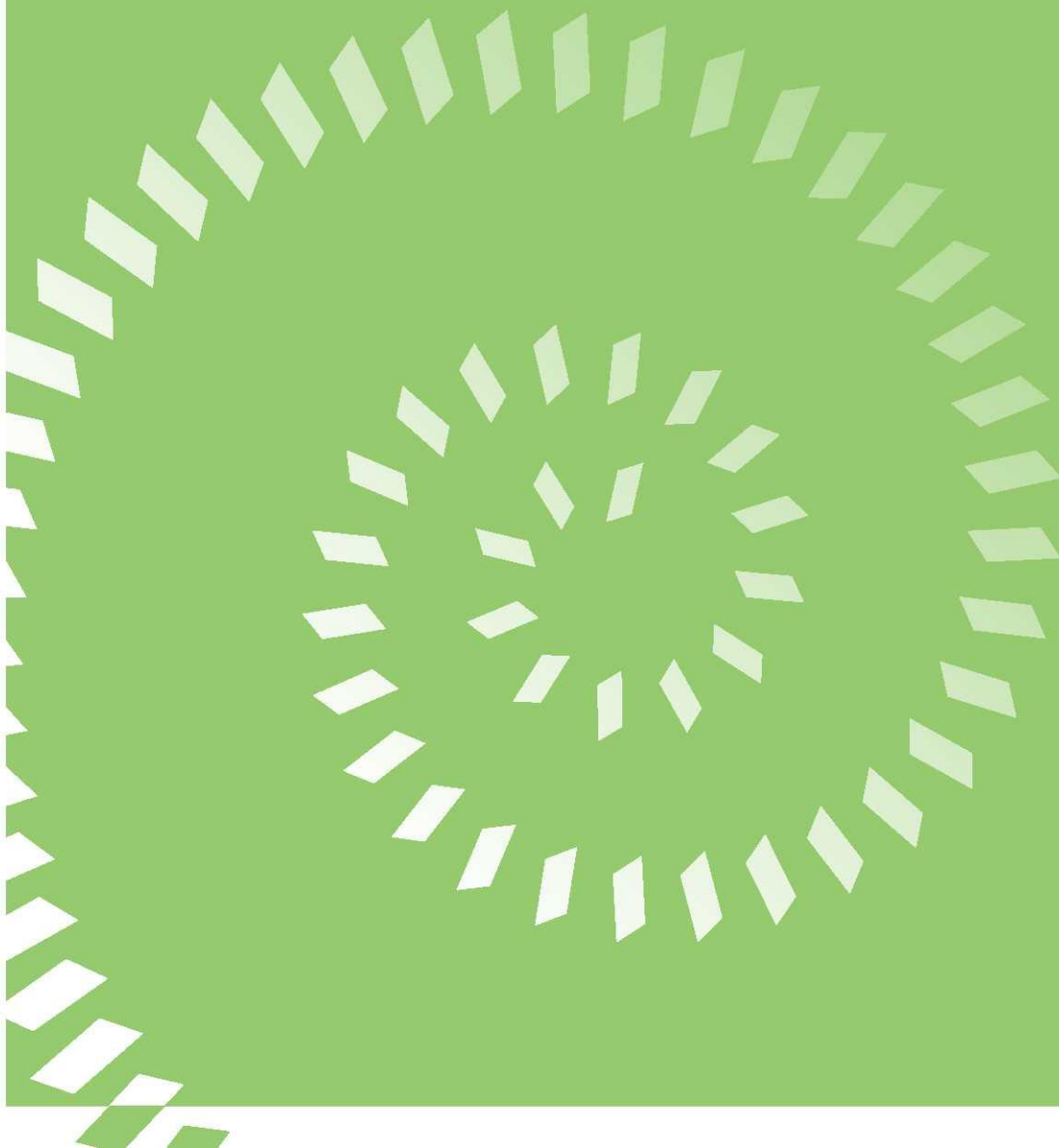




Maua Programme: Bettering lives through the micro- distribution of Wrigley products

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ABSTRACT This case study explores the design and evolution of Project Maua, a micro-distribution programme for Wrigley products operating in rural and urban Kenya established by Mars Catalyst. The pilot has been an experiment in how the Mars Corporation can become more mutual with its stakeholders. The programme has sought a win-win outcome through the extension of its business into Bottom of the Pyramid (BoP) markets and newly engaging those in poverty in its distribution system. This Working Paper provides a deep dive into the goals and design of the programme, and uses an evaluative framework that focuses on human, social, and financial capital to outline how it works on the ground.

The Maua programme has been fast growing and profitable and extended the corporation's reach into new markets, while also creating a new economic opportunity for those living in poverty. We attribute the profitability and longevity of the introduction of novel management practices and programme design to the organization. This Working Paper highlights three new practices for Mars. Firstly, this work involved engaging non-profit partners. Secondly, it applied an entrepreneurial organisational model, which both increased the autonomy of participants and limited the company's managerial burden. Finally, the pilot applied new, non-financial metrics for tracking performance. However, each of these innovations requires trade-offs, and as the programme has grown, it has also encountered challenges. These are also explored herein.

As a detailed case study, this Working Paper contributes to a still small body of in-depth work on route-to-market programmes and efforts to expand businesses at the BoP. As we learn more through academic research and business case studies, this research will continue to challenge readers on the steps that Mars and other corporations should explore moving forward to become more mutual.

What Mutuality looks like in business is evolving over time based on the needs of the stakeholders, however at its most basic and constant level Mutuality refers to the promotion of enduring 'win-win' scenarios in all manner of relationships that a business has with all stakeholders - including the planet.

- Paul Michaels, Mars CEO, 2013

1 INTRODUCTION

In 2014, the leadership of Mars Incorporated announced their intention for Mars to become the 'most mutual company' in the world, building on the company's five core principles of quality, responsibility, mutuality, efficiency, and freedom. The mutuality principle is understood in terms of shared benefits, which can be non-financial; at Mars, 'a mutual benefit is a shared benefit; a shared benefit will endure.' A further articulation of mutuality is the idea that Mars' success should not come at the 'expense, economic or otherwise, of other with whom' the company works.¹ The concept of mutuality is fundamentally relational, and it aspires to ensure the flourishing of all involved.

In order to put this principle into action, Mars Catalyst, the corporation's internal think tank, began working with Wrigley East Africa in Nairobi. In collaboration with Wrigley, Mars Catalyst established the Maua micro-distribution programme in 2009. Since its inception, the programme has allowed Catalyst to explore and test the business proposition that mutual benefit – conceived as an advantageous arrangement for both the business and its partners – drives growth. This work thus challenges the common perception that making the business more mutual would require trade-offs and cut into the bottom line.

The Maua programme expands the distribution of Wrigley's products into informal settlements and rural areas through employers providing economic opportunities to subsistence sellers or micro-entrepreneurs, called 'Uplifters.' The programme taps into Uplifters' entrepreneurial abilities and connects them to a successful, established corporation and its products. This route to market project solves a key 'last mile' challenge for Wrigley and opened up access to BoP markets. For micro-entrepreneurs, the programme has served as a platform for broader social benefits, including participant-led coordination and group formation, and trainings and information sessions.

The programme has grown quickly, and Maua now forms as a key part of the Wrigley's distribution system. In 2014 the programme reported double-digit growth. By 2015 the programme engaged with approximately 450 individuals and generated over \$4.5million, a staggering 15 per cent of Wrigley's national business and a level of earnings significantly exceeding that of the conventional parallel route to market model. Setbacks in 2015 temporarily retarded the size of the programme, but the numbers have since risen and there were 776 participants in September 2016. The model has now been reproduced in the Philippines and analogous programmes are under development by Mars Catalyst in Indonesia and China.

We attribute the profitability and longevity of the introduction of novel management practices and programme design to the organization. This Working Paper highlights three new practices for Mars. Firstly, this work involved engaging non-profit partners.

¹ See: <http://www.mars.com/global/about-mars/the-five-principles-of-mars.aspx#mutuality>, accessed 26th May 2015.

Secondly, it applied an entrepreneurial organisational model, which both increased the autonomy of participants and limited the company's managerial burden. Finally, the pilot applied new, non-financial metrics for tracking performance. However, each of these innovations requires trade-offs, and as the programme has grown, it has also encountered challenges. These are also explored herein.

More broadly, this Working Paper locates the Maua programme in the quickly evolving world of responsible and inclusive capitalism. Scholars and practitioners have increasingly looked to micro-entrepreneurialism as a pathway to poverty reduction, and micro-distribution has emerged as a building block of BoP market development. However, such programmes have taken a very wide range of forms and place different emphasis on the benefit to the participant, the social impact of the product, and the profitability of the venture. At one end of this charity to business-as-usual spectrum are non-profit programmes that employ or offer commissions for micro-entrepreneurs to sell selected social products (e.g. solar lanterns); the products may also be subsidised. On the other end of the spectrum are conventional route-to-market programmes that offer economic opportunities at the BoP, but which are sales driven and do not have an additional social development component.

The Maua programme sits between these models; it is profitable and offers economic opportunities, and it also seeks to create social benefits for participants and manage individuals around non-sales based targets. The social focus, however, does not extend to the product.² One manager captures this mission:

Of course we want to sell our products, but then also we want to make sure that there is a big, huge benefit to the entrepreneurs because they are, that is their sole winner...we want to bring a difference to their lives. (INT01)

Pushing further, the programme seeks to establish that these motives are reinforcing rather than oppositional within the Mars Corporation and beyond. This dual mission – substantive benefits to the organisation and participants – and the pull between the sales and social goals suggest the innovation behind the Maua business and highlight the challenges in carving out this new space. Crucially, the case explores the business proposition that mutual practices generate greater value than can be created than through dominant profit maximization models.

1.1 Case Outline

This Working Paper is based upon four rounds extensive field research and targeted interviews with Maua programme participants, dropouts, and managers carried out by research teams from the joint Oxford-Mars Mutuality in Business Programme, based at the Saïd Business School, University of Oxford. It also draws upon regular survey data collected by the Maua Team and Mars Catalyst as part of an on-going initiative to track human, social, and financial capital development. The case is authored with contributions from these teams.

The Working Paper is divided into two main parts: programme context and design, and the programme in practice. The first part begins in the next section by introducing the Mars Corporation, its Wrigley subsidiary, and Wrigley's operations in Kenya. Section 3 then discusses the structure of the Maua programme in detail. It highlights Maua recruitment and composition, as well as key aspects of the design, including the

² The programme was originally envisaged as a partnership with the Mars foods division, which would produce a nutritious product to distribute through the new channels. However, this partnership did not move forward and the decision was taken to distribute Wrigley gum; Maua was thus pursued with an livelihoods focus.

entrepreneurial distribution model, and the engagement of non-profit partners, and the use of non-financial metrics to manage participants. These are the key management practices that have driven this programme and are largely new to the corporation.

The second part of the paper moves to the analysis of how the programme has functioned in practice and evolved. Section 4 returns to Maua's objectives and examines how the Maua business works on the ground, introducing survey data from Mars Catalyst (Section 4.1) and qualitative interview data from the Mutuality in Business Project, Saïd Business School, University of Oxford (Section 4.2). The case introduces readers to a range of challenges, including those associated with piloting such a programme within a profit-driven business, measuring value beyond financial metrics, developing new management practices, and bringing together for example business and non-profit partners. This section is broadly organised around social, human, and shared financial capital.

In Section 5, the Conclusion, we broaden this discussion to consider the implications of this approach for increasing mutual practice within Mars as well as its application more widely. With the findings from Section 4 in mind, the case challenges readers to examine what steps corporations in this space can take to make business more successful, sustainable, and mutual.

2 THE MARS CORPORATION

The Mars Corporation is a large, family-owned business with over \$33 billion in revenue. While best known for its chocolate division and confectionary brands such as Mars, Twix, and M&M's, the company has five additional divisions: pet care, Wrigley, food, drink and symbioscience. Accordingly, other notable Mars brands include Uncle Ben's rice, Pedigree dog food, Flavia coffee, and, as discussed in this case, Wrigley's chewing gum. Mars employs over 70,000 people in 73 countries, and its complex supply chains engage many of the world's poorest producers in the global South, including growers of tea, coffee, mint, and cocoa. Global food companies such as Hershey, Cadbury Schweppes, Danone, and Unilever are peer organisations, and Mars competes with these businesses to recruit top tier graduates – many of whom now express interest in working at a business with a social mission or values.

Mars has a distinctive and highly valued corporate culture, reflecting its family ownership structure and the influence of the Mars' founders. Direct employees are called 'Associates' and the organisation is designed to be flat and highly decentralised, with very few employees actually sitting at the corporation's modest headquarters. Key cultural values include informality and openness, and Associates are encouraged to be proactive and to take advantage of the freedom afforded to them in their work. The metaphor of 'family' is a touchstone – senior leaders also talk of a Mars 'tribe' – underscoring the importance of relationships, collaboration, loyalty, and direct communication, as compared to more competitive and hierarchical organisations.

Of note, family ownership also insulates Mars managers from some of the pressures placed on their counterparts in publically traded companies. One senior leader connected this long-term view to the corporate values: 'having a fifty-year vision, it wasn't about the short-term managing quarterly results, so both mutuality and freedom really do differentiate Mars as an organisation' (INT08). In a similar vein, a Wrigley employee explained:

So there is a bit more of a longer-term focus within Mars, yes [...] the quarterly sort of numbers and these kinds of things, you don't find them. So we used to do crazy things, for

instance, towards the end of the period in the Coke system to just make sure you hit the number, you don't get that kind of thing in here. (INT05)

This longer view, coupled with the aspiration to become the most mutual company in the world, arguably also created space for the establishment of Maua and the new focus on mutuality.

2.1 Wrigley & Wrigley in Kenya

Mars acquired Wrigley in 2008, following a meeting over sandwiches in Mars Global Presidents Paul Michael's kitchen, according to the Wall Street Journal. The gum-maker was bought for \$23 billion. At the time of the sale, Wrigley recorded \$5.4 billion in annual sales and employed 16,000 people globally. Of note, the Wrigley's executive chairman, Bill Wrigley Jr., cited Mars' family history and family ownership as an important touchstone and point of commonality between the two companies. Wrigley is well known for its chewing gum brands, including Doublemint, Juicy Fruit, and Orbit, as well as other confectionary such as Starbursts, Altoids, and Skittles.

As a Mars subsidiary, Wrigley maintains a significant presence in Kenya and has dominated the market, holding an approximate 75 per cent value share. Wrigley East Africa operates a factory in Nairobi and as a result a large proportion of its direct labour costs and overheads are paid to Kenya parties. This marks a positive contribution to local development; however, the majority of the manufacturing inputs such as sugar remain brought in from outside of Kenya, an issue that the business has sought to address. Wrigley products manufactured in Kenya and distributed through the Maua business include PK, Double Mint, Juicy Fruit, and Big G (see Figure I). These brands are considered to be premium and high quality, with long lasting flavour.

In Kenya, Wrigley products are transported from the Nairobi factory to consumers through a diverse array of channels. Firstly, products reach wholesalers and major retailers, including supermarkets, petrol stations, and chemists, through Wrigley distributors in vans as well as via a distribution company, Bowip. Secondly, Wrigley sales representatives, often on motorbikes, directly service small shops or micro-retailers (e.g. *dukas* and kiosks). These individuals work on a combination of salary and commission. Outside the Wrigley system, independent micro-distributors also buy Wrigley products from retailers or wholesalers and distribute them to micro-retailers. The existence of these independent sellers explains the availability of Wrigley products throughout the region and in areas well beyond the reach of formal distribution channels.

The Maua programme expanded this distribution system through the creation of a supported network of wholesalers and local micro-distributors working on commission. The decentralized system has enabled the Maua to sell in areas that Wrigley had not previously sought to enter, namely urban slums and rural areas. In doing so, the Maua programme addressed issues multiple concerns: Would people pay the higher price point? Would there be a sufficient market for these premium products? Would distributors be safe? Through the engagement of local actors, it addressed problems with a lack of knowledge of these complex and often insecure areas. This has been a boon to business. Prior to the establishment of the Maua, rival Kenafric, which manufactures and distributes its Fresh chewing gum via salaried micro-distributors on motorbikes, dominated these areas. Maua sellers now report high customer satisfaction with the Wrigley product as compared to Fresh and steady demand. Within Wrigley, Maua is placed within in the sales division.

3 THE MAUA PROGRAMME

Social enterprises and corporate initiatives such as Hindustan Unilever's Project Shakti,³ a door-to-door sales programme, influenced the design of the Maua programme. The programme goals are to provide economic opportunities and create social benefits for participants, namely Stockists, Uplifters, and Hawkers, while also benefiting Wrigley and creating access to a market that Wrigley had not sought to engage – a 'white space' in business parlance. More broadly, the programme was conceived to explore and demonstrate the proposition that programmes designed around mutuality principle of shared benefits could provide superior outcomes for all parties involved.

Like Project Shakti, Maua focuses on harnessing the non-financial resources that exist in poor communities. These include sellers' social capital and networks, and human capital and knowledge; the programme seeks to leverage pre-existing economic relations and skills. According to this model, sellers' rich social and human resources are less productive due to capital constraints; increased access to financial capital and economic opportunities allows for sellers to engage these social connections ('social capital') and thereby increase their earnings or productivity. The programme has sought from the outset to measure the social, human, and shared financial capital⁴ of the parties involved and to adjust the strategies to grow these new forms of capital all together.

Developing new social, human and shared financial capital is also a key objective of the project and viewed as a pathway to growing the business. One assumption that has undergirded the programme is that improvements to and investments in social and human capital will help to improve financial outcomes. For this reason, key performance indicators are tied to quarterly and annual survey data on well-being and social capital. Maua's approach to poverty alleviation is thus aligned with the focus on non-financial value found in microfinance, particularly the focus on social assets. More broadly, the programme embraces the BoP development proposition, put forward by C. K. Prahalad (2004), which asserts companies can 'do well by doing good.' Prahalad argues that the engagement of multinational corporations with those in poverty can produce both profits and development outcomes.

Operating at the BoP on the demand side is new to Mars, and while many MNCs are there, few companies have managed over time to scale and to earn satisfying returns, leaving a relatively 'green field' in which to work. Members of Mars Catalyst felt that that they had a unique opportunity to learn to operate and craft a business model that could deliver large scale social value, operate sustainably from a financial perspective, and improve the lives of those living in poverty. In piloting Maua, Mars Catalyst focused on developing a new business model. The following sub-sections detail how the Maua programme design, provides a profile of current participants, and describes the composition of the 'hybrid value chain' that was initially constructed to help the business first engage with individuals living in informal settlements.

3.1 The Maua Distribution System & Margins

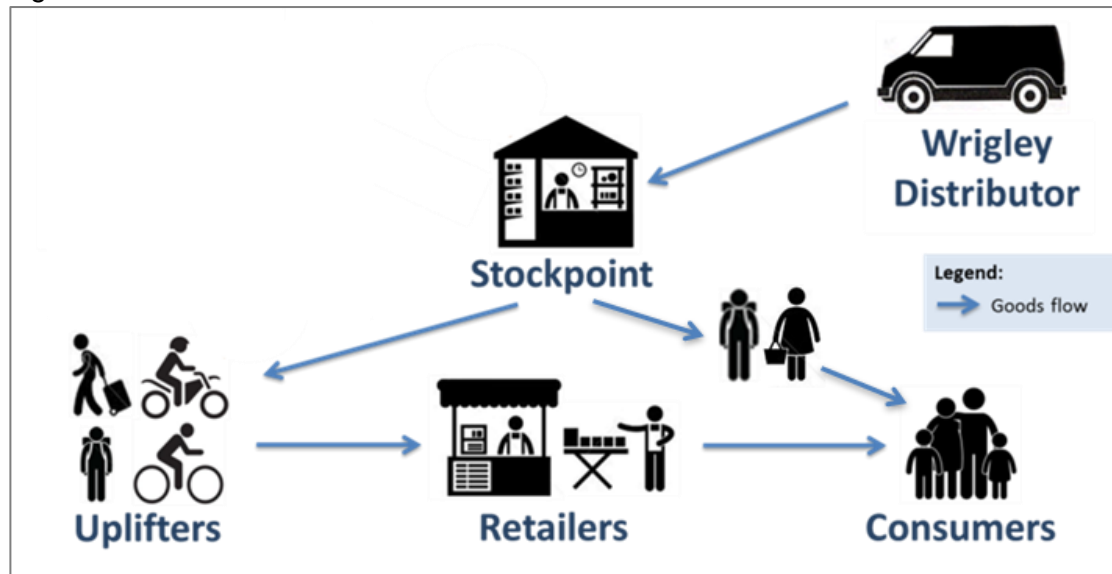
The Maua distribution system (see Figure I) is built around servicing small hubs in rural and slum areas, Stock Points, that provide products to micro-distributors – Uplifters – on foot and bicycle. Uplifters sell to micro-retailers, including roadside kiosks, tabletop shops, and *dukkas* – small outlets often found at the base of apartment blocks. Alternately, the Stock Points sell to Hawkers, also members of the

³ For more information, see: <http://www.hul.co.in/sustainable-living-2015/casestudies/Project-Shakti.aspx>. Accessed 26th May 2015

⁴ For more information, see EoM Backgrounder.

Maua programme, who sell directly to consumers on the street or in cars and buses. Stock Points buy cartons containing bags of gum from the distributor, Bowip, which they then break up and sell to the Uplifters and Hawkers; the Stock Point receives a 11-14 Ks (\$.11-.14) margin on each bag sold, depending on the brand. Wrigley Field Officers provide support to the Stock Points and performance through these hubs. Field Officers record Uplifters' sales, which are used to calculate an additional bonus payment for each unit sold.

Figure I: Maua Distribution Model



Consistent with a micro-entrepreneurship model, Uplifters and Hawkers are responsible for cultivating relationships directly with micro-retailers and customers. Not on salary, their incomes are dependent on sales margins and a monthly bonus payment. Uplifters sell bags containing individually wrapped packets of PK, Double Mint, Juicy Fruit, or Big G gum (see Figure II). Each bag contains 50 packets with two pellets in each packet ('2s' in Wrigley argot; see image); these packets are sold to the consumer by micro-retailers. In the example of PK, a Stock Point buys the product from the distributor at 182 Ks (\$1.80) per bag. The Uplifter buys each bag from the Stock Point for 195 Ks (\$1.93) and then sells it at a fixed price to the micro-retailer for 200 Ks (\$1.98), netting 5 Ks (\$.05). Each packet generally retails at 7 Ks, resulting in a 150 Ks margin per bag for the retailer.

Figure II: Bags of Wrigley Products



As noted above, rather than distributing bags of gum, Hawkers sell directly to consumers, capturing that margin. Hawkers either sell packets of 2s or buy boxes of Doublemint, PK, and Juicy Fruit, for example. These boxes contain thirty packets of ten pellets ('10s'); Hawkers focus exclusively on 10s in Nairobi. A Hawker can purchase a box of 10s from a Stock Point for 335 Ks (\$3.31) and then sell each packet for 20 Ks, grossing 600 Ks and netting 265 Ks (\$2.62) per box. As a result, Hawkers' earnings from the Maua programme exceed those of Uplifters.

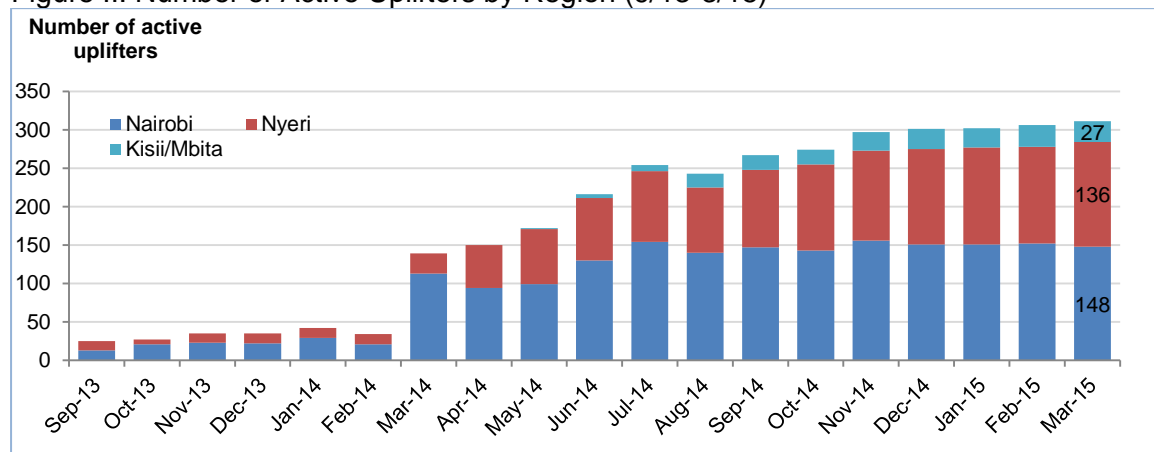
At the end of the month, Uplifters and Hawkers both receive a bonus payment of 7.5 Ks per bag or box sold. In the initial design, these bonuses were distributed at regular 'share out' sessions that also served as meetings for participants and opportunities for training. As the programme grew and participants increased their earnings, Maua switched to paying the 'share outs' via M-Pesa mobile banking. This reduced the incentive for participants to attend these meetings, making it more difficult for the programme to regularly engage with participants as a group. Share out sessions continue, with participation encouraged through enjoyable activities, motivational speakers, and providing lunch.

3.2 Maua Recruitment & Composition

Establishing Maua involved the recruitment of Stock Points, Uplifters and Hawkers. This initial recruitment was carried out through NGO partners; however, as the programme progressed, the recruitment of new participants increasingly took place on the street by Maua field officers, as well as through participating Uplifters' family and church networks. As will be discussed at greater length below, recruiting through social networks is important due to the importance of buying and selling on credit. This recruitment from within dense social networks and the current locations of operation in Kenya also largely explains why programme participants are predominantly of one ethnicity (Kikuyu, 65% in 2014). As inter-ethnic tensions have resulted in violent outbreaks in recent years, notably the post-elections clashes in 2007-8, attention to the ethnic make-up of participants and horizontal inequalities is merited.

Regarding programme composition, the composition of Maua participants in early 2014 (n=87), was relatively equally split by gender (52% female) and marital status (54% married). As shown in Figures II, Maua has grown from an initial six entrepreneurs at the beginning of September 2013 to more than 770 micro-entrepreneurs across three counties in September 2016 (not pictured). More specifically, the programme engaged 159 Stock Points, 360 Uplifters, and 257 Hawkers. There are a growing numbers of Maua entrepreneurs in rural area of Kenya, where retail outlets are more geographically dispersed and where micro-distributors carry a broad basket of goods.

Figure II: Number of Active Uplifters by Region (9/13-3/15)



The interviews conducted in 2015 reinforce this impression of a diverse group in regards to age, motivation and economic opportunities. Those involved vary from young, unmarried men to grandmothers helping with grandchildren's school fees. There are Uplifters who left school after fourth grade, and with university degrees – one is studying medicine. Approximately a third of participants had a primary school education or below, although 19% had received University or technical training. While

in Maua, some participants maintain other jobs, running photocopying businesses, hairdressing, or washing laundry, for example.

A high proportion of Maua micro-distributors come to the programme as sellers or with previous selling experience. For these individuals, Maua provides access to another product line for their micro-distribution businesses, rather than represents a new line of work; one participant reported distributing over 80 products. Reflecting 'lessons learned' from Project Shakti, Maua Uplifters and Hawkers are not constrained in the basket of goods that they carry, although distributing rival products is discouraged. This flexibility has resulted in considerable variation in what percentages of Uplifters' incomes are derived from selling Wrigley products. As of September 2016, 51 per cent of Uplifters reported that Maua as their main business; of these, only 1 per cent reported that Maua was their only business.

3.3 Maua & Hybrid Value Chains

A key element of the Maua design is the hybrid value chain (HVC) model – a management practice that describes the partnership of a for-profit business with non-profit organisations and social enterprises to address development challenges or poverty through market-based solutions. Proponents view HVCs as holding the potential to transform industries and create whole new ones (Drayton and Budinich, 2010). The value chain, which 'describes the full range of value adding activities required to bring a product or service through the different phases of production' (Webber and Labaste, 2014), is considered 'hybrid' when it involves these two sets of actors. In this case, these partners were sought to provide assistance with recruitment and trainings; see Figure II.

The development of new partnerships with NGOs was seen as a new opportunity to position Mars at the forefront of how to do business at the BoP, while fulfilling development needs. For example, HVCs promise an efficient strategy to fill institutional voids, facilitate and increase trust in business transactions, create social capital, and provide social benefits to the communities. Indeed, as Bruggmann and Prahalad describe, in a HVC 'both [partners] apply assets and competencies to a business that creates greater value for each than their independent efforts could generate' (2007: 13). An HVC can deliver value and market access, in a way that is difficult for an organization to deliver on its own. This element of partnership was innovative for Mars, and given the Mars culture of discretion and do-it-yourself, the HVC strategy was seen as delicate to operate.

The Maua HVC relies on the core assets of Wrigley (e.g., brand, operational capacity, infrastructure and logistics), Mars Catalyst (e.g., performance metrics, monitoring), and the NGO partners (e.g., mobilization, social support, behavioural change, and access to finance). As the programme has matured, these relationships have changed; key partnerships have fallen away as capacity within Wrigley has increased. In other cases, partnerships were found to be less effective than in-house capacity. Regardless, the HVC model was critical for the establishment of the programme and Catalyst has put non-profit partners at the very centre of the Bloom programme in the Philippines, which is based on the Maua design.

A key initial partnership was with Technoserve, an NGO that focuses on creating economic opportunities for women. Technoserve brought experience training female micro-entrepreneurs to distribute and sell Coca-Cola products in Kenya as well as in providing training for pre-competitive agricultural interventions. Contracted for six months, Technoserve initially recruited and, in partnership with Wrigley, provided a two-day training course for 102 female participants, of which 80 continued within

Maua. These initial programme entrants were provided with three packets of Wrigley products as start up capital. The organisation also provided supervisory support to the participants through five local field officers, and monitored their sales (INT18). The relationship between Wrigley and Technoserve was collaborative. For example, Wrigley and Mars University, the professional development arm of the Mars corporation, provided inputs into the training programme, making it more interactive (INT14), and incorporating information on Wrigley products and Mars principles.

One of the insights gained from the programme, according to a Wrigley manager, was in regards to maintaining continuity at the end of the partnerships. When the partnership with Technoserve terminated, this created a gap in support. As one Wrigley manager explained:

So that is almost like supervisory kind of work whereby you have to call someone every morning are you able to work, that it was actually motivating them to go to work independently, most of them. Yes, so we ended up losing quite a number and only staying with those who really felt they really have to come to work (INT 09).

However, Technoserve seeded the programme, and recruitment ‘snowballed’ from these initial participants, benefitting from their social networks.

Figure III: Maua Hybrid Value Chain (HVC)



Another example of the use of partnerships or ecosystem development has been through training, often held in concert with monthly ‘share out’ meetings for programme members. Bringing in external organisations allowed Maua to offer a wide range of information and services to participants. In the share out meetings, attention has been paid specifically to offering opportunities for programme participants to access micro-credit and to form their own savings or table banking groups. Partners include microfinance sponsors Kisi Country Youth Bunge Sacco, Joyful Women, and JamiiBora Trust, as well as World Bicycle Relief. The wider implications of training and its value to Maua participants are considered as aspects of Human Capital in section 4.2.3 below.

Finally, these partnerships did not come without their complications, and the promise of the HVC model must be tempered with recognition of the difficulties of finding appropriate partners and managing these relationships. One programme manager reflected that the recruitment through a youth NGO was ultimately less effective than recruitment through Maua field officers who were better able to communicate the nature of the programme and the support it provided. This managers found that this

NGO partner drew from a network of individuals motivated by the provision of ‘sitting allowances’⁵ and other incentives – the participation fees paid by NGOs or businesses to community members – than by a sincere interest in micro-distribution work; the NGO was able to generate turn out but not retention. These challenges are typical of such dynamic partnerships; the experience of Maua underscores the need for appropriate alignment between the organisations and the identification of an organisation with substantive access to the target group.

4 PROGRAMME GOALS & RESEARCH FINDINGS

The Maua programme was established as a test case for a new way of working in Mars, and as to demonstrate that a new model involving micro-distributors and non-profit partners, and a focus on measuring well-being and social capital could produce mutual benefits. Measurement has thus both been important for tracking the effectiveness of the pilot programme as well as a management practice in and of itself, as managers are encouraged to enhance social and human capital. To this end, Mars Catalyst conducts regular surveys and is working with researchers from the University of Oxford, who have conducted multiple rounds of qualitative interviews and site visits. This research partnership explores the process of ‘making business mutual’ and the proposition that investment in micro-sellers could unlock latent entrepreneurial talents and productive social capital, producing a ‘win-win’ for Mars and programme participants.

The survey programme specifically focuses on measuring social capital, well-being at work, and aspects of human capital, such as knowledge exchange and training. The results of these surveys, which are on-going, demonstrate the complexity of the programme’s goals and working with people living in challenging circumstances and with low incomes. The survey and financial data give a broad overview of the programme’s successes, highlighting high levels of programme satisfaction by participants across most measures. While causality cannot be established due to the lack of a control and longitudinal data is not sufficient to document change, Maua programme participants do report higher levels of income growth and cooperation than peers outside the programme.⁶

Mirroring focus of the surveys, qualitative interviews conducted by teams from the Saïd Business School deepen this picture and contextualise these gains. Over the last two years, Oxford researchers have conducted four visits to Maua; qualitative interviews with over 100 participants have probed their experiences, asking about financial obligations and needs, work and financial strategies, and programme impact. While many individuals discuss improvements to their incomes, for example, they also describe the overall challenges of accumulating savings and the daily pressures of paying for bills. They also describe a variety of needs and some of the challenges inherent in independent, entrepreneurial work at the bottom of the pyramid.

Together, the work of Mars Catalyst and Oxford form complementary data streams that paint a fuller picture of individuals’ experiences in the programme and programme performance. The interview and survey data also reflect different epistemic communities within social science, namely quantitative and ethnographic. While the

⁵ For more on ‘sitting allowances’, see the 2016 Marketplace story ‘Some NGOs in Nairobi Have to Pay Locals to Attend Meetings.’ <http://www.marketplace.org/2016/07/28/world/ngos-nairobi-have-pay-locals-attend-meetings>

⁶ Comparisons with non-Maua sellers can provide some information about participant traits and even exogenous events, but it should be noted that due to selection bias, comparisons with these non-participants for the purpose of gauging the impact of the programme is not reliable.

survey work provides representative data, the interviews, for example, can help explore the mechanisms and experiences behind these statistics. Considering the project from both perspectives enriches the reader's understanding of Maua and the data. Capturing complex information about the impact of Maua on people's lives required a combination of methods.

Despite the robustness of this approach, it is worth noting that research in developing countries is challenging and both survey and interview research are vulnerable to a range of response biases. For example, when translators are engaged, some respondents may be reluctant to admit their lack of English or to express strong opinions in the presence of a translator from their own community. Bias may also be found when individuals associate interviewers or enumerators with their employer; indeed, one former Uplifter reported being coached on surveys as the results were used to track performance. More broadly, interview and survey research is also prone to issues such as social desirability bias, the over-reporting of virtuous behaviours, and satisficing, the practice of offering a satisfactory or simple answer to speed the interview or survey process. These biases should be kept in mind in the interpretation of results as well as the design of the research itself.

4.1 Maua Survey Research

As noted above, Mars Catalyst has focused on the development of survey-based tools to measure performance. To this end, Mars Catalyst partnered with top-tier international and local universities to develop the methodology to evaluate economic and social, short-and long-run impacts of the programme. The goal was to develop practical 'assessment frameworks,' namely survey tools, to measure performance across three key dimensions:

- **Shared Financial Capital:** To evaluate the mutuality in the value chain, specifically how the economic benefits are shared among its participants, in order to ensure a sustainable margin and wage.
- **Social Capital:** To create an 'index of social capital' at the community level, making it possible to compare social capital across geographies, communities, and groups, as well as to describe trends over time.
- **Human Capital:** To create an index of 'well-being at work' and work satisfaction, at the individual level.⁷

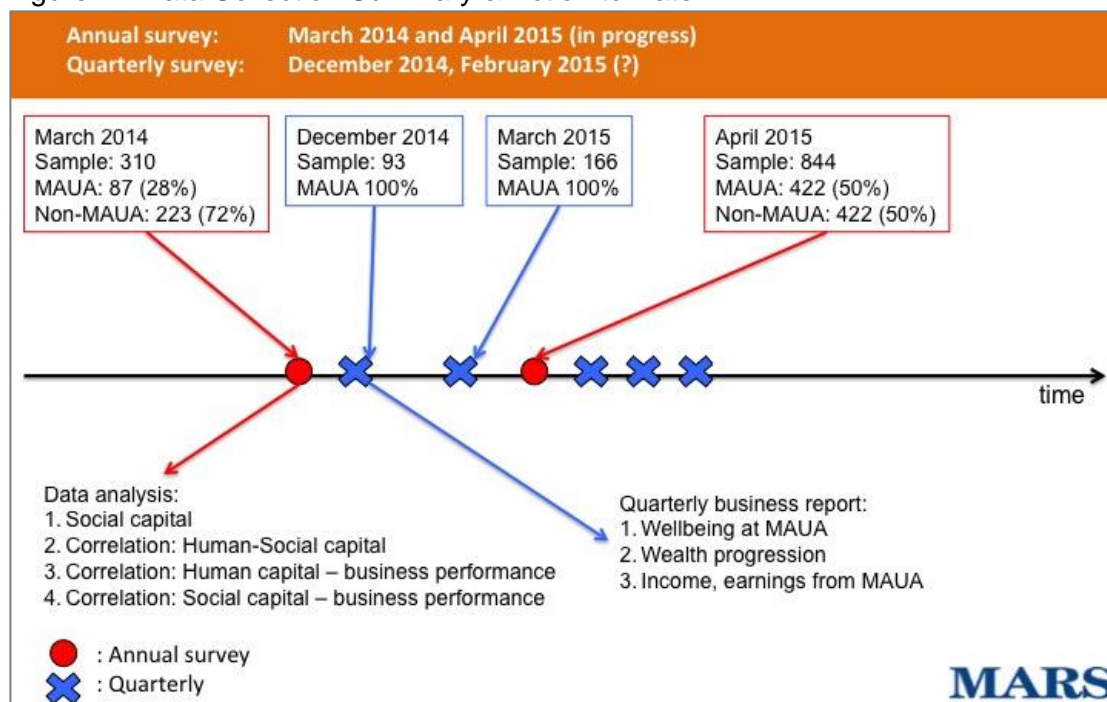
Maua Mars view impact measurement with academic discipline, rigour, and knowledge as a way to ensure that Mars learned from the Maua programme.

Building upon its work on social and human capital, Mars Catalyst developed a comprehensive research programme to monitor the performance of the Maua programme across financial, well-being, and social capital metrics. This was consolidated in the form of a comprehensive annual survey, which covers general characteristics (socio-demographics), business identification and business characteristics, well-being at work, and social capital. The annual survey also includes a comparison group of peer sellers; this is not a randomised control. A shorter quarterly survey is also used to monitor short-term progresses in terms of business performance and human capital. The quarterly survey provides continuous monitoring of Maua business performance and changes in the level of entrepreneurs' satisfaction

⁷ This use of human capital is specific to Mars and differs from more mainstream usage that focuses on knowledge, skills, and experience.

(in terms of job, life and health conditions), which are used by managers in a 'dash board' to inform decisions.

Figure IV: Data Collection Summary & Action to Date



To create the annual survey, Mars Catalyst modified the World Bank’s Social Capital Assessment Tool (SoCAT), which Catalyst had already tested for measuring social capital and business performance in the informal small-scale business of small retailer in Vietnam and small holder farmers in Papua New Guinea, Tanzania, and Côte d'Ivoire. To modify the survey for the Kenyan context, Catalyst collaborated with Opportunity International and the department of Sociology of the University of Nairobi. As a result, Catalyst integrated into the SoCAT some key elements to assess social capital, such as the identification of relevant groups and associations present in Kenya. While not always possible due to the rolling nature of programme recruitment, ideally all new participants complete a full survey to establish a 'time zero' baseline.

Regarding sampling methodology, the annual survey is deployed by trained enumerators and seeks total participation amongst programme members (a 'census' design rather than a randomised sample). The consulting firm Social Policy and Development Consulting (SPDC) carry out data collection. The quarterly survey, also seeking total participation, is distributed by Field Officers and had response rates of approximately 30% (12/14) and 55% (3/15). Surveys that have low response rates are less representative; lower response rates also raise questions about what factors influence or characterise participation and non-participation and how these factors systematically influence the resultant data. Recent steps have been taken to move the survey onto a tablet, speeding up the process and reducing errors.

4.1.1 Survey Results: Descriptive Statistics & Impact Evaluation

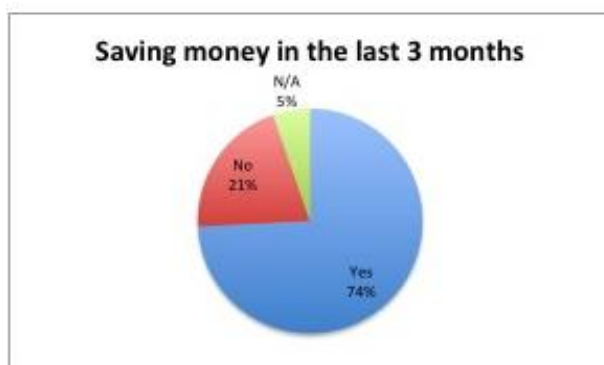
As illustrated in Figure IV above, at the time of writing, the Maua programme had undertaken four rounds of surveying: two annual surveys, and two quarterly surveys. The November 2014 quarterly survey provided basic data on the composition of the Maua programme and its participants (n=93). Survey participants were distributed between wholesaler stock points (6%, n=6), Uplifters (70%, n=65), sub-wholesaler

stock point (10%, n=9), and Hawkers (14%, n=13); these numbers broadly reflect the overall distribution of Maua participants across these three roles. Data from the March 2015 quarterly survey is not yet available.

Regarding the annual survey, in March 2014, the survey was administered to 310 entrepreneurs, corresponding to a split of 72% non-Maua (n=223) and 28% Maua (n=87). Respondents were drawn from Nairobi (urban environment) and Nyeri (rural environment). The sample covered the four business profiles: Wholesaler, Stock Point, Uplifter and Hawker. Being at the beginning of the Maua programme, this survey mostly engaged the comparison group – individuals who did the same type of selling work but who were not part of the Maua programme, a non-randomised comparison group.

In April 2015, a second annual survey was undertaken, containing 844 entrepreneurs with 50% split between Maua and non-Maua. This survey covered larger geographical spread including three more counties (Homabay, Kisii, Kirinyaga) in addition to Nairobi and Nyeri. This extension of the sample size from the surveys in 2015 also allows for more testing of the relationships between social capital, human capital and economic output of the Maua programme, described below.

Figure V: Proportion of Participants Saving in Last 3 Months (11/14)



These surveys have begun to generate data on participants' lives and experiences. Looking to the November 2014 quarterly survey results, almost 80% of participants reported increases to their sales over the previous three months. A similar proportion of participants reported being able to save (74%); changes to saving patterns were not surveyed. These encouraging results

must be contextualised: as there is no control group, it cannot be determined whether these increases reflect the programme or general economic environment, such as seasonal fluctuations in sales. Secondly, for the majority of respondents (60%) Maua was not their main business, raising the question of attribution. These caveats aside, these quarterly data suggest a positive programme impact.

Data collected in the November 2014 quarterly survey on well-being found very high levels of satisfaction across key indicators (see Figure V). Over 50% of respondents reported satisfaction in regards to income, healthcare, housing, non-Maua income, Maua activities, and their ability to pay for their expenses. Of note, almost 90% of respondents were satisfied with the programme overall. The only surveyed areas in which individuals rated below 50% level of satisfaction were savings and wealth. While these overall results are encouraging, they also raise the question of how to interpret subjective measures of well-being when reported by the very poor. Sen (2002), for example, has noted that those in poverty consistently under-report health problems, reflecting their insensitivity to what they consider 'normal' conditions; in some cases, he argues, objective or external measures are important for helping to understand living conditions and experiences.

Looking more closely at individuals' experiences within the Maua programme, the November 2014 results demonstrate very high levels of satisfaction across a wide range of work aspects. Over 80% of respondents report being satisfied with their

working time, work flexibility, ability to cope with job demands, workload, support from suppliers, support from customers, and support from other Maua members. However, the survey results do point to comparatively lower levels of satisfaction around the provision of material and equipment (approximately 60%). This broad category includes promotional materials such as displays, branded umbrellas, and Wrigley t-shirts, as well as tools for performing work such as backpacks, which were provided in a pilot initiative, and bicycles and motorbikes, which are not provided through the programme. The need for improved transportation options in order to expand the number of customers an Uplifter serves is also frequently raised in interviews. Transportation is consistently identified as a key constraint on earnings, both in terms of limiting a seller's reach as well as his or her ability to carry a large volume of goods. Satisfaction with other aspects of the programme, such as training or remuneration levels, is not covered in the survey instrument.

The March 2014 annual survey, through the use of a comparison group, probed whether individuals in Maua have higher levels of job satisfaction, general satisfaction, and business performance as compared to those who are not enrolled in the Maua programme. The data showed that participants in the Maua programme have better business performance, levels of cooperation, and higher satisfaction with some non-Maua activities when compared to non-participants. Mars Catalyst also analysed the difference between the Maua and non-Maua communities using econometric estimates of specific endogenous variables (e.g. level of satisfaction on income, healthcare, wealth, increase in earnings). Catalyst identified being part of Maua programme as exogenous dummy variable, controlling for the level of income and some socio-demographics (e.g. age curve, marital status, gender and education level). In an alternative model specification Catalyst also distinguished whether Maua is the main activity or not. Because of the small sample size, only a few outcomes appeared to be sensitive to the Maua experiment.

The outcomes that are statistically significant when comparing members of the Maua programme to non-members are the following:

- Those that participate in the Maua programme have an 18% increase in the probability of having earning increases as compared to those not in the Maua programme.
- The cooperative level among entrepreneurs in the Maua programme is 20% higher than among those not in the Maua programme, and
- Having Maua as main business activity is correlated with increased satisfaction with non-Maua activities.

However, again, these results must be interpreted carefully. As membership in the two groups was not randomised, the non-Maua group serves as a comparison rather than control; these outcomes thus cannot be definitively attributed to the Maua programme. This is because the groups may, fundamentally be different; for example, entrepreneurs who are intrinsically more motivated or well connected may be selected for the programme. These individuals would thus have had increases in earnings in relation to their less-motivated peers *with or without* programme participation. Whether Maua selects for more successful sellers or, alternately, creates more successful sellers, would be a subject for further research.

Figure VI: Satisfaction Across General Well-Being Indicators (11/14)

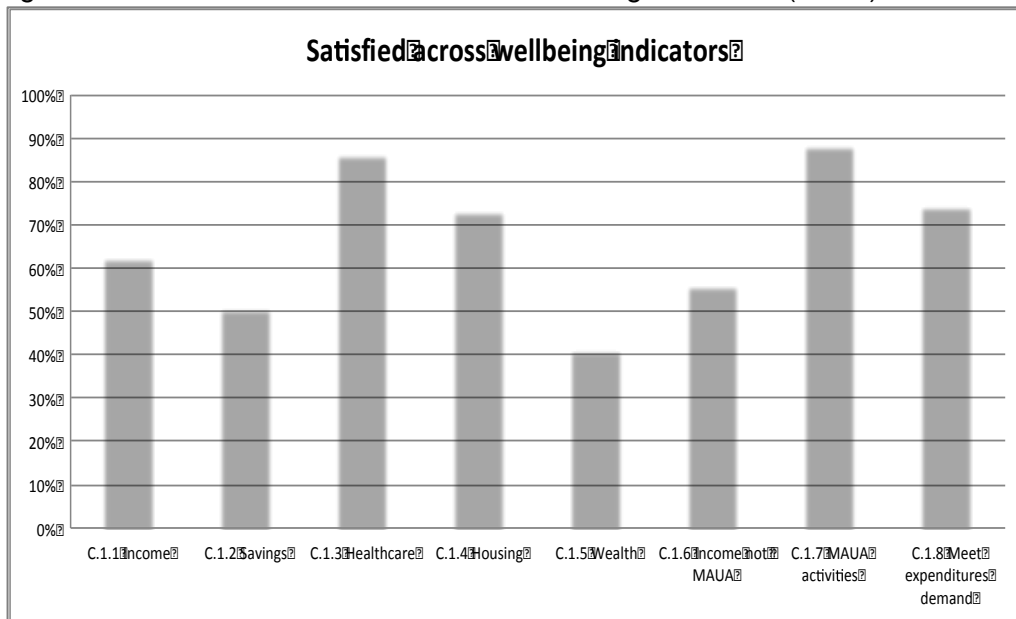
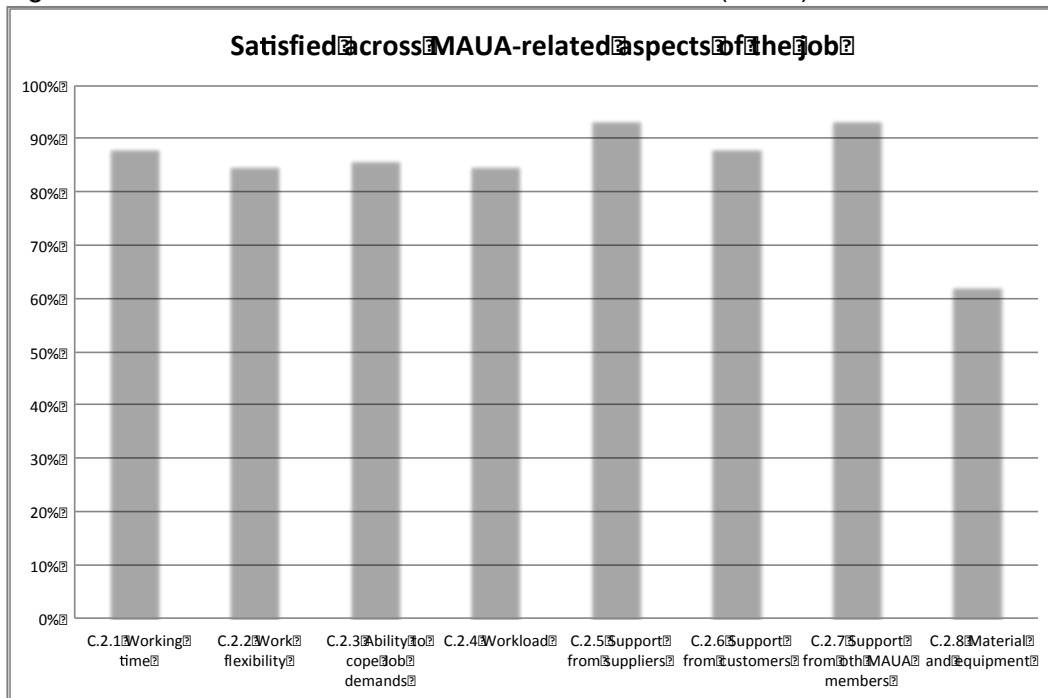


Figure VII: Satisfaction across Maua-related Indicators (11/14)



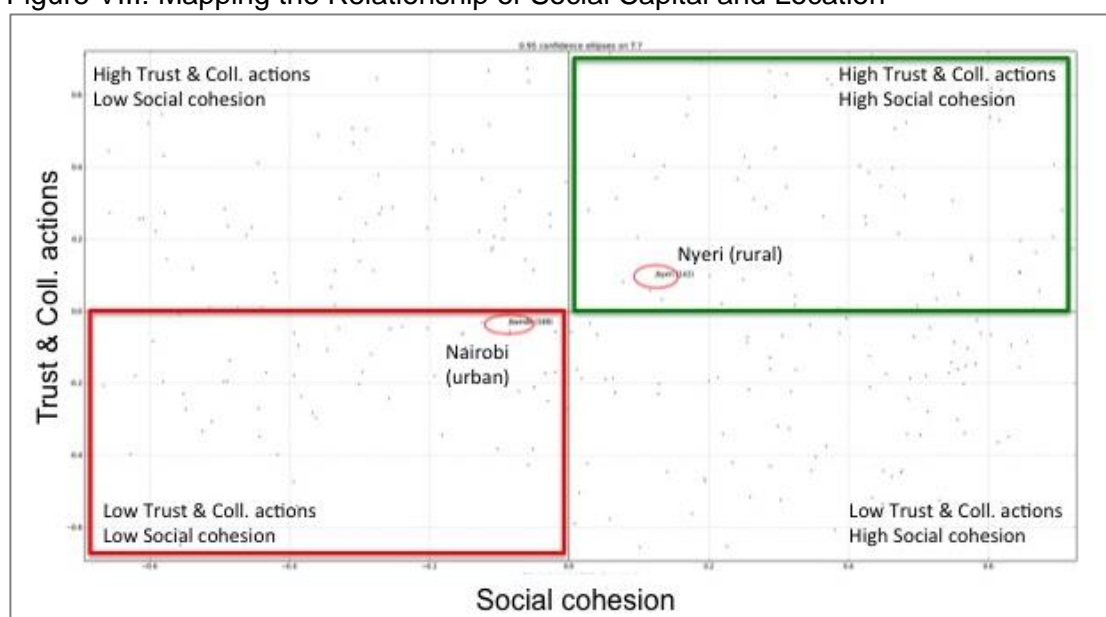
4.1.2 The Relationship between Social Capital & Shared Financial Capital

Building upon its previous work on social capital, Mars Catalyst used data from the March 2014 annual survey to investigate the structure of the social capital, its relationship with business performance, and its impact on reported well-being of Maua programme members. The survey collected information on social capital through more than thirty questions covering both structural social capital (e.g. affiliation to groups and associations, participation to collective actions, differences leading to exclusion from the community) and cognitive social capital (e.g. perceived trust, cooperation,

solidarity, peoples' moral and responsible behaviour). For this survey, the majority of the survey respondents were not members of the Maua programme.

From these data, Catalyst identified two dimensions that account for 74% of the variance in the social capital data, 'Social Cohesion' and 'Trust & Collective actions', accounting for 51% and 22%, respectively, of the total variance. The analysis of the variance across these two dimensions showed to what extent differences in business locations (e.g. Nyeri vs. Nairobi) affect the distribution of social capital. The social capital among entrepreneurs in Nyeri County is higher on both the dimensions of social capital than those in the county of Nairobi; this is illustrated in Figure VIII below. The figure uses the 95% confidence ellipses on the social capital plane to describe how individuals surveyed in Nyeri have higher levels of trust and collective action than those in Nairobi.

Figure VIII: Mapping the Relationship of Social Capital and Location



Moving to the connection between social capital and financial performance, the data analysis also found that satisfaction with income was correlated with higher levels of trust and collective action. Catalyst also found a positive correlation between social capital ('Social cohesion' and 'Trust & cooperation') and business for both Maua and non-Maua entrepreneurs. This was assessed through the question 'How your earnings have changed over the last 12 months' (options: increased, unchanged, decrease). Increases were found to correlate with the distribution of social capital. The analysis shows a positive association between increase in earnings and both dimensions of social capital: entrepreneurs having experienced increase in their earnings have on average higher social capital than those having experienced a decrease. This is significant at 5% level.

These correlations highlight the relationship between individuals' social connections and their financial performance, which will be discussed in greater detail in Section 4.2.2.

4.1.3 Financial Performance

Finally, while the financial performance of the Maua programmes has been de-emphasised in terms of key performance indicators, the continued growth of the programme and its profitability merit discussion; indeed, mutual benefits include a

positive outcome for both the micro-distributor and the company. As noted above, the programme has grown rapidly, as have its sales figures. In 2015 the programme generated approximately \$4.5 million in revenue for Wrigley Kenya, now comprising almost a fifth of its business.

The Maua programme has been significantly more profitable than the traditional Wrigley business; this is primarily due to lower sales costs, as there are no waged sellers and in the micro-entrepreneurship model, the firm is not responsible for costs such as benefits or sick leave. The programme also has lower advertising and promotions costs; the TV advertising expenditure for Wrigley Kenya as a whole was still allocated to the Maua P&L. The charts below, Figures IX and X, show how the Maua P&L differed from the Wrigley traditional business P&L:

- All trade expenditure for ‘business as usual’ went to margin for participants
- Sales allocation in traditional P&L (under Franchise and Sales Cost) went to the participants (e.g. for additional margin, incentives, tools of trade, etc.)
- What was left went to dedicated manpower costs, testing new projects, data collection, support for NGOs, etc.

As the programme has expanded, so too has its revenues, as illustrated in terms of both sales value and the number of bags sold (see Figure XII).

Figure IX: Comparison of Maua and Wrigley Kenya P&L

Wrigley P&L	KEN-Business as usual	KEN-Maua	Remarks
Gross Sales Value - Mkt	<i>Net of regular discount</i>	<i>Net of regular discount</i>	
Trade Expenditures	<i>Loyalty incentive to wholesalers</i>	<i>- Loyalty incentive to wholesalers - Share-out incentives to Uplifters</i>	
Net Sales - Mkt		<i>Net of share-out incentives</i>	
MAC		<i>Net of share-out incentives</i>	
Sales Cost	<i>Sales team (SWB, claims, etc), Mercado</i>	<i>Training and tools for entrepreneurs</i>	<i>Entrepreneurs are the sales people</i>
Display Units / Stands	<i>Display units</i>	<i>Display units</i>	
Total Franchise & Sales Cost			
G&A Total Cost		<i>Maua dedicated manpower costs (Ops Lead, Researcher, MORs, working tools, claims, payment to TechnoServe for FOs)</i>	<i>They are not part of sales team, and their KPIs are a combination of business performance and Maua KPIs</i>
Operating Profit/ROTA Earnings		<i>No profit no loss model</i>	

Figure X: Breakdown of Maua Gross Sales Value (GSV), 2014

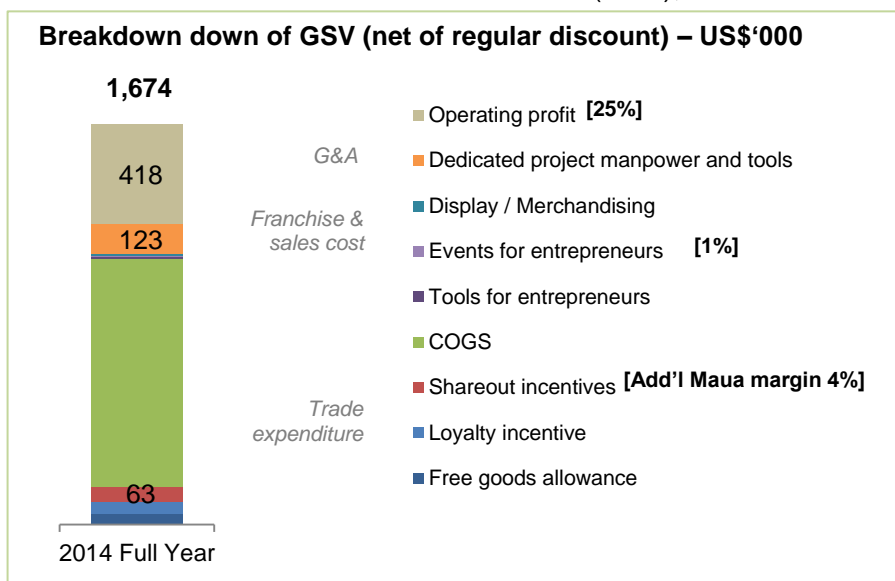
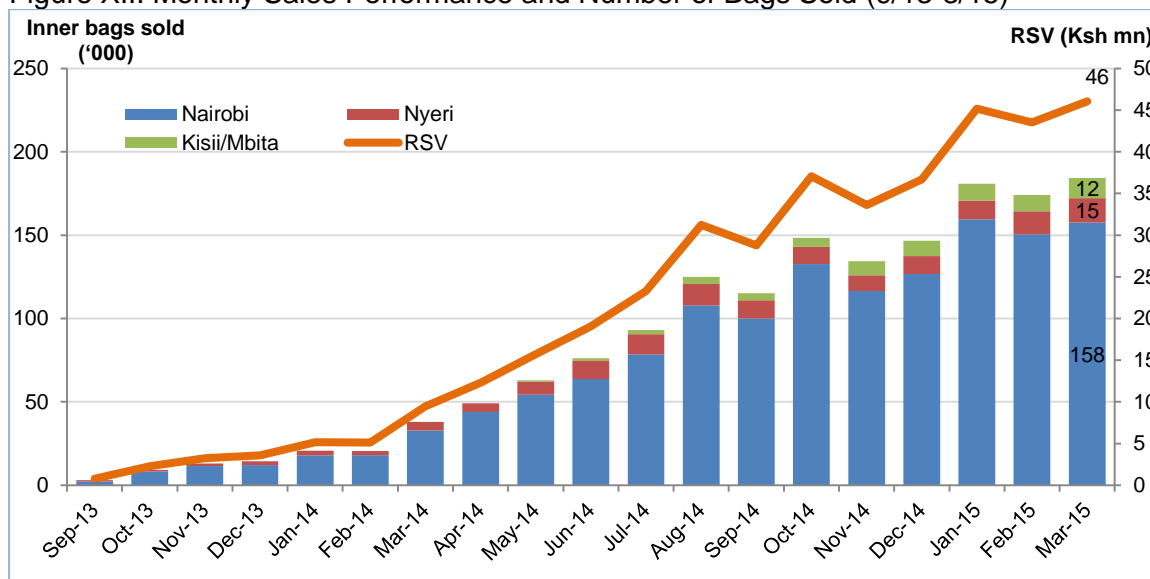


Figure XII: Monthly Sales Performance and Number of Bags Sold (9/13-3/15)



4.2 Qualitative Interview Research

The Saïd Business School has now engaged with the Maua programme since 2014, conducting four visits to the site, each of which has involved qualitative interviews with participants and managers. This paper draws mainly on data gathered in the first two rounds in 2014, and is supplemented by information from the 2015 and 2016 visits. This iterative process has allowed for researchers to track changes as the programme has grown and changed, as well as to re-interview key informants about their experiences and observations.

Regarding the interview methodology, interview participants were selected using non-probability sampling with the objective of reaching saturation on the topic rather than statistical representativeness. In the case of programme administrators and advisors, these key informants were selected for their specific insights in the operation on the

programme (e.g. purposive sample). Programme participants were selected using a convenience sample with the assistance of Maua programme managers. Interviews were conducted with the assistance of local translators. Interview transcripts were then analysed with attention to both key themes – the repetition of certain experiences and issues, which indicates their frequency – as well as with attention to unusual experiences that shed light on a broad range of experiences within the programme and deepen our understanding of how Maua functions in participants' lives.

In December 2014 the Saïd Business School conducted interviews 73 interviews with individuals involved with Maua. Thirteen (13) respondents were Wrigley managers, Maua managers, and programme contributors; these were individuals were selected for the particular insights and expertise. Turning attention to those on the ground (n=60), interviews were conducted with three (3) field officers, three (3) stock point managers, 49 Uplifters, and five (5) hawkers⁸ across Maua's most well established sites in Nairobi (urban) and Nyeri (rural). Regarding gender, 42 respondents were male, 31 female (n=73). Participants were selected with the assistance of the Maua programme manager, based on participant availability and length of time in the programme. As such it is a stratified, purposive sample. The interviews covered approximately 30% of programme participants at the time. A further 16 photo elicitation interviews, by which individuals were asked to take and speak about photos that illustrated aspects of their work lives, were carried out in April 2015 in the same sites, the preliminary findings of which are included herein. Respondents were evenly distributed by both gender and site.

The purpose of these interviews was to understand how the programme worked on the ground – what did Maua look like 'from below' – and to better understand the successes and challenges experienced by participants. As noted above, the qualitative data also complemented and provided insights into the mechanisms behind the quantitative data collected by Catalyst – in other words, exploring the 'how,' 'why,' and 'so what' questions raised by the survey results. Better understanding these individuals and their trajectories opens opportunities for making the programme more effective and responsive, and, most importantly, more mutual. The interviews examined individuals' economic lives and their experiences in the Maua programme. Rather than simply praising the positive outcomes of the programme, this analysis also seeks to surface areas of tension or gaps, thus highlighting areas for potential improvement or further exploration.

4.2.1 Shared Financial Capital: Contextualising Impact on Income

Regarding financial impact, as indicated by the survey results, the majority of Uplifters recorded increases in earnings and satisfaction with their profits from Maua. Indeed, we would expect that individuals who have not received any financial benefit to drop out and seek other types of work. However, the reported increases in income do not tell us about the magnitude of these changes or their impact on programme participants' economic lives. Similarly, data on savings does not tell us about the magnitude of savings and whether or not individuals are able to convert these savings into investments or if they are regularly drawn down to pay for monthly expenses such as rent or school fees. Accordingly, the qualitative interviews deepen and complicate the picture of financial gains by demonstrating that while many are earning a higher income, their individual ability to capitalise on these gains varies.

⁸ These numbers are slightly low, as in field interviewing other participants may join the interview shifting it towards a focus group discussion; this occurred in interviews with Hawkers.

On the most positive end of the spectrum, increases in earnings have been sufficient to transform participants' domestic lives. As one Uplifter commented:

It has made a difference because paying bills like for water and electricity I no longer dig to my savings. I usually pay using the money I get from Maua to pay for electricity and water bills. Sometimes the money is more than enough for the water and electricity I even have enough to pay for the monthly milk bill (INT38).

Another Uplifter similarly has used the income from Maua to improve his quality of life and invest:

It has helped me very much that is what I would say. One of reason is that I have been able to construct a house and it is still under construction and then I have been able to buy a cow, it has also helped me to send my children to school and to buy for them clothes. (INT54)

For these individuals, participation in the Maua programme makes a significant difference in their household incomes, allowing them to access key goods like food, water, shelter, and electricity. Another specifically described her newfound ability to send her daughter to school (INT28). As is discussed in the next section, some of these participants have also made enough earnings to reinvest in their selling businesses.

At the other end of the spectrum, the added income from Maua proved helpful, but insufficient to go beyond their subsistence needs. As noted above, survey data suggest that approximately 20% of sellers are not saving. The interview data found that a similar percentage were not saving at all (20%) and that an additional 18% of respondent were saving intermittently or at very low levels, defined as less than 500 Ks/mo. As one participant described:

It is only enough for food and rent but not other things. Like for example you would wish to have another side business but the money can't be enough for that. It is only enough for food and rent. You can't save (INT25).

In another example, an Uplifter poignantly described his inability to get ahead:

The challenges I get is that I get my profit at the end of the day but I use all of it so I can't save because of other expense such as food. To start the following day I start like it is new day (INT62).

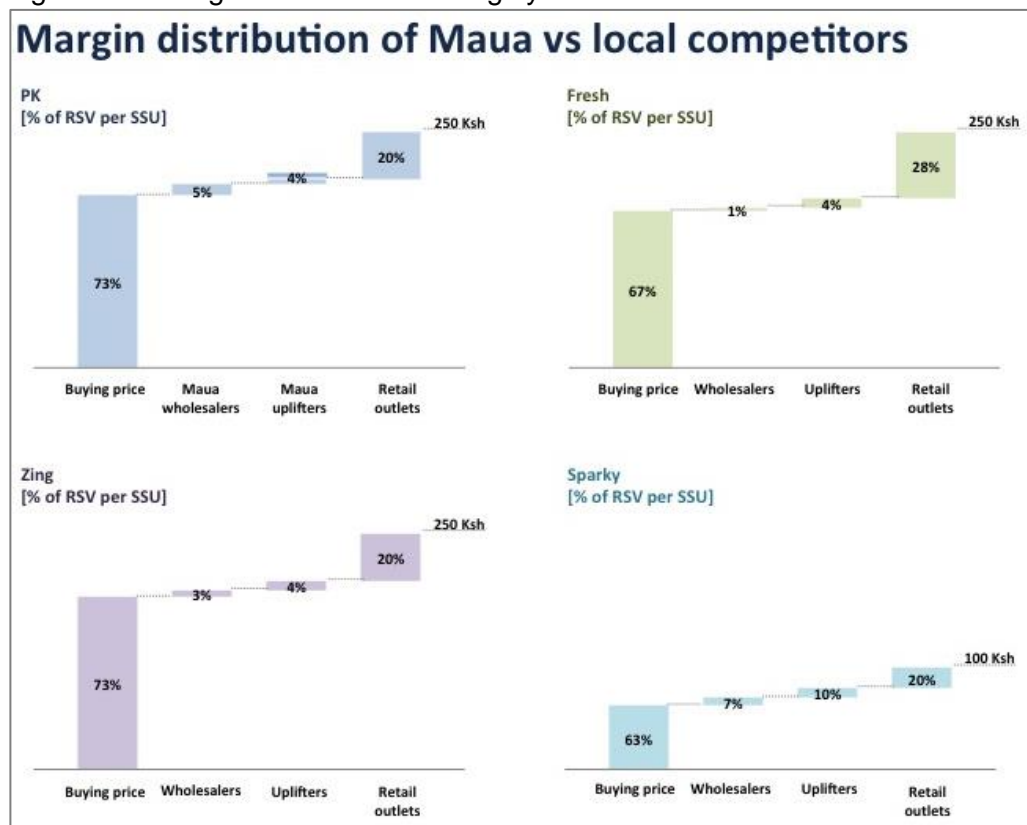
The latter illustrates how the earnings he attributes to the Maua programme have helped him, although, at the same time, remain below the level necessary for him gain greater access to capital. The limitations on the ability of these individuals to make sufficient incomes to save may reflect a range of factors, some of which are largely outside the control of the Maua programme. These include their daily financial needs, their debt burden, their skill at selling, and the proportion of their income derived from the programme, amongst other factors.

In some cases, this lack of transformative change may be because their marginal profits from the Wrigley products are comparable to those from other products. As one Uplifter noted: 'There is no difference because the little percentage you get on Airtime is the same as what you get on Wrigley's' (INT27). In a similar vein, another noted: 'If you would compare the profit with what we get from Fresh, Wrigley's is very little' (INT37). These observations are broadly correct; a key Maua manager described the margin on Wrigley products as 'competitive' or slightly above that offered by competing brands of gum. The charts in Figure XIII, below, compare the margins earned by Maua wholesalers and Uplifters on Wrigley's PK (as a proxy for all Wrigley products) with the margins earned by carrying other direct chewing gum competitors. Indeed, the incentive offered to Uplifters is designed to strike a balance between being a pure business venture and a social programme. As the programme flourishes

financially, conversations have begun to take place about returning more of the margin to the sellers through or through offering additional, non-monetary benefits.

However, while the margin offered on Wrigley products is competitive with that offered on other products, Uplifters explain that the Wrigley products are desirable and move very quickly and thus generate higher profits than other items. One participant explained: ‘As I keep selling to [Hawkers] they keep coming back for more...so I make profit very fast’ (INT22). A Stockist reiterated this point: ‘They are fast moving products. If they are fast moving then money, too, comes in fast’ (INT16). These individuals underscore that the financial advantage of selling Wrigley products may have more to do with how desirable and fast moving the product is rather than the margin offered by Wrigley; this helps to provide a more reliable and steady income stream. This ability to sell a high volume, even at a competitive margin, was compared favourably with selling clothing or insurance, as was the experience of one female Uplifter: ‘I could walk for a week without selling anything. With this one and a product like Wrigley’s, it is something that you don’t even need to market’ (INT35). The high frequency of sales in Maua helped to reduce the financial risks that she faced while selling insurance; this comparison is also apt with higher cost and slower moving social products such as water filters and solar lanterns.

Figure XIII: Margin Distribution of Wrigley PK for Maua vs Other Brands



4.2.2 Shared Financial Capital: Growing Businesses & Capital Constraints

Overall, Maua respondents are very articulate on their professional goals and desire to buy fixed assets like land, or pursue further education. Uplifters consistently cite the desire to use extra earnings to build their businesses and the positive impact of Maua in advancing that goal. As one Uplifter described the programme’s impact: ‘Now I don’t use the money from my business to pay for water and electricity bills and for that reason my business is growing’ (INT20). This marks a key transition from subsistence earnings to the ability to invest; in these cases, the programme served to catalyse

economic activity. However, the ability of Uplifters to transform their economic positions – a broader social goal of the programme – depends on their ability to save, invest, and access capital.

Interestingly, when asked about medium term professional goals, the majority of respondents saw themselves continuing with the Maua programme or within a system of sales, namely as stockists. As one Uplifter stated: 'I would like to go higher than I am...then I would own a business and still be part of Maua' (INT19). Another, similarly, stated: 'I want to open a wholesale, which I am sure they can sell the product to me at a cheaper price' (INT40). The respondents described their preference for either being stationary or for the ability to distribute products that they have bought themselves from the wholesaler. Such positions were also seen to bring higher levels of respect or status, to be more profitable, and to be more secure and less physically demanding. In the case of one stock point in Nairobi, individuals expressed their admiration for the stock point owner, citing his encouragement and positive influence on their work (INT31).

In regards to achieving these goals, Uplifters articulated a clear trajectory from 'foot soldier,' to distributing via bicycle, motorbike or car, to opening a small shop, to opening a stock point, to opening a wholesaler. Participants often also had clear ideas of their financial needs for achieving their goals; for example, in one interview, a participant produced a five-year plan, including a detailed account of his current savings rate and expenses. Transportation is a key focus; of the interviewed sellers, 12 owned motorbikes; four of these individuals credited Maua with their ability to purchase this asset. One Uplifter described how his motorbike quadrupled the number of shops he could service (INT30). Another described how better transportation increased his earnings:

I hire [a motorbike] so that I can be able to go out and meet my customers. Before that I used to go by bus. I earn enough to pay for the motorbike hire, pay for my needs and to something to save (INT34).

Similarly, another Uplifter was able to purchase a motorbike: 'It has changed my life because I have managed to buy the motorbike. Buying a motorbike is not a joke so I would say it has really helped' (INT55). These investments make the individuals more productive and expand their economic capabilities.

Reflecting this importance, as noted above, Uplifters frequently expressed their need for better transportation, namely motorbikes (n=13), which accelerate sellers' ability to reach customers and expand profits. A lack of capital to invest in such assets denies individuals entry into systems that are more efficient and profitable, resulting in low levels of growth or a lack of savings altogether. One shop owner described on sellers' concern with lack of transportation; referring to the support offered by Maua she stated:

It is not enough. [Sellers] were asking if they could get motorbikes that would enable them to be carrying more products and taking them other places. They said they would be making more money with motorbikes and they wouldn't have to sell other products (INT6).

Those selling on foot have a more limited range, may have transportation costs (i.e. bus fare), and may also bear the long-term costs of pains in their legs and backs from carrying goods. Women are also less likely to use bicycles or motorbikes (INT28), raising the question of whether it is more difficult for them to increase earnings. The barriers that stand in the way of this progression merit examination.

Beyond purchasing transportation assets, Uplifters gave examples of how they would like to invest in their businesses, namely purchasing higher volumes of stock. One Uplifter identified a lack of capital:

I would need money. I would like to grow but I would need money to do that because there are times when one comes here to buy stock but you do not have enough money. So you will only buy what your money is enough for and keep coming back when you run out (INT22).

In this case, the Uplifter had the capacity to sell more products, but lacked the capital to buy them upfront. Accordingly, some respondents had used loans to buy large orders of stock to distribute.

In order to build up savings and access such micro-loans, almost all interviewed programme participants actively utilised at least one form of financial instrument. These were namely informal table banking or merry-go-round savings systems, by which all individuals pay in a set amount each month and each month one member receives the pot; saving in bank accounts or on M-Pesa; or participation in more formalised savings groups (*chama*), some of which have been set up amongst Maua members with assistance from Field Officers – an excellent example of social capital impact – or through organisations introduced to participants via Maua, such as Joyful Women. A smaller number of participants (n=3) described being members of registered SACCOs; one used a loan of 50,000 Ks (approx. \$500) from his SACCO to purchase a motorbike (INT48).

These savings groups may be used to issue low interest loans to members or to raise money to invest in land, for example, which can then be sold and the profits divided amongst members. Participants also described both giving and receiving loans from family and friends, even from other Maua members. As suggested above, issues with savings and inconsistent earnings, however, do restrict the abilities of some to take full advantage of these opportunities. One participant described how his household expenses made it difficult to participate in lending schemes: 'I have to make enough to pay the loan, I also have my family to take care of' (INT22). Low levels of saving limit possible loan size; intermittent and low savings also limit individuals' abilities to participate in savings groups (INT35).

4.2.3 *Well-Being at Work: The Risks & Rewards of Selling*

The qualitative interviews are useful for understanding what individuals enjoy about their work, the challenges programme participants face, as well as the diverse strategies that they use to mitigate these risks, whether financial, physical, or environmental. Entrepreneurial work places the responsibility of growing the business and meeting income needs on the day-to-day labour of the individual. Selling on commission requires individuals to carry more risk than waged employment, which guarantees a daily income and may have a safety net for dealing with illness, for example. Yet commission-based and entrepreneurial work also provides higher levels of autonomy and potentially greater opportunities for upward mobility. While Maua managers and even supportive stock points may provide a backstop in some cases, this is more on an informal or ad hoc basis, and the primary responsibility for success in the programme remains with the seller.

For some individuals, Maua provided the opportunity for higher incomes and more flexibility than their prior wage-based work. As one Uplifter explained, his income selling was better than he could receive elsewhere:

I wouldn't say [current income] is enough but I would say I prefer it to [waged] employment. This is because I earn 30,000 and as you know not many jobs you will get to be paid 30,000 per month (INT37).

Similarly, a female Uplifter compared it to her work in in a boutique:

I was employed at a boutique. If you look at it, it wouldn't make much difference because there I used to earn 7000. But here I make 5000 and I also get that other commissions. (INT39)

In addition, the autonomy of working as a Maua Uplifter was contrasted, in one instance, with work selling Fresh gum, a competing brand from Kenafric. While selling Fresh provided a fixed daily wage, selling targets made the work highly pressurised and a more negative working experience. Maua participants generally reported not feeling under undue pressure to sell, reflecting the non-sales KPIs.

The flexibility and freedom afforded by Maua was a key, positive point reported by respondents. In particular, for those that left other work to join Maua, the benefits of flexibility and the possibility of growing their incomes, as compared to a low fixed wage, are attractive. Entrepreneurship, independence, and the desire to create their own businesses were prominent themes across the interviews. As one male Uplifter explained: 'For me if I can have my own business I can be comfortable. You know you are making your own profit, you know what to do with it' (INT31). In a photo interview conducted in April 2015, one seller took a self-portrait of himself in a café, reading the news and drinking a cup of coffee. He explained that this image illustrated his autonomy: he is able to choose when and if to take a break. He also used consumption activities to demonstrate this autonomy – he has the time and capital to enjoy a cup of coffee. The higher financial uncertainty of non-wage work was, however, cited by one local NGO manager working in this space as a major issue in retaining sellers on route-to-market and sales-based programmes.

Tied to this idea of freedom and entrepreneurialism, one of the distinguishing features of the Maua programme is that it allows individuals to carry a mixed basket of goods. This provides sellers with the autonomy to make decisions regarding both what combination of products to sell and what proportion of the basket to devote to Wrigley products. In some cases, these baskets are remarkably diverse; one respondent in the more rural Nyeri area suggested that he carried approximately 80-100 products, ranging from confectionary to padlocks. Another respondent in the photo interviews from Nyeri illustrated his vision of a successful business through the image of a small car, crammed with dozens and dozens of products – in practice, a mobile stock point.

The diversity of the basket varies between rural and urban areas, with sellers in rural areas carrying approximately 30 per cent Wrigley products, while in the urban areas the baskets were on average 70 per cent Wrigley products. This reflects different strategies needed to adjust to the different business and geographic environments. In the rural areas, customers are fewer and more dispersed. As a result, sellers rely more on transportation – from cars and motorbikes to buses – to span these distances. More importantly, because there are fewer customers, sellers mitigate their risk of not making a sale by bringing a diverse basket of goods, thereby increasing the likelihood that customers will buy something. Travel for these sellers entails both transportation and opportunity costs; the negative impact of traveling without a sale is amplified for sellers who must walk for extended periods and are able to access fewer customers each day. This is a key risk for sellers who have the fewer assets, such as motorbikes, and may be earning and saving less overall.

Another area of concern voiced by Maua Uplifters was competition; this could be from other Maua sellers, independent micro-distributors, or even distributors from within

Wrigley. This cannibalisation may be one of the unintended consequences of the programmes success and growth, and could be a source of tension within Wrigley and between sellers in the future. Despite the flexibility described above, Uplifters are required to sell their goods at a fixed price; this invites competition from rivals willing to undercut Maua sellers. In order to continue to be competitive, Maua Uplifters reported taking on additional financial risk and offering goods on credit. This can be sustained by sellers in the case that they are given the goods on credit from Stock Points, but in the case that they do not have the social capital with the Stock Point to receive credit, this can cause financial strain. Two former Maua Uplifters, each interviewed independently, described having to leave the programme after moving Stock Points and no longer having the necessary trust to receive goods on credit.

Beyond the financial risks associated with not selling, carrying debt, and competition, individuals identified concerns with physical risks, including of injury and health problems; environmental risks, including poor roads and damage to merchandise from rain or mud; and safety risks, including harassment and theft – although one Uplifter said that her children would never take from the stock of gum she stored at home, as they knew it was for business (INT71). Of significance, these risks are part of what defined the initial route-to-market challenge for Wrigley. A Maua manager cited health impacts as the primary reason that four women recently exited the programme, suggesting that it may be a factor in retention. Carrying bags on foot for long distances, for example, can be tiring, and interviewees reported health issues ranging from nightly pains in their legs to respiratory problems. Respondents of both genders described a range of strategies for mitigating physical risks, including avoiding certain areas and selling at certain times and weighing up the pros and cons of taking insecure shortcuts. Women may be particularly affected by concerns with being robbed or sexually harassed in their work, although some female respondents stated that they did not feel that they were more vulnerable. Regarding harassment, one female seller described how she conducted transactions with a problematic customer via M-Pesa mobile transfers prior to reaching his shop, thus significantly reducing the time that she had to interact with him.

A final issue that arose in a range of interviews in Nairobi, as well as was identified by other NGOs using route-to-market programmes, although not in the rural areas, was negative encounters with the City Council, which required sellers to carry licenses. One female Uplifter described her experience being arrested and held at the police station (INT35); another individual had his bicycle and stock taken. A third Uplifter summarised: ‘The biggest challenge is the city council. We have gotten used to it so we hide when we see them like what the hawkers do’ (INT50). This risk of being fined or arrested created uncertainty as well as another source of risk for entrepreneurs. Initially Maua managers decided to issue less conspicuous bags for carrying the product, although, as discussed below, bags and uniforms were valued as advertising. In April 2015 steps began to issue sellers with licenses from the stock points; however, in a visit in March 2016, the issue had yet been fully resolved. At its heart is the nature of the connection between the sellers – the Maua Uplifters and Hawkers – and the Wrigley business; in an entrepreneurial model, despite language of family and support, the business has little responsibility for the sellers and does not carry liability.

4.2.1 Well-Being at Work: Work Motivation & Company Identification

In considering the motivations of individuals within Maua, both to participate in the programme and to increase their sales, it is important to look at both financial and non-financial motivations. As would be expected, the majority of respondents cite earning money as their main motivation. Some respondents joined Maua for ‘instant money’ (INT70) or for lack of other opportunities: ‘I will keep doing it because I don’t

know if there is any other job I can do' (INT65). However, others saw participation and the financial incentives in terms of enabling long-term investment in their businesses, education, and families:

One has plans. [...] we have families and these families depend on us. So it has given me a thought of improving the lifestyle of my family by trying to grow to open a bigger business so that I can stop going around (INT54).

Another respondent saw opportunities for his family not only in his own earnings, but in recruiting family members into the Maua (INT51). The Field Officers are aware of this as an incentive and use it in their motivational talks (INT45-47), suggesting that the Uplifters' children will eventually take over their jobs.

More broadly, the ability to better provide their families has brought respect and satisfaction and increased identification as a businessperson or entrepreneur. Gaining respect from families is usually associated with being able to contribute to support them financially, as well as being seen to be independent and hard working. Although associated with earning power, respect is therefore also seen as a result of effort: 'You don't demand respect, you earn it. I have earned it' (INT66). In this vein, the programme generates new forms of self-identification, including a sense of pride or professional identity amongst participating sellers.

Self-identification is often discussed in terms of wearing branded clothing, through which Maua participants experienced and benefited from an association with a respected company. As one Programme Manager explained: 'We also give them some uniforms and, you know, they're also feeling very, very attached to the company because they feel they belong as part of the project, yes' (INT09). For participants, even though they worked independently, the uniform gives them a sense of group identity. One Uplifter described the importance of team-based versus independent work, as with hawking: 'Let me say [t-shirts are] not support but a form of motivation. When I see them I feel comfortable with work. I feel like I am in a team and not like I am alone' (INT62). This collective identity aids and motivates his work.

The uniform is associated with professional identity and status, and Uplifters mentioned how important it was that their t-shirts were clean. As one female Uplifter who did not yet have a uniform or t-shirt explained:

The one who has a T-shirt looks higher than the rest of us. He looks like he is selling something unlike us, he looks like he comes from the company unlike us and he looks like he is serious with his job. That is why we request if we could get a T-shirt, an apron and the basket to display our products (INT41).

The importance of the uniform and t-shirt also reflects the desire to distinguish the Maua work from 'regular' hawking, which respondents regarded negatively or as disrespected. As one Uplifter explained: 'They respect me because you are in a group. People will respect you more if you are in a group than when you are a regular hawker who is not in a group' (INT32). This reflects how associations or even commodities – branded bags or t-shirts – may enable a person to go about his or her life with greater pride and self worth.⁹ It is worth noting, however, that the status associated with these markers reflects the power of corporations as well as of capitalist and neoliberal values, including entrepreneurship (see Rankin, 2001).

⁹ In addition to promoting a sense of pride in the company, the t-shirts had the practical benefit of serving as advertisements: 'When a customer sees you in a T-shirt they will ask for PK. She can be forgetful about buying PK but when they see you in the T-shirt they remember and then ask do you have that PK?' (INT61). Uplifters also sometimes gave their promotional t-shirts to valued customers in order to cement relationships.

As with the overall motivation to join the programme, the motivation for increasing sales also is primarily driven by a desire for a higher income. Providing an example of this mechanism, one respondent articulated how the commission or share out payment, and thus the overall margin on the Maua product, affects his behaviour in relation to how he promoted other brands. He stated:

So you get the normal profit and the commission. With this, one becomes more aggressive in selling PK than all the other products. You convince customer to buy PK and not the other products because you know you will get something extra (INT53).

However, not all programme members regarded the 'share-out' or commission as an incentive or 'extra'; one respondent regarded the commission as part of her pay, which she emphasised she had earned (INT64). In addition to the share out, many respondents suggested that the programme should practical, tangible rewards for increased sales, such as bicycles, mobile phones, or fuel (INT72).

In terms of sales motivation provided from the Field Officers, one Field Officer claimed that ranking Uplifters according to their sales motivated them:

Sometimes we even put a list to see the performance Just to pull the people who are still down so that they can say I can do it. 'You mean you can make up to 30,000 in a month? Why not me? Where am I going wrong?' After the share out, if you look at the first week, that week's sales are normally crazy because they really sell because of the motivation (INT10)

While none of the Uplifters mentioned this specific strategy as motivating them, they did note that seeing other sellers' sales spurred on their own efforts. Although one respondent thought that being set sales targets would 'push' her to work harder (INT64), many preferred to set their own targets and appreciated that there was not excessive pressure on meeting sales figures. A personal relationship with a Field Officer was also clearly valued by some as encouraging them as well as providing practical assistance.

4.2.2 Social Capital: Amplification & Transformation

Social relationships plays a key role in the functioning of the Maua programme; informal relationships and trust emerged as key for participant recruitment as well as exchange relationships. As the survey work by Mars Catalyst suggests, individuals in the Maua programme may have higher levels of social capital than peers outside the programme. Indeed, it may be that their presence in the programme is on account of these pre-existing relationships. Deepening this analysis, the qualitative data suggest that participation in Maua in many cases both amplified pre-existing relationships as well as created new connections. In regards to amplification, reliance on pre-existing relationships appeared important in regards to the abilities of stockists to recruit individuals who they trusted and found credit-worthy; experienced sellers also were able to offer Wrigley products to established customers.

In regards to extending and creating new networks, participants who were new to product distribution described an enlargement of their social networks through Maua. In addition, established sellers who entered Maua and gained new customers were also able to expand their economic networks. As these relationships between Uplifters and customers, as well as Uplifters and stockists, matured over time, these parties felt more comfortable extending credit, for example (INT06). The ability to hold debt provides a good example of how trust can facilitate economic activity; by contrast, in the cases in which stock must be purchased up front, Uplifters' earning opportunities were constrained by a lack of capital.

Regarding the creation of social bonds within the programme, respondents reported a range of experiences. Most commonly, respondents described coordination with other Uplifters that worked from the same Stock Point. Some Uplifters using the same stock point share encouragement, tips, and stock, particularly in the case of shortages. As one Uplifter explained: 'We interact on the roads. Say I have finished this product, say it is this PK green and I want it I can borrow from him or exchange with another product' (INT62). In more organised stock points, the Uplifters coordinated their routes, reducing direct competition; as one member described:

We don't compete for shops, we compete for sales. Like I will say 'you made more sales than me today so tomorrow I will try to sell more than you' but most of the entrepreneurs here have their rout plans so we don't compete for shops (INT35)

For those who attended the monthly share-out meetings, these provided an opportunity for information exchange and social bonding. More formally, the Maua programme assisted participants in creating savings and table banking groups, including by inviting a speaker from the Joyful Women microfinance organisation. The trust between members facilitates such action.

Despite these positive developments, the relationships between sellers remain variable. For example, for some sellers, illness provides a particular challenge; as one Uplifter explained:

When I am sick it is difficult because when I come back I will find my customer has asked someone else to bring for them because there are so many bikes from other places but we meet in the market. When I am sick or absent I am at risk of losing my customers (INT61)

While some participants described their ability to ask other Uplifters to serve their customers in the case of travel or illness, with the expectation that they would not be poached, the majority of respondents looked outside Maua for assistance. In particular individuals managed this problem through outside social networks, particularly family. As a one Uplifter described how he handles absences:

Usually I have customers that I visit daily, so I have to communicate with a friend or someone close to me maybe a relative that can deliver the products to them even if it is not to all the customers. (INT57)

These quotes reinforce the importance of sustaining connections to customers in this competitive environment.

In regards to recruitment, a plurality of respondents was approached by a previously unknown Maua officer (n=20) or a Maua partner (e.g. Technoserve, n=2), who observed him or her working as a seller. However, a large proportion of interviewed Uplifters entered Maua through pre-existing networks, primarily with a stock point that he or she already frequented or through a family member or acquaintance that had already joined Maua (n=14) or was simply aware of the programme (n=7). As one Maua field officer explained, when she first started recruiting a Stockist told her:

"that's a good thing, but you know you don't know those people, here you don't know, you live somewhere else." So he said "if you want an entrepreneur, let me go and recruit, then you come and interview this entrepreneur"(INT06).

The stock point owner preferred to work with people that he already knew, drawing from his economic, family, social, church, and community networks.

This type of recruitment allowed stockists to select participants with whom they already had established relationships, reflecting the importance of trust and social networks in the informal economy. As Maua Field Officer explained:

Suppose you go into a slum where there is a lot of insecurity and the Wrigley's marketing team is not able to reach. You will explain to [the prospective Stockist] ... that the people who are going to sell from your stock point are people from your community (INT10)

Here, concern with security prevented conventional route-to-market efforts; these risks, however, have been managed through recruiting local people known and trusted by the stockist. As the Field Officer reiterated: 'At the last share-out we agreed "let us recruit the people we know because of that trust and security"' (INT10). Whether embedding an existing sales network into Maua or extending into it via family and friends, the importance of social capital was also demonstrated through the recruitment process.

Trust was also important in regards to start-up credit. Maua did not automatically provide the Uplifter with start up capital (i.e. bags of gum to distribute), but Stockists often did so with trusted new recruits. As one Field Officer explained in regards to what makes a good stock point owner:

We want someone who is able to interact with the entrepreneurs...someone who also has a heart, too, you know, in supporting people, and in supporting people in terms of giving them credit (INT06).

In one case, the Maua Field Officer loaned his own capital for the newly recruited Uplifter, a former student of his. In another case, a Stockist provided an Uplifter a loan in order to purchase a bicycle (INT25). In doing so, these individuals shouldered the risk of loss, providing an excellent example of how close personal relationships, a form of social capital, facilitated economic transactions at the micro-level.

4.2.3 Human Capital: Training & Capacity Development

One of the ways in which the Maua programme distinguishes itself from programmes focused on primarily accessing a new route-to-market through the engagement of individuals at the BoP is the provision of social programmes. This is comprised of firstly the initial training and introduction into the programme, and, secondly, monthly share-out meetings, which may feature motivational speakers or guests offering information on beneficial programmes, such as health insurance or microfinance. A programme manager emphasised the importance of training: '.... as independent entrepreneurs, they wouldn't have extra connection and tools and training, but if they join hands with us they get that and they walk a long way' (INT03). However, despite the recognised importance of these components for distinguishing how the programme functions on the ground, there appeared to be challenges regarding reaching and engaging participants.

Regarding the challenge of reaching participants, the rolling nature of recruitment has meant that providing standardised orientation training to new entrants is difficult. The majority of interviewed respondents did not recall receiving specific training for the programme although many shadowed other sellers or spoke with Stockists. The comments of one Uplifter capture this experience:

To tell you the truth I have been in this occupation of selling for some time now so I didn't need any kind of training. I have practically trained myself on business. So I have not been trained in a class or anything of the sort. I have trained myself while selling (INT54).

Of importance, some of these micro-entrepreneurs did not perceive themselves as needing any training, either formally or informally, and several commented that they had brought existing skills in selling from other jobs; one said he had 'trained himself' (INT54). Some of these respondents expressed scepticism as to whether formal training could improve selling ability.

Uplifters often appear to be proud of having developed their skills themselves or through connecting with other sellers: 'I built the relationship I have and got the experience I have' (INT49). One respondent, who claimed to be the oldest in his group, saw his age as an advantage, in that he was able to give advice to others (INT69). Chance meetings at the stock point as well as meetings planned among small groups of micro-entrepreneurs working in the same area were seen as the most useful way to exchange up-to-date local information, even amongst those who perceived themselves as experienced sellers who did not need further training. One Uplifter said he had learnt the 'secrets' of selling from listening to his customers (INT29), rather than formal training.

The regular training and information sessions offered at the monthly share-out meetings were, similarly, more valued by some than others. Attendance was irregular; one group sent a representative to attend the meetings on their behalf (INT24). When the programme was established, monthly commission payments were distributed via share-out sessions. As the programme expanded, and the amounts increased, the payments were shared out via mobile banking (M-Pesa). As a result, a key incentive for participants to join the monthly sessions was reduced; one field officer estimated that approximately 50 per cent of programme participants attend the meetings (INT06). The interview data closely mirrors this figure, and 44% of respondents stated that they regularly or almost always attended the meetings. For some Uplifters, particularly those that live far from the meeting places, joining these sessions is prohibitively expensive and time consuming. One challenge for the programme going forward will be to maintain attendance at these sessions as well as the quality and usefulness of the information provided to participants. The risk with not investing social programming, whether through meetings, trainings, or other interventions, is that the programme, in practice, closely resembles conventional, profit-driven route-to-market initiatives.

Those who attended formal training listed several positive outcomes: the meetings were described as practical (INT68), motivating (INT69), helpful for predicting customer needs (INT72), and, significantly, being helpful outside work (INT69) – so knowledge gained in the formal meetings is seen as transferrable, and therefore more valuable. Respondents who were asked what they most valued in the content of the training mentioned listening to guest speakers from the banking sector (INT06) and learning about saving and managing money. One praised the Maua field officer, describing him as a 'teacher of entrepreneurship' (INT45-47). Another Uplifter described her desire for more training:

Even if I know, I think it is always good if there would be more training because there are times you will talk to someone else and realize there are so many things you do not know about (INT22).

There were requests for additional training on sales and marketing (INT71), managing money (INT29) and product knowledge (INT31). One respondent wanted to study business formally, allowing him to gain a 'management certificate', suggesting that for some, a qualification would be a valued outcome from the formal training. Those who were students, studying public relations, for an electrician's qualification or to be a chef, were clearly aware of the value in a certificated qualification to record their training. However, the majority of respondents said that access to information was crucial to them – local information in the short term, and information on savings, planning and managing in the longer term. Even those who did not express a need for more formal training acknowledged the need for information.

Training was also perceived as valuable for giving confidence along with skills and knowledge. One respondent said she had learnt 'how to make it in life' (INT68). For

another woman, the training transformed her self-image: 'I didn't know I am a business woman before the training' (INT28). The regular share-out meetings also had the potential to extend participants' networks beyond their own social networks; however, for these to offer maximum value for networking, the most experienced sellers, those who perceive themselves as not requiring formal training, would need to be persuaded to attend. Encouragingly, even those who are sceptical about the value of formal training recognise that there is more to learn, if new knowledge is offered:

...there are times you will talk to someone else and realize there are so many things you do not know about. You will only be talking but you will realize you just got to know about what that person is telling you. So I would like to be informed (INT22).

The Maua team recently began development of training information to be distributed via text; the efficacy of the content and approach remains to be tested.

4.2.4 Maua Within Wrigley

A final area of exploration in the qualitative interviews is the role of Maua within Wrigley and the challenges of striking the balance between sales and social programming, managing increasingly overlapping territories, and sensitising managers accustomed to the discipline of an employee model to the benefits – and challenges of lower levels of control – a that comes from a decentralised, entrepreneurial model. More broadly, tensions remain around the introduction of new ways of thinking that push the boundaries of the firm and ideas about a firm's purpose. These challenges surface both at the organisational level, by which managers felt conflicting pressures, as well as on the ground, in competition between Wrigley distributors, who have targets to meet, and Maua sellers.

In regards to the latter issue of competition amongst Wrigley distribution networks, a key management challenge that arose in the creation and expansion of Maua was the question of where geographically the programme would operate, and insulating those areas from each other. This resulted in the complex task of defining and policing boundaries. Wrigley managers addressed this through the use of zoning. As one described:

So we had to be very, very careful with the stock points and the regions to be zonal, to avoid cross-border, wholesalers buying from the other side because these Maua, they have this cheaper and they earn money when they come and sell this side, and yet it's meant only for the Maua people. (INT08)

However, exemplifying the complexity of growing a social programme within a profit driven organisation, one Uplifter in his photo interview shared a picture of his two boxes of Wrigley products set in front of a branded Wrigley minivan, which had just arrived and distributed products to shops that he regularly serviced. Somewhat ironically, on the other side, there is a risk of the expansion of the Maua programme growing and affecting the areas in which Wrigley distributors have worked; Maua sellers have the autonomy to pursue routes of their choosing. While the programme was designed to focus on areas in which Wrigley distribution systems did not reach, a surprising number of respondents in the rural areas described competition for customers with distributors of Wrigley products from Wrigley or from outside of the Maua programme. As noted above, this issue of insulating the two distribution systems will become increasingly prominent as Maua expands.

This nascent conflict over territories is also related to a bigger clash in models: one that involves higher costs but much higher levels of control, and the Maua model, which allows for entrepreneurial innovation, flexibility, and initiative, but comes with much less oversight and ability to direct action. While sales team members have largely embraced the Maua programme, one key manager lamented the 'lack of

control' and remains sceptical of working with micro-distributors on commission. As the Maua programme has matured, efforts have been made to increase this level of oversight while not infringing on the elements that make the model lean and effective. This has involved introducing codes of conduct and more explicit expectations around behaviour as a means to reducing fraudulent reporting, an unfortunately frequent occurrence in such decentralised programmes that have a few managers on the ground. However, the difficulty of monitoring such behaviour is understood as endemic to the model, and there is recognition amongst the programme architects that more careful monitoring or route planning, for example, would come at a cost to the decentralised, light-touch programme design.

In addition to these tensions, within Wrigley the establishment and eventual financial success of Maua brought with it new complexities. Reflecting profit-driven pressures, the success of Maua in expanding Wrigley sales created pressure within the organisation to expand the programme and to further increase its profitability. This included questions from within Wrigley regarding key aspects of the programme, for example the 'share-outs' received by participants. One manager described these tensions:

Especially now I'm meeting in the boardroom, so there's always tension for finance and sales and us at Maua...The sales team wants to see IMS... They want to see the numbers growing higher and higher every day. And finance think "why should we have share-outs?" you know. (INT03)

While many at Wrigley were deeply committed to the programme, such tensions illustrated a potential lack of understanding of Maua and its purpose across the organisation.

The tensions between Maua's social goals and Wrigley's financial targets also created pressure on key individuals within the programme. A Wrigley manager described these, citing competition between financial goals and the principles embodied in the Maua programme:

I've got a financial ship [sic] to deliver, I've got a mark to deliver and I've got Maua I need to deliver on... So how do I marry these two? So that's the one and that, quite frankly we haven't figured it out because there is management, there is the Board, there is the principles... so it's a question of how do I promote this principle further in the context or in the confines of the financial ship that I'm given (INT05).

Complicating factors, this balancing act had direct consequences on the manager's pay. As he described, financial performance is 'linked to my reward structure, so it becomes very difficult to sort it out in the short term' (INT05). Looking forward, key questions remain regarding how Maua should fit within the structure of the Wrigley office and how to protect its social mission and approach.

5 CONCLUSION

This case has examined the establishment of the Maua programme in Kenya – a new system for Mars to distribute products in informal settlements employing micro-distributors and using an entrepreneurial model. Maua allows Wrigley's products to reach poor consumers living in urban informal settlements while also seeking to establish a more mutual way of doing business. The Maua programme marks a success for Mars Catalyst and Wrigley: it has demonstrated that a programme designed with a social mission can be financially successful and grow quickly. Mars view the economic opportunities provided to micro-entrepreneurs, as well as their training and other support, as generating mutual outcome for participants in the programme.

Results from both survey data and qualitative interviews support this view and suggest that the majority of participants have experienced financial benefits and enjoy the freedom associated with the work as well as the association with Wrigley. Success stories include examples of individuals buying new modes of transportation and thus expanding their selling businesses and earning potential; individuals have been connected through the programme and used these connections to form savings groups and support each other; sellers have built up personal identities as independent businesspeople, taking pride in their work. More broadly, the Maua programme has also set a model for additional programmes in the Philippines, Indonesia, and China, and these promise to similarly provide economic opportunities for those in poverty. This model may also influence other corporations seeking similar expansion.

Challenges remain, however, and participants face the financial uncertainty that comes with the entrepreneurial model, the physical risks associated work in rural areas and informal settlements, as well as the challenges of life with a low level of income, particularly for those that are still unable to save. The financial success of the programme for Wrigley also raises the question of how these returns can be reinvested in the community or returned to the participating Stock Points, Uplifters, and Hawkers. The risk is that the programme succeeds in leveraging social capital and the skills of those at the BOP to extract value from these informal settlements and rural areas rather than create value. It is much easier to measure capitals than to design programmes that improve them. Going forward the question arises how to maintain or deepen the mutuality in the programme; work in this area should be informed a continued focus on the capitals, well-being, and attention to what improved income allows individuals to achieve not simply on income itself.

As such, we view this programme as a work of progress – part of the much broader process of learning *how to make business more mutual*. Indeed, this case invites reflection on how mutuality has been operationalized and what affect this principle has had on this programme, as well as on the principle more broadly. Put another way, if mutuality is what distinguishes Maua from route-to-market programmes carried out by the rival Kenafric, where do we most see those differences? In answering this provocation, we confidently find that the focus on mutuality has shaped the programme in significant ways. It has driven the decisions to de-emphasised sales targets and KPIs, encouraged collaboration with un-conventional NGO and academic partners, institutionalised training and inspirational activities, and brought a holistic focus on measuring social, human, and financial capital. This marks a new way of doing business in a globally significant organisation.

In conclusion, the challenges of poverty at the base of the pyramid merit the attention of corporations. Corporate social responsibility programmes, for example, reflect a growing recognition of the potential power of corporations in the social space and the importance of engaging with questions of corporate impact, particularly in regards to reputation; recently graduated recruits are increasingly expressing a desire to contribute to social improvement programmes. Coming from a different perspective, the concept of mutuality instead describes the interdependence of a corporation and its supplier, customers, employees and other partners. From recognising this interdependence emerges an obligation for fairer or non-exploitative relations, including between the corporation and its producers at the BoP, despite the extreme power differential. This case suggests that these fairer, more mutual relations are not only more ethical, but also more productive, particularly over the long-term.

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Saïd Business School

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The Partnership

Mutuality in Business is a multi-year joint research programme between Saïd Business School and the Catalyst think tank at Mars, Incorporated. Established in June 2014, the Mutuality in Business joint research partnership has focused on the development of a business management theory for the Economics of Mutuality with corresponding teaching curriculum, new management practices, and case study research. The research programme has combined the pursuit of normative questions – what is mutuality and how should it be enacted? – with grounded, ethnographic research on current thinking and practices. This has led to the development of field experiments and case studies examining how large corporate actors conceive of and pursue responsible business practices, and how these relate to their financial and social performance.

In 2016 this work expanded to include work by Danone Ecosystem and it is envisaged that other companies will participate in the research programme in the future.

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