



P4P's Women's Empowerment Pathways: Roadblocks and Successes 2014



P4P Purchase for Progress

P4P'S WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT PATHWAYS:

ROADBLOCKS AND SUCCESSES

ABSTRACT

This report discusses how WFP has approached gender mainstreaming in its Purchase for Progress (P4P) initiative, and examines how P4P contributed to empowering smallholder women farmers over a five-year pilot period. It documents how WFP went beyond adopting symbolic gender considerations to embrace a transformative agenda in the drive for women's economic empowerment. The analysis centres on three inter-related themes of empowerment: social empowerment, economic empowerment, and empowerment through capacity building.

The paper contrasts current achievements with the strategic goals and expected gender outcomes expressed in the P4P initial grant proposal and other interim documents, such as occasional papers I and II. It draws on various aspects of the processes and results to show the empowerment potential of group participation, despite undeniable hurdles as a result of group/ societal dynamics. More importantly, it pinpoints the P4P Global Gender Strategy as a major instrumental tool.

This paper outlines the activities carried out and assesses challenges that may have affected project targets. Finally, it discloses the outcome of the P4P approach to translating gender strategy into concrete field action by sharing lessons learned and best practice.

GLOSSARY

Agency

An actor's or a group's ability to make purposeful choices.

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.

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.

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 peoplecentred development.

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.

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.

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.

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ACRONYMS

ALINe: Agricultural Learning and Impacts Network
ADCS: Association for Social Communication Development
CENTA: Centro Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria
FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization
FCPB: Fédération des Caisses Populaires du Burkina
FO: Farmers' Organization
IFAD: International Fund for Agricultural Development
P4P: Purchase for Progress
REDMA: Red de Mujeres Agricolas
USAID: United States Agency for International Development
WFP: World Food Programme

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WWI: Women for Women International

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1 INTRODUCTION

In line with the strategic shift from food aid to food assistance, the World Food Programme (WFP) initiated a five-year pilot programme called Purchase for Progress (P4P). P4P focused on building a more resilient agricultural sector through creating sustainable opportunities for smallholder farmers to become competitive players in agricultural markets. Women play a prominent role in agriculture particularly through their contribution to labour. They are, however, universally under-represented in household and community decision making. Their voice and needs are, therefore, less likely to be heard and taken into account.

WFP has a corporate commitment to gender sensitivity and equality at all levels, including programming. The economic opportunity afforded to smallholder farmers through the P4P initiative, offered WFP and partners a unique opportunity to target women in a more effective, efficient and locally empowering way.

This report documents processes and actions adopted by WFP to integrate women as actors and beneficiaries in the P4P initiative, thereby achieving its stated gender equality¹ goals. The document describes the activities carried out, the challenges encountered in implementation, results achieved and outcomes. The analysis weaves three inter-related themes upon which P4P built activities targeting women smallholder farmers. These themes included social empowerment, economic empowerment and empowerment through capacity building.

This paper also pinpoints the central role of the P4P Global Gender Strategy and illustrates how a comprehensive and culturally-sensitive approach to P4P implementation has guided P4P pilot countries in identifying concrete and relevant actions to achieve the economic empowerment of women. Finally, the paper shares the lessons learnt and best practice derived from the P4P initiative with respect to gender inclusive market development.

P4P and Gender Equality: Background and Context

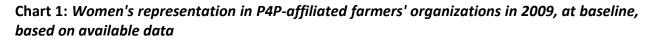
WFP began implementing its five-year Purchase for Progress (P4P) initiative in September 2008. P4P covers 20 pilot countries² and uniquely combines pro-smallholder procurement with partners' capacity building efforts to address constraints faced by smallholders along the entire agricultural value chain. In so doing, P4P uses market realities to develop the capacity of farmer organizations (FOs) to meet the demands of formal markets.

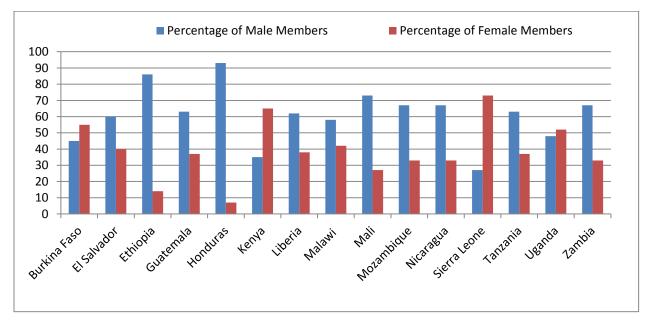
² The 20 P4P pilot countries are Afghanistan, Burkina Faso, Democratic Republic of Congo, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala, Honduras, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.



¹ See Glossary.

P4P's stated goal was that by the end of the initiative, 500,000 smallholder farmers would increase their annual income by US\$50 through participation in the global pilot and that half of them would be women. The proposal assumed that by mainstreaming gender into procurement activities, the subsequent attainment of gender equality in P4P would occur relatively smoothly. The reality proved otherwise and revealed this goal as being particularly challenging to achieve even, with the relatively modest targets outlined in the initial proposal to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. As implementation got underway and P4P pilot countries began to recruit smallholder FOs into the programme, an immediate concern arose about the feasibility of achieving the gender targets, given the gender imbalance in the participation of women as members and leaders. In Honduras and Ethiopia, female membership was only 7% and 13% respectively at baseline, with a global average of 19%. Representation of women in leadership of farmers' organizations was equally low (see Chart 1).





Additionally, it was observed that even in countries where there was significant FO female membership, this did not translate into any noteworthy shift in the volume of women's commodity contributions to contracts. For instance, though average female membership in Kenya was 55% between 2010 and 2012 (see Chart 2) and they accounted for 44% of the overall contributors, by volume, however, their share accounted for just 32% of deposits (Chart 3).

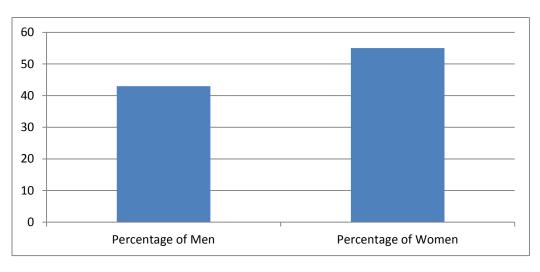
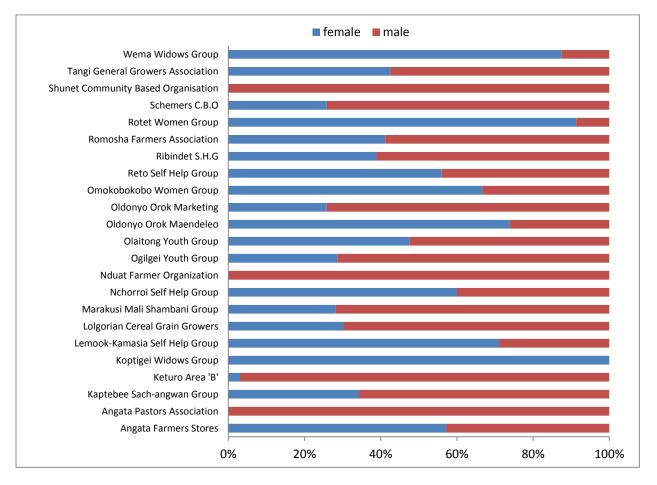


Chart 2: Gender representation in farmers' organizations in Kenya

Chart 3: Share of male and female depositors by FO [Kenya 2010-2012]: 44% of all depositors are women, but they deposited only 32% of the total aggregated volume



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While P4P encourages FOs to improve female membership numbers and access to leadership positions, there is a clear understanding by WFP that numerical participation of women is not, alone, a sufficient criterion for engendering or measuring their empowerment.

WFP realized early on that there was a need to rethink the P4P approach to women's inclusion and empowerment. Given the low participation and engagement of women in FOs, it was imperative to figure out how to achieve the targets to meet WFP's vision of P4P as 'a potent mechanism to take forward its commitment to gender equity' (WFP 2008:10). The P4P gender efforts and resulting outcomes, thus, mirror WFP's vision of gender equality and equity, as articulated in the Corporate Gender Policy. Translating this commitment to gender equity and equality into action, against the patriarchal context of the P4P areas of intervention, has proved to be a bold agenda. In fact, these efforts highlighted the complexity of the cultural, customary, technological, and financial challenges that hinder women's participation in the agricultural value chains of developing economies. The strong consensus within P4P was that although the P4P global commitment was only to achieve equitable participation (50-50) of men and women in membership and leadership of FOs, there was a need to go beyond mere participation and focus on women's actual engagement in P4P.

2 WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT THROUGH P4P: PROCESSES, ACTIONS, AND ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT

The WFP 2008-2011 Strategic Plan emphasizes the link between gender and hunger and reaffirms the organization's commitment to work at all levels to ensure gender sensitivity, equality and women's empowerment. Similarly, Outcome 2 of the WFP 2009 Gender Policy Corporate Action Plan emphasizes 'equitable access for women, men, adolescent girls and boys to skills and assets created from WFP livelihood projects' based on gender analysis and local context. There were, however, no readily available guidance materials or tools to guide P4P on how to mainstream gender in ways to meaningfully impact women. What P4P needed most therefore, was to develop appropriate and user-friendly methods and materials to increase the involvement and impact on women. As a first step, P4P conducted a literature review of both WFP's and partner's best practices in engaging women in agricultural development and a first *Occasional Paper* (WFP, 2009) was published and circulated to the P4P pilot countries.

In the first year, a global average of 19% female membership was achieved, largely through targeting FOs with a higher proportion of female members and/or women only organizations for inclusion in the pilot. By 2010, the proportion of women in P4P supported FOs rose to 23%. When progress was analyzed on a country by country basis, it quickly became apparent that country offices were adopting very different and, often, ad hoc approaches to gender integration in P4P.

The key differences seemed to arise from various challenges, including the following:

- i. Inadequate understanding and/or wrong identification of the key gender issues of relevance to P4P;
- ii. Limited technical skills in gender mainstreaming of both WFP and partner staff involved in the implementation of P4P;
- iii. Difficulties in finding qualified partners with experience in gender to lead on the mainstreaming effort;
- iv. The extent of interest and/or personal commitment of the country implementing team to advancing the gender objectives of P4P.

In light of the learning generated from the first wave of efforts, the P4P Coordination Unit decided to produce a second Occasional Paper that identified the key leverage points on which the initiative should focus. It argued that these were those 'gender issues that have the potential to best contribute to P4P's implementation objectives and increase the likelihood of securing sustained economic benefits for women' (WFP 2010: 2). P4P identified three broad areas in this

regard (outlined below) as those most likely to generate the synergies that would result in a positive and sustained impact on women's livelihoods and their ability to use and retain control over the income they earn (see Box 1).

Box 1: Key leverage points identified for promoting economic empowerment of women through P4P

- 1. Women's social empowerment through the promotion of:
 - Gender awareness training
 - Institutional mechanisms that foster women's active group participation
 - Labour and time-saving technologies that address women's time constraints
 - Functional literacy training for women smallholder farmers.
- 2. Women's capacity and skill empowerment through promotion of access to:
 - Agriculture extension workers
 - Agricultural and market information.
- 3. Women's economic empowerment through the promotion of:
 - Access to credit
 - The rights of women to retain decision-making control over their income, savings and assets.

Source: P4P Second Occasional Paper

Occasional Paper II also incorporated information on a series of gender-focused projects under implementation in the pilot countries with which partnerships and linkages could potentially be made.

2.1 P4P's Context-Specific Approach to a Comprehensive Women's Empowerment

The second Occasional Paper provided a higher level of direction to pilot countries and the proportion of female members in P4P organizations continued to rise, reaching 28% by the end of 2011. P4P however still lacked specific tools to facilitate contextually relevant assessments to help the country offices develop actionable gender mainstreaming plans. WFP's first move was, therefore, to look for expert guidance to address this.

P4P enlisted the support of the Agriculture Learning Impacts Network (ALINe) of the Institute for Development Studies to identify the boundaries of what the pilot programme could realistically expect to achieve and facilitate the development of a global gender strategy for P4P. ALINe adopted a two-step research approach. Firstly, a comprehensive literature review on women's role in agriculture was conducted followed by field research in three P4P pilot countries (Ethiopia, Guatemala, and Tanzania). Upon synthesis of the literature review and field data, ALINe produced a highly informative analysis that pinpointed the structural roots of hurdles and constraints to women's effective participation in agriculture and marketing, noting the contextspecific nature of women's inability to access and control productive resources. (http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/reports/wfp239392.pdf).

ALINE raised concerns about the 'ambitious' P4P gender targets. These included a target to raise the annual household income of 250,000 female smallholder farmers by at least US \$50 a year, as well as ensuring that membership and leadership positions in P4P FOs had at least 50% female representation.

The critical hurdle, in ALINe's view, was that, by definition, "smallholder farmers own a plot of land and they control the production process, trading and/or income from the crops they grow". ALINe noted that few women meet these criteria, as in the overwhelming majority of cases men are the "recognised" owners of household assets, both in the eyes of the law and by customary rules. The reality, therefore, was that although women make up the majority of those working in agriculture, most do not qualify to be called smallholder farmers. In light of this ALINe recommended P4P expand its focus to engage not only with women smallholder farmers, but also with other categories of women involved in the agricultural sector. Moreover, ALINe found that the commodities purchased through the P4P effort in the pilot countries were not women-friendly. This further limited the chances of women benefiting to the same extent as men within the initiative. Women tend to produce agricultural commodities more attuned to both home and market consumption such as vegetables, honey and poultry. In focusing on these crops, women expressed a desire to avoid clashing with their husbands' agricultural production and marketing endeavours.

The second step was for ALINe and P4P to develop a Global Gender Strategy for the pilot in order to focus the gender mainstreaming efforts under P4P and set clear expectations as to what P4P could reasonably expect to achieve for and with female producers. (http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/reports/wfp239391.pdf).

This was necessary to guide WFP towards a more effective integration of women as significant beneficiaries of the P4P initiative.

A seminal insight shared by ALINe, was that P4P would benefit from a better understanding of the different roles played by women involved in rural agriculture.

Building on their research findings and taking the various characteristics of women into account, the P4P Global Gender Strategy divides the rural women who could potentially benefit from P4P into four distinct categories:

1: Women producers and/or marketers of crops/ foods products currently procured through P4P.

2: Women unpaid family workers.

3: Women producers and/or petty traders of crops/ food products not currently procured through P4P

4: Women casual agricultural labourers.

Women play multiple roles within households and as such, an individual woman may be classified under more than one of the above categories. Other important challenges identified with respect to women smallholder farmers included; their lower literacy levels, lower access than men to credit opportunities and business skills training as well as their limited decision making power at household and community level.

ALINe identified a window of opportunity for women farmers by highlighting the control they exert on the production process of some food products such as pulses that are culturally recognized as "women's crops". They also underscored women's chief focus, which is to diversify their livelihood strategies as a means of risk mitigation and resilience. The merit of the Gender

Box 2: General objectives of the P4P Gender Strategy

- Increasing the understanding of the importance of gender relations based on equity, within beneficiaries' households, FOs and supply side partners.
- Increasing and creating opportunities for women to participate in groups and decision making
- Facilitating and increasing the ability of rural women to access, control and manage resources and agricultural services
- 4- Diversifying opportunities for women in income-generating agroactivities.

Strategy is that it gives P4P's approach to women's empowerment a stronger and more systemic focus with clearly defined priorities for activities, targets and monitoring indicators. Working from the global strategy, each P4P pilot country was guided on how to contextualize the objectives of the global strategy to national and sub-regional realities.

P4P's gender strategy deliberately adopted a conscious *women-empowerment approach* as a methodology for implementing gender mainstreaming. This methodological preference should not be mistaken for an oversight or a conceptual conflation between 'gender' and 'women'. The former encompasses the latter, as well as men, amid various demographics (age, class, social identity) that enable or constrain access to opportunities as a result of being perceived as male or female.

P4P's choice was grounded in the awareness of the historical marginalization of women in the agricultural value chains in the pilot countries, as well as the desire to make way for equality through equity. Thus, the women-focus approach aims to balance gender participation. This in

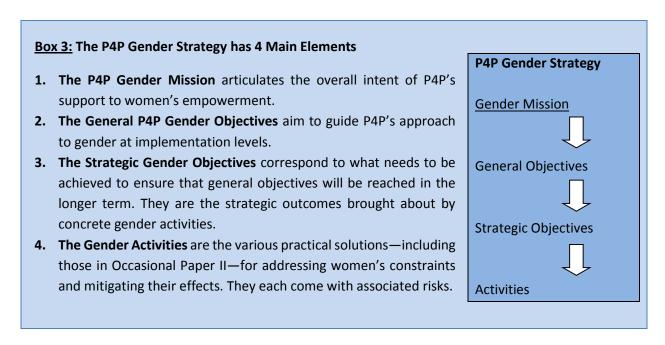
turn, offers the conditions for women to more equitably access the opportunities offered by the P4P initiative. The Strategy emphasizes the crucial role of men in helping achieve women's empowerment, hence their inclusion as key actors and partners in all P4P gender mainstreaming efforts.

The P4P global strategy presents four general objectives (see Box 2) describing areas that P4P wishes to impact and sets limits on what the programme aims to achieve. The formulation of these objectives took cognizance of the heterogeneous characteristics of actual and potential women beneficiaries, as well as the limits posed by WFP's current procurement basket which guides the type of staple commodities to be procured and distributed in a particular country.

These general objectives were further broken down into strategic objectives to describe what would need to be achieved at implementation level to realize the longer-term goals defined in the general objectives.

Finally, priorities for action to achieve the strategic objectives were listed. The rationale of this approach was that this would provide the best guide to country offices on how to translate the Gender Strategy into concrete action that best fit the socio-cultural, political and bureaucratic context of each pilot country.

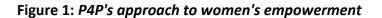
The implementation approach proposed by the Gender Strategy entailed conducting rapid gender assessments in pilot countries, followed by the development of action plans and the identification of appropriate partners to carry out activities.

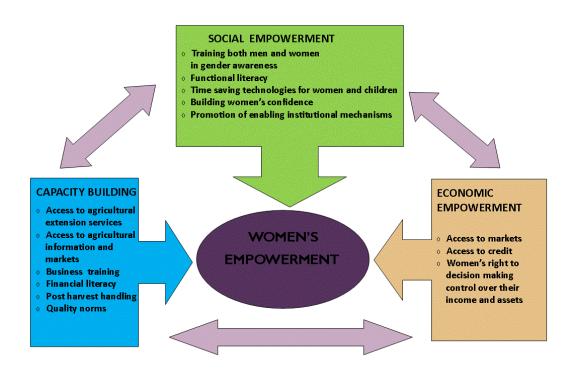


P4P's Approach to Empowerment

Overall, the P4P Gender Strategy aims to achieve the holistic empowerment of women and, as such, emphasizes activities with the strong potential to create opportunities or conditions that facilitate women's agency and promote enabling opportunity structures to contribute to their empowerment. An imbalance in the control of power is the root cause of gender inequality and 'power is multi-locational and exists in multiple domains' (Malhotra and Mather 1997). P4P, therefore, deliberately chose to focus activities at the micro (household) and the meso (community) level, including FOs, with the expectation that actions at these lower levels would potentially have a positive impact at the macro (policy and institutional) level in the long run.

The activities undertaken in support of gender mainstreaming in P4P fit into three inter-related domains of empowerment: Social, Economic, and Empowerment through Capacity Building (see Figure 1) based on Rowlands' taxonomy of power (Rowlands 1997, as paraphrased by Samman and Santos 2009: 8). Rowlands notes that 'empowerment can be viewed as a process in which people gain *power over* (resisting manipulation), *power to* (creating new possibilities), *power with* (acting in a group) and *power from within* (enhancing self-respect and self-acceptance)'. Rowlands' taxonomy of power provided P4P with a keen understanding of men's and women's motivation to support or oppose empowerment initiatives.





2.2 Providing tools and technical guidance for gender mainstreaming

A key strength of the approach adopted by the P4P pilot was to recognize that while there was need to provide global guidance on the basic principles that should underpin implementation, there was also a need for each country to incorporate the basic principles of the project in a way that matched the in-country reality and context. Thus, in programming, countries have tried many different models to engage with smallholder farmers.

In the same way, P4P consciously departed from a one-size-fits-all view to address gender mainstreaming and encouraged pilot countries to see women smallholder farmers in terms of their differential characteristics. As such, each pilot country was urged to use the Global Gender Strategy as a guide to develop their own country-specific P4P gender strategies, informed by a local assessment to integrate geographic/regional differences within each country. Based on these considerations, the country strategies proposed locally relevant activities.

This was crucially important because empirical evidence suggests that two areas only a few miles apart can share very different sub-cultural, religious or infrastructural features presenting different challenges or opportunities for participation in P4P (Somé 2012). The country action plans facilitated the identification and selection of the most appropriate national and/or local partners to support the translation of the action plan into reality. The P4P Global Coordination Unit recruited a full-time gender consultant in March 2012 to assist the pilot country teams in their gender integration efforts and provide technical guidance as needed. The consultant undertook field missions to a number of countries and participated directly in the design and implementation of gender assessment activities, guiding the development of country gender strategies and action plans.

Countries	Assessment/gender	P4P country specific gender		
	diagnostic	strategy and/or Action plan		
Afghanistan				
Burkina Faso*;	\checkmark	\checkmark		
DRC	\checkmark	\checkmark		
Ethiopia	\checkmark	✓		
Ghana	\checkmark	✓		
Guatemala*	√	✓		
Honduras	\checkmark	\checkmark		
Кепуа	✓	✓		
Liberia				
Malawi	✓	\checkmark		

Table 1: Countries that adopted a conscious approach to women's empowerment based on P4PGlobal Gender Strategy



Countries	Assessment/gender	P4P country specific gender
	diagnostic	strategy and/or Action plan
Mali		✓
Mozambique	√	✓
Nicaragua*	√	✓
Rwanda*	✓	
El Salvador	✓	✓
Sierra Leone	✓	
South Sudan		
Tanzania	√	
Uganda	✓	✓
Zambia	✓	✓

*Country offices that carried out a gender assessment/diagnostic.

Given the learning focus of P4P, it was decided to prioritize gender analysis and learning in five of the 20 pilot countries. The learning effort was led by the P4P Coordination Unit and forms the basis of this document.

Initially, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Guatemala, Ethiopia and Mozambique were selected, based on geographic location and linguistic difference, as well as the contrasting opportunities and challenges that each of their country contexts presented. However P4P later expanded the learning span beyond these five countries and as such experiences from a broader group of pilot countries are reflected in this paper.

Gender assessments were completed and gender strategies and action plans developed in each country, with the support of UN Women in Ghana and Mozambique. At global level, 16 pilot countries carried out at least one formal gender assessment; 14 pilot countries developed a gender strategy and/or an action plan, building on the P4P Global Gender Strategy (see Table 1).

Afghanistan, South Sudan, Sierra Leone, and Liberia did not complete this work though some of these countries did nevertheless achieve notable gender results. The major reason for this was due to staff or technical capacity shortages or the specific nature of the country programme, as was the case in Afghanistan.

The P4P coordination unit developed a set of tools outlining P4P-focused gender assessment protocols including:

- ✓ Steps to follow to develop a country P4P gender strategy;
- ✓ Guiding interview questions for a gender assessment
- ✓ An assessment matrix to guide the analysis and ensure its connection and resulting action plan with the P4P gender strategy. This tool facilitated the disaggregation of assessment

findings and helped pilot countries to identify differences in the challenges, contributions and potential of women's and men's agricultural economic activities throughout the value chain. The unique feature of this matrix was its ability to facilitate both the exploration and presentation of each issue/constraint from multiple viewpoints. It also allows for the presentation of a range of opportunities feasible within that locality and invites an analysis of the possible roles of WFP and partners to exploit those opportunities and address constraints.

- ✓ A household negotiation tool for training household members on approaches to household harmony through inclusive management of household assets
- ✓ A template (see Table 2,) to guide the development of a gender action plan and associated monitoring activities based on the analysis, facilitated by the matrix described above. The template also provides space to consider the challenges that are likely to hinder uptake of proposed solutions/opportunities. This can include aspects such as lack of complementary partners or affordability of the proposed solutions for the intended target group, for P4P or partners. Finally, taking into account the analysis in columns 1−6 of the template, relevant actions are proposed and the last column in the matrix requires the pilot countries to review their recommendations and verify the relevance/alignment of each of the recommended actions to the strategic objectives laid out in the P4P global gender strategy.

An example of the Mozambique assessment, which includes the analysis matrix described above and the resulting action plan developed by the pilot country, can be viewed at <u>http://www.wfp.org/content/p4p-gender-strategy</u>.

 Table 2: Assessment matrix for gender value chain analysis of issue regarding shortage of agricultural labor in Mozambique

General issue Implications for wome in general	n Implications for female headed versus women in male headed households	Opportunities	Challenges	Potential Role for partners and of WFP		Associated Strategic Objective of P4P Global Gender Strategy and groups of women affected
Shortage of Women have to make agricultural labour for the shortfall in labour		Mechanised service provision (tractors) as a	The capacity of individuals (esp	Local investment fund to potentially fund		Objective 4b : Facilitate better use of women's
due to youth at the household level migration, illness of Women are less able t	likely affected than those in male-headed for households who, to d some extent, may rely on their husbands to	provision (fractions) as a business opportunity for both farmer organizations (FOs) and individual farmers; Promoting animal traction, in as a business opportunity framework at FO level, in a way that particularly targets for women. The existence of the Local Investment Fund in Mozambique may provide an opportunity to leverage investments for smallholder farmers and FOs	women) and/or associations to pay for the services rendered is not obvious; Access to the government- sponsored Local	animal traction and mechanised service provision revolving funds; Organisations such as Heifer International and USAID and a programme such as Agrofuturo could play a major role if they are available	organisations / initiatives that focus on developing cost- effective time-saving technologies tailored for women and carried out in the framework of business opportunities.	time, particularly through time-saving technologies Objective 4c : Promote women's rural employment in other income generating agro-activities Groups 1 & 3 : women producers of P4P and

This analytical approach increased the likelihood that country teams would produce need-based gender action plans with activities better tailored to address the limitations faced by women farmers targeted by the P4P initiative. Table 2 shows an excerpt from the analysis matrix produced by the P4P team in Mozambique.

2.3 Bringing the pieces together

The provision of guidance and tools to; undertake gender assessments, develop action plans and identify the appropriate gender conscious partners to work with in-country, was an important step in advancing gender mainstreaming within P4P.

Social empowerment

The next step towards raising gender awareness was to create/increase the conditions for the social empowerment of women. This was done in several ways: One was to increase the level of receptiveness of FO members and leadership vis-à-vis the importance of gender equality within the FOs and their members' households.

The P4P approach to sensitization went far beyond common theoretical mantras to define and situate gender equality as an economic issue. It stressed to both men and women, the gains to be realized through embracing gender equality within the household/ community versus the

economic losses brought about by gender inequality. This was informed by focusing on the understanding of gender equality as relationships 'negotiated within the household' and sought to embed a shared vision of family welfare within FOs and households. Many reports from pilot countries indicate that within P4P men are increasingly viewing the economic improvement of their wives as a

SOCIAL EMPOWERMENT			
I Training both men and women in gender			
awareness			
I Time saving technologies for women and			
children			
Building women's confidence			
Promotion of enabling institutional			
mechanisms			

contribution to family welfare rather than as a threat to men's masculinity.

In this vein, emphasis in P4P was made on a household negotiation approach that consisted of the inclusive management of both household resources and budget in the strong belief that this represented the root to harmony and a broadened opportunity structure for women. P4P tested a household negotiation tool developed internally for this purpose. P4P strongly advocated this move in order to avoid alienation by men and customary leaders – the power holders and gatekeepers with the most influence. For example, most men would have probably resisted outright demands to allow women to control land, for, they would have viewed this as "another attempt by outsiders to mess with our culture", a sentiment that is usually heard when talking about gender equality in rural traditional settings.

Capacity building

Training carried out during the initiative consciously included women. Training topics were as follows: production and productivity, post-harvest handling and quality standards and agribusiness management. Other important themes incorporated into training sessions included how to access credit and lessons in financial literacy. Every effort

CAPACITY BUILDING

Access to agricultural extension services

Access to agricultural information and markets

Business training

Financial literacy

Functional literacy

Output
Dest harvest handling

Quality norms

was made to ensure 50:50 participation of men and women. Some trainees (among whom were women) were also trained to train their peers.

Gender training modules were specially designed and delivered to women and men smallholder farmers, agricultural extension agents, WFP staff and partners and FO leaders. The gender awareness training and capacity building sessions offered an appropriate space to demonstrate



the economic advantages of fully including women in agricultural value chains and providing them with productive resources, including land. More importantly, through the various training opportunities, women had gained an awareness of the limitations posed by their illiteracy. To address this challenge, many FOs in pilot countries such as Guatemala, Liberia, Mali, Burkina Faso and DRC moved to provide functional literacy training to their members. In Burkina Faso, women from P4P-affiliated groups benefited from agricultural extension services thanks to the support of partners such as the International Fertilizer Development Center and the Lutheran World Relief. Some women of P4P-supported FOs are already using insurance services for farm production in Burkina Faso.

Economic empowerment

Adopting a women-friendly procurement approach, P4P encouraged FOs to give priority to the purchase of women's contributions to contracts commissioned by WFP. Progressively, WFP has increased the procurement of crops that are traditionally farmed and controlled by women including

ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT Access to markets Access to credit Women's right to decision making control
over their income and assets

farmed and controlled by women, including pulses.

Being aware of the time-shortages rural women face due to intensive labour demands, P4P offered women opportunities to reduce their labour burden and free up some of their time to allow for greater engagement in economically profitable tasks as well as in FO meetings, training events and their normal family duties.

Rural women in developing countries divide their time between domestic, farming and non-farm activities. The proportion of time allocated to each of these broad categories varies between and within regions, as well as between women in different types of households. In total, however, these women work for approximately 16 hours a day. This is more than the number of hours worked by men and a greater proportion of women's total work hours are spent on unpaid activities³. Not only are the hours long, but the work itself is hard and in the absence of support to reduce their labour burden and ease time constraints, women's ability to participate in FOs and occupy leadership positions will continue to be severely limited.

Funds were secured from USAID to procure labour and time-saving technologies for women. Eight pilot countries (Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Uganda, Zambia and Tanzania,) benefited from sub-grants of between USD \$92,000 and \$131,000 for the purchase of

³ Lightening the Load: Labour-saving technologies and practices for rural women. Marilyn Carr with Maria Hartl 2010. Published by International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and Practical Action Publishing Ltd.

the various types of equipment. Items ranging from simple manual tools to more sophisticated mechanical devices, were purchased for women. These included manual and motorized maize-shellers, tractors, rippers, milling machines and equipment to facilitate quality enhancement such as tarpaulins, rice parboiling equipment and bag stitching machines. Additionally, cows and plough carts were provided to women to relieve them from the usual neglect of their plots until the end of the planting season.

These technologies were provided on a partial or full cost recovery basis, and were carefully selected to fit a specific stage of the agricultural value chain from production to post-harvest and processing and to be the most relevant to the local context, as well as to women's needs. These simple tools were mostly targeted to individual households, while the more sophisticated technology was for use/ collective management by the FOs or by entrepreneurs running businesses providing services to members of the community at large. FOs were encouraged to think creatively about how to guarantee maintenance of equipment over the long term using the contributions from cost-sharing. Whenever and wherever possible, women were encouraged to use the technology to generate income for the maintenance and sustainability of the technology.

3 CHALLENGES FACED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE P4P GENDER STRATEGY

Efforts to integrate gender into P4P have faced an array of challenges. Most prominent among these are:

- Land Ownership: The cultural perception of woman's social position constitutes one of the biggest hurdles to women's social and economic empowerment, as in many cultural and customary contexts, women are not eligible to own or control land, the essential productive resource in agriculture and for the P4P initiative.
- The gender perception of crop categories: In many cultural contexts, the right to engage autonomously in the production and marketing of given crops is gender prescribed, resulting in women being sidelined from cash crops. The crops that have dominated procurement in P4P are predominantly those whose production and sale is controlled by men (e.g. maize and sorghum). Women tend to dominate production of pulses such as cowpeas, beans, pigeon peas, etc.

Box 4: In Ethiopia, mainstreaming gender through P4P has been especially challenging. As in other developing countries, there is a pervasive acceptance here that "women farm, but are not farmers". In Ethiopia, the defining criterion to be recognized as a farmer is to own land. This puts women at a disadvantage because although the Ethiopian Revised Family Code (Federal Negarit, 2000) recognizes ownership of household assets to both spouses of a household, land is still owned and controlled by men who inherit it from their fathers, as "most rural people in Ethiopia continue to apply customary laws to their economic and social relationships" (Alsop and Kurey, 2004). Being expected to marry out into exogenous families and lineages, women of Ethiopia, as in many parts of the world, do not have the prerogative of inheriting and owning a plot of land from their father's lineage. In Ethiopia, only a small number of smallholder widows own land, and are thus, viewed as farmers. According to the Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, femaleheaded households make up around 18% of smallholder households in Ethiopia.

- Limited Staff Capacity: Limited understanding by both WFP and partner staff of how to effectively address gender issues and the importance of doing so beyond fulfilling the stated donor obligations limited achievements in the early years of implementation. Many of potential partners with specialty in gender have limited staff capacity and this constrained their ability to adequately support P4P activities.
- The Inclusion of all Women Labour Categories: Finding relevant ways within the context of P4P to include all four categories (refer to page 10 above) as identified in the P4P gender strategy, emerged as a challenge from the start. More specifically, the issue was about finding relevant ways to tie the P4P opportunities to those women outside the FO which is the main entry point to benefit from the P4P initiative. Ways had to be found to support women selling crops outside the WFP food basket, women providing unpaid labour and those providing rural employment.

The easiest and most obvious groups that could be impacted included, 'women producing or marketing commodities procured by WFP' and the 'women casual agricultural labourers'.

The former could supply staple commodities to WFP through their FOs, while the latter could provide waged labour either in the farms of P4P-affiliated FO members or provide paid labour at warehouses by grading grains bought by FOs.

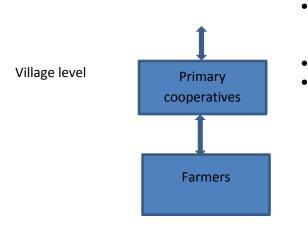
This left out two categories identified in the gender strategy: 'Unpaid household labourers' and the 'marketers or producers of commodities not procured by WFP'. The provision of various labour and time-saving technologies has benefited all categories of women as well as men. These assets enabled or increased women's agency to allow them to engage in rewarding off-farm activities or leverage existing ones. Other supportive actions that benefited women across all categories included skill strengthening, credit and saving opportunities. Where possible, WFP helped P4P-supported women FOs and women food processors not affiliated with P4P to build business relationships, so that the former could supply the latter with commodities, as was the case in Mali with the Danaya Cereals group.

The above challenges were complicated by the fact that the membership structure of the FO – the entry point for reaching farmers through the P4P initiative –is usually imbalanced to the detriment of women. Low female membership in FOs is a reality across all FOs and not just those supported by P4P. Furthermore, in practice, few women-only FOs exist trading in the crops of interest to P4P and as such, few women-only FOs could be enrolled into the P4P programme.

Depending on the country and the geographic area of intervention, the P4P country team works with farmers of a first, second, or third tier FO; or even works with two or all three types of FOs. Second Tier FOs work with P4P-supported FOs, cooperatives, or unions comprising many individual first tier FOs. Most FOs working with P4P operate under this model. Finally, third tier FOs are umbrella-organizations comprised by multiple second tier FOs (Figure 2). They usually have a distinctive business approach and are large in size. As there are fewer women-only FOs and fewer women members in mixed-gender FOs at first tier level, the female membership is quantitatively diluted when participation is considered at higher tier level, which may further constrain women's access to various resources and/or assets provided through that level.



Figure 2: A Representation of the range of P4P entry points through the various FO Types



- Collective output marketing to reliable domestic and/or international markets
- Provide input distribution to farmers
- Buy outputs from farmers and pass to unions

4 **RESULTS**

This section presents the results arising from the various activities and actions that P4P has undertaken to mainstream gender and empower women. Results are structured around the P4P Approach to Women's Empowerment as shown below. This section draws from quantitative data from FO records and qualitative information from field reports to contrast the achievements with the targets. Later, spillover effects of the achievements at the broader level are discussed.

4.1 Social Empowerment Results

The P4P Approach to Empowerment undertook strategies to increase social empowerment as follows:

- The promotion of enabling institutional mechanisms;
- The training of both women and men in gender awareness;
- The provision of time-saving technologies for women and children.

Promotion of Enabling Institutional Mechanisms

Target: 50 percent women members in all FOs participating in P4P

At the beginning of the initiative, P4P set out to achieve 50% of female membership. Though this objective has not been achieved, partly due to the gender imbalance in pre-existing membership structures of FOs globally, the participation of women in P4P supported FOs increased by ten percentage points from 19% in 2009 to 29% to date (Charts 4 & 5). It must be noted that this result is significantly skewed by the data from Ethiopia which accounts for half a million of the global P4P farmers' membership and yet just 13% of members in P4P-affiliated FOs in Ethiopia are women. When the participation of women in FOs is considered in the absence of Ethiopia, the current global female membership rises to 48%.

Chart 4: Gender-disaggregated membership in P4P-supported FOs in 2013

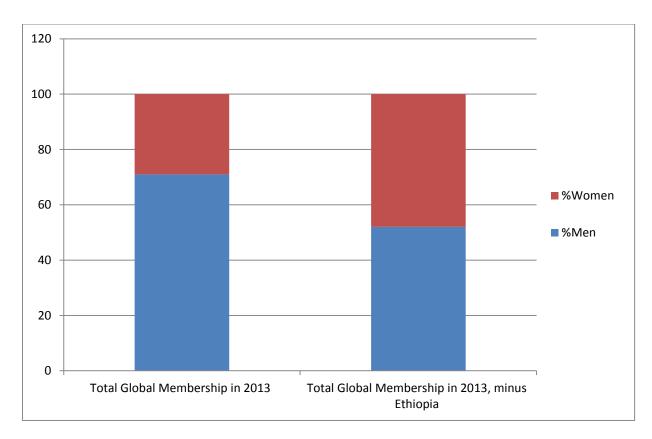
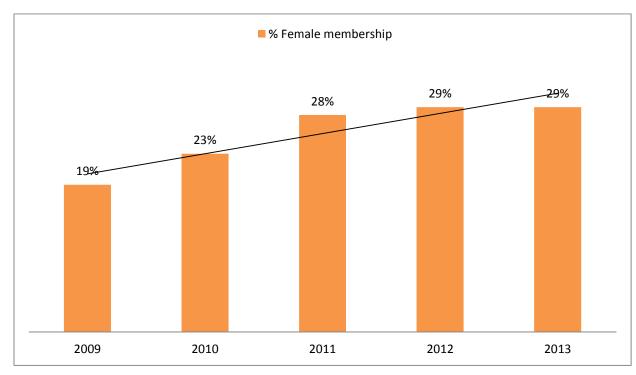


Chart 5: Evolution Global Female membership in P4P since inception (includes Ethiopia)



The numerical value of the current female participation represents a 300% increase over the membership figures at the beginning of the initiative (Chart 6). This was due to the focused and

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increased recruitment of women's groups and the inclusion of women in FOs. Baseline data was only available for 15 countries, however, and did not include countries such as Afghanistan, DRC, Ghana, South Sudan, and Rwanda.

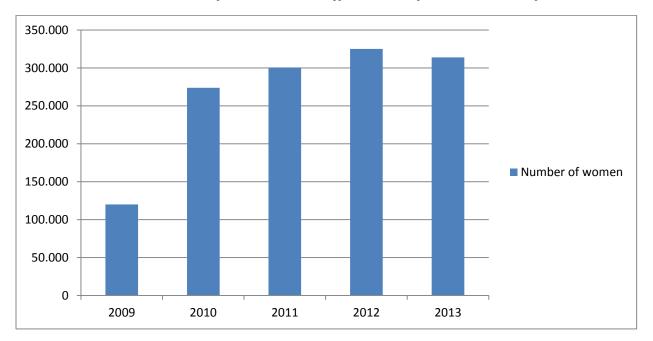


Chart 6: Numerical evolution of women in P4P-affiliated FOs from 2009-2013 of women

Though the equitable participation of women as members of FOs is an important step towards empowerment, it is a necessary but not sufficient condition in itself. This is clearly evidenced by the fact that even in countries with acceptable overall female membership such as in Kenya, Uganda, Burkina Faso, and Malawi, (with 57%, 53%, 50%, and 42% female membership respectively), gender disaggregated data of sales records show a striking imbalance of women's contribution to the volumes contracted by P4P (Chart 3).

Increase Women's Leadership In FOs

Target: 50 percent Women Leaders in FOs participating in P4P

At the start of the initiative the conscious targeting of women-led FOs allowed P4P to achieve an average global female FO leadership figure of 44% with in-country variability from 16-80%. The percentage fell from 44% in the first year to mid-30%, mainly because Nicaragua, Afghanistan and South Sudan, not included in the baseline figures of women's membership, were now included with very low leadership figures. Afghanistan and South Sudan had no female leaders in 2010.

In terms of leadership, the efforts of P4P country teams resulted in an increased female presence on FO leadership committees and boards, with **36%** of women occupying positions on P4Paffiliated FO boards globally by the end of the programme (see Chart 7). Note, however, that the current figures represent gender disaggregated data currently available only for 15 countries and does not include countries such as Afghanistan, DRC, Ghana, South Sudan, and Rwanda.

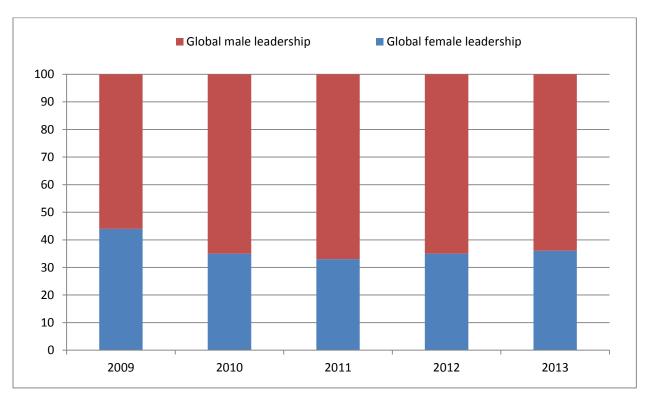


Chart 7: Gender-disaggregated leadership in P4P-affiliated FOs from 2009 to 2013

At a broader level, women's participation in groups and presence in leadership proved instrumental in catalyzing positive changes for women members of FOs. According to the qualitative testimonies gleaned from field monitoring and individual discussions, it seems to have made a difference to have a woman on the FO board. Both women and some men board members stated that having a woman's perspective affected board decisions tremendously in terms of women's participation. For instance, when there was a woman on the board, meetings were held at times that were convenient to both women and men.

Training of both women and men in Gender Awareness

Over 42,000 farmers, WFP staff and stakeholders received training specifically on gender issues. A total of 58% of these trainees were women. Inclusion of a considerable proportion of men was necessary and even welcomed by the women since men are generally involved in most cases of gender inequality be it at household or community level. **Box 5:** Trends from the updated procurement data indicate that of the \$106,000,000 that went to farmers' hands, about \$28,000,000 went to women, which is about 26% of overall payments.

4.3 Economic Empowerment Results

Target: Achieve at least USD 50 increase in women's annual income

To date, P4P data indicates that over \$7,150,000 has been paid directly into the hands of 29,000 women since inception, with an average of \$241 per woman. This approximates a yearly average of **\$48**. The sum that went to women represents 38% of the amount that went directly to over 77,000 men. *Note that these are partial data, based on as yet incomplete FO records.* The difference between average gains for men and for women is about \$20. This data does not include money put into the hands of women occasional labourers, who are usually hired to perform the quality grading of commodities at FO warehouses. Because of the catalytic role of P4P, the financial gains accrued by women through P4P are varied and not always traceable through the current P4P M&E system.

Number of far contributed to		Amount received by smallholder farmers in US\$		Average per person in US\$	
Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
77,394	29,238	20,422,260	7,150,154	261	241



Box 6: Extending benefits beyond P4P-supported FOs

P4P also purchases commodities beyond the membership of participating FOs. Available data indicate that 14,000 non-FO members contributed to WFP's purchases of which 32% are women. In Uganda, women and men from non P4P-affiliated FOs in surplus areas were given the opportunity to sell their staple harvests to WFP. In addition to accessing premium price through their sales to P4P, the women also interpreted their ability to sell to WFP as a validation of their mastery of food quality control; which is an additional asset for marketing food products.

In Rwanda, women members are given priority when FOs hire occasional laborers to undertake commodity quality grading. Women who are not members are also prioritized for such seasonal job opportunities. FOs in Rwanda also buy food commodities from members and non-members as long as the products meet the quality criteria.

In Tanzania FO records indicate that money paid into women's hand quadrupled from around \$50,000 in 2009 to over \$200,000 in 2013. This increase of women's returns is proportionate with the increase in the volumes they supplied to WFP's contracts through P4P. Although women's contribution to contracts in Tanzania are still low, as is the general situation in P4P FOs globally, the trend is moving upward, and it moved from 15% in 2009 to 22% in 2013 as shown in Chart 8.

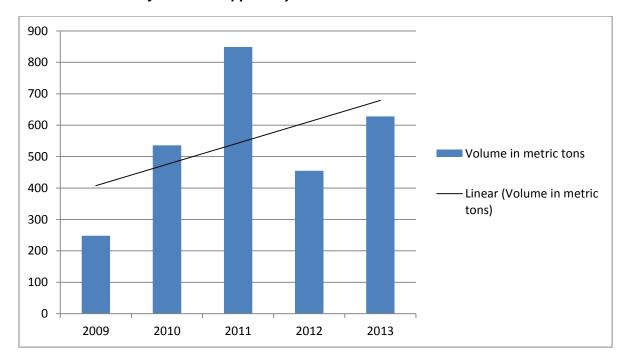


Chart 8: Evolution of volumes supplied by women in Tanzania in metric tons

Increased Access to Credit

P4P also facilitated FO access to credit through use of their WFP contract as collateral. In many instances, this allowed rural women to increase their aggregation and sale of commodities and diversify into other income-generating activities. In Liberia, the Gbelay-geh women's group approached a bank (Afriland Bank of Liberia) to secure a loan using their contract with WFP as collateral. The loan was later used to aggregate commodities. This loan availability facilitated and still facilitates successful aggregations and timely payments to FO members, which in turn allows the women to attend to social and economic demands they would otherwise have delayed or defaulted on. WFP Liberia built on this and reached out to the Afriland Bank to grant aggregation loans to all P4P-supported FOs.

Using contracts with WFP to access loans from banks is now common in many countries, including Rwanda, Burkina Faso, Zambia, Kenya and the pilot countries in Latin America. Savings and Credit Cooperatives (SACCOs) and Village savings and loans associations are alternative sources for women to access micro-credit in Uganda, Rwanda, and Ethiopia. An assessment carried out by WFP and UN Women in Rwanda and released in May 2013, revealed that 45% of women received loans from various sources, including commercial banks, SACCOs and other sources.

FOs accessing Credit that also benefit women include the UPPA-Houet in Burkina Faso with the Federation des Caisses Populaires du Burkina where over \$70,000 of credit was allocated to 714 women in 2013. In Mali, the Benso Women's cooperative also made credit available to women.

Women realised further gains from the proceeds from food staples or from investing loan money gained through the P4P initiative. In Burkina Faso, money earned from WFP/P4P through participation in FO contracts with WFP, allowed women to access credit and saving opportunities conceded by the Federation des Caisses Populaires du Burkina (FCPB) bank. This resulted in the expansion of their income base and increased their credit-worthiness with the bank. The 325 initial loan beneficiaries of one second tier FO used their loan to engage in a series of income-generating activities, including the sale of processed maize flour and commercial vegetable gardening. The mentoring of these women by a female extension agent funded by WFP & OXFAM assisted the FO to run a three-year credit scheme, allowing them to save their profits, pay in periodical installments and sustain themselves. Since 2011, a total of 128 loan beneficiaries used part of their loan money to invest in contract vegetable-gardening.

 Table 4: Summary of women's perception of their access to economic resources before and after

 the P4P initiative in Ghana

Description of Resource	Before P4P	After P4P
Access to farmland	 Limited access to farmland Had relatively small land for farming 	 Improved access through some FO members Land size is relatively bigger (between10 and 30% increase reported)
Access to credit for farming	 Credit mainly from family members and private money lenders Limited access to institutional credit 	 Improved access to institutional credit Credit from some group members
Market outlet for produce	 Over 70% of produce was sold immediately after harvest Produce was sold in the open market mainly through wholesalers Produce was sent to the market Women spent a lot of time looking for buyers Non-standard measures were used to sell produce Produce prices were mainly determined by buyers Payment for produce sold was intermittent Market access was limited 	 Produce are generally stored for some time before sale Produce issold to institutional buyers (e.g. WFP and School feeding program, and some few schools) Produce is mainly sold in the community Women spend less time in the market looking for buyers Standard measures (weighing scales) are used for sale Farmer makes input in price determination through the FO Payment for produce sold is made in full Generally, access to market improved

4.3 Capacity Building Results

The P4P Approach to Gender Empowerment includes Capacity Building through provision of the following areas:

- Increased access to agricultural extension services
- Increased access to agricultural information and markets
- Training in business, financial literacy, post-harvest handling and quality norms
- Training in functional literacy

Increase Women's Access to Agricultural Extension Services

P4P set out to facilitate and increase opportunities for rural women to access, control and manage resources and agricultural services. To achieve this target, WFP partnered with local and regional governments, International and local NGOs, UN agencies such as IFAD and FAO; which enabled women farmers to access agricultural services they were previously excluded from. The services include guidance on agronomic practices, maize necrosis disease, access to agricultural technology, extension services, training in farming techniques, fertilizer application, improved planting methods, improved seeds and more. Over 28,000 women benefited from these extension services. Rwanda alone reached out to over 19,000 women. Benefitting from some of these opportunities contributed to improved farm yields as well as prospects for women to market their surpluses.

Capacity Building Training in Business, finance, post-harvest handling and quality norms

Training in agricultural/ business modules was also undertaken as part of the P4P initiative in capacity building.

Target: Achieving at least 50 percent women among farmers trained under P4P

Participation in groups and in FO leadership has resulted in many women mustering social capital. Adult education is another way to increase social capital and assist women to take advantage of economic opportunities.

P4P set a target that at least 50% of all P4P trainees would be women. Overall, 200,000 women have been trained to date (Chart 9). This represents 28% of the 712,000 people trained at global level. Ethiopia alone, contributes 38% of the global number trained. However, women represent only 6% of the national trainees in Ethiopia. This has skewed the global trend, as the overall percentage of women trained minus Ethiopia rises to around 43% (Chart 10). The individual country results therefore present a more realistic picture (Chart 11).

Chart 9: Number of people trained through P4P (by gender) as of September 2013



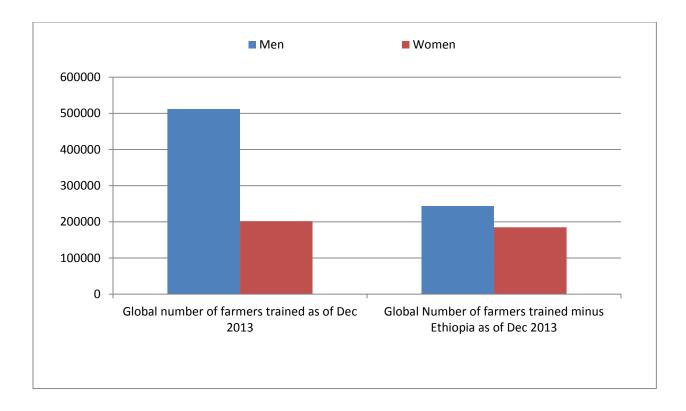


Chart 10: Gender distribution of farmers trained through P4P

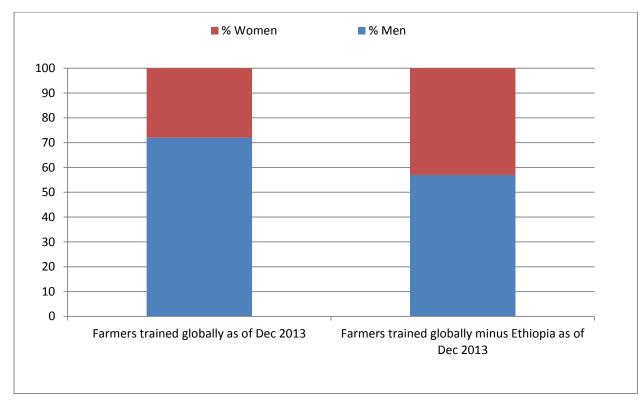
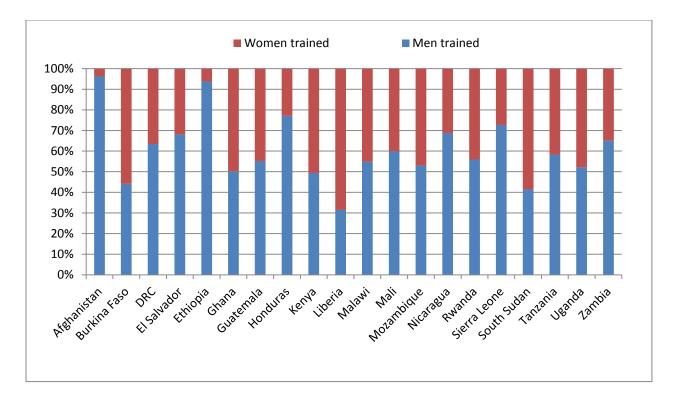


Chart 11: Per country training results by gender as of September 2013





Many women utilized the capacities acquired through these trainings to take advantage of opportunities that would have eluded them otherwise. In Ghana, field monitoring data from three country zones indicated a notable change in various aspects of the women's lives before and after the training modules and intervention of P4P as a whole (see Table 6). Focus group interviews from the same groups reported that their levels of knowledge grew appreciably in all the areas they were trained in after WFP introduced the P4P.

Capacity area/Subject	Ejura-Sekyedumasi		Tamale Metro		Tolon-Kunbungu	
matter	Level of	Level of	Level of	Level of	Level of	Level of
	knowledge	knowledge	knowledge	knowledge	knowledge	knowledge
	before P4P	after P4P in	before P4P	after P4P in	before P4P	after P4P in
	in %:	%:	in %:	%:	in %:	%:
Basic records keeping	20	75	10	55	10	95
Business Planning	22.5	40	12.5	38	0	30
Financial Management	15	67	10	57	15	67
Product costing & Pricing	20	65	16	65	20	68
Basic agronomic practices	35	80	40	78	20	80
Soil conservation and fertility	40	56	35	56	10	46
management						
Harvesting techniques	38	55	35	30	0	20
Postharvest handling &	24	81	14	81	20	71
storage						
Pest and disease control	35	67	14	67	4	69
Food handling and food	15	69	15	71	0	0
safety						

Table 5: Analysis of women's perception of capacity before and after P4P programme

Group Dynamics and conflict management	10	62	10	52	0	52
Product bulking and aggregation	25	70	18	70	15	68
Collective marketing	0	80	0	70	0	60
Negotiation skills	25	65	25	55	20	60

Women in Tanzania and Burkina Faso report that they now understand the risk of aflotoxin, and would ensure their families consume quality grains in the future. This is a dramatic shift, since they would previously sell the good grains for higher and keep the lower quality ones for family consumption, as they were ignorant of the health potential risks.

Increasing functional literacy among women smallholder farmers

In the Gender Strategy, P4P committed to promote the delivery of gender-tailored and genderfriendly training in literacy. A number of countries, including Liberia, Burkina Faso, and DRC reported compelling experiences in this regard. In DRC for instance, 97% of the 500 farmers engaged in the programme are women. In Liberia, many women in P4P-affiliated groups acquired basic literacy that was supported by UN Women. During a field visit to Liberia in July 2013 and interactions with the UN Women Country team, it was noted that there was a higher level of interest and capacity of assimilation from P4P-supported women's groups by comparison to other groups. Liberian women expressed pride in being able to read and thus being able to follow their children's performance at school. Another group of women said that now that they had learned basic literacy skills, they supervise their children's school activities. Besides, they report that their children can no longer trick them by faking their school reports. Women reported applying their literacy skills to reading and writing mail, which allows them to exercise their privacy.

In countries such as Honduras, Burkina Faso, and Mozambique, women use the numeracy skills they acquired to keep records of their personal income generating activities. In Burkina Faso, in addition to learning to read and write, women are taught modules on their basic rights. In DRC, after two years of offering literacy training, registration numbers increased year on year as participants perceived the importance of literacy. The women made a financial contribution of one-dollar to support the literacy programme. In Liberia, the War-Affected Women's Group of Melekie and the Gbonkuma Women's group have attained basic literacy. The women expressed their feelings of empowerment in terms of the way that these basic skills effect their lives.

5 SPILL-OVER EFFECTS BEYOND INITIAL TARGETS

In the course of facilitating the P4P initiative, notable positive but unexpected spillover effects occurred as a result of the programme activities. These are discussed below.

Increased Land Access for Women as a result of P4P

Although women's access to and control over resources has been identified as a problem, the issue of land was not specifically addressed as a target during the early years of implementation. The reason was partly because in many of P4P areas of intervention, land as a resource is governed by entrenched cultural norms and economic rules that are strongly biased towards men. P4P was careful to voice tactful encouragement for increasing women's access to land in a way that resonated with local and cultural expectations. These efforts ultimately culminated in positive results, reflected both at household and community levels, as reported by FOs in several countries.

Increasingly, husbands are conceding land plots to their wives for personal production. This is mainly motivated by the fact that through the women's inclusive management of the money earned through P4P, the men understood that their wives efforts would be for the good of the whole family. The decision by individual husbands to grant their wives farming plots for independent farming ventures is in itself a considerable step with notable transformative effects.

In Mali, intra-household dynamics were transformed at community meso-level when the customary leaders decided to grant 500 hectares of land to women's groups with. This move was viewed as an appreciation for the effort and achievements of the women through their sales to WFP which were seen as benefiting not only families but the community as a whole, as demonstrated through women's active participation in community activities. Subsequently, this allowed the women to make decisions about production and marketing of crops grown on their personal land, and further resulted in an increase in income for those that sold all or part of their surplus crop. Women of P4P-affiliated FOs in Mali now grow and sell sorghum, generally regarded as a man's prerogative. This bears the promise of gender-transformative relationships and positive cultural change, especially as it has been accompanied by a local administrative authority decision to approve the land grant with official titling. The administrative authorities' recognition of the women's groups' proprietorship of the land was a legal validation and set a rare precedent.

In many countries, the P4P initiative inspired women to buy or rent further land plots for personal production. While purchase of farming land by P4P-affiliated FO women farmers has been reported in Mozambique, Uganda, and Kenya, land rental is mostly reported in Ghana. In Burkina Faso, Ghana, and Mali, where small-scale farming land purchase or rental is not common practice

among smallholder farmers, women of P4P-supported FO reported borrowing land from non-family members to increase production.

'Livestock Ladder' Income Generation

Besides generating money by increasing participation in collective sales to P4P, women reported using their newfound skills from the trainings to engage in other farm and non-farm ventures. In Uganda, Kenya, and Burkina Faso, women FO members reported using sales profits to engage in remunerative livestock activities. Interesting reports came from Uganda, where low-income women farmers climbed the 'livestock ladder'. Using sales profits from crop production, they raised poultry and used the profits to buy a goat/ sheep. Some women recounted having expanded resources from raising the sheep in ways that allowed them to then buy a cow, or even expand their farm acreage or build a permanent brick dwelling. Similar stories were recounted in Kenya and Burkina Faso.

Box 7: Irene Kwagala is a female household head from the Busoga region of Uganda. As a member of the Matovu Rural Farmers, a P4P-supported FO, she benefited from a set of training, including agricultural techniques, postharvest handling and the commodity quality control. This allowed he to improve her crop yield and quality. In 2010, she sold her surplus maize crop, bought and raised chicken that multiplied quickly. She later bartered the chickens for a goat, and then used a few goats to barter into sheep upon multiplication. She then proceeded to acquire a cow from sales of a few sheep and goats. Besides using the cow to plough her farm, Irene reported using harvesting milk for family consumption and also as a source of extra cash. Irene used to increase her farm acreage and build a permanent house.

In Rwanda, where women increased their savings through their membership of P4P-supported groups, some women reported an increased sense of worth, as they bought mattresses from their savings, and one woman was paraphrased saying that "she feels like a person, now that she will sleep on a mattress like a rich person".

P4P as a social protection tool and as a deterrent against domestic violence

During the pilot, it was noted that in certain countries women used P4P as a concrete tool for deterring gender-based violence, protecting themselves and promoting peace, while sustaining their productive lives in areas of post-conflict countries such as Liberia. In a volatile post-war context, where women and girls used to be prey to an array of gender-based violence, including rape, these women joined FO groups to look out for each other and their children, and, thus, minimize risks. The prospects offered by P4P appeared to be a motivating factor for the women to remain in their groups, as it allowed them to produce and sell rice collectively, while conveying peaceful messages to community members. Similarly, women drew from their enhanced skills

Box 8: Malawi Case Study

During P4P's monitoring activities in 2012 in Malawi, it was observed that despite the many cases of improved income and decision making for female farmers, there were cases where the increasing empowerment of women was met with forceful resistance at the household level, and often resulted in some women experiencing domestic violence on behalf of their disaffected heads of household in attempts to control the income earned by their wives. Although it would be inaccurate to suggest that the women were victimized as a direct result of participating in P4P and making money, the incidents drew our attention on the complexity of mainstreaming gender and achieving women's economic empowerment in the various sociocultural contexts of P4P's operations.

This raises issues about the impact of social biases about the role and rights of women and how we have had to be careful within P4P to address these, using Malawi as an example. This also shows how to carefully consider how to mitigate against increasing the levels of violence towards women of economically disaffected households.

and other opportunities derived from participation in P4P to engage more significantly in farming as a commercial venture, not just for subsistence. Subsequently, many women used the income derived from sales of their production/ surpluses to share the household expenses with their husbands. They reported that domestic violence decreased as a result.

Increased confidence and a louder 'voice'

Many women have used their strengthened capacities and gender awareness as a powerful negotiation tool to win support at household and community level. This, in turn, has increased the confidence of the women and is an important part of the P4P approach to social empowerment. Increasingly, men report that they now perceive their entrepreneurial and economically independent wives as key partners in advancing the welfare of the household. This can be seen as a fundamental shift from the former view of entrepreneurial women as a threat to male hegemony with the potential to destroy the social order. This shift in perception has affected gender dynamics both at household and community levels. The gender awareness trainings inspired women to adopt household negotiation strategies to contribute to or share the household expenses, whenever the assets they accessed allowed them to do so.

Another broader effect that resulted from the training was an increased confidence on the part of women trainees. Though still quantitatively low, the women see this as a significant step forward, as they feel they have achieved more space to speak publically to leaders and to their peers about women's issues. In Liberia, for instance, Ma Fatou, Chair of the Gbonkuma Women Association, took the opportunity to speak directly to President Sirleaf Johnson during a P4P event, inviting the President to think about sustainability strategies for P4P when WFP leaves, 'for WFP has done its best and cannot be here forever'', she said. The confidence gained through participation and engagement in P4P and the training activities allowed women to access new opportunities. This has been observed in Kenya, Mali, Rwanda, Uganda, Burkina Faso, and Liberia. In Guatemala, women are now more vocal in mixed gender FOs. In some caste communities of Mali, 'low-caste' P4P-supported FO women reported feeling included and no longer discriminated against as a direct result of their participation in group activities.

Technology spillover effects

In Ghana, among many other countries, provides an example of what impacts basic technology such as a weighing scale and a stitching machine can make to smallholder farmers. Stitching machines allow farmers to keep commodities clean and well secured in bags. Using the weighing scale, Ghanaian women report saving 30 - 70kgs of maize from market buyers and intermediaries. Previously, a full sack of maize was not weighed accurately but estimated/assumed to weigh 100 kilograms. Though some FOs still succumb to the demands of buyers and middle men, the fact that P4P-affiliated FOs ask for prices based on quality and accurate weight, points to the transformative use of the P4P intervention.

6 PARTNERSHIPS

The role of partners in implementing P4P cannot be overstated. WFP has attracted a range of partners through P4P to further its gender work, both at country and global level.

The commitment and support from national and local government has been crucial in reaching the P4P objectives. In Liberia P4P is collaborating with the Ministry of Gender on policy and women's participation in commercialized agriculture. In Burkina Faso, a sensitization campaign on women's access to land in P4P-supported FOs coordinated by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security, the Ministry of Gender and Women, and WFP. It is said to have resulted into positive results as more male members have granted land to their wives.

The support of national and international NGOs, national and international research institutions, as well as UN agencies such as FAO, IFAD and UN Women has also been critical in achieving programme targets. In Honduras, UN Women works with P4P to promote the active participation of women in the agricultural value chain as well as to enhance women taking on leadership roles in FOs. FAO has proved efficient in supporting FOs with equipment in Liberia and in connecting women to markets such as in Honduras. IFAD has supported women's organizations with agricultural inputs, mostly improved seeds.

Partners also played a crucial role in training and capacity building. In Mali, AMASSA/ Afrique Verte provided training sessions to the processing units. Similarly, in Rwanda Women for Women International (WFWI) provided capacity building on gender issues to women's cooperatives which, in turn, sold their surplus to WFP-Rwanda. The Red de Mujeres Agricolas (REDMA) in Guatemala provided gender training to a network of women's organisations, while The Association for Social Communication Development (ADCS) provided training on strengthening equality and gender policy development. The Conseil et Appui à l'Education à la Base (CAEB) and Siginyogonje in Mali supported FO capacity-building, particularly through facilitating access to

Box 9: "We were provided with weighing scale for weighing our maize before selling which has helped us a lot. We would have used the "bush weight" system for checking our maize quantities. The "bush weight" system consists of selling heaped bags of between 130kg and 170kg of maize for the value of a 100kg bag, thereby depriving us of the extra kilos per bag. However, thanks to the weighing scales which WFP introduced and provided us, we can now weigh our produce and earn more money than we previously have been doing." Comfort Appiah, secretary of Nso Nyame Ye Women's Group, Ghana.

credit for women's groups, while Kaderes in Tanzania provided capacity building on microfinance and market assistance for Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies targeted under P4P. In El Salvador, the Gender Unit of CENTA (Centro Nacional de Tecnología Agropecuaria) gave trainings on gender equity and supported the preparation of educational materials for gender workshops.

USAID sponsored time-saving technology for women to benefit approximately 3,500 rural women and their households in 7 countries. In Burkina Faso, OXFAM and WFP shared costs by employing a woman agricultural extension worker to provide advisory services to rural women on savings, credit and group sales. Interim results indicate that this model could be reproduced elsewhere. An agreement between WFP and the Federation des Caisses Populaires du Burkina, a credit and savings bank that is present in the field, was successful.

The Agricultural Learning Network ALINe at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK was another trusted partner in developing the P4P Global Gender Strategy.

WFP is using P4P as an entry point to engage in more structured partnerships with UN Women, FAO and IFAD, through the Joint Programme on Rural Women's Economic Empowerment. Of the seven pilot countries involved in this programme, four are P4P pilot countries; Guatemala, Ethiopia, Liberia, and Rwanda.

7 CONCLUSION

The Purchase for Progress Initiative understood women's empowerment as a series of processes and changes whereby women's agency is expanded and by which the capacity to make strategic life choices and exert influence [that was previously] is acquired by women denied to them (Kabeer 2010). P4P has facilitated women's participation in FOs and FO leadership structures, improved women's access to credit and increased incomes, strengthened skills, equipped women to address gender issues at household level and provided time-saving technology. In many pilot countries, women leveraged the opportunities offered by P4P to expand their resource base for financial gain, as well as mustering symbolic or social capital. This improved their living conditions, gave them a voice at household and community level and access to new opportunities.

In the multiple definitions of the concept of empowerment (Sen 1985: 206), Amartya Sen's proposition, as built on by Alsop and colleagues (2006), is relevant to the P4P approach. Sen defines 'empowerment' as an expansion of agency. As for agency, he defines it as 'the expansion of assets and capabilities of [low income] people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives'. The components of the concept are further defined in ways that resonate with P4P, just as they include elements such as 'access to information, inclusion and participation, accountability and local organizational capacity' (Narayan 2002: vi-vii).

Although the P4P initiative has not yet achieved the 50% targets proposed at the beginning of the project, the 'power resources' that P4P facilitated for women have resulted in advancing women's 'power results'. While individual personality is key to leveraging resources into results, it can be inferred from the outcomes that the P4P Initiative has constituted an empowerment tool for women smallholder farmers. The most important achievements include the women's increased level of confidence, the shifting gender-transformative dynamics at household and community levels and the opportunities that this opened up to women to access further resource assets.

This analysis shows that the traditional barriers to land access and control may not always offer opportunities to women who usually work on farms where production is controlled by the husband, (exempting female-headed households, who represent a small percentage). P4P's division of women farmers into different labour groups allowed P4P to understand which categories were less likely to be reached. This alerted P4P to including them whenever possible.

The initial target to get 250,000 women to increase their yearly income by \$50 as an indicator for assessing women's improved livelihoods did not take into account other gains. Of the 300,000 or so women targeted in the initiative, approximately 200,000 women received training in various

subjects, including agricultural techniques, business, and gender awareness along with their male counterparts. Many women drew from the social networks of the FOs and the capacities gained to enter parallel, indirect land activities. Others used money gained to rent or buy land. Thus, the added value for women in participating in P4P-supported FOs resided in their ability to leverage their strengthened capacities to access credit and saving opportunities, as well as investing the money gained from selling to P4P to reinvest in lucrative opportunities. They were, therefore, agents of their own livelihoods. Sen (2000) defines the 'agent' as 'someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives, whether or not we assess them in terms of some external criteria'. Empowerment is closely connected to freedom. This echoes Sen's assertion that freedom should be measured in terms of the 'expansion of the "capabilities" of persons to lead the kind of lives they value' (1985).

The P4P experience in the pilot countries, including the five selected for enhanced gender focus – Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guatemala and Mozambique – allowed WFP to capture lessons learned. These lessons are summarized below, divided along the lines of the P4P Approach to Empowerment.

8 LESSONS LEARNED

Lessons Learned: Social Empowerment

- A culturally-relevant approach to women's empowerment is a key to sustainable gender equality and women's rights within rural contexts
- Gender equality objectives are unlikely to work if men feel excluded. This is valid both for WFP and partner staff as well as for men in target populations. They should, therefore, always be considered and included for training in gender awareness and as well in the design of appropriate gender mainstreaming activities wherever possible and relevant.
- Community, customary and religious leaders are reliable partners who can move gender equality objectives forward if an inclusive approach to gender equality objectives is adopted.
- Men are receptive to women's empowerment and gender equality when the women's empowerment theme is presented in terms of economic benefits to the household. This can impact women's access to land as well as household decision-making.
- Any assessment of gender achievements must go beyond number counting and focus on the impact on men-women relationships and the way this enables access to opportunities.
- Women's participation to and actual engagement in FO leadership can potentially influence board decisions to the benefit of women.
- Because of the cultural underpinning of gender relationships, gender results and outcomes may not immediately follow actions carried out, but may be long-term and gradual.

Lessons Learned: Economic Empowerment

- Women's numerical participation is necessary but not sufficient for their empowerment. Programmers must also take into account socio-economic constraints such as culturally engendered crop and livestock-raising practices.
- Giving women money does not guarantee women will be empowered; in fact without including men it can lead to protection issues in households where men become disaffected
- A pro-women procurement approach is key. WFP should expand the food basket to include crops traditionally controlled by women and collaborate with partners, including FAO, to support women with improved inputs including seeds

- P4P's division of women farmers into different labour groups allowed P4P to understand which categories of female agricultural labourers were less likely to be reached. This alerted P4P to including them whenever possible.
- WFP should continue to assist FOs to gain access to credit using the contract as collateral and work with partners to provide agricultural extension workers to assist the FOs in management of revolving loans. This can lead to new innovation in income generation, such as the 'livestock ladder'.

Lessons Learned: Capacity Building

- Basic literacy skills are a pre-requisite to business/ finance training and should be included as a first step in any capacity building programme.
- Equipping women and men with skills for managing the household budget, including negotiation skills can maintain or improve household harmony
- Track the quantitative and qualitative benefits of capacity building beyond number of people trained in order to understand the long-term spillover effects.

Best Practices for Future WFP Programming

Limited technical capacity by WFP/ Partner staff in gender issues, complicated by short-staffing and insufficient country office management's commitment to gender mainstreaming or misunderstanding of the rationale for women's empowerment have constituted a critical hurdle to P4P's gender mainstreaming efforts. Thus:

- The presence of a gender focal person conversant with gender issues is important, at all levels, from the WFP country office management team to agricultural extension workers in the field.
- A customized country gender strategy focusing on agriculture value chains should be undertaken prior to programme implementation using assessments that take account of regional diversity.
- Gender mainstreaming in any WFP humanitarian or programme area should not be taken for granted, but based on a clear-sighted process that includes close guidance and training of field staff.

- Depart from the confused understanding of gender that tends to be conflated with women, to also include men, boys, and girls of vulnerable demographics.
- P4P's systematic and comprehensive approach to gender mainstreaming can serve as a basis for future gender-inclusive programmes.

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