COFFEE, GENDER, AND CAPABILITIES: A CASE STUDY OF PRODUCER AND SUPPLY CHAIN PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN IN COFFEE

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ABSTRACT

Emerging research suggests that women’s formal inclusion in fair trade agriculture may have significant implications not only for family wellbeing, enhanced food sovereignty, and livelihood sustainability, but also for the development of more equitable socio-cultural gender norms, business models, and agricultural policies and programs. Due to local and global shifts in cash crop agriculture, and the rise of fair trade certification that encourages gender inclusion in small-holder producer organizations, a growing number of women are becoming members and leaders in cooperative associations. What are women’s lived experiences as cooperative members? How has membership in the cooperative shaped their food sovereignty and livelihood sustainability? How do women and men in the cooperative perceive women’s roles as producers and leaders? How do supply chain actors that support the cooperative through the global market perceive the role of women’s empowerment in agriculture and value the agricultural products created by women producers?

The aim of this study is to understand the dynamics of women’s formal inclusion in fair trade agriculture through the study of a Mayan agricultural cooperative in Guatemala that produces a line of fair trade organic coffee called ‘Woman Grown’. Multiple qualitative methods have been used to explore this topic, including two participatory visual methods. The data generation process has elicited information on the lived experience of women members, and how women and men members of the cooperative and stakeholders along the agricultural supply chain including producers, exporters, importers, and retailers understand and value women’s institutional inclusion in agriculture and its implications. Findings highlight that while women have enhanced their self-efficacy and gained access to a range of resources as cooperative members, in some cases household gender norms constrain their autonomy and equality. This reality informs best practices for more nuanced approaches to gender transformative interventions and policies at the institutional level.
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to small-holder producers around the world.

A very special thanks to the small-holder producers who participated in this particular study and shared their time, experiences, and perspectives. An exclusive dedication is reserved for the 15 women who opened up a window into their lives through their photography. May your success and dedication to equality and sustainability improve your lives and your communities, serve as an example of ingenuity, and inspire hope.
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1.1 Why Women, Why Coffee?

At the Latin American coffee summit held in Puebla Mexico in 2017, the overarching theme was ‘women in coffee’. The logo for the conference portrayed two women in traditional attire forming an arc with their arms reaching towards one another, hands filled with ripe coffee cherries, some of which were falling into a woven basket placed between them, filled with the bright red fruits from the coffee tree. The conference venue was filled to capacity, inundated with the smell of freshly brewing coffee, and populated with heavily caffeinated attendees. There were women coffee producers sprinkled throughout the exhibition center advertising and sampling their coffees, young hip women baristas competing alongside each other and their male counterparts to create the most impressive latte art, and women coffee traders and company executives comparing packaging designs. The International Women’s Coffee Alliance was set up at the entrance of the hall in the corner, with flags from each of their 22 member countries bordering the space. Women coffee producers and business leaders from across East Africa, Asia, and Latin American intermingled, as the general public walked by with curiosity, sometimes pausing to request a photograph, especially on the first day when the women representatives donned the traditional clothing from their native countries.
At one of the workshops that was focused on gender equity, a young indigenous woman coffee producer from Oaxaca stood up to speak after a presentation had been made. She was confident and proud, wearing a traditional woven white huipil (loose blouse) decorated with colorful hand stitched patterns, and stylish denim jeans. She had a very strong presence, and commanded the attention of the room as she spoke deeply into the microphone: “We farm coffee not just to make a living, or to subsist, but to improve our community. We do this to preserve our way of life, and to give our children a better opportunity. For us, coffee is more than a commodity, it is a vehicle for development”. Her statement echoed in the room, filled with executives from the International Coffee Organization dressed in high-end business suites and marketing representatives wearing logo embossed golf shirts from Nescafe. This is a shared reality for many of the millions of small-holder coffee farmers, a growing number of them women. There was enthusiastic support for her statement in that room, from the round of applause that followed.

1.2 Study Origins

This dissertation was inspired by a bag of coffee labeled ‘woman grown’. This unassuming package initiated a series of questions around the women coffee farmers behind the label, and the organizations behind the bag. This dissertation explores the questions behind this label, in an attempt to better understand gender as a social determinant of health and wellbeing for the growing number of women who are formally participating in agriculture as not just workers, but as cooperative members and leaders. What are their lives like? What has been their experience as cooperative members? Has their wellbeing improved through their participation? What forces have created a market for ‘Woman Grown’ coffee. This dissertation addresses this initial curiosity but goes much further to explore the dynamics of women’s formal participation as
cooperative members and leaders within the context of a fair trade organic coffee cooperative at multiple levels. At the structural level, this dissertation explores the how supply chain stakeholders including exporters, importers, and retailers in the commodity chain perceive the role of women’s empowerment in agriculture and value the agricultural products created from women producers. At the relational level, this dissertation explores how men and women producers perceive women’s roles as producers and leaders in the cooperative and to understand how formal and informal institutions of the cooperative may influence women’s welfare and access to opportunities for members. Finally, at the individual level, this dissertation explores the lived experiences of women coffee producers and their perspectives on how their cooperative membership has shaped gender, their food sovereignty and livelihood sustainability.
CHAPTER 2. INTRODUCTION

"We are decolonizing coffee."

- Anonymous small-holder coffee producer

2.1 The Evolution of an Industry

Unbeknownst to many consumers, their daily cup of coffee is preceded by a long and complex natural process involving an actual tree, which grows and produces cherries. The cherries—coffee cherries—become ripe once or twice a year, are harvested, pulped, and the remaining beans are then dried and processed. Each bean comes from a single cherry, and the vast majority of coffee cherries are still picked by hand. Worldwide, 80% of these cherries are produced by small-holder farmers, supporting an estimated 25 million families in the developing world (Fair trade, 2017).

The modern coffee belt spans the equator, and five of the top ten largest global producers today are in Latin America, including Guatemala (International Coffee Organization, 2015). Coffee was introduced to Guatemala in the 1800’s by colonists to buffer the decline in the cochineal industry, a natural export used to dye textiles that had been supplanted by synthetic substitutes. By the late 1800s coffee had become Guatemala’s primary export, and it has dominated the economy as one of the top three exports by value ever since then (Ortiz, 1999; Roseberry, 1983; Roseberry, et al. 1995; Sick, 1999; Stolcke, 1988). Originally a crop of the colonial elite, coffee production initially relied on the exploitation and enslavement of local populations, many of them marginalized indigenous minorities (Carey, 2009; Lyon, 2011). Some historians have implicated the exploitative legacies of the colonial coffee industry as structural
contributors to the tensions that resulted in the violent and brutal post-colonial civil war, which started in the 1960’s and spanned multiple decades (Paige, 1997; Williams, 1994).

The residual inequities of the coffee industry still shape the modern agricultural landscape in Guatemala today, which continues to have one of the most inequitable and concentrated distributions of land ownership in Central America. Currently, 2.5% of farms occupy 65% of the land, while 88% of farms occupy 16% of the land (Deininger, 2003; FAO, 1999). A long-standing landed elite controls the majority of productive terrain and maintains concentrated political influence over agricultural land and labor issues. In contrast, subsistence farmers cultivate small parcels on comparatively unproductive sloping hillsides, primarily in the Western Highlands, where farm parcels range from .5 to 2 hectares (1.2 to 5 acres) per family. The majority of the indigenous population resides in the western highlands, which boasts the highest rates of malnutrition, poverty, and social marginalization in the country (Lastarria-Cornhiel 2004; USAID 2005; WFP 2005; World Bank 2007).

For smallholder farmers, coffee is still considered an attractive cash crop due to its value, and the fact that the higher quality Arabica bean can be grown on steep high-altitude slopes of more difficult to cultivate agricultural land (Fischer and Victor, 2015; Sick, 1999). Within the coffee industry today, Arabica coffee grown in the western highlands is prized for its quality and terroir, which is consistently ranked as one of the best coffee producing regions in the world. While small-holder producers are in a comparatively better position than their predecessors (and certainly compared to agricultural wage workers), it is still the reality that large scale producers and actors further up the supply chain continue to benefit exponentially from the exporting, roasting, and retailing of the green coffee bean.
Globally, the modern coffee industry has evolved, and the balance of power has begun to shift, whereby millions of small-holder farmers along the tropical coffee belt now own and oversee the initial means of production at the farm level. Part of the shift that has created a market for small-holder producers has been due to the evolution of three overlapping trends. The first has been the rise of cooperative agricultural organizations across the global south, which has provided an institutional infrastructure to support small-holder coffee producers at each stage of the production process. The second has been the rise of fair trade certification, which originally would only certify small-holder producer organizations in an effort to create a niche market and to support environmental and social justice for producer organizations and the families of members. The third has been the evolution of the international coffee industry towards ‘third wave’ specialty coffee. This trend has been characterized by growing consumer demand for specialty Arabica coffee (strictly hard bean), which can only be grown at higher altitudes, and categorizations such as ‘single origin’ and ‘microlot’ that advertise the origin of coffee beyond the country level to regionally designated areas, even down to the actual plot of land and its farmer. These concurrent trends all prioritize quality and terroir over sheer quantity, and in effect elevate the better quality Arabica coffee produced by small-holders in ‘microlot’ quantities.

A byproduct of these trends has been an increased focus on supply chain transparency within the coffee industry, especially as it relates to social, economic, and environmental issues ‘at origin’ where small-holder producers are managing the most labor-intensive and critical parts of coffee production, a product that is second only to crude oil in terms of value, at an annual worth of over $100 billion worldwide (International Coffee Organization, 2015).
2.2 Women in Coffee

Women coffee producers have long been marginalized as invisible labor in the coffee production process. However, in the last few decades they have been taking on formal roles in the coffee supply chain as cooperative members and leaders. While men have historically been involved in cash crop agriculture a combination of factors has led to a ‘feminization of agriculture’ within coffee and in other cash crop industries (FAO, 2010; Lastarria-Cornheil, 2008; Lyon, Bezaury, and Mutersbaugh, 2010). This trend has been defined by an increase in women’s participation rates in the formal agricultural sector, either as self-employed producers or as agricultural wage workers, increasing the percentage of women who are economically active in rural areas. This also represents an increase in the percentage of women in the agricultural labor force relative to men, due to either more women working and/or fewer men working in agriculture (World Bank, 2006). The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimates that while the proportion of the labor force working in agriculture began to decline during the 1990s, the proportion of women working in agriculture increased, particularly in developing countries such as Guatemala (FAO, 2010).

The feminization of agriculture has been fueled by a variety of national and transnational phenomena. In some instances, internal conflicts due to civil wars, drug trafficking, and genocide have left women widows in charge of their land. In other instances, unemployment and the search for better opportunity elsewhere has led to the migration of family members to cities or outside the country, leaving women to tend to the family’s land. In the context of Guatemala, both of these trends have led to an increase in women’s formal participation in cooperative associations (Lyon et al., 2010). As agriculture has become less profitable and more uncertain, research indicates that men are seeking alternative livelihoods, which often involves
outmigration from rural areas into urban areas, or even transnationally (Lyon, 2007). While women have arguably been involved in agricultural production since it’s advent, over the last few decades, women’s contribution in the formal agricultural sector has become more visible, partially due to research and data collection aiming to measure this topic, and partially due to their actual increased involvement in the sector (FAO, 2010).

2.3 Gender, Food Sovereignty, and Sustainable Livelihoods

The feminization of agriculture has also been tied to the intentional inclusion of women in agricultural development strategies that address rural poverty. Since the 1970s there has been an evolution in focus within the international development community towards more integrated approaches that address the interrelated conditions of poverty, health, and nutrition at the household level. A large body of research has emerged that suggests the importance of intrahousehold consumption and nutrition due to the gendered dynamics of food distribution and decision-making around resources within the family, as summarized in the extensive systematic review by Haddad and colleagues in 1996 that analyzed 43 different studies around the world, including in Guatemala (Haddad, Peña, Nishida, Quisumbing, and Slack, 1996).

With the rise of the international peasant movement, this focus was expanded during the 1980’s and 1990’s to include not only food security at the household level, but more comprehensively on building food sovereignty as a strategy within the context of sustainable livelihoods. Food sovereignty was first framed by the international peasant movement *La Via Campesina* at the World Food Summit in 1996, and it is based in the ongoing global struggle over control of food, land, water, and livelihoods. More concretely defined at the first global food forum on food sovereignty in the declaration of Nyeleni as "the right of peoples to healthy
and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture system” (US Food Sovereignty Alliance, 2018). As opposed to food security, which is focused on food access, at the homestead level, food sovereignty refers to self-determined food production. Food sovereignty is therefore about focusing on food producers and self-sufficiency through food production, rather than on consumers, consumption, and the demands of markets and corporations (Carney, 2012; FAO, 1996; McMichael, 2008; Pimbert, 2007, Rossert & Martinez-Torres, 2010; Wittman, Desmarais, and Wiebe, 2010). In the context of small-holder agriculture, food sovereignty is especially critical and inherently linked to livelihood sustainability.

Described in the literature as 'a means of gaining a living', in reality a focus on livelihoods involves the development of a complex web of activities that may involve not only cash crop agriculture, but other small scale enterprises, activities, and interactions (Chambers and Conway, 1992; Scoones, 2009). The UK Department for International Development (DFID) defines a livelihood as comprising “the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living” (DFID, 2000). Going further, a livelihood can be classified as sustainable, if it is resilient in the face of external shocks and stresses, if it is independent from external support, if it is able to maintain the long-term productivity of natural resources and if it does not undermine the livelihood options of others (DFID, 2000; Kollmair and Gamper, 2002).

A key feature of the concept of sustainable livelihoods involves the diversification of assets and income sources combined with an improvement in abilities and well-being, which when woven together, augment individual and household resilience to external natural and market-based shocks (Scoones, 1998). The capabilities approach developed within this broader focus on the importance of livelihoods at the household level, which expanded the paradigm from a
perspective focused on food and material assets to include a social perspective that focuses on the enhancement of people's capabilities to secure their own livelihoods. Listed below is a figure adapted from Ian Scoones' 1998 framework that encapsulates the sustainable livelihoods approach. This framework showcases the central role of institutions and organizations as mediators of livelihood strategies, and the multifaceted resources that create the foundation for sustainable livelihoods that require resilience and adaptability.

Figure 1. Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis

Source: Scoones, 1998

Within the broader field of international development, women's key role in agriculture and the importance of gender inclusion for achieving agricultural productivity in developing
countries has been on the agenda for decades. As a result, gender equality and empowerment was first prioritized as the third millennium development goal, and has now been listed as the fifth sustainable development goal (Grabe, 2011; Kabeer, 2005; United Nations, 2013; United Nations Development Program, 2015). A vast body of literature on gender, agriculture, and development has amassed over the last half century, pointing towards the critical importance of ending gender-based discrimination and empowering women as a way to achieve a ‘multiplier effect’ in development that addresses the intertwined determinants of poverty (Blumberg, 1988; Cole, Kantor, Heddad, 1992; Heddad, Pena, Quisumbing and Slack, 1995; Kabeer, 2013; Sarapura, and Rajaratnam, 2014; Smith, Ramakrishnan, Ndiaye, Heddad, and Martorell, 2003; World Bank, 2006). This research has focused on the connection between women’s empowerment in agriculture and improvements in health, nutrition, and livelihoods at the household level. A large portion of this research has and continues to focus on intra-household resource distribution and control over household income, as a mirror to the broader development literature (Blumberg, 1988; Dwyer and Bruce, 1988; Gummerson and Schenider, 2013; Thomas and Chen, 1994; Udrey, 1994).

However, as research and practice in international development and gender equity has evolved, there has been an increased focus on Amartya Sen’s capabilities approach, which embraces the interrelated nature of household food sovereignty and sustainable livelihoods. Emerging research has begun to ask these more nuanced questions around capabilities that drive to the root of creating more sustainable human development. These questions focus not just on resource distribution, but on the overall concept of human capability (Nussbaum, 1995; Sen, 1980). Martha Nussbuam’s adaptation presents a gendered version of Sen’s original questions from his framework of the capabilities approach and states: “the question is not ‘how satisfied is
This more holistic focus on approaching gender disparities through the perspective of a person’s autonomy, agency, and abilities, rather than simply their assets, is key not only at the household level, but also as women begin to play more formal roles in agriculture in developing countries.

2.4 The Gender Gap in Agriculture

Women have always played a central role in agricultural production in developing countries as unpaid household labor and wage workers. As they step into formal roles as producers and cooperative members they continue to have less access to productive resources such as land, inputs, information, credit and technical assistance, which has resulted in the ‘gender gap’ in agriculture (FAO, 2010; Rocheleau, 1988). A variety of studies and reports have demonstrated that closing this gap could not only benefit agricultural production and lead to economic growth and increased food security, but that it could also contribute to community development through gender sensitive interventions that have been shown to improve women’s overall wellbeing, in addition to enhancing child welfare and education (Fair trade, 2015; Malapit et al, 2015).

Research has also shown that addressing the gender gap in agriculture requires more than just a focus on improving women’s access to enhanced economic opportunities and material goods and services. It is also essential to concurrently address the underlying socio-cultural and political phenomena that perpetuate gender inequality and constrain both women’s and men’s capabilities (Apothekar, Pyburn and Laven, 2012; International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012; Kirk, 2012).
2.5 Gender-Transformative Approaches in Agriculture

Addressing the underlying socio-cultural and political phenomena that perpetuate gender inequality requires a multilevel approach that includes women and men. Historically, women’s inclusion in agriculture was operationalized through the Women-in-Development agenda of the 1970s, and then the Gender-in-Development agenda of the 1980s and early 1990s. Since the 1990s there has been a shift in focus towards gender transformative approaches to women’s involvement in development, and more specifically in agricultural growth in developing countries (Cole et al, 2014; Razavi and Miller, 1995).

Gender transformative approaches have been articulated conceptually since the 1990’s, and embrace a more complex understanding of gender as a social construct, embedded in how societies define gender roles (Martin, 2004; Morgan, 2014; Young, 1993). These approaches have evolved out of Gender Theory, which is concerned with the intersectionality of gender with race, ethnicity, and other social constructs that contribute to oppression (Risman, 2004; Wharton, 2011). Gender theory also focuses on analyzing and understanding gender inequality, predominantly through qualitative and participatory research. Gender transformative approaches address not only gender roles and power dynamics, but also institutional and legal exclusion as a key barrier to equality, justice, and the achievement of global development outcomes. A main goal of gender transformative approaches involves the creation of an enabling social environment and more equitable inclusion in formal and informal institutions that support expanded choices for women and men that move beyond superficial gender integration. Key characteristics that distinguish gender transformative approaches from other efforts to integrate gender into agricultural development include:

- Development of a deep understanding of people in their context and the way social inequalities intersect to affect choices and outcomes
• Engagement with both women and men, as both have a role and stake in gender transformative change
• Commitment to addressing unequal power relations and to challenging oppressive norms, behaviors, and structures
• Engagement with different actors across levels in response to how the power relations and norms underlying gender and social inequality are distributed (Cole et al, 2014).

Gender transformative approaches in agriculture can be framed as seeking to foster change at multiple levels, mirroring the nested theoretical framework of the social ecological model (SEM). The SEM framework is a theory-based model for understanding the multifaceted and interactive effects of personal and environmental factors that determine behavior, and for identifying leverage points for addressing the social determinants of health and development at various levels (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Based on this nested framework, gender transformative approaches focus simultaneously at the level of the individual with individual capacities, attitudes, agency and actions; at the relational level with the expectations embedded within relationships between people in the home, in groups and in organizations; and at the structural level with institutional rules and practices. Theoretically, shifts at each level can lead to a greater number of enhanced options for resource-poor women and men, for equitable norms and institutions, and finally for an expansion in women’s and men’s potential to contribute to and benefit from development.

2.6 Agricultural Cooperatives as Transformative Institutions

The agricultural cooperative offers an institutional context in which to observe and understand the dynamics of gender transformative processes in agriculture. Cooperatives are democratically organized collective institutions that engage groups of consumers, organizations, and movements to collaborate toward enhancing social and economic progress (Peacock, 2008; Spear, 2006). In the case of Guatemala, the agricultural cooperative has provided enhanced
opportunities in otherwise limited and resource poor circumstances for small-scale indigenous
women producers to achieve greater market viability and build more sustainable livelihoods
through collaboration (Fischer and Victor, 2014; Lyon, 2007).

The rise of the modern cooperative in Guatemala can be traced back to the 1960’s, when
USAID and other international agencies began to prioritize rural development. In 1970 USAID
approved a 23 million-dollar rural development sector loan for the development of cooperatives,
and by the fall of 1975 20% of Highland Maya were participating in some form of cooperative
(Handy, 1984). By the late 1970’s, there were 510 cooperatives, 57% of them in the highlands
with more than 132,000 members. Cooperatives have seen a resurgence in Guatemala in the
post-civil war era since the 1996 peace accords. As of 2007, there were 1,620 registered
cooperatives (729 in agriculture) with 579,705 members (64,410 in agriculture) (Lyon, 2011).

As institutional arrangements, agricultural cooperatives offer numerous benefits to members,
and can play an important role in supporting small-scale agricultural producers and marginalized
groups including indigenous minorities and women. They seek to empower their members
economically and socially and to create sustainable rural employment through business models
that may be more resilient to economic and environmental shocks. In many cases, they also offer
small agricultural producers a wide range of services in addition to improved access to markets,
which may include improved access to natural resources, facilities, information, communication,
technologies, credit, and training programs. Cooperatives also provide small-holder producers
with the opportunity to participate in collaborative decision making, support them in securing
land-use rights, and negotiate better terms for their engagement in contract farming. Through this
support, smallholder producers are able to achieve more sustainable livelihoods and can play a
larger role in meeting the growing demand for food at the local and global level, contributing to poverty alleviation (FAO, 2012).

2.7 Gaps in the Literature

This study contributes to the nascent literature on women’s formal participation in agricultural cooperatives, and fills a gap in the literature that seeks to understand the dynamic process of gender transformative change within these organizations. While there has been significant research on fair trade and coffee cooperatives (Fischer and Victor, 2014; Jaffee, 2007; Lyon, 2011; Maseland and De Vaal, 2002; Nicholls, 2004; Vasquez-Leon, 2010), there is limited research focused on women’s participation in cooperative organizations. A recent study by Lyon, Bezuary, and Mutersbaugh in 2009 looked at gender equity in fair trade-organic coffee producer organizations in southern Mexico and Guatemala. The results of their mixed methods study show an increase in the proportion of women registered as ‘farm operators’ alongside the significant impacts of this trend in three areas whereby women’s organizations have greater access to network benefits, women gain greater control over farm practices, and women enjoy increased access to financial resources (Lyon et al, 2010). Other publications have looked at gender within fair trade coffee production and through cases of producer organizations that use similar certifications in East Africa and through a global meta-analysis that showcase similar findings (Hoebink, Ruben, Elbers, and Van Rijssbergen, 2014; Lyon et al, 2010; Smith, 2013).

A new survey-based study published in 2016 by Lyon, Mutersbaugh and Worthen looks at the issue of time poverty due to the compounded burden of domestic and agricultural work as a barrier for women cooperative members’ full participation in organizational governance. This study concludes with recommendations to integrate creative approaches to ease women’s labor burdens and to reduce their time poverty in order to facilitate full organizational participation.
There is still a significant gap in the research that explores what types of creative approaches could attempt to address this issue, not only in the short term through material solutions, but in the long-term as well, by addressing the root causes of gender inequity.

There is also limited research that has sought to understand women cooperative members lived experiences, or to illuminate how women and men cooperative members view women’s inclusion in agriculture. No known research to date has looked at how cooperative members and supply chain stakeholders view women’s inclusion in agriculture and their role as producers and leaders in the context of the cooperative structure. This interdisciplinary case study will explore the dynamics of how women are being integrated as cooperative members and leaders in the context of a fair trade organic coffee cooperative, the larger coffee federation of which it is a member, and its global supply chain. The intended purpose is to fill this gap in understanding about the dynamics of women’s experiences, and to use the context of a fair trade cooperative and its federation as an organizational case study of gender transformative change to identify creative approaches that move towards enhanced gender equity at the organizational level so that women and men have the opportunity to achieve their full capabilities.
CHAPTER 3. PURPOSE

“Gender equality is more than a goal, it is a precondition for meeting the challenge of reducing poverty and promoting sustainable development.”

- Kofi Annan

3.1 Significance

In Guatemala, a large number of small holder farmers are members of fair trade coffee cooperatives, of whom a growing number are indigenous women producers (Lyon et al., 2010). Due to the organizational structure of cooperatives and the standards of fair trade certification, some of these institutions have established gender inclusive environments that support women’s participation in formal and informal institutions associated with the cooperative. Emerging research on gender transformative change suggests that women’s formal inclusion in agricultural organizations may have significant implications for not only their family’s wellbeing, household food security, and livelihood sustainability, but also for the development of more equitable socio-cultural gender norms, business models, and policies.

Limited research to date has explored how women’s formal inclusion in agriculture shapes household food sovereignty and livelihood sustainability, or has explored the dynamics of women’s involvement in agricultural cooperatives as members and leaders. Significant research in this area has sought to quantify and characterize women’s incomes and asset ownership, with limited focus on food sovereignty, livelihood sustainability, or institutional inclusion and involvement (Deere and Doss, 2006; Johnson et al., 2016).
There is also a lack of research that explores how women and men cooperative members, and other supply chain actors connected to the cooperative, view women’s inclusion and leadership in agriculture. The perceptions and valuations of the cooperative members themselves and supply chain actors such as exporters, importers, and retailers, are key to understanding the dynamics of gender transformative change in agricultural cooperatives in a globalized world where businesses and consumers are increasingly concerned with ethical and transparent supply chains (Nicholls, 2004; Thomas, 2015). Understanding the perceptions and valuations of this wide range of actors associated with the cooperative can provide key insights to inform organizational level strategies for gender transformative approaches in similar contexts and along other Fair trade supply chains, with the potential for wider application.

3.2 Objective and Specific Aims

The overall objective of this study is to use multiple qualitative methods to understand the dynamics of women’s formal participation as members in a fair trade organic coffee cooperative and its global supply chain within the context of the recent trend of the feminization of agriculture. This study will use a combination of qualitative methods to explore the realities of indigenous women’s membership and leadership in a fair trade organic coffee cooperative in Guatemala and via the cooperative’s domestic and international supply chain. This research centers around three specific aims, as follows:

**Aim 1:** To explore how supply chain stakeholders including exporters, importers, and retailers in the commodity chain perceive the role of women’s empowerment in agriculture and value the agricultural products created from women producers.

**Aim 2:** To understand how men and women producers perceive women’s roles as members and leaders in the cooperative.
Aim 3: To explore the lived experience of woman producers and to understand how membership in the cooperative has shaped their food sovereignty and livelihood sustainability.

Chapter 4 provides a brief initial overview of the study design, population, and methods utilized to address each aim. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 will share findings from the research process that address each specific aim. Chapter 8 will summarize the results collectively and presents a further discussion of the strengths, limitations, conclusions, and recommendations drawn from this work. In chapter 9, a final conclusion will be shared that includes a reflection on the contributions, strengths and limitations of the research, in addition to the potential for future research.
CHAPTER 4: METHODS

"Perhaps stories are just data with a soul"

- Brene Brown

This study was approved by both the IRB at Tulane University and the IRB at the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama (INCAP) in Guatemala. Two distinct populations were involved in the study. The first population include global supply chain actors and institutional representatives connected to the coffee federation. The second population includes men and women cooperative members from a cooperative association tied to a larger coffee federation in Guatemala. Multiple qualitative research methods have been triangulated to address the main objective of this paper in order to enhance the depth, accuracy, and rigor of the qualitative data. Each of the methods uses a different type of approach for data generation, drawing on responses from semi-structured interviews, visual art from life landscape drawings, photographs and commentary from the Photovoice method, notes from direct observation and document analysis. An overview of the study population and in depth details of the methods used for this study will be described in this chapter.

4.1 Overview of Study Population

The first part of the study population include supply chain actors including exporters, importers, retailers, and roasters, in addition to institutional representatives from government and non-profit support agencies. These participants were selected based on their affiliation to the
cooperative and federation in order to provide a broader context to the study. Approximately half of the participants are based in Guatemala, and the other half are based in the United States.

The second part of the study population includes cooperative members from a cooperative association that is part of a larger agricultural federation. The federation unites 8 different cooperative associations and it is comprised of 2000 members from 8 cooperatives in 6 different departments in the Western Highlands of Guatemala. These departments include: Quetzaltenango, Huehuetenango, Quiche, San Marcos, Chimaltenango, and Solola. Federation members are predominantly indigenous, and represent the Ixil, Kakchiquel, Quiche, Mam, Mestizo, and Popti ethnicities (FECCEG, 2016). From this network of cooperatives, the study cooperative was selected in collaboration with the leadership of the federation. The leadership of the federation identified the study cooperative based on the fact that the ‘woman grown’ coffee from their export coffee company, is sourced from this cooperative’s female members, and that this cooperative was amenable to participating in this type of study. The study cooperative has been formally established for 10 years with 170 members from the Maya Mam ethnic group, located throughout the higher altitude highlands of the Sierra Madre del Occidente in the Huehuetenango department. One third of the producers are female, and the other two thirds are male. The average age range of producers is 40-65 years of age and the majority have a primary level of education. Each family of producers lives in a rural setting, and is comprised of 5-9 individuals, working on an average of 1 hectare (2.5 acres) of land per family. Approximately 70% of the producer families depend completely on agricultural activities for their livelihoods.

4.2 Sampling Procedure

A total of 50 individuals were recruited to participate in this study with two distinct subgroups of research participants. The first group of participants were 20 supply chain actors
and institutional representative connected to the cooperative. Expert purposive sampling was employed to select the representatives at each stage of the supply chain connected to the cooperative and federation. Participant selection was conducted in collaboration with the federation, and was based around identifying the individuals at each level of the value chain, including exporters, importers, retailers, and technical assistance staff. Based on the focus of this research, it was also important to include institutional representatives from government and non-profit support agencies that work with the cooperative and federation. The demographics of the supply chain actors and institutional representatives are listed in Table 1, shown below.

Table 1. Supply Chain and Institutional Representative Demographics (n=20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Retailer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exporter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Importer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Technical Assistance</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>Guatemalan</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second group of participants were 30 coffee cooperative members, with two subgroups of 15 by gender. Maximum variation purposive sampling was employed to select the cooperative members for participation, a method which samples cases from different subgroups in order to examine variations in the manifestation of a phenomenon (Creswell 2013; Morse, 1994; Morse, 2000 and Patton, 2002). Participant selection was focused on achieving diversity amongst respondent characteristics with relation to age, education level, marital status, leadership experience, and membership time in the cooperative. The intention of the sampling process was to provide variation in perspectives through the recruitment of participants with
different demographic characteristics. The demographics of the coffee cooperative members are listed in Table 2, shown below.

Table 2. Cooperative Member Demographics (n=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Women (n=15)</th>
<th>Men (n=15)</th>
<th>Overall (n=30)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Range</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Range</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age (years)</strong></td>
<td>20-62</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>27-76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education (years)</strong></td>
<td>0-6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family Size (individuals)</strong></td>
<td>3-13</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>3-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cooperative Membership (years)</strong></td>
<td>0.5-10</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>3-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>0%*</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Men whose wives have passed away and would be considered widows in other contexts categorized themselves as ‘single’.

4.3 Semi-structured Interviews with Supply Chain Actors

The interviews with the supply chain actors were conducted by the primary investigator in person and via video conferencing technology. They lasted 45-90 minutes and were conducted in either English or Spanish, based on the preference and comfort level of the research participant. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed by the primary investigator. When translation into English was necessary, the primary investigator conducted the translation and then had the translation checked over by a Spanish translator to ensure for accuracy.

Interviews were composed of five content areas: (1) demographics and general association with the federation (2) perception of the feminization of agriculture (3) perception of the inclusion of women producers in the cooperative (4) perception of ‘woman grown’ coffee (5) perception of the organization’s role in the supply chain. In the content area of demographics and general association with the cooperative, interviewee demographics and standard
questions regarding residency, language, identity and the nature of and business history with the cooperative were asked. In perception of the inclusion of women producers in the cooperative, interviewees were asked about how they and their institution view the coffee product that is marketed as ‘woman grown’. In perception of the feminization of agriculture interviewees were asked about their perception of the inclusion of women in the formal agricultural sector. In the final content area, perception of their role in the supply chain, interviewees were asked about how they view their organization’s role in the supply chain, supporting the federation’s products and values. Per semi-structured interviewing methods, which emphasizes an evolving series of questions, certain topics were delved into in more detail, and questions were tailored to the individual participants’ expertise, knowledge, and interest.

Table 3, listed below, shows a description of the themes addressed in the qualitative interview guide.

Table 3. Description of qualitative interview guide with supply chain actors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content Area</th>
<th>Topics within Content Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demographics and General Association with the Cooperative</td>
<td>1) Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) Affiliation and connection to the cooperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception of the inclusion of women in the cooperative</td>
<td>4) Personal perception of the inclusion of women in the cooperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5) Views on women’s changing roles in agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception of the feminization of agriculture</td>
<td>6) Personal perception the changing roles of women in agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7) Perception of how women’s changing roles affects the coffee supply chain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception of woman grown coffee</td>
<td>8) General view on the KISHE branded coffee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9) Perception of the ‘Woman Grown’ coffee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10) Perspective on the benefits of fair trade, organic, and more direct access to markets by cooperatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception of their role in the supply chain</td>
<td>11) Views on their role in the supply chain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4 Research Assistant Recruitment and Training

The portion of the study conducted with the cooperative members was facilitated by six trained female and male interviewers from Huehuetenango department, fluent in Spanish and Mam, the relevant indigenous Mayan language of cooperative members. These research assistants were recruited in the town where the cooperative has its headquarters due to the fact that they all spoke the relevant version of Mam, of which there are three regional dialects, and they were all ‘insiders’ to the cooperative (Collins, 2015). In addition, they all had a minimum of secondary education and were trained as administrators, accountants, and teachers. While there are drawbacks to involving insiders in the research process, in this study their inclusion as research assistants was vital given the language requirements and a tendency to mistrust outsiders not from the study population. Insider researchers also provide several benefits, including that by default, they come to the research with a great deal of experiential knowledge that it would usually take an outsider an extended period of time to acquire. They also have a greater understanding of the culture of the study cooperative, and due to their privileged identity as insiders were less likely to alter the flow of social interaction. In addition, they were likely perceived as more trustworthy (Bonner and Tolhurst, 2002; Symth and Holian, 2008).

While the vast majority of Mam speakers are bilingual in Spanish, Mam was the preferred language for this study due to native fluency. The research assistants were trained by the primary investigator to work with the cooperative members. They collaborated with the primary investigator and were trained in research ethics to local standards, including confidentiality, before fieldwork began. The research assistants worked together under the guidance of the primary investigator to adapt and to standardize their interview methods based on the interview guide developed for the study in Spanish to ensure for uniformity of primary
content. The research assistants worked with the primary investigator to reach consensus on their approach with the agreement of the primary investigator based on their personal knowledge of local norms and preferences. During this period of the study, they worked in collaboration with the primary investigator on a daily basis to reflect on the data generation process.

4.5 Semi-structured Interviews with Cooperative Members

The interviews lasted from 45 minutes to an hour, which included 10-15 minutes of the life landscape drawing. In the majority of cases, audio was not recorded due to observations on behalf of the research assistants that the use of technology would interfere with some of the respondents’ comfort levels. All of the interviews were conducted in Mam. While the interviews were being conducted, the research assistants translated the responses into notes taken directly into Spanish. This method was recommended by previous researchers working with Mam speaking populations due to the fact that the Mam language can differ significantly based on locality, and that there are limited professional translators available for conducting transcription and translation (Collins, 2015). The research assistants employed the member-checking technique as they conducted the interviews, and at the end of each interview session. Member-checking is a process in qualitative interviewing where the interviewer will review and confirm the responses with the interviewee (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Morse, 2015). Their approach in this study was to review the interview content with the study participants in Mam, and to ensure with their respondents that the notes they had taken in Spanish reflected the original thoughts communicated in Mam. The final interview notes taken in Spanish were translated by the primary investigator into English. Back-translations were conducted by a neutral third party on samples of the data generated, whereby the final English translation was translated back into Spanish to confirm accuracy of understanding and reviewed with the research assistants.
The semi-structured interviews conducted with the cooperative members addressed six content areas: (1) demographics and general cooperative membership (2) women’s roles in the community (3) women’s membership in the cooperative (4) perception of women in leadership roles in the cooperative (5) food security and (6) livelihood sustainability. In the content area of demographics and general cooperative membership, participant demographics were gathered including information on residency, language, identity and membership history with the cooperative. In women’s roles in the community participants were asked about what types of roles women have had in the community where their cooperative is based and how that may have changed over time. In women’s membership in the cooperative, participants were asked about their experience as women members in the cooperative. Participants were also asked about their perception of women members in the cooperative. In women in leadership roles in the cooperative. Participants were asked about how they view women in leadership roles in the cooperative. In content area of food sovereignty, participants were asked about how formal participation as producers and leaders in the cooperative has shaped their food resources. In content area of livelihood sustainability, participants were asked about how women’s formal participation as producers and leaders has shaped household-level prosperity and livelihood sustainability. Please see Table 4 listed below for a description of the themes addressed in the qualitative interview guide. The interview guide has been included in the appendix.

Table 4. Overview of qualitative interview guide questions
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content Area</th>
<th>Topics within Content Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demographics and General Membership</td>
<td>1) Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) Place of birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) Number and type of family members in the household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4) Identity and Affiliation: ethnic identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5) Membership in the cooperative: how long and in what capacity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Roles in the Community</td>
<td>6) Personal perception of the current role of women in the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7) Views on women’s changing roles in the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s membership in the cooperative</td>
<td>8) Personal perception of women’s membership in the cooperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9) Personal experience as a woman member (if applicable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10) Views on how women’s membership in the cooperative has changed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perception of women in leadership roles in the</td>
<td>11) Personal perception of women’s membership in the cooperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooperative.</td>
<td>12) Personal perception of women’s leadership roles in the cooperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13) Personal experience as a women leader in the cooperative (if applicable).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14) Views on how women’s leadership roles in the cooperative has shaped the functioning of the cooperative, community, and household.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Sovereignty</td>
<td>15) Past experiences of food access</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16) Perspectives on how women’s membership affected household food sovereignty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17) Hopes for the future regarding food sovereignty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livelihood sustainability</td>
<td>18) Past experiences of livelihood stability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19) Perspectives on how women’s membership affected livelihood sustainability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20) Hopes for the future regarding livelihood sustainability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.6 Life Landscape Drawings with Cooperative Members

Alongside the interviews, life landscape drawings were also gathered as part of the semi-structured interview process. At the beginning of their interview, study participants were prompted to draw pictures of their homes, lives, and the resources that were important to them. These drawings were used by research assistants to build rapport and trust for the interview process, and to give study participants a platform with which to reference and answer questions related to their lived experiences as coffee producers and householders. In addition, these drawings were also collected to contribute to the data triangulation process by validating...
information gathered through the interview process, while also providing a visual medium in which to understand the participants lives (Hirsch and Philbin, 2016).

4.7 Photovoice with Women Cooperative Members

In combination with the interviews and drawings, photo narratives and reflections from a subsequent photovoice study were collected from the 15 female cooperative members using the photovoice method. Since photovoice was being used to explore the lived experience of women coffee cooperative members, only the female cooperative members were included in this part of the study. At the end of each semi-structured interview, the research assistants gave each woman a Pentax IQZoom60 point and shoot roll film camera accompanied with a demonstration and instructions on how to use the camera, and then prompted them to take photographs from their perspective of their homes, farms, and community using a Photovoice method called the SHOWED technique, which has been validated in Spanish as the VENCER method (Baquero, Goldman, Siman, Muqueeth, Villa-Torres, and Rhodes, 2014). This method has three main goals: (1) enable individuals to record the resources that they have and to document their lives; (2) promote critical dialogue through group discussion; and (3) eventually inform decision-makers (Wang & Burris, 1997). The English and Spanish version of this Photovoice method has been listed in Table 5, shown below.
Through this technique, participants were prompted to take photographs of their lives, and then asked to choose the photographs that were most salient to them and then to reflect on the meaning of these photographs from an individual and community level perspective in a focus group setting. After the semi-structured interviews were finished, the women were given three weeks to take pictures. Separate consent was obtained for participation in the photo narrative aspect of the study, and permission for subsequent use of the photographs was obtained from the women participants, which included approval to use the photography in any presentations or publications.
The women reconvened after a three-week period of documenting their lives through photography. Each woman was given a set of copies of her photographs to keep, along with a photo album for preserving them. Focus groups were facilitated over the course of two days with five groups of three women. These groups were each facilitated by one of the research assistants. Each participant was asked to review their photographs and to select between 3-5 photographs to share and discuss in the focus group. While one research assistant was facilitating a focus group, another would take notes from Mam into Spanish. Each focus group session was an hour and a half in length. Research assistants guided the participants through a reflection of their individual photographs and discussion surrounding the photos identified as most emblematic by the participants. The focus group facilitators utilized an adapted version of the VENCER guide, a Spanish version of the validated SHOWED Technique. This Spanish guide was adapted into Mam by the research assistants, who worked together to ensure consistency of the oral translation. The research assistants used a similar technique to the semi-structured interviews for facilitating the focus groups and recording the results of the focus groups. One research assistant would record the notes in Spanish as another research assistant was facilitating the focus group in Mam. The reflections that had been written down in Spanish were then confirmed with focus group participants. The final focus group notes taken in Spanish were translated by the primary investigator and the translation was validated by a native Spanish speaking third party translator from Guatemala.

4.8 Direct Observation and Document Analysis

Direct observation was also used throughout the data generation process, which involves the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts within the social setting of the study (Marshall and Rossman, 1989). These observations were recorded in the field notes of the
primary investigator on a daily basis during the field research and sporadically throughout the data analysis process. The field notes were transcribed along with the other data, and coded. In addition, analysis of documents and materials relevant to the study was also conducted. These materials were collected by the primary investigator and used for visual analysis (Figueroa, 2008). Alongside the field notes, memos and reflections were also recorded in the primary investigator’s fair notes. As opposed to field notes, which are a formal repository for observational data, fair notes contain the experiences and reflections of the primary investigator throughout the research process, and are meant to serve as a conduit for the researcher to maintain a level of self-awareness and to record their observations of themselves and their reactions throughout the research process.

4.9 Analysis

The data from this research was uploaded into Dedoose, a cloud-based data management system. The analysis approach for each chapter was tailored based on the original analytic questions and the data that was generated. Data-driven coding was conducted for the supply chain interviews in order to achieve the goal of this portion of the study, which is to provide background and a broader context to the producer’s perspectives and lived experiences. For the cooperative member interviews, interpretive analysis was conducted in order to gain a more rigorous understanding of the phenomena of interest through the perspectives of women and men cooperative members. Finally, the visual participatory data generated with the women cooperative members was coded informed by both a data-driven approach, coupled with concepts from the literature including the capabilities approach, which includes a focus on both food sovereignty and livelihood sustainability.
Three rounds of coding were conducted in total for the data generated from all three phases of the study. For the interviews, this process involved a first round of informal coding that took place during the transcription and translation process, which was conducted by the primary investigator. Through the process of translating the Spanish interview notes, the primary investigator began to broadly categorize the data through informal notes and drawings around common themes that emerged. For the visual data that was generated, informal coding began as participants were sharing their drawings and photographs with the research assistants and the primary investigator.

The formal digital coding was conducted on the text from interviews, and the images of drawings and photographs. In Dedoose, components of the visual data can be coded using the same coding system as text. For example, an entire photograph could be coded thematically, while subsections of images within the photograph could also be coded. During the coding process, excerpts of the text and images of significance were highlighted and tagged thematically that was informed mainly by a data-driven approach combined with an awareness of the major concepts from the interview guide. Once the initial round of coding was complete, the codes that emerged from this process were reviewed, refined, and merged where necessary to account for any gaps or redundancies. In some instances, more comprehensive codes were expanded to include subcategories. In other instances, codes that were very similar were merged together to create larger categories, of which these similar codes would then became subcategories. This process of iterative coding, followed by multiple rounds of code refining is often categorized as open, axial and selective coding. These stages are characteristic of the process of qualitative analysis through which the researcher distills the relationship amongst codes, and forges a deeper understanding of the underlying phenomena (Birks and Mills, 2015; Saldaña, 2016). Once this
process was complete, a coding scheme was created to describe the approach that the primary investigator took, based on the original analytic questions, literature reviews, and data-driven concepts that emerged through the coding process. The following three chapters will present the results of the research methods and analysis described in this chapter. Each chapter will address a different aim of the study, and a final conclusion drawing on the results of each aim will be presented.
Chapter 5. Brewing a More Balanced Cup: Supply chain perspectives on Gender Transformative Change within the Coffee Industry

“It is important to understand global value chains as sites where labor and value production are reconfigured within existing social and economic institutions that are not gender neutral.”

- Lyon, Mutersbaugh, and Worthen, 2016

5.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the first aim of this study, which is to explore how supply chain stakeholders including exporters, importers, and retailers in the commodity chain perceive the role of women’s empowerment in agriculture and value the agricultural products created from women producers. The purpose is to provide a broader context for understanding the history and evolution of the global coffee industry. This broader structural context facilitates a more nuanced understand of the subsequent chapters, which explore the individual, relational, and organizational aspects of gender transformative change amongst women and men coffee producers. As such, this chapter looks beyond the organizational boundaries of the cooperative to explore the transnational social-cultural phenomena and institutional structures that influence gender equity in coffee, more broadly. In order to achieve this purpose, the perspectives of supply chain actors and technical assistance providers connected to the federation and the cooperative in the western highlands of Guatemala have been explored. The overall goal of this chapter is to understand the perspectives of global supply chain actors whose purchasing power and influence at the level of the international value chain for coffee directly impacts the institutions that support coffee producers at origin. Findings from this part of the study intend to
inform and support policies and programs that supersede national boundaries and aim to further democratize agricultural supply chains in an effort to create more equitable and just global markets that value and support women in agriculture as producers and leaders.

5.2 Methods

Data from semi-structured interviews with supply chain actors and institutional representatives connected to the cooperative was used to address the first aim of this study, which is the focus of this chapter. Twenty participants were selected in total including men and women from the coffee value chain in Guatemala and the United States. These participants were selected using expert purposive sampling to include representatives at each stage of the supply chain connected to the cooperative and the federation. Participant selection was conducted in collaboration with the federation, and was based around identifying the individuals at each level of the value chain, including exporters, importers, retailers, and technical assistance staff. Based on the focus of this research, it was also important to include institutional representatives from government and non-profit support agencies that work with the cooperative and federation.

Upon completion of the interviews, the primary investigator began informally coding the data during the data translation and transcription phase from audio to text. The transcriptions were then uploaded into Dedoose, a cloud-based data management system. The transcripts were coded using a data-driven approach. As the primary investigator began iteratively coding the data, major categories were created based off of the content from the transcripts. As the coding process evolved, these categories were delineated into more specific subcategories. Through this process, the codes were reviewed, refined, and merged where necessary, taking into account the original framework of the semi-structured interview guide. Based on these results, four major
domains emerged. Finally, the variation in the data from the subcategories was explored and analyzed. The multiple rounds of coding allowed for the distillation of the relationship amongst codes, yielding a deeper understanding of the underlying phenomena (Birks and Mills, 2015; Saldaña, 2016).

5.3 Results

The coding process yielded four major categories, that were drawn from the 20 semi-structured interviews. These four categories include women in coffee, gender sensitization, more than participation, and supply chain support. A total of 300 excerpts were coded to yield these results, of which 91 are associated with women in coffee, 114 with gender sensitization, 55 with women’s empowerment, and 36 with supply chain support. The subcategories for women in coffee include: changes in the coffee industry, women’s hidden role, and land ownership. The subcategories in gender sensitization include: traditional gender norms, working at the relational level, change through cooperatives, and men’s awareness and new masculinity. The subcategories for women’s empowerment include: more than participation and institutional integration. Finally, the subcategories in supply chain support include: doing the right thing, and supporting women and small farmers. Table 1, listed below, illustrates the results that emerged from the analysis process which is explored further.
Table 1. Major categories of supply chain perspectives from semi-structured interviews on women’s formal participation as coffee producers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Categories</th>
<th>Code Frequency</th>
<th>Subcategories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women in coffee</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>Changes in the coffee industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women’s hidden role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Land ownership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender sensitization</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>Traditional gender norms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Working at the relational level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Change through cooperatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men’s awareness and new masculinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s empowerment</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>More than participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Institutional integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supply chain support</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Doing the right thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Supporting women &amp; small farmers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.1 Women in Coffee

This first theme provides a broader context for understanding recent shifts in the global coffee industry, and within the context of Guatemala. In addition, this theme highlights descriptions around the specific conditions that have led women to become involved in cash crop coffee production, a historically male-dominated domain.

5.3.1.a Changes in the Coffee Industry

Based on their years of experience working in the coffee supply chain, many respondents relayed their broader perspectives on shifts in the coffee industry over time, and specifically within the Guatemalan context. An agricultural technical assistance consultant encapsulated the shift in the industry away from large plantations run by wealthy plantation owners, often referred to as ‘fincas’ and towards specialty coffee production by small-producers. This participant observed:

There has been a big shift in the coffee industry in the last decade or two. When there was the big coffee crash in the 1990s, the majority of the large finca owners opted out of coffee because it wasn’t worth it to them anymore. It cost too much to pay workers to
harvest the coffee by hand, which is necessary, and they weren’t able to sell their coffee for enough. As you may know, in the lower altitudes only the Robusta coffee grows. Anyhow, this shifted the coffee industry almost completely to the hands of small producers. Now in the coffee industry 98% of the coffee is produced by small producers, and only 2% by fincas at this point. At this point, coffee represents the one way that it is still possible to make a livelihood as a small producer, living in the mountains. This is partly because of the fact that the Arabica coffee thrives only at high altitudes, and that is where the small farmers are based. The big finca owners, they didn’t want to live up there, to move their production. (P18)

Through a unique constellation of economic shifts, climatic conditions, and shifts within post-colonial cash crop agriculture, small-holders living at higher altitudes are now at the center of Arabica coffee production. A representative from one of the coffee supply chain certification organizations went on to describe changes in the business dynamics within coffee, that used to be characterized by incredibly unequal negotiations at the buyer level. He commented specifically on the critical role of cooperative associations and shared:

The old way of doing things was that post-colonial buyers would come in, sample the coffee, and then go to the producers “ok, I will take this many bags from you, and this many bags from you, and I will pay this much”. Now, it is better with the cooperative structure, not ideal of course, but better. At least the cooperatives are at the bargaining table. And with the fair trade premiums, cooperatives choose how the premiums will be spent. So instead of projects being dictated to them, they decide what is most important to the community. (P12)

Whereas previous to the creation of cooperative associations, the individual coffee producer would have limited bargaining power over the value of their crop, cooperatives have more organizational power. In addition, this comment relays that through the structure of fair trade, which engages cooperative associations in third party certification, cooperative receive social premiums that allow them to direct funding towards community development.

Many of the participants working in Guatemala gave further details around the context in which women have become involved as coffee cooperative members. One coffee exporter observed that:
During the armed conflict there were many men coffee producers who were killed, especially the zone of intense conflict, such as Quiche and Huehue. That's why women's coffee comes from there, because many lives were lost, mostly men, and the women remained. So, in this situation, if your husband died, the whole land is yours, and if you are a woman and you are in a position where you need to take care of your family, and that you have children, and then, well you become the main coffee producer. There is no law that says since your husband died you have to give the coffee fields to your children. So, that's your coffee, right? (P20)

This quote recounts the unfortunate circumstances that has resulted in ‘coffee widowhood’ a term that has been used to describe thousands of women across countries in the coffee belt that have experienced conflict and civil war. One of the program managers of the coffee federation shared a specific example of women’s groups that have given rise to women’s participation in organizations and cooperatives as a result of the situation in areas such as Huehuetenango, in Guatemala. She shared:

There are groups that are exclusively women…There is a town called La Libertad, and we have a group of 14 women. Only women. We buy coffee from them, but they also have other projects. They have a bakery, they have an industrial oven. The group has women from two communities. They have been brought up in the coffee environment, and so they know all of the processes because when they were girls their parents taught them. They do this all from experience…. the collection of seed, the natural fertilization, harvesting, coffee mill, pulp, parchment, they go in and do everything. In the end… it is 100% women's work. The whole process has been done by them. Actually, it is coffee produced by women's hands. (P2)

5.3.1.b Women’s Hidden Role

This historical backdrop has paved the way for women’s participation in cooperative associations. Even so, there was consensus around the idea that women have always been involved in the coffee production process, but as unpaid labor. A wide range of respondents noted that women’s work in coffee has been ‘invisible’, and taken for granted as part of what they are required to contribute in their domestic roles at the household level, especially in the
context of small-holder coffee production, which relies heavily on family participation. The
director of a technical assistance organization that works with coffee producers confirmed that:

I do think that the role of women in coffee is hidden. In some areas, they take more part
in the harvest and after the harvest. They do all of the washing of the coffee, the de-
pulping, and the drying. That role is not recognized in the decision-making of the coffee
organization, or in the selling of the coffee or in the using of the money of the coffee.
Women are not given a lot of space or recognition. (P14)

This commentary about the hidden role of women in coffee has been documented
throughout other agricultural supply chains as well. As household labor, historically women have
been conscripted into the most labor intensive part of the process, without compensation or
recognition, a reality in agriculture in developing countries that has long been documented
(Boserup, 1970; Dixon, 1982; Donahoe, 1999; Verrick, 2014).

Different entry points for women cooperative members were also described, in addition
to civil war and conflict, as mentioned above. A female Guatemalan coffee exporter gave an
overview from an international perspective, and then described the specific context in
Guatemala:

The situation is somewhat different in every country, but for the most part, women
cooperative members are those who are single for whatever reason – maybe they are
widowed, maybe their husbands left to find jobs in the city or elsewhere, like in the US.
Or maybe they inherited the land from their parents who passed on. It’s not that this is a
new phenomenon, but people and organizations are just starting to become aware of it.
The fact that many of the members on the board are women is the result of some of the
historical context that we have in Guatemala. Either they were widowers, or their
husbands are up in the north and they are here all alone in Guatemala with a coffee field
that they did not know what to do with. And yeah, adversity can be a motivation for
success, and women are so focused. Especially women from the western side of the
country. (P10)

This description of the varied ways in which women have become formally involved in
the coffee industry as cooperative members has been confirmed by other research and reports on
women in coffee. In the context of Guatemala, the legacy of violence from the civil war and
migration are common situations that have put women in a unique position to take over their family’s coffee fields and as a result of circumstance, to take on a non-traditional role for a woman as a cooperative member.

A few participants also observed that the trend of women’s involvement as members in cooperatives is not ‘something new’, but rather that it has always been the situation that women have been involved in cooperative associations, due to the democratic and inclusive nature of these types of organizations. However, other respondents clarified that through fair trade certification, inclusion of women has been accelerated. A representative from a supply chain certification organization reflected that:

There have been organizations that already existed before fair trade that have always been organic and included women. But fair trade has encouraged more participation, because it requires that there are women in every organization. (P12)

The majority of interviewees were aware of this trend of the ‘feminization of agriculture’, specifically within the context of the coffee industry, whereby more women are becoming formally involved in coffee, in Guatemala, and across the globe.

5.3.1.b  
**Land Ownership**

In addition to discussing the context in which many women are involved in coffee as producers and the situation in which they become cooperative members, various respondents also mentioned the issue of land ownership as being both a prerequisite for membership, and also a critical barrier or challenge for women due to structural laws reinforced by socio-cultural norms. A representative from the International Women’s Coffee Alliance describes the issue of gender and land ownership from a global perspective:
Women are not allowed to have property in many countries...for example, in the case that a woman is widowed, she may be in charge of the land at that point, but does not have the capacity to claim ownership of the land legally. (P9)

Even in situations where women are widowed, structural and legal barriers may constrict their ability to assume ownership of their family land. A Guatemalan exporter described this situation more broadly within Guatemala:

In some regions, one of the problems is land ownership, because to be in a cooperative, one of the requirements is that you need land. So, to participate in a cooperative, a person has to have their own crop, and this requires that you are going to have land. And in some parts this depends on whether or not you can own land as a woman. Women may have land in some regions, but there are some places where women are not legally allowed to own land...Access to land is important. It is very important, and because of this there are barriers for women to have access to the land and to become members. (P20)

As this quote reflects, land ownership rights are variable even by region, which can complicate the situation for women who are in charge of their land and looking to join a cooperative association to benefit from membership, especially in the case of widowhood or inheritance. Cooperative associations and larger agricultural federations have an important role to play in helping women in precarious situations as a result of violence, widowhood, and immigration to navigate the complex legal process of gaining ownership over family land, which has been an important role for the cooperative and federation in this case study. In relevant situations, this has been the experience of the federation in this case study. Through the theme of Women in Coffee, participants discussed the broader historical and structural context of how women have become involved formally in cash crop coffee production. Through a constellation of shifts in global cash crop agriculture, immigration patterns, and political conflict, women are now in a unique position not only as coffee producers, but as owners of their land and cooperative members as well.
5.3.2 Gender Sensitization

Within the category of gender sensitization, participants described traditional gender norms and the importance of working at the relational level to address gender issues. Linked to this was the key role that cooperative organizations play as conduits for facilitating gender sensitization workshops and trainings.

5.3.2.a Traditional Gender Norms

There was broad consensus amongst participants regarding the patriarchal nature of traditional gender norms in Guatemala. A technical assistance facilitator who works with coffee producer organizations describes what she referred to as “the Latin Model”:

Normally, the husband is the economic head of the household, this is the Latin model, right? It is quite normal. Then the woman helps with the harvest sometimes, and if not, she goes to prepare the food, and they send food out to the fields, and then the man returns at the end of the day. That is the general model. (P19)

This quote establishes the accepted social norms around gender roles, especially in the rural context for women and men: women in the kitchen, men in the field. An exporter working closely with cooperative associations described the shifting of patriarchal gender norms that is occurring in Guatemala, partly as a result of women’s institutional inclusion in cooperatives. He observed:

The inclusion of women in any social environment is new, partly because Guatemala, by culture and history, is a very macho country. Especially in this region [the western highlands], near Mexico, we are in the center of ‘macho’ culture. But this is also changing with the inclusion of more equitable organizations. We are in a transition through women’s participation. (P2)

Democratic and inclusive cooperatives are thus serving as vehicles for social change, as women in positions to join become members and participate alongside men in their community.
5.3.2c Participation in Cooperatives

Although participants readily concurred that in general, Guatemala is still governed by traditional gender norms, the majority of them also described change happening within the cooperative organizations. These ideas came through in the coded excerpts from the subcategory on Participation in Cooperatives. One supply chain stakeholder working in Guatemala providing technical assistance to cooperatives noted that:

For us here in Guatemala and from the technical assistance perspective, it is through producer organizations where women’s participation occurs. And this participation has allowed us to open up spaces for even more enhanced participation. (P6)

The idea that it has been through cooperatives that women’s roles have begun to shift was consistent throughout the interviews, but there was also concern about the quality of this integration. A cooperative leader described a common situation in cooperative associations where, while women may be members, they are not necessarily given the same space as men to participate, due to social constraints. They shared that:

You will hardly ever see a woman really having a space among the men to be heard. This is why it has worked to have a separate space, and from then, start changing the mindset slowly, throughout the organization...the process has to come from within, and the only way is through education, through sensitization through giving women space in another way. It is a long-term process, not just a woman going in and trying to convince. To understand the culture is the most important thing in order to promote changes for me. (P14)

Even as women become members and participate in cooperatives, social norms around their participation lag behind. The importance of integrating women in a more meaningful way was another key theme that was addressed alongside the necessity of working at the relational level through education and sensitization. These ideas came through in the subcategory, working at the relational level.
5.3.2.b Working at the Relational level

Around the topic of relational gender norms and gender sensitization, key observations were made around the importance of simultaneously creating space for women, while educating women and men together in an inclusive and culturally relevant way. One skeptical female agricultural representative from Guatemala commented on women’s formal involvement in the coffee as cooperative members and the dual importance of change happening in the home with men as well. She shared:

In terms of women’s involvement in coffee – they have always been involved in the coffee harvest, so this is nothing new. But as members, yes, this is a new trend. I do not know a lot about this trend though. But what my father always said was that men created the feminist revolution – so that women would go to work during the day to earn an income, and then come home and do the household work. So they basically just end up with more work, if there is no change at home with the men. (P18)

Other participants discussed the importance of not only providing a formal structure for including women, but of educating women and men separately, and then together in a culturally sensitive way about gender issues. A representative from a coffee federation describes how this work started in the context of the cooperatives by first creating space for women in the community:

We started to do this work within the last ten years and little by little we have seen changes. It was not like a change from night to morning, it's very, very, very, very gradual, but we now have had better participation. It is not like this happens overnight. In some communities we still start by focusing on the women, because there are still issues that are too serious to confront with both men and women. Because of these tensions, we first focus the attention to the woman. (P16)

Although there was consensus among respondents about the importance of focusing on both women and men, the majority also described that practically this was not possible in the beginning in some contexts. A common approach that was described was first providing ‘space’ for the women to development confidence and self-efficacy, while working with men alongside,
before bringing them together. Another technical assistance provider describes the importance of this process of first creating space for women collectively, so that they can develop their own individual awareness and confidence:

When we were working with the woman’s organization we understood from the indigenous culture, in order to give more recognized space to women, it was necessary to encourage a separate process for women and to give them their own space, where they could organize among themselves and value themselves collectively and individually. It sounds weird, because usually gender equity looks at space within the process between men and women, but in this case that would have been too pushy at the start. To incorporate women without first giving them this ‘space’ it would just be like a figurehead. Having a separate process gave women a lot of space for empowerment….women’s groups give women the opportunity to develop themselves in a slow but sensitive way…..to organize, listen to themselves, feel like they can speak up, and now, be aware of how to create their own space in the home….to recognize their own freedom and power. (P44)

Born from experience working directly with coffee growing communities ‘at origin’, this description of a ‘best practice’ process for gender sensitization respects the sensitive and contextual nature of this work. Similar to commentary on the challenge of initiating the process of gender sensitization, this comment reflects a lucid understanding of how to go about this challenging work in a way that takes into account the socio-cultural context while meeting women and men in coffee growing communities in rural Guatemala in their reality.

5.3.2.c Men’s Awareness and New Masculinity

As part of this process, various respondents relayed the importance of men’s awareness of gender-related issues. There was discussion around the importance of working with men directly, alongside the critical process of providing dedicated space for women to develop their self-confidence and self-awareness, while simultaneously integrating gender sensitization education for women and men. A facilitator of gender sensitization workshops for the cooperative shared their approach around incorporating men into this process:
Part of the training component has to do with men’s roles and work. The aim is also to raise men’s awareness with regard to roles and work and at the same time, working on the development of women. (P15)

He went on to describe in more detail the dynamics of the co-educational workshops around gender sensitization:

We work in mixed groups, and we place women and men in a friendly situation and have the men and women talk about their roles, and ask, 'Why don’t the men wash their clothes', or 'Why can’t a woman go to court?' Things really get interesting when we are in mixed groups, because it turns out that men come out and say things that they may not normally say, and then they think about how they may or may not help with household talks, like asking them, 'Wow, I also help my wife in the kitchen, right?'. Slow steps, but changes. Then, through the workshops we implement, the process of sensitization happens in the organization and eventually permeates society. And now, they have more awareness and openness to these types of topics. And we talk to men about the subject of modern masculinity, that they also have assumptions of how they need to be masculine, in front of their families. They come to realize that many of them have stigmatized the role of women. The women in the kitchen, right? And the man is from the field. So that kind of concept. (P15)

Another technical assistance provider confirmed the critical importance of women and men working together on addressing gender norms around masculinity. She shared: "Now, women are working together with men to help train them about new masculinity. So, men are getting sensitized of the importance to give more space to women, and from there, to be sensitive within their own families" (P44). While a significant amount of work is aimed towards women to help them build their self-confidence and encourage their active participation, men’s involvement in the process of gender sensitization is also critical. Through this process, participants describe men coming to an awareness around their own subconsciously held assumptions of gender roles at the household level, that have limited them and their female relatives into a distinct division of labor. Participants also noted that through gender sensitization work with women, men, and women and men together, there has been a gradual change in how cooperative members view gender roles are beginning to shift.
5.3.3 Women’s Empowerment

Another key theme that arose from the interviews was around women’s empowerment through more meaningful participation and leadership within organizations. Various subcategories within this theme include the importance of authentic participation and women’s leadership opportunities within the organizational structures.

5.3.3.a More than Participation

Many participants commented on the importance of women producers not only being included in cooperatives as members, but on the quality of their inclusion and the importance of empowerment. One of the most significant challenges mentioned was overcoming ‘inclusion for inclusion’s sake’, and ensuring that institutions support a shift in power dynamics, allowing women to have space, decision-making power and leadership opportunities. One respondent commented that:

While women are actively involved in coffee production, the problem is that they are not the ones making the decisions on to whom to sell, where to sell, how to sell. The labor, and not the transactions, depend on them. They have the right to participate not only as producers, but also in organizing, deciding and establishing conditions of what they do and they produce. (P15)

In response to this situation, where women may be cooperative members, but they still have no institutional power, various respondents noted the importance of both formal organizational structures to address this power imbalance, coupled with technical training and education at the organizational level in the form of gender sensitization. One respondent commented that:

It’s not only women’s participation in the coffee industry that is important, but how they participate. How much decision-making power they have, what types of roles they have, and so on. Training is also important, and helping them to develop entrepreneurial skills... in addition to providing access to microcredit for women so that they can really
be able to develop financial literacy and leadership and to be able to choose, to the extent that a choice exists, what they want to do. Not just sit on a line and pick coffee beans.

5.3.3.b Institutional Integration

In addition, direct observations from cooperative workshops and meetings and analysis from organizational documents showcase the importance of the federation’s efforts to establish inclusive policies and a social environment with the intentional goal of gender inclusivity and women’s empowerment. An analysis of the federation’s executive organizational structure from online documents and internal documents produced for their annual general meeting highlight a commitment to formalized pathways for gender transformative change through a women’s committee. Listed on the federation’s website is a structural diagram of the organization’s decision-making bodies, of which there is a committee on gender equity, which gives space to women leaders in the cooperative to share the perspectives of women cooperative members from the communities that they represent. In addition, the federation has intentionally included a gender equity program as part of the technical assistance and training programs that it offers to women and men cooperative members. Listed below in figure 1 is a diagram of the coffee federation’s organizational structure.
In addition to providing a separate space for women to share their concerns and ideas with the federation, women are also encouraged to participate in the executive board and as active leaders and meeting facilitators. At the annual meeting of the federation in 2017, one of the female members of the executive board facilitated the event, modeling leadership to the group as a whole.

A representative from the coffee federation in Guatemala described the innovative creation of the women’s committee as part of their executive board structure, which gives women involved in the cooperatives an avenue for expressing their opinions and ideas to the executive board. She narrated:

In 2012 the women’s committee was formed, and the intention was for there to be a formal structure of a trained group of women representing each of the partner organizations. So that they could come and express or tell what their needs were because each group is very different, right? Each cooperative is located in a different part of the
country, with a unique and distinct social context. And from there came the idea of this commission, and so we went through a process of training so that they could advise the executive board. They do not have the power to make decisions in the same way as the executive board of directors, but they have the voice and vote to present their needs. We also implemented a rule that when two representatives come to the annual assembly each year, that at least one of them need to be a woman, because otherwise only men would be sent. And if a woman came, it was because it was the wife or because it was the daughter who came more as a companion. They did not come to express their voice or vote. And thanks to this new rule we have managed to have more women on the board. Because before there was not even one. Now we have two. One is the vice president. And our previous legal representative was a woman. So we've been looking for opportunities to get women into those management posts, right? Now, we have 12 women in the women’s commission. (P2)

Creating a formal structure within the organization for women has been critical in this early stage of gender sensitization to ensure that women have a space to voice their concerns, where otherwise they might not. While this gender commission represents an important institutional space for women, it also reflects on the work that lies ahead to create a truly enabling social environment where women have the confidence and space to express themselves, share their ideas, and collaboratively make decisions.

Information on the organization’s commitment to gender equity has also been conveyed through the federation’s other organizational documents. In a colorful illustrated pamphlet produced by the federation and originally published in Spanish entitled “Institutional Gender Policy”, educates individuals on gender equity and encourages that: “All men and all women should participate in creating a better world with gender equity”. In this same pamphlet, the federation describes that:

Our policy is meant to enable coffee producing families to build strategies that allow them to develop and live well, knowing that it is necessary to build conditions of equity at all levels and structures of our organization, and within our families, giving special interest to empowerment of women.
The pamphlet further goes on to describe the various strategies for achieving these long-term goals, including capacity building through gender sensitization, integrating women into the decision-making boards of the organization, providing equal access to financing for production and development, training women in financial management, strengthening gender equity at the institutional level, and providing workshops to help women and men members work together. This pamphlet is listed below in figure 2.

**Figure 2. A pamphlet on gender equity that was created for distribution to all of the cooperatives in the federation.**

"All men and women should participate in the creation of a better world with gender equity"

"Our Policy: So that the families of coffee producers build strategies that allow for their development and wellbeing, knowing that it is necessary to create conditions of equality in all of the levels and structures of our organization and inside our families, giving special attention to empowering women"
Although there are no evaluation results to confirm the effects of this campaign, anecdotal evidence from direct observation from the federation’s annual general meeting demonstrated the federation’s dedication to integrating women into the decision-making body of the organization. At this meeting, one role in the financial management committee was up for election, and the group nominated two women and one man to be elected for the vacant position. During this process, one member of the federation rose to speak, and reminded the group of the importance of considering women for leadership positions in the organization. Of the three individuals nominated, one of the women was elected.

5.3.4 Supply Chain Support

Different supply chain actors including exporters, importers, roasters, and retailers commented about what they think motivates different actors in the supply chain to support coffee marketed as ‘Woman Grown’. There was broad consensus around the idea of ethical purchasing, and pressure from various parts of the supply chain, from consumers to importers to ‘do the right thing’ through their purchasing.

5.3.4a Doing the Right Thing

When probed about why they, or others they knew in the supply chain supported fair trade and women grown coffee, participants echoed the response that it was about “doing the right thing”. The idea of ‘doing the right thing’ was attached to supporting organic producers, small producers from fair trade certified organizations, and within these two categories, particularly women coffee producers. One roaster commented about why buying organic and supporting fair trade producers is important to buyers, and why it motivates them:

They are simply bound by doing the right thing and truly ethical relationships. If we had crappy coffee, it would be challenging. Quality is a pay to play...but our coffee is good
because its organic, and fair trade keeps us with the best producers. Quality, small batch roasted, they know we are working directly with our trading partners. (P11)

This idea of ‘doing the right thing’ is just as much about supply chain transparency as it is about social and environmental justice and agricultural sustainability – these conditions are bound together and inherently connected to the concept of quality. The coffee is of the highest quality, because it has been produced using organic agricultural methods, and because it is organic, the producers themselves are healthier and their agro-ecological approaches ensure for more resilient crop systems.

Other supply chain actors mentioned their desire to use the growing demand for specialty coffee as a way to make a social impact as they scaled their businesses. One importer commented:

So, you get to a certain size, and you find that you can do more things, you can buy larger quantities and have a bigger impact - you know, you are throwing a stone into a pond, but now it’s an even bigger stone, so the ripple is bigger and you can impact more people positively. That is where we are at right now. (P8)

When asked about what might motivate different actors in the supply chain to buy ‘Women Grown Coffee’, respondents referenced both the opportunity to support marginalized women producers while also developing a niche market within the specialty coffee industry. Some respondents described why they thought coffee industry buyers and individual consumers were interested in ‘Women Grown Coffee’. A variety of respondents discussed the importance of market demand. A representative from the coffee federation that handles the exporting business commented on the importance of demand connected to the priorities of clients, both end of the line consumers and also retail buyers:

There are some buyers who already focus on a niche market in specialty coffee, and their customers, who are retailers, also want to sell female coffee at their coffee shops or restaurants. For importers, they want to meet the demands of their customers – both retailers and then consumers further down the supply chain who want to consume this
type of coffee. And they say: I want coffee that is 100% women grown. So part of it is
the client’s demand that encourages the buyer, but part of it is also the priority of the
buyer to focus on social impact. (P3)

A coffee retailer spoke more specifically about why they support coffee from women and small
producers. He said, “Buying coffee produced by women is a way to raise up and support women
producers and women in general, by ‘breaking the barriers’. Also, importers are able to support
small producers as a way to break the power of the coffee plantations” (P5). Some respondents
referenced the power of the women’s movement as permeating individual and corporate
motivations at multiple levels, from the consumer and up through the supply chain:

What we have seen in the US – the entire women’s movement has incredibly
strengthened any activity that focuses on empowering women. And especially now,
everyone is trying to support this movement, partly as a reaction to recent anti-feminists
elected into the government. We have also seen a large demand in Europe, where there
are countries like Sweden that have declared themselves feminist. A product that
empowers women is very popular amongst countries where there is strong support for the
feminist agenda. (P3)

Other respondents commented that coffee shop owners view buying ‘women grown
coffee’ as a way to ‘do the right thing’, by supporting women coffee producers. One coffee
retailer mentioned that “store owners generally see women in coffee as a good thing, but
something new. Their opinion is that it helps rural women in poverty in an industry dominated by
men.” (P6). This same respondent, from Guatemala, noted that while this trend may be more
well-received abroad, in Guatemala there is less awareness of women’s changing roles in the
coffee production process partly due to the still very patriarchal society. They commented that,
“Guatemala is a country with a lot of machismo. Most don’t realize that this trend is happening
with women in coffee and they don’t recognize that women have the capacity and expertise to be
involved in a male dominated industry” (P7).
Even given the current reality in Guatemala, there was some hope voiced from one participant involved in Fairtrade from the consumer end, who reflected on the gateway effect of women’s participation in the coffee industry as a mechanism for shifting broader societal norms. She concluded that “the women have gone on to empower themselves a little more, and the lesson we learned is that the Guatemalan coffee producers have been a part of the process of changing some paradigms or some stereotypes attached to women’s participation” (P16).

At the international level of the coffee industry, there was discussion around women at other levels of the supply chain wanting to support women working ‘at origin’ as producers. The International Women’s Coffee Alliance representative from Guatemala referenced this being the impetus for the creation of the International Women’s Coffee Alliance (IWCA):

So there was this group of American ladies, traders or roasters, who believed that a change should be made in the way that the market was approaching coffee, especially when the coffee was being grown and cultivated by so many thousands of women. So, they saw an opportunity into how to improve the coffee industry by helping all of these women. (PIO)

One of the founders of IWCA, a North American coffee importer herself, described how she was inspired to support women working at origin in coffee:

I was involved in coffee first on the business end. And I would go visit these countries and see the women, who were always involved in various aspects of the coffee industry. Sometimes they would be picking during the harvest, or helping to process or dry. Or sometimes women had jobs on the line at factories, picking the beans for quality control. A tedious job where they would literally just sit there for 8-10 hours a day. Anyhow, I would be there with these women, and they would ask me all of these questions, like how could they stop having children, and so on and so forth. It was clear to me that there needed to be some sort of organization to represent women in coffee. So when I started the organization with a few other women from North America, we could not believe how much interest we got. And now, we have 22 different country chapters. (P10)

She went on to describe what motivates the individual consumer today, especially consumers who have had the opportunity to see for themselves the condition of rural women in developing countries. She commented:
Women, any of us, when you travel, when you see something well made, and you know there is a community of women involved, you want to support this. Because you too, you have suffered the same kind of discrimination. Just because you are a woman, you have been treated differently. Even if you come from the US you have felt some of that discrimination that all women around the world suffer. (P9)

This response of individuals, organizations, and businesses supporting women across the coffee value chain was evident at the 2017 Latin American Coffee Summit, where there was a specific focus on gender as the theme of the conference. Representatives from the large international coffee organization talked about women’s inclusions at the organizational level and even discussed the possibility of creating another certification scheme, ‘Women Care Certified’. This certification would focus on integrating women in decision-making positions in cooperatives through policies for gender inclusion. There was a lot of discussion about the power of the global network of women, especially through codified organizations like UN Women, and new partnerships with the World Trade Organization. There were also a lot of questions from other supply chain actors about what role they ‘should’ play in supporting women in coffee. Some responses included creating a broader market and market awareness about women in coffee and roasters creating awareness at the consumer level.

5.4 Discussion

The findings from this chapter shed light on the ways in which the perspectives of a variety of institutional actors connected to the global value chain of the coffee federation and its network of cooperatives perceive the process of gender transformative change from a transnational perspective. Throughout the supply chain there is widespread acknowledgement of the hidden role of women in coffee. However, there was considerable variation in level of awareness based on each participant’s role in the supply chain, which aligns with the intention of
this portion of the study, which is to provide background and context to the research with the cooperative members. At the same time, supply chain actors and institutional representatives expressed a duel sense of hope and support for the trend of women moving into formal roles as coffee cooperative members, while also acknowledging the simultaneous socio-structural challenges that women face related to entrenched gender roles, land ownership, and varying degrees of support for equality at the organizational level.

Institutional representatives, especially those involved in agricultural technical assistance and certification programming, reflected on the integral process of gender sensitization as a catalyst for initiating gender transformative change, and the key role that education plays in this process. While ultimately this process should involve both women and men, at the beginning, creating space for women first was seen as a prerequisite, especially in extremely traditional patriarchal contexts. While there was widespread support for gender sensitization and the incorporation of women into leadership roles in organizations, there was also healthy skepticism regarding the current reality, which led many participants to characterize these changes as extremely gradual, and marked by intergenerational shifts.

Aside from discussions about this topic at individual, relational, and institutional levels, various respondents also discussed the influence of the global market and the international feminist movement. From a business perspective, support for ‘woman grown’ products was perceived as both a way to create a ‘niche’ in the growing competitive specialty coffee market, while also ‘doing the right thing’. In addition, supply chain actors also saw support coming from men and women at the consumer level, the level of the buyer (importers and retailers), and even the influence of country-level politics, as signaled by mention of feminist countries like Sweden.
Several cautionary points were described throughout these semi-structured interviews that should be taken into account when considering this process. At the relational level in the household, there was caution around approaching the dynamics in these settings. Given that in many situations, there may be extreme oppression and control, and even abusive and violent dynamics, sensitivity to these situations must be approached with empathy and appropriateness. Charging into a community where women are being dominated in such repressive ways could exacerbate, rather than alleviate such realities.

Concern over superficial integration into organizations was also significant. If the necessary steps are not being taken to harmonize the process of gender transformative change through a combination of education, modeling, and structural change at the organizational level, then including women for the sake of including them will result in a continuation of the status quo and in some cases just more work for the women. In order for women to truly have a voice, they need space and skills. At the same time, men need to be brought into the education process, and a structural opportunity must also be present. Along the periphery of the discussion there was also caution around importing expectations from abroad, and a need to create change from within, while respecting and working within the local context. At the same time, there has been an inevitable pollenization of ideas from the global development agenda that values gender equity, and this cannot be avoided. Tailoring and adapting the messaging and approaches of the international movement for gender equity to the local context may offer a compromise and reduce any reaction to an outside agenda.
5.5 Limitations

This study has limitations, which are primarily related to participant selection and language. Due to the focused nature of this part of the study, only supply chain actors and institutional representative connected to the federation were selected to participate, based on their knowledge of the cooperative, the federation, and their marketing of coffee as ‘Woman Grown’. This may have limited the perspectives of wider trends in the coffee industry and the global development agenda tied to agriculture. However, based on the focus of the study, this type of purposive sampling strategy was required.

Language barriers may have proven to be a limitation as the research was conducted in both Spanish and English, based on the preference of the respondent. The primary investigator, a native English speaker, but fluent in Spanish, conducted all of the semi-structured interviews and translated and transcribed the audio recordings. In addition, the primary investigator also conducted direct translations of meeting observations for meetings conducted in Spanish, which may have also been limited by non-native fluency. In order to address any possible issues related to translation, back-translations were conducted by a neutral third party on samples of the data generated, whereby the final English translation was translated back into Spanish to confirm accuracy of understanding.

5.6 Conclusions

The overall purpose of this chapter has been to understand the perspectives of global supply chain actors whose purchasing power and influence at the level of the international coffee value chain directly impacts the institutions that support coffee producers at origin. To achieve this purpose, the perspectives of supply chain stakeholders have been explored regarding the role of
women’s empowerment in agriculture and value the agricultural products created from women producers. These findings have highlighted ways in which actors and institutions further along the supply chain contribute to the multilevel process of gender transformative change that has been unfolding. This shift in gender norms at various levels has been influenced by the gender norms and values of exporters, importers, retailers, and technical assistance organizations connected to the coffee industry, even extending to the perceived preferences and values of consumers. Supply chain reflections on the reality and slow evolution of women’s roles in the coffee industry, and their experiential understanding of best practices for gender sensitization based on grassroots level observations are important insights that contribute to a better understanding of the role that institutions linked at multiple levels can play in closing the gender gap in agriculture and shaping gender norms more broadly.

This practical understanding of the importance of taking into account the socio-cultural context ‘at origin’ can inform the success of programs and policies aimed at supporting the process of gender transformative change that goes beyond superficial gender integration strategies. By tailoring gender sensitization to the local context, resources can be more effectively targeted to further enhance this process of change. For example, creating space for women at the outset of gender transformative programming may be critical, while simultaneously channeling resources into co-educational gender sensitization trainings. Further, the organizational setting presents a particularly powerful opportunity to initiate change, where concepts of gender equity can be reinforced not only in theory, but also in practice. This type of approach may lead to more than just superficial gender integration, and has the potential to result in the genuine integration of women into previously male-dominated organizations and the eventual percolation of society-wide shifts in gender norms, moving towards a more equitable
society. The goal of this chapter is to provide context for the subsequent research at the level of the cooperative, and then at the level of the lived experience of women cooperative members. The goal has also been to inform and support policies and programs that supercede national boundaries and aim to further democratize agricultural supply chains in an effort to create more equitable and just global markets that value and support women as producers and leaders.
Chapter 6. Percolating gender transformative change through fair trade coffee cooperatives in the western highlands of Guatemala

“People’s shared beliefs in their efficacy influence the type of futures they seek to achieve collectively, how much effort they put into their group endeavors, their staying power when collective efforts fail to produce quick results or meet forcible opposition, their vulnerability to discouragement, and the social changes they are able to realize.”

- Albert Bandura and Kay Bussey

6.1 Introduction

In the last few decades there has been a significant shift in the gender and development sphere towards adopting gender transformative approaches that aim to increase gender equality, particularly in the context of agriculture (Cole et al, 2014; Cornwall, 2014). While women have always played a key role in agricultural production, their formal participation as producers, cooperative members, and leaders has recently begun to increase through the ‘feminization of agriculture’ (Lastarria-Cornheil, 2008; Lyon et al, 2010; World Bank, 2006). Empowering women as productive cooperative members requires not only technical assistance and support, but creating an inclusive social and political environment. Research has also shown that addressing gender equity in agriculture requires more than the superficial integration of women into producer organizations. Rather, a tandem focus on gender sensitization at the relational and structural levels is also essential to concurrently address the underlying socio-structural phenomena that perpetuate gender inequality (Apothekar, Pyburn and Laven, 2012; Kirk, 2012).

As discussed, a main goal of gender transformative approaches involves not only a focus on developing the agency of women as individuals, but also on the creation of an enabling social environment and more equitable inclusion in formal and informal institutions that move beyond
superficial gender integration for women and men (Cole et al, 2014). While the previous chapter provided context at the structural and institutional level through the perspectives of supply chain actors, this chapter will explore the relational level between women and men coffee cooperative members through their attitudes and opinions of women’s shifting roles in agriculture and the community at large. This chapter will build a deeper understanding of gender transformative change by understanding the dynamics of how this process unfolds at the organizational context through men and women coffee cooperative members’ perspectives and observations. The overall purpose of this chapter is to explore the process of gender transformative change at the relational level to inform organizational strategies, programs and policies aimed at gender equity in agriculture and gender equity more broadly.

6.2 Methods

As discussed in more detail in chapter 4, the trained research assistants facilitated semi-structured interviews with 30 coffee cooperative members, 15 women and 15 men. Maximum variation purposive sampling was employed to select the cooperative members for participation, a method which samples cases from different subgroups in order to examine variations in the manifestation of a phenomenon (Creswell 2013; Morse, 1994; Morse, 2000 and Patton, 2002). Participant selection was focused on achieving diversity amongst respondent characteristics with relation to age, education level, marital status, leadership experience, and membership time in the cooperative. The intention of the sampling process was to provide variation in perspectives through the recruitment of participants with different demographic characteristics.

The research assistants took detailed notes in Spanish of the responses given in Mam, the local language. These responses were checked with the participants as they went along through the interview to ensure for accuracy. The notes were summarized using a combination of directly
translated quotes and paraphrased when necessary to ensure that the participants main points were conveyed as accurately as possible (Hall and Stevens, 1991; Sandelowski, 1986).

The data was uploaded into Dedoose, a cloud-based data management system. An interpretive approach was taken to the coding process, which seeks to understand how and why phenomenon unfold over time (Elliot and Timulak, 2005). During the first phase of data analysis, the data was coded using a data-driven approach, with consideration for the concepts from the semi-structured interview guide (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). The first round of data-driven coding was conducted by hand by the primary investigator as the notes from the interviews were being translated into English. Through the process of translating the Spanish interview notes into English, the primary investigator began to categorize the data around common themes that emerged.

During the following rounds of coding conducted in Dedoose, excerpts of text were highlighted and tagged thematically through an iterative process. Once the initial round coding was complete, the codes were reviewed, refined, and merged where necessary to account for any gaps or redundancies. In some instances, codes were expanded to include subcategories. In other instances, similar codes were merged together to create larger categories, of which these codes then became subcategories. This approach yielded three main categories. A second phase of analysis was then undertaken using the framework of the semi-structured interview guides as a basis for analysis. Multiple rounds of coding were conducted to refine the categories and subcategories. Frequency counts were tabulated to highlight variability and thematic saturation within the main categories and subcategories. A detailed table of the coding results coordinated with interview questions has been listed in the appendix. The multiple rounds of coding allowed
for the distillation of the relationship amongst codes, yielding a deeper understanding of the underlying phenomena (Birks and Mills, 2015; Saldaña, 2016).

6.3 Results

The coding process was conducted simultaneously for women and men respondents. The data was coded around three main categories with additional subcategories. These categories were drawn from data within the 30 semi-structured interviews. The three main categories include women’s roles, individual agency, and membership. Within the main category of women’s roles, the subcategories included: homestead work, community work, community leadership, and gender equity. The category of individual agency included women’s agency, women’s autonomy, and women’s individuality. Finally, the membership category included: gaining knowledge, skills, and resources, general support, market access, and institutional integration. Table 1, listed below, illustrates the results of the coding that emerged which is explored further of each major category.

Table 1. Major Categories of Coffee Producers Perspectives on Gender Transformative Change within the Cooperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Categories</th>
<th>Subcategories</th>
<th>Overarching Themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Roles</td>
<td>Homestead work</td>
<td>Diversity of roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community work</td>
<td>Expansion of roles over time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community leadership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gender equity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Agency</td>
<td>Women’s autonomy</td>
<td>Progress towards women’s autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women’s individuality</td>
<td>All women are different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women’s constrained freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership</td>
<td>Gaining knowledge, skills, and resources</td>
<td>Women and men motivated by the same goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General support</td>
<td>Desire to improve abilities and livelihoods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Market access</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Institutional integration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.3.1 Women’s Roles

One of the main categories that arose from the data was around women’s roles. The question around women’s roles was directly broached through the first question in the semi-structured interview guide, and arose subsequently in different contexts, albeit less frequently, throughout the interview process. Out of the 30 participants interviewed, 29 discussed the diversity of roles that women have in the home and community. Within this diversity, participants observed an expansion over time in women’s roles.

6.3.1.a Homestead Work

Within this subcategory, one third of participants characterized women’s varied work at the household level as homestead work, which includes not only work within the household, but on the family farm as well. Through this subcategory, participants described the various ways in which women are caretakers of the family, the house, and the land. They described women’s participation in the coffee production process, as cultivators of food for the household, and as the managers of family caretaking and domestic responsibilities such as cleaning and cooking.

One male respondent commented on women’s roles doing homestead work, and the various roles that women play at the household level: “Women are doing a very special job in the community. They are the main caretakers of the family at home. They are also responsible for the coffee process, and other jobs.” (P21). Women’s responses were very similar. The majority noted that women are in charge of a variety of homestead work at the household level, from the coffee process, to the garden, to the kitchen.

6.3.1.b Community Work

Close to two thirds of the participants discussed women’s active participation in community groups. Several participants noted the difference between their community and
society at large in Guatemala with regards to women’s roles and participation in the community. One man noted that “In this community, there are women who have positions, for example, some work in the schools and on committees and some are members of organized women’s groups who work together to produce different products such as coffee, chilies, and tomatoes” (P22).

One woman portrayed the expansion of women’s roles as being related to an individual’s education. She shared,

The role of women is to work in the kitchen and have a job as a teacher. Actually, I am a woman and since I do not have a degree I dedicate myself to work more with coffee production and to help my father with the harvest. Those that have more professional training can have a position with a committee. (P9)

6.3.1.c Community Leadership

Just over half of the participants referenced the expansion of women’s roles over time, and more specifically more women taking on leadership roles in their community work. At the organizational level, women and men also observed that women are not only participating in organizations, but that they are also serving as leaders. An older man observed that “Before, they did not take into account women. Now, women hold positions in their communities” (P27). A woman echoed this reality and explained: “The role of women in the community is to be leaders in the community and to have a position in the church and to be able to work on their own parcels of land and to have a good life with the family” (P10).

6.3.1.d Gender Equity

Half of respondents discussed women and men’s roles as being equal. Some acknowledged that women do the same work as men related to the coffee harvest, and referenced equity with men, and the right of women to be autonomous, independent thinkers, while working together with fellow producers and family members. These ideas came through the subcategory
within women’s roles on gender equity. One woman mused that: “The work of each woman is the same as that of a man. This holds true for coffee production as well” (P8). A man concurred that: “Women have the right to participate in community activities, such as groups of women who participate on a committee. Not only men should have the power – and now our rights are leveling out and becoming more equal.” (P25). These comments reflected a collective appreciation for the shared work that women and men cooperative members do as coffee producers, and their observations about the expanding opportunities for women.

6.3.2 Individual Agency

Tied closely to the category of women’s roles was the category of individual agency, which entails an individual’s freedom, their capacity to be in charge of their resources and decision-making, and their ability to have a voice at the household and community level. Women observed the dynamics of how they develop agency through the cultivation of confidence and self-efficacy, coupled with an awareness of their autonomy and rights. While just half of participants discussed the concepts within this category, it is nonetheless important within the broader discourse on women in agriculture, as echoed in the literature. Within this category, there were two main interlinked subcategories including women’s autonomy and women’s individuality that were captured through some participants’ observations.

6.3.2.a Women’s Autonomy

The category of women’s autonomy was closely tied to both agency and individuality. Women coffee producers described the growing independence of women in their community. With regards to both economic and social autonomy, one woman producer shared: “Yes, some women work in the community and have their own work and some are participating in women’s groups, those who would like to participate do” (P23). A man echoed the reality of women’s
autonomy in the context of the cooperative by sharing “When women want to participate they do, and when they do not, they don’t: it is not an obligation” (P22).

However, women and men cooperative members discussed that as women’s autonomy has been expanding, that there have been issues at the household level constraining their freedom. One woman observed that:

Many women in my community want to take part in different workshops and trainings but because of their domestic work, they cannot attend. Many women do not have the courage to ask permission from their husbands to let them out and participate outside the home. (P12)

A man also commented that:

Each woman chooses to participate in the cooperative, just like for men. But sometimes husbands don’t allow their wives to participate. But these men are ‘machistos’ and they have not received trainings about the importance of the participation of women — but for me, it is great that these women are members because they enjoy and benefit from participating. (P29)

Although many made reference to the importance of expanded opportunities for women within the category of Individual Agency, some participants made clear that at the community level, traditional gender norms still saddle women with the responsibilities for serving as the main caretaker in the family, where it is expected that they will do the vast majority of the domestic work, even as they have taken on additional roles as coffee producers, cooperative members, and leaders in the community (Collins, 2015; Lyon et al, 2017; Wharton, 2011).

6.3.2.b Women’s Individuality

Producers commented on women’s individuality predominantly by observing that each woman thinks differently. A woman producer shared very straightforwardly, “I think every woman is different. Women think different and act different” (P8). Another man producer echoed,
"Each woman can decide if she wants to participate... just like how I get to decide... it is the same for women as it is for men... and those women that are members, how great that is for me because they enjoy participating" (P22). Both women and men’s appreciation and sensitivity to women’s individuality and their perceived choice and freedom to decide ‘just like men’, highlights their evolved and nuanced perspective on human capabilities comparatively untethered from gendered expectations.

6.3.3 Membership

The category of Membership was closely tied to Women’s Roles and Individual Agency. The topic of membership came up through the second and third questions in the semi-structured interview guide where two thirds of participants discussed why women and men are members in the cooperative and what women and men think about women’s membership. When asked about how and why women began participating as members in the cooperative, participants shared that women began to participate when they were given the opportunity, so that they could improve their coffee production, diversify their livelihoods, and have the opportunity to enhance their knowledge and skills. Women shared that they wanted to join in order take advantage of the training opportunities, just like men.

6.3.3.a Gaining Knowledge, Skills, and Resources

All of the participants who discussed membership mentioned that they decided to join the cooperative so that they could gain knowledge, skills, and resources to improve their coffee production, homestead food sovereignty, and livelihood sustainability through diversification. One woman shared: “I joined the cooperative at age 52 with an initiative of a friend. I am motivated to participate because I receive technical assistance and training to diversify what I
Another woman expanded on this and described the myriad of reasons that motivated her to join:

When I started participating in the cooperative it was for my personal development, my family’s development, and the development of other families that are also small coffee producers. Because to be a member of the cooperative I receive a lot of benefits, including a good price for my coffee, opportunities like mini projects, and training on important topics related to taking care of coffee so that I can produce good quality coffee. (P13)

Just as for men, women shared that their main motivations behind joining the cooperative were to improve their agency and abilities. When men were asked about why they thought women would want to participate as members, the majority of them reflected that they imagined women would want to join for the same reasons as men: trainings and a better price for coffee. Various men also relayed that they thought women would want to join for the opportunity to improve their knowledge and skills related to coffee production. One man shared:

From my perspective, I think it is good that women participate because they gain experience by participating and also receive trainings on how we can live together in the community. I think that women work in groups because these groups facilitate training and projects so that they can gain experience in different types of work, for example, in organic coffee cultivation, in how to use organic fertilizer, and in growing fruit trees and other types of trees. (P19)

Echoing this statement, one older cooperative member shared his observations of change over time related to women’s membership:

When I started in the association there were not many women, but actually I am seeing that yes, they are now well-integrated as members. I believe that the women are interested in learning through the workshops and trainings on topics that are very important. For example, there are trainings on why not to burn garbage, because the smoke affects health and contaminates the environment. (P26)

Men also shared why they became members, which was parallel to women’s motivations and what men thought motivated women. They also wanted to take advantage of training opportunities, technical assistance, and access to better markets for their coffee. One man shared:
I became a member because I realized that the association trains its members in a lot of different subject areas and helps its members in marketing the coffee that we produce. They also help us to get a better price than the street price for our coffee. (P16)

6.3.3.b Market Access

About a third of participants referenced that they thought women wanted to join to gain access to a better market for their coffee. One man shared why he thought women originally started to join the cooperative. He explained that, "Well, the women became members and it is because the prices of coffee were very low, but with the association there was a better price and we knew that the association supports small coffee producers" (P17). A woman producer shared her reasons for becoming a member: "I am involved in the cooperative to have access to a fair market for coffee and other products and because of its commitments to the women's association for development" (P9).

6.3.3.c Institutional Integration

Integral to the category of membership is the subcategory of institutional integration, where cooperative members discussed the importance of women having the same opportunity through membership to develop as producers and people. All of the participants discussed women’s institutional integration. One woman reflected on change that has occurred over time as a result of the institutional integration of women into the cooperative:

There has been a change in my community. Before, the women were very scared and they did not participate in meetings. Over time, it is no longer the same now, and women have become more active through the workshops and training they have received as members in the cooperative and the federation. (P7)

Women cooperative members repeatedly described a process of women ‘losing their fear’, gaining confidence, and becoming more apt to participate in organizations outside the home. One woman shared her observation that “woman have begun to lose the fear of
participating in the cooperative and they are now able to produce and sell a better quality product" (P10). Not only has women’s participation increased their sense of autonomy and agency, but their skills and resources as well.

In the context of institutional integration, women and men also discussed the role of gender sensitization workshops, and the process by which women have gained increased self-efficacy by participating in other skill-based trainings. A few women shared their reflections on how the trainings have shaped their ideas of gender and work within the context of their membership in the cooperative. One woman shared that “since I started in the cooperative I have learned many things through the trainings, especially that all women have right to be free” (P12). Another woman reflected on how the cooperative has facilitated cooperation amongst men and women members: “we have the same obligations as men and the cooperative has helped us to work together with men and women. My brothers and I work as a team, and this is important to work together to get the job done” (P10).

At the organizational level, participants also discussed the overarching importance of institutional priorities in supporting gender integration. One participant shared:

The cooperative and the federation have had the vision to increase the participation of women and to integrate grassroots organizations so that we can have access to market our coffee and our other products. (P2)

In addition, data from the interviews highlighted the cooperative and federation’s efforts to establish inclusive policies and a social environment with the intentional goal of gender inclusivity and women’s empowerment. Through the course of the interviews, it became clear that one of the primary mechanisms for creating gender inclusivity has been through the annual trainings on gender equity, as discussed in more detail in the previous chapter. One male participant observed: “In the past women were not valued, but actually, women are very
important in the community. We started to see this movement in the cooperative because they were training women” (P20). It has not only been the opportunity to become members, but the organizational prioritization of institutional integration on behalf of federation and the associated cooperatives, that has begun to build a supportive and enabling social environment for gender sensitization and equity.

6.4 Discussion

These qualitative interview data shed light on the complex process of gender transformative change that happens at multiple levels within the organizational context. Women and men cooperative members have observed a change over time in women’s enhanced roles in the community and as participants and leaders in organizations like the cooperative. Women and men’s discussion of women’s roles and their motivation for becoming members highlights the significant ways in which these cooperative members view gender equity as a benefit to their organization and the broader community. Their collective perspectives describe a reciprocal positive feedback cycle between women’s membership in the cooperative, their knowledge, skills and resources, their agency and benefits to the household and community. As they participate and gain more knowledge, skills, and resources, their agency increases. Through women’s integration into the cooperative as members, they too benefit from the same access to workshops, trainings, resources, and marketing that men have benefit from.

Through their membership in the cooperative and the federation’s formal trainings on gender inclusivity and gender inclusive membership and leadership policies, women and men cooperative members have been formally exposed to new ideas, while informally learning and interacting together in the context of cooperative meetings, events, and trainings. Data from this study has captured a process of change in gender norms happening in tandem at the household
and organizational level, initiated through the development of an enabling social environment within the cooperative and federation.

At the individual level, women and men cooperative members described the process through which personal change has been happening. For women, this process happens through the development of women's self-efficacy and awareness of their autonomy and rights. For men, this process happens at the individual level as men are exposed to ideas on gender sensitivity and experience the benefit of women participating as cooperative members through their interactions at cooperative meetings and trainings and in the field with their female family members and relatives.

At the relational level, this process creates a ripple effect starting within the household and spreading outwards to the community and societal level, transforming normally held assumptions about women's roles and abilities. At the organizational level, both individual and relational awareness and understanding about gender equity is built through formal gender sensitization trainings and also through women and men's collective participation in the cooperative. At the organizational level, women are also encouraged and recruited for leadership positions in the cooperative and the federation, further transforming gender norms and enhancing the democratic and inclusive nature of the cooperative association. Organizational inclusion bolsters change at the societal and political levels as well, establishing new norms for women's participation and leadership within the cooperative and the federation and other formal organizations.

*Unintended Consequences*

Even as women's roles in the community are expanding in beneficial ways, they still maintain their roles as domestic caretakers. An unintended consequence of women's
empowerment and participation has expanded their roles in the community, and due to lagging
gender norms at the household level, thus increased their burden of work. One might speculate
that through the process of gender sensitization, male family members of women cooperative
members might cultivate an awareness of how gender roles constrain both women and men, and
may consider taking on roles that may have been traditionally relegated to women. Just as
women have required training as they step into formerly male-dominated work, perhaps men
may require similar support in developing more expansive attitudes around gender roles for men
and women, which could result in men taking on gender non-normative household work.

6.5 Limitations

This study has limitations, which are primarily related to the study design, language
barriers, and the respondent selection process. As with all research, the positionality of the
primary investigator has had an influence on relationships with study participants and
community members. In this particular study, while the use of ‘insider’ research assistants was
integral to the data collection process during the semi-structured interviews due to language
requirements, the presence of these insiders may have contributed to pressure for respondents to
positively portray the institutions to which they are members. The primary investigator, and
outsider, processed and analyzed observations and documents through a western feminist lens.
With this in mind, it is the nature of qualitative research to understand, reflect on, and utilize
observations of potential bias and power dynamics as ‘part of the data’.

Language barriers may have also proven to be a limitation as the research was primarily
conducted in Mam, with Spanish used secondarily. The research assistants, though fluent in
Spanish and Mam, likely encountered challenges in their direct transcription and translation of
Mam directly into Spanish. In order to deal with language-related challenges, the research team
was trained in advance of the study and employed the member checking technique, where they would confirm with study participants in real time that they had represented their thoughts in Mam as accurately as possible into Spanish. In addition, the research team debriefed daily during the data generation process. The primary investigator, a native English speaker but fluent in Spanish, conducted direct translations of meeting observations, which may have also been limited by non-native fluency. Back-translations were conducted by a neutral third party on samples of the data generated, whereby the final English translation was translated back into Spanish to confirm accuracy of understanding and reviewed with the research assistants.

In addition, the sampling and inclusion methods may have several limitations. These limitations are predominantly related to the timeframe and resource constraints of the study, which limited the sampling strategies. Based on geographic distribution of cooperative members, and their availability, only members willing and able to travel to the research site were able to participate, and only those with the freedom to attend the meetings were able to be present, which certainly influenced the types of participants who were able to join the study, and the content of the observations.

Limitations also include ethical issues regarding to participation incentives. Although these were determined in conjunction with the cooperative leadership and the research team, these incentives could have nonetheless may influence participation in the study. At the same time, not providing participation incentives in order to compensate participants for their time would not be considered fair based on current research standards. Finally, relative lack of time spent immersed in Guatemala among the cooperative members could be seen as a limitation. However, while ethnographic research steeped in the anthropological tradition values prolonged researcher engagement and persistent observation, in some ways this approach can place an
undue burden on the group or institution of interest and lead to both community and researcher fatigue. Overall, efforts were made to address the limitations of the study.

6.6 Conclusions

The goal of this paper has been to understand the dynamics of gender transformative change through the perspectives of indigenous women and men coffee cooperative members in the western highlands of Guatemala. These findings have highlighted ways in which the process of gender transformative change has been unfolding through the interplay of shifting gender norms at multiple levels. This shift in gender norms has been initiated through the structural policies of the cooperative and the federation, gender sensitization and empowerment workshops, co-educational technical assistance and trainings, and the creation of a supportive enabling environment for gender inclusivity and women’s leadership. The combination of these activities undertaken simultaneously has been critical to effect change at the personal and relational levels, reinforced through institutional support, as evidenced by women and men cooperative members’ perspectives. The federation and the cooperative have been motivated to integrate these types of trainings and opportunities due to a combination of practical necessity for agricultural technical assistance, organizational vision, and the outside influence of the fair trade certification process combined with external funding opportunities focused on gender empowerment.

Women and men’s reflections on the change in women’s roles and gender norms over time point to the significant role that cooperative associations and federations can play in shaping gender norms and enhancing gender inclusivity. This more nuanced understanding of the formal and informal levers within the structure of the cooperative and its federation can inform the success of programs and policies aimed at supporting the process of gender transformative change that goes beyond superficial gender integration strategies. By developing a better
understanding of the multilevel catalysts for change, resources can be more effectively targeted
to further enhance and accelerate this gradual process. For example, based on these findings,
further resources can be channeled into co-educational gender sensitization trainings, alongside
technical assistance workshops that may reinforce concepts of gender equity not only in theory,
but also in practice. In particular, simultaneously involving male family members of women
cooperative members could begin to address constraints that women cooperative members may
face at the household level. This type of approach may lead to more than just superficial gender
integration, and has the potential to result in the genuine integration of women into previously
male-dominated organizations and the eventual percolation of society-wide shifts in gender
norms, moving towards a more equitable society.
Chapter 7. The Daily Grind: Mayan Women Coffee Cooperative Members’ Lived Experiences and their Perspectives on Food Sovereignty, Livelihood Sustainability, and Gender Roles in the Western Highlands of Guatemala

“We grow up at the base of the volcanos, in their skirt folds, where we cultivate coffee. Coffee is a part of our life from early on.”

- Guatemalan Coffee Exporter

7.1 Introduction

As more women are taking on formal roles in agricultural cash crop industries such as coffee, there is a need to understand the reality of their lived experiences and the dynamics of their participation. Women’s formal participation in the coffee industry is especially significant, as 80% of coffee produced worldwide supports an estimated 25 million small-holder farmers and their families, of whom 1/3 are estimated to be women (Fair trade 2017). Decades of research has linked women’s empowerment and enhanced access to resources to improved health, education, and economic outcomes for themselves and their families. Women’s formal participation as small-holder coffee producers may lead to an increase in agricultural production and economic growth on a larger scale, while contributing to enhanced food sovereignty and more sustainable livelihoods at the household level (FAO, 2011; Fair trade, 2016; Lyon, 2008; Lyon et al, 2010; Malapit et al, 2015).

However, there is currently a ‘gender gap’ in agriculture, characterized by women’s unequal access to resources and training in comparison to their male counterparts. Addressing this gender gap in agriculture requires more than just a focus on improving women’s access to enhanced economic opportunities and material goods and services, but also requires understanding and concurrently addressing the underlying socio-cultural and structural
phenomena that perpetuate gender inequality (Apothekar, Pyburn and Laven, 2012; International Food Policy Research Institute, 2012; Kirk, 2012). While efforts have been made to quantify and measure women’s relative position in agriculture at the country level through tools like the Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index, there has been limited research that explores the dynamics of women’s formal participation in agriculture at the individual level through their own perspectives (Alkire, Meinzen-Dick, Peterman, Quizumber, Seymour, and Vaz; 2013; Malapit et al, 2015; Manyampa and Hendricks, 2014). Understanding women producer’s experiences as formal cooperative members and leaders in their communities can inform the success of programs and policies aimed at supporting the wellbeing of these women and their families, while promoting gender equity more broadly.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the lived experiences of indigenous women coffee cooperative members in the Western Highlands of Guatemala through their own perspectives using participatory research strategies to better understand how their membership in the cooperative has shaped their food sovereignty, livelihood sustainability, and their views on gender roles. While the previous chapter explored gender transformative change at the relational and institutional level through semi-structured interviews with men and women cooperative members, this chapter will explore this process in greater granularity at the individual level. This chapter intends to contribute to developing a deeper understanding of gender transformative change by understanding the dynamics of how this process unfolds through the lived experience of women coffee cooperative members. The overall purpose of this chapter is to explore the process of gender transformative change at the individual level to inform organizational strategies, programs and policies aimed at addressing the gender gap in agriculture by supporting women coffee producers, and women in agriculture more broadly.
7.2 Methods

In order to address the third aim of this dissertation, a participatory research approach has been employed for gaining a grass-roots level perspective on these complex social and behavioral phenomena, amongst this relatively difficult to reach or hidden population. Visual participatory research methods in particular have been utilized for generating participant-centered, change-oriented findings whereby participants themselves have been able to represent their own lives and consider strategies for enhancing their communities through the research process (Hirsch and Philbin, 2016; Plunkett, Leipert, and Ray, 2012). The methods used in this study, which include life landscape drawings, photovoice images, photovoice focus groups, and women’s commentary on the images that they generated through the research process were combined to enhance the depth, accuracy, and rigor of the qualitative data. Fifteen women from the cooperative who participated in the semi-structured interviews were also included in this part of the research. The use of these participatory methods were also beneficial in addressing the unequal power dynamics involved in formal research, whereby it is the norm that relatively powerful and privileged people conduct research ‘on’ and not ‘with’ subjects who are less privileged and powerful (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995). Unlike conventional research processes, in participatory research, the researcher work alongside the participants to facilitate the development of a critical awareness of circumstances influencing their lives (Bergold and Thomas, 2012; De Koning and Martin, 1996).

Once the participatory data generation process was complete, three rounds of qualitative coding were conducted in total. The first round of coding was exploratory, and was informed by insights gained from the primary investigator as participants shared their drawings and photography. In addition, this first round of coding was also informed by the translation of the
notes that were taken in Spanish of the participants’ descriptions of their drawings and the focus
group reflections of their photographs. Through the process of translating the notes into English,
alongside the drawings and images, the primary investigator began to categorize the data by hand
around common themes that emerged. Once the Spanish language translations were complete,
the primary investigator had samples of the translations checked by a native Spanish speaker
from Guatemala for accuracy.

During the following rounds of coding conducted in Dedoose, excerpts of text and
images of significance were highlighted and tagged thematically through an iterative process. A
parallel approach to coding the visual data was taken, where entire photos may have been tagged
with a code, or sections of the photograph. Once the initial round of iterative, or open coding was
complete, the codes were reviewed, refined, and merged where necessary to account for any gaps
or redundancies. In some instances, codes were expanded to include subcategories. In other
instances, similar codes were merged together to create larger categories, of which these codes
then became subcategories. In addition to analyzing the data collectively to gain thematic
insights, the investigator also analyzed the data by participant, taking into account the text, life
landscape drawing, and photovoice images from each individual. The multiple rounds of coding
allowed for the distillation of the relationship amongst codes, yielding a deeper understanding of
the underlying phenomena (Birks and Mills, 2015; Saldaña, 2016).

7.3 Results

The major domains that emerged from the drawings, photographs, focus group
commentary and accompanying personal descriptions of the visual data centered around food
sovereignty, livelihood sustainability, and gender roles. These three main categories were drawn
from 75 sources of data including 15 life drawings, 42 photographs, 15 photo narrative
reflections, and 3 sets of focus group discussion notes from the photovoice focus groups. Table 1, which has been listed below, provides the major results of the coding analysis. The depth of their experiences are explored further through an analysis of each major category.

Table 1. Coding Scheme for Women Coffee Producer’s Lived Experiences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Categories and Subcategories</th>
<th>Themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food Sovereignty</strong></td>
<td>Desire to maintain a self-sufficient life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Agricultural Biodiversity</td>
<td>Living off of the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Household food resources</td>
<td>Effort to be food sovereign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Livelihood Sustainability</strong></td>
<td>Efforts towards diversification through training and access to resources and project opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Expansion and development of coffee production</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Crop diversification for sales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women’s Roles</strong></td>
<td>Roles of women in the household and the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Farmers</td>
<td>Changes in Gender Norms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Weavers</td>
<td>Negotiation of Autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Domestic caretakers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Leaders in the community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Members in organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.1 Food Sovereignty

Within the category of food sovereignty, participants portrayed the household food resources that they produce in both the life landscape drawings and the photovoice images and showcased the agricultural biodiversity of their cultivated land. These images highlight that women farmers value the natural resources that they cultivate and utilize on their land that allow them to propagate a variety of foods, natural medicines, and other crops to enhance their food sovereignty. As they described their drawings and photographs, women recounted with pride the diversity of plants that they cultivate for household consumption and use.

The life landscape drawings provide an integrated conceptual understanding of women’s perspectives on food sovereignty within the context of the small-holder producer’s homestead.
These images illustrate a 30,000 foot view of the participants land and dwellings. The women depicted not only their coffee orchards, depicted full of ripe red coffee cherries, but also gardens with fruit trees, productive vegetable plots, tangles of medicinal herbs, flowers, and other edible and decorative plants. A majority of respondents also portrayed water sources, which varied from natural bodies of water in close proximity to the home, to water pumps near the typical Guatemalan ‘pila’ or three compartment sink. Various participants also depicted their family members, sometimes using blue and pink stick figures to denote gender. Every respondent showcased their domesticated animals, and some also drew their pets or ‘mascotas’ as well. Figure 1, listed below, illustrates an example of one of life landscape drawings.

Figure 1. Example of a life landscape drawing from participant 13 depicting their homestead.
This figure, which was crafted by Participant 13, highlights some of the major themes around food sovereignty and livelihood sustainability that arose in the context of the life landscape drawings. Participant 13 described her drawing: “In my drawing I have shown my coffee fields, medicinal plants, orchards of vegetables and fruits, flowers, apiaries with bees for honey, ducks, chickens, goats, pig, and avocado”. As described, in this drawing, participant 13 has depicted her family in the center standing outside by the coffee drying patio that is filled with drying coffee beans. The family members are drawn in either pink to denote a female, or blue to denote a male. Surrounding the homestead is the family kitchen and sink, the pen where domesticated animals are kept, and the coffee trees ripe with cherries. A variety of different plant species are also depicted, including edible fruit trees and medicinal herbs. Overall, this drawing demonstrates the importance of natural resources, plants, and animals for the family’s food sovereignty and their wellbeing. It also points to the central importance of coffee as a livelihood, complimented by diversified methods for supporting the family through eggs, meat, honey, fruits, and vegetables that can be reserved for home consumption but also sold in the market to augment income from coffee production.

7.3.1a Agricultural Biodiversity

Within the category of food sovereignty, many participants captured the wide variety of edible fruit trees and plants that they cultivate, demonstrating the importance of agricultural biodiversity as a strategy for more sustainable food sovereignty. For example, in her life landscape drawing, participant 7 lists her family’s resources that she has drawn: “In my drawing I have shown my medicinal plants, orchards of vegetables and fruits, flowers, ducks, dog, goats, avocado, and coffee” (P7). Her drawing is shown below in Figure 2.
In addition, various participants took photographs that showcase agricultural biodiversity within food sovereignty. These photographs were often of their cultivated land and the corridors where they grow different types of edible plants and herbs. One woman shared her photograph of the diversity of plants that she cultivates, which is shown below in figure 3. She described the contents of the image:

This photo was taken just outside of my house. Here I have chili bushes growing so that I can flavor the meals. We also grow many different types of herbs for meals, making medicines to cure different diseases, and we take some to church as well. There are also fruit trees pictured here that give us fruits filled with vitamins. (P9)
7.3.1b Household Food Resources

Participants also took photographs of the essential staple crops that they grow as part of the agricultural biodiversity of their cultivated land that form the foundation of their household food resources. In Guatemala, a combination of three crops called the ‘three sisters’ (beans, squash, and corn) have been planted by homestead farmers for sustenance in an integrated system called milpa for centuries. One participant took a photograph of her son during the growing season standing in the middle of her milpa crop. She shared: “This is a picture of my son in the milpa crop. He is very happy, because soon he will eat the corn after the harvest. We eat corn daily for consumption – this is our daily sustenance” (P13). Her photograph is featured below in figure 4.

Figure 3. Participant 9 captures the diversity of plants cultivated on her land
Figure 4. Participant 13 captures her son standing among the ‘three sisters’ an integrated *milpa* system of agriculture where corn, beans, and squash are planted in symbiosis.

Many participants also took photographs of their medicinal herb gardens, and discussed the various ways they use herbs to augment their household’s wellbeing. One participant shared her photograph of her medicinal garden and noted that: “*Here I have many plants that I use for food, medicine, and also some flowers that I use to take to church and to put at the center of the table where we eat*” (P7). Her photograph is shown below in figure 5.
Animal husbandry was also frequently portrayed in the drawings and photographs that depict other forms of household food resources. Through their photography, participants captured images of the animals that they keep on the land that provide milk, meat, eggs, and honey for the household including chickens, goats, rabbits, birds, and bees. One woman captured her nanny goat and two kids in one of her photographs, as shown in figure 6. She shared: "This photo is of my goats. I received the pregnant nanny goat through the cooperative. I have five goats – I had six, but we ate one. The goats give us milk and more than anything, we use the manure to fertilize the coffee plants that we have" (P4). This photograph also highlights the interlinked importance of animal husbandry to not only diversification but also to agro-ecological practices at the level of the homestead. The goats provide not just milk and meat, but
also organic matter to improve the quality of the soil on the land and bolster agricultural production.

**Figure 6. Participant 4 took a photograph of her nanny goat with its kids and a stack of firewood in the background**

Another participant took a photograph of her chicken coop as depicted in figure 7, and relayed how her family uses the eggs to augment their diet: “*In this picture I am feeding our chickens in the chicken coop. When they grow up they will give eggs for the whole family to enjoy*” (P11).
Figure 7. Participant 11 pictured posing with her chicken coop on her land, with a stack of foraged firewood for fuel behind her.

7.3.2 Livelihood Sustainability

Another key theme that emerged from the life landscape drawings and photography was around livelihood sustainability. Participants portrayed and reflected on the many ways that they have diversified their incomes by cultivating many different plants and products to sell in addition to coffee. For example, one participant, while sharing her selected photovoice images, described the benefits of her quisquil patch, a squash-like vegetable with the appearance of a pear that is also referred to as ‘chayote’, ‘chow chow’, or ‘mirlton’:

When I plant my crops for the household, I am able to sell the extra vegetables in the market or in my own community. I enjoy working in the quisquil patch, cutting quisquil to harvest it, and then selling it at the market. It produces a lot of fruit and I am able to sell it in the market for 2 quetzals per kilo [$0.60/lb]. This helps to bring in money for my family. (P5)
She also posed by her quisquil patch at night and had her photo taken by one of her daughters, as shown in figure 8 below.

**Figure 8. Participant 5 poses at night by her quisquil patch, a squash-like vegetable that is very popular in Guatemala**

A variety of women mentioned their participation in the cooperative’s new project to promote honey cultivation while simultaneously enhancing the ecosystem of pollinators for the coffee plants and other trees and plants grown by cooperative members. Some women portrayed their apiaries in their drawings and through their photography. Participant 5 showcased both in her drawing and photography. In her life landscape drawing below in Figure 9, she highlighted the apiary box in orange, along the bottom between the rabbit, chicken, and duck.
She also shared an image of herself extracting honey, and commented: "Here I am working to extract the honey that we produce. Right now we use it for our family's consumption, but through the cooperative we hope to find a market to sell it" (P5). This image is shown in figure 10 below.
Figure 10. Participant 5 extracting honey from where her family stores the processed nectar from their apiary boxes.

As coffee farmers, many of the women described other creative ways that they generate income in addition to selling their coffee beans and other products. One participant shared a photograph that she took of the coffee seedlings that she sells for profit in addition to the coffee cherries that she harvests and processes to sell through the cooperative: “I took this photograph with my girls in the middle of coffee plants that I have seeded for my farm, and also to sell, with the help of the cooperative” (P1). Her photograph is listed below in figure 11.
In addition to capturing their various strategies for livelihood sustainability through drawings and photography, the women also shared their thoughts during the focus group sessions on the critical role of participating in organizations, like the cooperative, as an opportunity to initiate new income-generating projects to bolster their family’s wellbeing and security. In reflecting on her photographs, one participant mentioned, “We can improve our quality of life through different projects with the cooperative, where we are able to create other streams of income, like for example, with the production and sale of textiles” (P9). Several other participants captured photographs of themselves weaving textiles by hand, a practice that is a source of great cultural pride, which produces vibrant and very sturdy cloth for creating ‘traje’ or traditional Mayan clothing. One participant had a family member take a picture of herself while
she was weaving, and commented on the photo: “Here I am weaving to make a corte, and to create a patterned border and design. When you make a corte, it takes a lot of time” (P15). Pictured in the image below is participant 15 weaving a corte, or traditional Mayan wrap skirt, using the back strap method.

**Figure 12. Participant 15 weaving a ‘corte’ or traditional Mayan wrap skirt**

Through their descriptions of their photographs and during the photovoice focus groups, participants also mentioned the opportunities through the cooperative and other community-based organizations for gaining skills and enhancing their technical expertise to improve their family resources. One participant reflected that:

> With the help of the association and the cooperative, we can participate in workshops and trainings to learn about different types of work that can help us to improve our lifestyles. Through the cooperative, we have been able to incubate many new projects so that we can contribute to better our families and help to develop our communities. (P1)
The drawings and photographs showcase the variety of ways in which women producers are working to diversify their household’s income and resources. In addition, the women’s reflections on the photographs relayed the catalytic role that participation in groups and organizations have had for improving livelihood sustainability.

7.3.3 Women’s Roles and Shifting Gender Norms

Through the context of the photovoice method, women captured the various roles that they play at the household level in their photography. During this process, the images and reflections that they shared confirmed the findings from the previous chapter regarding gender roles and individual agency, and changes happening within the community in part as a result of women’s institutional integration into the cooperative as formal members.

7.3.3.a Household Gender Roles

Women recorded their domestic household roles primarily through their photography, highlighting their domestic responsibilities in a variety of areas. In their photographs, women demonstrated that they are largely in charge of domestic work including laundry, cooking, and caring for children and other family members. One participant shared a picture of herself preparing the daily tortillas, which is listed below in figure 13. As she shared the photo during the focus group discussion, she remarked:

My work in the house is to cook and to make tortillas by hand. To prepare the food in the house we use a wood-fired stove. In this picture you can see a glass where I have water to use to make the masa (dough) for the tortillas, which I mix and then prepare to cook on the plancha (griddle). (P11)
Other participants had photographs taken of themselves taking care of their children. One participant, who had just had a new baby, enlisted a family member to capture an image of her bathing her daughter. As she shared the photograph with her group, she said "This picture was taken while I was bathing my daughter. I bathe her every day so that she will have good hygiene and grow up to be healthy. I usually use water that has been heated on the stove, so that she enjoys it more" (P12). The picture is shown below in figure 14.
In addition to preparing food and taking care of children and other family members, many participants also captured images of the myriad of other domestic roles that they play at the household level. Women portrayed themselves sweeping, doing laundry, cleaning, taking care of the animals in addition to other activities. One participant shared an image of herself sweeping after having finished up with the laundry, shown in figure 15. She commented:

In this picture, I am cleaning the entire corridor outside of the house. You can see a small garden that I have just weeded in the background, and the clothing that has just been cleaned and is hanging so it can dry in the sun. (P10)
7.3.3.6 Reflections on Shifting Gender Norms

During the photovoice focus group sessions women were given a platform for reflecting on and sharing their thoughts related to food sovereignty, livelihood sustainability, and gender roles at the household and community level. Part of the purpose of photovoice is to provide participants with an opportunity to address problems in their lives or community related to the central topic of their lived experiences as women coffee producers. Various participants mentioned the household tensions that their participation in events and meetings outside the home have at the household level, and more specifically with their spouses. Some referenced needing to stay home to care for domestic chores, or having to ask permission to attend these types of opportunities, and being constrained by their spouses. A few respondents reflected on this topic, offering different insights into the dynamics of women’s formal participation in
organizations and events outside of the home. One participant summarized this challenging situation and reflected on the benefits she has received through participating in trainings organized by the cooperative:

Many women in my community want to take part in different workshops and trainings but because of their domestic work, they cannot attend. Many women do not have the courage to ask permission from their husbands to let them out and share their experiences. Since I started in co-op training I have learned many things through training, especially that all women have rights to be free. (P12)

Several other women shared their beliefs in the importance of women being able to participate in the community outside of the household, and for them to gain the confidence to express their ideas, opinions, have their perspectives taken into account. One woman encapsulated this sentiment in her comment:

I think that every woman should be able to participate in their community and outside of the home. Women should be able to become a member in any institution. They should also be able to learn more about their rights and gain confidence so that they can express their ideas, share their voice, and so that their vote can be taken into account. (P9)

Another participant echoed this idea, reflecting further on the importance of intergenerational role modeling as one vehicle for shifting gender norms. She said: “I think every woman has the right to participate in organizations and to serve as leaders so that we can teach our children new ideas so that when they grow up they will not be sexist ‘machistas’” (P1).

Although there was no formal process for taking action that directly followed this sequence of participatory research methods, it is clear that through the sequential use of these visual methods, the women respondents were able to portray and vocalize their roles in the process of shifting interpersonal gender norms around roles in their homes, organizations, and community, and shifting organizational gender norms organizations like the cooperative and its federation, and in the coffee supply chain at large. Moreover, their reflections demonstrate that they are clearly inspired by their involvement in community organizations included the
cooperative, and see the formal organization as a way to increase their household level prosperity by adopting enhanced strategies for food sovereignty, often interlinked with livelihood sustainability. In addition, they shared their understanding of the intergenerational process through which gender norms are changing through their role-modeling at the household level and their formal participation at the organizational level.

7.4 Discussion

The perspectives of the women cooperative members distilled through the life landscape drawings, photovoice photography, and photovoice focus group commentary has provided a portal through which to understand their lived experiences as cooperative members. Through their images and reflection, they demonstrate how their participation as members in community-based organizations like the cooperative has allowed them to improve livelihood sustainability through a variety of avenues. The central mechanisms for this improvement has been through access to trainings, resources, and the benefits of fair trade social premiums, which simultaneously have allowed them to expand their roles as women while modeling new gender norms intergenerationally at the household level.

When women have an opportunity to participate in organized activities outside of the home, and through their participation in informal and formal groups they have the opportunity to gain skills and resources to enhance their food sovereignty and livelihood sustainability. In some situations, relational confrontations may ensue at the household level, whereby women begin to confront household gender norms in a negotiation for more autonomy. This requires both self-efficacy and agency, or having confidence in oneself and one’s right to freedom to participate in events and opportunities outside of the home. In some cases, women have some confidence to begin with, and then gain more confidence through their participation in events and organizations.
outside of the home. Through these outside opportunities they gain knowledge, skills, financial power, and further increase their self-confidence, household resources, and sources of income. Empowered with new knowledge, skills, and resources, they are then able to provide more resources for their family while improving their own lives as well. Their growing self-efficacy changes the way they operate in the home: this may include demanding more freedom, making decisions, deciding how to spend money, and choosing to participate in other organizations outside of the home as members and leaders. Through membership in the cooperative and participation in the coffee federation, which both have a formal emphasis on gender equity and provide training on gender sensitization, a further shifting of norms occurs at the household, and institutional level. For example, at the household level women mentioned serving as role models for their children, promoting examples in the home of women as leaders and workers equal to men. At the organizational level, women’s active participation and leadership also serves as an example for other women in the organization, men, and as a demonstration of a gender-inclusive institution.

This process of change described by women coffee cooperative members links back to Sen and Nussbaum’s focus on the importance of capabilities for human development (Nussbaum, 1995; Sen, 1980). At the household level, food sovereignty and livelihood sustainability are interrelated and linked to each woman’s capabilities, comprised of not only their assets, but their abilities and agency. As women are able to gain more skills, knowledge, and access to resources through their participation in the cooperative and other community-based organizations, they are able to further bolster their own wellbeing and the wellbeing of their families. This more holistic focus on approaching gender disparities through the perspective of a
person's autonomy and abilities, rather than simply their assets, is key at the household level, especially as women begin to play more formal roles in agriculture in developing countries.

7.5 Limitations

This particular part of the research has limitations, which are primarily related to the study design, language barriers, and the respondent selection process. As with all research, the positionality of primary investigator, the research, in addition to the interviewers, has had an unavoidable influence on relationships with study participants and community members. Even though ‘insider’ research assistants were facilitating the data generation process itself, the presence of the primary investigator as an outsider woman from the United States may have had an influence on the participants’ responses. In addition, respondents may have felt pressure due to loyalty to positively portray the institutions to which they are members, which should also be taken into account when considering the data generated from this study. These limitations were minimized through data triangulation, which included multiple avenues of data generation. With this in mind, it is the nature of qualitative research to understand, reflect on, and utilize observations of potential bias and power dynamics as ‘part of the data’.

Language barriers may have also proven to be a limitation as the research was primarily conducted in Mam, with Spanish used secondarily. The research assistants, though fluent in Spanish and Mam, likely encountered challenges in their direct transcription and translation of Mam directly into Spanish. In order to deal with language-related challenges, the research team was trained in advance of the study and employed the member checking technique, where they would confirm with study participants in real time that they had represented their thoughts in Mam as accurately as possible into Spanish. In addition, the research team debriefed daily during the data generation process. Back-translations were conducted by a neutral third party.
samples of the data generated, whereby the final English translation was translated back into Spanish to confirm accuracy of understanding and reviewed with the research assistants.

In addition, the sampling and inclusion methods may have several limitations. Since women were the focus of attention in this part of the study, the relatively small sample size of 15 members has limited the depth of understanding. However, this still represents almost a third of the population of women coffee cooperative members in this particular organization. In addition, limitations based on sample size were also addressed through the sampling approach, which aimed at recruiting a diverse group of participants to maximize demographic variation. Other study limitations were related to the timeframe and resource constraints of the study, which limited the sampling strategy in other ways. Based on geographic distribution of cooperative members, and their availability, only members willing and able to travel to the research site were able to participate, which certainly influenced the types of participants who were able to join the study. Members with limited mobility, more constrained resources, those that lived in more geographically disconnected areas, and those with less connection to the cooperative may have been unable to participate, and therefore their experiences have not been captured.

Limitations also include ethical issues regarding to participation incentives. Although these were determined in conjunction with the cooperative leadership and the research team, these incentives could have nonetheless influenced the nature of their participation in the study. At the same time, not providing participation incentives in order to compensate participants for their time would not be considered fair based on current research standards. Finally, relative lack of time spent immersed in Guatemala among the cooperative members could be seen as a limitation. However, there are also benefits to research approaches that utilize shorter data collection timeframes. In addition, to address any potential drawbacks from this aspect of the
study design, the use of participatory methods, and specifically photovoice, which allowed the participants to independently generate data about their lived experiences from their own perspectives, provided a more immediate and direct window into the lives of the participants while still respecting their privacy. In addition, a final research dissemination trip allowed for the analysis and major findings to be shared and confirmed again with the research participants after analysis had been conducted by the primary investigator.

7.6 Conclusion

The goal of this chapter has been to explore the lived experiences of indigenous women coffee producers in the western highlands of Guatemala, and to understand the dynamics of their membership in an agricultural cooperative. The findings from this research confirm that women members value benefits of being cooperative members that support them in enhancing their food sovereignty as homestead farmers and their livelihood sustainability as coffee producers through diversification. The findings suggest that through formal participation in agricultural institutions, women cooperative members gain increased technical expertise access to resources, and opportunities to participate in projects focused building resilience through diversification and more sustainable homestead agriculture including agroforestry. Perhaps more importantly, this research also suggests that through their participation, women cooperative members also gain enhanced self-efficacy, leadership opportunities, and an expanded awareness of their own autonomy and gender equity.

Women cooperative members’ reflections and representations of women’s roles and their reflections on gender change over time point to the importance of a multilevel approach to gender inclusivity, as echoed in the literature on women in agriculture in the context of gender transformative approaches (Cole et al, 2014; Cornwall, 2014; FAO 2010). These research
CHAPTER 8: FINAL DISCUSSION

"The story about women's struggle for equality belongs to no single feminist nor to one single organization but to the collective efforts of all who believe in human rights"  
— Gloria Steinem

8.1 Introduction

This chapter is focused on integrating the findings from chapters 5-7 in order to answer the overarching research question of this study. This chapter will summarize and expand upon the collective perspectives presented by women cooperative members, men cooperative members, and supply chain stakeholders regarding the specific aims of the overall research. While each chapter looked at the topic through different perspectives, this final discussion will tie together these perspectives in order to arrive at comprehensive insights and next steps for future research and action.

The original motivation behind this research was to understand the dynamics of women's formal participation as members in a fair trade organic coffee cooperative and its global supply chain within the context of the recent trend of the feminization of agriculture. The goal has been to explore this question through the perspectives of supply chain actors connected to the cooperative, the observations and reflections of men and women cooperative members, and the lens of women cooperative members' lived experiences. How do supply chain actors connected to the cooperative view women's participation, and why does their perspective matter at the structural level? What are men and women cooperative member's views on women's formal participation? How does the cooperative support men and women cooperative members as they negotiate the process of gender integration at the institutional level? How has women's
membership in a fair trade organic coffee cooperative shaped women’s food sovereignty and livelihood sustainability? In the upcoming sections, the overarching findings from the study are triangulated and discussed in the context of current theories and research. This discussion then leads to recommendations for future action around strategies for closing the gender gap in agriculture through gender transformative approaches to improve the health and well-being of smallholder farmers and their families.

8.2 Women’s Invisible Work in Coffee

From the women and men cooperative members up through the supply chain, respondents acknowledged the trend of women moving into formal roles in coffee, but were unanimous in describing the historical and ongoing participation of women in coffee. As is the case in other contexts in agriculture, in coffee-producing communities, women have always been involved, but their role has been hidden, unacknowledged, and for the most part entirely taken for granted as free household labor. As a result, they have been invisible coffee producers, by default. In fact, in many situations, as they have grown up in coffee-producing families they have informally learned each step in the process from planting and caretaking to harvesting, pulping, and drying.

Their informal, hidden participation is partly a predicament of the small-holder farmer, who has historically relied heavily on household labor on the farm, and partly a reflection of the larger socio-structural gender-norms that operate in agricultural communities in the global south that confine women to their homesteads as subordinate domestic caretakers and discounted labor. They are even habituated to take on a certain level of anonymity themselves, and many find it hard to not refer to themselves as just ‘la hija’ (the daughter) or ‘la esposa’ (the wife), identifying
themselves only in roles that tie them to a patriarch in their family. Unaware that they are even doing it, supply chain stakeholders and technical assistance organizations made mention of the challenge of encouraging women to ‘own’ their formal roles as coffee producers. ‘I am a coffee producer’. ‘I am a cooperative member’. ‘I am a leader in my community’. These statements are all somewhat new for women to take on, both in their own minds, and aloud.

8.3 Land as Livelihood

Although the cooperative members themselves were not as vocal about the issue of land, a variety of supply chain respondents mentioned this issue like a mantra, repeating it over and over again as representing the most significant structural barrier for women’s participation. The issue of land is complex – in some cases, married women are able to claim partial ownership through their husbands, and participate as cooperative members. In other cases, they are widows who have been left to tend the land of their husbands. Maybe they have legally taken over the land, but in some cases this has happened without a paper trail. The sensitivity around this topic, especially in the cooperative’s community, was important to respect given the many indigenous male family members who were killed during the recent civil war. While there were no specific questions about the reality of land ownership, this topic still came up nonetheless. There was always a responsive wringing of hands that accompanied this topic, both due to the sensitive nature in which women have come to oversee land, due to the often draconian laws around land ownership and due to the very loose adherence to legal documentation of land rights.

At the producer level, land, once owned, was valued as a resource and the lifeblood of livelihood sustainability. For growing coffee, land was vital and must be protected and taken care of. Acquiring additional land was in effect, equated with expanding one’s business. Land was
also the foundation of household food sovereignty – the place where fruit trees, medicinal plants, livestock, and vegetable gardens were propagated. But without enough land, and enough water to sustain these resources, food sovereignty was only ever partial. At the same time, the idealized life of ‘living off of the land’ and preserving the lifestyle of a homesteader was a theme that was echoed from farmer to farmer, whether woman or man.

8.4 Coffee Producer by Day

Even as gender norms are shifting and women are becoming accepted and supported as formal members in coffee cooperatives, at the household level they are still the caretakers of the multitude of domestic work that must be done. Through women cooperative member’s photography and their words, and echoed in the sentiments of men cooperative members and supply chain stakeholders, it is clear that while women have gained numerous benefits and status in the community as cooperative members, wholesale shifts in gender norms lag behind. This process of change is slow, marked by accelerated shifts at the intergenerational level due to children receiving access to education, parental modeling, and more opportunities.

This perspective was echoed in the comments of supply chain stakeholders from Guatemala, where the consensus was that change is happening, but it is happening slowly – one respondent quoted that this is not a process that happens ‘de la noche a la mañana’, but ‘poco a poco’ (not overnight, but slowly, slowly). Most women coffee producers did not vocally complain about this burden of work in the context of their lives, but rather either mentioned frustration regarding the injustice of women not being allowed to participate in trainings and workshops outside of the home, or having to ask permission from their husbands. Awareness around women’s autonomy, gender equity, and human rights, which have been cloaked by an
intensely patriarchal society, is still in the formative stages, especially in this traditional rural agricultural context. In coffee, this process is happening through women that find themselves in unique positions as the head of their familial land — whether they are widows, their husbands have migrated to the city or abroad for more lucrative work, or they are daughters who came into the land through unexpected circumstances related to war. These women are leading the way by necessity, modeling examples of women doing work that is equal to men, and demonstrating that women can be effective leaders in their communities.

8.5 Gender Integration at the Institutional Level

How is this process happening? The central levers in the process of gender transformative change within the cooperative and the federation have been a combination of structural policies and support at the institutional level combined with consistent efforts at creating an enabling social environment through education and training. The creation of a gender commission that gives women a voice, and the required inclusion of women representatives in the annual meeting of the federation are just a few examples of the structural policies that exist to support women’s true inclusion and collective agency around gender transformative change. At the same time, this inclusion would not be possible without an intentional shift in the social environment of the cooperative and federation. Gender transformative change requires the combination of structural policy and an enabling social environment that supports both women and men together. To achieve this supportive environment requires more than just policy, it requires consistent and engaging education and awareness raising coupled with an institutional commitment to creating a culture of gender empowerment and inclusivity.

Part of creating an enabling social environment has required education at the individual
level, for women and men, However, this has required creating space for women as individuals to develop an awareness of their autonomy and rights. This is critical – without this awareness, women may not question the fact that they need to seek permission to leave the house, have no decision-making power in household issues or purchases, and not question that they should be the only ones responsible for the domestic labor (in addition to cash crop work). Men and women must both be involved in this process, although creating space for women may be a prerequisite, especially in the context of Guatemala. This is why there has been a strategy to host regularly scheduled gender sensitization workshops on an annual basis by the federation. Some of these workshops are focused on women, some on men, and some are co-educational. From observation, these workshops are not pedantic, but rather utilize engaging and innovative participatory methods that facilitate a process of awareness raising and education based on interaction and critical dialogue. The dynamics of this process has been captured in a conceptual framework, listed below in figure 1.
This framework highlights the process of gender transformative change, starting as women participate in organizations outside of the home. Through their participation in organizations like the cooperative, they increase their capabilities and autonomy and develop greater self-efficacy. This process is amplified through their access to trainings and workshops where they gain knowledge, skills, and resources to benefit their coffee production and household level food sovereignty. Through their participation, which gives them access to resources and a support network, they are able to improve and diversify their production. At the organizational level, gender norms shift as women and men work together and they negotiate the complex reality of gender roles and norms through gender sensitization trainings hosted by the federation.

Simultaneously, at the household level, gender norms shift and are negotiation as women participate in organizations, serve as leaders in the community, assert their autonomy in the
home, and become more involved in decision-making around how resources are allocated at the household level.

8.6 The Role of the Supply Chain

Market demand for products created entirely by women, such as ‘Women Grown Coffee’ is a form of validation at the level of the global economy, which signals structural support for economic justice and equality for women. While this market demand does not immediately translate into a utopian reality of gender equality, and certainly not immediately at the economic level, it signals certain priorities to all levels of the supply chain, and has garnered tandem support and acknowledgement from international organizations such as the World Trade Organization to the United Nations. Certainly this is not to discount the reality that the coffee industry is part of the private sector, driven by the market. The combination of third wave feminism, third wave coffee, and ethical consumerism have created the ideal conditions for a market for ‘women grown coffee’ and turning the spotlight on the hidden and exploited role of women in the coffee industry.

8.7 Recommendations for future action

Based off of the findings from this research there are several recommendations for future action to address the gender gap in agriculture and improve the health and wellbeing of women cooperative members and their families through gender transformative interventions. A key finding from this research highlights the importance of integrating gender transformative interventions not only at the organizational level, but at the household level as well. Although
household-based interventions are more sensitive, they may be key levers to shifting domestic gender norms that hold women back from being able to participate fully as cooperative members.

Another recommendation is for evaluations of gender transformative interventions to be undertaken in the context of agricultural organizations. Preliminary research conducted on gender sensitization training indicates that it is invaluable to bring together men and women in community advocacy to explore and understand latent assumptions about gender and how these values continue to limit women and girls (Abane, 2004; Haikh, Afzai, and Rabbani, 2007). While there has been emerging evaluation research on gender transformative interventions within the context of HIV in Africa, there is no known research that has evaluated the impact of these types of interventions within agricultural organizations. This type of research could help to spread and adapt these types of approaches to other contexts and geographic areas.
CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

The economic and social processes creating world society have been, from the start, gendered.
- Raewyn Connell

9.1 Overview

This multiple methods case study has explored the dynamics of women’s formal participation as cooperative members in a fair trade organic coffee cooperative triangulating multi-media content through various perspectives. The main content of this research has relied on semi-structured interviews with women and men cooperative members and supply chain actors connected to the cooperative. In order to understand the lived experiences of the women cooperative members themselves, semi-structured interviews were conducted in combination with participatory life landscape drawings and photovoice, where women reflected on their lives and the resources that were important to them. Men and women cooperative members offered their perspectives on the shifting role of women in the community and women’s participation in the cooperative. Finally, supply chain actors including exporters, importers, retailers, and technical assistance organizations provided their observations, perspectives, and expertise on the larger context of women in agriculture and the influence of market demands on products created by women such as ‘women grown’ coffee.

The findings from this research demonstrate that through a unique constellation of factors, women’s participation as coffee cooperative members serves as a vehicle for gender transformative change at the individual, relational, and structural level. Changes in gender norms are happening at a more dynamic pace in the context of the coffee cooperative and the larger
federation, due to the intentional integration of structural mechanisms for inclusion, policies for more equal participation, and perhaps most importantly the creation of an enabling social environment for women and men cooperative members through education and awareness raising efforts of gender sensitization. These findings align with the canonized literature on the social construction of gender, that highlights the intertwined and multilevel complexity of how gender norms are constructed and change through the reciprocal interaction between personal factors, environmental factors and gender-oriented behavior (Bandura and Bussey, 1999; Connell, 2012).

This research has documented the lived experiences of women cooperative members, who are attempting to navigate a new occupational environment in which they have taken on formal roles as cooperative members and leaders, but are still expected to fulfill their traditional roles as domestic caretakers and subordinates at the household level. Drawings and photography have highlighted the sense of responsibility that women cooperative members still feel related to their domestic obligations. Yet in the context of interviews, many of the men and women were candid in talking about the lack of freedom of some women, anonymously, and the struggle that they face in having to seek permission to participate in activities outside of the home, or the fact that they simply aren’t able to participate because they have too many domestic chores to be able to travel and attend meetings. This lag between occupationally constructed gender norms at the level of the cooperative and federation and domestically constructed gender norms has been documented in the literature in other cultural contexts, where women’s occupational emancipation has outpaced domestic social norms (Bittman, 2003; Poduval and Poduval, 2009). Women may have newfound freedoms at work, but they are still expected to shoulder the domestic burden at home.
At the individual level, cooperative members describe a process of personal development where women build a sense of confidence and self-efficacy through participation, when they are able to participate in and benefit from activities and trainings in women’s groups and through the cooperative. Through these experiences, they are able to enhance their capabilities, a construct that combines autonomy, agency, abilities, as well as material resources and assets. They find strength and support in expanded opportunity set forth structurally by the cooperative and the federation at the organizational level and a socially supportive environment at the group level for stepping outside of the bounds of culturally sanctioned gender roles.

Men in the cooperative have offered many of the same observations as women regarding the change over time in women’s formal participation and their roles in the community. They are aware of women’s progress through women’s groups and the training and leadership opportunities afforded by the cooperative and federation. However, while some men acknowledged the persistence of ‘machismo’ culture that constrains women’s autonomy, men did not actively discuss their role in the process of shifting gender norms, especially as it relates to women’s domestic roles. Rather, some men described the dual role women were playing in the community – as both coffee producers and also domestic caretakers. This is partly due to the fact that the research was oriented towards understanding men’s perspectives of women’s roles.

Supply chain stakeholders confirmed this socio-cultural dynamic through their observations, and offered an overarching perspective on incrementally approaching gender equity in the context of coffee producer’s lives. They reflected on successful approaches that have taken into account the local cultural context, and proceeded cautiously by first opening up space in the community for women to develop self-efficacy and autonomy. At the organizational level, efforts to avoid superficial gender integration have featured a combination of structural
policies coupled with education and training to promote gender sensitization and begin to shift the perspectives of women and men around socially constructed gender roles. Through retail and consumer-level market demand for ethical products, supply chain stakeholders see a business opportunity to buy ‘Woman Grown’ coffee. At the same time, supply chain stakeholders simultaneously want to ‘do the right thing’ in their roles by supporting coffee organizations that prioritize social and environmental justice.

This final chapter discusses how this research contributes to the literature on gender transformative change within democratically run small-holder agricultural organizations and identifies future directions for research. Reflections on the limitations and strengths of the research are presented at the conclusion.

9.2 Contributions to the literature

This research contributes to the literature agricultural cooperatives and on women in agriculture. The findings relay important insights surrounding the role of agricultural cooperatives for small-holder agriculture and the important potential for agricultural cooperative to serve as incubators of social impact through fair trade social premiums.

Within the literature on women in agriculture, these findings add further context to understanding the broader trend of the feminization of agriculture. In addition, while an extensive body of literature has focused on women’s roles in agriculture and gender in agriculture more broadly, relatively few studies have looked at the formal participation of women as cooperative members and leaders and the consequences of their participation on shifting gender norms at the household, community, and structural levels. There has been emerging inquiry into the efficacy of gender transformative interventions within the context of HIV reduction, but there is limited inquiry to date that has looked at gender transformative

This research contributes to the literature on gender transformative change by describing the process by which gender norms evolve within the microcosm of a fair trade organic coffee cooperative and its federation, within the larger backdrop of feminization of agriculture. These findings mirror the social cognitive theory of gender and development, which establishes that gender norms change through complex and nonlinear interactions and processes, where individuals contribute to their own self-development and social change through their actions within the interrelated systems of influence (Bandura and Bussey, 1999).

This research has also established an innovative sequencing of multiple visual participatory methods through the use of drawing and photography to provide Mayan women coffee cooperative members with the platform to depict and describe their own lived experiences. While both drawing and photography have been used separately, this research demonstrates the benefits of using both in sequence to achieve enhanced data triangulation and a more lucid understanding of participants’ perspectives and value structures. The visualized perspectives from the drawing and photography enhance the study overall by adding depth and richness to the interview data, while offering multiple points of confirmation of the significance of various themes discussed through the interviews. This research is also innovative as it draws on perspectives from the producer level through the global supply chain, offering a transnational understanding of how forces from within the cooperative and outside the cooperative influence and shape the process of gender transformative change.

Finally, this research adds to the growing body of literature that explores the intersectionality of gender, ethnicity, and poverty as social determinants of health. Any attempt
to address entrenched public health issues from HIV to chronic malnutrition must simultaneously address the social determinants of health themselves, including gender and any other intersectional categories that have limited the potential of people as a result of disenfranchisement.

9.3 Strengths

There are various strengths to this study, some of which have been mentioned in the above section on contributions to the literature. The most significant strength of this study is that it triangulates multiple qualitative methods to achieve a higher level of reliability and trustworthiness from the data (Mathison, 1988). Since qualitative studies rely on the subjective perspectives, triangulation offers a path to gaining a deeper understanding of the phenomenon while providing check points to the data that has been generated.

In addition, several participatory research methods were used to generate visual data from the perspectives of the cooperative members themselves. Visual participatory research methods can help redress power imbalances in research conducted with hidden populations, as they allow participants themselves to represent and reflect on their own lives and consider strategies for enhancing their communities through the research process (Plunkett, Leipert, and Ray, 2012; Hirsch and Philbin, 2016). These methods are powerful tools, and can be used to provide grassroots level perspectives on complex social and behavioral phenomena, especially amongst difficult to reach populations.

For the data generation process with cooperative members, this study used insider research assistants, which was a significant asset. While there are drawbacks to involving insiders in the research process, in this study their inclusion as research assistants was vital given the language requirements, a tendency to mistrust outsiders from the study population. Insider
researchers also provide several benefits, including that by default, they come to the research with a great deal of experiential knowledge that it would usually take an outsider an extended period of time to acquire. They also have a greater understanding of the culture or group being studied, may not alter the flow of social interaction in an unnatural way, have established trustworthiness, and a latent understanding the latent hierarchy, or how an institution or culture ‘really works’ (Bonner and Tolhurst, 2002; Symth and Holian, 2008).

Finally, this study elicited perspectives at multiple levels of the coffee supply chain, from the producers themselves, to the exporters, importers, retailers, and technical assistance staff associated with the federation. This transnational approach has not only added a depth of perspective, but it has also provided another point of triangulation.

9.4 Limitations

This study has limitations, which are primarily related to language barriers, the respondent selection process, and the data and analysis approach. Each chapter has described these limitations some detail, but this section will expand upon those observations.

Language barriers have been a limitation due to the fact that the majority of semi-structured interviews conducted have relied on the Spanish language skills of all of the primary investigator and research assistants, and the Mayan language skills of the research assistants trained. Proper translation of data collection instruments in Spanish and the relevant Mayan language and proper translation of the interview transcripts to English may not have captured all of the nuances of the original language used. However, attempts have been made to produce effective translations of the data collection instruments, to coordinate regularly with research assistants while data collection was happening, and to concurrently transcribe, translate, and collaboratively review the data during the data collection process. In addition, back-translations
and translation checks have conducted by a native Spanish speaker in order to uncover translation error.

In addition, the sampling and inclusion methods may have had several limitations. These limitations are predominantly related to the timeframe and resource constraints of the study, which limited the sampling strategies, particularly for the interviews conducted with the Cooperative. While 30 interviews have been conducted, it may have been beneficial to either include more participants, and or to interview participants more than once. However, since these interviews require interviewers hired for a certain number of funded hours, it has not been possible to conduct more than 30 interviews or to conduct additional rounds of interviews with the same participants given the research budget.

Based on geographic distribution of cooperative members and their socioeconomic situations, the members who were able to participate may have been individuals who were less constrained by their ability to travel, and their ability to leave aside domestic or farm-related work. This means that participants who were able to join in the study may have represented those members who may have been more well-off economically, or who had more help at the household level to take care of domestic and homestead labor. They also may have personally benefited from support from the cooperative, and felt more inclined to participate as a result of their positive experience. This has important implications for the findings of this study which need to be taken into account. Participants with more financial resources would be likely to have different experiences and perspectives on the content of this research, and women in those situations may also have less pressure on them at the household level. Most importantly, women who had enough agency and autonomy to be able to participate in the study would have very different perspectives and experiences to share than women who may not have been allowed to
participate as a result of their domination at the household level. Conversely, members who were not able to travel to the cooperative’s headquarters to participate in the study may have had very different experiences that were not able to be captured in the context of this study. For example, negative interactions with the cooperative or constraints the relational level in the household may not have been captured in as much detail or adequately represented as result of this sampling limitation. Even given these limitations, this does not discount the importance of the perspectives of participants who were able to join the study, but rather indicates that their experiences should not be taken to be representative of the cooperative overall.

There were also limitations in the approach to analyzing the data which did not utilize independent verification techniques for qualifying the trustworthiness of the data analysis. It has become increasingly common that qualitative researchers may use techniques such as interrater reliability or the use of a third party to check over portions of the data for agreement around coding. In this situation, inter-rater reliability was not a practical approach based on the context of the study, which was a doctoral dissertation designed and carried out by one primary investigator and not a team of researchers who had collaboratively developed the study approach and design together. While it may have been possible to bring in a third party to check over portions of the data, efforts were made in the study design to increase the trustworthiness of the data and analysis through the triangulation of multiple methods and multiple levels of perspectives.

Limitations also include ethical issues regarding participation incentives. Although participation incentives have been determined in conjunction with the cooperative leadership and are in line with local research norms, incentives may nonetheless have influenced motivation to participate in the study. At the same time, not providing participation incentives in order to
compensate participants for their time would not have been considered fair based on current research standards. Finally, relative lack of time spent immersed in Guatemala among the cooperative members could be seen as a limitation. While ethnographic research steeped in the anthropological tradition values prolonged researcher engagement and persistent observation, in some ways this approach can place an undue burden on the group or institution of interest and lead to both community and researcher fatigue. Furthermore, given that this study is situated within the context of a transnational supply chain, traditional ethnographic research that is geographically situated and bounded is not appropriate or feasible. Using multiple data generation methods, and participatory methods, has reduced the limitations of time, as the combination of different types of content has been able to capture a more well-rounded picture of the study’s focus.

9.5 Positionality Statement

As with all research, the positionality of myself, the researcher, in addition to the interviewers hired, may have influenced relationships with study participants and their forthcoming responses. Throughout the research process I have reflected on how I position myself and how I am positioned in various contexts based on my various identities and past experiences. For example, a portion of my identity that influences my positionality include my socio-economic status as an upper-middle class American woman, being raised and exposed to western feminism through my mother and peers, and the geographic places where I have lived throughout my life from the suburbs of Cleveland Ohio, to London England, to South India. I understand that my positionality, which is comprised of various fluid identities, have also been shaped by my life experiences, spiritual beliefs and historical contexts. Having an awareness of
one's own positionality is critical to understanding the subjectivity of my role as a researcher. In terms of my research, I am very aware of both my subjectivity and my positionality, and the importance of employing reflexivity. Throughout the research process I have practiced reflexivity through the by regularly recording memos and reflections in fair notes. This process has been essential to gain insight into my own biases, the biases of my research assistants, and power dynamics that may have arisen during the research process, potentially influencing the data generation process.

9.5 Future Research

Based off of research from this study, there are a variety of potential avenues for future research. This study would benefit from a comparative analysis of other contexts. For example, to what extent is this process happening in non-fair trade cooperatives. A formal evaluation of gender transformative interventions within cooperative organizations would also move this research forward by demonstrating and codifying methods that may be transferrable to other institutions and contexts. It would also be useful to understand to what extent cooperatives where women have high decision-making power choose to put their social premiums towards health and education, as studies at the household level would suggest.

The data generated from this dissertation has also inspired multiple publications that fall outside of the realm of the established aims. These include a manuscript on the trend of third wave coffee at the domestic level in Guatemala, a manuscript on producer and supply chain perspectives on certification schemes including fair trade and USDA Organic, and a business case study of the coffee federation of interest.
A. Interview Guides

Research Aim 1: Interview Guide

This interview is focused on gathering information that will provide a more in depth understanding of how supply chain stakeholders associated with the cooperative view women’s inclusion in agriculture and their role in supporting the cooperative and its values. This interview will also elicit supply chain stakeholder perspectives on phenomena of ethical consumerism and the Fair trade system. This information will aid in understanding how their perspectives may provide support for gender transformative entrepreneurship in agriculture, with the intention of increasing welfare for women producers in the cooperative. These questions will present an opportunity to gain insight into what motivates different supply chain stakeholders to support the cooperative through their business transactions. In addition to gathering basic demographic data, interview will gather the following information:

1. **Women and the Coffee Supply Chain**: To understand how supply chain stakeholders view women’s membership and leadership in the cooperative and to gain insight into their views on women’s changing roles in agriculture and the coffee supply chain.

2. **Women Grown Fair trade Coffee**: To understand different supply chain views of the KISHE brand, woman grown coffee, and the benefits of fair trade certification.

3. **Role of the supply chain**: To explore different supply chain stakeholder views of the role of different actors in the supply chain play in supporting the cooperative and its values/identity.

**Population**: This study will involve interviews with exporters, importers, and retailers associated with FECCEG and KISHE foods in Guatemala and the United States.

**Introduction**: 
I am interested in talking with you because you are a member of FECCEG and you grow Fair trade organic coffee. Today I am interested in learning from you about your role in ___________ (fill-in with related business), your view of women producers in the cooperative and 'women grown coffee', Fair trade organic certification, and how you think about your role in the coffee supply chain. Your reflections will help to provide greater understand about what motivates businesses and consumers to support women producers in cooperatives like FECCEG.

A. Women and the Coffee Supply Chain

The purpose of this section is to understand how supply chain stakeholders view women’s membership and leadership in the cooperative and to gain insight into their views on women’s changing roles in the coffee supply chain.

1. Tell me about your perspective on women producers in the coffee industry.
   a. Probe: How has women’s involvement in the coffee industry changed, as far as you know?

2. FECCEG has a governing structure that includes a ‘woman’s committee’. What are your thoughts about the role of this committee in the governance of the cooperative?

B. Women Grown Fair trade Coffee

The purpose of this section is to understand different supply chain stakeholder views of the KISHE brand, woman grown coffee, and the perceived benefits of fair trade and organic certification.

Now I would like to learn more about your thoughts on the KISHE brand. Can you tell me more about how you first discovered the brand?

1. Can you share your thoughts on the line of coffee called ‘Woman Grown’?
a. Probe: What do you think motivates consumers to buy this type of coffee?

b. Probe: What may motivate you to buy this type of coffee?

2. Tell me about what Fair trade certification means to you.
   c. Probe: What do you think motivates consumers to buy this type of coffee?
   d. Probe: What may motivate you to buy this type of coffee?

3. Tell me about what Organic certification means to you.
   a. Probe: What do you think motivates consumers to buy this type of coffee?
   b. Probe: What may motivate you to buy this type of coffee?

C. Role of the supply chain:

This section is designed to explore different supply chain views of the role of various actors in the supply chain in supporting women producers in the cooperative and the cooperative as an institution.

1. Tell me about how you view the role of other actors in the supply chain (e.g.: exporters, importers, retailers).
   a. Probe: How do you think these different groups support the cooperative?
   b. Probe: How do you think about your role in the supply chain?

Closing: Thank you for taking the time to talk with me today. Your reflections have been very helpful in informing us about FECCEG and KISHE Foods.
Research Aim 2: Interview Guide

This interview is focused on gathering information that will provide a more in depth understanding of how membership in the cooperative has shaped members’ lives, food security and livelihood sustainability. This interview will also explore how women and men members perceive the dynamics of women’s formal inclusion in the cooperative. This understanding can inform the adoption and integration of gender transformative approaches to agriculture in an effort to address the food security of small-holder farmers. These questions will present an opportunity to gain insight into the dynamics of women’s inclusion in the cooperative and how cooperative membership may impact food security and livelihood sustainability. In addition to gathering basic demographic data, interview will gather the following information:

1. Women’s Roles in the Community: To understand the context of women’s roles in the community and elicit perceptions of change over time.

2. Women’s Membership in the Cooperative: To understand how women and men members view women’s membership and leadership in the cooperative and to gain insight into the lived experiences of women members.

3. Household-level Prosperity: To understand how women’s membership has affected household food security and livelihood sustainability.

Population: This study will involve interviews with women and men cooperative members from the FECCEG federation in the western highlands of Guatemala.

Introduction:

We are interested in talking with you because you are a member of FECCEG and you grow Fair trade organic coffee. Today I am interested in learning from you about your role in the cooperative, your view of women producers in the cooperative and ‘women grown
coffee', and how membership in the cooperative has affected your life. Your reflections will help to provide greater understand about how cooperative members think about their membership and the membership of women in the cooperative order to create more effective organization that benefits its members, their families, and the community.

A. Women’s Roles in the Community

The purpose of this section is to understand the context of women’s roles in the community and to elicit perceptions of the change of women’s roles over time. This is important because it will provide an overall sociocultural context for understanding the timeline and circumstances associated with women’s inclusion in formal agriculture.

1. Tell me about the role of women in the community.
   
   c.  Probe: How do you or the women in your family view these roles?

2. When did women start participating as members in the cooperative?

   d.  Probe: Why are some of the reasons that women have started taking on roles as members and leaders in the cooperative?

B. Women’s Membership in the Cooperative

The purpose of this section is to learn about the dynamics of women’s membership in the cooperative. A central aim of this section is to understand the motivations for membership and how membership has changed their lives. In addition, another aim is to understand how women and men producers view women’s membership in the cooperative.

3. Now I would like to learn more about your motivation for being a member in the cooperative. Can you tell me more about when and why you became a member?

4. Tell me about how membership in the cooperative has affected your work as a farmer.
5. Tell me about how membership in the cooperative has affected your life and family.

6. What are your thoughts about women producers as members in the cooperative?

C. Household level Prosperity

This section is designed to help us learn about how membership in the cooperative has specifically impacted household level prosperity. A goal of this section is to understand how membership has affected household level prosperity.

7. Tell me about how you have done financially in the cooperative.
   a. Probe: Has your income been more or less stable?
   b. Probe: Has Fair trade organic certification made a difference?
   c. Probe: Are there any other non-monetary benefits that you have received as a member of the cooperative (EG: FECCEG Programs/Technical assistance, etc).

8. How has your family benefited from your involvement in the cooperative?
   a. Probe 1: What has your experience of providing food for your family been since joining the cooperative?
   b. Probe 2: What other important things have you been able to afford for your family as a result of your membership in the cooperative?

Closing: Thank you for taking the time to talk with me today about your membership in the cooperative. Your reflections have been very helpful in informing us about members’ experiences, so that we can create a better organization for women and men producers.
B. Photovoice Focus Group Discussion Guide

Research Aim 3: Photovoice Facilitation Guide

English Version

The Photovoice method has three main goals: (1) enable individuals to record the resources that they have, community strengths, weakness and concerns; (2) promote critical dialogue through group discussion; and (3) inform decision-makers (Wang & Burris, 1997). For the focus groups, investigators will form groups consisting of 5 participants that last 60 minutes each. During focus groups, a trained research assistant who speaks fluent Mam and Spanish will guide participants through a discussion surrounding the photos identified as relevant by the participants, with a total of 5 photos per individual and 25 photos per focus group. The focus group facilitator will follow the VENCER guide, a Spanish version of the validated SHOWED Technique (see Table 2) (Baquero et al., 2014).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Photovoice Focus Group Guide</th>
<th>SHOWED with VENCER Spanish Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
<td><strong>Spanish</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See</td>
<td>Ver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you see in the photos?</td>
<td>Mencionar el asunto. Qué es lo que vemos en la foto?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happening</td>
<td>Explicar que sucede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is happening in the photo?</td>
<td>Explica. Que SUCEDE en la foto?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our lives</td>
<td>Nuestras vidas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How does this relate to our lives?</td>
<td>Lo que sucede en la foto. En que se relaciona a nuestras vidas? Cómo nos sentimos al respecto?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why</td>
<td>Causa(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why does this situation, concern, or strength exist?</td>
<td>Cual o cuales son las CAUSAS por las que esto sucede? (a nivel individual, familiar, y social)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empower Educate</td>
<td>Empoderar Educar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How can we EMPOWER the community and ourselves to address this? How can we EDUCATE others about this reality?</td>
<td>Ahora que ya comprendemos lo que sucede, Cómo podemos EMPODERAR a la comunidad o a nosotros/as mismos/as? Cómo podemos EDUCAR a sensibilizar a otros sobre la realidad?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Resolver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What can we DO to improve the situation or enhance these strengths?</td>
<td>Qué podemos hacer y cómo podemos RESOLVER esto en nuestra vidas?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Spanish Version

Grupos de Enfoque para Fotovoice

El método de 'Fotovoice' tiene tres partes (1) el empoderamiento de los participantes para recordar sus recursos en las fotografías; (2) promover un diálogo entre charlas (3) Usar este información para informar los líderes de la comunidad, la coopeartiva, y otras organizaciones con el poder para decidir (Wang y Burris, 1997).

Para los grupos de enfoque, los asistentes van a arreglar grupos de 5 participantes en sessions de una hora. Durante los grupos de enfoque, los asistentes guían los participantes en Mam, usando esta guía de facilitacion. En los grupos, cada participante va a seleccionar entre 3-5 fotos. En total, Habrá un máximo de 25 fotos por cada grupo. El asistente va a seguir la guía de VENCER, la versión en español de la técnica de SHOWED en inglés. Pero, los asistentes van a traducir esta guía de español a Mam (Baquero et al., 2014).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>¿Qué es lo que vemos en cada foto?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Explica. Que SUCEDEN en la foto?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Lo que sucede en la foto. En que se relaciona a nuestras vidas? Cómo nos sentimos al respecto?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Porque selecciona estas fotos? Que ve de importante en esas fotos?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Como podemos empoderar a otras mujeres productoras en la cooperativa para participar en los programas o capacitaciones de la cooperative para beneficiarlas?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Qué podemos hacer y cómo podemos MEJORAR nuestras vidas?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. Life Landscape Drawing Prompt

English Prompt

Please draw a picture that shows what your life is like and how membership in the cooperative has shaped your food security and livelihood.

Spanish Prompt

Por favor dibuje una imagen que muestre cómo es su vida y cómo la membresía en la cooperativa ha moldeado su seguridad alimentaria y su sustento.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analytic Question of Interest</th>
<th>Source(s) of Data</th>
<th>Questions Asked or Categories Used</th>
<th>Major Categories and Sub Categories</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Conclusion/Key Finding(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How do men and women producers perceive women's roles in the community and their integration into the cooperative as members and leaders in the cooperative?</td>
<td>30 Semi-structured interviews</td>
<td>1. Tell me about the role of women in the community. Probe: How do you or the women in your family view these roles?</td>
<td>Women’s Roles</td>
<td>Diversity of roles, Expansion of roles over time</td>
<td>Men and women have observed a shift in women’s roles and perceived value in the community as they have become integrated into the cooperative and other community organizations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Homestead Work</td>
<td>Women as central caretakers of the family, home, and land.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Community Work</td>
<td>Active participation in community groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Community Leadership</td>
<td>Expansion of women’s roles from members to leaders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gender Equity</td>
<td>Shift towards greater gender equity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual Agency</td>
<td>See Women’s agency below</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women’s Agency</td>
<td>Women becoming more confident</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women’s Autonomy</td>
<td>Decision making</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women’s Individuality</td>
<td>Each woman thinks differently</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Membership</td>
<td>Role of women as members</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gain Knowledge, Skills and Resources</td>
<td>Women as learners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### General Support

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Support</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>Opportunity for women expanding in the community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Market Access</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Integration</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shift in norms around women being included in organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women expand their roles through opportunity in institutions (gain KSR)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Women’s Roles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women’s Roles</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Institutional priorities to include women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Homestead Work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Participation to improve coffee and food production at home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Work</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Organizations like COMAL started to prioritize training women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women started to join because of the training opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Leadership</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Women joined to ‘get ahead’ and contribute to community development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Equity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Institutional priorities to shift gender norms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Agency (9)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Women have the choice to participate because it is an option</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Agency</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Women join to gain skills in coffee production</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. When did women start participating as members in the cooperative? Probe: Why are some of the reasons that women have started taking on roles as members and leaders in the cooperative? Women started participating in the cooperative when they were given the opportunity and when they had the confidence to join. Women wanted to join to gain knowledge, resources, and skills through the trainings and workshops offered and to have access to a better market for their coffee.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Women's Autonomy</th>
<th>Women's Individuality</th>
<th>Membership (73)</th>
<th>Gain Knowledge, Skills and Resources</th>
<th>General Support</th>
<th>Market Access</th>
<th>Institutional Integration</th>
<th>Role Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Can you tell me more about when and why you became a member?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Women's Roles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Homestead Work</td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Community Leadership</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Equity in Roles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Agency</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Positive feedback cycle between women's participation, their KSRs and their agency. As they participate their KSRs increase and so does their agency.

Women's Autonomy: See individual agency

Women's Individuality: See individual agency

Membership (73): Opportunity for women to improve themselves and their production skills

Gain Knowledge, Skills and Resources: Women join for technical trainings, personal development, and family development

General Support: See membership

Market Access: Women join for access to better prices for their coffee

Institutional Integration: Important that women have the same opportunities to develop as producers

Can you tell me more about when and why you became a member? Men think women join to have access to a market to sell their coffee and to be able to gain knowledge, skills, and resources through the cooperative's workshops and trainings.
<p>| Women's Agency | ... | ... | ... | Men wanted to join the cooperative for the same reasons as they thought motivated women: access to a better market and the range of trainings and workshops to improve their coffee production and diversify their livelihood. |
| Women's Autonomy | ... | ... | ... |
| Women's Individuality | ... | ... | ... |
| <strong>Membership</strong> | 22 | 14 | 8 | Enhance individual skills, Benefit production, Diversify livelihoods |
| Gain Knowledge, Skills and Resources | 15 | 11 | 4 | Agricultural training and skills for enhancing coffee production, Resources to enhance food sovereignty, Training on nutrition, Gender sensitization |
| General Support | 11 | 5 | 6 | The cooperative as a social/familial support network |
| Market Access | 14 | 6 | 8 | A better price, Access to the global market |
| Institutional Integration | 5 | 1 | 4 | Priorities to encourage membership and train women |
| <strong>What are your thoughts about women producers as members in</strong> | | | | As women gain more agency and have the ability to participate, they are able to benefit from access to trainings to... |
| Women’s Roles | 7 | 6 | 1 | Women enhance their capabilities |
| Homestead Work | 3 | 3 | 0 | Challenge of constrained autonomy |
| Community Work | 5 | 0 | 1 | Women can and should join... |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>the cooperative?</th>
<th>Community Leadership</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>Good for women to gain leadership experience</th>
<th>improve their coffee and develop their livelihoods.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender Equity in Roles</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Women and men work together in the cooperative to improve their coffee</td>
<td>As women have had the opportunity to participate, some have been constrained at the household level by spouse’s that have not received gender sensitization training.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Agency</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Women should be allowed to make their own decisions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Agency</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sometimes women are constrained by their husbands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Autonomy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Traditional gender norms can constrain women’s agency and autonomy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Individuality</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>See individual agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Women want to join for the same reasons as men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gain Knowledge, Skills and Resources</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Women want access to trainings and resources</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Support</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Women benefit from the support of the cooperative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Access</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Just like men, women want access to a better market</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Integration</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Women are able to better themselves just like men through their participation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


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