Agricultural Learning and Impacts Network (ALINe)

P4P and Gender: Literature Review and Fieldwork Report

Women-only focus group discussion in Kilimanjaro, Tanzania.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AET	Agricultural extension and training
ALINe	Agriculture Learning and Impacts Network
BDL	Bioreclamation of Degraded Lands
BMGF	Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation
CSB	Corn Soya Blend
CSB++	Corn Soya Blend Plus Plus
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CIAT	International Center for Tropical Agriculture
CIP	International Potato Center
CIP	Country Implementation Plan
COs	Country Offices
CoopAfrica	Cooperative Facility for Africa
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DRC	the Democratic Republic of Congo
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FFS	Farmer field schools
FGDs	Focus Groups Discussions
FHHs	Female-headed households
FOs	Farmers Organisations
FRI	Farm Radio International
GA	Gender Assessment
GAD	Gender and Development
GALS	Gender Action Learning System
HEB	High Energy Biscuits
HEPS	High Energy Protein Supplement
ICA	International Co-operative Alliance
ICRISAT	International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
ILO	International Labour Organization
ILRI	International Livestock Research Institute
IMT	Intermediate means of transport
MAFF	Management Advice for Family Farms
M&E	monitoring and evaluation
MFP	Multifunctional Platform Programme
MVIWATA	Farmers' Groups Network in Tanzania
NASFAM	National Smallholder Farmer Organisation in Malawi
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OWPs	Older women from polygamous marriages
P4P	UN WFP Purchase for Progress
PRA	Participatory rural appraisal

RSB	Rice Soya Blend
RUSF	Ready to Use Supplementary Foods
SACCO	Savings and credit cooperatives
SEWA	Self Employed Women's Association
SHGs	Self-help groups
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index
SSA	Sub-Saharan African
TOC	Theory of change
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VSBK	Viswa Santhi Balananda Kendram
WB	World Bank
WEMAN	Women's Empowerment Mainstreaming And Networking
WFP	UN World Food Programme
WID	Women in Development
WOCAN	Women Organizing for Change in Agriculture and Natural Resource Management
WSB	Wheat Soya Blend

Executive summary

The World Food Programme's Purchase for Progress programme (P4P) is a five year pilot project with a focus on creating opportunities for smallholder producers to become competitive players in agricultural markets in a sustainable way, building a more resilient agricultural sector. Acknowledging the importance of women in the agricultural sector worldwide, WFP is encouraging the participation of women by working to ensure gender sensitivity and equality in all its activities. Women play a prominent and important role in the pilot, particularly providing a contribution to the labour requirements. The success of the P4P model is contingent on their meaningful involvement and well-being. This report reviews current literature on women in agriculture related to P4P implementation.

Purpose of report

This report specifically builds on and complements the WFP P4P Occasional Paper II, by critically analysing the gender-related assumptions within this paper and supported by empirical fieldwork in three P4P countries: Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Guatemala. The aim of this literature review and fieldwork report is to:

1. Inform and contribute to the development of a Global Gender Strategy, and serve as reference material for the implementation of this strategy. The report considers what P4P can reasonably expect to achieve for and with women within the current objectives of the P4P programme. It identifies gender inequities in accessing P4P, and explains why it is important to address these. It considers the context-specific gender-related opportunities, constraints and risks that P4P will need to address to ensure gender equity in access to the programme and in promoting women's empowerment.
2. Develop a P4P gender framework to guide action by assessing the potential of actions to address the structural and practical constraints contributing to women's disadvantaged position in agriculture.
3. Produce recommendations that can be translated into plans for practical action to implement a Global Gender Strategy for P4P.

Structure of report

There are 6 chapters in this report:

- **Introduction (Section 1).** This chapter provides an introduction and context to the research study.
- **Women's constraints and opportunities in agriculture (Section 2)**. This chapter explores the main constraints to women's full economic and social development. It also highlights leverage points and opportunities in a context of market-based agriculture.
- **Risks and limitations to gender ambitions in P4P (Section 3)**. The main limitations to P4P's approach to gender are laid out and examined.
- **A gender framework (Section 4)**. A gender framework to guide P4P's operational approach to gender (i.e. approaches at implementation level) is presented and explained. This framework takes into account the programme's limitations and potential on gender.

- **Practical actions for improving gender equity in agriculture (Section 5)**. This section focuses specifically on the practical actions described in the WFP P4P Occasional Paper II, and it adds substantially by critically analysing its potential, limitations, and risks.
- **Key findings, recommendations and conclusions (Section 6)**. This section outlines the main conclusions and recommendations based on the extensive literature review and on the fieldwork conducted in three countries where P4P is implemented: Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Guatemala.

Key findings

The report presents a number of key findings. Some of these emphasise the realities of women in agriculture in countries where P4P operates. There is also more detailed focus on the concerns between the interface of P4P and these gendered realities (see Section 2):

- Women make *essential contributions* to agricultural development. Within these contributions, women face specific constraints that disadvantage them in relation to men.
- The constraints are mainly *structural* and are rooted in the reproduction of unequal gender dynamics at the level of the household, community, markets and the state. These constraints may reinforce one another, creating a vicious circle of women's subordination.
- These gender relations include a division of labour that results in women generally *working longer hours* as they must combine reproductive and productive responsibilities. In addition, women find it difficult to graduate from a role in subsistence agriculture to more prominent positions in market-based agriculture.
- Gender inequality manifests further in *practical constraints* to women's participation. Women lack access to and control over resources, most notably land but also income, agricultural inputs, extension services, education and social capital.
- As a result of this inequality, *most women are unpaid family workers*. They work on the family farm, regardless of the type of crop (cash crops and subsistence crops). There are female-heads of households (FHHs), and women in certain areas (particularly in West Africa) or of particular circumstances that do engage in the production and trading of crops procured through P4P, but these are in the minority and face a multitude of practical constraints to their engagement with P4P.
- Additionally, there are *'gendered' crops and 'gendered' activities*. This means that there are certain crops whose production process is totally controlled by women, with minimal interference from their husbands. However, these are primarily not the type of crops that are procured through P4P. This can be explained by the fact that *women's main focus is on diversifying their livelihood* strategies. In many cases, diversification implies a greater investment in activities that are not directly related to the production of crops for the market.
- P4P faces a number of risks and limitations with regards to its ambitions for gender:
    - Most women *do not meet the criteria that often define smallholder farmers*. In the overwhelming majority of cases, men are the nominal owners of household

assets, and therefore recognised as such both by law and custom. Women may have user rights to land, but this type of access can be withdrawn very easily.

- In the majority of the countries where P4P operates, the programme may either not be procuring, or if doing so then in relatively small quantities, *crops/ food products whose production is more likely to be controlled by women.* Some of these crops and food products fall within the wider WFP food basket.
- The links between income and food security are complex and the effect of procurement on these aspects of household welfare should be carefully considered as women and children may be especially negatively affected (see Section 3.3).

> *Women are not a homogeneous group*. Their roles in agriculture vary within and across regions and countries, and are determined by other social relations such as class, ethnicity and age. In this report there are *four categories/ groups of women that are distinguishable*:

1. Women producers and/or marketers of crops currently procured through P4P.
2. Women unpaid family workers.
3. Women producers and/or petty traders of crops and food products currently not procured through P4P.
4. Women casual agricultural labourers.

> *Not all these groups of women can currently be targeted by the programme.* Consequently, P4P's targets and indicators on women's participation (50 percent membership in farmer organisations) may be difficult to reach.

A framework to guide operational approaches to gender

To support implementation of the gender strategy, an overall operational approach to gender needs to be articulated. The proposed gender framework (see Section 4) distinguishes between three approaches:

> **Gender blind:** Such a programme does not distinguish between women's and men's roles and assumes equal access to resources.

> **Gender aware:** This type of programme understands and takes into account gender differences in roles and access to resources but does not seek to challenge the status quo. In other words, the programme addresses and deals with the effects, without aiming to contribute towards addressing the causes of the issues affecting women. This may end up contributing to changing the status quo of gender relations in anticipated or unanticipated ways and can have both positive and negative impacts on women.

> **Gender transformative:** This type of programme sets the transformation of unequal gender relations, i.e. contributing to addressing the structural constraints to women's empowerment, as an explicit goal.

P4P programmes at country level are in a position to decide where they can and wish to position themselves in the context of this gender framework. It is important to note that *gender aware and gender transformative categories are not mutually exclusive*. Moreover, not all programmes may find it desirable or feasible to follow an entirely gender

transformative approach. It is, however, possible for a gender aware programme to contain some gender transformative components and to transition gradually to a more transformative approach over time.

General recommendations

Based on these findings there are five general recommendations to ensure that the P4P gender strategy is practical and meaningful for the women and men involved:

1. **Initiate an internal discussion about programmatic approaches and which groups of women to target.** The breadth and impact of P4P's operational approach to gender is related to which groups of women the programme wants to focus on, and the extent to which WFP is able to change current P4P operations. Some groups (notably groups 2,3 and 4), will require an expanded approach, which may not fit into P4P's current remit. This discussion should centre around two approaches:
   - **Basic programmatic approach** would be primarily gender aware and focus on group 1, with limited outreach to group 2, which is the case in the majority of P4P countries.
   - **Enhanced programmatic approach** would be more transformative and expand its reach to more strongly target groups 1 and 2 and also reach groups 3 and 4. This would include possible changes to, and diversification of the current groups of crops and food products procured through P4P (including more processed food products that fit into the overall WFP food basket); and monitoring of the household's food and nutrition security situation more closely. This would consider the household, and hence women's needs, and place greater emphasis on livelihoods.
2. **Conduct local level gender assessment**. Country Offices should carry out their own gender analysis. The improvement of women's participation in agricultural development programmes and access to agricultural services must begin with an analysis of men's and women's roles along two related dimensions: their role in agriculture and their role in the household.
3. **Create packages of mutually reinforcing measures** in collaboration with farmers' organisations, women's groups and all other stakeholders/partners. Interventions that aim to support women's participation and support gender equity have to tackle gender discriminatory norms and practices at multiple levels, i.e. at the household level, community level, market level and national level, and they must be designed as a package of mutually reinforcing measures. In order for P4P to support the varying pathways out of poverty for rural women and men, specific measures will be required in each country that have been adapted to a range of contextual factors**.**
4. **Ensure that gender activities are accompanied by a rigorous M&E framework** that specifically looks at context-specific gendered outcomes of programme activities to ensure learning.
5. **Employ participatory methods** in project planning, design, implementation and M&E. Involving women and men in the process of project planning, design, implementation, and M&E through meaningful participation, can increase the likelihood of the success of a programme. Gender analysis should pursue participatory methods, so that specific solutions consider the priorities of women.

Specific recommendations on practical actions

Overall, the literature review and research validates the usefulness of the practical actions identified in Occasional Paper II, *but for full effect these should be undertaken together with the general recommendations above*. In relation to this, specific recommendations include:

- **Increasing gender sensitisation** through designing inclusive (women and men, girls and boys) activities that are framed positively (see Section 5.1).
- **Supporting women's active participation in groups**, initially by considering the suitability of women-only vs. mixed groups. Ensure that group activities are linked to gender sensitisation (see Section 5.2).
- **Addressing women's time constraints** by reflecting on women's specific productive and reproductive labour commitments and including women in the selection and development of labour saving tools**.** It is important to ensure that men understand the value of women's labour through gender sensitisation (see Section 5.3).
- **Supporting women's functional literacy** by ensuring that literacy training is included in existing capacity development activities and is linked to both the particular activities that women are involved in and the programme's actions to address women's time and mobility constraints (see Section 5.4).
- **Supporting women's extension, training and information needs** by adapting training to women's capacity and priorities, using innovative methods of participatory (or peer) learning and increasing the use of women extension workers (see Section 5.5).
- **Increasing women's access to financial services** by focusing on the suitability of products from a gender perspective, and linking to financial institutions that have the capacity to design and provide ethical products better suited to women's needs (see Section 5.6).

A number of complementary actions additional to the practical actions described in WFP P4P Occasional Paper II have been identified through this specific assignment, including:

- Linking to organisations that support **women's access to land**, e.g. through leasing arrangements and joint purchase (see Section 5.7.1).
- **Focusing on 'women's crops and productive activities'**, ensuring that women's role in the value chains of these crops and food products are maximised. This might include supporting the capacity development of women traders (see Sections 5.7.2 and 5.7.3).
- **Supporting access to rural labour markets**, ensuring that quality jobs are provided (see Section 5.7.4).
- **Highlighting the successes** of women farmers within the programme (see Section 5.7.5).

The P4P programme offers WFP and its partners a unique opportunity to target women more effectively and efficiently. Implementing these recommendations, as part of a comprehensive gender strategy, will ensure that P4P can better support women's integration into the 'purchase-for-progress' model in cost-effective and locally empowering ways. This will assist WFP and agencies like WFP to achieve the dual aim of feeding the hungry and poor whilst building the resilience of local communities.

1 Introduction

In developing countries, and particularly in rural areas of developing countries, women play a major role in household and community survival strategies and contribute significantly to the rural economy. However, their important role is not translated into equality of opportunity in gaining access to productive resources, markets and services (Fontana with Paciello 2010; FAO 2011a; WB, FAO, IFAD 2009). Although men and women are likely to share a lack of access to opportunities, disadvantages are often magnified for women who tend to face additional constraints by virtue of their gender. This difference between men and women is referred to as the 'gender gap'.

The existence of this 'gender gap' has been shown to impact negatively on the performance of agricultural development initiatives, food and nutrition security, and on the well-being of the rural poor in particular (FAO 2011a; Udry 1996; Kennedy in Quisumbing et al 1995). Therefore, to achieve sustainable improvements in the lives and well-being of the rural poor, agricultural and rural development initiatives must offer innovative approaches to development challenges that engage, empower and invest in women for the long term[1].

The World Food Programme (WFP) recognises these challenges and has commissioned this report which is aimed at identifying practical ways of supporting the enhanced participation of women in the Purchase for Progress (P4P) Programme through desk and field based study.

1.1 The Purchase for Progress Programme

For almost 20 years WFP has ventured into small purchases of food from rural producer organisations, with the aim of encouraging small farmers to supply WFP with local food surpluses, and in doing so offering financial savings to WFP and raising the incomes of poor farmers (Omamo et al 2010). In 2008, WFP launched a five-year pilot project called P4P with a focus on creating opportunities for low-income farmers (smallholder producers) to become competitive players in agricultural markets in a sustainable way. Through P4P, WFP is expanding its procurement of food from smallholder farmers to promote agricultural market development. This presents a unique opportunity to exploit more efficient linkages between its traditional procurement role and its building more resilience in agricultural production and food security.

The current global context is characterised by alarming rises in food and fuel prices, a lingering economic downturn, frequent extreme weather events and increasing humanitarian disasters and levels of hunger. Pursuing a model of local food procurement, with its associated cost savings to WFP, is a sensible move to ensure the stability of future provision of food for WFP programmes, particularly at the local level. Working more closely with smallholder farmers allows WFP to actively build longer-term resilience and food security for many poor producers.

[1] For instance, closing the gap in the agricultural yields produced by men and women could bring the number of hungry people down by as much as 100 million - to 150 million people. The yield gap between men and women averages around 20–30 per cent, and most research finds that the gap is due to differences in resource use. Bringing yields on the land farmed by women up to the levels achieved by men would increase agricultural output in developing countries by between 2.5 and 4 per cent. Increasing production by this amount could reduce the number of undernourished people in the world by 12–17 per cent (FAO 2011a).

The P4P programme works in 21 countries, in five regions: East Africa, West Africa, Southern Africa, Latin America and Asia, and is based on *three critical components*:

1. **WFP's demand:** Using new forms of procurement, such as competitive purchases through emerging commodity exchanges, direct contracts with FOs, warehouse receipt systems and forward contracts. In certain countries, P4P is also helping smallholder farmers to access the private sector food processing market.
2. **Supply-side support:** Working with partners to strengthen farmers' capacity to increase the quantity and quality of crops and to improve farmers' knowledge of markets; to reduce post-harvest losses as well as to strengthen the institutional capacity of FOs.[2]
3. **Learning and sharing:** Identifying appropriate mechanisms that help and can be shared with a wide range of stakeholders, in particular those governments intending to undertake pro smallholder friendly public procurement and develop secure markets for smallholder farmers. The best practices identified will be incorporated ('mainstreamed') into WFP's long-term policies and programme practices. Information is being captured through a comprehensive monitoring and evaluation (M&E) system.

The overall goal of P4P is '*to facilitate increased agricultural production and sustained market engagement and thus increase incomes and livelihoods for participating smallholder/low income farmers, the majority of whom are women*'[3]. P4P aims to reach at least 500,000 smallholder farmers, increasing their incomes by at least US$50 a year within a five-year period.

- As of 30 April 2011, WFP has contracted nearly 170,000 metric tons of food valued at over US$57 million. As of 31 March 2011, 107,000 metric tons of contracted foods have been delivered and paid for by WFP.
- These purchases were made either directly from farmers' organisations (FOs), small/medium traders and processors or through innovative platforms like Commodity Exchanges and Warehouse Receipt Systems.
- By procuring locally through P4P, WFP has so far realised cost savings of US$22 million with respect to importing the same commodities from abroad.
- With the 107,000 metric tons of food delivered to WFP, an estimated US$37 million has been paid by WFP to P4P vendors. WFP therefore estimates that US$37 million have been put more directly in the pockets of smallholder farmers and small and medium traders as a result of P4P purchases.
- Over 960 farmers' organisations representing more than 860,000 farmers have been identified to participate in P4P – over 200 farmers' organisations have so far contracted with WFP.
- Over 65,000 farmers, warehouse operators and small and medium traders have been trained in agricultural production, post-harvest handling, quality, marketing, finance.

[2] One of the core capacities needed is the ability of FOs to aggregate the produce of a number of small-scale farmers.
[3] World Food Programme (2010d) *Purchase for Progress Global Logframe*, Version 4, 27 September 2010 http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/reports/wfp229259.pdf

1.2 Gender and P4P

WFP's 2008 - 2013 Strategic Plan highlights the link between gender and hunger[4], and reaffirms the organisation's commitment to work at all levels to ensure gender sensitivity and equality. Building on this, the WFP Gender Policy (revised 2009)[5] commits the organisation to establish new programme priorities and institutional support mechanisms which will aim to provide the optimum environment for successful gender mainstreaming. P4P is among the new programme priority areas singled out for attention, given the key role that women play in producing food and sustaining the food and nutrition security of their households. WFP's Gender Policy specifically refers to the inequality between women and men in accessing farming inputs, transport, markets and economic returns. WFP will actively promote gender equity in the implementation of the P4P programme by:

- Establishing minimum targets for the participation of women farmers in line with country contexts. This includes working with traders' organisations and FOs to ensure that women are equitably represented, both as members and in management positions, and that women are the direct recipients of payments for their produce.
- Ensuring that a monitoring, evaluation and reporting system is in place at the country level to track women's participation.

The P4P programme offers WFP and its partners a unique opportunity to target women more effectively and efficiently, increasing their agricultural productivity and economic returns, and promoting their integration in various aspects of the agricultural value chain.

An overarching assumption of the programme is that women constitute the majority of P4P target beneficiaries[6]. The country implementation plans have specific targets on gender indicators and in many cases include targets of up to 50 per cent female membership in FOs. The overall targets include:

- Smallholder groups benefiting under the project have at least 50 per cent female membership.
- By the end of the project at least 30 per cent of smallholder groups have developed sufficient capacity to participate in competitive tender processes with WFP, half of this percentage being from female-led smallholder groups[7].

One challenge for P4P has been in translating these gender targets into practical action for the advancement of women farmers. Specific implementation challenges include:

- Cultural barriers to women's participation (Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, Mozambique)

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[4] WFP Strategic Plan 2008- 2013, available http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/communications/wfp228800.pdf

[5] WFP Gender Policy: Promoting Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women in Addressing Food and Nutrition Challenges (WFP 2009a), available http://one.wfp.org/eb/docs/2009/wfp194044~2.pdf

[6] See impact goal above. The WFP proposal to BMGF (WFP 2008b) also states: *'There are an estimated 54 million small-scale farms on the continent [Africa], directly supporting over 270 million people. These farms, most of which are managed by women,..'*

[7] WFP Proposal to BMGF (WFP 2008b), Outcomes 1 and 2 under Objective 4. Also referenced in Indicator Reference (WFP 2010e), which explains that these targets are an average across countries, available http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/reports/wfp229260.pdf

- Supporting smallholder farmers and especially women's ability to sell through the commodity exchange (Zambia)
- Finding FOs in which women members are well represented (El Salvador, Ghana, Guatemala, Honduras, Mozambique, Sudan)
- Limited involvement of women in the commercialisation of cereals (Malawi, West Africa)
- Women generally not proactive in their participation in training activities (Burkina Faso)
- Resistance from the elderly in rural communities (Guatemala, El Salvador, Latin America)
- Limited literacy and numeracy skills among women, which may reduce their confidence, willingness and availability to participate in leadership
- WFP staff are limited in their knowledge on how to mainstream gender (Guatemala, Malawi) (WFP 2010b)

1.3 Purpose of report

WFP requested ALINe to build on existing efforts to enhance women's participation, and specifically the WFP P4P Occasional Paper II[8], by critically analysing the gender-related assumptions within. Within this assignment, the aim of this report is to:

1. Inform and contribute to the development of a Global Gender Strategy, and serve as reference material for the implementation of this strategy. Hence, the report considers:
   - What P4P can reasonably expect to achieve for and with women producers.
   - The objectives of the P4P programme. In this context it identifies gender inequities in access to P4P and it explains why it is important to address these.
   - The context-specific gender-related opportunities, constraints and risks that P4P will need to address in attempting to ensure gender equity in access to the programme and in promoting women's empowerment.
2. Develop a gender framework to guide action by supporting the assessment of possible practical actions to address the structural and practical constraints contributing to women's disadvantaged position in agriculture.
3. Produce recommendations that can be translated into plans for practical action and also inform a P4P Global Gender Strategy.

1.4 Methodology

This report provides a synthesis of findings from a desk review and country-level fieldwork carried out by ALINe in Ethiopia, Tanzania and Guatemala. The desk review encompassed an in-depth review of available literature on gender in agriculture, beginning with the eight practical actions to enhance the participation of women in P4P which are identified in the Occasional Paper II. This included review of pertinent regional and country-level[9] gender

[8] P4P Occasional Paper II: Practical Actions to Enhance the Participation of Women in the P4P Pilot Programme (WFP 2010c), available http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/reports/wfp229144.pdf

[9] As agreed with WFP this includes investigation of four regions, East Africa, West Africa, Southern Africa and Latin America**.** Countries in bold include P4P pilot countries. **East Africa (Kenya**, **Tanzania**, **Uganda**, Burundi, Djibouti, Eritrea, **Ethiopia**, **Rwanda**, **South Sudan**, and Somalia); **West Africa** (Benin, **Burkina Faso**, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia, **Ghana**, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, **Liberia**, **Mali**, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, **Sierra Leone** and Togo); **Southern Africa** (Angola, Botswana, **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, Lesotho, Madagascar, **Malawi**, Mauritius, **Mozambique**, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, **Zambia**, Zimbabwe); and

issues and assessment of additional actions that may support the P4P's gender objectives. The review incorporated assessment of the three P4P country gender assessments to date (Rwanda, Guatemala and Nicaragua[10]) and of relevant ALINe/IDS project work, including other projects funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF).

The fieldwork consisted of three two-week country immersions, aimed at verifying (or 'ground-truthing') early findings from the literature review and putting these findings into context. The immersions included semi-structured interviews, with government officials at regional and national level, and with P4P supply-side partners; semi-structured interviews with FO board members; and (separate) focus group discussions (FGDs) with men and women farmers (see Table 1).

Table 1: Fieldwork participants

Country	Region	Method	Women-only	Men-only
Ethiopia	Oromiya	Focus Groups	24	26
	SNNP		24	26
Tanzania	Kilimanjaro	Focus Groups	30	25
	Dodoma		32	24
Guatemala	Jutiapa	Focus Groups	25	20
	Alta Verapaz		42	42
Total			**177**	**163**

1.5 Structure of report

This report has five sections:

- **Women's constraints and opportunities in agriculture.** This section reviews the role of women in agriculture. It also explores the gender-specific constraints that women face and the effects those constraints have on women's ability to benefit from agricultural production and sales.
- **Risks and limitations to gender ambitions in P4P.** The main risks and limitations to P4P's approach to gender are laid out and examined.
- **Gender framework.** This section outlines a framework to guide operational approaches to gender, and it explains the how, why and when any or all of these approaches can be implemented by WFP in P4P. The section includes an expression of the concept of women's empowerment and how it relates to increasing women's participation in P4P.
- **Practical actions.** This section explores the various practical solutions (building on the P4P Occasional Paper II) for addressing women's constraints and mitigating their effects. With the use of recent examples from the literature, the section highlights the risks and opportunities for implementation and recommends principles of good practice.
- **Conclusions and recommendations.** The final section summarises the key findings port and makes initial recommendations for the development of a P4P gender strategy.

The report is accompanied by a Global Gender Strategy for P4P.

Latin America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, **El Salvador**, **Guatemala**, **Honduras**, Mexico, **Nicaragua**, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay and Venezuela).

[10] See Kes and Mehra (2009) and Bizzarri (2009).

2 Women's constraints and opportunities in agriculture

The important role that women play in agriculture is not translated into equality of opportunity in gaining access to productive resources, markets and services (Fontana with Paciello 2010; FAO 2011a; WB, FAO, IFAD 2009). Although men and women are likely to share a lack of access to opportunities, disadvantages are often magnified for women who tend to face additional constraints by virtue of their gender. This 'gender gap' is the starting point for this review. In order to understand how this plays out and how it affects women's opportunities to engage with P4P, there is a need to better understand the root causes of women's current position, i.e. gender-specific constraints. Following this, it is important to identify the effects of these root causes; particularly those that prevent women from accessing markets and succeeding in a market-based agricultural sector.

2.1 Gender-specific constraints

Gender-specific constraints are those structural constraints which women suffer by virtue of their gender. They are social products of unequal gender power relations. These cut across social, economic, political and cultural divides (Kabeer and Subrahmanian 1996), and are created and sustained by social norms that in turn are reinforced and replicated across four key institutions[11]:

- The *state*, through its laws and administrative functions;
- Local, national and international *markets*;
- Relations and decision-making processes at the *community* level (e.g. FOs and cooperatives);
- Relations and decision-making processes at the *household* level (Kabeer 1999).

Both women and men are affected by commonly understood gender roles, responsibilities and behaviours that shape gender differences. Both can be affected for better or worse, but women are more likely to be disadvantaged by prescribed gender norms because of the lower status associated with the roles they are often expected to take on, and the often private (and therefore unrecognised) nature of these roles (BRIDGE/IDS 2011). Common expressions of these gender-specific constraints include:

- **Male-dominated culture.** Male-dominated cultures are often pervasive and are used to justify and even legitimise gender inequality. This is particularly true in rural areas, where such cultures are more entrenched and customary laws and traditions prevail. Culture is created and recreated by individuals and formal or informal social institutions (e.g. village councils) to maintain the status quo (Maseno and Kilonzo 2011).
- **Social identity and role.** Gender inequality is deeply rooted in cultural roles that condition the social identity of women and men. Men hold privileged positions of power (private and public; social, economic and political) (Kabeer and Subrahmanian 1996). Family relations, seen in such norms and practices as early marriage, polygamy, parental authority and inheritance rights, often disadvantage women.

[11] See Annex 1: Glossary

- **Reduced social space.** Women's social space is often confined to the household as a result of gender norms relating to the seclusion of girls and women. Hence women may be more isolated and less mobile than men (ibid; SIGI 2009).
- **Lack of civil liberties.** Women's civil liberties are often reduced as a result of lack of freedom of movement and lack of freedom of dress (ibid).
- **Lack of physical integrity.** Women may face gender-based violence and may be subjected to the practice of female genital mutilation (ibid).
- **'Glass-ceiling'**. Women may reinforce embedded cultural expectations. They are likely to accept as 'normal', and even to argue for the existence of, the very discriminatory practices that subjugate and constrain them. Some women will not challenge these practices, or will lack the confidence or wish to challenge something they consider 'normal' (Tamale 2000).

Within these constraints women plan and negotiate their positions, using passive or active forms of resistance or agency (Kandiyoti 1988). Unequal gender relations influence the way people are socialised, but do not necessarily determine the ways in which they lead their lives.

2.1.1 Regional variations in gender-specific constraints

It is important to note that gender constraints vary within and between countries and regions. To gain a deeper understanding of the specific context of gender relations within the regions and countries where P4P operates, comparisons between regions and countries are included in this review. This is intentionally a cursory, 'light-touch' analysis of the specific situation of women within P4P regions, looking in particular at the constraints that are evident in relation to P4P's remit. This variation is important to recognise to ensure that action to address constraints is suited to the particular context and the specific needs of women.

Two common gender indicators illustrate the differences between and within the regions and countries where P4P operate (Table 2).

Table 2: Indicators of gender inequality

	GDI rank[12]	Overall SIGI rank[13]
East Africa		
Kenya	147	57
Tanzania	151	53
Ethiopia	171	89
Uganda	157	73
Rwanda	167	66
Sudan	150	102
West Africa		
Burkina Faso	177	63
Ghana	152	54
Liberia	169	87
Mali	178	99
Sierra Leone	180	100
Southern Africa		
DRC	176	60
Malawi	160	77
Mozambique	172	79
Zambia	164	85
Latin America		
Guatemala	122	34
El Salvador	106	8
Nicaragua	124	28
Honduras	112	36

Overall, gender discrimination is very high in Africa and regional concerns relate to physical integrity and family code. Most Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries operate under a dual or tripartite system of law – civil, traditional (customary), and religious – making it difficult to harmonise legislation and remove discriminatory practices. In many countries, continuing conflict has further affected the lives of many women. Much discrimination is related to inheritance and ownership rights as husbands are often considered to be heads of households and women remain dependent on them for financial and social means (SIGI 2009).

In areas where polygamous families are common, access to resources and decision-making tends to be divided between household members (Dey 1984), although the way in which this plays out depends on the specific context (SIDA 2004). Although these general trends

[12] The Gender-related Development Index is a composite index of life expectancy, education (the adult literacy rate and the combined primary to tertiary gross enrolment ratio), estimated earned income (at purchasing power parity US$). Data is from 2009. For more information see http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2009_EN_Table_K.pdf and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gender-related_Development_Index

[13] The SIGI is a composite index of non-OECD countries that focuses on social institutions, and formal and informal social norms that act as root causes of gender inequality: family code (early marriage, polygamy, parental authority and inheritance rights), civil liberties (freedom of movement and of dress), son preference, physical integrity (violence against women and female genital mutilation) and ownership rights (land, property and credit). The individual scores for each variables can be found in Annex 2. Data is from 2009. Please see the OECD Social Institutions and Gender Index at http://my.genderindex.org.

can be distilled for Africa overall, there are differences within and between the three P4P regions:

- In East Africa, some countries (e.g. Tanzania and Kenya) have been successful in abolishing aspects of customary law that discriminate against women, whereas others have used customary and religious issues to influence legal systems (e.g. Uganda, Eritrea, Sudan, and Somalia). Where civil liberties have been institutionalised, these may still collide with customary-influenced family codes, formally or informally applied[14]. The fieldwork in Ethiopia has shown that while men attribute a lot of importance to traditional structures (such as the group of elders), and recognise their influence over the household, women believe that the Kebele[15] plays a much more prominent role in their lives. Women believe that the Kebele provides them with a window on to the world, i.e. it is through the Kebele that they are informed about many initiatives in the community (e.g. social development initiatives that they could join), or that they are linked with other organisations (e.g. national women's organisations). The Kebele was women's point of access to information that they could not otherwise access. For women the Kebele also represented the law, and the law was, in their view, more important than tradition. This does not mean that the law would always prevail, and women were clear that many legal disputes resolved in favour of women would then be overturned by the elders. Still, women saw the Kebele as an impartial and independent resource. Religious leaders were also important and it became very clear that the government was partnering with religious leaders in their effort to mainstream awareness of gender inequality. In Tanzania, the government seemed far more remote, and both men's and women's primary references in terms of social organisation were the traditional structures (group of elders and religious councils).
- The awareness of gender issues in West Africa is severely restricted by a pervasive male-dominated culture and religion. Traditional and religious practices may relegate women to traditional household roles, often leaving them in fear of rejection or even a violent reaction from their families. The situation is improving, but there is still a long way to go before men are aware of gender issues (Kellow 2010). With the exception of Ghana, P4P pilot countries score consistently lower on gender when compared to counterparts in Southern Africa and East Africa (see Table 2). Sierra Leone and Mali score below the norm, particularly in the areas of family code, ownership rights and physical integrity. Women's ability to influence household decisions varies within the region, and women tend to have more influence in matrilineal groups (where men inherit from their mother's brothers rather than their fathers)[16]. In these situations, women are able to exploit the contradictions between the two groups of authority figures (husbands and brothers), and thereby carve out a larger space of action for themselves (SIDA 2004).
- P4P countries in Southern Africa are relatively similar to their East African counterparts, with particular nuances related to family code and ownership rights. Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have high numbers of early marriages and

[14] This is a very important factor, given that development programmes in situations where unfavourable cultural frameworks are institutionally and legally sanctioned either cannot fully promote women's empowerment and active participation, or have to find other, creative ways of doing this.
[15] Kebele is the smallest administrative unit in Ethiopia.
[16] Matrilineal is not to be confused with matriarchal. It means that kinship is recognised according to the mother's line, which means that a man does not inherit from his father but from his mother's brother.

polygamy is legal under customary law. In DRC, married women do not have the legal recognition to sign certain acts and contracts without the consent of their husbands (SIGI 2009). The dual legal system (general law and customary law) which arose from colonisation is a complicating factor in the legal life of women in the region (Van Hook and Ngwenya 1996).

Gender discrimination in social institutions is low across Latin America; overall, it is the region with the least gender disparity between countries. All countries in the region are ranked in the top half of the Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI). Despite the positive performance, the physical protection of women is a concern (SIGI 2009). The scorings hide complex realities. The culture of *machismo* prevails in Latin America, particularly in rural areas. In some countries (e.g. Guatemala and El Salvador), sexual violence was systematically used as a weapon of war (Crosby 2009) and this deterred women from taking on leadership positions in communities where their husbands, sons and fathers had voluntarily joined or been forced into joining guerrilla movements. In countries with higher proportions of indigenous populations, ethnic identity is a clear social marker. If rural women in Latin America are less educated and vulnerable to landlessness and precarious labour relations, indigenous women are even more so. Indigenous women suffer cumulative discrimination, based on their ethnicity and their gender. Their main concern is with the former, and the focus is on group survival. In Guatemala, these women did not articulate themselves as women, but only as part of a group which as an ethnic group was historically and systematically discriminated against. In contrast, women of European descent are aware of, and more concerned about, the process of inequality affecting them. Benno de Keijzer describes how, reacting to a Mexican non-governmental organisation's (NGO's) work of gender awareness, women often mentioned that they knew all that there was to know about gender issues, and pleaded with the organisation to tell their husbands instead. Keijzer believes that this signals a transition from women who lack awareness to women who are gender aware, hence the bulk of the work that now needs to be done is with men (2004). However, this does not hold true in the case of indigenous women where their focus on ethnic discrimination makes them less aware the gender discrimination to which they are also subject.

2.2 Women's role in agriculture and the gender division of labour

Another aspect of gender-specific constraints is the gender division of labour. Societal norms tend to assign different labour roles to women and men. At a general level, women's work is primarily in the domestic sphere, while men are viewed as working outside the domestic sphere as the main breadwinners[17] (Kes and Swaminathan 2006). This means that a majority of women's work tends to be economically 'invisible'. As a consequence, women may be limited from participating in commercial productive activities, such as production for the market.

[17] The allocation of people's time in rural areas can be divided up into three categories. *Productive* work can be for the market and not for the market. Principal non-market productive work includes subsistence production, which concerns production of goods that in principle could be marketed (food, clothing, pottery etc.), but are used for household consumption. This category also includes water and firewood collection. *Reproductive* work is confined to the non-market sphere and includes domestic and care work, such as preparing meals, laundry, cleaning, household maintenance and caring for children, the sick and the elderly. *Voluntary* work comprises unpaid activity in community and civic associations.

However, women's productive role is *not* confined to the household. The latest data shows that women make up on average 43 per cent of the agricultural labour force in developing countries. Within this, they perform a variety of roles: own-account farmers/producers (for subsistence and/or the market), unpaid family workers, and agricultural wage labourers and traders.[18]

Women *tend* to grow crop types and varieties for domestic use and consumption whereas men prefer varieties with clear market demand. This demarcation is often referred to as 'gendered' crops and cropping patterns.[19] Men are responsible for keeping and marketing large livestock, whereas women tend to control dairy animals and smaller animals such as goats, sheep and poultry (FAO 2011a). Women play important roles in all aspects of fisheries, but particularly as entrepreneurs in fish processing (FAO 2011a; Weeratunge and Snyder 2009).

Importantly, rural women and men do not constitute homogeneous groups in their capacity to improve their own situation. Circumstances are influenced not only by gender, but also by positions in the community that in turn are influenced by ethnicity, age, class, caste and other sources of inequality (ALINe 2010). An important distinction is the differences between women in female-headed households (FHHs) and in male-headed households. These roles also vary according to farming systems (crops, livestock, fisheries) within and between countries and regions.

So, despite the gender division of labour, there are areas where women producers have traditionally sold to the market, either surplus staple crops (maize, cassava, millet, rice), or more traditional cash crops[20], such as vegetables, coffee and cocoa (Mayoux 2009; Fontana with Paciello 2010; Dolan 2005), and fish (Weeratunge and Snyder 2009). Farming systems can also change rapidly. A common current trend in many regions is the so-called 'feminisation of agriculture' (Deere 2005; Cernea 2008; Lastarria-Cornhiel 2006), or the growing dominance of women in agricultural production and the associated decreased role of men in the sector. This development is taking place as the number of FHHs (in which women are assuming traditional male roles) is increasing at a global level (FAO 2011a). A major driver of these developments is men migrating from rural areas to towns and cities

[18] Agriculture includes crops and livestock production, forestry and fisheries. Rural men and women often run (even part-time) micro or small agriculture-related enterprises such as agro-processing (e.g. yoghurt/ghee, fish drying, smoking and/or salting, making cloth or leather goods), production/maintenance of agricultural machinery and tools, and marketing agricultural produce.

[19] The concept of gendered cropping patterns is somewhat contested in the literature. For instance, empirical evidence from Ghana suggests that although there are gendered cropping patterns, this does not mean that crops are completely controlled by women or men, rather that there are certain crops that women tend to grow disproportionately in comparison to men, for instance vegetables (Doss 2002). Apart from different crop types there are also gendered cropping patterns between different varieties of crops. This is particularly important for a crop such as maize that is both a cash crop and a subsistence crop. For instance, although women may be responsible for local varieties of maize for domestic consumption (e.g. in Ghana and Malawi), men tend to control the production and marketing of higher-yielding varieties, such as hybrid maize (Doss 1999).

[20] Cash crop here is defined as a crop grown for profit, and more notably in commodity exchange markets. This includes more traditional cash crops such as coffee, cocoa and cotton, as well as staple crops, such as maize and rice. Cash crops and crops grown for self-subsistence are not mutually exclusive. When staple crops acquire higher market value farmers tend to increase its production.

(nationally or internationally), and the related abandonment of farming by men for more lucrative occupations in urban areas (Deere 2005; FAO undated).

Another trend is the emergence of contract farming and modern supply chains for higher-value agricultural crops that present both opportunities and challenges for women. Evidence about women's role in modern contract farming shows that women are largely excluded from contracting arrangements, but tend to do much of the work on the farms contracted as unpaid family workers (FAO 2011a; Maertens 2010). Women may benefit from modern supply chains for crops that have been traditionally grown by women, such as vegetables and fruit, but there is evidence that men encroach on women's activities as they become more profitable (Doss 2002; FAO 2011a).

2.2.1 Regional variations in the gender division of labour

Variations in the gender division of labour between and within regions and counties are reported in numerous other studies and evidenced by ALINe's fieldwork. See Section 5.7.2 below for areas where women tend to control production, processing and marketing – so-called 'gendered' crops and cropping patterns – or other productive activities.

In Africa men are often reported as responsible for the hard physical work of clearing the land, and women for weeding and post-harvest processing (Peterman et al 2010). A study conducted by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) indicates that African women undertake about 80 per cent of the work in food storage and transportation, 90 per cent of the work of hoeing and weeding, and 60 per cent of the work in harvesting and marketing (Quisumbing et al 1995). There is evidence that women's role in agriculture is growing, with women increasingly involved in production for the market (Saito 1994; FAO 2011a). There are regional variations and, notably, the ALINe fieldwork does in some cases contradict the literature:

- In **East Africa**, the distinction between cash crops for men and domestic crops for women holds true at a general level, but more important is the fine detail of who controls the production of different types of crops, and the market (local or global). Women are responsible for cash crops in some countries (e.g. vegetables and fruit in Kenya). For livestock systems, men and women both prefer local dairy cattle and small ruminants (for fattening) because of their adaptability and low feed requirements. Decisions about crops and inputs such as technology adoption (e.g. seed selection) are mainly taken by men or, less frequently, negotiated between husbands and wives (Rocheleau and Edmunds 1997). Fieldwork also found that despite the differences between what men and women tend to do, there are many cases where men and women collaborate. Both in Ethiopia and in Tanzania women participated in every stage of the production of cash crops with the exception of ploughing (in Ethiopia) and marketing (in both Ethiopia and Tanzania). Women accumulated this work with all their other activities: growing food products for domestic consumption, taking care of the children, fetching water, collecting wood and so forth. Similarly, fieldwork shows that joint decision-making is increasing within households. Yet men are clearly in charge of all decisions that affect production and marketing. Women, and particularly married women, grow other crops either for direct family consumption or to be sold in local markets, and the responsibility for and the work on the production of these crops were left entirely to women. In the focus group discussions (FGDs), women stated that the

main reason they did not grow maize or other marketable crops was because this was their husband's task. They were not interested in opportunities to grow maize for the market; they did not see it as profitable and they were more interested in other ways of diversifying their productive activities (from growing vegetables to keeping dairy animals) in order to diversify their livelihood strategies and household income. Women in FHHs, however, did grow staple crops and controlled the sale of large amounts in the market.

- **West African** farming systems are quite complex and the division of labour varies according to different crops. Women tend to be primarily involved with production, processing and marketing of pulses (e.g. Niger, Nigeria, Senegal), rather than cereals such as maize, millet and sorghum. The distinction often made between women's and men's crops is complex. Doss shows that although there are some crops in Ghana that women are very actively involved with (e.g. cassava, maize, pepper, plantain), many men also grow these crops. Again, the distinction lies in who controls production (men, married women, FHHs), and for which market (local, global, production for domestic consumption) (Thorsen and Reenberg 2000; SIDA 2004). In Burkina Faso, where millet farming generates little surplus income, millet is increasingly left for women to farm, in spite of the fact that husbands are seen as primary millet-providers (SIDA 2004). Women tend to have access to their own fields, where they grow vegetables or rice (Dey 1984; Carney 2000). These personal fields are also often used by households to grow extra millet, suggesting that women provide an increasingly important role in subsistence food provision. However, these women are unwilling to call themselves millet producers, rather aligning themselves with the role of 'feeding their children' (SIDA 2004). These personal fields may be neglected during cropping periods, as women support their husbands on family plots.[21] Rice, traditionally a women's crop, has now attracted male involvement. This is because it has increased in commercial value as a result of advances in technology (primarily irrigation) (von Braun and Webb 1989). Women, though, remain responsible for most rain-fed rice (Dey 1984; Carney 2000 Carney and Watts 1990; WB, FAO, IFAD 2009). Women do, however, negotiate activities around rice production and processing (Günther 1998). In Ghana, Doss shows that, overall, women who grow staple crops are from FHHs (2002), although in other part of West Africa (e.g. Mali) the notion of FHHs is largely absent, as when the man dies, he is replaced by his brother or eldest son.[22] Women play important roles in shea butter production and marketing, and fish processing in coastal areas (Kwa and Bassoume 2007; Weeratunge and Snyder 2009).
- In **Southern Africa**, the division of labour for women is similar to other parts of Africa, although there are isolated instances where women's involvement dominates certain cash crops such as cashew nuts in Malawi and groundnuts in Zambia (Gallina 2010; Byrne 1994). In Zambia, where maize is the most important subsistence crop, and also a key commodity for P4P, women have traditionally been involved in production, processing and marketing to a greater extent. However, maize hybrids, which have greater commercial potential, are associated with a reduction in decision-taking by women, particularly in relation to hiring labour, purchasing inputs and selling produce

[21] Feedback from P4P in Burkina Faso.
[22] Feedback from P4P in Mali.

due to further constraints (see sections below). In general, FHHs experience difficulty in adopting commercial production practices (Byrne 1994).

In **Latin America**, where most families comprise monogamous units, the division of labour for women between industrialised crop production and peasant farming (Ashby 1985) is more demarcated than in Africa. Women are engaged in subsistence horticulture, poultry and small livestock, predominantly for domestic consumption. In general, women's participation in family farming systems is much more important in the Andean countries than in the southern region of South America (Deere and León 1987). For instance, in Guatemala, women either did not engage in agricultural production at all, or participated only in very specific and timed activities. Generally, a woman's role within the family unit is limited to her reproductive role (Deere and León 1987) and as 'helper' for men (Spindel 1986). The feminisation of labour migration is quite pronounced internally, inter-regionally and internationally (Piper 2005). So unlike SSA, the agricultural sector is not the main provider of female employment in Latin America (FAO 2011a). At least three-quarters of women in employment are occupied in the private sector (UN 2010). Women historically migrated to take jobs in urban areas, but more recently female rural employment in Latin America has increased (Truitt 1998). The number of FHHs is steadily increasing (SIGI 2009), and it is believed that the number is under-reported (see Deere 2005). There is a consensus among Latin Americans that in rural areas the rise in the number of FHHs is linked to migration: women become the head of households when men migrate in search for work - and they remain the head of households if men who migrated do not return. Migration is linked to difficulties facing smallholder agriculture (e.g. access to land) and lack of other rural employment. In Guatemala, women did mention migration as a factor influencing the increasing number of FHHs. Yet many of these women did not own land at all, either because they did not own land before their husbands migrated (they rented), or because their husbands sold the land once they migrated. Of the ones who did own land, it was unclear whether or not in practice they did exert control over that land. In some cases, it seems that women's families (i.e. their fathers) 'supported' their daughters.

2.2.2 Women's work loads

This division of labour has an impact on women's work loads. Women's working days tend to be considerably longer than men's. They have a triple burden: maintaining their own contributions to the household income (including food production, firewood and water collection, and any additional activities to supplement household income); seeing to their reproductive responsibilities (e.g. childcare and care for the elderly and sick, feeding, cleaning, maintenance); and supporting men's productive responsibilities (Kes and Swaminathan 2006; Carr with Hartl 2010). Evidence reveals that the use of women in agriculture varies widely depending on the crop and the phase of the production cycle, the age and ethnic group of the women in question, the type of activity, and a number of other factors (FAO 2011a). There are studies that show that women who have huge reproductive responsibilities spend less time in agriculture than men and that women who head households have larger burdens than women in male-headed households (Fontana with Paciello 2010). However, ALINe's fieldwork has shown that the type and amount of agricultural work that women undertake is more culturally and socially determined than influenced by their associated reproductive responsibilities and workload. In **Africa** (Ethiopia and Tanzania), women accumulate agricultural work with their reproductive responsibilities,

and women participate in every stage of the production process of cash and family-consumption crops. Hence, women have heavy workloads, working 15 - 17 hours a day. This seems to be a common trend in Africa where, for instance, evidence from Burkina Faso (14.3 vs. 8.7 hours), Nigeria (14 vs. 8.5 hours) and Zambia (12.2 vs. 7.2) shows that women work more than men on and off the farm (Saito 1994).

In **Latin America**, women spend on average less of their time on agricultural labour, and the gender division of labour means that they tend to be more involved in off-farm labour markets, with data from 1995 estimating that women spend four hours a day on agricultural activities (Truitt 1998). However, they still face similar time constraints as African women, having to reconcile their employment with their reproductive activities. In Guatemala, most women tend not to work in agriculture, and if and when they do they perform very specific tasks. Thus, agricultural work does not add much to women's reproductive workloads there.

However, it must be noted that although women participating in the research recounted their long days, they did not see time as a primary constraint hindering their participation in more productive activities. In fact, men often emphasised women's (reproductive) workload as a reason for not engaging women in other activities, from training to leadership positions. Women, however, were adamant that despite their heavy workloads they would be able to work around their responsibilities in order to participate in activities they considered to their advantage. This finding confirms the International Centre for Research on Women's (ICRW's) earlier work in Rwanda on gender in P4P (Kes and Mehra 2009).

The variations in studies make it clear that generalisations should not be made across different contexts (FAO 2011a), although in P4P pilot countries in Africa the burden seems to be significant and this is supported by ALINe's fieldwork. The prevalence of HIV in many countries in Africa has contributed to women's increase in domestic work, in particular as women and girls take on responsibility for caring for children of other family members that have died from AIDS and for the sick (Kes and Swminathan 2004).

2.3 Access to and control over resources

Unequal gender relations, along with other social relations, frame the opportunities and constraints for access and control over the resources needed to take part in productive agricultural activities. They present practical challenges for gender equity. The resources which women may lack access to and/or control over are grouped according to different types of livelihood capital: natural capital, financial capital, physical capital, human capital and social capital[23]. These have all been shown to determine agricultural productivity (ALINe 2011).

2.3.1 Natural capital (land)

As can be seen in Table 4 below, land is not commonly held by women in P4P pilot countries. Land is not traditionally a female asset as women are seen primarily as mothers and wives. Without land, women are not able to produce for the markets and they will not be legally recognised as producers in their own right and may find it difficult to gain membership of FOs (FAO 2011a; WB, FAO, IFAD 2009; Quisumbing and Pandolfelli 2010). In

[23] Political capital is not discussed as this is not relevant to P4P.

many cases, women's unequal access to land is sanctioned by the law, e.g. through land titling or inheritance rules.

Land ownership is a key issue in Africa. Legal protection may exist in theory in certain countries , but in practice women's ownership rights remain highly restricted (Holmes and Jones 2009). In general, the resource tenure systems in place are complex and do not work to women's advantage. Women in Africa often secure indirect rights to land (i.e. use of it) through their husbands and wider family relationships[24]. Women's actual access to land is negotiated within each family, and is a product of existing power relations in which women have the least bargaining power (Rocheleau and Edmunds 1997). This may mean that the land that women have rights to tends to be smaller than men's, (FAO 2011a) and less fertile (SIGI 2009)[25]. In many instances, women are also likely to lose access to land upon the death of their husbands. The complexity of land tenure systems also reflects the fact that informal systems are dynamic. These are likely to change according to socio-economic and environmental factors (see, for instance, Nightingale 2006). Several authors have highlighted land scarcity and its implications for women's land tenure. Men and communities have been effectively 'expropriating' women of their rights to land (Kevane and Gray 2008). Consequently, in some cases women cease to have access to land for subsistence food production when the land is requisitioned for cash-crop production and this may have serious consequences for household food security (Maertens 2010). In addition, men and communities may use statutory or customary law to their advantage and to women's detriment[26], e.g. by appropriating land from a widow who is unaware of her legal rights (Dimitra 2009). In **East Africa**, Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda have revised the law in order to sanction improved land rights to women. However, much remains to be achieved – both in these countries, as well as in the rest of Africa. In Kenya, women only own 4 per cent of land (SIGI 2009). In Rwanda and Ethiopia, land is transferred from father to son, and women can only access use rights through marriage. In **West Africa**, women may have private plots that they manage, but these are in fact owned by the head of the household.[27] In **Southern Africa**, for instance DRC, the legal right to land concessions allows land to be given to men and women without distinction, but traditional attitudes still discriminate against women. Although women can own land, everything related to the land must be administered by their husbands, including inputs. In the event of a dispute, women are expected to seek a court order to prevent mismanagement of property (SIGI 2009).

In **Latin America**, land ownership has usually been regarded as an exclusively male prerogative. Men own and work the land. Women comprise only 11 - 27 per cent of all landowners across the region (Deere and León 2001). Women are more likely to own land through inheritance, but inheritance rights to land remain unpredictable for women (Carneiro 2001 and Brumer 2004) and often male heirs are given preference while women are left to consider marriage or migration (Stropasolas 2004).

[24] Lands rights may be *de jure* (formal title to the land) or *de facto* (rights to farm the land) (Doss 2002).
[25] This point is important as it may mean that women are more susceptible to the natural environment and instances of drought. Field work in Ethiopia showed that women saw climatic variability as one of the main constraints they faced.
[26] On the complex interplay between statutory and customary law see, for instance, van Donge 1993.
[27] Feedback from P4P in Mali.

Women were not the landowners in any of the countries where fieldwork took place. Particularly in Ethiopia and Tanzania, land came up as a major problem both for men and women. While men emphasised land scarcity as a limiting factor to increasing production, women referred to their lack of land ownership as disempowering. Without land, women felt that whatever they did it would not really benefit them. As a result, women showed a preference for engaging in activities such as cattle fattening or diary production. In some cases, women jointly rented a piece of land instead of using their own family land.

In Guatemala, and more so in indigenous communities, it was access to land that was raised as a problem. Indigenous communities have been historically and systematically discriminated against, and in this process geographically confined to areas of poor soil quality. Land concentration in Guatemala contributes to the difficult access to and scarcity of land in the country. Women in indigenous communities were very worried about household access to land, rather than women's access to land. Many families did not own land at all, and they had to rent. Others owned very small plots and also had to rent to top up their production. Some women noted that competition for renting land was such that some families were not able to rent from one year to the next.

2.3.2 Financial capital (income and financial services)

Women's access to financial capital is key for both household well-being (Kennedy in Quisumbing et al 1995; Haddad 1992) and for agricultural development (e.g. for buying input to support productive activities).

Although women may be consulted in a number of different capacities within the household, they often lack decision-making powers when it comes to spending, and lack control over their own income. For instance, research in Ghana shows that even where women may disproportionately (in comparison to men) control the production, processing and marketing of certain crops (onions and eggplant in this case), women very rarely control the income from those crops. This also holds for FHHs[28] (Doss 2002).

Additionally, women may lack access to financial services, such as credit, savings, pensions and insurance, or at least the type of financial services that are suited to their needs. In Africa, it is estimated that women receive less than 10 per cent of all the credit going to small farmers[29]. Women in Africa have traditionally relied largely on informal sources of credit, such as microcredit or money lenders (Perry 2002; Kimuyu 1995). Some regional differences can be identified, although the situation is rapidly changing as financial services, particularly credit, are prioritised by governments and development agencies.

- In **East Africa**, in comparison to West Africa, there is a near-complete absence of traditional forms of money lending, which could benefit women as there is less requirement for collateral. Less formal networks have benefited women through rotating savings and credit associations (or 'merry-go rounds'), and friends and relatives, which provide loans for both production and consumption (Kimuyu 1995). Fieldwork showed that in Ethiopia government policy is to promote women-only savings groups.

[28] The control that FHHs have over their income may be mitigated by male relatives. This research in Ghana did not investigate the reasons for the lack of control.

[29] Introductory remarks by Helen Clark, UNDP Administrator, at the Ministerial Breakfast on Economic Opportunities for the Empowerment of Women in Africa and the Least Developed Countries: Access to Land, Credit, and Markets, 2 July 2010

This is becoming increasingly institutionalised and these groups function on a revolving-fund basis, sometimes of assets (i.e. cattle fattening, two goats per women; if more goats are born, these are given to new members). Although this approach takes time, because women do not have access to a lot of surplus income, this type of financial service can ensure that women are not driven into debt. In comparison, in Tanzania the trend is to 'push' women into savings and credit cooperatives (SACCOs) (in this process dismantling women-only savings groups). The loans are provided through the SACCOs, but originate from commercial financial institutions. It is clear that access to credit is not a problem for women in Tanzania, but rather that the interest rates are very high and women (and men) are not privy to information about the rates and alternatives. Women are much more careful in their approach to credit, although they are being pressured into getting loans. This is a clear finding from the limited field work conducted by ALINe, but subsequent feedback from P4P in Tanzania suggests that this may need further investigation, particularly around the forces encouraging involvement in SACCOs and how they are formed and financed. P4P in Tanzania is particularly looking to support the strengthening of FOs to encourage alternative participation in groups, by both men and women.

- Traditionally, there are well-functioning informal savings and loan associations in nearly all **West African** countries. Here, the combination of credit cooperatives with individual credit use has proved relatively successful (Günther 1998; Jalloh 2003). In Mali, women's access to bank loans has improved since a law was passed in 1994 to strengthen microcredit programmes. Similar progress has been made in other countries, mainly thanks to grassroots organisations. A result of the focus on microcredit has been the growth of money lenders, and particularly women money lenders that have recycled NGO loans as high-interest loans to other farmers (Perry 2002). Similarly, in Burkina Faso women are particularly at a disadvantage in regard to access to bank loans in that formal financial institutions are rarely prepared to lend them money. Thus, their only option is to borrow from microcredit or other informal institutions which have been introduced by public agencies and NGOs over the past 20 years. These schemes are quite successful: to date, tens of thousands of Burkinabe women have received microcredit (SIGI 2009). However, there is less evidence about the effect these loans have on women's debt.
- In **Southern Africa** access to financial services varies across the region, with Malawi and Mozambique in a better position than DRC and Zambia. For instance, Congolese wives cannot sign any legal acts without the authorisation of their husbands, and they have virtually no access to bank loans and bank accounts. There is a similar situation in Zambia (SIGI 2009).

Similarly, in Latin **America** land titles facilitate smallholder farmers' access to credit and other benefits. In principle, both men and women are eligible for financial support in the region. In practice, however, women generally have no land or smaller plots of land than men, and their lack of financial resources means that banks offer them smaller loans. Besides lack of property rights, limited information on credit opportunities and procedures further limit women's ability to access financial services. This often applies also in the case of co-property as the man is still considered the prime legal representative.

The fieldwork has raised the fact that the provision of credit in many countries is fairly unregulated. That is, both private and microcredit lending institutions operate against weak regulatory frameworks. In some cases, such as Tanzania, it is evident that lending to farmers

is being promoted, and because agricultural credit is high-risk, the interest rates are too high[30]. In all FGDs organised in Tanzania, debt came up as one of the major concerns of both men and women. But it was clear that women were much more worried and anxious about this given that women are made responsible for managing the payment of the loan. Also (and if families default), the burden of repossessions seems to fall more heavily on women.[31] In some cases, women were being pressured into getting loans, either by the community or their husbands. Overall, farmers lived in a constant cycle of debt, and loans were not used to make structural improvements to productions, and so have more efficient producers. Instead, they were used to cover for more urgent and mundane needs. Also of note is the level of poor information and misinformation about credit.

2.3.3 Physical capital (agricultural machinery, tools, buildings, inputs)

Technological resources (fertilisers, insecticides, improved varieties and tools) are less available to women (FAO 1994; Evenson and Siegel 1999). There are a host of reasons that hinder women's access to agricultural inputs: literacy levels, time constraints, restrictions to women's movements, lack of access to collateral, affordability and limited availability to credit or savings, coupled with low levels of awareness (Peterman et al 2010).

Women have had less access to technologies in **SSA**, particularly as those that are introduced are rarely developed with women's needs and priorities in mind (Saito 1994; Meinzen-Dick et al 2010).

Although women's access to improved technologies is lacking in all of Africa, research has identified specific gender disparities in **West Africa** (Ghana and Nigeria). In Ghana, for example, only 39 per cent of women farmers adopted improved crop varieties compared to 59 per cent of male colleagues because women had less access to land, family labour and extension services (FAO 2011a). In Burkina Faso the productivity on female-managed plots was 30 per cent lower than on male-managed plots within the same household because labour and fertiliser were more intensively applied on men's plots (Udry 1996).

2.3.4 Human capital (education, extension, and health and nutrition)

Mothers and wives are not necessarily encouraged to read and write. Illiteracy (or functional illiteracy) may prevent women from accessing and understanding information such as, education, extension and market information (Kacharo 2007). Illiterate women may have lower levels of self-esteem and confidence, and exclude themselves from bureaucratic processes. They may also be less able to engage in financial transactions or participate actively in FOs and other community organisations (FAO 2011a; Tembon and Fort 2008). Yet another problem associated with women's lower literacy levels is the way this is used by men as an argument to exclude women from participating in FOs, and/or taking on leadership positions.

Table 3 gives common education indicators for P4P countries. Note that illiteracy rates tend to be higher in rural areas in comparison to the rates in cities (Tembon and Fort 2008).

[30] ALINe's field work in Tanzania found interest rates as high as 23 per cent per six month agricultural season, meaning that per year interests were as high as 46 per cent.

[31] The field work showed that collateral for loans (as negotiated by men) are often assets that are owned by men, but mostly used by women or children, e.g. chickens, goats, cooking utensils or children's shoes.

Table 3: Education indicators

	Ratio of young literate females to males (% ages 15-24)	Literacy rate, youth female (% of females ages 15-24)	Ratio of female to male secondary enrolment (%)	Ratio of female to male tertiary enrolment (%)
East Africa				
Ethiopia	61.9 (2008)	38.5 (2008)	72.3 (2008)	31.1 (2008)
Tanzania	97 (2008)	76.3 (2008)	76.3 (2008)	47.7 (2007)
Uganda	96 (2008)	85.5 (2008)	85.3 (2008)	79.9 (2008)
Kenya	101 (2008)	92.9 (2008)	91.7 (2008)	70.3 (2009)
Rwanda	100 (2008)	77.1 (2008)	90.1 (2008)	61.8 (2005)
Sudan	92 (2008)	81.7 (2008)	88 (2009)	92 (2000)
West Africa				
Burkina Faso	70.9 (2007)	33.1 (2007)	74.4	50.0 (2008)
Ghana	97.0 (2008)	77.9 (2008)	89.0 (2008)	54.0 (2007)
Liberia	114.0 (2008)	79.5 (2008)	75.4 (2008)	74.2 (2000)
Mali	65.0 (2006)	30.8 (2006)	63.9 (2008)	45.2 (2008)
Sierra Leone	69.0 (2008)	45.9 (2008)	66.3 (2008)	38.1 (2002)
Southern Africa				
Malawi	98 (2008)	85 (2008)	84.8 (2008)	50.6 (2007)
Mozambique	80 (2008)	62.1 (2008)	74.8 (2008)	49.4 (2005)
DRC	90.0 (2008)	61.8 (2008)	55.2 (2008)	34.9 (2007)
Zambia	82 (2008)	67.5 (2008)	83.3 (2008)	46.3 (2000)
Latin America				
Guatemala	95 (2008)	83.6 (2008)	93.5 (2008)	99.7 (2007)
El Salvador	101.1 (2008)	96.5 (2008)	101.5 (2008)	108.8 (2008)
Nicaragua	104.3 (2005)	88.8 (2005)	113.5 (2008)	108.5 (2003)
Honduras	102.5 (2007)	95.1 (2007)	126.9 (2008)	151.5 (2008)

Source: World Development Indicators

In Africa, access to education varies across the region, although efforts to improve girls' access to primary education seem to have a positive effect (Tembon and Fort 2008, Geisler 2007). The majority of gender disparities are currently in secondary and tertiary education, important for the development of women agricultural scientists and extension workers (Johanson et al 2008):

- In **East Africa** many countries have been making considerable efforts to increase the numbers of those in the formal education system and literacy rates among young adult females are relatively high, with the exception of Ethiopia. Policy-makers and cooperative leaders in Ethiopia saw women's lack of literacy as a key barrier to participation. However, women themselves do not necessarily consider their illiteracy a major constraint. Fieldwork in both Ethiopia and Tanzania did not yield women's concern with their literacy and numeracy skills. Men tended to connect women's lower literacy levels to women's 'inability' or 'unpreparedness' to be active members of FOs, or to take on leadership positions. Yet women did not consider their lower literacy levels as a hindering factor. Particularly, whenever questions around the need for training were approached, in no situation did women mention the need for literacy and/or numeracy. In Ethiopia, for instance, women connected training with purpose, and purpose would have to come first. Women would suggest having training tied to whatever activities would be most appropriate for them to engage in and in the context

of a plethora of diverse livelihood strategies. In terms of self-confidence, women did seem confident in their capacity to succeed – with the sense of purpose, the right guidance and training. Both in Ethiopia and in Tanzania, women's confidence and self-esteem did not seem belied by their potential lower levels of literacy. Particularly in Tanzania, women were extremely confident that if men would let them have a much more active economic role, and if they could take decisions without going through their husbands, then they would be much more successful than men in running the household.

- In **West Africa**, cultural marginalisation has severely limited women's educational opportunities, resulting in high illiteracy levels and a lack of qualifications and skills. Illiteracy is a major problem, particularly in Burkina Faso, Mali and Sierra Leone, more so than in the rest of Africa.
- In **Southern Africa**, literacy rates are relatively high, with Malawi doing better than the other three countries considered.

Literacy rates in **Latin America** are high, although among the indigenous it tends to be lower than national averages (World Bank undated). Considering that P4P targets indigenous women farmers, an assessment of their literacy is still needed, particularly if they are required to conduct their interactions with WFP in Spanish. The key here is their lack of Spanish skills rather than their illiteracy.

Another important dimension of human capital is agricultural extension. Access to extension services by women is often limited, and services are not likely to be gender-sensitive or adapted to women's specific needs (Mogues et al 2009; Peterman et al 2010; Mapila et al 2010; FAO 2011a). Similarly, agricultural and market information is rarely adapted to the specific needs and priorities of women (Quisumbing and Pandolfelli 2010).

Women farmers received only around 5 per cent of extension services in **SSA** in 1995 (Udry et al 1995). Some individual successes exist, but women are still disadvantaged (FAO 2011a). Fewer women than men are in contact with agricultural extension agents, and even fewer are the extension agents' contact point, responsible for passing information on to other farmers (Saito 1994). Variations exist:

- In **Ethiopia** there are particular difficulties with the public sector extension system and its efforts to reach women. While overall extension services are relatively accessible in Ethiopia, there are differences in access between men and women, and particularly stark differences by region (Mogues et al 2009). Fieldwork has shown, however, that at least in Ethiopia the question of access is just the first hurdle. The second seems to be the type of extension support. Even in areas where extension services are available and accessible, women seem to think that these are not adequate to their needs. In some FGDs, women compared the approach of the health extension worker to that of the agricultural extension worker. The former, according to women, spent time with them in their household, i.e. they would meet them in their house and explain to them how to maintain the minimal standards of hygiene, how to clean, and so forth. The agricultural extension worker did not have the same approach as the health extension worker. Agricultural extension workers were in the community but remained remote from the households. The gender of these extension workers (health and agricultural) was never mentioned. Rather, women emphasised the approach. In other countries, the lack of

access to extension services affects both women and men in equal measure. In Tanzania, for instance, in some communities extension workers were compared to the police: 'You contact them when you have a problem, they say they will come and never show up.'

- In **Southern Africa**, the way in which the extension system has developed historically has meant that it has had a strong focus on elite farmers, to the detriment of poorer and women farmers. This problem remains where extension workers do not have the capacity for more demand-driven services (Mapila et al 2010). There are some individual examples of success by just making small adjustments to existing activities: in Malawi, male extension agents were encouraged to focus on women (asking them to be included with their husbands, specific seminars for women farmers and women farmers successes highlighted) (Jiggins et al 1998).

Data from 1993 estimates that only 1.5 per cent of extension workers are women in **Latin America** and that only 15 per cent of extension services are directed towards women. As in SSA, this may be due to the assumption that those in need of extension services are men (Collett and Gale 2009).

Health and nutrition contribute greatly to a person's ability to work effectively. Although health outcomes are not gender differentiated across the board, women tend to have higher energy and nutritional needs during pregnancy and lactation and their nutritional status has a correlation with the impact on their children. There is also evidence that they are less likely to have access to health services (Buvinic et al 2006; FAO 2011a). A major constraint to health and nutrition in **SSA** is the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The continent suffers from a number of other diseases and health issues, many of them afflicting women disproportionately, particularly in terms of the additional burden on women's time (Steiner et al 2004).

The fieldwork has shown that health features very highly in women's lists of concerns. Interestingly, men also saw health as being a major concern for women. For women, the lack of access to health services meant that whenever they had a health problem it would take a long time to resolve and their productive capacity was affected. Hence women's concern with their health was linked to their diminished capacity to perform their productive and reproductive tasks. Maternal health was also a particular preoccupation.

2.3.5 Social capital

Women's limited social space and engagement in social networks may pose some constraints for women to accumulate social capital (Gomulia 2007). Access to social capital is particularly important for female farmers as it provides the formal and informal networks through which they gain valuable information and exert influence (Meinzen-Dick et al 2010). A distinction is often made between bonding (or 'horizontal' forms of) social capital in which relations of trust are between members of the same social strata and tend to be informal, and bridging and linking (or 'vertical' forms of) social capital in which relations of trust are between members of different social strata and tends to be more formal (Woolcock 2000; Lewandowski 2006)[32]. Several studies have found that women depend more on the bonding social capital and are able to form stronger kinship and friendship relations than men, who

[32] This literature on social capital has failed to adequately incorporate gender dimensions (Westermann et al 2005) and the distinction between these different categories are under discussion, but for the purpose of this review these categories map together well.

tend be better at accessing bridging and linking social capital. Gender disparities are reflected in the small number of women FO members of, and the propensity of women to join other types of groups such as self-help groups, rotational works groups and civic associations (Godquin and Quisumbing 2008). On the other hand, there is also an underlying gendered assumption that women welcome participation and work well together in groups of other women (Weeratunge and Snyder 2009). With competing demands on their time, they may have less time to socialise and join groups and they may also lack the confidence and the belief in themselves that would propel them to take on more active roles in their communities (Lyon 2008). In the end variables such as number of children, marital status, age, employment status, income and occupation can be more important for explaining differences in men and women's social networks than gender (Westermann et al 2005; Kebede and Butterfield 2009) [33]. There are regional variations:

- Due to the different nature of men's and women's social capital and networks, as well as the influence of cultural and religious variables, women in **East Africa** may be less likely to have bonding social capital, from training to being members of formal associations. Indeed several studies show that men are more likely to be members of FOs or of any other type of group structures (Katungi et al 2006; Place at al 2002). However, at the local level women are involved in more informal groups than men, for instance rotating savings and credit associations (or 'merry-go-rounds') in Kenya (Kariuki and Place 2005). These groups may have a positive effect on women's livelihoods and provide a critical mass of farmers for agricultural development[34].
- In **West Africa**, women in polygamous marriages may in particular lack social networks, although they may have more decision-making power than women in male-headed households (Ahikire et al 2010). Women who do try to enter formal male-dominated organisations often face harassment. Civil society has played a role in furthering women's participation. Much of this work is conducted by national women's groups – often in partnership with or with technical assistance from international actors – and has focused on harnessing a sense of solidarity among women to overcome the obstacles they encounter. However, there is some evidence that the nature of international support has limited its intended impact and in some cases served to undermine the unity of civil society (Kellow 2010).

- As in East Africa, saving groups provide a good example of social capital among women in **Southern Africa**. Comprised mainly of poor women, such groups save and lend small amounts of money on a daily basis, thereby strengthening trust, solidarity, and collective identity. In many communities, women's groups are able to develop solidarity networks that transcend ethnicity, race, sex, gender and economic survival (Gomulia 2007). However, this bridging social capital does not translate to bonding and linking social capital and women face difficulties entering FOs (Mapila et al 2010). For instance, the National Smallholder Farmer Organisation (NASFAM) in Malawi noted at FO meetings that the majority of the women were involved in cooking for the participants and missed out of decision-making and discussions. NASFAM members are now instructed to ensure

[33] Personal communication with Mary Njenga, CIP researcher, who is involved in World Bank study on women's groups in Kenya.
[34] 'Merry-go-rounds' are informal savings groups that are built on traditional women's groups and are based on trusting relationships (Okello 2008).

that independent cooks are hired to prepare any meals/snacks that are deemed necessary, thus leaving the women members with the opportunity to fully participate in the meetings (WFP 2009b).

There is a strong tradition of social movements in **Latin America**. Yet the region also has a strong tradition of a macho-type culture. Social and civic movements were forged in the opposition to autocratic populist regimes and deeply influenced by Liberation Theology and left-wing ideologists. Although extremely pro-poor and particularly active in the rural areas, leading the way in the struggle for land reform and re-distribution, social movements in the region never took women's issues to heart. Progress has been made in the number of women members of organisations, and in leadership positions (Lyon 2008; Deere and Royce 2009). Some women's movements have become autonomous. Development actors have worked with these grassroots groups with good results, focusing on deconstructing patriarchal culture (Deere and Leon 2001). Many development actors supporting market integration have drawn strongly on mixed-gender collective association and participation. However, there is anecdotal evidence that mixed gender participation and collective association in the region reinforces existing social and gender hierarchies (Caldeira 2009).

Common across all countries where fieldwork took place is women's preference for women-only groups. This preference ties to women's awareness that even if they are in mixed groups the quality of their participation will be low given that these groups will be a reflection of the society at large; women will not be allowed to take on leadership positions or will not feel comfortable with doing so. The feeling is that in women-only groups there is an immediate shared understanding of needs, and a greater sense of safety. Women also felt that these groups would allow them to practice their leadership qualities comfortably.

In Guatemala, however, men, and even qualified community workers, often mentioned that it was necessary to be 'careful' with women-only groups because women tended to be too confrontational among themselves. This is a stereotype that informs the approach to work with women. What was different between Guatemala, and Ethiopia and Tanzania is that in the former, women's isolation from the community is greater. That is, in Ethiopia and Tanzania there is more community life, whereas in Guatemala the social network is further reduced to the family unit. Therefore while in Ethiopia and Tanzania women already informally relied on each other, the same did not happen in Guatemala.

2.4 Market access

Unequal gender power relations and the gender division of labour often mean that women face differential access to markets and struggle to enter value chains for commercial products (OECD 2006; Gammage et al 2005). Markets are institutions which operate through a system of rules, practices and regulations that tend to hinder women's access. There are two broad types of markets which are relevant for P4P:

2.4.1 Agricultural markets

The main challenges for women accessing goods markets include their lack of resources such as land, inputs and knowledge. These constraints restrict women from producing large volumes of high-quality food for sale in large, centralised markets. Women lack access to transport and may face discrimination by established buyers and sellers (Quisumbing and Pandolfelli 2010). Producer organisations may also have specific rules that hinder women's

membership. Gender-related barriers affect both earnings and cost-effectiveness and have implications for producers as well as households. This is particularly important in export-led growth when women's traditional crops acquire a market value and women find it difficult to retain control over their production and marketing (Gallina 2010; Kasente et al 2000).

The literature on gender and market access in Africa reports that women's access to and involvement in goods markets is constrained. In some instances, women are involved in marketing surplus production of staples and vegetables for domestic markets and cash crops for international markets. With the rapid expansion of supermarkets in urban areas, opportunities are increasing for women to supply these with vegetables and fruit (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009).

- For **East Africa** there are isolated instances of women's increased participation, e.g. in Tanzania, women are found in low-profit, small-scale food, processing and marketing to local markets (Baden 1998). In Kenya, they supply vegetables to supermarkets. Evidence from Kenya shows that men have become more involved in vegetable production as a result of increased commercialisation (Gallina 2010). Again, the fieldwork in Ethiopia and Tanzania highlights the need to look at different types of women. Women in male-headed households were simply not interested in entering a market for agricultural goods because their husbands are tasked with trading surplus crops. On the other hand, women in FHHs enter markets more easily and do market surplus staple crops, such as maize. However, according to men, women are not involved in marketing because they cannot travel long distances due to their household responsibilities and workload, and because women are to stay in the household.

- **West Africa** lacks formal marketing boards for subsistence crops, which has meant a predominance of private traders. Private trading is more informal and provides easier access for women, facilitating important roles in food trading for example. In Burkina Faso, women tend to play an important role in food trading and place particular focus on small-scale trade *(petit commerce*). This includes sale of raw products (millet, peanuts, rice, beans, peas, butter nuts, néré kernels, onions and spices), sale of processed products (millet beer, shea butter, soumbala, peanut butter and cake, tobacco, spun cotton, woven mats, etc.) and sale of cooked dishes (rice with sauce, fried rice, fritters, biscuits, pastries, boiled or roasted peanuts/peas) (Günther 1998). In Ghana and Guinea women dominate private food trading and are a small but highly visible group of wholesalers (e.g. 90 per cent rice trading is carried out by women). Lack of credit, market infrastructure and storage facilities dictate that most of this trading is low-paid, risky and provides women with only a very modest income (Baden 1998).

2.4.2 Rural labour markets

The division of labour in rural markets means that women and men have differential access to rewards and career opportunities, even though they have similar education and labour market skills. Women form a large proportion of the casual labour force, which is characterised by low wages, high job insecurity, low levels of unionisation and poor working conditions (Fontana with Paciello 2010; ILO 2003). Unequal access to labour markets and highly gender-segregated occupations generates inefficiencies that compound the inequalities in wages that women and men receive, depress investment in women as workers and can distort market signals (OECD 2006). In many economies, causal labour has

been a constant feature of agriculture, due to its seasonal nature. This is increasing with the growth of non-traditional export-led markets for fruit, vegetables and flowers. Additionally, women farmers may find it difficult to secure labour to work on their farms. They may not have the right 'contacts' (i.e. lacking the social capital), they may lack money to pay wages and may also face gender discrimination in that, for example, men may not want to work for a woman (Peterman et al 2010).

In Africa, women face difficulties in finding secure employment in rural labour markets and the proportion of women wage earners in agriculture is very low (1.4 per cent, see Fontana with Paciello 2010). This work is seasonal and usually as farm labour, weeding, processing or undertaking similar time-intensive activities. There are opportunities on larger farms for non-traditional agricultural exports, such as vegetables and flowers (Fontana with Paciello 2010; Quisumbing and Pandolfelli 2010; ILO 2003), and the growth of export-led agricultural markets has provided an opportunity for women's employment in processing and packaging activities. However, these jobs tend to be low-paid, informal and insecure (Quisumbing and Pandolfelli 2010; Dolan 2005; ILO 2003). On the other hand, Maertens point out that women benefit more directly from this work, as they are the contracting party, in comparison to their involvement in contract-farming when they work primarily as unpaid labour. Women's control over income has been shown to be strongly correlated to their access to labour markets and paid employment (Quisumbing and McClafferty 2006). Regional examples include:

- Horticulture and cut flowers **Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda**.
- In **West Africa**, women can find employment in export-led agriculture in cash crops, such as cocoa and cotton, and non-traditional exports, such as fruit and vegetables in some countries in the region, including Cameroon, Cote D'Ivoire and Senegal (FAO 2011a).
- In **Southern Africa**, women are restricted to a narrower range of off-farm employment in rural areas (e.g. beer brewing, garments, food-processing) (Byrne 1994). Women are increasingly employed in non-traditional agricultural exports in South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Fontana with Paciello 2010).

Women do play an important role as workers in the non-traditional agro-export production sector and in packaging in **Latin America**. It is more difficult to assess their contribution to the more labour-intensive traditional agricultural sector, where many women work as seasonal labourers. Wages in both sectors tend to be low, and traditional work (such as harvest work) is piecework, encouraging the involvement of the whole family, including women and children. The agricultural industry is highly segmented by gender, with men occupying permanent positions and the vast majority of women being seasonal workers. This seasonal employment is an indicator of an increase in the number of landless families. In certain Latin American countries female mobile seasonal work has a strong ethnic component (Buechler 2004).

3 Risks and limitations to gender ambitions in P4P

On the basis of the findings in Section 2 above, there are a number of general risks and limitations that needs to be considered when exploring more practical options for increasing women's participation in P4P. The following sections explores these risks and limitations.

3.1 The majority of women are not strictly 'smallholder farmers'

As we have seen above, it is clear that women perform a variety of roles within agriculture and, depending on this role, they face different constraints and opportunities in relation to their access and control over resources and access to markets. To develop effective strategies improving women's access to P4P, it is important to recognise this diversity. This means going beyond categories of 'women' and 'men' (Carr 2008)[35] to consider different groups of women.

Currently, P4P's mandate is 'to facilitate increased agricultural production and sustained market engagement and thus increase incomes and livelihoods for participating smallholder/low income farmers, *the majority of whom are women.*' In analysing the groups of women that may be integrated into P4P, it is important to define what we mean by 'smallholder/low-income farmers'. The literature commonly uses three different definitions of farmer:

- Household head (Doss 2002).
- Agricultural holder: The person or group of persons who makes the major decisions regarding resource use and exercises management control over the agricultural holding operation. The agricultural holder has technical and economic responsibility for the holding and may undertake all responsibilities directly, or delegate responsibilities related to the management of day-to-day work. The agricultural holder is often, but not always, the household head. The agricultural holder may be de jure (formal title to the land) or de facto (rights to farm the land) (FAO 2011a; Doss 2002).
- Keeper of revenue (Doss 2002).

Doss shows that these categories may overlap, but not always. So, for instance, female head of households may not completely control the revenue from their sales, as male relatives may stake a claim. Similarly, female agricultural holders may not control the revenue from their sales if they hold plots of land in a male-headed household. Importantly, de facto rights to land may also leave women in a very vulnerable situation, as these rights to farm land may be removed at any time and women have not formal legal process to claim back these rights.

Using the latest existing data on these three categories of farmers[36], Table 4 shows that *women do not constitute a majority of farmers in the countries where P4P work*. This data reinforces the analysis of women's role in agriculture above. In certain areas women may constitute a majority of the agricultural labour force[37], but the proportions of FHHs in rural

[35] This thinking is supported by a feminist post-structuralist approach, where diversity within genders is made explicit. See Carr 2008 for an extended discussion.
[36] Data on the 'keeper of revenue' category has not been found.
[37] This data from the latest FAO State of Food and Agriculture Report is important, as it is significantly lower than earlier estimates that showed the proportion as much higher (toward 60-80 per cent in some cases).

areas and female agricultural land holders are significantly lower than 50 per cent. The table presents data on the female share of the total economically active population in agriculture (i.e. all women engaged in agriculture as labourers and land holders), the share of households in rural areas that are female headed and the female share of agricultural holders. By the definitions of farmers above, only the latter two groups can be seen as farmers in a strict sense.

Table 4: Women farmers

	Female share of economically active in agriculture (%)	Share of households in rural areas that are female headed	Female share of agricultural holders
East Africa			
Kenya	48.6	33.8	-
Tanzania	55.0	25.0	19.7
Ethiopia	45.5	20.1	18.7
Uganda	49.5	29.3	16.3
Rwanda	57.0	34.0	-
Sudan	39.5	-	-
West Africa			
Burkina Faso	47.7	7.5	8.4
Ghana	44.3	30.8	-
Liberia	44.5	26.6	-
Mali	37.7	11.5	3.1
Sierra Leone	61.7	20.7	-
Southern Africa			
DRC	48.8		
Malawi	59.2	26.3	32.1
Mozambique	65.2	26.3	23.1
Zambia	46.5	25.4	19.2
Latin America			
Guatemala	10.0	16.1	7.8
El Salvador	9.6	-	-
Nicaragua	7.6	19.3	18.41
Honduras	20.7	20.2	-

Source: FAO 2011a

The fieldwork confirm these data for Ethiopia, Tanzania and Guatemala. ALINe has been unable to do field work in West Africa, but have had feedback from P4P staff in Burkina Faso and Mali:

- In the majority of cases, men are the nominal owners of the household assets, and therefore recognised as such both by law and custom. And although in some cases decisions are indeed taken jointly (i.e. by both husband and wife in the household), men usually do seem to have the prerogative of the 'last word'. In West Africa, women tend to have better access to land (i.e. at least have use rights) and thus have better control over their production (see Sections 2.2.1 above and section 5.7.2 below). However, there is a lack of official data on the number of agricultural holders in West Africa and in some countries the percentages of FHHs are quite low.
- The majority of women are unpaid family workers. They work on the family farm, regardless of the type of crop (cash crops and subsistence crops). Again, in West Africa, women do have access to private plots of land, but the extent to which they are able to

focus their efforts on these is dependent on how much work there is to do on the main family plot.[38]

- There are women head of households that this does not hold true for, but these women are in a minority (although in some countries a significant minority, as can be seen in Table 4 above). This group has not been studied in great detail by ALINe.
- In both Africa and Latin America there are 'gendered' crops and 'gendered' activities. That is, there are certain crops whose production process is totally controlled by women, with minimum interference from their husbands. This is particularly true in West Africa, as confirmed by feedback from P4P staff in Mali and Burkina Faso. See Section 5.7.2 for more details.
- Women are also responsible for the marketing of the surplus of these activities, but not in large amounts. Women's crops are produced on a small scale and for family consumption mostly. The surplus is sold in local markets, and the profit of the sale is used to buy food and fuel for family consumption. Hence the profit is reinvested in the household, and this is the only household income that women have some control over.
- Fieldwork in Guatemala also reiterates women's lack of land ownership. The major difference is that women do not engage in agricultural production to the same extent as women in African countries. Women's contribution in Guatemala is far more limited, and reduced to very specific tasks, if at all.

3.2 The majority of women do not control crops procured through P4P

The WFP basket of procured foods includes wheat, maize, blended foods[39], rice, pulses, wheat flour, vegetable oil, maize meal, sugar, other[40] and sorghum (in order of magnitude of purchase). This food basket is the same for P4P, although in Country Implementation Plans (CIPs) the focus has been on maize (71 per cent of procurement), but also rice, pulses, sorghum and corn soya blend (for more details see Section 5.7.2 and particularly Table 6 below). Considering the findings above, the main challenge of integrating women is that they do not tend to control the crops that WFP are currently focusing on (WFP 2010b). This is true for the majority of countries where P4P operates. In fact, the food basket limits the extent to which women can be targeted by the programme in that it does not include more processed food products and fresh produce such as vegetables. Again, the situation is slightly different in West Africa according to the literature and feedback from P4P in Mali and Burkina Faso, but further research is required to establish this, as gendered crops tend to vary from locality to locality and official data is lacking.

Consequently, P4P's targets and indicators on women's participation (50 per cent membership in farmer organisations) may be over ambitious. Women are engaged in agricultural activities that P4P can link to but ALINe's field research so far highlights that only a small proportion of these women can be called smallholder farmers according to

[38] Feedback from P4P in Burkina Faso states that women do not view this situation as exploitative for cultural reasons.

[39] Blended foods include: Corn Soya Blend (CSB), Corn Soya Blend Plus Plus (CSB++), High Energy Biscuits (HEB), Rice Soya Blend (RSB), Ready to Use Supplementary Foods (RUSF), Wheat Soya Blend (WSB) and High Energy Protein Supplement (HEPS)

[40] It is not clear what is included in the 'other' category, but the list of food tender awards include salt. We also make the assumption that this other include milk powder, but this may be incorrect. See http://www.wfp.org/procurement/food-tender-awards

common definitions of farmers. These proportions vary between and within countries, meaning that local-level assessment of gender roles is imperative in order to plan and implement gender activities. In particular studying the needs of female headed households. Recent data shows that female-headed households are not necessarily always poorer than male headed-households (Gürkan and Sanago 2009; FAO 2011a), but if they are they will face significant barriers to participation in P4P, in relation to the constraints described above.

3.3 The complex relationship between income and food security

The WFP current Gender Policy explicitly reaffirms WFP's commitment to creating an enabling environment for promoting gender equality and women's empowerment to support partner countries in addressing food and nutrition challenges sustainably. Fighting hunger worldwide is WFP's stated mission. There are two major components to this:

- Nutrition and food security.
- Resilience to shocks that may lead to food crisis and ultimately hunger.

Households must have a certain level of nutrition and food security in order to ensure an acceptable level of well-being, and they should be resilient enough to deal with shocks that may lead to food crisis.

P4P, an initiative of the WFP, invariably embraces the same mission. In P4P this is said to be done through improving small farmers' livelihoods through procurement. Improved livelihoods are primarily measured through improvement in incomes, with a target of increasing incomes by US$50 per annum. However, the link between increased incomes and improvement in livelihoods is not straight forward. Livelihoods outcomes may include income, but also reduced vulnerability and increased resilience, improved food security, increased well-being and sustainable use of natural resources.[41] Particularly, several studies have explored the relationship between increased income (through the commercialisation of subsistence economies) and increased food security, and point to the complexity of ensuring household food security and the need to consider the very many varying factors at play (see, for instance, Maxwell and Fernando 1989; Mason 2002; Glewwe et al 2001; Penders and Staatz 2001; Smith and Haddad 2002; Webb and Lapping 2002; Ziervogel et al 2005; Mano 2006; Langat et al 2011).

For instance, ALINe's investigation of a vegetable breeding grant in Tanzania found that promoting 'income for development' and 'consumption for food security' is not always compatible. Agricultural projects can boost farmers' income (e.g. by promoting production of cash crops) or by boosting food consumption and nutrition in farming families directly (by promoting production of 'subsistence' crops). The former strategy is likely to reach middle-income farmers and is more likely to achieve greater developmental impact, while the latter strategy is more likely to reach low-income farmers and should achieve greater impact on household food security (Devereux and Longhurst 2010). WFP targets smallholder farmers with the potential to sell a surplus through P4P, but each country has adopted the country's definition of smallholder. There is anecdotal evidence from ALINe's fieldwork that that the distinction between the status of different farmers is often blurred and influenced by many

[41] For more information, see http://www.eldis.org/go/topics/dossiers/livelihoods-connect/what-are-livelihoods-approaches/livelihood-outcomes

different variables. This complicates the approach to targeting. For instance, soil fertility is an important variable for productivity of a farm and the potential for a surplus. In Tanzania, farmers may own 5 to 10 hectares of land, but with poor soil fertility, whereas in fertile regions land holdings may be smaller, but more productive.

Additionally, there is a risk that increases in income may be insufficient to guarantee farmers' food and nutrition security and to build their resilience, particularly if the poorest farmers are being targeted and staple crops are the focus. Resource-poor farmers are subject to a number of outside market forces that determine their well-being and increases in income may be swallowed up by increasing costs of inputs, particularly in the current economic climate (Foresight 2011).

The link between income and food security has important gender dimensions. Several studies have shown that the person generating the income is important for food and nutrition security. Income is often unevenly distributed amongst family members, adversely affecting nutrition objectives. For instance, in south western Kenya, for a given household income level, female-controlled income share was shown to have a positive and significant effect on household calorie consumption, while male-controlled income had a negative effect (Kennedy in Quisumbing et al 1995). That said, WFP should be careful to encourage women to start growing the crops currently procured through P4P as this may potentially undermine household food diversity and nutrition. As the field work has demonstrated for East Africa, women are particularly involved in the production of vegetables and keeping dairy animals. These activities are often essential for households to maintain a diverse, nutritional diet and women should not be encouraged to abandon these responsibilities in favour of growing more staple crops. Field work also shows that women are well aware of this fact.

Improved child well-being does not only depend on food availability and diversity, but also on adequate care practices and time devoted to food preparation. Women tend to be the main (and often the sole) providers of care to other household members. A programme that requires women to be more involved in cash crop production, but does not simultaneously address their caring and domestic responsibilities may have negative consequences for the well-being of women themselves and of their dependents. For instance, in Ghana, women's external employment was found to have a negative effect on household calorie availability (Haddad 1992). However, this may not always be the case; recent research from the Philippines shows that women's participation in off-farm wage labour activities did not have a negative impact on child nutritional status, but rather that the increased income supported children's well-being (Salazar and Quisumbing 2009).

Procurement, in the context of P4P, cannot and should not be dissociated from other activities that explicitly seek to address food security and resilience issues. Some of these activities will have to be more developmental. Currently the pilot focuses on procuring foods locally and at affordable prices. This approach puts the smallholder farmer at the centre of P4P's target group, as solely a producer, with a narrow set of needs – mainly technical skills sets to enable better market access. The needs of the household, e.g. food and nutrition security, may thus be ignored or seen as not falling under the programme's remit.

Addressing household nutrition and food security, and resilience, has to be done in an integrated way without giving women the sole responsibility for household food and

nutrition security. Many programmes tend to confine women to activities such as kitchen gardens. These types of approaches deepen institutionalised cultural and social beliefs, where men worry about the market and women worry about the food for the family. Approaches that build on these constructed roles deepen intra-household conflicts and further undermine women's opportunities to succeed outside the confines of the household. Fieldwork has shown that this belief runs deep, and women recounted stories of how angry men became when, in bad agricultural years, they would get home and there was no food on the table. Men in Guatemala noted that whenever women serve them chili it was because there was nothing else to eat and this creates 'problems' between husband and wife. Men seem incapable of, or unwilling to, link the low productivity of their crops and the lack of food in the home.

Hence, whatever P4P's approach to gender, WFP will need to monitor the households' food and nutrition security situation closely in order to ensure that households are able to build their resilience to shocks that may lead to food crisis. Going beyond simply monitoring the situation, this may well imply supporting women in income generating activities that go beyond kitchen gardens, and promoting male sensitivity of their own responsibility in household food security.

The next section introduces a gender framework for action, with categories for women P4P beneficiaries based on these findings and limitations, and then describes more practical actions for targeting different groups of women.

4 The gender framework

4.1 Purposes and guiding principles

This section introduces a gender framework for P4P. The purpose of this framework is to enable WFP to:

- Guide the operational roll-out of a Global Gender Strategy for P4P.
- Investigate the causes (structural) and effects (practical) of gender-specific constraints that face rural women in different socio-economic categories in a variety of contexts, and identify possible options to effectively tackle these constraints and exploit the opportunities to promote women's empowerment.
- Better understand the potential trade-offs between different practical actions in order to take sound decisions about which groups of women to target and for what purpose, while ensuring at the very least that gender relations do not worsen.
- Guide specific Country Offices on how to decide where they can and want to position themselves in the context of this framework, on the basis of the activities they decide to implement and the limits of the programme.

The development of the framework has been guided by the WFP Gender Policy and a number of principles as agreed with WFP:

- The overarching aim of any actions to enhance women's participation in P4P is guided by WFP's commitment to gender equality and the empowerment of women.
- Equality between women and men is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable people-centred development.
- In order to achieve gender equality, gender equity is necessary, i.e. fairness of treatment for women and men, according to their respective needs. This may include equal treatment or treatment that is different but which is considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, obligations and opportunities. A gender equity goal often requires built-in measures to compensate for the historical and social disadvantages of women.
- The principle of 'do no harm', which is the commitment to prevent actions that cause harm to any beneficiary.

4.2 A multi-dimensional, holistic definition of women's empowerment

The goal of gender equality has been defined by WFP (see Annex 1: Glossary), but there is less consensus and no articulation within WFP of the meaning of women's empowerment. This is a key aspect of the gender framework and it is articulated here in the context of agricultural development.

Often, the primary focus of many agricultural development programmes that deal with markets is on raising incomes alone. The assumption underpinning this is that women with control over resources (or women that have achieved what is often called 'economic empowerment') will provide sustainable solutions to many of the development problems facing the vulnerable and the poor through using their income to support families and communities. However, empirical evidence demonstrates that this is not necessarily the

case and a more holistic approach to empowerment is a better way to achieve these goals (Martinez 2006).

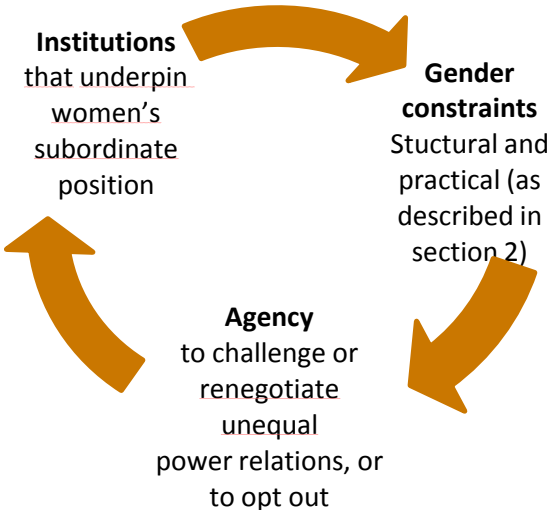
A pure focus on women's capacity to bring about economic change for themselves can reduce overall poverty (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009) and increase national agricultural outputs (Alderman et al 1995). However, women's own incomes may be another resource that they do not fully control, and even if they do control it, this control is not immediately translated into women's social and political empowerment. If intra-household gender relations are neglected by policy makers' and development practitioners' (including WFP), efforts to support women's increased income can have adverse effects on well-being, e.g. family and child nutrition (Haddad 1992), on the overall income from other economic activities (Gallina 2010), and on women's exposure to domestic violence (Rahman 1999).

Empowerment is thus a multidimensional concept, made up of several interrelated dimensions: social, cultural, economic. Distilling these interrelated dimensions, if only for analytical purposes, is a narrow and limited approach (Moser 2007; Martinez 2006). Women's empowerment is understood better *as a series of processes and changes whereby women's agency is expanded, i.e. the processes by which the capacity to make strategic life choices and exert influence is acquired by women who have so far been denied it* (Kabeer 2010). Women's empowerment is thus both a process and an outcome and can involve:

- 'power within' or belief in one's own intrinsic worth and capabilities.
- 'power to' which implies the ability to use these capabilities to achieve valued goals or to opt out.
- 'power with' or the power that comes from acting collectively with others in pursuit of common goals.

The process of women's empowerment is illustrated in Figure 1 which shows how it entails addressing gender constraints that are driven by biases in institutions at various levels (or the rules, norms, values, beliefs and practices which determine how people are supposed to act/behave) to support women's agency. It involves awareness-raising, building self-confidence, expansion of choices, increased access to and control over resources and actions.

Figure 1: The process of women's empowerment



4.3 Three operational approaches on gender

The extent to which programmes in agriculture are able to impact on gender and promote multi-dimensional processes of empowerment for women are limited and vary. In recognition of this, the framework distinguishes three different operational approaches:

- **Gender blind:** The programme does not distinguish between women's and men's labour, management and decision-making roles and tends to ignore who owns/controls productive assets including land (assuming equal access to resources or that resources belong to the family or men).
- **Gender aware:** The programme understands and takes into account gender differences in roles and access to resources but does not seek to challenge the status quo. In other words, the programme addresses and deals with the effects, without aiming to contribute towards addressing the causes of the issues affecting women. Through this approach, the programme aims to increase women's well-being, but it may end up contributing to changing the status quo of gender relations in anticipated or unanticipated ways. This approach is risky, as it can have both negative and positive impacts on gender relations as can be seen in Section 5 below.
- **Gender transformative:** The programme sets as an explicit goal the transformation of the unequal gender relations, i.e. it contributes to addressing the gender-specific constraints and root causes of women's subordination. This alongside considering women's practical constraints. This approach promote the process and outcome of women's empowerment. This approach also carries risks, but as it explicitly aims to transform gender relations, potential adverse consequences on gender equality are considered in planning activities.

Gender aware and gender transformative categories are *not* mutually exclusive. Not all programmes should aim to become gender transformative. Since gender roles tend to be deeply rooted in socially constructed norms and ideologies which cannot be easily changed by projects in the course of a few years, some may question whether changes in gender relations should be prompted from the outside or rather be left to women's own forms of agency (Gallina 2010). Transformation is not a one-off event but a gradual and evolving process, which needs a long-term strategy. Alternatively, by addressing these structural constraints, gender transformative approaches may support women's capacity for initiative and leadership. It is possible for an essentially gender aware programme to contain, at the outset, one or two gender transformative components. For example, a programme can be deliberately started as gender aware, to gain trust and self-confidence, and then move on to transformative aims and activities.

4.4 Categories of women P4P beneficiaries

The field research combined with the literature review has demonstrated that there are four different categories of women that P4P could target:[42]

1. **Women producers and/or marketers of crops/ food products currently being procured through P4P,** who demonstrate potential to sell or that are already selling through P4P (e.g. through FOs or trading through the conditional tender mechanisms). Often these

[42] The focus here is on women's different productive roles in agriculture. Other categories could also prove explanatory, e.g. women's marital status, class, age or ethnicity.

women are female-headed households and/ or older women from polygamous marriages (FHHs/ OWPs). These women already have the essential prerequisite for selling surplus produce through P4P, but might be disadvantaged in comparison to their male counterparts for a variety of reasons.

2. **Women unpaid family workers**. These women are linked to P4P through their husbands and primarily partake in P4P activities through supporting their husbands on their farms, in the production of cash crops. Women engage in this work because they see it as their obligation as household members. However, the field work in Ethiopia, Guatemala and Tanzania showed that in many cases women had very little or no interest in pursuing it as their full-time, main economic activity.
3. **Women producers and/or petty traders of crops/ food products not currently procured through P4P**. They have no link to the P4P initiative, but potentially could. These women produce enough surplus crops/ food products and to some extent already engage in the market, and/ or are part of collective organisations (the majority women-only). This group may overlap with group two if they also work on family farms.
4. **Women casual agricultural labourers** that may be working as seasonal labourers on farms that sell produce through P4P, or as labourers in processing and packing activities.

It is important to note that these categories may overlap as women can have more than one productive role.

Each of these four groups will require different approaches if they are to be integrated in a gender sensitive way into P4P activities. As can be seen in the framework, a gender aware approach will target a more restricted group of women (primarily group 1 and possibly group 2). For a more transformative approach and to target a broader group of women, The focus of P4P may need to change in order to tackle the structural constraints to empowerment. Suggestions for changes required will be illustrated throughout the following sections, with possible courses of action within the gender aware and gender transformative approaches identified.

The gender framework is illustrated in Table 5 below. The table shows the three operational approaches to gender that target different groups of women and have different outcomes.

Table 5: Gender framework

Approach	Examples	Outcomes	Groups of women targeted
Gender blind Does not distinguish or acknowledge gender power relations or the gender division of labour	> Programmes that focus on marketed or internationally traded crops (traditional male roles), without paying attention to women's roles as unpaid family workers or independent producers. > Programmes that aim to strengthen farmer groups without considering the barriers facing women's participation in collective action.	> May fail to acknowledge women's contribution, or potential contribution, to overarching goals and objectives. > Carries a high risk of failing to achieve programme goals and may exacerbate gender inequalities.	No target group
Gender aware Addresses women's and men's practical needs within existing gender relations and divisions of labour	> Gender-sensitive extension services that focus on tasks that both females and males specialise in, organised in times and places compatible with women's childcare and other domestic responsibilities, and not staffed overwhelmingly by male trainers > Programmes focusing on irrigation, water-control, soil conservation, extension and training, microfinance, marketing, crop/livestock diversification.	> Supports well-being outcomes (income, food security, nutrition, health). > Does not challenge existing gender relations, but may lead to anticipated or unanticipated changes (positive or negative).	1. Women producers/ marketers of crops currently procured through P4P. 2. Women unpaid family workers.
Gender transformative Challenges existing gender relations and divisions of labour *and* considers women's and men's practical constraints.	> Programmes focusing on land reform, land titling, changes in family or inheritance laws, promoting women's organisations or leadership roles in mixed organisations (supported by actions that focus on women's practical constraints to entering these). > Programmes targeting women's traditional crops and markets, helping women enter new value chains, supporting women's organisations and providing training. > Involves awareness-raising, building self-confidence, expansion of choices, increased access to and control over resources and actions.	> Supports women's access to and control over resources. > Promotes the process and outcome of women's empowerment.	1. Women producers/ marketers of crops currently procured through P4P. 2. Women unpaid family workers. 3. Women producers/petty traders of crops and food products currently not procured through P4P. 4. Women casual agricultural labourers.

4.5 Monitoring and evaluation

A key part of this gender framework is monitoring and evaluation (M&E). Done well, M&E of gender activities can support improvements in implementation of gender actions, provide evidence of gendered outcomes, steer gender strategies, support the capacity of women and men stakeholders and share learning about gender more widely. This latter point is particularly important. To support more effective and equitable gender integration in agriculture programmes, more widely available in-depth context specific information about gender roles is needed, particularly information about what works and how (FAO 2011a). This section describes some key issues in gender-sensitive M&E.[43]

4.5.1 The theory of change as an operational tool for programme planning and M&E

The articulation of a theory of change (TOC) as one of the key building blocks in M&E systems. A TOC comprises the assumptions held by programme stakeholder about the context of any intervention and how social change happens. Making this TOC explicit allows stakeholders reach consensus about the problem to be solved, the long-term vision, the types of changes that can be expected, the targets for change (including stakeholders, how they will act and possible conflicts of interest), the broad conditions and strategies that might make the changes possible, and the premises, assumptions and values that underpin the change effort.

As has been shown, gendered constraints and opportunities in agriculture are very context-specific and vary within and across regions and countries. Using the theory of change approach can be a useful operational tool in social change interventions that are aimed at promoting gender equity and women's empowerment. Assumptions about specific gender outcomes can be questioned and particular risks and opportunities entailed in certain actions can be outlined. Finally, indicators of the desired changes can be identified.

4.5.2 Developing M&E indicators

Measuring gender inequality requires using a variety of indicators (both quantitative and qualitative) to monitor changes in gender relations.

Ideally indicators should be identified in dialogue with all programmes' stakeholders in the context of a TOC – tapping into local knowledge is more cost effective than implementing complex indicator frameworks and avoids over-collection and under-utilisation of information. A number of core questions should guide indicator selection. These questions are not indicators themselves but may surface hidden assumptions about women's roles. If these questions raise issues related to the overall success of a programme, they are important areas to develop and track indicators against. Some examples of questions are:

- What are the major productive activities and reproductive activities for which women and men, girls and boys are responsible? Is the programme changing this gender division of labour? If so, how and for what activities/decision-making roles?
- Who makes decisions about what within the household? Is the process of decision-making changing as a result of the programme? If so, how?
- Do nutritional levels differ by gender and age?

[43] For more in-depth discussion on how to integrate gender into M&E in agriculture, see ALINe 2010.

- Is the programme enhancing women's access to knowledge compared with men's?
- Does the programme strengthen or weaken women's access to productive resources and services relative to men's?
- Do women and men face differential barriers to entry into paid employment and different terms of work?
- How much of the work of transportation to the market is done by women and for which products? Are there gender differences between selling in local markets and long distance trading? How is information about prices acquired?
- Does the programme strengthen or weaken women's ability to participate in community and farmer organisations as members, managers or leaders? Is the programme changing men's attitudes towards women's participation in the public domain?

The specific indicators that best capture the gender-related changes brought about by an intervention need to be decided on a case by case basis. All of these questions can potentially be investigated through carefully designed feedback systems, to hear directly from women and men what they see as the constraints, opportunities and changes they face. Feedback systems typically combine qualitative and quantitative measures, with 'hard to measure' areas like decision-making, confidence and attitudes being quantified by using perception-based indicators[44]. Disaggregating data from indicators (perception and quantitative) for women and men allow gendered impacts to be monitored. For instance, women can be invited to identify assessment criteria for monitoring programme success. Then their 'satisfaction' can be consistently monitored and reported. Sensitively implemented, these processes can generate not only powerful information for decision-makers, but also contribute to gender transformation, as women gain confidence and belief that their views matter.

4.5.3 Human resources and M&E

Programme staff should have sufficient support (internal support as well as access to specialist external knowledge) to integrate a gender aware or gender transformative approach, such as through specific gender training. It should be noted that experience shows that staff without gender expertise often find it easier to operate within a gender aware approach rather than a transformative one, so extra effort is needed if the initiative aims to be transformative. This should go beyond training to developing lines of accountability through the programme hierarchy for gender.

Where possible, M&E teams should be multi-disciplinary, including gender, environment, risk specialists and sociologists/anthropologists as well as economists. In some specific socio-economic contexts women enumerators are the only ones who can reach women programme participants. In other cases, both female and male enumerators can be involved, provided they have both received adequate gender training.

[44] Perception-based indicators are indicators that are monitored using data that summarises the perceptions of different stakeholders (rather than attempting to measure objective attributes of change). For further details see Jacobs et al 2010.

5 Practical actions for improving gender equity in P4P

In this section the various practical actions identified in the Occasional Paper II are presented within the context of the framework of gender blind, gender aware and gender transformative. Current examples from the literature and the ALINe field work conducted in Ethiopia, Tanzania and Guatemala are used to illustrate what works and how. Within this the opportunities, constraints and risks that need to be seized or addressed in order to replicate and scale up these good practices within the specific context of P4P are assessed. Annex 2 lists some global and regional partners for the implementation of these actions.

5.1 Gender sensitisation[45]

The P4P Occasional Paper II states, 'without specific attention to gender issues programmes and projects are likely to reinforce inequalities between women and men and may even increase resource imbalances' (WFP 2010c). Project staff and participants should have sufficient support (internal and specialist external knowledge) to integrate a gender aware or gender transformative approach. This can be done through specific gender training or other types of actions that aim to sensitise women and men to gender issues.

5.1.1 General constraints

The barriers to gender sensitisation are several, and overlapping:

- **Resistance to change**. The real barrier to gender sensitisation is the resistance to social change within formal and informal institutions. Many programmes or initiatives are eager to embrace gender equity, but have very little understanding of how culture works in context. Any approach needs to be inclusive of formal or informal institutions, and work with them (SIGI 2009; Kandiyoti 1988).
- **Resource and time constraints.** Most gender sensitisation consists of participatory training sessions. Women's restricted mobility, multiple domestic chores and financial dependency make it difficult for women to attend training (see sections below).

5.1.2 Existing approaches

Four approaches to gender sensitisation in development programmes / initiatives have been identified:

- **Holistic.** Holistic approaches target women, girls, men and boys, and develop different strategies to deal with the different groups. The 1995 UN World Conference on Women drew attention to government commitment to encouraging men and women to participate in actions towards equality. Organisations have implemented more holistic gender sensitisation approaches gradually. This has been facilitated by the transition from the 'Women in Development' (WID) to the 'Gender and Development' (GAD) framework. Many programmes that still focus on women tend to ignore the systemic nature of the root causes of inequalities. Oxfam has been an innovator in this space. In 2002 Oxfam launched the *Gender Equality and Men* project, a joint initiative between two Oxfam programmes: the UK Poverty Programme, and the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and CIS region, with funding from Oxfam and the UK Department for

[45] To avoid confusion with the gender framework, the term has been changed from 'gender awareness training' to 'gender sensitisation'.

International Development (DFID). The project began by promoting and facilitating the conceptualisation of gender frameworks that would include men, as well as women, in gender sensitisation. It was then followed by a range of activities in different countries that served to refine the frameworks and tools conceptualised (Ruxton 2004). Other examples include CARE Austria (2009), and Promundo, in Brazil.

- **Women-focused.** These approaches target only women and girls. They can be very comprehensive in terms of the activities that they provide and the tools and frameworks available. Like holistic approaches, these approaches also tend to favour work with partners that have influence in other areas, such as policy and advocacy. While women-focused gender sensitisation can achieve good progress at policy level, not much is likely to be achieved at community level. This is because men and boys in the community are excluded. Women may become more aware of their unequal position, better equipped to identify discriminatory situations, laws, cultural practices and actions, but their status in the community remains the same because men's attitudes towards gender inequality remains the same. These approaches are more characteristic within the WID framework.
- **Activity-focused.** These approaches refer to programmes that have incorporated some gender awareness dimensions, often gender training. They are not consequential, i.e. these approaches do not necessarily aim to facilitate and promote women's empowerment, transformation at the level of policy, or the community. They often aim to fulfil the requirements of donors.
- **Sensitisation beyond training.** Gender sensitisation approaches often equate to training. Training is an activity that implies teaching something new to students by providing skills they did not possess before. However, gender sensitisation as a concept draws on Paulo Freire's theories of consciousness raising and participation in education. Gender sensitisation is participatory. It is characterised by a facilitator that guides a process in which participants identify situations, practices, policies, laws, and attitudes that promote gender discrimination. Gender sensitisation activities other than training may encompass the promotion of teamwork between men and women, e.g. in community kitchens or community urban gardens, where men and women have similar tasks and learn to appreciate and value each other's contributions. Another type of activity is men's self-help groups, which are based on support rather than competition and work with men and boys to develop a language of emotions and skills for empathy.

5.1.3 Opportunities

Gender sensitisation for women and men presents and opens up opportunities for women's integration into markets and their eventual empowerment. These are mediated through processes at several levels:

- **Household.** Women gain a different status within the household. Gender sensitisation that encourages the participation of men and boys, has the potential to change family dynamics and the relations of power within the household. Through changing these dynamics, women are more likely to participate on more equal terms in the process of decision-making and it can enable them to negotiate better with husbands about their possible integration into market activities.
- **Personal development.** Women may be more likely to invest in their personal development. They gain new aspirations and ambitions, and this opens the way to an

increased interest in other types of economic activities and training to support this, specifically professional and literacy training.

- **Community and society.** Women become more self-confident and able to break through the 'glass-ceilings'. Hence they feel more empowered to speak out in public, set up a business, or take on leadership positions in their communities or within institutions and organisations.
- **Intergenerational.** Inequality starts to be tackled earlier, and across generations. Women and men that have been exposed to gender sensitisation are more likely to invest in female children in the same way they invest in male children.

5.1.4 Risks

- **Raising expectations.** Gender sensitisation, if undertaking in isolation of activities that address those practical constraints articulated in Section 2.3, may lead to frustration. Women may be increasingly aware of their rights and feel more capable, but may lack opportunities to do anything to improve their situation. Similarly, many of the root causes of inequality can only be properly addressed through government policy and laws. There are limits to what development programmes, whether market-based or not, can achieve. In many situations, governments have competing priorities, with gender falling low on the list (Kabeer and Subrahmanian 1996).
- **Targeting only women.** If gender sensitisation activities are targeted only to women, men may act as barriers. Many efforts fail because of women's low engagement in activities specifically designed to target only women. Men actively or passively prevent women from participating, or even from being targeted. In these cases, initiatives run the risk of catering only for women whose husbands are open-minded about their 'empowerment'. Men are more likely to boycott approaches where they have been excluded (Agarwal 2003; Esplen 2006)l. Fieldwork in Guatemala highlighted this point, with stories of women being stopped from participating in gender trainings once their husbands knew the discussions were about equal rights.
- **Lack of communication and engagement with the local community.** Approaches to gender sensitisation implemented by many NGOs' initiatives lack communication and engagement with locals. For instance, women's low participation may stem from the shared belief, between local men and women, that gender approaches seek to mainstream 'foreign' concepts. This issue was hotly debated in the 1990s in Latin America, where many organisations were accused by local feminists and female community workers of failing to integrate local approaches to gender and aligning with local women's efforts to tackle inequality (Ruxton2004).

5.1.5 Recommendations

In general, several factors contribute to more effective gender sensitisation in the context of programmes such as P4P. These factors are:

- **Strong rationale**. Gender sensitisation should have a clear goal, e.g. address discrimination against women and girls and promote equality of opportunities. Situating gender equality and women's rights within principles of fairness and social justice, and particularly within cooperative values, can be a facilitating factor (Gonzalez Manchón and Macleod 2010)

- **Contextual knowledge**. Any approach should be backed by robust knowledge of the context, through gender assessment or baselines. This knowledge cannot be limited to the economics of inequality. It is seminal to understand the cultural and customary dimensions, as well as the processes and institutions of socialisation, which contribute to keeping women in a position of inequality and men in a position whereby the acceptance of this inequality is unquestioned.
- **Addressing the 'glass-ceiling'**. A robust contextual knowledge allows identification of the 'glass ceiling' that prevent the advancement of women and that are reproduced by women. For instance, the 2006 Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) reveals that 44 per cent of women, and 23 per cent of men, feel that it is justifiable for a husband to beat his wife if she refuses him sex. A staggering eight in ten women believe that it is justifiable, in some situations, for the husband to beat his wife[46]. In these situations, women are likely to support cultural practices that are discriminatory.
- **Inclusiveness**. Any approach should be holistic and be targeted at and delivered to women and girls, men and boys. An inclusive approach also helps identifying important 'entry-points', e.g. boys and young men can be a force for change if continuously exposed to gender sensitisation.
- **Positivity**. Any approach should be framed by positive intent and non-accusatory language.
- **Countering unequal gender power relations**. Gender sensitisation approaches should try to counter inequality at the micro-level, or the level of the household and communities. This can be done through working with men and boys to develop a language of emotions and encouraging better team work between men and women.
- **Sympathetic staff**. Staff delivering gender training should be sympathetic to and strongly believe in the rationale of the approach.
- **Embedding into a wider gender strategy**. Gender sensitisation should be embedded in a gender strategy. This should link gender sensitisation activities to other measures that aim to promote and facilitate women's empowerment. Gender training should not be seen as the solution to women's participation. It should be seen as a tool, in combination with other tools within a specific framework.

5.2 Women's active group participation

The P4P Occasional Paper II highlights the need to support women's involvement in groups, beyond their membership, in terms of holding leadership positions, partaking in decision-making and making their voices heard. WFP does not work directly with individual farmers in P4P, but with farmers' and traders' organisations. It is widely assumed that the number of women members in collective organisations may indicate their empowerment, but this may not always be the case. The question goes beyond whether women should actively participate in mixed gender groups to whether their participation will ever be 'active' in the absence of other types of interventions, such as female-only groups.

[46] See Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey (2006), available at http://www.measuredhs.com/pubs/pdf/FR179/FR179.pdf.

5.2.1 General constraints

There are several barriers to women's active participation in mixed and women-only groups and their attempts to achieve leadership positions within their communities[47]. These are similar to the constraints articulated in Section 2.1 and include in particular such structural constraints as the male-dominated culture and lack of social identity, and more practical challenges such as lack of social and political capital, absence of resources and time constraints[48]. Some particular issues include the fact that many groups are organised around a specific social identity, e.g. that of farmer, worker, and so forth. In some languages for instance, the word farmer does not have a female equivalent and is never applied to women. Hence the fact that women are not considered to be farmers or workers limits their rationale for joining these groups (Mogues et al 2009; Jiggins et al 1998). This seems to be a barrier particularly in Ethiopia, although there are many cultures where this is not the case. Similarly, many groups are organised around possessions that women may lack, e.g. land (Carr with Hartl 2010; Develtere et al 2008).

Women may choose not to become involved in FOs and instead become organised in organisations that are more suited to their needs. This may be a type of passive resistance to what women perceive as organisations that do not represent their interests or discriminate again them in other ways (Lyon 2008). Participation may also represent an added burden to existing heavy workloads (Seeley et al 2000). Additionally, FOs or cooperatives, for instance, tend to have institutionalised bureaucratic procedures (e.g. statuses) that are not easily understood by women who cannot read or are functionally illiterate (Collett and Gale 2009). However, the field work in Ethiopia indicated that these two points may be exaggerated and used by men to restrict women's participation in groups.

5.2.2 Existing approaches

- **Mixed groups.** In certain contexts, where women have more experience of participating in groups, mixed groups are appropriate. There are examples of attempts to mainstream gender issues within such organisations to support women's participation. For instance, some FOs support women's participation through separate spaces (Gonzalez Manchón and Macleod 2010).
- **Women-only groups organised around a specific aim.** Without prior experience of groups, women may feel unable to actively participate in mixed-gender groups, speaking out in front of men, or going against their decisions. Many development actors have realised this is a long process and have channelled their efforts into facilitating and promoting women's active participation in female-only groups and collective structures organised around a commodity or economic objective (e.g. tontines, SACCOs and labour groups). In Africa, women tend to be more active in SACCOs and consumer cooperatives for instance (Develtere et al 2008).
- **Existing women-only groups.** Other development actors that work with female-only groups tend to work with groups that are constituted at local levels, or partner with local

[47] On these challenges, please see Ngunjiri (2006).

[48] According to Ngunjiri (2006), there are five main challenges to women's leadership roles in groups: the reconciliation between private (family) life and public (leadership) roles; class and ethnic bias; challenging authority; lack of visibility within organisational contexts; and opposition from other women.

grassroots organisations with experience in grassroots recruitment and gender awareness. Often these groups are deeply rooted in the community and, although they do have very specific objectives, ultimately their rationale is to end discrimination against women and contribute to an increase in gender awareness, at the community, local and national levels[49].

5.2.3 Opportunities

Depending on the context and whether mixed groups are appropriate or not, approaches to support active participation of women in groups have been shown to address the practical needs of women and support processes of empowerment. There is little evidence about the relative effectiveness of these different approaches[50]. From a longer-term perspective and assuming that mixed groups may ultimately be a more sustainable approach to supporting women's empowerment, the key question becomes the extent to which participation in these groups represents any opportunity for empowerment and whether it supports women's ultimate participation in mixed-gender groups.

Organising women into women-only groups is considered by many to be a good strategy (Mayoux 2000) to increase access to credit and savings in order to increase overall household income and consumption (Zaman 2001). Self-confidence and esteem, social mobility, political awareness, increased participation in decision-making and increased social capital (Mayoux 2000; Moyle et al 2006; Develtere et al 2008) are among the other positive impacts.

In South Asia there is considerable experience in organising women in self-help groups (SHGs). SHGs are groups of women that get together with a concrete aim (or, in SHGs' language, 'action of change'). The aim can be getting funding, credit, a greater share in the market of a specific commodity, and so forth. In the majority of cases SHGs are being used to access credit. Viswa Santhi Balananda Kendram (VSBK) in Andhra Pradesh has been a great proponent and implementer of this approach. The organisation claims that it has allowed women greater access to credit and increased participation in decision-making (Prabhakar 2010). The successes of the SHGs have also been hailed in the context of post-disaster recovery interventions[51]. There are also examples of women organising to buy or lease land (Niger) or fish ponds (Bangladesh) (FAO 2011b; Pasternak 2011; WB, IFAD, FAO 2009) with successful outcomes.

When it comes to existing women-only groups, evidence from Brazil shows that these organisations were instrumental in achieving changes in the law regulating land titling. Here women are not confined to the household and always had to participate, sometimes in equal measure, in the labour market (e.g. as agricultural labourers). There is a strong local culture of feminism, and many of these approaches are not steered by international NGOs, but by local groups, movements and community-based organisations that put a lot of time

[49] Latin America is littered with such examples, from the most grassroots-based organisations like the babassu nut breakers that exist to protect the rights to babassu gathering, or the Centro Comunitario D. Bubu, that addresses food security issues (both in Brazil), to larger but still locally nationally-rooted organisations, such as Manuela Ramos in Peru.

[50] As part of IDS' longer engagement with WFP more globally, specific research on different group approaches is planned.

[51] See, for instance, UN/ISDR (2007).

and energy into grassroots recruiting and 'consciousness-raising' (or gender sensitisation) (Deere and Royce 2009).

Common across all countries where fieldwork took place is women's preference for women-only groups. This preference ties to women's awareness that even if they are in mixed groups, the quality of their participation will be low given that these groups will be a reflection of the society at large and women will not be allowed to take on leadership positions or will not feel comfortable with doing so. The feeling is that in women-only groups there is an immediate shared understanding of needs and a greater sense of safety. Women also felt that these groups would allow them to practice their leadership qualities comfortably. Feedback from P4P in Mali also confirms these findings. There, the best women sellers are from three women-only groups that have sold more than 80 metric tonnes to WFP through P4P.

5.2.4 Risks

Several risks with each of these approaches exist:

- In contexts where mixed groups might be culturally appropriate, there is evidence of instances where men use their wives' membership in order to gain access to certain benefits (Prakash 2003). Evidence from Ethiopia shows that targets for increased participation of women in FOs can have perverse outcomes. There was often registration of both husbands and wives, but this seemed to be primarily a strategy to access increased benefits, such as fertiliser, rather than granting women increased opportunities. In fact, some of the more gender sensitive cooperatives suggested that targets and quotas were irrelevant as they did not deal with the more structural issues hindering gender equity.
- Women-only groups tend to be less successful than men-only and mixed groups in accessing new markets for their products and at pursuing new products. Men are more likely to be approached for their products by agricultural companies, who assume that men are the primary producers in the household, whereas they are in fact the primary marketers (Quisumbing and Pandolfelli 2010).
- Some recent evidence suggests an inflation of some of the positive impacts of women's groups, particularly for SHGs. Some NGOs supporting such efforts may have failed to grasp the social complexity of women's lives, in that they do not consider intra-household decision-making and women's time constraints. Participation is also difficult for poorer women (Husain et al 2010; Rahman 1999) (see also section 5.6 on financial services). As a result of their focus on specific productive activities, there tends to be less justification for SHGs to bring women together around more structural constraints. However, those groups that organise around issues such as joint land ownership or more integrated livelihoods approaches may constitute more effective routes to sustainable group participation and ultimately empowerment (Kabeer 2010; Agarwal 2003). More grassroots-based women-only groups, which aim at an increase in gender awareness and women's empowerment as a goal, may also be more effective.
- A heavy reliance on women-only groups might be counterproductive in some contexts. Men may find that women-only groups threaten their authority[52]. Empowering women

[52] Mary Njenga, researcher CIP, personal communication about her work with bead project in Laikipia district in Kenya in the late 1990's that supported women's increased incomes. Men thought it was a strategy to take

in real-life alliance situations may yield best results, for example by encouraging men to support their wives to participate in certain activities that are crucial for the household set-up. An increase in women-only groups may not translate into overall progress for women, but should rather be treated as a first step. This reiterates the need to take a GAD approach that targets not only women, but women, girls, men and boys within the specific context in which they operate. In particular fieldwork in Guatemala highlighted this point. Women were not allowed to attend women-only activities, particularly training on women's rights. There is a need to be more family-oriented and take a long-term approach that promotes men cooperating with women.

5.2.5 Recommendations

Market-oriented interventions need to address gender norms that hinder women from entering mixed groups and place them at a disadvantage when seeking new market opportunities. Mixed groups may ultimately be a more sustainable approach to supporting women's empowerment, but this approach may not be an effective tool if there are strong cultural influences that constrain women's participation. In these societies, women and men have little tradition of working together, of being part of the same social networks. Research into SHGs and other types of women-only organisations points towards the advantage of having women forming and being part of women-only groups as a first step. However, the effectiveness and transformative potential of actions is enhanced if there is:

- **A strong justification.** Organising women around just one particular issue or need often underestimates the multiple constraints that women face. Women may gain access to credit for example, but this does not mean that they can control the credit or decide where to invest it. A strong justification to be within a group, such as working towards an end to gender discrimination, needs to be set in a wider implementation strategy that tackles multiple constraints.
- **A strong link to gender sensitisation.** It is crucial to link women's active participation in groups with gender sensitisation. Otherwise, women's active participation in groups, mixed-gender or not, may well result in their further isolation from the community, particularly from men.
- **Emphasis on grassroots recruitment.** The voluntary nature of belonging to a group should not negate the need to recruit and reach those women who are not likely to join collective structures in the first place and investigate why they do not join. If not done, the result might be only to attract women who, in comparison to others, are already 'empowered' and confident enough to join these structures.
- **Partnerships.** Particularly for international organisations and initiatives, it is important to identify partners at grassroots level, to facilitate and promote women's greater participation in groups.
- **Strategy to address practical barriers.** Participation is hindered by practical constraints such as childcare. Therefore, attempts to increase women's active participation have to exist within a wider strategy that offers solutions to childcare (see Section 5.3).
- **Link to capacity development.** Mixed groups have been shown to work best with capacity development for women to air their views, make decisions, resolve conflicts, and coexist and mobilise resources (Hovorka et al 2009).

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away their influence as household heads and women were denied rights to attend group meetings and work within the project.

- **Quotas.** While quotas may be difficult to implement and maintain, they may be a strategic first step in supporting the involvement of women in mixed groups. They increase women's visibility and give women a space in which to claim their rights (IFAD 2010), but should be complemented by capacity development, such as women's leadership training.

5.3 Women's time use

Where there is an expectation that women will contribute economically towards more productive activities there is also a need for measures to offset the unpaid work they are often expected to take on in order to prevent them from having to carry a double burden of work outside and within the home. Women's time constraints may pose a barrier to women's active participation in P4P, in terms of their ability to engage in productive activities beyond subsistence and capacity development activities, and to become more active in producer organisations and more confident players in the market.

5.3.1 General constraints to women's time

The gender division of labour in agriculture means that for most rural women in the developing world, work means taking care of farm work, household chores and earning cash to supplement family incomes (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009; Fontana and Natali 2008; Kes and Swaminathan 2006). Existing demands on their time means that women may often lack the capacity to alter the way in which they work in response to economic incentives, to maximise productivity and efficiency, and to enter value chains for commercial products. In addition, women's roles in the domestic sphere are difficult to substitute and women are limited in their ability to expand their capacities through acquiring education and skills. Poor households depend heavily on their members' time to survive. Gender patterns of work (particularly heavy burdens for women) might lead to short-term trade-offs between productive and reproductive work, which may in turn have consequences for well-being, such as food insecurity and lack of education for children (Kes and Swaminathan 2006).

5.3.2 Existing approaches to addressing women's time constraints[53]

Approaches to addressing women's time constraints can be divided into a number of categories:

- **Care facilities for dependants** can be an important way to enable women to attend training and capacity development events, particularly during working hours (Khera and Nayak 2009; Fontana with Paciello 2010). Care facilities may go beyond the provision of childcare facilities, as many women also have responsibilities to care for the elderly and the sick. This is a particularly important consideration in areas affected by HIV/AIDS (Kes and Swaminathan 2006).
- **Alternative sources of energy** conserve time and reduce firewood collection chores and fuel consumption, indoor air pollution and carbon emissions. This includes improved wood- and charcoal-burning stoves for cooking and heating; use of more efficient fuels for cooking and lighting such as biogas, bottled gas or liquid ethanol and/or methanol;

[53] Lack of infrastructure makes women's tasks much more difficult. However, due to the nature of P4P, we have not included discussion of large-scale infrastructure initiatives, such as grid electricity, major roads or piped water.

and decentralised rural energy/electricity systems that are owned and operated by communities or individual entrepreneurs and are based on renewable energy sources such as solar, wind, micro-hydro and biofuels (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009). Unless women have money to pay for these technologies, they need to be connected to credit facilities or freely distributed as men tend to be unwilling to purchase these items (e.g. an open fire is perceived to be free and a stove is expensive to buy).

- **Low-cost water technologies.** Community water schemes can support better availability of water for irrigation and domestic purposes. Women can benefit both practically (in terms of time savings and improved hygiene) as well as strategically (in terms of increased voice and control through their involvement in water associations). However, women can be under-represented in such associations, often meaning that the focus has been on irrigation rather than domestic water use, and payment for services has been beyond the means of the poorest women (Carr with Hartl 2010). Irrigation is also important and low-cost technologies can reduce women's need to collect water for irrigation purposes (Sabates-Wheeler 2009).
- **Rural transport technologies or intermediate means of transport (IMT).** Women account for the majority of all transport activities in the household (Kes and Swaminathan 2006). Lack of transport is one of the main constraints when women want to access markets. IMTs can support women's transport needs and include wheelbarrows, bicycles, pushcarts, animal-drawn carts and bush ambulances. Access to transport can change the division of labour within the household, often to women's advantage. For example men will transport water and fuel if they have access to an IMT. This can take some of the burden off women and release their time for more productive activities. However, IMT strategies are not without risks (Carr with Hartl 2010)[54]. Transport technologies need to be mindful of cultural practices and women's specific situation. For instance, wheelbarrows are often rejected by women who are used to standing straight while head-loading and who find it physically distressing to bend and push these devices (Carr with Hartl 2010; FAO/IFAD 1998).
- **Technologies to support planting, weeding and processing.** Weeding is the most time-consuming and physically strenuous task for women on the farm. Technologies can make a huge difference for women and include different types of hoes, lighter animal draught, seeders and cultivators, etc. However, care is needed to ensure that the correct tool is provided. For instance, in Africa long hoes are not seen as suitable for women, whereas donkeys seem to be a culturally appropriate draught animal for women (FAO/IFAD 1998). Similarly, technologies to support processing can be of huge benefit to women, particularly if the aim is to support production for markets. This can include grinding mills, cassava graters or oil expellers. For instance, grating a basin of cassava can take up to two hours by hand and just one minute with a grinder (Kes and Swaminathan 2006). Processing 20kg of sorghum can be reduced from two to four hours manually to two to four minutes in a mill. Again, such technologies must make sure they do not reproduce and even reinforce existing inequalities. For instance, milling has been

[54] In one project in South Africa, the impact on women was actually negative as men used motorcycles to collect fuel wood for commercial use from resources closest to the homestead, forcing women to travel even further to collect fuel wood for domestic use (Carr with Hartl 2010).

shown to open up economic opportunities for men rather than women and tends to exclude the poorest women who cannot afford to pay for services (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009).

- **Conservation or minimum tillage agriculture** can overcome critical labour peaks for land preparation and weeding by planting directly into mulch or cover crops, reducing the need for weeding and the use of herbicides (Bishop-Sambrook 2002; Steiner et al 2004). There are challenges to this practice from a cultural perspective. No-tillage practices can be seen as lack of proper land management and lack of clean soil beds can be seen as laziness. Projects to support these practices have been mixed. For example, in a FAO supported programme in Kenya and Tanzania, yields increased and time spent on land preparation, planting and weeding was reduced, reducing the pressure on women. However, women rural labourers lost out as they received fewer opportunities to work in planting and seeding (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009).

5.3.3 Opportunities

Experience shows that most projects that integrate some kind of measure to address women's time constraints tend to meet women's practical needs by granting them access to new assets (technologies) and freeing up their time. These approaches do not tend to address women's strategic needs of ownership and control over resources. In other words, they can be seen as gender aware approaches, but do not tend to, at least in isolation, address gender-specific constraints and support transformation of gender relations. However, if they allow women to take part in income-generating activities, as may become the case with P4P, this has the potential to support women's integration into more market-oriented agricultural production and change women's status within the household and their communities (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009).

For instance, in Mali a project that supplies Multifunctional Platforms to committees run by women significantly contributed to reducing rural women's unpaid work and increased profit of current activities. However, evidence suggests that this profit was spent on improving community facilities and not on helping the women to start up new productive, income-earning enterprises. There was also no evidence of changes in the division of labour between women and men, or other changes in household dynamics. In other words, these platforms were gender aware but not gender transformative, at least when the research was taking place. To support more transformative outcomes, issues of gender inequality in other areas of women's lives would have required addressing. For instance, at the time planned gender training with staff and partners had not been implemented and the training that women took part in was mostly technical (Kabeer 2010).

5.3.4 Risks

Addressing women's time constraints may have unintended consequences:

- Providing technologies that improve productivity of men's tasks often means more work for women, e.g. a tractor to support clearing land may mean more weeding and processing for women. Even if technologies are specifically for women's activities, the time released may mean that women continue to work for their husbands.
- Labour-saving technologies may have the effect of leaving poor, landless rural women labourers unemployed. They may have been supporting themselves through

undertaking labour-intensive activities in weeding and processing (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009; Paris 2007)

- In order for the use of labour-saving technologies to be sustainable, proper training is needed. This might be on how to use, maintain and repair a technology, or making sure that there is financial sustainability (Carr with Hartl 2010), e.g. keeping money for operating costs (fuel, labour), spare parts, hiring specialised labour to carry out repairs, depreciation and eventual replacement.

5.3.5 Recommendations

- **Work to change mindsets** in rural communities to move towards more equitable workloads between women and men and the acceptance by men of the need for and benefits of additional support for women. This might involve disseminating examples of women overcoming cultural barriers to use labour-saving technologies, and practices and information on the economic value of women's time in subsistence activities (FAO/IFAD 1998; Fontana with Paciello 2010).
- **Consider labour requirements** of the farming system as a whole, rather than individual enterprises. It is important to assess the best approaches to addressing women's time constraints, such as the capacity to hire additional labour to cope with labour peaks and the need for animal traction as a priority technology (FAO/IFAD 1998). This should be both for activities performed by women in relation to priority commodities, as well as other household tasks.
- **Enable women to access labour-saving technologies**, ensuring that women are able to engage in technology training and capacity development initiatives and have access to credit to afford these technologies.
- **Involve women users** in the development, demonstration, adaptation and application of labour-saving technologies and practices tailored to their needs and conditions.
- **Work with tool manufacturers** to ensure that they conduct market research and develop tools more appropriate for women. This means creating better links between women farmers and technology developers.

5.4 Functional literacy

The literature shows that access to education and training is a key determinant of high-productivity agricultural employment (especially for female workers) (FAO, IFAD, ILO 2010; ALINe 2011). In general, women are less educated and more likely to be illiterate and functionally illiterate than men, as well as to lack numeracy skills. Low levels of literacy may constrain women's access to extension as the differing levels of literacy are often not considered when designing extension materials. This means that women have less access than men to information and knowledge. Literacy is also connected with confidence. Women with low literacy levels may lack the confidence to participate in training or to seek help from trainers if they do participate. They also tend to experience difficulties in accessing credit and do not play an active role in the commercialisation of their products.

5.4.1 General constraints

Literacy should not be narrowly defined as the levels attained within a formal education system. Yet UNESCO's definition of literacy is more encompassing: literacy is the 'ability to identify, understand, interpret, create, communicate, compute and use printed and written materials associated with varying contexts. Literacy involves a continuum of learning in enabling individuals to achieve their goals, to develop their knowledge and potential, and to participate fully in their community and wider society[55]. This definition goes beyond the narrow interpretation of literacy as being able to read and write and incorporates the ability to use those skills to function in society, i.e. functional literacy.

- **Literacy in formal education.** It is undeniable that school attendance plays a pivotal role. Currently educational opportunities for boys and girls are still highly gender biased for a variety of reasons, including religious and cultural traditions, and the longer working days of rural girls. The integration of women in agricultural development programmes and rural labour markets may have adverse effects on girls' and boys' schooling given that children are withdrawn from school, either to participate in the labour market or to replace their mother in household maintenance and childcare activities or on the farm (FAO, IFAD, ILO 2010; Murray et al 2010).
- **Literacy in adulthood.** Specific or general adult training to support literacy for participants may run into a number of difficulties when it comes to recruiting women, from their workloads and their lack of mobility to cultural norms and the fact that women bear children at a younger age, (Puchner 2003).

5.4.2 Existing approaches

Three main approaches to improving women's functional literacy can be distinguished:

- **Improvement in formal education.** As seen in the gender profiles of the regions in Table 3, there has been a marked improvement in the formal education sector in developing countries but there is still a large gap between men and women in literacy rates (Tembon and Fort 2008). One particularly good example is Uganda, where universal primary education has been achieved. However, the success in Uganda lies in the decentralised administration and management of education, a measure that has implied a massive investment in capacity building, and in an explicit priority given to education as a poverty-reduction strategy (Riddell 2007).
- **Adapting literacy-training programmes.** For instance, FondeAgro, supported by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), recruited private service-providers to implement an approach to extension that prioritised 'learning-by-doing' and 'farmer-to-farmer' learning. High rates of female illiteracy among target women demanded the use of simple, visual methodologies. The FUDEMAT-FVBC consortium, established a strategic alliance with a national literacy programme, *'Yes, I can'*, because female illiteracy was recognised as the main obstacle to women's learning processes and to developing women leaders (Farnworth 2010).
- **Integrated literacy training.** Rather than focusing on just improving literacy of women, some development initiatives include literacy training as part of broader capacity development activities. This approach may support a more functional approach to

[55] Within this broad definition of literacy, we also include numeracy.

literacy training, as the training will be tied to specific activities that women are or will be involved in. A review of training for smallholder women farmers showed that women are more likely to value literacy training if they see tangible evidence of how it would benefit them and if it was linked to their other activities (Collett and Gale 2009).

- **Peer training**. Peer training has advantages in terms of accessibility, relevance and recruitment of members with low confidence, and in reducing the stigma attached to literacy training (Collett and Gale 2009; Taylor 2010).
- **Alternatives to education and training.** Some agencies have illustrated the benefits of using innovative group approaches to overcoming the barriers of women's illiteracy, using video. The rural wing of the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) used video as the means by which groups of largely illiterate rural women recorded and edited short films about their own farm and household environment, needs, problems and solutions. Armed with these testimonials, they are demanding and receiving attention from district and provincial agricultural extension services, input supply agencies and rural banks. They are also using videos as tools for mobilising and communicating their experiences with women in neighbouring villages (Jiggins et al 1998).

5.4.3 Opportunities

Literacy skills tend to be a prerequisite for many processes of empowerment, including:

- Women's overall lower literacy levels have a domino effect in terms of women's access to a number of resources, including credit, knowledge capital, and social and political capital. A good level of literacy is ever more important in the rural context and can support agricultural practices and boost productivity
- Women's increased literacy can have spill-over effects in terms of children's education attainment, as women who undergo literacy training see the benefit of knowledge attainment in general and literacy skills in particular (Collett and Gale 2009).

5.4.4 Risks

As an isolated intervention, literacy training will rarely promote transformative outcomes or even support a gender aware approach unless coupled with supporting interventions. For instance, a study of literacy programmes in four villages in Mali notes that women who had access to literacy programmes did not have markedly better lives than women without access. Despite the presence of literacy programmes in the villages, it was difficult for women to become literate, and women who had obtained literacy skills rarely used them. The author argues that subtle ideological forces in the communities made it difficult for literacy to bring about socio-economic change in women's lives and 'women's literacy' had been appropriated into the prevailing male-dominant socio-political culture. The study indicates that simply providing literacy skills may not guarantee positive consequences for women in certain contexts (Puchner 2003).

Additionally, women's lower literacy levels are often used as an argument to exclude them from more market-oriented initiatives which can support women's economic empowerment. Women's ability to lead is also questioned on the basis of their insufficient numeracy and literacy skills. However, in an interesting study of African women leadership, Ngunjiri (2006) concluded that the greatest hindrance to women's access to leadership

positions is pervasive unequal power relations between men and women, aggravated by women's exclusion from the right social networks.

5.4.5 Recommendations

Considering the strategy and scope of P4P, including literacy training as part of existing capacity development activities seems to be the best way of supporting women's literacy in P4P. This training should be:

- **Functional.** Training should be linked to the particular activities that women will be involved in as part of their participation in P4P, including more market-oriented functional literacy training. For instance, in Mozambique women's participation in functional literacy training has promoted women's involvement in trading activities (BSF 2009 in Gallina 2010). This was reinforced by the field work. Whenever questions around the need for training were approached, in no situation did women mention the need for literacy and/or numeracy on its own. In Ethiopia, for instance, women connected training with purpose, and purpose would have to come first. Women would suggest having training tied to whatever activities would be most appropriate for them to engage in and in the context of a plethora of diverse livelihood strategies.
- **Accessible.** Training should use accessible materials and be conducted in local dialects. It should also be timed according to women's availability. This might mean day training rather than residential training or evening classes. To deal with women's time constraints, training should be linked to efforts to provide childcare facilities or labour-saving technologies. The location might also be important and training should be undertaken in a location where women feel comfortable.
- **Alternatives.** In situations where women's confidence is particularly low, peer-to-peer training might be an alternative. Where formal training is not possible, more practical methods of extension and other ways of overcoming illiteracy are needed (see Section 5.5 below).

5.5 Access to agricultural extension, training and information

To support women's productive activities, they need as much support as men in terms of agricultural training and capacity development, as well as accurate agricultural and market information. The literature shows that agricultural extension and training (AET) for women is vital to improve smallholder productivity and support rural livelihoods (Saito 1994; Collett and Gale 2009; Jiggins et al 1998; Kahan 2007; WB, FAO, IFAD 2009), and women are as interested as men in accessing the services of extension agents (Jiggins et al 1998) and not just the home economics that has traditionally been the focus of female extension.

5.5.1 Constraints

There are a number of barriers that prevent women's access to extension services. These are often multi-faceted and stem from beliefs about women's position in their communities and families:

- Extension services focus primarily on improving crop yields of marketed or internationally-traded crops where men have traditionally focused their efforts and which women may be unable to benefit from (Jiggins et al 1998).

- Women lack time and mobility which hinders them from participating in training, particularly in the residential training opportunities that have been part of extension models.
- Women's lack of education and literacy hinders their understanding of extension literature and participation in activities (Saito 1994). Additionally, the level of information literacy[56] in developing countries is extremely low (Pejova 2002; Dewan et al 2005; Tilvawala et al 2009), and more so among women[57]. This is particularly important due to the growing number of information and communications technologies (ICTs) initiatives being implemented in developing countries, and particularly with the aim of supporting extension services and knowledge dissemination. Some countries are already taking steps towards addressing these problems through the setting up of specialised supporting centres (Drury 2011)[58]. On the whole, this is a relatively new area of work in development, and the literature is scant. Yet it is likely that interest will increase, precisely due to the number of agricultural programmes that are using mobile phone technology in the provision of agricultural and market information.
- The way that agricultural extension services are staffed, managed and designed hinders women from benefiting from services (Collett and Gale 2009). Male staff may lack the knowledge and understanding of women's constraints and make assumptions that information will be passed on to women (Karl 1997). Cultural norms restrict communication between male extension agents and female farmers and there are insufficient female extension agents (Saito 1994; Saito and Weidemann 1990; Truitt 1998).

5.5.2 Existing approaches

Some approaches to extension training and information dissemination show great potential to address the needs and priorities of women. Many of these have developed in response to the many criticisms that traditional, public 'top-down' approaches to extension and information dissemination have faced (Kahan 2007):

- **Private-sector providers.** There are increased links between commercial extension and individual women entrepreneurs, particularly in emerging agro-industrial sectors such as ornamental plant and exotic flower production in countries such as Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Kenya. Such companies often target women farmers as preferred clients because of the high standards of care and attention women bring to the management of the plants. This model will tend to benefit only women who already have access to land

[56] Information literacy is defined as the ability to access, manipulate and use information effectively and often relates ICTs (Tilvawala et al 2009).

[57] Initiatives are currently in place to address the issue of information illiteracy in Africa, namely the e-schools initiative in the context of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). See http://www.nepad.org/crosscuttingissues/ict.

[58] In 2009 the government of Kenya launched the Pilot Pasha Centres, which aim to develop digital villages, i.e. to connect peri-urban and rural villages to the internet, through facilitated access. It is not yet know the full impact of this pilot in rural population's capacity to access and manipulate information provided through ICTs. In two programmes currently underway, in Kenya (GSMA) and in Uganda (Grameen Foundation), reaching women and increasing women's access to the technology have been challenging. While it is acknowledged that women have a lot to benefit from using mobile phones to access agricultural extension information, less-educated rural women with the lowest incomes are less likely to do it so. See GSMA and Cherie Blaire Foundation for Women (2010).

(homestead, family or rented; see Jiggins et al 1998). Hence the risk is that such schemes rarely target poor, landless women.

- **Women-only groups.** Women-only groups can be a successful way to engage with women farmers (see Section 5.2). Sasakawa Africa Association has trialled women-only extension with great effect in Ethiopia and more generally women have played a key role in highlighting the gender issues in extension (Gallina 2010).
- **Farmer groups.** There are a number of examples of extension carried out by farmer groups and other types of community organisations. For instance, the Farmers' Groups Network in Tanzania (MVIWATA) views extension from the perspective of the importance of structured, ongoing dialogue between researchers, extension agents and farmers to identify priority problems, suggest and try out possible solutions, and disseminate technologies and information judged by both researchers and the farmer groups as useful (Jiggins et al 1998).
- **Women- only extension agents.** Recruiting and training female extension workers, particularly in areas where cultural norms restrict male-female interaction, can increase women's participation in extension activities and their adoption of new technologies (Gallina 2010). Large studies have found that the presence of female extension agents was an important factor for the participation of female farmers in extension activities (Quisumbing and Pandolfelli 2010; Truitt 1998).
- **Family focused.** Some extension models have deliberately focused on families and couples, rather than individuals, e.g. *Management Advice for Family Farms* (MAFF) in West Africa concept (Faure and Kleene 2004). Another example is 'couples' training', where both husbands and wives are training together. This widens opportunities for women to acquire the necessary information, skills and knowledge for the production and marketing of agricultural commodities. Partners also understand, assist and appreciate each other technically so that they gradually build their knowledge together, thereby overcoming the weakness of relying on husbands to pass information to their wives after training. It also helps women strengthen their role in decision-making in the household with respect to which technologies to use and which marketable commodities to produce, and it helps break taboos about the traditional gender division of labour and contributes to bringing about gender equality (Aregu et al 2011).
- **Participatory or learning by doing models.** There are numerous examples of participatory approaches that focus on assessment of the particular needs and priorities of farmers. This usually means that activities are numerous, rather than the provision of training on one particular area. Examples include:
  - Farmer field schools (FFS), an FAO concept for women and men farmers' learning, discussion and experimentation for improving their food security and livelihood (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009). FFS often includes particular training to support specific needs, e.g. women's ignorance about their rights often prevents them from exercising their full legal rights and/or enjoying legal protection. Community-based legal education projects help greatly in educating women about their legal rights in family law, land and property matters. FFS in Kenya, for instance, included a 'legal empowerment' component in their training course that will focus on enabling farmers, mostly women, to address legal issues that affect their food and livelihood security (Dimitra

2009). Such approaches often include alleviating constraints to learning, such as illiteracy and lack of time, to help women develop their abilities (Collett and Gale 2009).

- In Tanzania, SIDA has been supporting experimentation with participatory rural appraisal (PRA), and digital video and picture-processing technology to explore the possibilities for interactive dialogue between groups of women farmers and those more removed from agricultural reality, including male extension workers (Jiggins et al 1998).
- In Uganda and Malawi, CIAT (International Center for Tropical Agriculture) has implemented a participatory approach entitled Enabling Rural Innovations that develops the capacity of rural women and the poor to analyse and access market opportunities for competitive products that will increase farm income and employment. Women must account for between 30 and 50 per cent of market group members, and enterprises must be selected based on the extent to which both women and men can benefit from them. Group members are also given training in group leadership, conflict management, gender issues and HIV/AIDS awareness. Recent studies have highlighted the advantages of these approaches (Kaaria et al 2008 in Quisumbing and Pandolfelli 2010).

> **Information services** that use innovative methods of communicating extension knowledge to women farmers and support their information needs in a variety of ways. Farm Radio International (FRI), a Canadian NGO, works to address the needs of smallholder farmers in 39 African countries. Information content is developed through participatory means. FRI is particularly working to develop new standards for participatory radio content. Although there have been some challenges in reaching women, the process of participatory development of content has shown great potential for responding to the needs and priorities of smallholders (ALINe forthcoming). ILO's CoopAfrica supported the Kenya Institute of Fisheries to help women fish processors and traders adopt ICT technologies to assess better market information (Omariba undated).

5.5.3 Opportunities

There has been little systematic evaluation of new approaches to extension and to what extent these approaches support gender aware or gender transformative objectives (Quisumbing and Pandolfelli 2010). However, a number of points can be made:

> There is evidence to suggest that empowerment gains are more likely when the 'learning-by-doing' approach is pursued, and through farmers creating their own learning platforms (Farnworth 2010; Taylor 2010).

> In general, participatory methods have been shown to support empowerment outcomes better than top-down approaches, where women and men make 'their own decisions rather than merely adopting the recommendations of others' (Bartlett paraphrased in Meinzen-Dick et al 2010: 6), and where women's empowerment is concerned with increasing women's capacity for self-determination (Kabeer 1999).

5.5.4 Risks

Public-sector providers have long been criticised for top-down approaches that have been highly centralised, supply- and production-based, and unable to both embrace and change

as a result of feedback from farmers, especially women. As a result of this criticism (as well as due to structural adjustment), governments have actively brought in private sector and civil society providers to replace the public sector, although the degree to which this has happened varies by region and country. The result has been the demise of public sector extension services at a time when farmers' needs are acute. NGO, community-based and private sector providers have not been able to fill this void (Kahan 2007). There is still a need for public sector extension, but reform is required to ensure that this is more demand-driven. However, the capacity of the public sector to use these new methods is currently limited and more structural reforms are needed (Mogues et al 2009; Gallina 2010; Mapila et al 2010).

5.5.5 Recommendations

- **Work within existing context** by strengthening existing extension services and working with existing groups (Jiggins et al 1998). This might mean working with women-only groups (Saito and Weidemann 1990) or mixed groups (Gonzalez Manchón and Macleod 2010). As can be seen in the section on group participation, this will depend on the context of interventions and the specific situation of women. In Guatemala, P4P staff are working closely with a national organisation whose remit is the delivery of extension services, with the view to implement gender-friendly extension services.
- **Accessibility.** Ensure that extension and training is adapted to the literacy level of rural women. This means that a prerequisite for extension for women might be functional literacy training (see section 3.4 and other types of capacity building). Without literacy training, there is a limit to what trainees can access, even if practical, visual methods are used (Collett and Gale 2009).
- **Adaptation.** Adapt programmes to suit women's needs and priorities. Particularly important to support market integration are enterprise development, leadership (IFAD 2010) and legal training. Both short-term and long-term needs should be addressed and the lead time for implementing larger-scale production methods in poor rural areas should explicitly be taken into account when designing training. Skills for immediate and medium-term use should be combined with longer-term skills. The opportunity to select a combination of training programmes can enable women to accumulate a portfolio of skills that allows them to extend the gain from training into the future.
- **Timing.** Allow sufficient time to enable women to acquire new skills and adjust schedules to fit women's existing workloads, including giving participants enough advance notice, scheduling during less busy seasons and on non-work days, and shifting more resources to village-based training rather than residential training. Studies have shown that where women are able to choose the timing of training, they have more ownership of and commitment to the training, and are able to ensure that it fits in with their productive activities (Collett and Gale 2009). Agricultural information services, such as radio, should target channels that will reach women at times convenient to them.
- **Innovative methods.** Be innovative about methods used for extension, training and information dissemination:
    - Use participatory approaches (e.g. FFS).
    - Use mobile extension services.
    - Use more practical and visual training tools to deal with barriers to literacy.

- Use different mass media, including radio and mobile phones.

> **Reorientation of extension and research policies and priorities:** Greater knowledge of women's key roles in agriculture can help persuade agricultural development policy makers and planners of the need to reorient extension policies and priorities to include the needs of women food producers and of landless farmers. Mandates and guidelines are needed to implement this, as well as M&E mechanisms.

> **Improving the linkages between extension and research:** Gender-responsive extension services can channel information to research institutes on the needs of women farmers; and gender-responsive research institutes can channel gender appropriate information and technologies to farmers through extension services.

> **Training extension workers to involve women in extension services:** Both men and women extension workers need training on how to work with women farmers and promote their participation in extension work.

> **Training women as extension workers:** Girls and women need to be encouraged to train as extension workers. Some efforts in this direction are the provision of special training courses for women farmers, and the reorientation of home economics curricula to emphasise the needs of women in agricultural production. This includes improving access to higher education for women and creating incentives for women to work in rural areas, e.g. by the provision of culturally suitable accommodation, transport etc.

> **Work with partners:** There is a need to work in close partnership on gender. This is particularly the case with increasing women's access to extension. In the past, there has not been enough cooperation or coordination between agencies, ministries of agriculture and NGOs (Jiggins et al 1998).

5.6 Access to credit and financial services

As evidenced in Section 2.3.2, women face differential access to financial services and although the situation is improving, there are still issues with provision of the type of financial service that is suited to women's specific requirements.

5.6.1 Constraints

Women face a number of barriers to accessing credit and other financial products:

> **Lending terms** tend to favour larger commercial enterprises and not small-scale activities that women are involved in (Mikalitsa 2010). Husbands' signatures may be needed on loan agreements (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009; SIGI 2009).

> **Lack of resources.** Due to women' lack of land ownership, they lack collateral for loans that tend to be based on property. Women's limited education means that they are unable to engage with financial institutions or have the confidence to do so (see Section 5.4).

> **Women tend to be more risk averse.** Women's productive activities are less stable than men's, making planning more difficult for women. The focus on a narrow range of activities, e.g. perishable goods grown on often less fertile land, may make women more susceptible to climatic and environmental risks, price and market fluctuations (and price bullying), and epidemics of pests and disease. Women tend to be at the bottom of the

hierarchy in local and global value chains and are thus the least protected from fluctuations in employment and income caused by economic and environmental factors. They have less incentives and less ability to take risks on economic activities that may yield a higher income (Bolzani et al 2010; Hurley 2010). This is supported by field work in Ethiopia and Tanzania where women faced greater repayment burdens and were very worried about debt.

5.6.2 Existing approaches

There are a variety of rural financial services, beyond credit, that may be of benefit to women, including savings, insurance, pensions, remittances and leasing arrangements. These products are provided by a number of different types of rural finance institutions (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009). These institutions may be more or less well-equipped at accessing women farmers and designing gender-sensitive products. However, it is clear from the literature that although there is some progress with commercial banks in starting to tailor their products specifically for women, it is within the other categories where some success has been achieved:

- **Formal-sector providers.** Commercial and state banks with rural development or poverty portfolios. Examples include:
  - The Centenary Rural Development Bank, Uganda, which has designed an innovative product that makes credit available to both men and women farmers for the purchase of animal draught power (WFP 2010c).
  - Banks such as ICICI Bank in India currently aim to give universal access to loan products and other services. This strategy would consist of many elements: rolling out credit cards and ATMs in villages to give everyone individual access, building and maintaining individual credit histories through credit bureaus, basing credit decisions on scoring models (risk-based lending), moving from group-based to individual lending, and tracking clients through their life cycle to offer customised products for life-cycle needs (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009).
  - K-Rep Bank in Kenya offers asset leasing for cooling tanks for milk production or agricultural tools or machinery[59].
- **Specialist microfinance institutions** that provide specialist financial products to poor households. There are a number of different types (Grameen affiliates, trust banks, village banks) with slightly differing objectives, with some even providing training and technical assistance in financial matters.
- **Member-based financial organisations**, such as financial cooperatives, credit unions and SHGs, which are owned and run by members. For instance, the International Co-operative Alliance (ICA) supported a credit scheme among women cooperative members in Tanzania. Thirty thousand women in the northern region of Kilimanjaro were helped by the ICA to set up savings and credit associations to raise capital for their businesses. The ICA offers training in book-keeping and savings and credit management for women in cooperative development, the ICA's priority area. Women contributed a total of 200,000 shillings (about US$400) two years ago to form the Masasa women's credit association. The money contributed acted as shares. Each member is allowed to borrow not more than half of what she has contributed. Other credit associations helped by the

[59] See http://www.k-repbank.com/

ICA in Tanzania are among subsistence coffee and maize growers who use their loans to buy fertiliser and pesticides, and to make improvements to their farms[60].

- **Integrated provision of financial services** through rural development programmes and NGOs. This is usually large-scale implementing organisations, such as the World Bank or the IFAD that work with financial cooperatives, credit unions and SHGs to mobilise financial services for programme beneficiaries.
- **Informal institutions.** There are also more informal networks that offer credit, such as money lenders, friends and relatives, which provide loans for both production and consumption (Kimuyu 1995; Perry 2002).
- **Alternative providers** include mobile phone banking, such as M-PESA in Kenya that is operated by the mobile phone operator Safaricom (Mas and Radcliffe 2010).

5.6.3 Opportunities

Access to financial services can become part of a virtuous spiral of empowerment and in the right circumstances contribute to truly transformative outcomes for women. Much attention has been given to the opportunities that financial services provide (particularly microcredit programmes). Potential impacts include:

- Increased access to assets – bought with loans/savings or indirectly through income generated by loans/savings.
- Reduced vulnerability to shocks, such as seasonality and food-price rises. Vulnerability is reduced within the household and community when financial services help to protect livelihoods, contribute to income diversification, smooth incomes for consumption and provide a safety net in times of need (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009).
- Increasing women's income levels and control over income leading to greater levels of economic independence.
- Supporting women's access to networks and markets giving wider experience of the world outside the home, access to information and possibilities for development of other social and political roles.
- Enhancing perceptions of women's contribution to household income and family welfare, increasing women's participation in household decisions about expenditure and other issues, and leading to greater expenditure on women's welfare.
- More general improvements in attitudes to women's role in the household and community (Mayoux 1997).

5.6.4 Risks

Better access to financial services does not automatically lead to transformative or even gender aware outcomes for women. A substantial and important review of existing evidence of microcredit programmes concludes that (Mayoux 1997):

- **Credit is debt.** High uptake and repayment rates on loans are sometimes used as indicators of women's empowerment. However, the picture is more complicated than that. Women may repay through taking loans elsewhere and get into serious debt. Loans

[60] See http://www.gdrc.org/icm/wind/tanzania.html.

may also be controlled by men (Husain et al 2010; Chowdhury 2009). Some have expressed concerns that women's microfinance programmes may be merely using women as unpaid debt collectors, mediating between development agencies and male family members, increasing their dependency on men and/or conflicts between women to fulfil repayment targets (Goetz and Gupta 1996; Noponen 1990; Rahman 1999).

- **Additional risks.** Women may use loans to increase their income, but this often comes at the expense of heavier workloads and repayment pressures. Women's increased autonomy may in some cases be temporary and lead to the withdrawal of male support. In certain cases there have been fears that women's small increases in income are leading to a decrease in male contribution to certain types of household expenditure.
- **Targeting and reaching poorer women is challenging.** In some contexts, programmes benefit women who are already better off. In others, poorer women are freer and more motivated to use credit for production. However, in most cases the poorest women are by-passed in both individual and group-lending programmes, or are least able to benefit because of their initial low resource base, lack of skills and market contacts (Husain et al 2010).

5.6.5 Recommendations

- **Institutional arrangements for financial institutions**. To ensure that financial institutions are able to design products that suit women, there needs to be a good staff gender policy and capacity to undertake analysis of the particular barriers to uptake of services that women face (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009).
- **Credit/loans**. There are a variety of options for more flexible financial services that are suitable for women, including mobile banks. When it comes to alternatives to collateral requirements, one alternative is to allow for traditional women's assets (such as jewellery) or to consider a system of a group liability (that can support the participation of poorer women) and graduation from collective to individual lending (Quisumbing and Pandolfelli 2008). However, the primary need is to ensure that products are designed with women in mind[61]. Credit for women traders is also needed, as biases against lending to traders are particularly acute for women traders, including those operating in urban wholesale markets (Baden 1998).
- **Savings.** Village savings and loans groups allow women to manage their money collectively and even set up income-generating businesses either collectively or individually through loans provided by the group. To support women's control over their income, individual bank accounts are also needed. Similarly, with savings there is a need to assess the suitability of existing arrangements[62] (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009).

[61] There are some standard detailed questions to consider when assessing the gender awareness and potential transformative design of credit facilities. These includes questions about collateral requirements and whether women's assets are accepted, requirements for joint registration, flexibility and suitability of application procedures, repayments schedules and interest rates, size of loans, requirements for use of loans, and group vs. individual lending (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009).

[62] There are some standard detailed questions to consider including minimum entry-level deposits, flexible deposit and withdrawal requirements, confidentiality, protection from husbands and male relatives, and location of services.

5.7 Additional actions

As described in Section 4 of this report, the fieldwork conducted has enabled us to divide women into different groups which will require different activities in order to be targeted by P4P. This section deals specifically with potential actions not mentioned in Occasional Paper II, but that can be of benefit to groups of women not currently reached by P4P. These actions can potentially transform gender relations.

5.7.1 Supporting women's access to and ownership of land

Land is the most important asset for households in developing countries. Owning land means that access to a source of production and income, and land can be used as collateral for financial services which indirectly can lead to increased production and income.

This is also the case for women in rural areas. Without land women are not able to produce for the markets, they will not be legally recognised as producers in their own right, and they will be excluded from accessing credit (as well as other financial assets). Additionally, since women are very likely to have significantly lower incomes, even in cases where they do have access to, and are able to work, a plot of land, they will be less likely to have disposable income to purchase inputs, such as seeds, tools and fertiliser. Additionally, in many countries, women's property rights are limited by social norms and customs, and at times by legislation. Ensuring that women enjoy full legal rights to own property and to inherit is critical for economic empowerment.

Although it is perhaps beyond P4P to support the strengthening of women's legal rights, such as their right to land, it might be possible to work in conjunction with organisations that do support such measures. A few examples of approaches that WFP could support through supply-side partners include:

- In Sierra Leone, Action Aid is working with women's groups to support their access to land to promote vegetable gardening (Johnson 1999). This involved negotiating with village chiefs to reach agreement on a plot of land that women could gain access to.
- In Niger, the International Crop Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT) worked with women's groups to support their access to degraded lands. Village chiefs were willing to allot a parcel of such land to the local women's association, ensuring their ownership. ICRISAT then worked with the women in reclaiming the land through a system for rain-fed horticulture production adapted to this land, known as 'Bioreclamation of Degraded Lands' (BDL). It involves digging small ditches (called *demi-lunes* in the Sahel) to collect and store rainwater, and planting drought-tolerant fruit and vegetable trees. Women cultivated traditional vegetables such as okra between the trees. Husbands were no longer able to take over their wives' successful economic activities because the land belonged to the group (Pasternak 2011).
- P4P in Mali has been working with women's groups that have gained better access to land. The chief of Logo village has given 10 hectares of land to a women's cooperative supported by an international NGO. Similarly, in Zantièbougou the mayor has attributed 12 hectares to a women's group supported by a local NGO. [63]

[63] Feedback from P4P in Mali.

5.7.2 Focusing on women's crops and other productive activities

As has already been discussed and implemented by a few P4P Country Offices, one way of supporting the increased participation of women in P4P may be to focus more on women's traditional crops. As we have seen above, P4P's action with women is constrained by the WFP basket of procured foods. This food basket is the same for P4P, although CIPs primarily focus on maize (71 per cent of procurement to date, see Table 6), but also include rice, pulses, sorghum and corn soya blend (see Table 7). The main challenge for P4P has been that that women do not tend to control maize production and marketing (WFP 2010b). This is also a clear finding of the fieldwork. The majority of women research participants in Ethiopia and Tanzania are unpaid family workers. They work on the family farm, regardless of the type of crop (cash crops and subsistence crops) and are rarely involved in trading of these crops.

As can be seen in Section 2.2.1 above and in the second column in Table 7, there are some areas where women are more involved in crops that are currently procured through P4P, e.g. maize in Zambia and pulses and rice in West Africa. Targeting women in these country should be relatively straight forward, as long as the practical constraints discussion above are considered. For instance, in Burkina Faso, WFP deliberately procures cowpeas because it is traditionally a crop controlled by women. Country data for Burkina Faso shows that women represent 56 per cent of smallholders delivering commodities to through P4P. The quantities each female farmer supply are very limited, however, as they only account for 15 per cent of the total tonnage procured as of January 2011.[64]

Focusing on these crops would still lead to quite marginal increases in women targeted in most countries. A more radical approach would be to target group 3, female producers/petty traders producing and marketing crops not currently procured through P4P. These women may not control staple crop production, but they have the potential to sell to WFP, through selling surpluses from their current production through P4P. The third and forth columns in Table 7 shows these potential crops and food products. Column three shows crops and food products currently within the broader WFP basket of procured foods (e.g. vegetable oil and blended foods) and column four shows crops and food products that are at times used by WFP in rations, but they tend to represent in-kind contributions from governments and corporate donors (e.g. smoked/dried fish). This last columns also shows potential products that could be bought from women should the food basket be revised to include food products with greater nutritional value (e.g. tomato puree or dried fruit).

This approach is potentially gender transformative in that it focuses specifically on increasing women's access to and control over income. This would involve:

- Providing access to expert training, particularly in the domain of food processing.
- Promoting women's groups to achieve the potential of scale production, and allowing these producers to expand to other markets.

[64] Feedback from P4P in Burkina Faso.

Table 6: Cumulated P4P contracts by commodity (Sept 2008-31 March 2011)

Region	Origin Country	Beans	Cassava flour	CSB	High Energy Biscuits	High Energy Supplements	Maize	Maize Meal	Millet	Peas	Rice	Sorghum	Wheat	Grand Total
Asia	Afghanistan				100								4,702	4,802
Total					**100**								**4,702**	**4,802**
Central America	El Salvador	49					2,961							3,010
	Guatemala	302					12,226							12,529
	Honduras	2,896					8,557							11,453
	Nicaragua						2,262				20			2,282
Total		**3,248**					**26,006**				**20**			**29,274**
E.&S. Africa	DRC						172							172
	Ethiopia	2,341					17,033							19,374
	Kenya	658		393			11,228			118	40	2,853		15,289
	Malawi	239		1,829			13,616	3,823		1,476				20,983
	Mozambique			412 (some is CSB+)			7,602			2,225				10,239
	Rwanda	346					4,072							4,418
	Sudan						250					58		308
	Tanzania	1,725					8,727							10,452
	Uganda	586					13,013							13,599
	Zambia	237				658	12,450	8,988						22,333
Total		**6,132**		**2,634**		**658**	**88,162**	**12,811**		**3,819**	**40**	**2,911**		**117,167**
West Africa	Burkina Faso	538					1,137					1,770		3,445
	Ghana						1,024							1,024
	Liberia										1,057			1,057
	Mali	72							3,553		1,000	1,638		6,262
	Sierra Leone		5	25 (CSB+)							940			970
Total		**610**	**5**	**25**			**2,161**		**3,553**		**2,997**	**3,408**		**12,733**
Grand Tot		9,989	5	2,659	100	658	116,329	12,811	3,553	3,819	3,057	6,318	4,702	164,000
% comm.		**6%**	**0%**	**2%**	**0%**	**0%**	**71%**	**8%**	**2%**	**2%**	**2%**	**4%**	**3%**	100%

Source: Data extracted from the WFP Procurement Database on 4 May 2011 and cleared by ODPF.

Apart from allowing WFP to target women more effectively through P4P, expanding the food basket in this way may also prove more cost-effective, as in-kind contributions are generally not as cost effective as cash contributions (WFP 2005a). The process for approving new food products is described in a WFP directive from 2005 and allows for decentralised procurement, provided that the food product has been assessed and agreed centrally (WFP 2005b).

Agro-processing activities, particularly related to fortified foods, are already implemented in certain pilot countries (Afghanistan, Guatemala, Kenya, Mozambique, Uganda and Zambia). In fact two per cent of purchases since the launch of P4P were of processed foods, supporting pro-smallholder processing options, including high-energy protein supplements (Zambia), high-energy biscuits (Afghanistan), fortified blended foods (Mozambique and Guatemala), maize meal and corn soya blend (see Table 6 above). For instance, in Zambia, WFP is contracting small processors that obtain their raw commodities from smallholder farmers to process cassava and produce high energy protein supplements (HEPS). The NGOs running these small processing plants have gender policies in place. HEPS contain roller meal, soya flour, sugar and powdered milk. As women have been involved in the production of HEPS in the past and are also responsible for cassava and dairy production, processing and marketing, they are set to directly profit from this initiative (Zambia Daily Mail undated).

There should be scope to extend such activities to other countries and to ensure that these target women specifically. This would also support WFP's aims of increasing the nutritional content of the food basket (WFP 2008a) and ensuring that it contains locally appropriate food products.[65]

[65] See for instance the John Hopkins and the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies: '[W]here possible, the food basket should also include locally available and culturally acceptable foods such as fruits, vegetables, condiments/spices, tea and coffee in order to add nutrients, taste and variety to basic foods, to increase the palatability, familiarity and acceptability of prepared foods and for the preparation of cultural/traditional foods and dishes. Populations generally will not consume a monotonous diet of three commodities (e.g. wheat, beans and oil) for months at a time'. (2008: page 458) FAO also states that 'Wherever and whenever possible, food distribution should be combined with actions designed to improve self-reliant access to food. If an assessment has highlighted food insecurity as a contributory factor to malnutrition, and there are conditions suitable for agriculture and livestock husbandry, it is relevant to support food production and diversification. The activity should be appropriate to the context, introduce incremental change and reflect identified seasonal food shortfalls and nutrient gaps. Actions can aim to increase food diversity through field crop production, horticulture, rearing of poultry or small livestock, cultivation of fruit and nut trees, aquaculture/fishing, small-scale irrigation and the utilization of wild foods.' (2005). This guide, as others, also mentions that food aid in the shape of basic commodities (e.g. staples, edible oils and fats, protein-rich food such as pulses and salt) is more appropriate for certain types of situations, e.g. first stages of an emergency. However, in the following stages, distributed food should be diversified.

Table 7: Women's crops and food products[66]

	Crops in current P4P CIPs[67]	Women's crops and food products currently procured through P4P	Women's crops and food products within WFP food basket	Other women's crops and food products
East Africa				
Kenya[68]	Maize, sorghum, mixed pulses and corn-soya blend.	-	Vegetables (for oil), milk (for powder)	Dried fish, vegetables (other products)
Tanzania[69]	Maize and beans	Maize (in certain areas), cowpea, sorghum, rice	Vegetables (for oil), cassava (for flour), milk (for powder)	Vegetables (other products)
Ethiopia[70]	Cereals (mostly maize), pulses and corn-soya blend	Maize, teff	Vegetables and other oil crops	Smoked/ dried fish, fruit (e.g. dried fruit)
Uganda[71]	Cereals and pulses	Maize, beans, sorghum, millet (FHHs)	Sunflowers (for oil), cassava (for flour)	Matooke (plantain), tubers (other products)
Rwanda[72]	Maize and beans	Common beans	-	-
Sudan[73]	Maize and sorghum	-	Cassava (for flour)	-
West Africa				
Burkina Faso[74]	Sorghum, pulses and maize	Beans, cowpea, millet, rice	Vegetables, peanuts, shea nuts, néré nuts (for oil or blended foods)	-
Ghana[75]	Maize, rice, fortified blended foods, pulses and oil are being considered	Rice, maize, beans, peas	Vegetables (for oil), cassava (for flour)	Smoked/ dried fish, vegetables (yam, sweet potato, egg plant, plantain)
Liberia[76]	Rice, beans and cassava (for fortification).	Cassava, rice	-	Smoked/dried fish
Mali[77]	Millet, pulses and sorghum	Millet, sorghum, rice, maize	Shea nuts, tiger nuts, ground nuts, néré nuts, vegetables (for oil and blended foods)	Smoked/ dried fish, vegetables (for other products), fruit (e.g. fruit puree)

[66] This table is not exhaustive. There is lack of empirical evidence and data is not available for all countries. Note that the data presented is from particular regions within countries and these may not match the regions where P4P operate.
[67] P4P Country Factsheets, see http://www.wfp.org/content/p4p-country-fact-sheets
[68] Omariba undated. For fish, omena in Lake Victoria region.
[69] Lazaro et al 2010, ALINe fieldwork
[70] ALINe fieldwork, Mogues et al 2009, Oxfam/KIT 2010. Note that for maize women do not control large quantities and they do not control irrigated vegetables.
[71] Kasente et al 2000; Nayenga 2008; FAO 2010; Barasa 1999
[72] Ferguson and Mkandawire 1993; Sperling and Berkowitz 1994
[73] Sharland 2001
[74] SIDA 2004, Günther 1998. Note that most of this is petty trade (*petit commerce*).
[75] Doss 2002. The list for Ghana is longer as more in depth research has been done here.
[76] Benfica et al undated. Cassava is mentioned as a potential area for expansion, as well as other food crops, but the extent to which women produce any surplus for sale in the market is questioned.
[77] Coulibaly et al 2010

	Crops in current P4P CIPs[67]	Women's crops and food products currently procured through P4P	Women's crops and food products within WFP food basket	Other women's crops and food products
Sierra Leone[78]	Rice (cassava and milk)	Rice	Ground nuts (for oil and blended foods)	Smoked/dried fish
Southern Africa				
DRC[79]	Maize	-	Cassava (for flour)	Coco-yams
Malawi[80]	Cereals, beans and corn-soya blend.	Local varieties of maize	Ground nuts and cashew nuts (for oil and blended foods)	-
Mozambique[81]	Maize, pulses and corn-soya blend	Beans	Ground nuts (for oil and blended foods)	Orange flesh sweet potato
Zambia[82]	Cereals (mostly maize), beans, cassava and high energy protein supplements	Traditional maize varieties (not hybrid), sorghum, millet	Ground nuts (for oil and blended foods)	Sweet potato, pumpkin
Latin America[83]				
Guatemala	Maize and beans	-	-	-
El Salvador	Maize and beans	-	-	-
Nicaragua	Maize	-	-	-
Honduras	Maize and beans	-	-	-

These actions would need to be supported by additional activities. As women's traditional crops have acquired a value, men have tended to encroach on women's roles in production and marketing (Doss 2002). It is crucial to gain a greater understanding of women's role in these value chains. For example:

- In Kenya, the development of export horticulture has led to erosion of women's control over their produce as men realise the benefits of vegetable production (Dolan 2005). Similarly, in Uganda, women in the fruit and vegetable trade lost out as markets were developed in Kampala and for export (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009).
- In India, although women have traditionally managed milk production, men became increasingly involved in the sector. This was a result of an intervention that linked farmers directly to markets, removing the middleman. The leadership of milk cooperatives is traditionally dominated by men and despite a quota for women's participation in management committees, participation remained low (Carr with Hartl 2010).
- In Bangladesh, women face mobility restrictions and markets are considered male spaces. Women prefer to sell their produce to traders and middlemen on their doorstep,

[78] WFP, see http://friends.wfp.org/blog/wfp-makes-first-purchase-progress-women-farmers-sierra-leone. Although cassava and milk is not in official implementation plan, ALINe has heard that SL CO is procuring a wider range of food.
[79] Nweke 2009
[80] Doss 1999; Green with Baden 1994; Gallina 2010
[81] Brown 2008; AFD 2005
[82] Farnworth and Munachonga 2010; Kumar 1994; Byrne 1994
[83] Due to lack of involvement of women in agricultural activities, no particular women's crops or food products can be distinguished.

rather than ask their husbands to take it to the market (Kelkar et al 2004 in Gallina 2010). Removing the middlemen here can thus lessen women's control over their income, although profit margins may increase overall.

To ensure that a focus on women's crops and food products actually benefits women and allows them to retain control over their income, it is thus important to create a better understanding of women's role in the value chain[84] of the crops and products in questions (Gammage et al 2005). This would include assessing the comparative potential of different crops or products, as the small scale production and processing may act as a barrier for WFP involvement through P4P.[85] There are several methods for doing this and one that has shown potential is participatory analysis of stakeholders in the value chain (Gallina 2010; Mayoux and Mackie 2007). Gender analysis can uncover the unique constraints and barriers that both women and men face in moving along the value chain, accessing markets and growing their businesses. This analysis should be used to design strategies that empower women to improve their situation within value chains, to enter new value chains and to interact with market intermediaries on fair terms (Gallina 2010).[86] It is important to conduct a broader structural analysis of gender relations to ensure wider constraints to women's participation are addressed, as some approaches to value chain analysis may neglect these. As WFP already acknowledges, payments for commodities should be made directly to women, for instance through mobile phones belonging to women.

5.7.3 Supporting women traders

The third group of beneficiaries identified include women traders, which P4P could work with through the conditional tender mechanism whereby traders engage with cooperatives. As ICRW's fieldwork in Rwanda showed, there is limited interaction with female traders currently in P4P (Kes and Mehra 2009). Particularly in West Africa, where women play a larger role in trading activities, WFP could offer, through supply-side partners, specifically targeted capacity development activities to cover business, marketing and quality-assessment skills to allow women traders to graduate from often small-scale activities to support larger purchases through P4P.

5.7.4 Supporting access to rural labour markets

Our understanding is that WFP is considering providing women with access to employment in processing and packaging of food aid through P4P or other initiatives.[87]

Improving women's ability to be in the formal labour market is critical to their economic empowerment. Apart from the real benefits of earning income, decent work offers the prospect of dignity and self-respect. It enables people to realise their potential and have

[84] Value chain analysis complements supply chain analysis in that is looks not only at the institutional links between producers, processors, marketers, distributors and consumers, but can be specifically focused on uncovering the economic, organisational, and coercive relationships among actors located along different points of the chain and to illuminate the different distribution of potential and actual benefits to these actors. (Gammage et al 2005).

[85] Feedback from P4P in Mali, for instance, states that women's role in food processing is very small scale.

[86] This type of analysis is being undertaken by Oxfam GB in Ethiopia, Mali and Tanzania. See Annex 2 of this report.

[87] This was discussed during session on women at the P4P 2010 Annual Review in Mozambique, where participants from COs specifically referred to these activities as being potentially more efficient at supporting the participation of women in P4P, rather than their direct involvement in agricultural production.

fulfilling lives, reducing their susceptibility to poverty, hunger and disease. Societies which narrow the gender gap in employment will also boost their economic development and their rate of poverty reduction[88] (Fontana with Paciello 2010).

As a result of women's lack of access to land, some market-led development interventions have encouraged women into industrialised jobs in the agricultural sector. Women have been able to benefit from the creation of wage employment in the agro-industrial sector (FAO, IFAD, ILO 2010). Increasingly common is food packaging. Little research has been done on this and its impact on women's empowerment. However, there is a considerable body of literature produced on women and their integration into the flower-production industry, from which some lessons can be learned (Mehra and Hill-Rojas 2008). Also, in the 2000s, and since the effects of globalised agricultural production have trickled down, more authors have emphasised the feminisation of agricultural work, especially paid work (Lastarria-Cornhiel 2006; Cernea 2008). Many of these jobs for women are casual and seasonal, with little security. There are also claims that working conditions for agricultural wage workers seem harsher for women than for men (Fontana with Paciello 2010; Mehra and Hill-Rojas 2008; FAO, IFAD, ILO 2010).

The integration of women into industrialised jobs may also reinforce the existing gendered nature of the division of labour, whereby women are solely seen as secondary contributors to the household income. This contribution can be made through the production of crops for household consumption, free labour in the family plot, or through a salary.

Women's economic empowerment is not always immediately translated into women's social and political empowerment, and women's own salaries may be another asset that they do not fully control. Women's salaries may be invested in the household through buying food, paying school fees, etc. or used by the head of the household (usually a man) to invest in agricultural inputs for the family plot and the production of cash crops.

So while it is a positive development to support women's access to rural employment opportunities, in order to support empowerment processes such opportunities should:

- Focus not only on the quantity of such jobs, but on their quality of those jobs, in line with the International Labour Organisation decent work agenda[89], mainstreaming awareness of health and safety practices, and general working conditions.
- Be part of an overall strategy that supports women's increased control over their income, with salaries paid directly to women, for instance through mobile phones belonging to women.

5.7.5 Highlighting the successes of women farmers and experts

By giving women visibility and offering recognition of their successes, women can become more confident to claim rights. This was highlighted by women farmers at the recent IFAD Farmers' Forum, where it was stated that there is a need for more positive media messages

[88] Introductory remarks by Helen Clark, UNDP Administrator, at the Ministerial Breakfast on Economic Opportunities for the Empowerment of Women in Africa and the Least Developed Countries: Access to Land, Credit, and Markets, 2 July 2010

[89] ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, available http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/index.htm and ILO (2003) Decent work in agriculture, available http://www.ilo.org/public/english/dialogue/sector/techmeet/iwsdwa03/iwsdwa-r.pdf

and portrayals of women. In particular, participants mentioned a need for the professionalisation of the image of the female farmer, including the young woman farmer (IFAD 2010). This includes women agricultural scientists and experts (WB, FAO, IFAD 2009). For instance, the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) AWARD programme focuses on supporting the career development of female agricultural scientists. One of the objectives is to create more positive views of women's role in agriculture[90].

[90] See http://awardfellowships.org/

6 Key findings, recommendations and conclusions

This research has explored gender inequalities in agriculture in the context of the implementations of WFP's Purchase for Progress initiative. It has developed a gender framework to guide action and to support assessment of the potential of a number of practical actions to address the structural and practical constraints contributing to women's disadvantaged position in agriculture. This report supports the development of a Global Gender Strategy.

This section includes key findings, general recommendations and specific recommendations. It concludes with a discussion of two different operational approaches to gender in P4P.

6.1 Key findings

The report presents a number of key findings. Some of these concern the realities of women in agriculture in countries where P4P operates and some focus on the interface between P4P and these gendered realities:

- Women make *essential contributions* to agricultural development. Within these contributions, women face specific constraints that disadvantage them in relation to men. This gender gap has implications for the success of agricultural development interventions and the well-being of the rural poor.
- The constraints are mainly *structural* and are rooted in the reproduction of unequal gender dynamics at the level of the household, community, markets and the state. These constraints may reinforce one another, creating a vicious circle of women's subordination (Agarwal 2003; Gallina 2010).
- These gender relations include a division of labour that results in women generally *working longer hours* as they must combine reproductive and productive responsibilities. In addition, women find it difficult to graduate from a role in subsistence agriculture to more prominent positions in market-based agriculture.
- Gender inequality manifests further in *practical constraints* to women's participation. Women lack access to and control over resources, most notably land but also income, agricultural inputs, extension services, education and social capital.
- As a result of this inequality, *most women are unpaid family workers*. They work on the family farm, regardless of the type of crop (cash crops and subsistence crops). There are female-heads of households, and women in certain areas (particularly in West Africa) or of particular circumstances that own land and engage in the production and trading of crops procured through P4P, but these are in the minority and face a multitude of practical constraints to their engagement with P4P.
- There are *'gendered' crops and 'gendered' activities.* This means that there are certain crops whose production process is totally controlled by women, with minimal interference from their husbands. However, these are primarily not the type of crops that are procured through P4P. This can be explained by the fact that *women's main focus is on diversifying their livelihood* strategies. In many cases, diversification implies a greater investment in activities that are not directly related to the production of crops for the market as men tend to occupy this role.
- P4P faces a number of risks and limitations with regards to its ambitions for gender:

- Most women *do not meet the criteria that often define smallholder farmers*. In the overwhelming majority of cases, men are the nominal owners of household assets, and therefore recognised as such both by law and custom. Women may have user rights to land, but this type of access can be withdrawn very easily.
- In the majority of the countries where P4P operate, the programme may either not be procuring, or if doing so then in relatively small quantities, *crops/ food products whose production is more likely to be controlled by women.* Some of these crops and food products fall within the wider WFP food basket.
- The links between income and food security are complex and the effect of procurement on these aspects of household welfare should be carefully considered as women and children may be especially negatively affected (see Section 3.3).

> *Women are not a homogeneous group*. Their roles in agriculture vary within and across regions and countries, and are determined by other social relations such as class, ethnicity and age. In this report there are *four categories/ groups of women that are distinguishable*:

1. Women producers and/or marketers of crops currently procured through P4P.
2. Women unpaid family workers.
3. Women producers and/or petty traders of crops and food products currently not procured through P4P.
4. Women casual agricultural labourers.

> *Not all these groups of women can currently be targeted by the programme.* Consequently, P4P's targets and indicators on women's participation (50 percent membership in farmer organisations) may be difficult to reach. Currently, it is ready to target group 1, with limited outreach to group 2. The programme could expand its reach to specifically also target groups 3 and 4.

6.2 General recommendations

Based on these findings there are five general recommendations to ensure that the P4P gender strategy is practical and meaningful for the women and men involved:

1. **Initiate an internal discussion about programmatic approaches and which groups of women to target**

The breadth and impact of P4P's operational approach to gender is related to which groups of women the programme wants to focus on, and the extent to which WFP is able to change current P4P operations. Some groups will require a more transformational approach, which may not fit into P4P's current remit. This discussion should centre on possible changes to, and diversification of the current groups of crops and food products procured through P4P (including more processed food products that fit into the overall WFP food basket); and monitoring of the food and nutrition security situation more closely. This would consider the household, and hence women's needs, and places greater emphasis on livelihoods.

2. **Conduct local level gender assessment**

Gender assessment is an imperative for practical gender work since responsibilities and roles vary socio-economically and socio-culturally between men and women. Even within a country, generalisations are inadvisable (Jiggins et al 1998)[91]. This report recommends that Country Offices carry out their own gender analysis. For instance, Ethiopia, Burkina Faso, El Salvador., Guatemala, Malawi, Mozambique and Rwanda have all conducted or are in the process of conducting a gender assessment.

The improvement of women's participation in agricultural development programmes and access to agricultural services must begin with an analysis of men's and women's participation in the agricultural production process along two related dimensions: their role in agriculture and their role in the household (Jiggins et al 1998). To support women's integration in markets, this analysis should include a specific focus on women and men farmers' different roles in the value chain, as well as the role of other actors, without neglecting the broader structural constraints and opportunities women face (Gallina 2010; Mayoux 2009).

3. **Create packages of mutually reinforcing measures** in collaboration with farmers' organisations, women's groups and all other stakeholders/partners.

There are deep causes of women's disadvantaged positions and their effects are many. Effective market-oriented interventions that aim to support women's participation and support gender equity have to tackle gender discriminatory norms and practices at multiple levels, i.e. at the household/community level, market level and national level, and they must be designed as a package of mutually reinforcing measures.

In order for P4P to support the varying pathways out of poverty for rural women and men, specific measures will be required in each country that have been adapted to a range of contextual factors**.** Activities should be designed to give consideration to women's limited bargaining position, both in the household and in the labour market. Poverty outcomes are linked to this bargaining position and empowerment outcomes should not be assumed as a result of women's participation in programme activities.

4. **Ensure that gender activities are accompanied by a rigorous M&E framework**

M&E is a key part of any gender strategy. It supports purposeful and realistic action on gender and allows WFP to explore context-specific gendered outcomes of programme activities to ensure learning.

5. **Employ participatory methods**

Involving women and men in the process of project planning, design, implementation, and M&E through meaningful participation, can increase the likelihood of the success of a programme (Meinzen-Dick et al 2010; Haddad et al 2010). This is consistent with the concept of empowerment as women's capacity for their own self-determination (Kabeer 1999), where women and men make 'their own decisions rather than merely adopting the recommendations of others' (Bartlett paraphrased in Meinzen-Dick et al 2010: 6). Gender analysis should pursue participatory methods, so that specific solutions consider the

[91] For instance, studies in Nigeria have revealed differences in gender relationships even in ethnically similar rural Nigerian communities just kilometres apart (Olawoye, 1985 in Jiggins et al 1998).

priorities of women farmers. In various sections of this report, we have seen the benefits of participatory methods for gender sensitisation; for extension and training, such as FFS; for analysis of stakeholders in value chains; and for M&E.

6.3 Specific recommendations on practical actions

Overall, the literature review and research validates the usefulness of the practical actions identified in Occasional Paper II, *but for full effect these should be undertaken together with the general recommendations above*. In relation to this, specific recommendations include:

- **Increasing gender sensitisation** through designing inclusive activities (women and men, girls and boys) that are positively framed.
- **Supporting women's active participation in groups**, initially by considering the suitability of women-only vs. mixed groups. Ensure that group activities are linked to gender sensitisation. Currently, women feel more comfortable and safe in women-only groups where there is a tacit shared understanding of women's everyday and structural difficulties and grievances.
- **Addressing women's time constraints** by reflecting on women's specific productive and reproductive labour commitments and including women in the selection and development of labour saving tools**.** It is important to ensure that men understand the value of women's labour through gender sensitisation.
- **Supporting women's functional literacy** by ensuring that literacy training is included in existing capacity development activities and is linked to both the particular activities that women are involved in and the programme's actions to address women's time and mobility constraints.
- **Supporting women's extension, training and information needs** by adapting training to women's capacity and priorities, using innovative methods of participatory (or peer) learning and increasing the use of women extension workers.
- **Increasing women's access to financial services** by focusing on the suitability of products from a gender perspective, and linking to financial institutions that have the capacity to design and provide ethical products better suited to women's needs.

A number of complementary actions to the practical actions in WFP P4P Occasional Paper II have been identified, including:

- Linking to organisations that support **women's access to land**, e.g. through leasing arrangements and joint purchase.
- **Focusing on 'women's crops and productive activities'**, ensuring that women's role in the value chains of these crops and food products are maximised. This might include supporting the capacity development of women traders.
- **Supporting access to rural labour markets**, ensuring that quality jobs are provided.
- **Highlighting the successes** of women farmers within the programme.

6.4 Possible operational approaches to gender

To support implementation of the gender strategy, an overall operational approach to gender needs to be articulated. The proposed gender framework distinguishes between three operational approaches to gender:

- **Gender blind:** The programme does not distinguish between women's and men's roles and assumes equal access to resources.
- **Gender aware:** The programme understands and takes into account gender differences in roles and access to resources but does not seek to challenge the status quo. In other words, the programme addresses and deals with the effects of gender specific constraints, without aiming to contribute towards addressing the causes of the issues affecting women. This may end up contributing to changing the status quo of gender relations in anticipated or unanticipated ways and can have both positive and negative impacts on women.
- **Gender transformative:** The programme sets the transformation of unequal gender relations, i.e. contributing to addressing the structural constraints to women's empowerment, as an explicit goal.

The four groups of women identified will require different approaches if P4P is to promote their productive activities, market integration and empowerment. As implied above, P4P is current set up to primarily target group 1, with limited outreach to group 2. However, if WFP is willing to make changes to currently implementation plans, the programme could also target groups 3 and 4. This implies that there are two programmatic approaches to gender:

Basic programmatic approach

Through this approach, the programme will target mostly FHHs/OWPs (or women producers of crops currently procured through P4P) because these are free from the structural constraints that somehow prevent women from controlling the production and trading of cash crops and household incomes. These women own land and have thus, to a large extent, already achieved a certain level of empowerment. They might be disadvantaged in comparison to their male counterparts for a variety of reasons: lack of access to labour, constraints on time, and so forth. This option would essentially constitute a gender aware approach, with potentially some transformative effects. P4P would not focus on addressing the root causes of women's empowerment, but rather choose to support women that fit mostly within the P4P mandate and address the effects of their disadvantaged position.

There are a number of activities that could be implemented to support these women to better integrate into P4P. These include:

- Supporting FOs' capacity to mainstream gender beyond quotas, ensuring that women actually benefit from their membership and have a voice in decision-making processes. This would imply, for example:
    - Gender awareness to FOs' management structures (managers and board members included).
    - FOs with capacity to have their own gender strategy (i.e. strategic objectives on gender in overall organisational plan).

- FOs with capacity to set a gender budget.

> Supporting gender-sensitive capacity development (i.e. training adapted to women's needs), for example:
    - Management training.
    - Extension training based on demonstration.
    - Enabling women trainers to operate as village extension training focal points, specifically to cater for the needs of FHHs/OWPs.
    - Working closely with women to assist them on identifying their own training needs.

> Increasing access to capital to invest in women's productive activities (e.g. for inputs, technology and additional labour on their farms), preferably on a revolving-fund basis.

> Working through existing customary traditions to support FHHs'/OWPs' lack of access to labour. In some cases the community provides support, but it seems to be the case that these forms of support are not as common anymore. However, they can still be used as leverage to galvanise support for this group of women who are likely to have less access to labour.

Women unpaid family workers, or wives of smallholder famers, can also be targeted through a gender aware approach. These are women that are linked to P4P through their husbands and primarily partake in P4P activities through supporting their husbands on their farms. These women can be targeted in several ways and these interventions can both have opportunities and risks. Some examples:

> Focus on extension/capacity development that is attractive to male farmers' wives; and ensure it includes them. These women will learn about staple crop production and thus contribute to their husbands' objective of selling surplus produce through P4P.
    - **Opportunities:** Women may become more confident and learn transferable skills to support their own productive activities. Training of men and women together may mean that husbands and wives make more decisions jointly in the household and men learn to respect women's views more.
    - **Risks:** The fact that woman become even more competent and productive in the farm work may also mean that they will dedicate more time to it and less time to the production of other subsistence crops than staples that contribute to household food diversity. This may undermine household food and nutrition security, and diminish women's access to a part of the household income that to an extent they do control.

> Access to labour-saving technologies adapted to the needs of women (e.g. culturally appropriate weeding tools).
    - **Opportunities:** Women's work on their husbands' plots would become less burdensome (both in terms of time and physical exertion), and additional time may be used by women to spend on their own productive activities.
    - **Risks:** Time released is just reinvested in men's productive activities, with no change in gender relations and women having less time for their own crops.

- By supporting the membership of wives in FOs and giving them a voice in decision-making could allow these women to force their own agenda onto FO agendas.
    - **Opportunities:** This additional voice might be used for issues related to P4P (e.g. purchase of grinding mills to make their P4P work more effective) and unrelated to P4P (e.g. demands for training that support their own priorities).
    - **Risks:** If this membership requirement is simply nominal and unsupported by other measures, women can actually be detracted from setting up their own collective structures which would allow them to develop areas where other ambitions lie.

Enhanced programmatic approach

Through this approach, the programme sets as an explicit goal the transformation of unequal gender relations, i.e. its contributes to addressing the structural constraints to women's empowerment. In the context of this approach, the programme could target, women producers/petty traders and women casual agricultural labourers without a link to P4P (or linked to P4P through their husbands), as well as women unpaid family workers and current producers. Some suggested actions under this approach include:

- Procurement of women's traditional crops/food products as described in Section 5.7.2. In some cases this might mean revising the country implementation plans only slightly, to start the procurement of pulses for instance or to increase its involvement in processed food products with greater nutrition value (e.g. milk powder and blended foods). Since WFP's food basket includes such products as vegetable oil and milk powder, there is potential to also procure such products locally from women. This would need to include specialised training (in the domain of food processing) and promotion of women's groups to achieve the potential of scale production, and allow these producers to expand to other markets. Some country programmes are already following this approach. There might also be scope to expand the overall WFP food basket to include such products as fruit puree, dried fruit and tinned fish, but that might be beyond the scope of P4P.
- Working with partners that focus on securing land rights for women as a first prerequisite of their entry into market-oriented agriculture. There are examples of country programmes supporting such efforts, particularly working with women-only groups and joint rights to land.
- Strategic gender sensitisation activities, such as inspirational talks for women and men from successful women, and working with other types of women's groups to encourage their involvement in market-oriented agriculture.

P4P programmes at country level are in a position to decide where they can and wish to position themselves in the context of these operational approaches and it is important to note that *gender aware and gender transformative categories are not mutually exclusive*. Not all programmes want and can become gender transformative. It is possible for an essentially gender aware programme to contain, at the outset, one or two gender transformative components or to move towards more aims and activities.

The P4P programme offers WFP and its partners a unique opportunity to target women more effectively and efficiently. Implementing these recommendations, as part of a

comprehensive gender strategy, will ensure that WFP can better support women's integration into the 'purchase-for-progress' model in cost-effective and locally empowering ways. This will assist WFP and agencies like WFP to achieve the dual aim of feeding the hungry and poor whilst building the resilience of local communities.

Annex 1: Glossary

To support the reading of this report, the terms below are defined with reference to a variety of sources, rather than only official WFP definitions.

Agency

The capacity of men and women for willed and voluntary action which is not given by social structures (Jackson and Palmer-Jones 2000).

Empowerment

A series of processes and changes whereby women and men's agency is expanded, i.e. the processes by which the capacity to make strategic life choices and exert influence is acquired by those who have so far been denied it (ALINe 2010; Kabeer 2010).

Gender

The term gender refers to culturally based expectations of the roles and behaviours of men and women. The term distinguishes the socially constructed from the biologically determined aspects of being male and female. Unlike the biology of sex, gender roles and behaviours and the relations between women and men (gender relations) can change over time, even if aspects of these roles originated in the biological differences between sexes. [92]

Gender equality

Gender equality between women and men refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys. Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same but that women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration recognising the diversity of different groups of women and men. Gender equality is not a women's issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women. Equality between women and men is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable people-centred development (WFP 2009a).

Gender equity

Gender equity means fairness of treatment for women and men, according to their respective needs. This may include equal treatment or treatment that is different but which is considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, obligations and opportunities. In the development context, a gender equity goal often requires built-in measures to compensate for the historical and social disadvantages of women. Equity is a means. Equality is the result.[93]

Gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is the process by which reducing the gaps in development opportunities between women and men and working towards equality between them become an integral part of an organisation's strategy, policies and operations, and the focus of continued efforts to achieve excellence.

[92] IFAD's Gender Glossary, available http://www.ifad.org/gender/glossary.htm
[93] UNESCO's Gender Mainstreaming Implementation Framework, available http://portal.unesco.org/en/files/11483/10649049699Definitions.doc/Definitions.doc

Institutions

The 'rules of the game' (norms, values, traditions and legislation which determine how people are supposed to act/behave), and the 'actors' (organisations) and their capacities that operate according to these rules.

Well-being

A state of being with others, where human needs are met, where one can act meaningfully to pursue one's goals, and where one enjoys a satisfactory quality of life[94].

[94] ESRC Research Group on Wellbeing in Developing Countries, available http://www.bath.ac.uk/soc-pol/welldev/research/aims.htm.

Annex 2: Proposed partners for the P4P Global Gender Strategy

This annex includes some global or regional organisations and initiatives that could potentially support the implementation of the Global Gender Strategy.

This list does not include country-level partners as COs are best suited to investigate appropriate partners at the local level to match their needs, after a gender assessment. The list includes only those organisations and initiatives that are well known to ALINe, ensuring that the credibility and capacity of potential partners is assured.

IFAD and FAO

IFAD and FAO have a number of individual and joint initiatives on gender that WFP would benefit from engaging with:

> **Capacity-building and Knowledge Management for Gender Equality:**

In a joint initiative, FAO and IFAD are implementing a two-year programme to enhance regional capacity building and knowledge management on gender, agriculture and rural livelihoods. The programme, supported by a $1.5 million IFAD grant, will build and share knowledge related to the integration of a gender perspective into the work done by, or supported by, the two organisations. The wiki has a number of relevant resources and case studies that P4P could draw on. http://genderlearning.wikispaces.com/

> **IFAD and FAO: Gender Programme for Eastern and Southern Africa**:

Labour Saving Technologies and Practices for Farming and Household Activities in Eastern and Southern Africa (http://www.sarpn.org.za/mitigation_of_HIV_AIDS/m0012/index.php)

ILO

> **COOPAfrica**

The Cooperative Facility for Africa - COOPAfrica - is a technical cooperation programme for the promotion of cooperative development in Africa. From the ILO Office in Dar-es-Salaam, COOPAfrica covers so far 9 countries (Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Botswana, Mosotho, Swaziland and Zambia) with support of the ILO Cooperative Programme in Geneva. COOPAfrica aims to help people to co-operate out of poverty as well as to deal with the cooperative needs, such as has been identified in CoopAfrica's preliminary research project, *Research for a Cooperative Facility for Africa*. Together with a wide range of international and national partners, COOPAfrica promotes an enabling legal and policy environment, effective cooperative unions and federations as well as demand-driven services for cooperatives. COOPAfrica has used its open financing mechanism to extended grants to 28 cooperatives, mutual assistance organisations and their partners to meet different objectives in the development of cooperatives. COOPAfrica has a strong gender component. ALINe has links to COOPAfrica through Jennie Dey de Pryck (independent reviewer of this report), who has supported COOPAfrica on gender issues. http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/ent/coop/africa/index.htm

ILRI (International Livestock Research Institute)

ILRI works in East, Southern and West Africa on livestock issues in agriculture. Research at ILRI has a strong gender component and much of it is focused on supporting market-

oriented agriculture for women. There are a number of particular initiatives that WFP could link to, particularly if some COs are interested in widening the menu of food procured:

- Improving the Productivity and Market success of Ethiopian Farmers (IPMS) supports technology uptake for increased market-oriented agriculture for smallholder farmers and pastoralists. This project takes an extremely structured approach to the introduction of technology, in order to ensure women's equal access to it. The programme developed a gender strategy, based on the recognition that first and foremost it was necessary to understand the gender context in order to identify opportunities for supporting gender equality in the context of market-driven agricultural development. This strategy was built on the thorough understanding of gender roles in agriculture; on the identification of the barriers to both men's and women's participation in the market; and of the actions that have the potential to increase participation (Aregu et al 2010). http://www.ipms-ethiopia.org/default.asp
- The Gender, Agriculture and Assets Project (GAAP) is an initiative with IFPRI that aims to increase the impacts of agricultural development programmes in reducing gender inequalities, asset disparities, and improving rural livelihoods in Sub-Saharan Africa and South East Asia.

ALINe has links to ILRI through Yvonne Pinto, who sits on the Advisory Committee of GAAP.

Oxfam

- ***Grow. Sell. Thrive:*** **Women economic leadership in agricultural markets. Researching women's collective action**

This is an Oxfam GB run, BMGF funded, two-year research, learning and communications programme that is gathering evidence on how women smallholders' collective action in markets across a range of agricultural sectors in Ethiopia, Mali and Tanzania, can improve their incomes, strengthen their assets and increase empowerment. Best practices and innovations of development actors that support women's effective collective action will also be identified by in-depth case studies. Oxfam, working with KIT, is currently undertaking value chain analysis of sub-sectors where there is potential for women to graduate from subsistence to market-oriented agriculture. ALINe/IDS has links to this initiative through Sally Smith (consultant for the IDS/BRIDGE work with WFP's Gender Service), who is a member of the Advisory Committee. http://womenscollectiveaction.com/

- **Gender Action Learning System**

The Gender Action Learning System (GALS) methodology is a key part of Oxfam Novib's Women's Empowerment Mainstreaming And Networking (WEMAN) programme for gender justice in economic development interventions, including market and value chain development, financial services and economic policy and decision-making. GALS is a community-led empowerment methodology, which aims at 'constructive economic, social and political transformation' on gender justice. The manual can be found here: http://www.wemanglobal.org/documents/Vision/Tree%20of%20diamond%20dreams.pdf

UNDP

- **Multifunctional Platform Programme (MFP)**

The Multifunctional Platform Programme (MFP) is a concept and structure developed by UNDP. It consists of a diesel engine and various associated tools: grinding mills, huskers, alternators, battery chargers, pumps, welding stations, and carpentry equipment that can be used to distribute water and electricity. The MFP Programme operates in several countries in West Africa, including Burkina Faso, Mali, Ghana, Senegal as well as in in Tanzania and Zambia, and has been shown as an effective labour-saving technology for women. ALINe/IDS has links to this initiative through Alyson Brody (team leader of the IDS/BRIDGE work with WFP's Gender Service), who investigated the MFP programme in Mali for ALINe in 2009.

WOCAN (Women for Change in Agriculture and Natural Resource Management)

> **'Gender Mainstreaming to Build Institutional Accountability to Women Farmers'**

WOCAN is a women-led global network of professional women and men engaged in agriculture and natural resource management, who are committed to organisational change for gender equality and environmentally sustainable development. WOCAN is particularly experienced in what they call 'Gender Mainstreaming to Build Institutional Accountability to Women Farmers'. This approach uses participatory adult learning methodologies to encourage participants to deeply reflect on and analyse societal and organisational norms and conditions. WOCAN could be a useful partner for gender sensitisation activities. WOCAN has a regional office in West Africa. http://www.wocan.org/

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