of falling below the poverty line was low, the number of wageworkers classified as severely food insecure was more than 90%. We noticed workers are often categorised as 'severely food insecure access' because they answered positively to many of the questions related to this, but at the same time indicated that they only 'rarely' (once or twice in the past 4 weeks) experienced it. The categories are defined in such a way that as soon as quite a few of the questions were answered with yes, the respondent automatically falls into the category of more severe food insecurity access. It is debatable whether answering 'Rarely' to many of the questions actually makes one severely food Iinsecure. Quite a few respondents have very low HFIAS scores (a score calculated on the basis of the frequency questions, with a scale from 1 to 27), but still fall in the highest category.

Further research should focus on the role that worker perception plays when wageworkers are asked to compare the past with the present, or when they are asked about self-reported subjective indicators related to job satisfaction, trust and satisfaction.

Survey data, anecdotal evidence and field observations all seem to indicate that Fairtrade workers are more optimistic in general. If this is the case, it could account for many of the differences, especially in relation to self-reported empowerment questions. For example, while there are signs that Fairtrade increased the sense of job security in Colombia and the Dominican Republic, qualitative research could not identify the mechanism that underlies this. A more optimistic perception of Fairtrade wageworkers may explain this, however.

Future research could invest more in the use of experimental games, in addition to surveys, to better capture Fairtrade's influence on complex constructs such as trust, empowerment or gender equality.

We used experimental games to measure pro-social behaviour as an alternative to the more commonly used survey measures. Both measures are subject to criticism: surveys may lack the right incentives for reporting true behaviour or attitudes while games may be difficult to implement and replicate. Using both approaches contributes to Fairtrade's aim to influence and capture issues such as empowerment or trust. This study used trust games and public goods games.

In the future, games could be better tailored to Fairtrade's ToC, tested, and implemented in a large enough sample. The games used in this study provided insights that may be used to design future games that are logistically feasible, reliable and implementable in a cross-country context with local partners. The last point is important, because experimental research is usually carried out by academics themselves given the high level of (technical) knowledge required. The capacity development of the local partners already done for the current study should facilitate this process in future.

A second wave of data collection should be implemented to confirm results with more certainty.

Given the fact that our research is a baseline study we could not (yet) fully attribute any major differences solely to Fairtrade certification. A baseline can only act as a starting point and cannot be used to measure impact. To clarify with an example: if we do not find a difference between Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade plantations, this may be because wageworkers from Fairtrade plantations were worse off to start with, but have in fact improved.
While our method was designed to maximise our ability to attribute observed differences to Fairtrade, a second wave of wageworker data is needed to explore the findings in more detail, more depth and confirm them with more certainty. In the case of Ghana, a more detailed historic research would be useful to explore to which extent FT 2012 was able to reach similar (or even higher) levels of development without Fairtrade certification, or in such a short time period. In Colombia we would like to explore the contribution of Rainforest Alliance in more detail to investigate how it differs from, compares to, or complements Fairtrade certification.

6

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LEI Wageningen UR is one of the world's leading independent socio-economic research institutes. LEI's unique data, models and knowledge offer clients insight and integrated advice on policy and decision-making in an innovative manner, and ultimately contribute to a more sustainable world. LEI is part of Wageningen UR (University and Research centre), forming the Social Sciences Group together with the Department of Social Sciences and Wageningen UR Centre for Development Innovation.

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Appendix - Fairtrade certification in the banana hired labour sector

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Appendix 1: The banana sector

Table 1 Largest producers of bananas in 2012

Country	Production	Percentage of global production
India	26.5	25.1
China	11.9	11.2
Philippines	9.2	8.7
Ecuador	7.0	6.6
Brazil	6.9	6.5
Indonesia	6.2	5.9
Guatemala	3.1	2.9
Angola	3.0	2.8
Tanzania	2.5	2.4
Mexico	2.2	2.1
Costa Rica	2.1	2.0
Other countries	25.0	23.7
Total	105.6	100.0

Source: FAOSTAT.

In 2012 global exports reached a record high of 16.5m tonnes.[1] As Table 2 shows Ecuador was the largest exporter, followed by the Philippines, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Colombia. Together these five countries are responsible for 80.6% of global exports.

Table 2 Leading exporters of bananas in 2012

Country	Export volume (million tonnes)	Percentage of global exports
Ecuador	5.0	30.3
Philippines	2.6	15.8
Costa Rica	2.0	12.1
Guatemala	1.9	11.5
Colombia	1.8	10.9
Honduras	0.9	5.5
Côte d'Ivoire	0.3	1.8
Mexico	0.3	1.8
Dominican Republic	0.3	1.8
Cameroon	0.2	1.2
Other countries	1.2	7.3
Total	16.5	100.0

Source: FAO (2014).[2]

In their 2014 review of the banana market the FAO Market and Policy Analyses of Raw Materials, the Horticulture and Tropical (RAMHOT) Products team noted that in 2012 a '*remarkable shift was observed from exports originating in South America towards greater exports from Central America and Mexico'*.

[1] FAO (2014), Banana Market Review and Banana Statistics 2012-2013, FAO, Rome.
[2] FAO (2014), Banana Market Review and Banana Statistics 2012-2013, FAO, Rome.

They suggested that this shift could be explained as '*anticipation of trade preferences for Central American bananas in the European market as part of the Comprehensive Association Agreement between Central America and the European Union'*.[3]

The European Union (EU) is the largest importer of bananas, followed by the USA (see Table 3). Together they imported approximately 55% of all bananas traded internationally in 2012. Within the EU the largest importers are Belgium, Germany and the UK.

Table 3 Leading importers of bananas in 2012

Country	Import volume (million tonnes)	Percentage of world total
EC-27	4.5	27.6
Belgium	1.4	8.6
Germany	0.9	5.5
UK	0.8	4.9
Italy	0.5	3.1
France	0.5	3.1
Other EU-27	0.4	2.5
USA	4.4	27.0
Russia	1.3	8.0
Japan	1.1	6.8
China	0.7	4.3
Canada	0.5	3.1
Argentina	0.4	2.5
South Korea	0.4	2.5
Iran	0.4	2.5
Saudi Arabia	0.3	1.8
Other countries	2.3	13.9
Total	16.3	100

Source: FAO (2014)[4]; ITC.

NB: Data for individual EU member states sourced from the ITC Trade map.

[3] EU, 2012 Comprehensive Association Agreement between Central America and the European Union, 29 June, Brussels http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-12-505_en.htm

[4] FAO (2014), Banana Market Review and Banana Statistics 2012-2013, FAO, Rome.

Appendix 2: Detailed ToC Fairtrade

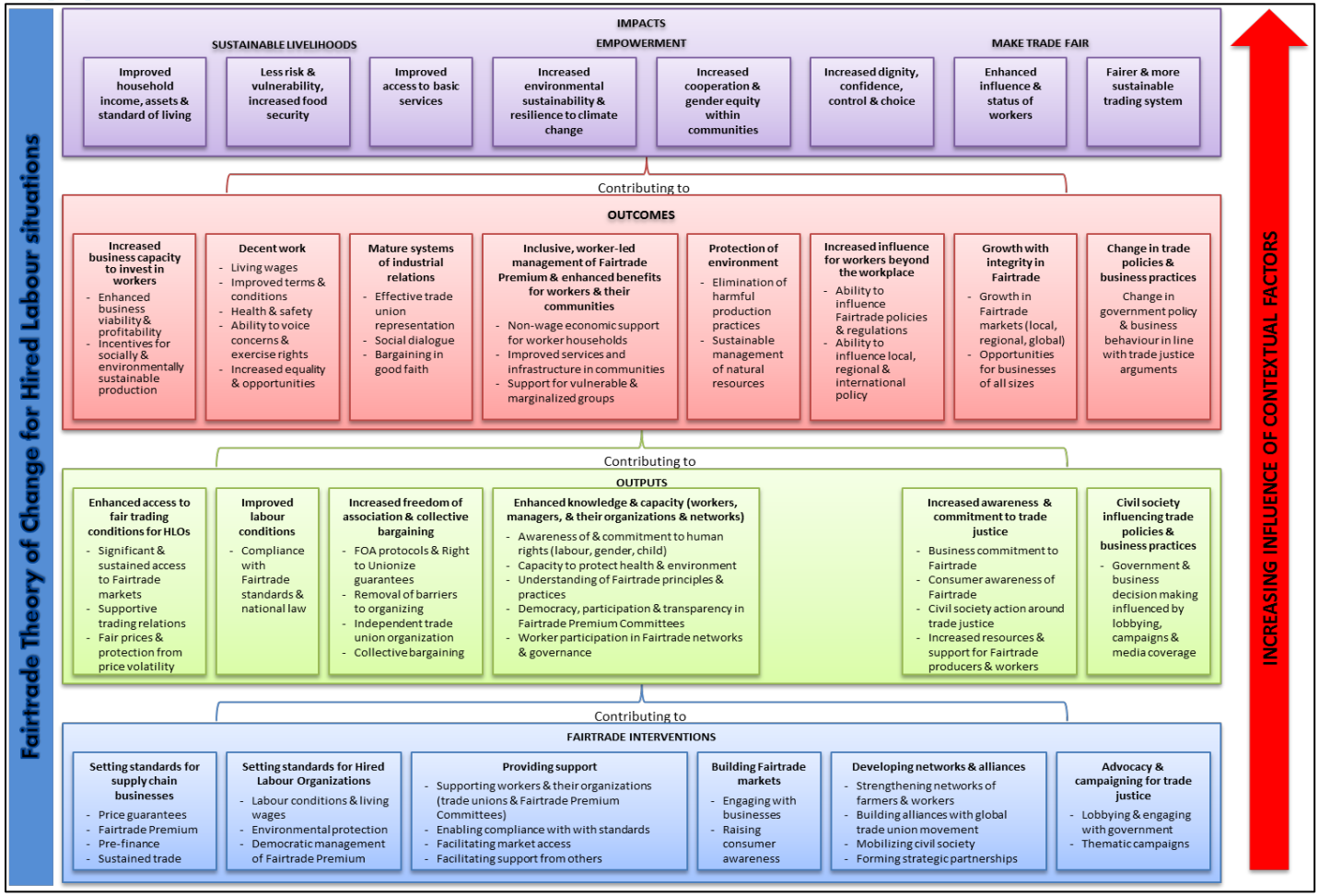


Figure 1 Detailed Fairtrade Theory of Change for Hired Labour situations
Source: Fairtrade.

Appendix 3: Semi-structured interviews

General instructions

For the semi-structured interviews a topic list is developed outlining the basic topics to be covered. This list was developed specifically for Ghana. Depending on the specific respondent and context, the topics might be discussed in a different order and in more or less detail.

The following guidelines to be taken into account when conducting the semi-structured interviews:

- start of the interview the respondent is again to be informed about the purpose of the research, about the impartiality of the research team and about the fact that all information will be handled discretely.

- Various interview techniques will be used to obtain comprehensive and accurate information:
  - Starting the interview with some small-talk to develop a friendly relation with the respondents
  - Being an active listener, looking at your informant's face (rather than the interview guide) and behaving in a culturally sensitive manner
  - Phrasing questions in an open-ended manner to avoid directing answers in certain directions
  - Avoiding giving opinions or judgements, and treat respondents as equals
  - Asking respondents to provide examples, for example about *how* they implemented Fairtrade criteria, *why* they did some things or did not do other things.
  - Using silence as a probe to get respondents to share new points, don't rush them through the questions
  - Modify the order of the questions if needed to preserve a good 'flow' of the interview

- Record the interview (with the permission of the respondent), make small notes during the interview and write down relevant findings quickly (within one or two days) after the interview to avoid forgetting things. The format of the interview report can follow the format of this interview guide.

Topic list

PLANTATION CHARACTERISTICS							
Plantation ownership structure							
Indicator	Site 1	Site 2	Site 3	Site 4	Site 5	Site 6	Site 7
Location of plantation (including individual sites)							
Age of site							
Size of site (total)							

Size of site (planted area)							
Type of production (by site)							
Production capacity (last 5 years) – total # of planted hectares? Per site and total if possible							
Production level (last 5 years?) – per site possible if possible							
Total Sales (last 5 years)							
Sales channels (% of total) – who do they supply to?							
Operating costs							
Multiple certifications of plantation							
FAIRTRADE							
Certification history (year of application, year of certification) for all sites							
Year of first Fairtrade certified sales							
Fairtrade sales (historic data)							
Fairtrade Premium received (historic data for the last 5 years?)							
Fairtrade premium spent – to the highest detail plantation is able to provide							
Changes made to Fairtrade Hired Labour standard – what have been the effects / noticeable changes?							
WORKERS							
Number of employees (by gender/by age/function/type of contract) do you use casual workers? When what time of the year?							
Working hours							
Wages (per hour, by task/function)							
Overtime (hours per week average, wage per hour)							
Holidays / holiday pay							
INDUSTRIAL/WORKER RELATIONS							
TRADE UNION REPRESENTATION							
Freedom of association – with trade unions							
Number and type of trade union and non-trade union organisations and committees in HL workplaces with worker representation (% workplaces which each type)							
Percentage of workers who are members of trade unions, by gender and employment status (i.e. type of contract)							
Percentage of workers that trust that their trade union/ other worker organisation acts in their best interests, by gender and employment status							
COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGREEMENTS							
Percentage of HL workplaces with legally recognised Collective Bargaining Agreements (CBAs) (1) negotiated in the workplace, (2) negotiated through sectoral bargaining							

Percentage of HL workplaces where wage negotiations take place annually and percentage of CBAs which include wage rates
Percentage of HL workplaces where financial and other relevant business information is disclosed to worker representatives regularly and in advance of collective bargaining
Collective bargaining agreements in place
Number of wage revisions (last 5 years)
SOCIAL DIALOGUE
Quality of dialogue on the plantation
Percentage of HL workplaces where senior management meets regularly with worker representatives (at least four times a year)
Percentage HL workplaces where written grievance procedures exist and are communicated to workers, and written records of grievances and outcomes are held
OTHER
Worker facilities on the plantation
Social security
Workplace policy
Maternity policies (right to maternity leave, number of weeks)
Sexual harassment policies
Grievance policy
Pesticide use (when/frequency?)
Occupational health and safety # reported accidents
Protective equipment on offer – for which tasks

Appendix 4: Field visits observation protocol

General instructions

Below we give an outline of the field visit observation protocol. Please note this protocol has (or will be) adapted based on a pilot test in each case study country and the local context, and refined accordingly.

- The enumerator that conducts the observation of working conditions is to use this check-list as a guide. It lists a number of specific things that the enumerator should look out for and pay attention to.
- The report should follow the order of the points listed below and include general information about the visit (name of enumerator, date & time of visit, plantation name, name of sites visited) as well as any information that the enumerator deems relevant.

Observation check-list

<u>Safety measures</u>

- Pesticides
  - Where and how are pesticides stored?
  - Are they locked up?
  - Who has access to the pesticides?
  - Are there signs indicating how pesticides should be handled/used?
  - Are there facilities present for washing hands after applying pesticides?
- Number of people working at any one time
  - How much space to workers have to perform their tasks?
- Is there a safety officer present?
- Is it clear who the safety officer is and what they are responsible for?
- Health
  - Is there a first aid station?
  - Is it well equipped?
  - Are there signs indicating what should be done in the event of an accident?

<u>Protective clothing – for different tasks, handling pesticides for example</u>

- Is protective clothing worn? Please describe and photograph where possible
  - For example: goggles, boots, gloves, overalls, respirators,
- Are workers required to wear protective clothing?
- For which tasks is protective clothing required?
- Is protective clothing provided by the plantation?
- Are there facilities for changing clothes and washing before/after work?

<u>Sanitation</u>

- Are changing rooms provided? What is the quality like?
- Are personal lockers or a secure place where workers can leave their clothes/other valuables provided?
- Are Showers provided? What is the quality like? How many are there? Separated for male/female?
- Are toilets provided? How many? Where are they? Male/female?
- Are washbasins provided? Is soap provided?

On-site services

- Are Lunch/break areas provided? Please describe or provide photographs
- How often and how long are breaks during the day?
- Presence and quality of onsite drinking supply? Taps?
- Presence and quality of Health care or checks at workplace?
- Presence and quality of Crèche/child care provision?
- Presence and quality of Free or subsidised food at work? When/how often/cost?
- Presence and quality of Free or subsidised transport? when/what/cost?
- Presence and quality of Free or subsidised housing? When/what/cost?

Appendix 5: In-depth interviews

Guidelines for semi-structured interviews

The following guidelines were taken into account when conducting the semi-structured interviews:

- It is important for the interviewer to know the concepts well before starting the interview.
- At the start of the interview the respondent is again to be informed about the purpose of the research, about the impartiality of the research team and about the fact that all information will be handled discretely.
- Various interview techniques can be used to obtain comprehensive and accurate information:
    - Starting the interview with some small-talk to develop a friendly relation with the respondents
    - Being an active listener, looking at your informant's face (rather than the interview guide) and behaving in a culturally sensitive manner
    - Phrasing questions in an open-ended manner to avoid directing answers in certain directions
    - Avoiding giving opinions or judgements, and treat respondents as equals
    - Asking respondents to provide examples, for example about *how* they implemented advice received from Fairtrade, *why* they did some things or did not other
    - Using silence as a probe to get respondents to share new points, don't rush them through the questions
    - Modify the order of the questions if needed to preserve a good 'flow' of the interview
- Record the interview (with the permission of the respondent), make small notes during the interview and write down relevant findings quickly (within one or two days) after the interview to avoid forgetting things

Template semi-structured interview

The table below provides an overview of the various questions that will be used for the semi-structured interview. Please note that this table is not fully comprehensive but rather outlines the most relevant questions to be addressed. Just to highlight: only probe for the perceived effects or role of Fairtrade in the different themes in the end of the interview – if they have not raised the issue themselves. It is important we get insight in other factors influencing the different themes, and to realistically compare this to Fairtrade. Probing for Fairtrade at the very beginning might draw all attention away from other sources of influence (e.g. other support programs, changes in economic situation, changes in policies, changes in family circumstances etc.). In case only Fairtrade is mentioned, please do probe for these other possible sources of influence.

Theme	**Details**	**Possible questions**
Introduction: Wageworker characteristics	Short 'history' or background of the wageworker. This will enable us to put the survey data into more perspective.	**1.1** When did you start working at this particular plantation? **1.2** Why did you decide to work at this particular plantation? **1.3**. What did you do for a living before you started worked at this plantation?
Part of empowerment: Personal (career) goals		**2.1** What are your personal career goals? **2.2** Are you able to pursue these career goals? Why, Why not? **2.3** Have you received any support in order to pursue this goal?

Theme	Details	Possible questions
Living wage	The concept of a 'living wage' is defined as 'remuneration received for a standard work week by a worker in a particular place sufficient to afford a decent standard of living of the worker and her or his family. Elements of a decent standard of living include food, water, housing, education, healthcare, transport, clothing and other essential needs including provision for unexpected events.	**3.1** What do you consider a living wage to be? (not the amount but what it should afford; ***NOTE, this is not about a wage to give you everything you desire in life***) **3.2** Do you feel you have sufficient income to make a living? Why/Why not? **3.3** Do you feel you are progressing towards a 'living wage'? Why, why not? **4.4** Do you feel your living wage has improved in the last three years: Why, why not?? **3.4** What influences this (your current progress towards living wage)?
Working conditions	Working conditions include: Wage income; Non-wage income; Working hours; Type of activities Holidays / holiday pay; Job security Social security; Maternity policies; is a social security); Sexual harassment policies; Grievance policy; Occupational health and safety; Worker opportunities	**4.1** Are you satisfied with your working conditions? Why, why not? **4.3** Which working conditions are most important to you? **4.4** Which areas of your working conditions have changed in the last three years: Why or why not? **4.5** And which areas still need to be improved?
Part of empowerment: Voice	Quality of dialogue on plantation; Sense of ownership; Membership of work and non-work related; groups; Sense of control; Collective bargaining agreements	Voice basically means you can express your preference: **5.1** Do you feel you have a voice in this plantation? **5.2** In which ways can your express your 'voice'? **5.3** Do you feel your power to voice your concerns will change you or your colleagues circumstances? **5.4** What influences this? **5.5** Do you trust plantation management to take your voice, suggestions and grievance seriously?
Other sources of income and private plots	Ownership of private food plots; Application of good agricultural practice on private food plots (spill over); Additional source of income	**5.1** If you engage in other activities (farming/gardening) for income/food, how important is the income/food from the other sources (apart from the plantation wage)? **5.2** If you engage in other activities for income, how satisfied are you about that activity(s) compared to working at the plantation?
Position of women	Insights on women workers including kinds of work undertaken, equality with men in terms of wages and opportunities, opportunities for	**6.1** Comparing men and women, what are the differences in opportunities and leadership roles at the plantation? **6.2** How different are women

Theme	Details	Possible questions
	leadership, grievance redressal, sexual harassment, voice in premium usage, whether their needs are addressed.	and men treated regarding physical and sexual harassment? **6.3** Would you say women and men are treated similarly in all matters related to working at your plantation? Why/why not?
Position of migrant	Particular insights on migrant labourers (especially in the Dominican Republic and Colombia) including ability for Fairtrade to make a difference given location of migrant households, access to benefits, voice and representation in various Committees	**6.1** Comparing migrants and non-migrants, what are the differences in opportunities and leadership roles at the plantation? **6.3** Would you say migrants and none migrants are treated similarly in all matters related to working at your plantation? Why/why not?
Perceived effect of Fairtrade	If not already covered above	**8.1**. Did Fairtrade affect your wellbeing? Why / Why not. **8.2** In which areas? **8.3** How could Fairtrade's impact be improved?
Premium use	Familiarity with premium; Choice of spending; Use of premium	**9.1** Are you satisfied with how it has been used in the past? Why, or why not? **9.2** How would you want Fairtrade premium to be used, so that it is beneficial to you? **9.3** How do you want the premium to be managed or administered?

Appendix 6: Wageworker survey

Please note that this is the survey used for Ghana; the surveys used in Colombia and Dominican Republic are almost identical, although some questions and answer categories were adapted to the local context. In addition, depending on the PPI questions, some questions were added or deleted. The version for both countries are available upon request (available in Spanish only).

Introduction to respondent ***Case ID_____***

My name is_____. I am here on behalf of the University of Ghana and Wageningen University in Holland. We are carrying out research on the living conditions of you and your household and the working conditions at the plantation you are working at. You have been selected to be part of this survey because you are a staff member at _____. You selection for this survey was done at random. If you agree to participate, the survey will take approximately [45 minutes] to one hour. We hope that the research will benefit workers in [Ghana] and that it will improve the future work of initiatives that try to improve the living conditions of workers, such as Fairtrade. The researchers will keep your responses confidential. Your full name will never be used anywhere, to ensure confidentiality. You are not obliged to answer questions if you do not want to and you are free to stop the interview at all times. You will not receive any direct benefit if you join this study; your participation is voluntary. Do you have any questions for me? You may ask questions about this study at any time.

May I start the interview 1=Yes 2=No

No	Question	Response	Entry code
**	**Section A: Identification** *FW: Confirm respondent identification using cover sheet information*		
A.1	Name of Community	_____	
A.2	Is your name <*respondent name on cover sheet*>?		
A.3	Where do you work?	1= GEL 2=VREL	
A.4	Which site of <*Name of Plantation*> do you usually work at?		
A.5	Which section of <*Name of Plantation*> do you work at? ***FW:Multiple answers allowed*	1= farm 2=pack house 3= security 4=administration Other_____	

Section B: Worker characteristics

B.1	What is your current position at <*name of plantation*>?		
B.2	How long have you worked at <*name of plantation*>?	_____years _____months	
B.3	How old are you (completed years)	Years	
B.4	Gender	1=Male 2=Female	
B.5	Are you married or in any kind of marital relationship?	1=Single 2=Married 3=Divorced/Separated 4=Widowed Other_____	
No	**Question**	**Response**	**Entry code**
B.6	Which country do your parents come from?		
B.7	Which region do your parents come from? ***FW: multiple regions allowed*		
B.8	In which country were you born?		

B.9	In which region were you born?		
B.10	For how many years have you already lived in this area? ***FW:Completed years; <1 year=0*	Years	
B.11	For how many years have you already lived in this village? ***FW:Completed years; <1 year=0*	Years	
B.12	How long have you worked as a wage worker in the banana sector? ***FW:Completed years; <1 year=0*	Years	
B.13	How long have you worked as a wage worker in other sectors? ***FW:Completed years; <1 year=0*	Years	

Section C. Household characteristics

C.1	Have you migrated to this area for your current job? ***FW: migration means moving away from one place to live in another place for a longer duration of time*	1= Yes 2= No **→→ skip to C.2**	
C.1.1	If yes, does your family reside with you in your current residence?	1=Yes 2= No	
C.2	Is your current residential unit a <u>temporary</u> place of accommodation? ***FW: Temporary means you do not/world not live here all the time but only live here because of work or some other reason and that you have/would have a permanent home address elsewhere*	1=Yes 2= No **→→ skip to C.3**	
C.2.1	If yes, do you usually live in another more <u>permanent</u> residential unit somewhere else? ***FW: permanent means this is where you live and have made it your home and you do not have another home elsewhere*	1=Yes 2=No	

Household composition

***FW: Read this comment aloud to respondent: 'The questions in this section apply to those residing in your permanent residence and that are sharing meals together'*

No	Question	Response	Entry code
C.3	*How many people live in your household?*		

FW: Use the codes below to answer questions C3.1 to C.3.6

C.3.1 Relationship to household head **(**see **codes)**	**C.3.2 Age** (years) *****FW:Completed years; <1 year=0***	**C.3.3 Gender** **1=male** **2=female**	**C.3.4** Level of education completed? **(**see **codes**) *****FW:Completed years; <1 year=0***	**C.3.5** Main (income-earning) activity? **(**see **codes**)	**C.3.6** Financial status **(**see **codes**) *Read out the response options*
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					

***FW: If a one-member household, skip to C.5*

Code C.3.1

0 = none

1 = Spouse
2 = child
3 = (grand) parents
4 = brother/sister
5 = parent
6 = Household head
Other_____

Code C.3.4 (indicate years completed)

0 = none

1=pre-school
2 = primary
3 = junior secondary
4 = senior secondary
5 = middle school
6 = tertiary

Code C.3.5

1 = farming/related work on own farm
2 = Farming/related work elsewhere
3 = Non-farm-related work
4 = not earning income currently
5 = in school studying

Code C.3.6

1 = contribute to hh

2 = dependent on hh
3 = (money)transfers outside hh

No	Question	Response	Entry code
C.4	Are there any other household members (not living in the household), who are financially dependent on your household?	1=Yes 2= No →→ **skip to C4.3**	
C.4.1	If yes, how many?		
C.4.2	If yes, do you send remittance?	1=Yes 2= No	
C.4.3	Are there any other household members (not living in the household) that contribute to your household?	1=Yes 2= No →→ **skip to C.5**	
C.4.4	If yes, how many?		
C.4.5	If yes, do you receive remittance?	1=Yes 2= No	

Household Asset ownership

***FW: The questions below apply to your more permanent residence*			
C.5	What is the main construction material used for the roof?	1= Palm leaves/raffia/thatch, wood, mud, bricks/earth, bamboo, or other. 2= Corrugated iron sheets, cement/concrete, asbestos/slate, or roofing tiles	
C.6	What is the main source of drinking water for the household?	1= Borehole, well (with pump or not, protected or not), or other 2= River/stream, rain water/spring, or dugout/pond/lake/dam 3= Indoor plumbing, inside standpipe, sachet/bottled water, standpipe/tap (public or private outside), pipe in neighbors, water truck/tanker, or water vendor	

No	**Question**	**Response**		**Entry code**
C.7	Does any household member own any of the following assets?	1. electricity (mains supply)	1=Yes 2=No	
		2. a working stove (kerosene, electric, or gas)?	1. Yes 2. No	
		3. a working iron (box or electric)	1. Yes 2. No	
		4. a working radio/audio player	1. Yes 2. No	
		5. Refrigerator	1. Yes 2. No	
		6. Computer/laptop/tablet	1. Yes 2. No	
		7. Bicycle	1. Yes 2. No	
		8. Motor cycle	1. Yes 2. No	
		9. DVD player	1. Yes 2. No	
		cell phone	1. Yes 2. No	
		Cable TV (eg Multi-TV)	1. Yes 2. No	

Household Food Insecurity Access Scale

***FW: For each of the following questions, consider whether this has happened in the past 4 weeks. If the answer is yes to a question, please indicate how often this happened (see codes).*			
No	**Question**	**Response**	**Entry code**
C.8	In the past *4 weeks*, did **you worry** that you would not have enough food to eat?	1=Yes 2=No **→→skip to C9**	
C.8.1	If yes, How often did this happen?	1=Rarely (once or twice in the past 4 weeks) 2=Sometimes (3-10 times in the past 4 weeks) 3=Often (>10 times in the past 4 weeks)	
C.9	In the past *4 weeks*, were you **not able to eat the kinds of foods you preferred** because of a lack of resources?	1=Yes 2=No **→→ skip to C10**	
C.9.1	If yes, How often did this happen?	1=Rarely (once or twice in the past 4 weeks) 2=Sometimes (3-10 times in the past 4 weeks) 3=Often (>10 times in the past 4 weeks)	
C.10	In the past *4 weeks*, did you have to **eat a limited variety of foods** due to a lack of resources?	1=Yes 2=No **→→skip to C11**	
C.10.1	If yes, How often did this happen?	1=Rarely (once or twice in the past 4 weeks) 2=Sometimes (3-10 times in the past 4 weeks) 3=Often (>10 times in the past 4 weeks)	
C.11	In the past *4 weeks*, did you have to **eat some foods that you really did not want to eat** because of a lack of resources to obtain other types of food?	1=Yes 2=No **→→skip to C12**	
C11.1	If yes, How often did this happen?	1=Rarely (once or twice in the past 4 weeks) 2=Sometimes (3-10 times in the past 4 weeks) 3=Often (>10 times in the past 4 weeks)	
C.12	In the past *4 weeks*, did you have to **eat a smaller meal than you felt you needed** because there was not enough food?	1=Yes 2=No **→→ skip to C13**	
C.12.1	If yes, How often did this happen?	1=Rarely (once or twice in the past 4 weeks) 2=Sometimes (3-10 times in the past 4 weeks) 3=Often (>10 times in the past 4 weeks)	
C.13	In the past *4 weeks*, did you or any household member have to **eat fewer meals in a day** because there was not enough food?	1=Yes 2=No **→→ skip to C14**	
C.13.1	If yes, How often did this happen?	1=Rarely (once or twice in the past 4 weeks) 2=Sometimes (3-10 times in the past 4 weeks) 3=Often (>10 times in the past 4 weeks)	
C.14	In the past *4 weeks*, **was there ever no food to eat** of any kind in your household because of lack of resources to get food?	1=Yes 2=No **→→ skip to C15**	
C.14.1	If yes, How often did this happen?	1=Rarely (once or twice in the past 4 weeks) 2=Sometimes (3-10 times in the past 4 weeks) 3=Often (>10 times in the past 4 weeks)	

C.15	In the past *4 weeks*, did you **go to sleep at night hungry** because there was not enough food?	1=Yes 2=No **→→ skip to C16**	
C.15.1	If yes, How often did this happen?	1=Rarely (once or twice in the past 4 weeks) 2=Sometimes (3-10 times in the past 4 weeks) 3=Often (>10 times in the past 4 weeks)	
C.16	In the past 4 weeks, did you **go a whole day and night without eating anything** because there was not enough food?	1=Yes 2=No **→→ skip to C17**	
C.16.1	If yes, How often did this happen?	1=Rarely (once or twice in the past 4 weeks) 2=Sometimes (3-10 times in the past 4 weeks) 3= Often (>10 times in the past 4 weeks)	

Development perspectives

***FW: Now I will ask you to rate your previous situation and experiences and your expectations for the future on some basic living conditions*			
	C.17 Have you experienced any changes in the following living conditions in the last five years? *Read out the response options* **1 = big improvement** **2 = slight improvement** **3 = no change** **4 = slight deterioration** **5 = big deterioration** **99=Not Applicable**	C.18 How satisfied are you with your current situation in terms of these living conditions? *Read out the response options* **1 = Very satisfied** **2 = Satisfied** **3=neither satisfied nor dissatisfied** **4 = Dissatisfied** **5. Very dissatisfied** **99=Not Applicable**	C.19 Do you foresee any changes in this situation in the coming five years? *Read out the response options* **1=No** **2=very little** **3=some** **4=quite a bit** **5=a lot** **99=Not Applicable**
Income/wages			
Housing/accommodation			
Schooling for your children			
Health for you and your household			
Food for you and household			
Household access to small loans?			
Household access to amenities (water)			
Household access to amenities (electricity)			
Household access to amenities (sanitation)			

Private plots

No	**Question**	**Response**	**Entry code**
C.20	Did your household cultivate land in the last 12 months?	1=Yes 2= No **→→ skip to C.25**	
C.21	If yes, how much land did you use?	_____ 1=acres 2=hectares 3=plots 4=poles 5=ropes	
C.22	How did you obtain the land: *** FW: If more than one parcel and obtained by different methods, choose the one that is largest*	1 = household/family land 2= inherited 3= gift 4 = stool land 5 = borrowed 6 = share-cropping 7= bought Other _____	

***FW: Enter results responses in the table below*

C.23 What crops did you cultivate in last calendar year: 1= bananas 2=cassava 3=maize 4=plantain 5=tomatoes 6=rice other _____	What size of land was cultivated?	Unit Value **1=Acres** **2=hectares** ***FW: refer to code translation*	How much was harvested *** FW: Indicate quantity*	Unit Value **1=kgs** **2=bags** **3=baskets**

No	**Question**	**Response**	**Entry code**
C24	To what extent have you applied knowledge or practices learned at the plantation on your own (private) farm/garden?	1 = no 2 = very little 3 = some 4 = quite a bit 5 = a lot	
C.25	Do you know if <*Name of plantation*> is a Fairtrade certified plantation?	1=Yes 2=No	

Section D: Working Conditions

***FW:The questions in this section apply to the wageworker only (not his family) and only for this workplace*

Contracting and income

No	**Question**	**Response**	**Entry code**
D.1	What type of contract do you have with <*Name of plantation*>, currently?	1= No contract 2=Temporary contract 3=Yearly contract 4= permanent contract 98=Don't know Other_____	
D.2	How are your wages paid at <*Name of plantation*>?	1=daily 2=15 days interval 3=monthly 4=based on specific contract/work 5=based on completed task/work Other_____	
D.3	What is your average monthly income received from <*Name of plantation*>?		
D.4	Have you experienced any changes in income compared to the start of your employment <*Name of plantation*>?	1=big improvement 2=slight improvement 3=No change **→→skip to D.6** 4= slight deterioration 5=big deterioration	

D.5	In case of a change, did Fairtrade influence this?	1= No 2=very little 3= some 4=quite a bit 5=a lot 98=don't know	

	D.6 Which type of in-kind benefits did you receive from the plantation in the last month? ** *FW: In-kind benefits refer to benefits aside from salary/wages and bonuses, overtime* **1=Yes** **2=No →→Skip**	D.7 If D.6 is yes, how satisfied are you with these services (see **codes** D7) ***** FW:** Read out the response options*	D.8 If D.6 is yes, have you experienced any changes in these services compared to the start of your employment at *<Name of plantation>?* (see **codes**) ***** FW:** Read out the response options*	D.9 In case of a change, did Fairtrade influence this change? (see **codes**) ***** FW:** Read out the response options*
Onsite drinking water supply				
Sanitation at work				
Health care or checks at workplace				
Crèche/child care provision				
Free or subsidised food at work				
Free or subsidised transport				
Free or subsidised housing				
Water supply infrastructure at your household level				
Electricity at your household level				
Schooling				

Code D.7
1 = Very satisfied
2 = Satisfied
3 = Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4 = Dissatisfied
5=Very dissatisfied
99=Not Applicable

Code D.8 and D.9
1 = no
2 = very little
3 = some
4 = quite a bit
5 = a lot
98=Don't Know
99=Not Applicable

No	Question	Response	Entry code
D.10	How many people in your household are employed by <*Name of plantation*>? ***FW: The questions in this section apply to those residing in your permanent residence and that are sharing meals together*		
D.10.1	Which share of your income comes from the <*Name of plantation*>?	1=all or almost all 2=more than half 3=almost half 4=less than half 5=nothing or almost nothing	
D.10.2	What are your other sources of income, aside from your income/wages from <*Name of plantation*>? ***FW: Multiple responses allowed*	1= loan 2= pension 3= remittance 4=none Other income earning activity _____	
D.10.3	Which share of the total household income comes from the <*Name of plantation*>?	1=all or almost all 2=more than half 3=almost half 4=less than half 5=nothing or almost nothing	

Working hours

***FW: Definition of working hours: includes time spent directly on, and in relation to, productive activities; down time; and resting time. It excludes time for commuting or longer breaks distinguished from short resting time when no productive activity is performed (e.g. long meal breaks).*			
D.11	How many <u>hours</u> have you worked for <*Name of plantation*> last week?		
D.12	Did the last week represent a normal working week in terms of hours worked?	1=Yes **→→Skip to D13** 2=No	
D.12.2	If no, how many hours does an average work week have?		
D.13	How many days of <u>paid</u> <u>leave</u> do you have on a yearly basis? *Definition of holidays: Paid annual leave refers to the period during which a worker is off work while continuing to (1) receive an income and (2) be entitled to social protection. Other forms of paid leave, which are not considered annual leave, include public holidays, sick leave, weekly rest, and maternity*	_____ 98=Don't know	

Activities

Activities ***FW: Multiple responses allowed*	D.14 Which types of activities do you perform on the plantation): *****FW:** Read out the response options* ***1= Yes 2=No***	D.15 How often did you perform them in the last month)? *****FW:** Read out the response options* ***1 = daily*** ***2 = weekly*** ***3= every two weeks*** ***3 = monthly***
1. Harvesting		
2. Application of chemicals or pest control		
2. Packing		
3. Weeding		
4. Cutting		
5. Cleaning		
6. Selecting		
7. Stamping		
8. Deflowering		
9. Putting on banana diaper		
10. Bagging		
11. Maintenance		

No	**Question**	**Response**		**Entry code**
D.16	Do you apply or are you exposed to chemicals used on the plantation?	1=Yes 2=No **→→Skip to D19**		
D.17	Are you aware of the type of chemicals you are exposed to?	1=Yes 2=No		
D.18	Are you familiar with any risks involved in the chemicals you are exposed to?	1=Yes 2=No		
D.19	Did you receive appropriate training in occupational safety and health?	1=Yes 2=No		
D.20	Which kind of protective measures are taken when using/are exposed to the chemicals ***FW: do not read out codes, multiple options are possible*	Presence of a safety officer	1=Yes 2=No	
		Respirators	1=Yes 2=No	
		Suitable overalls	1=Yes 2=No	
		Gloves	1=Yes 2=No	
		Goggles	1=Yes 2=No	
		Boots	1=Yes 2=No	
		Facilities for changing clothes and washing after applying pesticides	1=Yes 2=No	
		8=None/Nothing	1=Yes 2=No	
		Other_____	1=Yes 2=No	

Measures/changes	D.21 Have you experienced any changes in the following measure compared to the start of your employment at this plantation? (see codes) *Read out the response options* **1=big improvement** **2=slight improvement** **3=No change →Skip** **4= slight deterioration** **5=big deterioration** **98=Don't Know** **99=Not Applicable**	D.22 In case of a change, did Fairtrade influence this change? (see codes) ***FW: Read out the response options* **1 = no** **2 = very little** **3 = some** **4 = quite a bit** **5 = a lot** **98=Don't know** **99=Not Applicable**
Improved protective gear by the company		
Phasing out of hazardous types of pesticides		
Facilities for washing down after applying pesticides		
Health education		

No	**Question**	**Response**	**Entry code**
D.23	In the last 12 months, how many days have you missed work because of:		
D.23.1	Work-related accident?	_____days	
D.23.2	Illness caused by poor working conditions?	_____days	
D.23.3	Work-related stress?	_____days	
D.23.4	Non-work related illness?	_____days	
D.24	Have you ever experienced an accident during working hours at this <*name of plantation*>?	1=Yes 2=No **→→ Skip to QD26**	
D.25	If yes, which type of accident? *Where several injuries have incurred, the most serious one should be classified.*	1 = Superficial injuries and open wounds 2 = Fractures 3 = Dislocations, sprains and strains 4 = Traumatic amputations 5 = Concussion and internal injuries 6 = Burns, corrosions, scalds 7 = Acute poisonings and infections Other (specify): _____	

Insurances

D.26	Do you receive any social security /benefits plans through <*Name of plantation*>? ***FW: what social security insurance refers to benefits (full or part) provided by employer (e.g. include maternity leave, sick leave etc.)*	1=Yes 2=No **→→ Skip to Q D.31**	

D.27 If yes, to D26, what are you insured for? ***FW: Circle appropriate response*	D.28 Indicate the benefit you receive? ***FW: Write in appropriate response* *98=Don't Know*	D.29 Have you experienced any changes in these services compared to the start of your employment at <*Name of plantation*> ? *Read out the response options* **1=big improvement** **2=slight improvement** **3=No change →SKIP** **4= slight deterioration** **5=big deterioration**	D.30 In case of a change, did Fairtrade influence this change? *FW: Read out the response options* **1 = no** **2 = very little** **3 = some** **4 = quite a bit** **5 = a lot** **98=don't know**
Maternity leave			
Medical care			
Sick leave			
Old-age pension (eg SSNIT, provident fund, etc)			
Employment injury			
Paternity leave			

Policies

No	Question	Response	Entry code
D.31	Are you aware of a written policy and/or practice to combat sexual harassment of Employees at <*Name of plantation*>?	1=yes 2=No	
D.32	Have you ever heard from others about events of physical or sexual abuse at <*Name of plantation*>?	1=yes 2=No	
D.33	Are you aware of a written policy and/or practice in place to address any grievances at <*Name of plantation*>? ***FW: Definition of grievance: a wrong considered as grounds for complaint, or something believed to cause distress.*	1=yes 2=No	
D.34	Have you ever heard from others about events of grievance at <*Name of plantation*>?	1=yes 2=No	
D.35	Have you ever experienced a grievance yourself at <*Name of plantation*>?	1=yes 2=No **→→SKIP to QD.37**	
D.35.1	If yes, between whom was the grievance?	1 = Between workers 2 = Between workers and management Other_____	
D.36	Did you feel you could submit this grievance without suffering disadvantage/loss of whatsoever, as a result?	1=yes 2=No **→→SKIP to QD.37**	
D.36.1	If yes, was the grievance examined and a follow-up procedure put into place?	1=yes 2=No 99=Not Applicable	
D.37	Have you experienced any changes in these policies compared to the start of your employment at this plantation?	1=big improvement 2=slight improvement 3=No change **→→SKIP to QD.39** 4= slight deterioration 5=big deterioration	

D.38	In case of a change, did Fairtrade influence this change?	1 = no 2 = very little 3 = some 4 = quite a bit 5 = a lot 98= Don't know	
D.39	Have you received any training required by the job or for another job during working hours ?	1=yes 2=No **→→SKIP to QD.40**	
D.39.1	If yes, how many times have you received training during the last 12 months ?	_____	
D.40	Have you experienced any changes in how happy you are with your job compared to the start of your employment at this plantation? ***FW: Read out the response options*	1=big improvement 2=slight improvement 3=No change **→→SKIP to QD.42** 4= slight deterioration 5=big deterioration	
D.41	In case of a change, did Fairtrade influence this change?	1 = no 2 = very little 3 = some 4 = quite a bit 5 = a lot 6=Not applicable	
D.42	Have you experienced any changes in the level of confidence you feel about whether you will continue to have your job compared to the start of your employment at this plantation?	1=big improvement 2=slight improvement 3=No change **→→SKIP to QE.1** 4= slight deterioration 5=big deterioration	
D.43	In case of a change, did Fairtrade influence this change?	1 = no 2 = very little 3 = some 4 = quite a bit 5 = a lot 6=Not applicable	

Section E: Voice and premium use

Trust

*** FW: For questions E1-E17, read it out exactly as written or translated to the respondent:*

'The next part is a bit different. I will make some statements and you can say if you agree, disagree or neither of the above. For example if I said ' this government is good for us', indicate If you agree completely, or disagree completely or other level of opinion using this scale on the paper.'

.

1 = Fully agree 2 = Somewhat agree 3 = Neutral 4 = Disagree 5 = Fully Disagree

No	**Question**	Response	**Entry Code**
E.1	Statement: I trust the people inside my village/community		
E.2	Statement: I trust my fellow wage workers at <*Name of plantation*>		
E.3	Statement: I trust the management of this plantation		
E.4	Statement: I trust the members of the Fairtrade (premium) committee		
E.5	Statement: I trust the members of the worker's union		
E.6	Statement: If I talk about this <*Name of plantation*> to other people, I talk about	1. THE company/ 2 = MY company	
E.7	Statement: I sense that this company is OUR company		
E.8	Statement: I feel that <*name of plantation*> is MY company		
E.9	Statement: It is hard to think of this company as MINE		
E.10	Statement: If I work hard, the company makes more profit		
E.11	Statement: If the company has a problem, I should contribute to the solution		
E.12	Statement: I feel responsible for the financial successes of the company		
E.13	Statement: When the company has financial problems I should share in the consequences		

E.14	Statement: I feel free and comfortable to express ideas and concerns to administrators and supervisors		
E.15	Statement: I feel that administrators and supervisors adequately listen and respond to my ideas and concerns.		
E.16	Statement: All things considered, I feel satisfied with my life as a whole these days		
E.17	Statement: I feel I have complete free choice and control over how my life turns out		
E.18	Statement: Working at a company that is certified Fairtrade is very important to me		
E.18.1	Statement: I can reach my full potential in my work?		
E.19	Statement: < *plantation name*> offers me a secure job		

Membership of organisations

E.20	Are you (or any members of your household) a member of any kind of <u>organisation or group</u>? ***FW: These groups, organisations, networks or associations could be formally organised groups or just groups of people who get together regularly to do an activity or talk about things.*	1=Yes 2=No **→→Skip to E.24**	

E.21 If yes, to what type of organisation do you or any of your household members belong? (see **codes**) ***FW: Respondent may belong to more than one group*	E.22 What is the main reason that you participates in this specific organisation? (see **codes**)	E.23 How do you contribute to that organisation? (see **codes**) ***FW: Multiple responses allowed*	E.24 (**If no**) What is the main reason that you, don't participate in any organisation? (see **codes**)

<u>Code E.21</u>
1. Sports and leisure club
2. Community group
3. Savings and credit group
4. Labour union
5. Women's group
6. Youth group
7. Church/church group
Other_____

<u>Code E.22</u>
1. Make friends
2. cooperate to improve livelihood situation in general
3. exercise influence on political issues
4. exercise influence on work-related issues
5. exercise influence over communal issues
6=other_____

<u>Code E.23</u>
1=Attend meetings
2=payment of dues and fees
3=in-kind contributions
4=contributions in time
Other_____

<u>Code E.24</u>
1=no relevant organisations
2=no need for making new Friends
3= Don't feel responsible for political issues
4= Don't feel responsible for work-related issues
5= Don't feel responsible for communal issues
6=no time available
Other_____

Savings

No	Question	Response	Code Entry
E.25	Do you and your household maintain any savings (including bank savings accounts, such as, micro-banking)	1=yes 2=No **→→SKIP to QE.26**	
E.25.1	If yes, how are you saving?	1 = Through <*name of plantation*> 2 = Private 3 = Via other job 4 = Savings account Other (specify)_____	
E.25.2	If yes. what are you saving for (in order or importance) ? ***FW: Do not limit to list here. Multiple options are possible. Rank response from 1 (highest rank) to …highest number (lowest rank)*	1=Pension 2=Unexpected illness or health problems 3=Education 4=buy assets 5=Build house 6=travel Other_____	

Fair Trade and other support

No	Question	Response	Entry Code
E.26	What does Fairtrade mean to you? ***FW: Multiple options are possible.*	1=Guaranteed purchase of products 2=Guaranteed minimum price 3=Fair trade premium 4=Guaranteed work 99= Not applicable Other (specify) _____	
E.27	Do you think that Fairtrade certification at <*name of plantation*> gives you benefits that you would not have if it was not certified?	1=Yes 2=No 99=Not applicable	
E.28	What kind of benefits do you expect from Fairtrade?	1=Guaranteed purchase of products 2=Guaranteed minimum price 3=Fair trade premium 4=Guaranteed work 98=don't know 99=Not applicable Other (specify) _____	
E.29	In the last 12 months, how often were meetings organised in relation to Fairtrade that you are aware of?	_____ 98=Don't Know 99=Not applicable	
E.30	How many of these meetings did you attend?	_____ 99=Not applicable	
E.31	Did you go to the last information meeting about Fairtrade?	1=yes 2=No	
E.32	Do you know of the Fairtrade premium?	1=yes 2=No	
E.33	Is the Fairtrade premium important to you?	1=yes 2=No	
E.34	How should the next Fairtrade premium be used, in your opinion? ***FW:Multiple responses acceptable*	1=Education for children 2=Training for workers 3=Health 4=Housing 5=Sanitation 6=Water supply in or near workers residence 7=Electricity in workers residence	

		8=Individual cash payments 9=Income generating activities Other (Specify)_____	
E.35	Did you propose an idea for the spending of the latest Fairtrade premium?	1=Yes 2=No	

***FW: multiple section allowed*	E.36 Has the premium been used for any of the following **1=Yes** **2=No →→ Skip** **98= Don't know**	E.37 Have you benefited directly from this use of the Fairtrade Premium? ***FW: Read out the response options* **1 = no** **2 = very little** **3 = some** **4 = quite a bit** **5 = a lot** **99=Not applicable**
Food Subsidy		
Education for children		
Training for workers		
Health		
Housing		
Sanitation		
Water supply in or near workers residence		
Electricity in workers residence		
Individual cash payments	***FW:* ***If No, Skip QE.38***	
Income generating activities		
Other (Specify)_____		

No	**Question**	**Response**	**Entry Code**
E.38	In case the premium was paid in individual cash payment, which share of the total premium was paid in cash?	1=all or almost all 2=more than half 3=almost half 4=less than half 5=nothing or almost nothing 98=Don't Know	
E.39	Are you aware of other certifications the plantation uses?	1=Yes 2=No **→→SKIP Q E.42**	
E.40	If yes, which type of certification?	1=Global GAP 2=Organic 98=Don't Know Other_____	
E.41	If yes, how do the benefits of this certification compare to the benefits of Fairtrade? *Read out the response options*	1= it is better than Fairtrade 2=It is similar to Fairtrade 3= It adds on to Fairtrade benefits	

E.42	Have you received other support aside from the Fairtrade premium?	1= Yes 2=No **→→SKIP Q E.43**	
E.43	If yes which kind of support		
***FW: Please ask the respondent to comment on his/her views on employment and related problems or priorities:*			

Appendix 7: Gaming protocol

Please note that this is the protocol used for Ghana; the protocols used in Colombia and Dominican Republic are almost identical, although some things were adapted to the local context (e.g. the currencies). The version for both countries are available upon request (available in Spanish only).

General information

- The games are played in one session in a closed room with no interference from the outside
- Participants will be selected from the group of people who participated in the survey. This is important because the outcomes of the gaming session will be matched to the outcomes of the survey
- A long-list of 32 people will be supplied for each gaming session. All 32 potential participants will be from the same plantation
- The game coordinator together with a plantation representative will select 16 people from the long-list of 32 based on availability
- A practice round will need to be organised during the enumerator training to ensure that the instructions are clear and appropriate for the specific context
- The games will involve the use of real money so that the decisions of those playing are based on real incentives.
- The game coordinator will be responsible for ensuring that there are enough envelopes and that there is enough money present for each gaming session
- The participants should sit on chairs in two rows of 8, with their backs facing each other. This is meant to prevent the par from knowing how much money each person has given
- At the beginning of the session the game coordinator should write down the name, sex, age and position of each of the participants

Introduction by game coordinator

- The game coordinator welcomes the participants and thanks them for coming
- The game coordinator explains that the participants have been selected at random
- The game coordinator explains that the participants will be playing 2 games and that they will be playing with small amounts of real money
- The game coordinator informs the participants that they are allowed to keep the money that they have at the end of each game
- The game coordinator also tells the participants that they are not to talk to each other while playing the games
- The game coordinator explains that each game will be played 4 times
- The game coordinator asks if the participants have any questions
- If there are no questions move onto game 1

Game 1: Trust game

- The trust game is played in pairs (Player 1 and Player 2)
- Before each variation of the game, the group should be randomly divided into two groups: players 1 and players 2.
- The players 1 sit in one row and the Players 2 sit in the other row. When participants are seated their backs should be facing each other

- During the 1st variation of the game, players will not know anything about the person they are playing with. It will be completely random. Only the game coordinator will know who is playing against who.
- During the 2nd variation of the game, the players will be told what the gender is of the person they are playing with.
- During the 3rd variation of the game the players will be told what the position is of the person they are playing with
- During the 4th variation of the game the players will be told what the gender and position is of the person they are playing with

Start of the game

The game coordinator explains the game to the participants. The game coordinator explains that Player 1 will be given an envelope with a small amount of money and will be asked to give none, all or some of the money to Player 2. Player 1 can keep any money that they do not given to Player 2. The money that they do give to Player 2 will be doubled by the game coordinator. Player 2 will then be asked to decided how much money to give back to Player 1.

- At the start of the game Player 1 will receive an envelope containing 2 Cedis (the 2 Cedis needs to be a mixture of 0.50 and 0.20 pesewas coins. Each envelope must contain the same type and number of coins)
- On the envelope the game coordinator will write the sex and/or position of the person that the player is playing with depending on which variation of the game is being played
- Player 1 will then be asked how much of the 2 Cedis they would like to give to Player 2. Player 1 leaves this amount of money in the envelope and gives the envelope to the game coordinator. Player 1 keeps the rest of the money
- The game coordinator doubles the amount of money that is in the envelope (that Player 1 has given to Player 2).
- Player 2 is asked to how much of the money in the envelope they want to give back to player 1. They can choose between giving all, none or some of the money back to Player 1.
- Player 2 is asked to leave the money that want to give to Player 1 in the envelope. Player 2 keeps the rest of the money.
- The game coordinator collects the envelopes and gives the envelopes back to Player 1
- Player 1 keeps the money that is in the envelope

Visual explanation of the trust game

Starting point

Player 1 **Player 2**

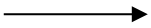
0 Cedi

2 Cedi

Player 1 chooses how much money they want to give to Player 2. The money that Player 2 receives is doubled.

Player 1 **Player 2**

0 Cedi

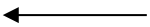


2 Cedi is received (amount is doubled to 4 cedi)

Player 2 decides how much of the money they want to give back to Player 1.

Player 1 **Player 2**

2 Cedi



2 Cedi

Both players keep the money that they are left with.

<u>Keeping score</u>

A couple of things that need to be written down (see also data entry template):

- Who is player 1 and who is player 2?
- How much money (if any) does player 1 give to Player 2?
- How much money does player 2 give back to player 1?
- How much money are both players left with at the end of the game?

Game 2: Voluntary Contribution Mechanism (VCM)

- This game investigates the behaviour of the participants when contributing to a public good, which has the incentive structure of a prisoners dilemma (Cardenas and Carpenter 2008).
- The game is played anonymously. The procedures create a social dilemma for the subjects because each has a material incentive to free ride on the contributions of others.
- It should be played in 4 groups of 4. Each group should be seated together with their backs facing each other
- During the 1st variation of the game, players be randomly assigned to a group.
- During the 2nd variation of the game, the players will be assigned to a group based on their gender
- During the 3rd variation of the game, the players will be assigned to a group based on their position
- During the 4th variation of the game the players will be assigned to a group based on their gender and position
- Before each round the participants should be randomly assigned to one of the four groups, depending on which variation of the game is being played
- A reminder that communication between participants is not allowed while playing the games

Start of the game

The game coordinator explains the game to the participants. The game coordinator explains that the game will be played in groups of 4. Each player will receive a small amount of money and will be asked to decide how much of the money they receive they want to contribute to the group (all, none or some). The participants can keep any money they do not contribute to the group. The combined total of the money given by the players in each group is doubled by the game coordinator. The game coordinator divides this money by 4 and gives each player an equal share of the total.

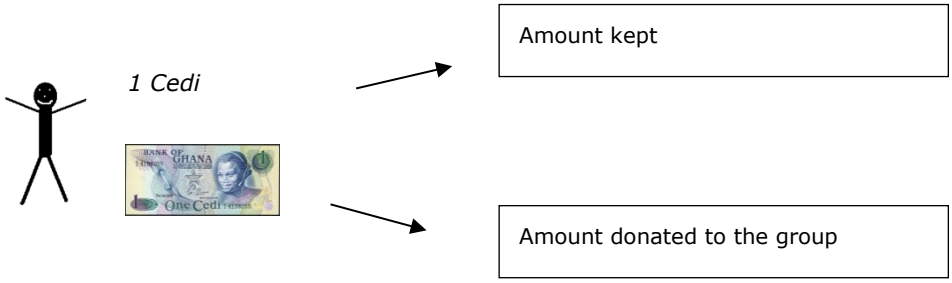
- At the beginning of each round, participants are given an envelope containing 1 cedi (the 1 Cedis needs to be a mixture of 0.50 and 0.20 pesewas coins. Each envelope must contain the same type and number of coins
- The game coordinator asks each player to decide how return the envelope with an amount of money inside.
- This money is donated to the group. The player can keep the rest.
- The game coordinator adds up all the money that they have received from each group and doubles it
- The game coordinator then divide this amount by 4 and gives an equal share of the money to each player in the group

Visual explanation VCM game

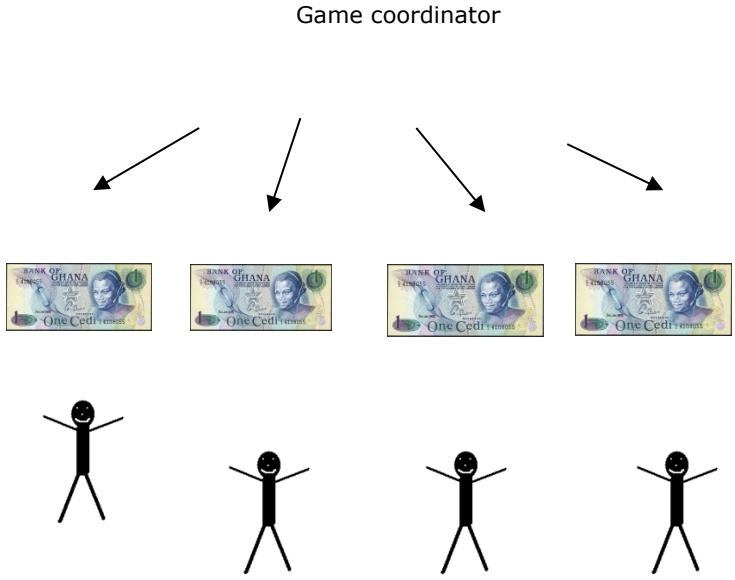
Starting point

player receives:

Each player decides how much money to keep and how much money to donate to the group.



The game coordinator doubles the amount of money and divides by 4, the number of players in each group. Each player receives an equal share of the total.



Keeping score

A couple of things that need to be written down (see also data entry template):

- Who are the 4 players in each group?
- How much money (if any) does each player donate to the group?
- What is the total amount received by the game coordinator by each group?
- How much money is each player left with at the end of the game?

Appendix 8: Results statistical analysis

Ghana

Economic Benefits

		Ttest				PSM								Regression					
Indicator	***N***	***VREL***	***GEL***	***Diff.***	***Sig.***	***stratil***	***Sig.***	***NN***	***Sig.***	***Kerne***	***Sig.***	***no CS***	***Sig.***	***with C***	***Sig.***	***Robus***	***Sig.***	***Robus***	***Sig.***
Wages																			
Average hourly wage	219	5.63	8.50	-2.87	***	-2.04	***	-1.51	no	-1.95	***	-2.80	***	-2.68	***	n.a.		n.a.	
Self reported changes in hourly wages	315	0.57	0.79	-0.22	***	-0.13	no	-0.19	no	-0.20	no	-0.24	**	-0.25	**	-0.91	***	-0.99	***
Self reported attribution of change to FT	195	0.42	0.70	-0.28	no	-0.03	no	-0.66	no	-0.26	no	-0.57	*	-0.50	no	-0.79	*	-0.71	no
Diversification																			
Share of individual income coming from plantation	*321*	1.88	1.48	0.40	***	0.34	no	0.27	no	0.35	no	0.26	*	0.37	**	0.52	no	0.73	**
Total share of hh income coming from plantation	322	2.06	1.64	0.43	***	0.55	***	0.36	no	0.51	**	0.33	**	0.50	***	0.59	*	0.91	***
Security of Employment																			
Change in confidence of job continuation	309	0.07	0.55	-0.48	***	-0.05	no	-0.20	no	-0.85	no	-0.35	**	0.26	no	-0.65	***	-0.46	no
Influence of FT on job security	233	2.21	2.19	0.01	no	0.16	no	0.05	no	0.26	no	0.04	no	0.54	no		no		no
The plantation offers me a secure job	324	0.79	0.73	0.06	no	-0.08	no	0.87	no	-0.10	no	-0.20	no	0.26	no		no		no
In kind Benefits																			
Amount of in-kind benefits received out of ten	326	3.78	4.10	-0.31	**	0.73	**	0.20	**	-0.43	***	-0.31	*	-0.26	no	-0.08	no	-0.07	no
Average satisfaction with in-kind benefits	324	0.48	0.45	0.03	no	0.14	no	0.18	no	0.13	no	0.01	no	-0.01	no	n.a.		n.a.	
Average change in-kind benefits	315	1.31	1.51	-0.20	no	-0.39	no	-1.04	no	0.39	*	-0.36	**	-0.41	***	n.a.		n.a.	
Average attribution to FT	260	2.72	2.30	0.43	**	0.62	**	0.37	no	0.53	no	0.29	no	0.42	**	n.a.		n.a.	
Standard of Living																			
Land size	319	1.15	0.88	0.27	no	0.42	*	0.27	no	0.27	no	0.27	no	0.14	no	n.a.		n.a.	
Land obtained needing money	122	0.02	0.05	-0.02	no	-	-	-0.03	no	-0.03	no	-0.04	no	-0.03	no		no		no
Applied knowledge learned at plantation	139	1.24	0.95	0.30	no	-	-	0.30	no	0.30	no	0.45	*	0.46	no	1.01	**	0.94	**
Do they have savings	317	0.51	0.52	-0.01	no	0.02	no	-0.03	no	0.01	no	0.06	no	0.05	no		no		no
Housing quality	323	13.45	13.16	0.30	no	-0.29	no	-0.40	no	-0.22	no	.0649	no	0.06	no	n.a.		n.a.	
Number of assets out of eleven	326	5.53	4.35	1.17	***	0.89	**	0.94	no	0.88	**	0.72	***	0.61	*	0.16	**	0.12	*
Poverty score	326	51.49	52.02	-0.53	no	-0.08	no	-0.33	no	0.28	no	1.71	no	1.31	no	n.a.		n.a.	
PPI cathegories missing?																			
Food security scale	326	11.44	12.63	-1.19	*	-0.82	no	-1.30	no	-0.87	no	-1.00	no	-1.04	no	n.a.		n.a.	

		Ttest				PSM						Regression					
Indicator	***N***	***VREL***	***GEL***	***Diff.***	***Sig.***	***stratil***	***Sig.***	***NN***	***Sig.***	***Kerne***	***Sig.***	***no CS***	***Sig.***	***with C***	***Sig.***	***Robus***	***Sig.***	***Robus***	***Sig.***
Social Benefits																			
Working Conditions																			
Hours in average work week	302	43.53	41.99	1.54	no	-2.70	no	-2.33	no	-	no	0.40	no	0.27	no	n.a.		n.a.	
Amount of days paid leave in a year	294	20.97	17.20	3.77	no	1.24	no	0.66	no	1.00	no	0.59	no	0.64	no	n.a.		n.a.	
Total number of social securities received out of 6	326	2.78	2.71	0.08	no	0.25	no	0.05	no	0.19	no	-0.05	no	0.12	no		no		no
Self reported average changes in social securities	287	0.31	0.39	-0.08	no	0.04	no	0.10	no	0.05	no	-0.12	no	-0.12	no	n.a.		n.a.	
Self reported influence on changes in social securities	111	2.31	1.65	0.67	**	-		1.08	**	1.03	***	0.59	no	0.74	*	n.a.		n.a.	
Awareness of policy against grievances	320	0.93	0.93	0.01	no	-0.03	no	-0.03	no	-0.03	no	0.02	no	0.02	no		no		no
Awareness of policy against sexual harassment	324	0.92	0.89	0.04	no	0.07	no	0.09	no	0.10	no	0.02	no	0.03	no		no		no
Heard about events of sexual or physical abuse	321	0.19	0.32	-0.13	***	-0.07	no	-0.01	no	-0.08	no	-0.08	no	-0.10	no		no		no
Self reported changes in griev. and sex-herr. policies	283	0.35	0.53	-0.19	**	-0.22	no	-0.33	*	-0.17	no	-0.22	**	-0.22	*	-0.72	*	-0.78	**
Self reported attribution of change in griev. and sex-he	120	2.08	2.20	-0.12	no	-		0.00	no	0.78	no	.0491	no	0.02	no		no		no
Amount of measures taken, out of 7	326	3.94	3.42	0.51	no	0.15	no	0.15	no	0.70	no	0.36	no	0.43	no		no		no
Average change in protective measures	298	0.46	0.53	-0.07	no	-0.18	no	-0.12	no	-0.09	no	-0.13	no	-0.11	no				
Average influence of FT on changes in protective meas	175	2.07	2.21	-0.14	no			-0.34	no	-0.25	no	-0.22	no	-0.28	no				
Missed days due to work-related accident	304	0.29	0.54	-0.25	no	-0.44	no	-0.35	no	-0.36	no	-0.49	no	-0.50	no				
Missed days due to illness caused by poor working con	305	0.21	0.87	-0.67	***	-0.64	no	-0.64	no	-0.39	no	-0.44	no	-0.43	no				
Expressing ideas to supervisors	323	0.52	0.82	-0.30	*	-0.61	***	-0.48	*	-0.58	***	-0.44	**	-0.45	**			-0.76	***
Superiors listen to my ideas	324	0.13	0.37	-0.24	no	-0.76	***	-0.60	no	-0.42	no	-0.30	no	-0.26	no	-0.46	*		
Quality of dialogue on plantation																			
Experienced grievance	305	0.21	0.26	-0.05	no	-0.01	no	0.03	no	0.00	no	-0.04	no	-0.06	no				
Submission of grievance possible	79	0.38	0.60	-0.23	no			-0.39	no	-0.09	no	-0.14	no	-0.20	no				
Submission follow-up	41	0.83	0.60	0.23	no			0.53	no	0.14	no	0.50	no	0.41	no	3.65	*		
I trust the people inside my village/community	324	0.18	0.39	-0.21	no	-0.60	**	-0.46	no	-0.32	no	-0.10	no	-0.19	no				
I trust my fellow wage workers	324	0.34	0.42	-0.08	no	-0.03	no	0.24	no	-0.17	no	-0.04	no	0.05	no				
I trust the management	324	-0.36	-0.20	-0.17	no	-0.09	no	-0.11	no	-0.09	no	-0.07	no	0.04	no				
I trust the members of the FT committee	323	0.25	0.76	-0.52	***	-0.55	*	-0.54	no	-0.56	*	-0.45	**	-0.49	**				
I trust the members of the worker's union	321	-0.30	0.84	-1.14	***	-1.13	***	-1.30	***	-1.19	***	-1.00	***	-1.00	***				
FT premium																			
Awareness of FT premium	324	0.92	0.85	0.07	*	0.06	no	0.01	no	0.04	no	0.08	no	0.02	no				
Attended last information meeting	321	0.57	0.21	0.36	***	0.43	***	0.48	***	0.43	***	0.37	***	0.37	***				
Proposed idea for spending of next premium	289	0.50	0.49	0.01	no	-0.11	no	-0.20	no	-0.10	no	-0.07	no	-0.05	no				

Empowerment benefits

		Ttest				PSM								Regression					
Indicator	***N***	***VREL***	***GEL***	***Diff.***	***Sig.***	***stratil***	***Sig.***	***NN***	***Sig.***	***Kerne***	***Sig.***	***no CS***	***Sig.***	***with C***	***Sig.***	***Robus***	***Sig.***	***Robus***	***Sig.***
Sense of ownership																			
Sense of ownership factor	320	-0.1	0.0	-0.1	no	-0.1	no	0.0	no	-0.3	no	-0.3	**	-0.2	*		no		no
All things considered, I feel satisfied with my life as a v	324	0.1	0.1	0.0	no	-0.5	no	-0.9	***	-0.5	*	-0.1	no	-0.1	no		no		no
I feel I have complete free choice and control over hoi	324	1.01	1.15	-0.14	no	-0.38	***	-0.21	no	-0.29	**	-0.19	no	-0.17	no	-0.61	**	-0.57	*
Development prespectives																			
Average change development perspectives	326	0.2	0.2	0.0	no	0.1	no	0.0	no	0.1	no	0.0	no	0.0	no				
Average satisfaction development perspectives	318	-0.2	-0.2	0.0	no	0.2	no	0.3	no	0.3	no	0.0	no	0.0	no				
Average future changes foreseen - development perspe	312	2.08	2.05	0.03	no	0.23	no	-0.16	no	0.15	no	0.10	no	0.06	no				
Career satisfaction and progression																			
Change in happiness with job	313	-0.3	0.2	-0.4	**	-0.2	no	-0.1	no	-0.1	no	-0.4	**	-0.3	no				
Influence of fair trade on change in happiness with job	210	1.4	1.6	-0.3	no	0.1	no	0.1	no	0.2	no	-0.3	no	-0.3	no				
Able to reach full potential in job	324	0.2	0.6	-0.4	**	-0.3	no	-0.2	no	-0.2	no	-0.6	***	-0.5	**	-0.7	**	-0.6	*
Received training	304	0.59	0.70	-0.11	*	-0.08	no	-0.05	no	-0.06	no	-0.11	**	-0.17	**	-0.51	no	-0.80	**

Dominican Republic

Economic Benefits

Indicator	N	Ttest FT	Ttest no FT	Ttest Diff.	Ttest Sig.	PSM stratif.	PSM Sig.	PSM NN	PSM Sig.	PSM Kernel	PSM Sig.	Regression no CS	Regression Sig.	Regression Robust	Regression Sig.
Wages															
Hourly wage last week	258	7.670	7.559	0.111	no	0.037	no	0.637	no	0.027	no	0.158	no		
Self reported changes in hourly wages	369	1.180	0.596	0.584	***	0.560	***	0.652	***	0.554	***	0.555	***	1.312	***
Diversification															
Share of individual income coming from plantation	363	1.628	1.754	-0.125	no	0.001	no	0.007	no	0.055	no	0.001	no	0.150	no
Total share of hh income coming from plantation	365	1.538	1.614	-0.076	no	0.005	no	0.079	no	0.040	no	0.055	no	0.195	no
Security of Employment															
Change in confidence of job continuation	367	1.596	0.903	0.693	***	0.703	***	0.590	***	0.671	***	0.662	***	1.663	***
The plantation offers me a secure job	363	1.782	1.628	0.154	**	0.145	*	0.149	no	0.156	*	0.119	no	0.494	*
In kind Benefits															
Amount of in-kind benefits received out of 12	370	6.043	4.000	2.043	***	2.016	***	1.851	***	1.998	***	1.916	***	0.387	***
Average satisfaction with in-kind benefits	369	1.437	1.459	-0.022	no	0.013	no	0.008	no	0.004	no	-0.008	no		
Average change in-kind benefits	351	2.149	1.641	0.508	***	0.562	***	0.520	***	0.518	***	0.553	***		
Standard of Living															
Land size	367	0.185	0.284	-0.241	no	-0.004	no	0.025	no	0.030	no	0.021	no		
Land obtained needing money	33	0.308	0.450	-0.142	no			-0.092	no	-0.132	no	0.054	no		
Applied knowledge learned at plantation	41	2.867	1.385	1.482	***			2.130	***	1.448	***	1.410	**	2.887	***
Do they have savings	369	0.217	0.082	0.136	***	0.127	***	0.050	no	0.131	***	0.109	***	0.983	***
Housing quality	369	9.640	9.150	0.490	no	0.117	no	0.487	no	0.487	no	0.094	no		
Number of assets out of nine	370	3.191	2.808	0.384	*	0.130	no	0.466	no	0.218	no	0.189	no	0.060	no
Poverty scoring index	370	26.720	26.432	0.288	no	-0.299	no	0.296	no	0.296	no	-0.077	no		
Food security scale	369	7.562	9.082	-1.520	***	-1.124	*	-0.963	no	-1.146	no	-1.167	**		

Social Benefits

		Ttest				PSM						Regression			
Indicator	***N***	***FT***	***no FT***	***Diff.***	***Sig.***	***stratif.***	***Sig.***	***NN***	***Sig.***	***Kernel***	***Sig.***	***no CS***	***Sig.***	***Robust***	***Sig.***
Working Conditions															
Hours in average work week	363	45.095	43.688	1.407	*	1.365	no	0.120	no	1.334	*	1.044	no		
Amount of days paid leave in a year	349	15.115	7.036	8.079	***	7.795	***	8.918	***	7.781	***	7.360	***		
Total number of social securities received out of 8	370	1.809	1.245	0.563	***	0.504	***	0.565	***	0.526	***	0.547	***	0.365	***
Self reported average changes in social securities	370	0.497	0.058	0.439	***	0.409	***	0.445	***	0.419	***	0.418	***		
Awareness of policy against grievances	368	0.319	0.130	0.189	***	0.181	***	0.207	***	0.191	***	0.151	***	1.000	***
Awareness of policy against sexual harassment	368	0.298	0.106	0.192	***	0.165	***	0.210	***	0.181	***	0.151	***	1.117	***
Heard about events of sexual or physical abuse	368	0.012	0.053	-0.041	**	-0.042	**	-0.038	no	-0.039	**	-0.042	**	-1.478	*
Self reported changes in griev. and sex-herr. policies	365	1.006	0.353	0.653	***	0.698	***	0.704	***	0.712	***	0.637	***	1.673	***
Amount of measures taken, out of 7	370	3.031	2.534	0.497	***	1.177	no	0.264	no	0.264	no	0.014	no	0.002	no
Average change in protective measures	364	1.499	0.737	0.762	***	0.777	***	0.750	***	0.766	***	0.739	***		
Missed days due to work-related accident	369	1.870	1.606	0.264	no	-0.333	no	1.186	no	-0.644	no	-0.143	no		
Missed days due to illness caused by poor working condi	308	0.068	0.095	-0.027	no	-0.035	no	-0.096	no	-0.052	no	-0.079	no		
Expressing ideas to supervisors	368	1.006	0.894	0.112	no	0.556	***	0.634	***	0.543	***	0.462	***	1.285	***
Superiors listen to my ideas	369	1.062	0.832	0.230	***	0.563	***	0.714	***	0.546	***	0.507	***	1.064	***
Quality of dialogue on plantation															
Experienced grievance	369	0.006	0.038	-0.032	**	-0.027	no	-0.012	no	-0.024	*	-0.030	*	-1.824	no
I trust the people inside my village/community	368	1.037	1.068	-0.030	no	0.023	no	0.186	no	0.054	no	-0.039	no	-0.362	no
I trust my fellow wage workers	367	1.131	1.193	-0.062	no	-0.067	no	0.001	no	-0.080	no	-0.104	no	-0.738	***
I trust the management	366	1.006	0.956	0.050	no	0.011	no	0.163	no	0.030	no	0.011	no	-0.380	no
I trust the members of the FT committee	305	0.963	-0.194	1.157	***	1.092	***	1.197	***	1.081	***	1.092	***	5.654	***
I trust the members of the worker's union	306	0.839	0.377	0.461	***	0.609	***	0.965	***	0.637	***	0.465	***	1.108	***
Probablity taken money returned	354	65.283	48.233	17.050	***	19.105	***	18.879	***	19.049	***	16.608	***		

Empowerment benefits

		Ttest				PSM						Regression			
Indicator	***N***	***FT***	***no FT***	***Diff.***	***Sig.***	***stratif.***	***Sig.***	***NN***	***Sig.***	***Kernel***	***Sig.***	***no CS***	***Sig.***	***Robust***	***Sig.***
Sense of ownership	368	0.366	-0.282	0.648	***	0.681	***	0.729	***	0.720	***	0.663	***		
Sense of ownership factor															
Social capital															
Part of group	363	0.300	0.084	0.216	***	0.202	***	0.162	**	0.200	***	0.182	***	1.495	***
Community group	65	0.085	0.389	-0.304	**	-0.471	***	-0.460	no	-0.366	**	-0.316	***	-4.353	***
Savings and credit group	64	0.021	0.000	0.021	no			0.021	no	0.021	no	0.014	no		
Labour union	63	0.617	0.313	0.305	**			0.569	**	0.315	no	0.430	***	2.689	**
Youth group	63	-0.043	0.000	0.043	no			0.043	no	0.043	no	0.033	no		
Cooperate to improve livelihood situation in general	63	0.362	0.375	-0.013	no	-0.047	no	-0.270	no	-0.058	no	-0.035	no	-0.288	no
Exercise influence on work-related issues	63	0.489	0.313	0.177	no			0.389	no	0.094	no	0.274	*	1.490	*
Exercise influence over communal issues	62	-0.040	0.000	0.043	no			0.043	*	0.043	no	0.023	no		
Sense of control and life satisfaction															
I feel satisfied with my life as a whole these days	368	1.099	0.957	0.143	*	0.135	no	0.180	no	0.118	no	0.141	no	-0.114	no
free choice and control over how my life turns out	368	1.106	1.034	0.072	no	0.000	no	0.068	no	-0.017	no	0.045	no	-0.425	no
Development prespectives															
Average change development perspectives	369	1.055	0.766	0.289	***	0.281	***	0.289	***	0.289	***	0.269	***		
Average satisfaction development perspectives	369	0.836	0.514	0.322	***	0.330	***	0.323	***	0.323	***	0.284	***		
Average future changes foreseen	359	1.178	1.083	0.095	*	0.140		0.095		0.095	*	0.100	*		
Career satisfaction and progression															
Change in happiness with job	367	1.491	0.791	0.699	***	0.677	***	0.774	***	0.685	***	0.655	***	1.600	***
Able to reach full potential in job	369	1.801	1.779	0.022	no	0.056	no	0.050	no	0.065	no	0.052	no	0.215	no
Training															
Received training	369	0.714	0.269	0.445	***	0.354	***	0.292	***	0.366	***	0.417	***	1.874	***
Amount of training received	169	3.425	2.500	0.925	**	0.956	**	0.792	no	0.955	**	1.168	**		

Colombia

Economic Benefits

		Ttest				PSM				Regression		
Indicator	***N***	***FT***	***no FT***	***Diff.***	***stratif.***	***Sig.***	***NN***	***Sig.***	***Kernel***	***Sig.***	***no CS***	***Robust.***	***Sig.***	***FTS2***
Wages														
Hourly wage last week	399	9471.46	5996.76	3474.700*	3681.458	**	4012.640	**	3612.127	***	3614.423*	n.a.		3643.709
Self reported changes in hourly wages	411	0.93	0.28	0.645***	0.701	***	0.743	***	0.665	***	0.690***	1.158	***	0.852***
Diversification														
Share of individual income coming from plan	408	1.06	1.05	0.008	0.022	no	0.017	no	0.020	no	0.013	0.652	no	-0.011
Total share of hh income coming from planta	410	1.29	1.32	-0.028	-0.114	no	-0.142	no	-0.077	no	-0.035	-0.208	no	0.039
Security of Employment														
Change in confidence of job continuation	408	1.44	1.08	0.357***	0.418	***	0.376	**	0.366	***	0.414***	1.049	***	0.457***
The plantation offers me a secure job	409	1.84	1.49	0.352***	0.306	***	0.234	**	0.334	***	0.337***	1.289	***	0.366***
In kind Benefits														
Amount of in-kind benefits received out of tv	412	6.69	5.48	1.206***	1.308	***	1.149	***	1.222	***	1.308***	0.214	***	1.276***
Average satisfaction with in-kind benefits	409	1.05	0.73	0.316***	0.341	***	0.326	***	0.317	***	0.315***			0.336***
Average change in-kind benefits	408	2.70	1.65	1.052***	1.033	***	0.956	***	1.009	***	1.010***			1.131***
Standard of Living														
Land size	407	0.02	0.00	0.021	0.020	*	0.021	*	0.021	*	0.028*			0.017
Land obtained needing money	7	0.43		0	.		.		.		0.000			0.000
Applied knowledge learned at plantation	5	2.20		0	.		.		.		0.000	.		0.000
Do they have savings	396	0.43	0.41	0.026	0.017	no	-0.053	no	0.022	no	0.047	0.200	no	0.042
Housing quality	412	2.72	3.30	-0.582***	-0.632	***	-0.538	**	-0.602	***	-0.636***	n.a.		-0.666***
Number of assets out of 13	412	6.89	6.65	0.237	0.137	no	-0.056	no	0.202	no	0.119	0.017	no	0.196
Poverty scoring index	412	40.55	41.96	-1.409	-2.129	**	-2.803	**	-1.689	no	-2.128*	n.a.		-1.976
Food security scale	412	3.47	4.26	-0.79	-0.988	no	-1.084	no	-0.806	no	-0.623	n.a.		-1.021

Social Benefits

		Ttest				PSM					Regression		
Indicator	***N***	***FT***	***no FT***	***Diff.***	***stratif.***	***Sig.***	***NN***	***Sig.***	***Kernel***	***Sig.***	***no CS***	***Robust.***	***Sig.***	***FTS2***
Working Conditions														
Hours in average work week	419	47.65	48.09	-0.434	-0.404	no	-0.441	no	-0.432	*	-0.417	n.a.		-0.562
Amount of days paid leave in a year	420	15.71	15.90	-0.188	-0.151	no	-0.017	no	-0.182	no	-0.192	n.a.		-0.197
Total number of social securities received ou	421	5.57	6.34	-0.772**	-0.694	**	-0.806	**	-0.778	***	-1.003***	-0.171	***	-1.285***
Self reported average changes in social secu	400	0.68	0.30	0.376***	0.429	***	0.369	***	0.386	***	0.363***	n.a.		0.408***
Amount of measures taken, out of 7	421	5.10	4.80	0.299	0.341	no	0.227	no	0.284	*	0.082	0.015	no	-0.095
Average change in protective measures	420	1.64	1.03	0.613***	0.600	***	0.581	***	0.597	***	0.579***	n.a.		0.602***
Missed days due to work-related accident	325	6.29	9.11	-2.823	.		-2.928	no	-2.968	no	-2.330	n.a.		-2.362
Missed days due to illness caused by poor wo	278	1.32	0.80	0.518	.		0.413	no	0.225	no	0.175	n.a.		-0.142
Expressing ideas to supervisors	416	1.61	1.52	0.093	0.119	no	0.083	no	0.099	no	0.089	0.497	**	0.167
Superiors listen to my ideas	415	1.56	1.40	0.162	0.197	*	0.157	no	0.175	*	0.166	0.587	***	0.189
Awareness of policy against grievances	420	0.75	0.71	0.049	0.028	no	0.047	no	0.042	no	0.027	0.169	no	0.009
Awareness of policy against sexual harassme	419	0.71	0.60	0.114*	0.134	**	0.197	***	0.116	*	0.105*	0.521	**	0.148**
Heard about events of sexual or physical abu	418	0.13	0.09	0.032	0.052	no	0.055	no	0.034	no	0.042	0.437	no	0.037
Self reported changes in griev. and sex-herr.	407	0.95	0.44	0.506***	0.524	***	0.639	***	0.516	***	0.490***	1.188	***	0.493***
Experienced grievance	417	0.09	0.12	-0.030	-0.010	no	-0.043	no	-0.032	no	-0.027	-0.349	no	-0.024
Submission of grievance without disadvantag	62	0.50	0.31	0.194	.		0.167	no	0.215	no	0.034	-1.339	no	0.183
Submission follow-up	31	0.72	0.77	-0.047	.		-0.040	no	-0.036	no	0.081	too few observa		0.246
Quality of dialogue on plantation														
I trust the people inside my village/communi	415	1.14	0.78	0.365**	0.389	**	0.521	***	0.394	***	0.358**	0.679	***	0.336*
I trust my fellow wage workers	416	1.39	1.04	0.349***	0.441	***	0.486	***	0.416	***	0.379***	0.862	***	0.427***
I trust the management	416	1.52	1.26	0.253**	0.250	**	0.283	**	0.268	**	0.272**	0.817	***	0.322**
I trust the members of the FT committee	355	1.71	0.87	0.833***	.		1.001	***	0.854	***	0.843***	2.215	***	0.864***
I trust the members of the worker's union	413	1.33	0.85	0.479***	0.620	***	0.529	***	0.550	***	0.494***	0.960	***	0.563***
Probablity taken money returned	412	38.86	27.69	11.176**	11.002	***	11.909	**	11.107	***	10.554**	n.a.		10.501*

Empowerment benefits

		Ttest				PSM					Regression		
Indicator	***N***	***FT***	***no FT***	***Diff.***	***stratif.***	***Sig.***	***NN***	***Sig.***	***Kernel***	***Sig.***	***no CS***	***Robust.***	***Sig.***	***FTS2***
Sense of ownership														
Sense of ownership factor	411	0.11	-0.18	0.294**	0.294	***	0.327	**	0.285	***	0.299**	n.a.		0.284**
Social Capital														
Part of group	411	0.58	0.51	0.070	0.030	no	0.142	*	0.053	no	0.060	0.254	no	0.079
Community group	228	0.07	0.04	0.038	0.038	no	-0.015	no	0.034	no	0.047	0.693	no	0.090*
Savings or credit group	227	0.03	0.01	0.015	0.006	no	-0.018	no	0.010	no	0.016	not possible		0.008
Labour union	234	0.72	0.87	-0.149**	-0.161	***	-0.113	no	-0.142	***	-0.159**	-1.035	***	-0.172**
Youth group	227	0.00	0.01	-0.012	-0.010	no	0.000	no	-0.010	no	-0.012	not possible		-0.012
Cooperate to improve livelihood situation in ç	230	0.66	0.73	-0.076	-0.087	no	-0.104	no	-0.084	no	-0.065	-0.359	no	-0.096
Exercise influence on work-related issues	223	0.30	0.20	0.098	0.072	no	0.053	no	0.094	no	0.079	0.454	no	0.114
Exercise influence over communal issues	222	0.00	0.01	-0.012	-0.010	no	0.000	no	-0.012	no	-0.010	not possible		-0.009
Sense of control and life satisfaction														
All things considered, I feel satisfied with my	414	1.77	1.62	0.156*	0.194	**	0.062	no	0.169	*	0.181*	0.558	**	0.200*
I feel I have complete free choice and contro	414	1.87	1.71	0.162**	0.166	***	0.108	no	0.161	***	0.172**	0.886	***	0.173**
Development prespectives														
Average change development perspectives	420	1.02	0.59	0.430***	0.437	***	0.324	***	0.427	***	0.437***	n.a.		0.531***
Average satisfaction development perspectiv	420	0.84	0.57	0.266***	0.265	***	0.288	***	0.251	***	0.256***	n.a.		0.311***
Average future changes foreseen - developm	420	1.12	1.02	0.099	0.095	no	0.095	no	0.103	no	0.082	n.a.		0.152
Career satisfaction and progression														
Change in happiness with job	420	1.42	0.77	0.651***	0.683	***	0.577	***	0.644	***	0.693***	1.486	***	0.793***
Able to reach full potential in job	419	1.65	1.50	0.149	0.215	*	0.160	no	0.171	**	0.151	0.587	**	0.193*
Training														
Received training	416	1.16	0.67	0.491	0.457	no	0.423	no	0.473	no	0.471	0.576	**	0.648
Amount of training received	306	8.67	10.58	-1.917	-1.655	no	0.640	no	-1.713	no	-2.297	-2.297	*	-3.010*