

TOPIC GUIDE:

Women's Empowerment in a
changing Agricultural and
Rural Context



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The purpose of the Topic Guides is to provide resources to support professional development. Each Topic Guide is written by an expert. Topic Guides:

- Provide an overview of a topic;
- Present the issues and arguments relating to a topic;
- Are illustrated with examples and case studies;
- Stimulate thinking and questioning;
- Provide links to current best 'reads' in an annotated reading list;
- Provide signposts to detailed evidence and further information;
- Provide a glossary of terms for a topic.

Topic Guides are intended to get you started on an unfamiliar subject. If you are already familiar with a topic then you may still find a guide useful. Authors and editors of the guides have put together the best of current thinking and the main issues of debate.

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The Topic Guides, and key texts referred to in the guides, cover the latest thinking on subject areas. If you think that a specific issue might be raised when you are under the spotlight, you can scan a Topic Guide dealing with that issue to get up to speed.

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I would like to read items in the reading list. Where can I access them?

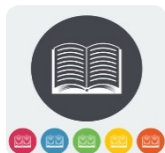
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- Send an email to the Evidence on Demand Editor at enquiries@evidenceondemand.org with your recommendations for other Topic Guides.

Tips for using this Topic Guide



Sections 1-5 contain the main reading material

At the end of each section there is at least one key reading on the topic, which you can open.

Section 1: unpacks gender related issues and includes a helpful review of what is meant by 'empowerment'. We recommend that everyone reads this section.

Sections 2-4: cluster empowerment discussions around a range of agricultural and rural related topics and sub-topics.

Section 5: looks at monitoring, evaluating and assessing impact or empowerment.

Each section provides:

- some theoretical background or assumptions around rural women
- evidence to illustrate how women's empowerment can be supported (or not) in a given context - we try to clearly distinguish between the evidence available and theory and concepts
- short case study examples to illustrate relevant points in the main text.



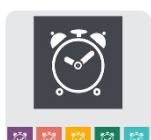
Key messages. These are included at the end of each sub-topic or section for a quick recap of the main points covered.



A set of questions are presented at the end of each sub-topic for readers to think about in relation to initiatives which they may be involved with.



Key readings or resources. One to two key readings or resources are included at the end of each sub-section. **A full set of references** are included at the end of the Guide. Web links to further useful materials on a topic are also included but, these are indicative and readers are encouraged to add their own and read further on particular topics of interest.



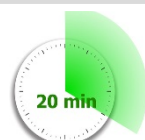
How long should I set aside for reading this Topic Guide?

If you have time we recommend that you allow up to three hours to get to grips with the main points. Allow additional time to follow links and read some of the resources. Whilst readers are encouraged to read the whole piece we do not recommend reading this Guide in one sitting given the breadth of material covered. Here are some suggestions, depending on the time you have available.



If you only have time for a quick glance at this Topic Guide (5-10 minutes), we suggest you go to:

- **The context: gender equality mandate**
- then go to the **Table of Contents** to guide you a relevant section, to pick up on any key messages or further reading and
- **Conclusions** (2 pages).



If you have 15 to 30 minutes to spare, we suggest you read **Section 1** (12 pages in total), and then come back later to go to the most relevant sub-section for your purpose.



If you have half an hour or more to spare, we suggest you read **Section 1**, then go to the Section that is most relevant to you. For example go to **Section 2.2.2** on land or go to **Section 3.1** on private sector, waged worked and rural labour markets. At the end of each section there is at least one key reading on the topic, which you can open for more depth. Most of the key readings are short.



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Introduction

Overview

The title of this Topic Guide is *Women's Empowerment in a Changing Agricultural and Rural Context*. Ensuring growth is *inclusive*, and *benefits girls and women* is central to DFID's strategic framework to deliver on economic development (DFID, 2014b). It is one of five pillars of strategic focus. The framework demands an emphasis on improving the following for poor women and poor men:

- access to markets
- access to finance
- improving land and property markets
- increasing employment opportunities and access to jobs through supporting non-discriminatory labour market policies.


DFID's *Agriculture and Women Report* (2014a)¹ frames questions around agricultural growth and women. Although the agricultural workforce as a whole is shrinking, agriculture remains one of the most important sources of employment for women in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. Evidence indicates that agricultural transformation and male out-migration are creating new wage employment opportunities for women in agriculture. Non-traditional value chains are opening up opportunities for women in high value export crops requiring labour intensive production techniques (DFID, 2014a, pg. 13). However DFID (2014a) points to much evidence around gender related constraints that must yet be overcome.

Change such as out-migration from rural areas is inevitable and has happened throughout history. Rural areas in most corners of the world now appear to be changing at a faster rate than previous decades. Rural populations are now having to respond to changes in: climatic conditions, population density (births or decreases caused by outward migration), and are negotiating with increasingly complex agriculture-food value chains. Change can be structural relating to land reform or private sector investment, or change can occur as a result of new techniques or technologies such as mobile phones, or the mechanisation or the availability of post-harvest equipment. Change can be: forced because of conflict; or sudden following the negative impacts of weather related disasters such as flooding. Gradual change in weather patterns is resulting in transitions to other crops, species or varieties, which may affect growth and distribution of incomes, and demand for agricultural produce. Change can also be catalysed by the introduction of new institutional arrangements such as cooperatives or banks.



Change can have differential impacts on men and women. Some change can be positive. For example, change can provide income generating opportunities through new market opportunities for women or increased access to finance (credit, savings and insurance services). Other change can be negative. For example, change can initiate new types of conflicts over resources. Change and growth in the agricultural sector that benefits women

¹ [Link here
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/318355/Ag_and_women_final.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/318355/Ag_and_women_final.pdf)



delivers greater household welfare to household members. This is because women spend a larger proportion of their income on child health, schooling and nutrition than men, if they have control and decision-making power over their income. Increased spending on children is often used as an indicator of positive impacts on women. Indeed women's incomes are particularly important in times of crisis (DFID, 2014a).

Within this somewhat rapidly changing context, this Topic Guide focuses on empowerment, and unapologetically on women's empowerment. Women and girls empowerment is part of DFID's mandate. We look at what 'empowerment' means and why it is important. Change (through development interventions) can support the empowerment of women in different positive ways such as allowing them to claim land tenure; or change can make things more difficult for them, such as a higher post-harvest workload. Examples from different parts of the world indicate that different approaches may be required for men and women to reflect their different needs, priorities and assets, or to facilitate their ability to make decisions.



Much of the material in this Guide covers empowerment and livelihood related issues. It provides insight into how we can support empowerment by outlining evidence from approaches that support rural women.

There are three points to consider when reading the text. First, we do not use evidence to provide blueprint solutions. The evidence that we draw upon is useful to consider but it is unlikely to provide a one-stop answer to a single issue. Second, we sometimes find that there is a disconnect between the claims made in the broader development literature and the actual evidence of its impact. Third, at times throughout the Guide, there is an emphasis on different categories of women, such as younger women or landless women, it may seem that 'women' are grouped together and treated the same. We fully acknowledge that women are not a homogenous group. The challenge is to ensure change is equitable for many different categories of women and not to assume that perceived outcomes might impact on women's livelihoods in the same way as they might for men.

Aim of this Topic Guide

The aim of this Topic Guide is to provide readers with a better understanding of the elusive concept of 'empowerment' in agricultural and rural contexts. The Guide summarises and signposts readers to current debates and thinking around women's empowerment, whilst being conscious that supporting empowerment has no definitive response. There are many ways to support or enable empowerment.

It is expected that the Topic Guide will provide 'non-gender experts' with a good understanding of women's empowerment within the broader context of 'development' discussions. It is assumed that readers already have a solid grasp of international development contexts, and current development discourse. The Topic Guide will help readers become more confident in proposing and developing innovative and relevant approaches that support women in a changing rural context. The key debates, evidence, and messages outlined in this Guide should provide 'food for thought' for future programme design or policy advice. At the very least, it is hoped that the evidence, messages and questions presented in this Guide will stimulate thinking about narratives, and the assumptions we often hold about women and men.



What's in this Topic Guide

The Guide is not structured around any specific gender analysis framework, rather the Guide has been purposively structured in five sections to aid understanding around five broad themes, each of which can be read as a stand-alone piece. The Sections are summarised below.


Section 1 contains a summary of issues around gender. It begins with a glossary that unpacks gender related jargon and includes a helpful review of what is meant by 'empowerment'. This part of the Guide also explains why we have focused on women, and outlines what this might mean for those supporting rural livelihoods.

Section 2 broadly examines how to support the empowerment of rural women at the policy and programming level. It reviews the importance of inclusive planning for growth and how collective action is often a necessary ingredient for support to empowerment. Access to information through conventional agricultural advice channels and through Information Communication Technology and are also examined in this section. Approaches that have stressed the key constraints that affect women's productivity are outlined, noting that productivity increases and resources are just one consideration in a path towards empowerment.

Women (as a group) face constraints, barriers and discrimination. These constraints are often not addressed. For instance in subsistence agriculture, women require considerable targeted support such as better access to assets, information and advice. **Section 2** also examines evidence that was located on land, livestock and forestry regarding access to and control over different assets for women. Due to the range of issues covered in this Guide, it is important to stress that not all gender dimensions are discussed in depth.

Section 3 explores waged work options for women in rural areas and social protection initiatives. A high proportion of women and girls produce for markets and/or are wage-dependent on the agricultural sector, taking on seasonal or casual work to supplement incomes with paid work on other farms or plantations. With no option but to 'step out' of agriculture, we stress that women require higher earning work opportunities in better conditions. Emerging evidence from off-farm livelihoods options that may support rural women's path to empowerment are presented, as well as long known challenges around better quality work. For example, domestic workers also require labour rights. **Section 3** also touches on support that can be provided to rural areas by reviewing some types of social protection (support for labour market programmes, some public works and cash transfers programmes).

Section 4 focuses on empowerment issues related to entrepreneurship, particularly along agricultural value chains. In many rural contexts women require support to develop new business opportunities along supply chains and access to market information. A review of some evidence around skills / business training for entrepreneurs is presented, before taking a very brief look at microfinance and its link to empowerment. Approaches that link smallholders (women in particular) to markets are examined, looking at women's empowerment in new and emerging value chains for example, through contracting arrangements.



Section 5 concerns monitoring, evaluating and assessing impact. Various guidelines are now beginning to layout different dimensions of empowerment that can potentially be measured. This section questions whether we can really measure empowerment, outlining four different frameworks that may help in this regard. When reviewing material for this Guide, it became clear that many studies do not necessarily focus on women's 'empowerment' per se. Impact studies that mention empowerment use a diversity of indicators to measure progress towards 'empowerment'. In Section 5 we therefore outline some key points that can be used to provoke discussions on monitoring and evaluating women's empowerment.

What's not included

This Topic Guide does not attempt to comprehensively cover all facets of rural areas, or all opinions on empowerment. Rather it attempts to interest readers in this important concept, so that they may be stimulated to continue to support empowerment goals in their work.


Not everything related to 'empowerment' is documented or can be described in measurable terms so it is important to remember when reading or using this guide that many initiatives that are working well or supporting empowerment are likely to have been missed. Whilst attempts are made to link readers to accessible and available evidence, due to space limitations, this Guide cannot go into extensive detail on all aspects of rural livelihoods or explore in depth all available studies.

For example, a summary overview of gender considerations in forest access, use and management is taken as an example of natural resource management. We do not focus on watershed management, biodiversity conservation, wildlife or fisheries, but acknowledge that gender related issues raised apply also to these and other natural resource areas. Empowerment in the context of conflict, post-conflict and fragile states is not covered in the Guide. Neither are trade policies and the consequences of trade liberalisation on rural women. Public financial management is only mentioned briefly in relation to gender-responsive budgets. Improving co-ordination amongst donors and working in partnership for women's empowerment is not covered either.

Many aspects of women's empowerment in rural areas can be explored in much more detail elsewhere. In many cases the Guide touches on an issue and provides links to more detailed references on that topic or refers to other Topic Guides such as the one on Land (Locke and Henley, 2014).

A snapshot of available evidence is presented in the Guide. Apart from conducting academic and web based searches, a rapid assessment of evidence was gathered based on DFID's advice and inputs, and from responses to requests for information sent to approximately 200 experts working in this field (Murray, 2013b). Many relevant reports may have been missed. Acknowledging that large-scale economic-focused studies often miss important testimonials of how women themselves view their position in society, we frequently refer to qualitative studies that may illustrate better how women's empowerment can be supported.

Male and female identities are not simple binary constructions. The Guide does not attempt to explore multiple gender identities and we apologise that this Guide may appear to contain a simplistically male/female focus. We are cognizant that at times the evidence we present may seem to socially constitute women as a homogeneous group on the basis of shared inequalities.



DFID's Strategic Vision for Girls and Women, launched in 2011 identified four 'game-changing' pillars of work for DFID² :

1. Get economic assets directly to girls and women;
2. Get girls through secondary school;
3. Delay first pregnancy and support safe child birth; and
4. Prevent violence against girls and women.

This Topic Guide focuses mainly on the first pillar above. Issues around skills training are presented in Section [4.1.1 Skills and business training](#) of this Guide. Some points related to rural labour markets outlined in Section [3.1 Private sector work and rural labour markets](#) are linked to secondary school education. However, secondary school education is not a focus of this Guide. Pillars 2, 3 and 4 are covered in other publications.³

The Guide does not purport to comprehensively cover the topic of empowerment in rural areas, nor present a systematic review of literature. Rather it has been written to stimulate thinking. There are many gaps in knowledge on the challenging topic of women's empowerment in a rural context. Some such gaps are noted and summarised in the concluding remarks of each section.

With these caveats, we hope that this is a useful starting point for readers who wish to understand more about supporting women's empowerment in a fast changing world.

² DFID's vision builds on the knowledge that investing in girls and women is transformational for their own lives and for their families, communities, societies and economies, helping to break the cycle of poverty between generations. DFID consider interventions such as those that support jobs and livelihoods for women, training and skills development for women, a focus on land tenure and property rights, enhancing access to financial institutions, and rural infrastructure important for women's 'economic empowerment'.

³ For example the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) (2014) recently documented five strategies to help end child marriage. In July 2014 the UK and UNICEF hosted the first Girl Summit, aimed at mobilising efforts to end female genital mutilation (FGM) and child, early and forced marriage. A video related to the campaign to end child marriage and Female Genital Mutilation is available at: <http://ow.ly/zx14R>



SECTION 1

Empowerment - Overview and Debates

1.1 Unpacking the jargon

In some parts of the world such as South East Asia, it is normal to see women working on building roads, whereas in other parts of the world this type of work is normally only done by men. This is a gender difference. Taking another example, in some cultures unmarried women, regardless of their educational level may not be allowed to participate in training activities because they may be mingling with men who are not relatives, whereas widows in the same region may be 'allowed to' take part. Men may be allowed to participate in training activities regardless of their marital status.

Gender refers to the social differences and relations between men and women, which are learned, changeable over time, and have wide variations both within and, between cultures. Gender is a central organising factor in societies, and can significantly affect the processes of production, distribution and consumption.


Gender equality is a principle and an objective enshrined in many national and international instruments. Governments, and their partners, as signatories to international gender equality conventions have a duty to develop or adjust policy in line with the provisions in these instruments and implement measures that realise these commitments.⁴

Gender inequalities can be more prominent in rural areas, because traditional roles and relations may be more entrenched. With only a few exceptions, rural women fare worse than rural men and urban women and men for every Millennium Development Goal (MDG) indicator for which data are available (FAO, 2012). Even so, it is too simplistic to always draw conclusions about the effects of inequalities from one place to another. Within countries and rural regions there are many variations, particularly amongst diverse ethnic groups.



Gender roles and the gender division of labour - Who does what task is often thought to be distinct in rural areas of many parts of the world (e.g. South-East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa). In many societies males are often traditionally responsible for the task of clearing the land, and women are responsible for weeding and postharvest processing. In Asian rice farming systems, men typically provide the labour in land preparation, and women

⁴ Gender equality is enshrined in most national constitutions all over the world. It is a principle of many national and international instruments. For example, the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has been ratified by 188 countries. One of the eight Millennium Development Goals is to promote gender equality and empower women.



provide labour in planting, cultivation, and crop care such as weeding.⁵ Another typical division of labour is that women are responsible for small animals and poultry in rural areas whilst the sale of surplus livestock and livestock products are frequently thought to be men's responsibility. But such roles are not static. Section [1.2 Changing gender roles and relations](#) outlines how gender roles may be changing.

A gender analysis is an organised approach for examining factors related to gender. It concerns a review of the activities and responsibilities of both women and men to inform on a particular context, and to try to predict in advance the probable effects that policies or planned interventions can have on either women or men separately. Interventions may impact on women and men differently because: women and men engage in different activities; they do not have equal access to and control of resources; or women and men's power to make important decisions differs. Questions that might be asked in a gender analysis to inform the design of a new agricultural programme for example, might include:

- Who grows which crops?
- Who decides what to grow and which crops are sold?
- Who manages petty cash for the household?
- How are major decisions around factors of production made in the household?

A gender analysis of rural to urban migration would look at the movements of women compared to men and examine the constraints, opportunities and needs of women and men in a given migration context. Answers should help target immigration support and information services more efficiently and fairly.

A gender analysis often attempts to look within the household, which is taken as the smallest economic and social unit in a community. Households are a focus because they constitute a system where many decisions are taken in order to meet livelihood needs of the household members. The household deploys its members, who can be termed 'human capital', to work in various activities inside and outside the household. Yet resources that come into the household may not be shared equally amongst household members, which is why we focus on relations and power within the household. Basic questions include *who does what? who decides on resource use? and who controls resources?*

Sex disaggregated data is the collection and separation of data and statistical information by sex. Data are analysed separately on males and females to enable numeric comparative analysis on for example who provides labour; or who owns land.

Gender-disaggregated data or gender indicators are sometimes described as more analytical indicators derived from sex-disaggregated data to monitor changes in gender relations. They are usually pitched more at outcome / impact levels. In practice however, the terms sex-disaggregated data and gender-disaggregated data are used interchangeably.

⁵ For example Paris et al, (2008) outlined that in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, India women provide 60–80% of the total labour inputs in rice production (pulling of seedlings, transplanting, weeding), post-harvest (winnowing, dehulling, hand threshing, seed drying) and seed management (selection, storage). Men are mainly responsible for land preparation, application of chemicals, and transporting inputs and products.

The **Care Economy** concerns the work of looking after a family and household: fetching fuel, water, cooking, cleaning, and providing care for family members and relatives (including the sick). Although vital for maintaining social fabric, care is excluded from gross national product as it lies outside the production boundary. Women's unpaid work, particularly in the care economy, requires greater attention. Redistributing or reducing women's unpaid work (through better technology or infrastructure in for example the water or sanitation sector) is one aspect. Another aspect is valuing women's unpaid care work, which supports economies, and factoring it into policies. Information on women's contributions can be collected through time use surveys and household labour force surveys.



The word **empowerment** stems from notions of 'power'. Empowerment is generally described as an expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them (Kabeer, 2001). What is meant by 'empowerment' is elaborated further in Section 1.2 **Changing gender roles and relations**.

Gender mainstreaming is a strategy towards achieving gender equality. Gender mainstreaming implies an alignment of policies, programmes and interventions to promote a pro-active approach to gender equality rather than responding to inequalities as negative impacts unfold. Mainstreaming as a response to gender inequalities across different sectors has had varied success in different countries and contexts, and is not without its critics. With 'mainstreaming', many argue that affirmative action for women to 'catch-up' is reduced. Some question the potential of mainstreaming to tackle underlying causes of inequality, and advocate for more transformative policies for women's empowerment such as radical changes in land tenure laws or major transformation of agricultural extension approaches to reach women smallholders (see Section 1.2). Although not always transformative, mainstreaming has nonetheless proved helpful for putting the issue of gender equality on the agenda.

A **gender audit** of institutions considers whether internal practices and related support systems for gender mainstreaming are effective and reinforce each other. Gender audits can promote organisational learning around better ways to address gender inequalities, or highlights existing good practices. Gender audits can provide a baseline on how an organisation is faring in fulfilling its gender equality mandate with a view to monitoring subsequent progress.

A **gender responsive budget**. Most budgets are not specifically targeted at women or men. A typical budget is often viewed as a neutral exercise, under which budget allocations and their impacts are seen as equal for all citizens.

Preparing a budget from a gender perspective, is known as **Gender Budgeting** or a **Gender Responsive Budget Initiative**. It includes an analysis of public spending on men and women and an analysis of whether revenues accruing to the government affect women and men differently and how.⁶

⁶ For more information see <http://www.gender-budgets.org/>



Box 1 Working with men and women

Men and women live together on our planet. Gender equality cannot be achieved without changes in cultural and social norms. Such change requires the cooperation and participation of both women and men. As heads of state and government ministers, as leaders of religious institutions, as judges, as heads of armies, as village heads, as brothers, husbands and fathers, men wield power over many aspects of women's lives. For example, husbands often decide on issues that constrain or restrict women's mobility.

Men as community, religious or political leaders can be very influential reaching citizens beyond those narrowly engaged in a development intervention. Men must be allies in addressing gender inequalities. **UN Women launched a “He For She”** campaign in September 2014 to encourage men to openly speak out against sexism in solidarity with the women's rights movement.

Organisations such as the International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW) and Care International stress the importance of men in approaches to gender equality.

Barker et al. (2010) provide insights from ICRW's projects that researched this topic. They argue that public policies have yet to adequately engage men and boys in overcoming gender inequality or addressing their own gender-related vulnerabilities. They also raised awareness among policymakers and planners focusing on:


- how to promote more cooperative and equitable relations between women and men
- how to reduce gender inequities
- attention to men's gender-related vulnerabilities.

Care International believe that working to achieve women's empowerment implies that there must be a shift in gender norms, and to this end they work with men and boys as clients, partners, and allies. They stress that men and boys also benefit from improved gender relations. Exploring cultural expectations around masculinity, Care International feel it is important to also discuss the way men use power and feel powerless themselves in certain situations.

1.2 Changing gender roles and relations

Change is always possible and usually inevitable. All interventions by the nature of their objectives and strategies strive to change particular norms, practices and expectations of individuals and/or institutions. Rapid and recent changes make it hard to generalise on gender roles and relations. For instance information and communications technologies are considered to have made unprecedented changes in the last decade. A small example to illustrate this comes from Iversen and Palmer-Jones (2013) who found in their econometric analysis and review of two survey data sets⁷ that the spread of cable television in rural India may correspond to slight changes in female empowerment (e.g. women's tolerance of spousal violence) amongst a particular category of women – women with education.

⁷ This was a replication review of previous work undertaken by Jensen and Oster (2009)



The emergence of computerised modern supply chains is profoundly changing the way food is sourced and traded, which has significant effects on rural households in for instance expected standards of production.

Migration and the effects of HIV/AIDS change the traditional roles of those left in rural areas, with older women often taking on more child rearing tasks, or left to manage farm / household plots.

Due to many such changes boundaries between male and female roles in rural areas may be less rigid than they initially appear. In Section 2 we highlight Goldstein et al. (2013) findings on crops from Benin (based on empirical data). They examined the shift in production from food crops to cash crops (oil palm and cotton) and found that the traditional distinction between male and female crops that was thought to exist does not seem to reflect the reality on the ground. What is considered a female or male task varies cross-culturally, and changes in traditional gender divisions of labour often reflect economic circumstances rather than choice alone.



Changes through sedentarisation⁸, often encouraged by national governments can lead to changes in gender roles and relations. Using qualitative research, Coppock and Desta (2013) outline some changing gender roles due to income earned amongst groups of settled pastoral women in Northern Kenya. This has resulted in women making more decisions than they had previously. Fratkin and Roth (2005) highlight, some are perceived to be negative, but other changes offer opportunities. For example, with many people located in the one place, there can be competition for resources such as water. Women may spend longer hours fetching water. On the other hand, girls and women have better access to education. With some education, women have a much higher chance of emerging as community leaders. As is the case in many contexts, along with education, changes in cultural norms may be required, so that women as leaders are actually accepted.

Change, due to movements of persons to and from rural areas can affect men and women differently. For example, in many parts of the world where migration takes place for economic reasons it is typically men that migrate first, leaving women behind (with less 'manpower' than before). Chan (2010) in a practical guide for women smallholders in value chains outlines how the company Finlays (in Kenya) noted that about a third of the households involved in their out grower tea scheme were female-headed households. The men had migrated to work off farm. Contracts with Finlays were drawn up in the husband's name initially, leaving ultimate decision making with him. Why female farmers register in producer groups / out-grower schemes under the name of a husband or male relative is unclear (even if they could join under their own name). Is it due to company policies or pressure from husbands or male relatives, who have power to maintain control of the purchase contract and expected income? With such changes due to migration, it is important that better details during registration are worked out. In this example, it will affect producers ability to negotiate with Finlays later.

⁸ Sedentarisation involves the settlement of a group of human beings in a territory.



1.3 Empowerment

1.3.1 Can we define empowerment?

The term 'empowerment' is a tricky concept, with many interpretations of what it means. It is not that easy to define, let alone attempt to measure. It relates to an individual's 'power'. 'Power' itself is difficult to define. Power can range from the ability to make someone do something (power over someone); to the ability to put something on the agenda or keep something off the agenda; to having the power to make someone do something even though they do not realise they have been influenced to do it (Lukes, 1974).

Another way of thinking about power is in terms of the ability to make choices – as basic as being able to decide what crops to grow (de Brauw and Liu, 2013) or as fundamental as being able to decide on the number of children to have or deciding to work outside the home. Yet choice implies there are alternatives, and assumes there is an ability to have chosen otherwise (Kabeer, 2001). Many options are simply not available or alternative choices not known. For instance economic structures, patriarchy and/or a lack of information can leave rural women with less options and choices.

Empowerment essentially concerns 'power'. It generally implies the process of building capacities to exercise control over one's life. Empowerment implies that a man or woman develops greater self-confidence with an inner transformation.⁹ In other words, power resides within an individual. It means that an individual holds a belief in their ability to secure changes, or the right to influence the direction of social change (DFID, 2002). Beyond the individual, collective power is when groups come together, experiencing power in numbers and solidarity to tackle issues together (discussed in Section 2.1.2 Social capital and collective action).

In contrast it could be argued that 'disempowerment' is when choice and 'taking control' are denied. Disempowerment can take place when interventions or processes are established in such ways that women's and men's priorities and interests are ignored or overridden. Disempowerment can occur when women's participation in decision-making regarding their future is reduced. For instance, top down interventions that do not start by considering the real challenges of those they are seeking to support can be unintentionally disempowering.

It is really difficult to gauge an individual's perception of his or her own empowerment. Speaking in public at a village meeting can be a symbol of empowerment for one woman, or having the freedom to travel to visit someone without getting permission from a male relative may be empowering for another woman. Signals of empowerment can be context and culturally specific. Yet, in the current 'results focused' environment we now strive to measure empowerment using different types of indicators that qualitatively/quantitatively gauge the changing situation. Empowerment is often viewed across different dimensions.

An example is the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI)¹⁰ which is summarised along with other frameworks for considering empowerment in Section 5 of this Topic Guide.

⁹ This is in line with DFID's transformational vision in the 2011 Strategic Vision for Girls and Women (see page x).

¹⁰ The Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) was developed by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative in collaboration with the USAID and IFPRI. The WEAI requires data collected through household and community surveys (with a focus on women and men within households). USAID uses the WEAI in its *Feed the Future* programme. The portfolio of countries for which WEAI data is available is growing. For details of the WEAI indicators, see Alkire et al. (2012).



With the WEAI empowerment is viewed across the following dimensions:

- ability to make decisions about agricultural production – i.e. what to produce
- having access to and decision-making power over productive resources
- ability to have control over use of income
- assuming leadership in the community; and
- having control over one's time.

1.3.2 Why focus on women's empowerment?

Whilst recognising that 'women' are not a homogenous group, many indicators acknowledge that women are discriminated against or have generally been less well placed than men to overcome adversity, deal with oppression or take advantage of opportunities. At the global level, the UNDP's female human development index (HDI) value is about 8 percent lower than male HDI. Across countries gender gaps in HDI values range between 0 and 40 percent (UNDP, 2014). Multiple barriers that women face have been long documented. Typical inequalities often stated are presented in Box 2 below.

Box 2 Typical inequalities faced by women

The following outlines typical gender inequalities or discrimination that rural women may face. Needless to say these are country and context specific. Care must be taken to avoid stereotyping rural women:

- Inequitable laws, with some laws being outright discriminatory not allowing women to pursue certain activities (e.g. be employed in certain jobs); but other laws that facilitate the subordination of women, such as nebulous land rights or customary law that overrides national law (e.g. facilitating less access to common property resources for women).
- Lower levels of education, although girls' primary education is now on the increase worldwide.
- Less formal contact with advisors or outsiders and often more restricted or limited networks, resulting in limited information on economic opportunities and markets.
- Less access to resources and inputs for agricultural related tasks such as seeds, fertilizer, technologies and tools; fewer sources of financial services.
- Discriminatory cultural and social norms as fundamental as early marriage for girls, or an unequal division of 'caring' duties and housework; including a high work burden collecting water and fuel for the household, leaving women with less time to pursue other activities or less leisure time.
- Underlying or hidden negative attitudes about female's capabilities that are socially determined rather than biological. Women's biological and caring role can be amplified to reduce other economic and political opportunities.
- Other non-legal patterns or structures that discriminate against women on the basis of being female (such as unequal wages for piece rate agricultural work, workplace discrimination and sexual exploitation).

These types of obstacles and perceptions that women face interact to determine the level of empowerment women can aspire to and experience.



There are many reasons behind women's disadvantaged position in society relative to men. In some cultural contexts women are thought of as inferior to men. Women and girls can encounter culturally influenced self-perception barriers, on the basis of being born female. Indeed women and men are bearers of gender attitudes. Both sexes intentionally or unintentionally pass on gender attitudes to the next generation.

Rural women often require particular support because they do not have the same starting point as men. As mentioned, a criticism of having a 'mainstreaming gender' strategy in place is that there is often less focus on levelling the playing field for women who face disadvantages (even though 'mainstreaming' is not supposed to limit a focus on women). Yet it is important not to only view women as 'vulnerable' (see Box 3 below). Nowadays there tends to be more focus on ensuring information and support reaches rural women and builds on women's strengths, achievements and priorities.

Box 3 Women as always the 'vulnerable'?

Women's 'disempowerment' is often discussed in a casual and simplistic way. This can lead us to pose the following questions:

Why are only women viewed as vulnerable and disadvantaged?

Does this reinforce prejudices about women's abilities?

What about their level of wealth? Education? Their age? Women's status in society?

Is discrimination only based on sex?


Vulnerability relates to the physical, social, economic and environmental conditions at hand, which are shaped by many factors including historical and cultural situations. Wealth, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation and gender roles and relations shape the process of empowerment.

Clearly being vulnerable is not exclusive to being female. Men can face ethnic barriers or discrimination on the basis of disability, their wealth, their education level, their age or sexual orientation.

We must remember that women and girls are not just victims but are also agents of change.

There can be difficulties in focusing on women's empowerment alone. Views and understanding of empowerment differs widely in various parts of the world. Complex social relations between women themselves and between women and men exist in society, not least sexual relations and family ties, but also in relation to culture. Interventions may backfire if they target women only, and there may be strong resistance from men (and other women) particularly if there is a feeling the 'empowerment' has repercussions for family relations. Many working on interventions that have an 'empowerment' focus find that once the 'empowerment agenda' begins to impact on men's lives and livelihoods, they are likely to have a counter reaction with individuals arguing that it is an interference in their family and social fabric.

If we were to discuss empowerment along a continuum, at one end we can place women's empowerment as a basic human right in line with international commitments to live free from discrimination. At the other end, women's empowerment is discussed in terms of their



potential economic contributions to rural economies. The next section examines how these viewpoints can overlap.

1.3.3 Linking ‘Empowerment’ with ‘Economic Empowerment’

Women’s economic empowerment relates to their ability to bring about positive changes in their lives and communities as a result of their participation in economic activities. DFID’s definition of economic empowerment is outlined as:

“a process that increases people’s access to and control over economic resources and opportunities including jobs, financial services, property and other productive assets (from which one can generate an income), skills development and market information”. DFID (2012)


Because poverty reduction is usually the key priority, economic empowerment is often a core objective of rural development interventions. DFID and others argue that economic empowerment matters for women and girls as it contributes to their broader empowerment. Economic empowerment leads to better welfare outcomes for women themselves but also for their households and their wider communities. Women require economic resources to enjoy their basic needs (for example food and shelter) before they can consider a transformation of power relations. In essence economic resources are a pre-condition.

Who decides how to spend money in the household is often an indicator for empowerment. Spending money on children is sometimes taken as a ‘proxy’ for women’s decision-making ability – in other words an indicator of empowerment. This is because many studies (for example Duflo, 2011) have found that when women have access to money and power to make decisions about the use of income earned, women (in comparison to men) tend to spend relatively more funds on children. To support women’s economic empowerment there is often a strong focus on increasing her productivity, as we will see throughout this Guide. However, a focus on productivity alone is often not enough, if we do not consider how different obstacles (listed in Box 2) interact. A focus on how low income also affects other aspects of life is required; as well as a focus on how a person came to be in poverty and what keeps them there. Poverty is more than a problem of economic resource shortfalls, but is also related to structural issues. Poverty has consequences for and is related to an inability to influence decision-making processes affecting one’s life.



A woman’s capacity to act independently and to make her own free choices (which is often called a women’s ‘agency’¹¹) is determined by more than her economic situation. Laws, customs, religion and male relatives matter. For instance a woman with her own income may still face intimidation in society or beatings from an intimate partner. A woman may not be able to travel to producer group meetings without her husband’s permission, or if allowed to attend a meeting may only be able to stay for a short time – thus she does not control her mobility or time. Women in poverty can face even further disadvantages. Women’s mobility and ability to make decisions to move in public and market spaces is evidently an important factor related to poverty reduction, particularly if she wishes to directly pocket cash sales.

¹¹ A person’s *agency* is their independent capability or ability to act on their own will. It relates to their confidence, perceptions of the society where they are based, and the particular environment in which they are located.



Violence against women (which affects all women) also has significant economic costs in terms of lost income for women, and decreased productivity. Having mapped the links between intimate partner violence and economic growth in nine countries, and conceptually identified types of costs that can be estimated, Duvvury et al. (2013) argue for a focus on estimating the impacts of violence on productivity, a key driver of economic growth.

Economic empowerment is only one dimension of empowerment albeit a very important dimension. On the whole, the term ‘economic empowerment’ is often used (with a focus on resources) without due consideration of what the ‘empowerment’ part means in reality. Decision making responsibilities assigned to women and men in their capacities as wives, husbands, mothers, fathers, daughters, sons or other roles presents additional complexity to a somewhat simplistic focus on economic empowerment. It is rather easier to consider poverty reduction in isolation to other inter-dependent control issues (such as mobility or violence against women) that are sometimes seen as ‘interfering’. Evidently economic empowerment and ‘empowerment’ as defined in Section 1.2 are linked. In some instances (but not all) economic development may be sufficient to drive women’s empowerment. On balance women’s income has *clear implications* for women’s bargaining power within the household.

To get those with power (including those ‘at the top’ of government, those leading development programmes, running businesses etc.) to consider gender equality as an important goal, let alone support empowerment can be challenging. The language of ‘economic empowerment’ often resonates well with economists and policy makers, than broader ‘empowerment’ language. Practically, different types of arguments are used to advance equality and empowerment, depending on the context. Several development agencies work on gender issues based on human rights principles, but do not use such language when working with partners on the ground. Rather they use arguments such as ‘*a focus on women is more efficient*’. Some of the arguments generally used to support gender equality are summarised in Box 4 that follows.





Box 4 Gender equality arguments

Equity arguments

Equality between women and men is seen as a human rights issue. Equity implies the application of general principles of justice and fairness for women and men according to their respective needs. This may include equal treatment or treatment that is different but equivalent. Equity arguments may stress women require a particular focus to re-dress situations when women do not experience the same rights or opportunities as men.

Anti-poverty arguments

Poverty reduction arguments recognise that certain groups of women (widows, female headed households in rural areas, informal workers etc.) may be over-represented among people who are poor. A rise in incomes for women is argued to benefit society and the family (see also DFID, 2014a).

Efficiency arguments


Efficiency type arguments highlight that women's inequality leads to the inefficient allocation of resources and therefore worsens the well-being of families (Duflo, 2011; Hlanze and McWhirter, 2014). It is further stressed that a failure to take account of women's productive roles will lead to inefficient use of both human and financial resources. Efficiency arguments stress that any initiative that does not endeavour to narrow down the gap between men and women could potentially result in increasing gender gaps. This is regarded as inefficiency. Ellis (2013) quotes Verschoor et al. (2006) who identify pathways connecting gender equality to growth. Most stress the underutilisation of female potential.

1.4 How can empowerment be supported and enabled?

If an individual must recognise their situation and go through their own process or path towards 'empowerment', it is a precarious (but not impossible) concept to support. Empowerment cannot be given to someone, as this is a contradiction to what empowerment is supposed to mean. Empowerment has to come from within a person – in other words, you cannot empower another person. Rather you can support their empowerment. So, *is empowerment the antithesis of top-down, state/donor/NGO-led programmes?*

Empowerment can be a complex and sensitive process that requires long-term commitment, partnerships and resources. Critiques of how empowerment type approaches have reached large development organisations state that for the most part empowerment is seen as a means for enhancing efficiency and productivity without changing the status quo. This is in contrast to the view of empowerment as a method of social transformation, best wielded through grassroots and participatory activities (Momsen, 2010). Many stress that tackling patriarchy is necessary and requires organisational transformation, rather than 'soft' support measures (Eyben, 2010; Wittman, 2010; Kabeer, 2005). For instance, Cornwall and Edwards (2014) drawing on their qualitative research conclude that policies and approaches to development that view women as instrumental to other objectives will never promote women's empowerment as they fail to address the structures by which gender inequality is perpetuated.


We cannot ignore the policy environment and the economic and institutional context through which interventions to 'support women' are embedded. Structural obstacles that result in 'disempowerment' must be identified and tackled. Nonetheless, there are countless approaches to supporting women. In many instances, empowerment is ignored or economic



empowerment is assumed to automatically occur with overall economic growth. In some instances there is a focus on working with existing groups of women. In other instances group based activities are purposefully set up where they did not exist previously (for example some microfinance groups). Other times support for empowerment focuses on individual female leaders who are found to inspire others.

Clearly a focus that aims to ‘enable’ empowerment will best emanate from women’s perception of their situation themselves, rather than from outside influences. At one level any attempts to support empowerment could begin with what individual women themselves want to achieve and their identification of their disadvantage relative to men. However we cannot assume that all women in a specific location are the same. What one woman identifies as a disadvantage may not represent others. Women, as a ‘group’, differ greatly due to age, status, ethnicity, religion, wealth and of course their personal preferences.

It can be argued that most interventions affect ‘empowerment’ in some way. For ‘outsiders’ to support the process of empowerment, the context through which support is provided is critical, as well as how interventions are designed and monitored. *Case Study 1* below outlines some lessons learned on these aspects from World Bank pilot projects to support economic empowerment in five locations. This case study tells us that the design of interventions is important. Interventions should be monitored and should be flexible in responding to changed needs during implementation. Supporting ‘empowerment’ should be fluid.



Case Study 1 Design and monitoring flaws in *Economic Empowerment* initiatives - lessons from the World Bank

Five small pilot projects in Egypt, Liberia, Kenya, the Mekong Valley and Peru were designed to identify what works best in promoting better outcomes to foster the economic empowerment of women as entrepreneurs, wage earners or farmers, under different country contexts. The pilot projects were a collaborative approach between UNIFEM (now UN Women), the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), the World Bank and country partners, including governments and NGOs. The interventions contained built-in impact evaluation processes so that lessons could be learned.

The contexts for each pilot were as follows:

- Egypt had a focus on gender equity in private sector wage employment
- Liberia focused on profitability of cassava production
- Kenya's programme looked at increasing the profitability of Maasai women's beadwork activities
- In the Mekong efforts were concentrated on enhancing earnings from bamboo handicraft
- In Peru the focus was on female micro entrepreneurs with the goal of strengthening their household decision making power.

A World Bank study to review and identify what works to support outcomes for women as entrepreneurs, wage earners or farmers reported limited and mixed results (de Silva et al. 2014). The review focused on:

- How effective have different policy interventions been in terms of strengthening female economic empowerment?
- What are the main challenges involved in carrying out small-scale pilots with impact evaluations, especially with a gender focus?
- What has been learned that can help future interventions?

The dimensions of empowerment were assessed in terms of economic opportunities, human capital endowments and assets and agency. With the exception of Peru, the interventions did not significantly increase women's earnings and had little impact on other dimensions of their economic empowerment. Sales and revenues from women's enterprises did not grow even when the quantity and/or quality of their products increased, due to failure of the intervention to provide access to 'broader markets'.


Other results noted in this study included:

- In countries where the impact on investments in children's education/health or on relative bargaining power within the household was measured, there was no statistically significant effect.
- In Egypt, the female wage disadvantage did not decline.
- In Peru, general training combined with technical assistance succeeded in achieving higher earnings for the women involved. Women's participation in household decisions increased.
- In the Mekong Valley and Peru, women who participated in training activities perceived increases in their business practice skills and/or their involvement in networks.
- In the Mekong Valley, the number of households involved in producer groups increased.

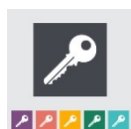
Bearing in mind that evaluations were probably conducted too soon to show the longer-term effects de Silva et al. (2014) outlined that the initiatives fell short of meeting several objectives due to mistakes in design, budgeting and implementation failures. For example they noted:

- a lack of effort to determine whether interventions were actually suited to the context
- no monitoring system to determine project management problems
- no 'early warning system' to change initiatives based on women's priorities.
- the non-alignment of resources and costs with realistic expectations from the start.

In their conclusions de Silva et al. outlined that resources must be aligned with expectations. Monitoring should take place at many levels, and early in an intervention. Monitoring should highlight whether initiatives are, and continue to be, suitable for the target of the intervention.



Depending on the approach taken, governments, aid agencies, donors, NGOs and other 'institutions' can support or hinder paths to empowerment, whether it is economic empowerment or broader self-determining goals. Some institutions are starting to undertake a gender audit to identify where they can improve their support for gender equality overall. Such audits can include ideas around supporting empowerment. Regardless of the approach taken to support empowerment it seems critical to build upon incremental changes that women themselves have already made, and support them in their vision for the future. Indeed some women may prefer to see smaller and seemingly insignificant changes over longer timeframes, rather than a dramatic transformation that can upset their family relations.



Key messages 1 Empowerment

- Gender equality is a human right.
- Gender equality is important for economic growth and poverty reduction. It relates to women's historical disadvantage relative to men, and must involve both women and men in addressing inequalities.
- Although generalisations prevail regarding who undertakes which tasks in rural areas, it is important to avoid assumptions about who does what, and find out who has access to different resources, controls income, and can make decisions.
- Empowerment is the process through which individuals feel they can influence, control and take decisions over issues that affect their lives, assuming alternatives exist.
- Supporting women's empowerment requires an understanding of underlying culture, as well as an understanding of control and power dimensions.
- Although in some cases, a focus on the household is considered 'interfering', we cannot assume that the division of wealth, decision making and control over assets within the household is equitable. We must consider how to support a more even distribution of resources and power, or at the very least not exacerbate inequalities.
- Although an understanding of what 'empowerment' actually means is important, depending on the circumstances and the audience, different types of arguments can be used to advance a focus on women's empowerment.
- Economic empowerment for women is something positive for society and leads to improved livelihoods for both men and women. Policies, services and investments should include women's economic empowerment as a core objective, because access to economic resources, although not the only factor in empowerment, help improve women's decision making ability.



Key questions 1 Empowerment

How can interventions be designed that:

- Automatically and inherently consider empowerment as an important focus?
- Build on women's strengths and on their priorities for economic growth?
- Further the understanding and rationale for a focus on women's empowerment?
- Avoid assumptions, even if programmes on the surface appear not to contain gender related issues?
- Continuously assess support being provided?



Selected follow-up references

Economic Empowerment

OECD. (2011) **Women's Economic Empowerment. Issues paper** April 2011. DAC Network on Gender Equality. This 31-page document is written specifically for donors who wish to support women's economic empowerment, outlining why economic empowerment matters, and specific challenges faced (such as reaching poorer women, and supporting the farmer and her husband). Key messages are easy to pick out throughout this document, with suggestions for improving donor practice around women's economic empowerment in different areas of the economy including agriculture. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/dac/gender-development/47561694.pdf>

Kabeer, N. (2012) **Women's economic empowerment and inclusive growth: labour markets and enterprise development** UK SIG Working Paper 2012/1. Kabeer's paper was commissioned by DFID and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) with a view to locating the growing concern with women's economic empowerment within its growth research programmes. Women's empowerment and women's economic empowerment are conceptualised as well as issues around women's labour market constraints. This paper provides background information on issues of concern to DFID around women's economic empowerment. Available at: <http://www.idrc.ca/EN/Documents/NK-WEE-Concept-Paper.pdf>

Gender equality, men and women

CARE International video clip - Gender equality and men

Click this link to watch a four minute video from CARE on why we should engage men and boys for gender equality:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qjwQeRCz7bY&feature=youtu.be>

SECTION 2

Supporting empowerment at the policy and programming levels

Rural areas and the agriculture sector differ all over the world, with many differences relating to market integration, household structure, land tenure, farming systems, farm sizes, farm incomes (on-farm versus off-farm), level of mechanisation, and extent of migrant or seasonal workers amongst many other variables. Yet many rural areas contain a large proportion of poor people that require policies and programmes that focus on growth to enable them to move out of poverty. This section looks at supporting the empowerment of rural women in rural interventions.



Firstly, Section [2.1 Rural women, policy and planning](#) emphasises how empowerment can be enabled through broad policy and programming processes that in turn support better livelihood outcomes for rural women. We then turn to the field level and outline some issues related to empowerment and rural women coming together as a group. Typical constraints women face limiting their productivity are outlined, with some guidance on how to support women's productivity. Women frequently have less contact with outside advisors, or even access to support programmes. Different approaches that provide evidence on how advice and inputs actually reach rural women are reviewed. Section [2.1 Rural women, policy and planning](#) also highlights how intermediaries (between policy and the field level) do not always link with rural women.

Section [2.2 Resources for rural women](#) focuses on assets for rural women¹², initially discussing broad gender related issues with respect to household assets. Acknowledging that this Section does not fully cover all aspects of resources and assets for rural women, we take a look at land and property rights for women and a brief look at gender and livestock assets. Aspects of forestry resources are taken as an example to explore some of the gender difference in the management of natural resources.

Each sub-topic in this section begins by looking at the evidence available, and then outlines some key questions for those planning future interventions to consider.

¹² DFID Strategic Vision for Women and Girls focuses on getting economic assets directly to girls and women as one of four priorities (DFID, 2011)



2.1 Rural women, policy and planning

Even though gender equality is enshrined in many national constitutions, equality may not be linked to specific policies or programmes in different sectors, nor enforced or implemented on the ground. For example enacting legislation that makes gender based violence punishable by law. Even so, gender responsive public policies are necessary. National laws can influence the situation on the ground. If such laws and policies are favourable to rural women, they can be referred to and provide legitimacy for support towards rural women. Removing legal restrictions to enhance gender equality supports a path to empowerment for women.¹³ Of course guarantee in national law alone is insufficient to address all forms of discrimination against women. Norms and practices which define women as inferior to men are present everywhere, in families, schools, the media, the workplace. Nonetheless those working to develop or support policies or programmes must first be aware of national commitments to gender equality, which can legitimise a focus. They must subsequently be aware of the inequalities and gender gaps in rural areas, to understand where policy is not translated. Subsequently a plan of action or procedures to implement gender related change must be purposefully put in place. Programmes that are serious about addressing gender inequalities develop such deliberate strategies.

2.1.1 'Inclusive' planning for growth

Inclusive planning is an approach and process that attempts to embrace all groups and promote tolerance for attending to the needs of all. This would include addressing various factors of discrimination against women. Inclusive growth would imply that equitable opportunities are advanced during the process of economic growth with benefits incurred beyond a small elite. This may entail a focus on social protection for some groups, as outlined in Section 3.2 Social protection.

The section outlines some points around gender and inclusive growth. We consider:


- The link between inclusive growth and the '*care economy*'
- Whether women are represented in policy level decision making
- The evidence for budgets that are gender responsive
- Where there is further guidance for planning for inclusive growth in rural areas.

DFID has published a series of papers that look at the evidence linking agriculture and growth, including an evidence paper on agriculture and women.¹⁴ Ellis (2013) in his Topic Guide on Agricultural Growth quotes a DFID Gender and Growth Assessment for Nigeria (2009). This assessment highlighted that there are two aspects to gender and agricultural growth that do not appear to be inclusive.

- (a) Growth processes in which male participation is consistently higher than female participation resulting in women having to assume more domestic responsibilities than before, or women relegated to the lowest income occupations.
- (b) Women's lack of ownership of, or access to, assets (including land, credit, education and skills) resulting in women being unable to contribute to growth to the extent that would otherwise be possible (covered in Section 2.2).

¹³ See for example World Bank and IFC, 2013

¹⁴ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/agriculture-and-growth-evidence-paper-series>



Evidently if striving to ensure rural growth is inclusive, (and supports women's economic empowerment), both these scenarios must be avoided to whatever extent is possible. This requires an examination of how specific obstacles that women face (outlined in Box 2) interact, and impact on growth. We expand on what is called the 'Care Economy' below.

The 'Care Economy' and economic growth

Women face a unique reproductive and life-cycle challenge during their prime years, including, but not limited to, marriage expectations, pregnancy, and childbirth, the postnatal period, childcare, with gender-specific concerns such as menstruation and contraception. These reproductive challenges can be magnified and used (unintentionally or purposefully) to exclude women from economic growth opportunities. Care activities can become an extension of women's reproductive activities and often remain in women's domain alone. Such work includes cooking, collecting fuel and water, caring for the elderly, sick family members and children. 'Care' tasks are often not considered 'work' per se¹⁵, and are ignored in economic planning, assuming that women's time is elastic.¹⁶ Many development programmes have found that women's care responsibilities make it difficult to reach women.

Cahn and Liu (2008) in a case study from Papua New Guinea found that a USAID training programme had limited success because it failed to consider women's family responsibilities. Women had to be away for three full days, and found it difficult to travel with childcare. This study is typical of many programme evaluations that find out; albeit too late, in a programme's life span that women's care responsibilities affect their participation. Peterman et al. (2010) reveal that few programmes adopt a lifecycle approach. A lifecycle approach could analyse for example reproductive roles impacting on livelihood activities at particular points in a women's life.



So what can be done to factor the care economy into development policies and programmes?

Biological roles linked to social norms must be considered in programme planning, as they affect the outcome of interventions. Convenient training times and local locations, as well as sincere efforts to invite women, offering child care, and more frequent but shorter contact periods are all important if women are to be able to respond to opportunities that arise to support inclusive growth.

Sometimes a specific focus on resources for women is necessary. Improved cooking stoves for instance can save much time for women, as can better access to water. In some instances inclusive growth may require public provision for certain services that markets do not provide. In theory government subsidies or tax relief for child care will likely positively affect women in terms of an incentive to work, and their take home pay after child care costs. However, such government incentives are much less likely to reach the informal sector, where the majority of rural women are located. Moreover subsidies may not be considered cost effective, if the contribution of the care economy is not factored into economic analysis. For example, in rural areas, health centres may not be considered



¹⁵ The International Labour Organisation (2013) define 'work' as any activity performed by persons of any sex and age to produce goods or to provide services for use by others or for own use, irrespective of its formal or informal character.

¹⁶ See reference to a short video produced by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the end of this section.



economically viable, but without them, women often have to take over health care roles leaving less time to access or sustain market work.

Oxfam is promoting an approach call ‘rapid care analysis’, to understand context-specific patterns of care and housework identifying most problematic tasks. Care is defined as a ‘public good’ or a social issue, and for programmes to work, Oxfam argue that the care economy must be included. Results of a ‘rapid care analysis’ are expected to help come up with inspiring and practical proposals.¹⁷ Serious and sometimes difficult and different decisions are necessary at many levels to ensure inclusive growth, particularly if the *Care Economy* is factored. The next section looks at the representation of women in decision making.



Representation of women?

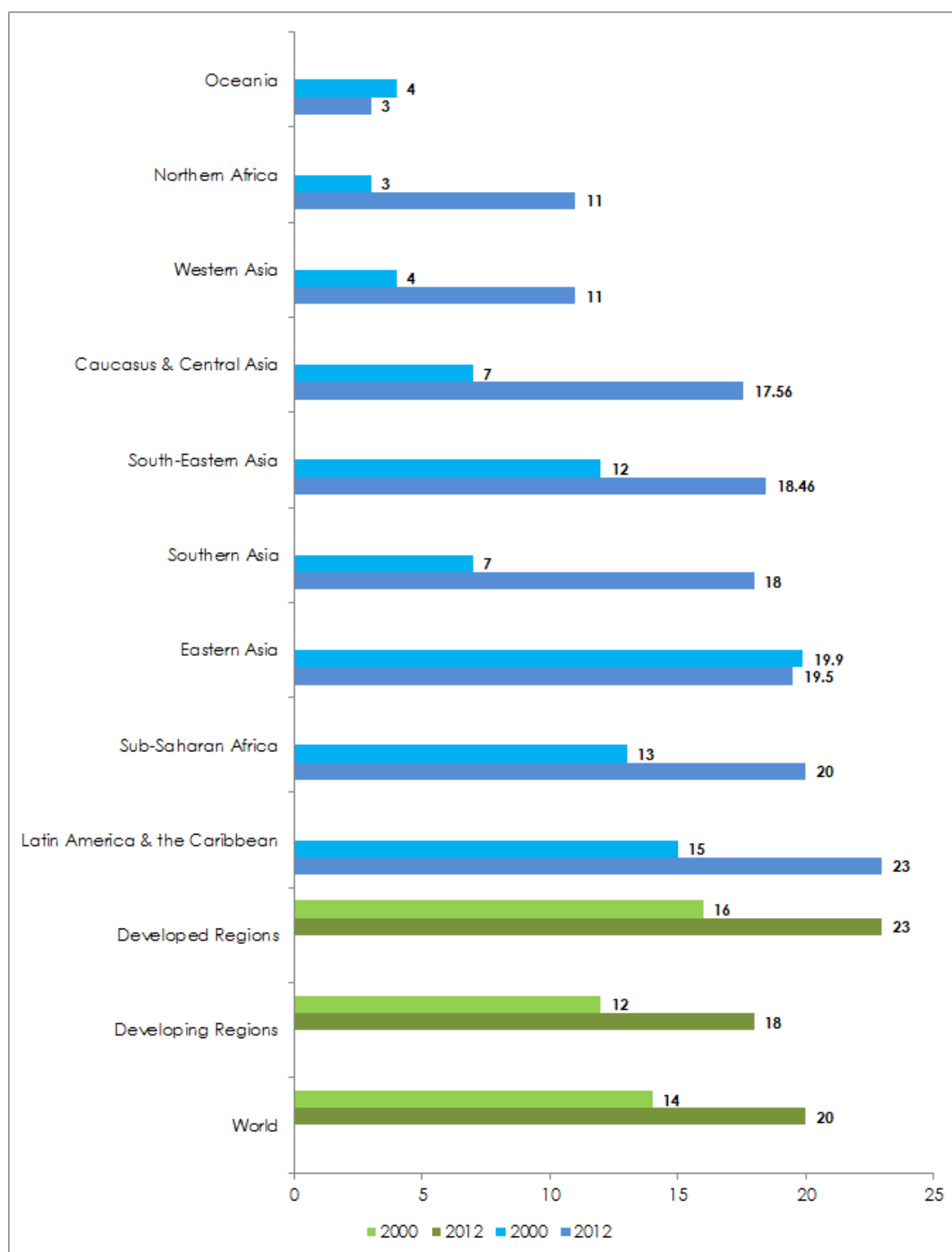
Policy decisions are often taken by men without consulting women; who, if asked, may have different priorities. National and local governance decisions and actions cannot be assumed to serve the interests of both women and men equally (or all ethnic groups). Richards (2012) stated that if one group is excluded, it is unlikely that initiatives will develop in a way that suits the excluded group.

Evidence on whether women in political office have different policy agendas than men is lacking. We require more examples that women’s political empowerment can lead to investment choices that reflect women’s preferences. The Geneva based Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)’s *Gender Programme* promotes the participation (which globally stands at nearly 22%) and perspectives of women in parliamentary decision-making (see Figure 1 below, IPU, 2012). IPU also provide guidance on what gender-sensitive parliaments could entail.¹⁸ Supporting women parliamentarians to take on stronger leadership roles is obviously important too and IPU provide this support and have examples of what proves effective. The empowerment impact of such support is difficult to measure however.


¹⁷ www.oxfam.org.uk/care

¹⁸ The IPU is the international organisation of parliaments. IPU acknowledge that to advance gender equality in parliaments worldwide there has to be two fold progress: an increased and enhanced participation of women in parliaments; and more gender-sensitive parliamentary institutions. See also IPU 2011; IPU 2012; IPU 2008; UNDP & UN Women, 2005

Figure 1 Proportion of seats held by women in single of lower houses of national parliaments, 2000 and 2012 (percentage)



Source: Adapted from IPU, 2012



Consultation, participation in deliberation and negotiation is often recommended for formulating new policies and strategies.¹⁹ In theory, decentralisation brings decisions closer to rural areas as local government may have more authority to decide priorities (within the realms of national policies). However, this assumes that local authorities and civil servants work in the interest of women, or marginalised groups. Indeed as well as being underrepresented nationally, women in general, are also underrepresented at the local government level.

Undertaking a gender analysis using quantitative data and a political economy analysis, Bandiaky-Badji (2011) examined decentralisation reforms in Senegal. The author finds that decentralisation policies in the land and forestry sector are gender neutral or outright gender blind, sustaining gender inequalities. Bandiaky-Badji recommends women's political representation as a way forward. In West Bengal (Birbhum district) India, Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2001) found (through focus groups) that women are more likely to participate in the village council (for instance engage through questions, requests and complaints at the council) if the leader of the village council is a woman. They also found that women elected as leaders (under the reservation for women policy)²⁰ invest more in public goods most closely linked to women's concerns: drinking water, fuel, and road construction.

It must be stressed that in many contexts women are likely to attain greater respect for conforming to norms, rather than complain about gender injustices. It is very challenging to go against the grain. Grievances can be easier to voice, if they reflect the view of more than one woman (See Section 2.1.2 below on social capital and collective action).

Apart from gender biased cultural attitudes, patronage, the structure and organisation of political parties are other barriers to women seeking political office in many countries. Attention is rarely paid to the attitude or incentives of government officials to engage with their own citizens on equality issues. As Jones (2011) indicates, this requires changes in culture and behaviour at various levels in order to be meaningful. Ideally an emphasis on inclusive growth should strongly feature in all rural development and agricultural sector advisory work. Measures to support influential men to ensure they adopt a gender lens in their leadership should help produce more gender inclusive policy processes, or budgets allocated for rural women's concerns.




Is there evidence that budgeting processes are responsive to rural women?

The fiscal measures and budgets allocated to implement the priorities in a national or local economic strategy are usually pivotal for earmarking funds for rural women or redressing inequalities. Access to draft policy documents or bills, and being part of policy processes at an early formulation stage are necessary to ensure a gender responsive budget. Based on desk-based research for DFID, Combaz (2013) states that gender responsive budgeting has been applied by quite a few developing countries since the mid-1980s, but cautions that it has been applied to very different extents, and in different ways. In South Africa gender-responsive budgeting contributed to the introduction of the child support grant given to the

¹⁹ Rural development planning processes differ across the world. For example, planning processes may be centralised, decentralised or have separate regional or district planning apparatus for area-based investment plans.

²⁰ Under the reservation policy, in 1998, one third of all leadership positions of Village Councils in West Bengal were randomly selected to be reserved for a woman: in these councils only women could be elected to the position of head.



primary caregivers of young children from poor households. Elson and Sharp (2010, quoted by Combaz) indicated that it reached poor rural women better than previous measures.

Examples of gender budgets that also disaggregate spending into rural / urban areas are difficult to locate. According to a UNIFEM (2009) evaluation report on their support for gender budgeting, the Ministry of Agriculture in Senegal prepared a medium term expenditure framework with gender sensitive indicators. At this time in Senegal, there was no agricultural sector plan. This complicated the development of gender-sensitive indicators for the agriculture sector. Although the ministry drafted a gender report on gender budgeting, the gender budgeting process may not have sustained in other policies or strategies.

Assessing the impact of gender responsive budgeting on resource distribution within government bodies, Combaz (2013) reports a limited evidence base with regard to impact but points to the complexity in assessing impact. In conclusion gender responsive budgeting is generally seen as having had a mixed impact, with some positive outcomes and some cases where no impact is established. There is no evidence of any negative effects, which might indicate that better efforts should be made to ensure outcomes and interpret impacts. More evidence on gender responsive budgets for rural development is required.




What guidance is available when planning and programming?

How to reflect 'empowerment' when negotiating programmes with governments and other partners is challenging. Recommendations are often too general (e.g. *create gender aware policies*) or appear overwhelming (e.g. *ensure there is an enabling institutional environment for gender-transformative policies and programmes*). In the first instance, we should emphasise that support to agricultural sector dialogue platforms (i.e. spaces that provide opportunities for planning) are inclusive of those representing rural women's interests so that investments in agriculture also provide for women's economic empowerment. Such a process often requires groups representing rural women to frame debates and get issues on to the political agenda.

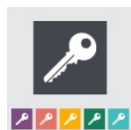
Secondly, we require detailed baseline or background data on the situation of rural women. Statistical data, with regional comparisons, and disaggregated analysis of for example access to land, share of contract farming licenses; or sex disaggregated rural employment data are all useful for inclusive planning. Such data, combined with the results of a gender-based needs assessment / gender analysis of the sector can improve the knowledge base for planning. Often these analyses must be commissioned, although some such studies may already exist. There is a growing cadre of national specialists in many countries who can help to compile gender-related information. The most efficient way to obtain such data is to ensure that gender related questions are included in on-going data collection and research on rural markets.

Thirdly, and most challengingly, we need to be able to translate the 'change' that will facilitate 'empowerment' into policy frameworks and programming. Some guidance is available for gender planning on integrating gender into budgeting processes, market transformation, poverty reduction strategies and monitoring/evaluation.²¹ Although checklists are useful for those negotiating, so are examples of what has worked, along with warnings about the consequences of inaction. At the very least policies require monitoring and assessment to keep track of unintended consequences - negative or positive for women and girls (Murray, 2013a). Lindström and Ling (2013) provide a framework for setting up a

²¹ See Guidance such as World Bank (2011); Budlender & Hewitt, (2003)



monitoring system, giving examples from the work of the Agricultural Learning and Impacts Network (ALINe).



Key messages 2 Policies and large scale programmes

- Action to support empowerment often requires a gender analysis of policies. This could include for example investigating the likely unanticipated impact of policies on women because of their care responsibilities.
- More focus is required on how caring roles constrain women's opportunities for economic empowerment.
- A better representation of women is more likely to ensure that gender related issues are at the very least put on the policy agenda.
- To whatever extent possible, data should be sex-disaggregated.
- An analysis of the differential impact of budgets on rural women and men is helpful for inclusive planning.
- It may be useful to consider the incentives for bureaucrats, officials and others to implement policies and budgets that are more inclusive. A focus on gender equality also depends on the culture and values of individuals working at various levels in government bureaucracies or in development agencies.
- Because the willingness of others down the line to accept gender equality is also dependant on cultural and social norms, often a deliberate plan of action to enact gender equality is prepared to guide implementation.
- Reliable monitoring and evaluation systems are required to ensure growth is inclusive.



Key questions 2 Policies and large scale programmes

How can policies and large scale programmes:

- Support efforts to empower women as rights holders to claim their rights?
- Support the implementation of legislation that allows women to exercise greater control over their own development?
- Cross check for coherence across policies and programmes, for example gender equality policies and agricultural sector investment programmes?
- Encourage national partners to use analytical and statistical tools to assess the situation of both men and women in the rural sector and act in accordance with their gender equality commitments?

2.1.2 Social capital and collective action

At the community or field level, coming together in a group potentially offers greater power for negotiations, lobbying, as well as 'voice' in trying to access services and enjoy rights. Groups offer opportunities for learning from others and seem to hold much potential to support 'empowerment'.

Collective action is when a group of people have a goal to enhance their status or achieve a common objective. Coming together can facilitate inputs into local planning and budgeting processes, and can help women move to a level where they can take more decisions alongside men. Insights from community development approaches (for example Sesan, 2014; Saha, 2014) highlight that structural inequalities, power struggles, and gatekeepers may exist at all levels of society including in self-help and grassroot groups. Again it is important not to assume that female community group members are homogeneous. Power struggles exist at all levels of society and may effect who 'dominates' or who 'participates' in joint actions. This section provides some examples to help think through the gender implications of working with groups to implement development programmes. We ask:



- Is there evidence that producer groups work efficiently together?
- What does the evidence tell us about types of group that are most effective – women only groups or mixed groups?
- Is coming together empowering for women?

By focusing on rural areas, we omit many studies conducted around social capital in urban areas (e.g. political mobilisation or trade unions).



What evidence is there around producer groups working efficiently together?

Apart from the obvious support and solidarity in coming together, generally it is believed that groups allow easier access to external resources and allow for economies of scale. Groups can minimise risk, help to buffer against environmental or financial shocks, and facilitate sharing ideas for livelihoods diversification and social enterprise. Producer groups can lower their costs by for example, sharing transport or supplying bulk produce for higher prices. Some examples from studies and analysis are highlighted below.

In terms of increasing women's access to high value crops and enhancing their agricultural productivity, Dimova and Gang (2013) found from their quantitative analysis of the Malawian Integrated Household Survey that the presence of a village development association was the strongest efficiency enhancing intervention across all households.


Doss et al. (2012a) contacted over 100 researchers and practitioners, and identified 34 projects to serve as case studies to learn what types of strategies are most effective in targeting women and that have the potential to economically empower women in the agricultural sector. They found that projects that seek to improve processing techniques are more effective when the intervention works in a group setting. However, the research also found that storage techniques and equipment for processing are easier to distribute at the individual level rather than through groups.

Using surveys and case studies Desai and Joshi (2014) evaluated the impact of organising female farmers into producer groups in Gujarat, India. Their evaluation looked at a programme that provided training, information, inputs, risk mitigation and market linkages over an 18 month period. They found that groups or associations increased members' non-farm income and access to output markets to a limited extent. The stronger impacts of the programme were on members' awareness and utilisation of financial services. However their findings were mixed. Findings depended on existing socioeconomic conditions of female farmers. Desai and Joshi conclude that producer groups can lower transaction costs for smallholders, but that poverty alleviation may be a longer-term prospect.

Voluntary standards for agricultural products (such as Fair Trade or Rainfall Alliance) often highlight the benefits of and participation of producer partners.²² Le Mare (2008) however, from her review of the literature highlights that fair trade networks have had limited success in achieving gender equality and dealing with issues of importance to women. Smith (2014) developed qualitative case studies of Kenyan smallholder female subsistence bean farmers with an ethical trade focus. She concludes that while women may have presence in producer cooperatives, whether that presence allows them to have a significant voice, or become players with significant influence, may depend on the type of produce organisation.

Yet, some producer groups who have been around for a long time are apt at lobbying and advocating for the rights of women. Undertaking focus group discussions and other qualitative methods, Panda (2006) examined the Self Employed Women's Association's (SEWA) *Women, Water and Work Campaign* in Gujarat, India, which facilitated women's collective action to sustain local water management. The presence of strong grassroots institutions, the establishment of a technical cadre of women, the ability of women's groups to dialogue with officials were all important for this campaign, with women benefiting from

²² How voluntary standards have focused on women producers is not covered in this Guide. Clearly more evidence is required.



increased income and reduced drudgery. Panda also noted that women's confidence to independently negotiate in the public domain in the water management sector increased. Previously it had mainly been men negotiating in this space.

Depending on the context, it would appear that producer groups can enhance efficiency, or can popularise an issue. Community based organisations (CBOs) often emerge to provide public goods and to resolve collective action problems when formal institutions are deficient (Barr et al. 2015). Evidently the preferences, priorities and knowledge of women in their local settings must be discussed. A CBO that strives to facilitate the transformation of inequitable gender relations is equally important. Leadership to engage in a process that will improve the social and economical situation of the group is required.



What works best: women only groups or mixed groups?

Women's survival strategies often depend on building up networks of women within their community (Momsen, 2010). When there is a focus on supporting women's groups who represent national coalitions of women, it is necessary to question whether all women have the same goals, or whether coalitions also represent or understand rural women. The composition of groups formed for collective action depends on the cultural context and the specific objectives for setting up a group. CBOs are formed along gender or ethnic lines, may operate to reflect the interests of specific gender or ethnic groups rather than the interests of the community as a whole (Barr et al., 2015).


On the one hand, female only group-focused initiatives allow women space to build their 'negotiation power'. On the other hand single sex group-focused initiatives can marginalise women's activities and retrench their position without changing the status quo.²³ According to Meinzen-Dick et al. (2012), whether there are separate male and female groups will depend on how comfortable women are with articulating their interests in the presence of men. Some examples are shown below to illustrate this.

Zimbabwe: Findings from Barr et al. (2015) from their quasi experiments²⁴ in fifteen Zimbabwe villages that were resettled suggest that the first few years after resettlement, geographical proximity was a determinant of CBO co-membership. Although female-headed households are less likely to belong to a CBO for some of the research study years, they are not excluded (or choose not to exclude themselves) from associating with male-headed households. If anything, on average they are more likely to share memberships with them. Barr et al. suggest that CBO activity in resettled villages is not elitist and that even members of female-headed households, a group often excluded from village life in developing countries, are not excluded from CBO membership with male-headed households. Thus change such as resettlement can offer new opportunities for improving women's position.

Kenya: Researching 16 women only groups, Coppock and Desta (2013) provide some reasons why groups formed by settled pastoralist women in Northern Kenya excluded men. It was mainly because they felt men would exert power over them. The women had formed producer type groups to improve their economic situation through cattle fattening schemes, trading of cattle and small ruminants, sales of dairy products, as well as processing and sales of hides. Groups enabled women access to microfinance loans. Initially men's exclusion led to domestic conflicts because husbands were suspicious of their wives'

²³ Without changing the current state of affairs, or the traditional position of women.

²⁴ A *quasi-experiment* is an empirical study used to estimate the causal impact of an intervention on its target population.



motives for joining groups. However, husbands gradually accepted and adjusted their gender roles, particularly as the financial implications were good. Men had to assume more child-care duties when their wives needed to attend various group functions. Some men formed their own groups, although less than half of these continued, whereas most of the women's groups were sustained.

Indonesia: Primary research by Purnomo et al. (2011) examining the teak furniture industry of Jepara, Indonesia (action research²⁵) found existing women's groups were an important pre-existing structure that could be used in the furniture industry. Their research found that women felt less effective when there are fewer women than men in mixed groups.

In contrast and based on data from 290 forest user groups in Kenya, Uganda, Bolivia, and Mexico, Sun et al. (2011) examined whether differences in group composition influences indicators of improved forest governance (participation in rule making, rule enforcement) among such groups. They found that gender balanced groups appear to perform better in all the selected forest governance indicators than female or male-dominated groups. However, they caution that further empirical work is needed to determine how varying numbers of men and women in mixed groups may affect cooperation, and how within-group dynamics affects overall performance. They also found that male committees could work for positive gender changes.

Reviewing a range of evidence Pandolfelli et al. (2008) found that mixed-sex self-help groups could be more effective where joint action is required, such as in natural resource management. With this in mind, *Case Study 2* from Nepal below provides a good example of increasing women's membership in committees in a forest CBO.

²⁵ Action research is research that actively participates in a change situation, often via an existing organisation, whilst simultaneously conducting research.



Case Study 2 Building women's representation in conservation committees over time

A Community Forestry Programme in Nepal supporting the empowerment of local communities to manage forests for livelihoods and conservation benefits set up local-level *Community Forestry User Groups*. Ojha et al.'s 2009 programme report, which used both quantitative and qualitative data, showed that women comprised about 25 percent of executive committee positions within groups but struggled to rise to decision making positions.

One strategy to help women move into decision making roles was to form women-only Community Forestry User Groups.

Another strategy was to include the names of women in the *Community Forestry User Group* member list, instead of the earlier practice of including only the male household head. An analysis of minutes of assemblies and meetings of 11 groups showed that representation by women, including Dalits (lowest caste group and a group often ostracised from society) had increased over time, and the quality of the participation had also increased.

Many women-only groups were operating successfully according to Ojha et al. (2009). Yet, Luintel and Timsina (2008) quoted in Ojha et al. (2009) reported that women-only groups generally receive small and marginal land as community forests - half the size per household of mixed groups (0.34 ha for women-only groups, compared with 0.73 ha for mixed groups). Women only groups were not equitably treated in terms of accessing forestry land.


Three years later (although not referring to the same groups), Gabriel Campbell's 2012 synthesis study of the Nepal Swiss Community Forestry Project (NSCFP) reported that the percentage of women in *Community Forestry User Group* committees rose from 35 to 39 percent, with women in leadership roles increasing from 26 to 35 percent. The percent of Dalits in leadership roles rose to 10 percent from 6 percent. These changes can be attributed to the following deliberate strategies that were put in place:

- Guidelines were disseminated early on in the programme on forming *Community Forestry User Groups* with women (and excluded groups)
- A key advocacy NGO (FECOFUN) ensured they put in place internally what they advocated in the community groups they supported – i.e. they employed 50 percent females in FECOFUN
- There was a good system for documentation and an overall innovative approach when working with the groups.



Is coming together in groups 'empowering' for women?

One woman's definition of what empowerment means to her may be completely different to another's definition. Collective action for women's empowerment in one place and time cannot always be generalised to all other contexts. Some findings from research conducted in East Africa and Bangladesh are highlighted below to help illustrate how coming together in groups was assessed.



Majurin (2012) examined women and cooperative membership in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.²⁶ After being involved in a cooperative group, she found that the number of cases of decisions being made equally between spouses in the area of joint economic activities increased from 45 to 80 per cent, and in decisions around children's education, from 57 to 78 per cent. However, changes in women's engagement in economic activities seemed more pronounced than related changes in domestic activities, meaning that the effect on women's overall workload should be interpreted with caution. A decrease of about 9 percent was found in the incidence of the wife being primarily responsible for childcare, indicating perhaps that with cooperative membership and economic opportunities, gender caring roles changed for some. Yet even with women earning income the burden of and responsibility for, household tasks remains with the working mother.²⁷ If sharing 'household' responsibilities is an indicator of empowerment, then money talks. Roles can change to facilitate economic opportunities for women.

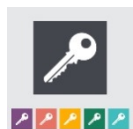
Analysing and comparing a women-only, a men-only, and a mixed community based organisation (CBO) each of which manages a seasonal wetland in Bangladesh, Sultana and Thompson (2008), examined community based management of a floodplain wetland. They found through their case study that focusing solely on women's development is not sufficient to ensure women's participation in decision-making. The main function of the group has to be relevant to their economic needs. Apart from cultural norms about speaking out in public, women's participation in these groups depends on the extent to which women and men directly use particular resources from the wetland.

In summary, it is important to consider carefully the specific objectives of working with groups as a mechanism for programme delivery. Is it for increased income earnings, for natural resource management governance or for other reasons? Some women may have more in common with and similar needs to men in their locality rather than other females of different ages, status, wealth etc.. An important variable may be whether groups are self-selecting (with a shared goal) or artificially set up in response to an initiative (and the group may initially lack solidarity). Solidarity amongst women may not be present if the groups are artificially set up. Equally it must be stressed that it takes time to build women's representation in community groups, and women's time may be limited due to their many roles, or their own ability to control the amount of time they can spend in group activities.



²⁶ Cooperatives are associations of persons who voluntarily 'cooperate' for their mutual social benefit.

²⁷ More generally and beyond East Africa, if earning an adequate income, it is easier to substitute household domestic tasks with a lower paid domestic worker, than address inequalities in the division of labour within the household. For household tasks to be shared more equally between men and women, a change in the traditional role of women within the household (as carers and as having responsible for cooking and cleaning) is required. A change in attitude requires enormous shifts in perceptions of male/female roles.



Key messages 3 Social capital and collective action

- Facilitating rural women to come together in groups can be an important way to support empowerment processes. A group must have a common goal.
- Collective action can help women articulate their common needs, devise steps to better control their environment, and come up with strategies that could lead to structural changes.
- Groups require leadership.
- The evidence with regard to it being more 'empowering' to support women only groups, or mixed groups is inconclusive, and depends on the purpose of working in groups (e.g. levels of shared interests or mutual benefits).
- Cultural barriers to men and women working together exist in some contexts or groups of women may opt themselves for single-sex groups. However, it is important to avoid assumptions and find out what is the most effective approach to group formation. For example male members of committees who work for positive changes may also be very effective.



Key questions 3 Social capital and collective action

How can interventions:

- Help put in place mechanisms that enable women to come together to participate and / or join groups that are relevant for their priorities?
- Provide training, opportunities or space so both men and women can consider their possible roles in addressing gender issues within their communities?
- Develop strategies that help to ensure that women have the skills and self-confidence to articulate their concerns through group representations to wider audiences?
- Assess whether it is better or more appropriate to work with women's only organisation or support mixed groups?

2.1.3 Addressing constraints in crop productivity

In theory, if women are able to control their own situation more, the possibility for their economic returns should increase. For instance addressing constraints in women's crop productivity can increase their outputs and may support women's economic empowerment. However in some cases, a focus on one aspect alone (e.g. access to improved seeds), may leave women overburdened, unless they have access to labour and other aspects of production (e.g. post-harvest storage, marketing channels), and unless other aspects of the constraints they face are addressed (e.g. advice on what to plant with weather changes). This sub-section looks at:

- What hinders women's productivity in the agricultural sector
- What can support women's agricultural productivity.



What hinders women's productivity in the agricultural sector?


Women's crop productivity is often lower than men's, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. Energy and tools in rural areas undoubtedly increases productivity.²⁸ However lower productivity is often a result of social and economic constraints that women farmers face. Based on profiling six countries²⁹ in sub-Saharan Africa, the World Bank (2014) accumulated evidence that women farmers consistently produce less (in monetary terms) per hectare than their male counterparts. Gaps in male and female productivity range from 13% in Uganda to 25% in Malawi. In Malawi women use lower levels of agricultural inputs on their plots, including fertiliser and extension services, than men, and this difference accounts for more than 80 percent of the gender gap in productivity in that country. The findings in this World Bank report (2014) stress that the gender gap is driven by more than unequal access to inputs.³⁰ The report stresses that even when women have access to the same amount of inputs as men, equal access does not achieve the same effect in terms of agricultural productivity. The report points to broader norms, market failures or institutional constraints that hinder the effectiveness of inputs for women.

Being responsible for addressing the immediate needs (feeding and clothing children) may also affect productivity. According to Dimova and Gang (2013) in Malawi the receipt of coupons for the purchase of seeds or fertilizers for maize had a significant efficiency-improving effect in male-headed households, and an insignificant effect in female-headed households. If coupons are directed to poorer female-headed households, bartering may take place to alleviate immediate consumption constraints. This could be because female headed households are generally poorer.

²⁸ For information on gender and energy see: <http://www.energia.org/>
see also: <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/aplaws/publication/en/publications/environment-energy/www-ee-library/sustainable-energy/energy-and-gender-for-sustainable-development-a-toolkit-and-resource-guide/genderengtoolkit.pdf>

²⁹ Ethiopia, Malawi, Niger, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda (representing 40% of sub-Saharan Africa's population).

³⁰ Section 4.1.3 on micro credit and savings is also very relevant and should be considered when focusing on addressing productivity constraints.



Lack of access to land is also a major barrier to productivity (outlined in more detail in Section 2.2.2). Apart from access, women farmers experience other land related challenges, which limit their productivity, such as: customary rights (see Case Study 3), land size, and land quality. Another key factor is who controls the best land with the best soil to produce crops. Some crops in some parts of the world are considered men's crops, with subsistence crops considered in the female domain. There can be differences in choices on what to plant. There are also gender differentiations in crop management tasks and women and men can have different knowledge around seed, pest and disease management.

Labour was a key barrier to achieving equality in productivity across the six countries profiled by the World Bank in the study highlighted above (2014). Labour concerns revolved around women's own ability to produce outputs (own labour) and the quantity and quality of supplemental labour women are able to access (hired, or often their children).³¹ In Benin, apart



from access to land, qualitative research by Goldstein et al. (2013) revealed that insufficient labour, and the supervision of labour available as well as (labour related to) family responsibilities were constraints for female farmers. They show that farmers tend to choose portfolios of crops, not crops in isolation and that male and female farmers grow different crop portfolios. They suggest that their findings are perhaps related to the fact that female-managed farms in their survey were 75 percent smaller in size than male-managed farms. As stressed earlier, women's labour is also constrained because of her unpaid work in the care economy.

The profiles of the six countries in a World Bank (2014) report also underlined that:

- the gender gap in education from previous decades continues to impact women farmers today; and
- improving women's access to markets and enabling female farmers to shift into high-value commercial agriculture show promise (based on evidence from Uganda and Nigeria).




So what can support women's productivity in the agricultural sector?

To narrow the gender gap in African agriculture, the World Bank (2014) report recommends 10 priorities in terms of increasing agricultural outputs:

1. Strengthen women's land rights (formalising, expanding co-titling and individual titling, and reforming laws). See Section 2.2.2 below.
2. Improve women's access to hired labour – through financing to hire labour, or helping women find labour.
3. Enhance women's use of tools and equipment that reduce the labour (through financing or hire-purchase arrangements for machinery).
4. Provide community-based child-care centres.
5. Encourage women farmers to use more, and higher-quality, fertilizer (financing, price discounts, small bags).

³¹ Note that this evidence is strictly differentiated from macro-estimates of women's contribution to the total agricultural workforce or the percentage of output produced by women farmers.

- 
6. Increase women's use of improved seeds (financing required – see also Section 4.1.3 - as well as capacity to identify and obtain good quality seed).
 7. Tailor extension services to women's needs, and leverage social networks to spread agricultural knowledge (e.g. requires training for agents or farmer field school approaches, or novel mobile phone applications). See Section 2.1.4 below.
 8. Promote women's cultivation of high-value/cash crops.
 9. Facilitate women's access to and effective participation in markets. Provide market services through information and communications technology (ICT).
 10. Raise education levels of adult female farmers.

Although an increase of child-care centres is mentioned, the World Bank priorities do not directly mention addressing patriarchal attitudes or a focus on transforming cultural attitudes towards women, which would evidently have to occur if these 10 priorities are to be addressed.

Knowles (2013) reviewed 10 evaluations of projects designed to support an increase in the productivity and earnings of rural women and rated six out of 10 as promising (land registration, rural electrification, rural savings, farmer field schools, modern agricultural inputs, and mobile phones). Three were rated as doubtful (microcredit, crop insurance, and improved cooking stoves). We note that Knowles did not rate these interventions in terms of supporting women's empowerment; he rated them based on the evidence of effectiveness, cost effectiveness and sustainability in terms of productivity and increased earnings.

Undertaking a systematic global review of the evidence of access to non-land agricultural inputs³² Peterman et al. (2010) found that across all areas men have higher input measures than women.³³ They suggest that if inequalities in access to technology and services are reduced, the potential for increased productivity and output will increase for women.

Doss et al. (2012a) found the right 'tools' or inputs are only one aspect of a successful initiative. Having reviewed many projects in agriculture that reportedly benefitted women farmers, and interviewed researchers and practitioners to learn what types of interventions are working to support women farmers, they recommend a local focus, new technologies and new knowledge:

- A local focus implies making inputs available locally for women farmers (e.g. livestock, tree and shrubbery seedlings, and new seed varieties).
- New technologies including labour-saving technologies that help to produce better yields. In particular processing and storage technologies are important for income generation and to lessen post-harvest loss. Processing technologies are most effective when paired with trainings on marketing strategies, or market connections.
- New knowledge and training (Section 2.1.4 Access to information and advice in a rural context).

³² The review focused on published and unpublished literature between 1999 and 2009 examining gender differences in (i) technological resources, (ii) natural resources, (iii) human resources, (iv) social and political capital. Some studies focus on whether the farmer is male or female, others on the sex of the household head.

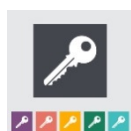
³³ The authors caution that this finding is often sensitive to the use of models that control for other background factors, as well as the type of gender indicator implemented in the analysis. For example 'adoption rates' and 'outputs' are different units of analysis used in studies when assessing inequalities in use.



What information gaps are there around gender and productivity in the agricultural sector?

Many researchers outline that examining one input in isolation to other inputs for crop production does not capture the full reality. More context specific research documenting which input support provides the 'trigger' for change is required. For example, was it land, electricity, a particular type of advisory service, credit or infrastructure, or a combination of these, that triggered change? Why a particular catalyst was so significant for rural women should be documented.

Few impact evaluations provide gender-specific information on the effects of the interventions to increase productivity or interventions overall (Knowles, 2013). Moreover, information is lacking on the longer-term outcomes of interventions. More research is required on lasting change after programme funding finishes.



Key messages 4 Addressing gender gaps in agricultural productivity

- Encourage more evaluations and impact studies to examine gender-specific information on how interventions increase productivity. Currently very few include empowerment dimensions, such as decision making agency around for example what crops to grow.
- Bearing in mind that each context may be different, there are a number of priorities that are believed to help increase agricultural outputs for women (as outlined in the World Bank 2014 noted above). These can be broadly considered.
- It is best not to consider one aspect of production for women in isolation to others. Many aspects of gender roles and relations interact and influence eventual outcomes.
- Examining the particular constraints women farmers face is a necessary (but often forgotten) part of planning an intervention in rural areas.
- Remember family responsibilities and labour availability are very significant for rural women and without substitution, affect their productivity.



Key questions 4 Addressing gender gaps in agricultural productivity

How can interventions be designed that:

- Improve productivity opportunities for women farmers, which in turn may support their economic empowerment?
- Review proven approaches that could work to narrow the gender gap in agricultural production from a specific setting and context?
- Learn from past mistakes. For example take gender related recommendations from previous evaluations seriously?
- Measure the reduction in the gender gap?
- Continue or start to measure whether increases in production lead to broader empowerment for women?

2.1.4 Access to information and advice in a rural context

Rural advisory services, peer-to-peer information sharing and different forms of media are some ways of transferring knowledge. Technologies are fast changing the way information reaches rural areas. Information about nutrition, vaccines, agricultural inputs, markets, new technologies, weather forecasts etc. are all useful, often essential, but sometimes not reaching women in rural areas.

This sub section looks at access to information and advice in an empowerment context. We ask:

- What hinders advisory support and information reaching and having an impact on women?
- Does the medium or approach of advisory services matter in terms of 'empowerment'?
- Is Information Communication Technology working for rural women? Can mobile phones be empowering devices?



Artist: Elijah Njoroge: Source: IIRR 1998



How about advisory systems, do they reach rural women?

Extension services (also known as agricultural advisory services) refer to the range of information, training, and agriculture-related knowledge provided by government, NGOs, and the private sector to help and support farmers improve productivity. Government of NGO extension agents or specialist officers in livestock, crops, forestry, fisheries, or cooperatives traditionally deliver extension services on the ground. The private sector also provide packages of technical support with regard to technologies or inputs that they sell/offer. One recurring challenge is that advisory services tend to engage more with male farmers, often ignoring female farmers' requirements, which may differ. Over the years there have been many reviews of gender and agricultural extension systems from specific countries.³⁴

Taking one example from Ethiopia, using data sets of more than 7,500 households, Ragasa et al. (2013) found that receiving advice from extension agents is positively related to the adoption of improved seed and fertiliser for both male and female farmers. However, they found female heads of households and female plot-managers are less likely to get extension services through the various channels open to them, and less likely to access quality services than their male counterparts (after controlling for other factors). A qualitative institutional analysis of four districts in Ethiopia (Cohen and Lemma, 2011) found that the deployment of extension agents to rural communities has increased access to extension services for both female and male farmers. In addition, there are now more opportunities for women themselves to become agents. Both male and female agents offer services to women farmers. However, the extension approach in Ethiopia had been focused on top down promotion of technology packages. According to Cohen and Lemma, incentives caused extension agents to focus on promoting fixed technology packages rather than on adapting the packages to different local needs or integrating modern technology with farmers' own knowledge. Clearly more attention to addressing rural women in extension systems needs to be considered with and by government extension agents.




Does the type of advisory approach matter in terms of empowerment?

Extension services may take the form of individual field visits, technical advice at organised meetings, through training, exchange visits to demonstration plots and model farms, Farmer Field Schools (FFS), or via radio or other media etc. Based on secondary data, Vignare (2013) reviews Digital Green³⁵ as a successful video and training initiative to provide agricultural information and advice. Originally operating in India (in at least 900 villages), Digital Green works with existing extension systems, to improve their effectiveness through an ICT³⁶ enabled approach, allowing partners to make and share videos. The model has been shown to promote substantial improvement in farm income and lives. According to Digital Green's analysis in 2013, 130,967 adoptions of new practices have been made as a result. Women are credited with contributing to 25 percent of the videos produced but constitute 75 percent of the audience. Whether featuring women more in the videos resonate better with the audience is not known.

³⁴ See for example Davis et al. (2007); Module 7 in: World Bank, FAO & IFAD. (2009)

³⁵ www.digitalgreen.org

³⁶ Information and Communication Technologies



Qualitative research on agricultural advisory programmes targeted at women in Africa and Asia find that fostering peer-to-peer networks among women is an effective mechanism for stimulating positive change. For example, in Uganda, using both quantitative and qualitative research Quisumbing et al. (2014) found that farmer groups and women's networks are helping disseminate extension messages about new varieties and farm management practices for orange fleshed sweet potato, a relatively new crop.

Learning by doing and through example can be just as important as agricultural training to increase women's economic empowerment in agriculture. Using a longitudinal impact evaluation together with qualitative approaches, Davis et al. (2010) examined the impact of Farmer Field Schools (FFS) approach³⁷ on agricultural productivity and poverty in Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya. Their results demonstrated that the FFS approach was more beneficial for female-headed households than for male-headed households. The FFS programme not only allowed women to participate but also led to benefits in terms of income and crop and livestock production. It is unclear whether this is due to the purposeful focus on female farmers, or the methodology itself. A smaller qualitative study (22 graduate FFS participants and eight group interviews) on the impact of FFS on gender relations from Kakamega District in Kenya (Friis-Hansen et al., 2012) highlighted some changes in household division of labour and decision-making; in gendered customs and traditions, and in men's work ethics and their view of women. This study concludes that FFS generate gender impacts not only because it empowers women but because it also provides opportunities for the men to change their view on women.

Another experiential type approach is participatory varietal selection (PVS) of improved seeds. Plant breeders such as those based at the Consultative Group in International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) institutes (e.g. the International Rice Research Institute or IRRI) realise that women's preferences in traits will enhance uptake of improved varieties. Apart from yield or climate change resistance, cooking time, taste, longer or shorter stems of certain varieties, colour of seeds etc. can be important selection traits. The CGIAR has been implementing farmer-managed trials of new varieties with women farmers for many years.³⁸ Assessing the impact of this methodology in Uttar Pradesh (India) using a structured questionnaire (50 households per research site) and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tools, Paris et al. (2008) found that this learning by doing approach has enabled women to gain confidence in making decisions (which is one indicator of empowerment) related to varietal choice and crop management. They caution that this approach is only the first step towards reducing gender disparity in agriculture.

Doss et al. (2012a) stress how it is most effective to target women as a member of the household and the community. Following their review of 34 projects that served as case studies they found that the most successful interventions avoided isolating women, and also targeted men. Targeting women in more than one of their roles (e.g. as farmers, buyers, sellers, leaders, wives, mothers, processors, innovators) also proved to be effective. Although probably more costly than visiting larger groups of rural farmers, household gender relations may be improved through working together with both women and men in a household. *Case Study 3* from Zambia illustrates this point and indicates through a qualitative study that a focus on 'the entire household' is beneficial for 'empowerment'.

³⁷ A group-based learning process that uses experiential group techniques and peer-to-peer learning
³⁸ This methodology is called Participatory Varietal Selection (PVS) or Participatory Plant Breeding. A useful guide is Paris et al (2011).



Case Study 3 The Agricultural Support Programme (ASP), Zambia

(Farnworth and Munachonga, 2010)

The goal of the Sida funded Agriculture Support Programme (ASP) in Zambia (2003-2008)³⁹ was to stimulate attitudinal change amongst smallholders to the way farming is conducted. Those implementing the ASP programme adopted a *household focused approach*, which disaggregated the household as an analytical unit.⁴⁰ Working with the farming household, including wives and children, increased the resilience and coping strategies of all. This was done through sensitising cadres of extension workers to better understand core gender concepts and their implications. A household facilitation cycle was at the centre of support to households and used to help households plan ahead. This involved an action-reflection-action approach, and allowed for the concept of 'agency' – where households and individuals within households defined their own goals and acted upon them.

The ASP in Zambia provides some evidence that fully involving women from a household does indeed result in increased production, productivity and overall farm resilience. Farnworth and Munachonga (2010) based their analysis on interviews with 55 farmers and about 20 other field based workers, two years after the ASP had finished. They argue that the ASP demonstrated that if implemented through individual household visits, involving all adult household members: husband, wife and older children, progress can be made, with the guidance of the extension officer. Families together developed a household action plan and mobilised resources together. Both husbands and wives participated in workshops, training and exposure visits. Women attending entrepreneurship training established their own business enterprises. Gender approaches to programme design were applied by adopting affirmative action during training and other interventions with farmers, mainstreaming gender in staff induction training and in management information systems.

Farnworth and Munachonga (2010) conclude based on their sample, that the ASP was effective in reaching women, producing tangible changes in gender relations at the household level and enhanced women's position in the community. Women's access to, and control over, resources and household incomes have increased. Relationships between women and men have been strengthened and their workloads shared. Women's self-esteem and confidence have increased amongst their sample, as they have become entrepreneurs and leaders in their home as well as the broader community. Women's skills were enhanced and productivity increased. Women gained the confidence to become involved in what traditionally were predominantly male enterprises. Finally the ASP reminds us that strategies to promote women's empowerment should not ignore men.

³⁹ Funded by Sida and a small grant from Norad in phase 3.

⁴⁰ The programme was implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MACO) staff at the local level, but was management by a Programme Management Unit located outside MACO.



What is the potential of mobile phones and ICTs for rural women?

As indicated by the Digital Green example from India above, ICTs can offer rural men and women new opportunities to strengthen their livelihood opportunities. Through mobile phones, computers, radio, TV, the Internet and social media, information can be obtained and rural people can reach out to outsiders in new and innovative ways. Use of ICTs potentially helps women to overcome several barriers they previously faced, such as reconciling family responsibilities with work and their inability to travel (by allowing women to call instead of having to arrange a face-to-face meeting). Other potential ICT benefits include new mobile applications / services such as voice-based services; weather forecast bulletins, help lines; SMS services; mobile money services; and mobile micro insurance.⁴¹ Mobile phone technology can make it easier to ensure cash payments go directly to women, contributing to 'economic empowerment'. ICTs can facilitate confidentiality about money saved or cash earned.


The question of mobile phone ownership can be difficult, with some women owning a SIM card, but someone else owns the handset. A study from GMSA Development Fund (2010) entitled "*Women and Mobile: A Global Opportunity*" demonstrated gender gaps in mobile phone ownership and subscriptions. In 2010, globally there were 300 million fewer women than men that own cell phones. In 2013 more women than men in South Africa, Mozambique and Cameroon, owned mobile phones. Gender differences were smaller in other countries such as Ethiopia, Cote d'Ivoire and Rwanda (ITC, 2013). Using recent data from mobile operators for GMSA, Scharwatt and Minishetti, (2014) state that in Pakistan, 80% of men owned a mobile phone, while only 38% of women did; and in India, 68% of men owned a mobile phone, while only 31% of women did.⁴² Yet, taking another country, a study from Kenya in 2012 found no notable difference between men and women's mobile phone use, except the use of the Internet, with more young males using the Internet (InfoDev, 2012). Clearly mobile phone usage is rapidly growing, with variability in male and female ownership across different countries.

Men are currently more likely than women to use mobile money services or smart phones. Some of the practical challenges for women in particular include whether they are able to access mobiles, women's ability to use mobile phones (using phones/apps/literacy), relevance of messages (timing, context specific, cultural issues etc.), and willingness to pay (women and/or men for their wives). Scharwatt and Minishetti, (2014) highlighted that although the economic and cultural context varies dramatically, women tend to experience some common and persistent barriers to mobile money markets more acutely than men:

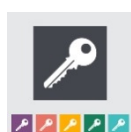
- low literacy and education levels
- lack of easy access to trustable mobile money agents
- lack of identification documents (sometimes a man's signature required to open an account)
- lack of confidence to use mobile money
- low levels of mobile phone ownership.

⁴¹ See recently published UNCTAD (2014)

⁴² <http://finclusion.org/country-pages>



Some limitations: Although ICT can improve message delivery, the content and the delivery mechanisms still need to be aligned with (women) farmers' needs and priorities, to be credible, to be relevant and to allow for feedback. Over the past years, there have been several efforts to develop ICT enabled extension services by NGOs, businesses, governments and public-private partnerships. Most of these have not gone to scale and are not financially sustainable. While examples exist of the potential of ICT-supported advisory services, limited evidence exists of the effectiveness of such services. It is clear that some of the ICT solutions pioneered at the moment are more scalable than others. There is a need to better understand what works and why, under what conditions and what are the long term effects. Further research is needed to evaluate whether ICT-enabled agricultural extension will improve agriculture outcomes and agricultural services. In summary, ICTs hold potential, but more evidence of their impact on rural women would be useful to analyse.



Key messages 5 Access to advice and inputs

- The type and quality of advisory services matter, along with the approach taken by agricultural extension agents.
- More imaginative approaches should be used to reach women, recognising that women are not a homogenous group. Promising approaches focus on households, and view women as farmers in their own right, rather than as wives supporting male farmers.
- Women with young children, or with other caring responsibilities may face more opportunity costs in terms of their time and often have less freedom to decide themselves to participate in outside interventions. Apart from ensuring that the timing of meetings accommodates women's workloads, those organising interventions must communicate broadly with others in communities on the benefits of women's participation (for themselves and others).
- Evidence on the use and effectiveness of ICT having empowerment effects has not yet been collated, but may be a promising approach for the coming decades.



Key questions 5 Access to advice and inputs

How can interventions be designed to:

- Put in place strategies to address women's constraints in access to information on various issues in agriculture (as well as health, nutrition, education) and put in place different strategies to also reach women?
- Encourage advisers to address gender equality issues and support empowerment processes?
- Balance the cost-effectiveness of household visits and efforts for improvements for women (including enhancing their decision making capacity in the household)?
- Investigate the possibility for ICTs supporting women's economic empowerment? For example consider who owns, controls, uses, (and supplies) ICTs and agricultural technologies in the community?


2.2 Resources for rural women

2.2.1 Assets at the household level

At the household level, a gender analysis often examines or compares women and men's strengths (assets or capital endowments) and how these are converted into positive outcomes. An asset can be anything tangible or intangible that is capable of being owned or controlled to produce value such as land, machinery, human capital or livestock. Assets can be nurtured, combined or converted into positive livelihood outcomes. Assets can be individually, jointly owned (implying that one of the owners cannot make these decisions alone) or communally owned. This sub-section looks at studies on gender and asset ownership and why ownership matters.

Apart from earning income, owning and/or controlling assets is believed to allow women to gain power and authority in their communities and households as well as lessening their risk of mistreatment. A broad focus on rural households is necessary, because what happens within households, for instance time spent on different chores by different household members, or ability to make decisions around production, or freedom to travel to markets has important implications for how assets get converted into positive outcomes. How resources are shared within a household is often determined by relative power and cultural norms. For example negative social norms regarding capabilities and decision-making ability of adolescent girls prevail in many contexts.





Negotiations occur between members of a household to arrive at decisions regarding nurturing and converting assets, and how benefits are shared. Bargaining could for example centre on how to organise work or when to convert assets into income and what benefits are used for. Meinzen-Dick et al. (2012) note that in Kenyan tea production, women's bargaining power was greater in households where women's labour was indispensable than in households that relied on hired labour. In many cases men hold more power than women and wield more control over income and expenditure. In some contexts women are not expected to control or own assets (e.g. large animals). Based on definitions of 'economic empowerment' outlined in Section 1, at the very least, women should be able to make decisions with regard to how to convert assets, and maintain control of their income within the household. Compelling evidence is now emerging on how to enhance women's assets to enable them to manage risk under climate change (Ringler et al., 2014). With this in mind we summarise some evidence on whether asset ownership for women enhances broader empowerment at the household level.

Studies on gender and assets


Marriage laws are significant for ownership of assets. A three-country study (with surveys that ranged from 2,100 to 4,100 households) in Ghana, Ecuador and Karnataka India found that patterns of individual and joint ownership differ widely by asset type and by country (Doss et al., 2011).

The Gender, Agriculture, and Assets Project (GAAP)⁴³ is researching the gap between men's and women's control and ownership of assets in at least eight agricultural development interventions that are implemented by different partners (Quisumbing et al., 2014). Case studies are identifying how development projects impact men's and women's assets and attempting to clarify which strategies have been successful in reducing gender gaps. GAAP compares the incidence of asset ownership by men and women and decisions around asset control as well as how well specific programmes build women's assets.⁴⁴ Some interventions/projects of focus include: dairy in Bangladesh and Mozambique; horticultural crops in Burkina Faso; and the expansion of orange flesh sweet potato in Uganda. Support is context specific. In the Bangladesh dairy value chain project for example, support is offered to women in the entire system from the milk collectors and the livestock health workers to the female farmers. Care International is looking at ways to address the major barriers women face, as well as how to address the practical consequences around mobility issues. For example the project assisted in the formation of dairy farmer groups as well as encouraged women's participation in non-traditional occupations as milk collectors and livestock health workers (Behrman et al., 2014).

Findings which are based on both quantitative surveys and qualitative research suggest that some of the agricultural interventions studied have successfully increased the stock of both men and/or women's tangible assets, but particularly those assets jointly owned by women and men. Some interventions have also been shown to increase the stock of social and human capital, particularly for women. Results from this research stress the importance of women maintaining control of additional income from assets. The research highlights how women play an important role in the decision to adopt new technologies, but decisions are often jointly made with their husbands (in some settings engagement with both adult household members is important). In some contexts following interventions, women's and

⁴³ This research under the Gender, Agriculture, and Assets Project (GAAP) jointly implemented by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI), brings out initial findings of the impact of value chain development projects on men's and women's abilities to accumulate assets.

⁴⁴ A range of GAAP reports and case studies provide useful and interesting examples around asset control and gender <http://gaap.ifpri.info/>

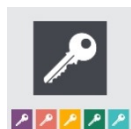


men's perceptions of the importance of traditions governing gender roles in agriculture change (IFPRI, 2013).

Sometimes when agricultural production activities that women are engaged in become more profitable, they can be taken over by men. This occurred in Kenyan household milk production (MeinzenDick et al., 2012). In other instances this is not the case. How to prevent this requires more research and is context specific. For example does it help if projects work directly with men or provide alternative or complementary business opportunities?

Control of assets matters. Development interventions often still tend to stop focus at the household level. This may be due to a lack of household level baseline information. Few surveys collect information on individual ownership of assets such as land, housing, livestock. Following a review of some 72 Living Standard Measurement Studies (LSMS) and questionnaires, Doss et al. (2008) stress that household surveys can collect more systematic and consistent data on all classes of assets at the individual level. They illustrate their approach with the LSMS questionnaires from Guatemala, Vietnam and Ghana, demonstrating that in most cases it is feasible to add a minimal number of questions (2-3) to estimate gender gaps. They recommend that survey designers add questions on individual ownership and value of each asset in order to ascertain a better measure of the degree of gender inequality.

DFID have an asset for adolescent girls initiative, as they believe reaching girls with assets will help to empower them, reduce the intergenerational transmission of poverty, and contribute to economic growth. One aspect of this relates to education supporting an enabling environment, which helps girls to safely stay in school, return to school and/or earn. In coming years evaluations will demonstrate how this initiative is working. In the next Section we look at three categories of assets: land; livestock; and forestry assets.



Key messages 6 Support for assets at the household level

- Intra-household bargaining around assets takes place. Understanding that bargaining takes place is important when considering or assessing male and female portfolios of assets.
- A focus on assets for different categories of women is useful, for example building the asset base of adolescent girls (the women of the future).
- Strong emphasis should be placed on using existing surveys to also collect data on individual ownership of household assets.
- How or whether women maintain control of agricultural production after it becomes profitable is challenging to predict and understand. However the likelihood of women losing control once production becomes more profitable should be factored into support work.



Key questions 6 Support for assets at the household level

How can interventions be designed to:

- Ensure adolescents girls and women are able to adequately build their asset base and increase control over such assets?
- Support women to make decisions jointly and/or independently of men in their household?
- Ensure that even with change, women can maintain access to and/or control of assets at the household level?

2.2.2 Land and women

Property refers to immobile, fixed assets; primarily, housing and land (DFID, 2014c). In this section we specifically look at land. Land rights include the rights to use, transfer, lease, mortgage, inherit, or own land. Access to land is critical for the livelihoods of many poorer men and women, particularly those whose livelihoods depend on agriculture. Land rights also confer access to other rights such as use of natural resources, water and trees. Land tenure is the relationship among people with respect to land and associated natural resources.⁴⁵ Apart from ownership of property, gender, class, ethnicity, and caste can be important determinants of rights access.


This sub section looks at what the evidence is telling us about:

- Women's access to land
- Access to land as supporting 'empowerment'
- Large-scale land deals and what they mean for women
- Supporting land reform⁴⁶.



⁴⁵ Rules of tenure define how property rights are to be allocated within societies. Tenure systems determine who can use what resources for how long and under what conditions.

⁴⁶ Land governance concerns the rules, processes and structures through which decisions are made about access to land and its use, the manner in which the decisions are implemented and enforced, the way that competing interests in land are managed.



Two *Evidence on Demand* publications: the Topic Guide on Land (Locke and Henley, 2014); and a case study from Rwanda (Gillingham and Buckle, 2014) as well as a recent DFID property rights evidence paper (DFID 2014c) may be useful for those with a particular interest in land. They are available to download here:

- [Land Topic Guide](#)
- [Rwanda Land Case Study](#)
- [DFID's Property Rights Evidence Paper](#)

Women's access to / ownership of land


Land rights can be individual, jointly titled or communal. Many conceptual difficulties arise in discussions on land, such as the definition of ownership and how that differs from access to land or other rights, with contested claims concerning the percentage of women's land ownership. Based on a systematic review, Doss et al. (2013) stress the need to acknowledge differences between ownership and control of land, differences in land ownership regimes, and address comparative ownership by men in the same contexts. Apart from land laws, other norms and customary laws govern rights such as land use laws, land management laws; planning laws and different categories or levels of customary laws.

Collective and joint ownership of land as well as actually defining land area (arable land, rural areas etc.) are also difficult to understand. Having systematically reviewed existing evidence from micro level large sample studies by region in Africa to summarise recent trends in land access, ownership, and control by sex, Doss et al. (2013) find that global statements putting forth a single statistic for women's landownership are gross oversimplifications. DFID's (2014c) property rights evidence report found that women are commonly observed to be disadvantaged in their access to, and control over, land. Although statistics on women's land ownership are often not comparable or reliable in terms of comparative ownership, there is a large gender gap. Sex disaggregated country specific data should be analysed to fully understand the situation on the ground.

Let's look at one country specific example from Zambia. The Zambian Ministry of Gender and Child Development (2013) used both qualitative and quantitative methods to identify the constraints faced by males and females in accessing and owning land under the different land tenure systems. The result of this research provides rich information. It highlights:

- a 'first come first served' method of land allocation is used by some land agencies;
- communication channels used to advertise land only reaches a limited audience;
- certain groups (especially women) are unable to provide the required proof to access land or pay service charges to local authorities;
- the provision in the National Gender Policy, which sets out that 30 percent of land should be allocated for women, may not be known (further down the line) nor implemented;
- even with the support of chiefs in rural areas, headmen and husbands still opposed the idea of women owning their own land.

When women have land rights through marriage, they may not retain their rights in the event of divorce, abandonment or death of a spouse. In many countries newly single women may find themselves without land and means to survive due such traditional customs. Section 1 of the Topic Guide stressed that rural women are not a homogenous group. Gillingham and Buckle (2014) in their Land case study highlight that despite the significant contribution that the land registration in Rwanda has made to bringing about gender equality, the situation of non-formally married wives or multiple wives remains a challenge. Polygamy is illegal in Rwanda so second wives cannot be registered as wives on land leases. This leaves second wives vulnerable to a loss of land rights. Although they could be termed "a friend" on the



lease should this be agreed by all concerned, it of course leaves women at risk to their rights to land. Without a marriage certificate, there is no formal requirement to include a cohabitant on the lease. Widows from 'non-formalised' relationships were also found to be at particular risk in traditional societies, as the deceased 'husband's' family can claim the land title. Recognising different categories and status of rural women is extremely important, to ensure unregistered marriages and children of those marriages obtain justice in changed domestic circumstances.

A synthesis of four case studies (Benin, Lesotho, Mali, and Namibia) from Landesa (2014)⁴⁷ highlights that legal and regulatory frameworks are insufficient in the face of customary or religious law that does not recognise equitable land rights for men and women. Although not sufficient by themselves, legal frameworks can be influential. These particular case studies suggest that it is important to try to alleviate uncertainty in the law where possible. Landesa provides a checklist and useful framework for examining different forms of inheritance to help assess the current situation for women's land rights in a specific country, state, or community, looking at wives, intestate succession, polygamy, inheritance for daughters and overall enforcement issues.⁴⁸

Generally we find that implementing gender sensitive land reform measures requires national level awareness and widespread belief in reforms promoting gender equality. Support on land legislation and land administration must be combined with programmes related to civil law such as marriage law and inheritance law. It is not uncommon for men to resist the idea of including their spouse's name on the title deed. Land rights for women are needed. We next stress how land rights alone will not ensure productivity and poverty reduction for women.




Does gender equality in land ownership increase agricultural productivity?

Rights to land in theory allow for capital to be translated into economic assets. Although land rights seem to have correlations with women's productivity, it is important not to assume that land ownership alone will increase women's productivity. Causality is difficult to prove. DFID (2014c) concluded that the evidence on whether strengthening women's property rights results in greater agricultural productivity is limited and contested. Focusing on literature from Africa, Locke (2013) weighed up the evidence around the impact of formalised land rights on economic growth. She found that while there is a medium/large body of evidence of mainly high quality evidence supporting the link between land rights and economic growth (focused mainly on investment and productivity), there are also a high number of studies that question this link and the strength of the evidence. The strength of the evidence relates to the methodological measurement of these linkages.

According to a review by Henley (2013), focusing on Sub-Saharan Africa, whether titling or other tenure strengthening initiatives promise more benefits to women compared to existing tenure arrangements is context specific and depends on processes under which changes in tenure occur (and are managed). Henley stresses that the extent to which women's greater access to land leads to higher agricultural production also does not appear to be supported by the literature, and as Locke found (2013) measurement issues make such assessments difficult. Evidence reviewed by Henley (2013) did not fully support the expected outcomes of the conventional economic view on the link between stronger property rights and investment gains. Reasons for this include fewer associations between stronger land rights and

⁴⁷ The case studies came from four Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) projects

⁴⁸ <http://landwise.landesa.org/guides/2>



incentives than expected; or security of tenure may be unimportant compared to other constraints faced by rural households. Locke (2013) mentions skills and the need to recognise the 'cluster of institutions' that drive economic growth.

On the other hand, Rodgers and Menon (2012) reviewed more than 15 empirical studies from different regions on land rights. They find that granting women land rights is strongly associated with increases in the productivity of women farmers and their economic security and autonomy. Moreover, quantitatively examining the microeconomic literature, Goldstein and Udry (2008) report that the lack of tenure security in Ghana led women farmers to invest less in soil fertility. Large-scale land registration programmes in Ethiopia and Rwanda are outlined as having had positive effects on land investments and farm yields, especially among female-headed farm households (Rodgers and Menon quoting Deininger et al., 2011; Ali et al., 2011). Rodgers and Menon (2012) stress that evidence from Ethiopia, India and Vietnam demonstrate that joint land titling can have similar productivity and empowerment effects on women as land titling in the woman's name alone. In their Meta-Analysis of land rights, Rodgers and Menon (2012) conclude that women's land ownership improves economic security and well-being.

Comparing the Malawian Integrated Household Surveys, Dimova and Gang (2013) find that female ownership of land improves productivity only in female-headed households. While owning land promotes female decision-making in cash crops, it only matters if the female is also a head of household. According to their analysis if it is a non-female-headed household and a woman owns the land, the male spouse has less incentive to use the land efficiently.

Although land access is important for women, it appears that whether land ownership alone increases productivity is contested in different studies. Generally it would appear that as well as land rights, knowledge and skills are significant, as well as practical issues such as having enough hands to work the land.




Do secure land rights have empowerment effects for women?

Whether land rights have empowerment effects for rural women is also challenging to answer. The case study from Rwanda referred to above (Gillingham and Buckle, 2014) highlights how enforcing women's land rights through the registration process has improved awareness of women's rights. This, and the fact that equal rights are enshrined in the Rwandan constitution has, according to the Ministry of Women, been transformational in terms of the recognition of women's rights in Rwanda.

Much of course depends on the definition of 'empowerment'. Henley (2013) reviewed evidence (secondary data) of formalised land rights on rural household welfare highlighting the impact on women's economic empowerment. Taking access to credit as an example (of being able to make decisions with regard to productive resources), the link between strengthening of tenure and increased access to credit is weak, due to numerous other factors that prevent land from being successfully collateralised (e.g. willingness to mortgage land). Domingo (2013) quotes Nyambu-Musembi's secondary research from Eastern Kenya (2007) that demonstrated that titling has not really resulted in the outcomes of access to credit that is assumed. Social and cultural norm remain discriminatory.

On the other hand, Landesa's primary research (Santos et al., 2013) in West Bengal India found that when the government issued micro plots to landless agricultural labourers and included women's names on the land titles, women's involvement in food and agriculture decision making is significantly improved. Their quantitative data was gathered from 1,373 households from three districts surveyed twice, complemented by qualitative information



from one district. Compared to their non-participating peers, women were: 12 percent more likely to be involved in decisions to take loans from a Self-Help Group or microfinance institution; 12 percent more likely to be involved in decisions on whether to purchase productive assets; and 9 percent more likely to be involved in decisions related to the purchasing and consumption of food. When women's names are included on land documents, the share of their households' land where they are involved in decisions on how to use the land, what to grow on it, and whether to sell produce from it increases by 15 percent, 14 percent, and 11 percent, respectively. Communications and information on formal land rights as well as programmes to implement them were strongly emphasised in the Landesa case study recommendations as well as ensuring that all types of property right holders and rights be identified in any land support programme.

Results from a study on land rights and economic security for women in Vietnam, comparing Household Living Standards Surveys (Menon et al., 2013) concluded that land rights held by women either exclusively or jointly by couples improve women's 'economic freedom'. What economic freedom actually means in practice can only be speculative without further information. Menon et al. (2013) found that land-use rights held by women in Vietnam resulted in higher household expenditures⁴⁹ (a proxy indicator for empowerment), higher education for girls and lower daily hours of housework. The analysis from Vietnam suggests that land-use rights strengthen women's bargaining positions, but rights must be embedded in institutional reform.

Simply issuing land-use rights by itself is not enough for women. Changes in attitudes amongst officials and communities are required, or a change in customary law and 'institutional culture'. *Case Study 4* from Tanzania demonstrates the need for institutional reform.

Awareness programmes on land and gender should also be targeted at the general public, and traditional leaders. Ministries could attempt to set up a monitoring system across different sections of government (e.g. attempt to collaborate across gender, land, and natural resources ministries), to ensure gender related information on land is shared so appropriate actions can be taken. Following their gendered assessment, the Zambian Ministry of Gender and Child Development (2013) recommend increased representation of woman in government structures, along with training of government officers and councillors on gender and land issues. How to comprehensively implement all these measures remains a key question.

⁴⁹ per capita expenditures were 5.3 percent higher than average when certificates were held by women and 3.6 percent higher when they were held by men



Case Study 4 Changing attitudes to women's land rights, Tanzania

(Pedersen and Haule, 2013)

Land reform in Tanzania, whilst similar to other sub-Saharan African countries, also facilitates market reform in land. It enables the registration of rights and issues land title deeds called Certificates of Customary Rights of Ownership (CCROs). In principle Tanzania's land reform is considered gender-sensitive. The rights of women and some vulnerable groups are sought to be protected, for instance through caveats on sales of customary rights to land. With customary rights to land recognised, responsibility over land administration and land dispute settlement was decentralised to the local level. Affirmative action was encouraged so that more women were present in decentralised land reform administrations.⁵⁰

Despite intentions toward a gender sensitive land reform process, customary law determines inheritance practices, often aiming to keep clan land undivided. In reality this has negative consequences for women, where patrilineal succession is predominant (more than 80 percent of communities). In rural areas most women still access land through their male relatives, but to varying degrees depending on their ethnic group, family relations and socio-economic status. These practices may not inhibit women from holding access and rights to land per se, but customary law can be biased against women. If a woman's husband or father dies or if she is divorcing, her access to land may be endangered.

Although in theory the Tanzania Land Acts can be considered gender aware, much depends on implementation of reforms and laws. Customary laws, institutions and practices display gender bias, even if the law forbids it. Discriminatory customary practices and bottom-up acceptance of the land reform is missing in many village councils and village assembly discussions. Local-level institutions that hold responsibility over land administration and land dispute settlement may not have the capacity to protect women's rights to land. This means that women, whose marital status changes because of the death of a husband or a father or because of divorce, are still vulnerable, even with the land reform in place. Customary laws can be challenged, but it tends to be better off women who follow this legal path. Women's land rights implementation is a slow gradual process.

Although the Tanzanian Government (in particular the ministry with responsibility for land) has come some way in implementing the land dispute settlement aspect of Tanzania's 1999 land reform, this case study highlights that:

- more must be done to disseminate and communicate the gender equality messages to: district administrative units, lower-level officials and lay people with little formal schooling who anchor land related institutions
- change in attitudes requires much sensitisation and takes time.

⁵⁰ However, the *Land Use Planning Act* from 2007 re-centralising some responsibility by strengthening the districts' roles in overseeing village-level land administration and endorsing land use plans.



How do large-scale land use changes affect women?

Expanding urban settlements, population pressures and mitigation against climate change, result in intense competition for land. On the one hand we wish to preserve natural habitats, and on the other hand there is pressure to produce more from less land to respond to increasing food demands. Large-scale land deals are linked to trade policy, government land reform policy, and private sector agricultural investments. These changes coupled with gender inequalities outlined earlier can result in women losing out. In this section we look at land-based investments and biofuels⁵¹ to illustrate this point.

NGOs have been advocating against land-based investments or what is often called 'land-grabs'. Based on an unspecified number of field visits and interviews, Tandon and Wegerif (2013) from Oxfam state that on balance very few rural women benefitted from land-based investments. They argue that land governance systems and corporations need to embrace a very different investment approach to the rural sector. Based on their secondary research, Koopman and Faye (2012) argue that an analysis of the relations of production and distribution within African agrarian households is highly relevant to understanding the reactions of household heads, dependent males, and women differently to proposals for land reform or exploitative large-scale land change. The concentration of the rural household surplus in the hands of a patriarchal household head both facilitates surplus extraction by external agents (states and transnational corporations) and exacerbates differences in interests between women and men.


According to Behrman et al. (2011), formal or informal land ownership and user rights must be understood. If customary land tenure dominates, women may only gain access to land through a husband or male family member. Where there are formal land titles, it may only be in the male household head's name. A woman may not have say regarding its sale or lease, even if she uses the land.



Common lands are more likely to be given up for outside investment. However women may depend on this land for collecting firewood, water, fodder and wild foods. As highlighted by Verma (2012) quoting Englert and Daley (2008), the threat to women's land rights does not come from unfair laws alone, but from a way of using rules which has evolved in a context where gender power relations remain unequal. On the whole assumptions should be avoided, and a solid analysis of land-use systems (disaggregated into male, female, ethnic groups, marital status, age) be made. The challenge is to include gender equality concerns as part of any land use change planning, rather than as an afterthought. Behrman et al. (2011) conclude that formal and informal consultations and negotiations around land deals must include women and men representatives at the community level.

Biofuels have increased in popularity because of rising oil prices. Biofuel production requires land, with lands sometimes cleared to replace food crops with biofuel crops. Much has been written about biofuels and food security. A growing number of studies are trying to bring attention to the importance of taking gender into account in biofuels development. Some of these studies highlight the issues of the security of access to and ownership of land as key factors determining whether biofuel expansion could benefit women. Taking one such study as an example, using econometric models Arndt et al. (2010) assessed the implications of biofuels expansion in Mozambique. They compared scenarios with different gender

⁵¹ Fuel produced from living organisms such as plant derived materials are called biofuels.



employment intensities in producing jatropha⁵² for biodiesel. Under all scenarios, biofuels accelerated GDP growth and reduced poverty. They found a stronger trade-off between biofuels and food availability when female labour is used intensively, as women are drawn away from food production. They also found that a skills-shortage amongst female workers limits poverty reduction. Modest improvements in women's education and food crop yields are needed to address food security concerns and ensure broader-based benefits from biofuels. The authors conclude that investments in biofuels provide an opportunity to reduce poverty in Mozambique, but not by themselves. Biofuels investments must be combined with policies to raise agricultural productivity and the education levels of female workers.

Undertaking qualitative primary research, Villamor et al. (2014) found that there is no concrete understanding of how and whether gender influences land-use change. They stress that gender specific choices (of commodities, resource access and control, knowledge, skills, perceptions related to natural resources and institutional settings) are important in land-use decision-making. According to Villamore et al., in Indonesia, male household heads prefer to convert their traditional rubber forests to higher value oil palm crops, while *older* females maintain upland-rice cultivation under a matrilineal system. Thus a further disaggregation by age of male/female choices seems to be appropriate.⁵³

How has support for land reform considered gender issues?

Changes with regard to land tenure are slow to be institutionalised. Changes in patriarchal attitudes, practices and power relations in all legal fora are required to advance women's land rights. Gender issues must be consistently put on the agenda particularly during the process of land reform or land registration/land titling programmes. Mechanisms must also be put in place to ensure accountability of land administrators.


Yet evidently in recent years, there is more attention on women's right to land. An important step has been the globally negotiated legal instrument to strengthen land tenure and governance. In May 2012, the Committee on World Food Security endorsed the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security (the Guidelines). FAO has subsequently developed a technical guide (FAO, 2013) on governing land for women and men. It aims to assist the negotiated legal instrument's principle of gender equality (through the achievement of responsible gender-equitable governance of land tenure). It also provides advice on mechanisms, strategies and actions that can be helpful for a focus on gender equity in the processes, institutions and activities of land tenure governance.

Support from donors has often come in the form of research, followed by programmes to reform legal processes and policy on land. Pedersen and Haule (2013) reviewing the AidData database,⁵⁴ found that in more recent projects, gender is often associated with projects on land rights and certification. A positive example was Sida's support to SARDP/BEPLAU in Amhara, Ethiopia where the land certification process issued a certificate in both the wife's and husband's names and with pictures of both persons.

⁵² *Jatropha curcus* is a drought-resistant perennial, growing well in marginal/poor soil. It produces seeds with an oil content of 37%. The oil can be combusted as fuel without being refined.

⁵³ See also another example from Villamore concerning forest conversion in Section 2.2.3.

⁵⁴ AidData is used for donor activity overviews, based on the reporting made to the OECD DAC Creditor Reporting System (CRS) according to a set of pre-defined purpose codes. It should be noted that not all donors put into practice what they preach on gender equality.



In the five countries of Spichiger et al.'s (2013) descriptive case studies (Tanzania, Zambia, Ghana, Nicaragua and Uganda), donors have been important in supporting both the land reforms and gender equality (e.g. tackled women's access to institutions to ensure justice). The authors caution that the implementation and enforcement of reforms is another story because cultural barriers are extremely difficult to overcome. Women's legal literacy is often lacking. Sex-disaggregated data helps to make women's situations more visible, thus requires encouragement. Following both quantitative and qualitative research, Spichiger and Kabala (2014) stress that for Zambia, whilst some donors supported the process leading to the 1995 Lands Act, no donor supported gender issues within that sector in that period.

Tengnäs et al. (2010) found in their mapping and review of Sida's assistance to land related areas, human rights and gender issues rarely feature prominently in programme documents. Consequently evaluations carried out do not focus on these issues. Even where gender initiatives were embedded in planning interventions, at implementation, inadequate attention was given to gender equality. Tengnäs et al. (2010) refer to the need for a deep assessment and understanding of women's situations along with a gender focus in *institutional-development* interventions. Attention should be paid to the clear translation of policy so that confusion is avoided (as there tends to be confusion over different laws and customary norms).

On the ground legal support, through legal aid and practical legal assistance can help. Including women in the day-to-day processes of land tenure governance at all levels is also recommended by FAO (2013). In Rwanda the importance of customary law was recognised in the legal process and it is up to local leaders and *Abunzi* (local dispute resolution) to make sure the legal provisions are obeyed – but only as far as their understanding of the law goes. The *Abunzi* need proper training in resolving what legally are clear cut cases (Gillingham and Buckle, 2014).

Civil society and international organisations can also train community paralegals to work on gender issues at the community level. For example the PINGO Forum is an organisation for pastoralists and hunter-gatherers in Tanzania that was established in response to different problems, and in particular land rights and conflict resolution for pastoralists. Paralegals and umbrella groups can provide legal assistance adjudication in land disputes. Other examples are the *Women and Law in Southern Africa* or the *Legal Assistance Centre* in Namibia, who litigate on behalf of women and children in property rights matters. The *National Legal Aid Clinic for Women* in Zambia offer legal aid on inheritance.⁵⁵

Following up from *Case Study 4*, *Case Study 5* below, also from Tanzania, highlights the role an NGO played with regard to women's land rights in Kiteto District Tanzania.

⁵⁵ The World Bank is the most important donor to the land sector. In comparison to the World Bank's share at 18 percent, DFID was estimated to provide 10 percent share of land-related aid activities funded by donor agencies supporting a minimum of eight land-related activities (1990-2009).



Case Study 5 A tale of two types of support for land registration, Tanzania

(Pedersen and Haule 2013)

What about 'outsiders' support for land reform and gender? Much depends on the approach of the agency involved and whether gender equality is on the agenda of projects that support land reform. This case study compares two different approaches in Tanzania.

One project, Business Environment Strengthening for Tanzania (BEST), began in 2006, funded jointly by a credit from the World Bank and by DFID, SIDA, DANIDA, IDS and the Government of the Netherlands, and coordinated from the Prime Minister's Office. With a focus on activities to increase private sector competitiveness by reducing procedural and administrative burdens on businesses, the land component aimed to reduce disputes and time taken to allocate and register land and mortgages from more than 60 days to less than 30 days (to benefit small and medium size enterprises). Pedersen and Haule (2013) found contradictory figures around female and joint titles depending on which report was referenced (between 20 to 25 percent female and joint ownership in the project areas).

Pedersen and Haule (2013) argue that the BEST project was rushed through at the local level and that this caused all sorts of issues. Because speed and the number of title deeds issued were marked as the most important success criteria a low number of women were registered. The number of *Certificates of Customary Right of Occupation* (CCROs) issued to women or as joint titles was not really an important objective during implementation. Female ownership was only introduced in the middle of the project, meaning that the gender of many recipients had to be identified after the issuance of the *Certificates*. The World Bank specifically requested the sex of the certificate holders. Prior to that request reporting of women's ownership had been forgotten or it was not deemed important. District officials were not sensitised on women's titling. Although women had rights to land on an equal footing with men, they were also encouraged to do joint titling. The implementing teams did not go as far as the Land Acts prescribed, automatically proceeding with the joint titling option. According to Pedersen and Haule's research, the time period was short to challenge a rather conservative male-dominated culture. Some men did not accept that women could also own land. Cultural change takes considerable effort and time and this should be factored into land reform programmes.

The authors compare the BEST project with another approach implemented by a small-scale NGO led project in a conservative area, Kiteto District. This particular NGO has been engaged in a number of villages for a long time, helping pastoralists to secure communal rights to land and supporting the empowerment of women. Women's rights to land had been a central part of land rights activities from the beginning, but it had been introduced slowly and regularly. Eventually about 35 percent of all allocations of land were to women (higher than through the BEST project areas). The gender sensitive elements of the Land Acts were more central in this initiative than in the BEST project. The authors conclude that a more equitable distribution of land requires careful planning. NGOs may focus more on the dissemination of information about the legislation and rights, including women's rights. However NGOs may not have to be engaged in implementing other aspects, so can concentrate on information dissemination.

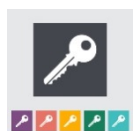
This case study tells us that:

- **Women's rights must be considered in every activity related to land** - from administration to dispute settlement, from policy formulation to implementation to evaluation.
- **Engagement with local communities should be long term.** Citizens and local leaders need information about the legal framework and continuous training on how to implement it.
- **Donors have power.** They can influence the scope of implementation activities through their financing power. Donors can also fund NGOs, who may work on changing attitudes towards women holding land. According to Pedersen and Haule (2013) donors may undercut women's land rights if activities are pushed through too quickly and if gender equality is not part of the process.



What information gaps are there on gender and land rights?

More work is required to document how specific initiatives and programmes can strengthen women's access to land. Context specific information is required on how different level of support can be provided to ensure land registration programmes or other land use initiatives can be promising for women. Examples of how community based legal support structures do not allow customary laws to place restrictions on women's access to land or prevented women from pursuing titles are required also. More examples of implementation of women's land rights in practice should be documented. A key issue is to ensure local groups, including women, understand the legal implications of new contracts on their property rights and are able to negotiate. Land related studies and the impacts of large scale land use changes do not always adequately disaggregate the impact of such changes on different categories of women. Further evidence is required to demonstrate how women's involvement in the processes of land reform and land registration programmes can make a difference.



Key messages 7 Support for land reform

- Land tenure rights are essential for the economic empowerment of women, but they are not sufficient in themselves. Further access to services and assets are required so women can fully benefit from land tenures rights.
- Recognising existing rights to land, including customary rights, and, promoting women's rights to land is complex. The context matters. No one size fits all situations.
- Customary law tends to favour men over women. However, there are both risks and opportunities for women in the transition from customary to legally registered land tenures systems. Smart programmes support gender equality when changing land tenure systems.
- Large-scale land titling programmes can help women if particular attention is paid to equality, but access does not ensure ownership or actual rights to the land. Even with land law reform, women's rights to land are often not fulfilled.
- Institutional changes and positive changes in cultural attitudes towards women are also required for land rights to have impacts.
- Support for land reform also requires a solid awareness raising campaign, and capacity building as part of institutional support initiatives, as well as support to those working on the ground to change attitudes on gender roles and women's rights.
- Collecting and monitoring sex disaggregated land data is extremely important.



Key questions 7 Support for land reform

How can interventions be designed that:

- Support changes in legal structures that govern women's land rights, and help to encourage state-sponsored enforcement efforts (i.e. address deep-rooted views on gender prevalent within government offices; ensure that all data in the registration process is automatically disaggregated by sex etc.)?
- Disseminate and use the FAO (2013) technical guide to support the achievement of responsible gender-equitable governance of land tenure?
- Ensure women are present in the policy formulation process on land and on boards of bodies dealing with land allocation, inheritance and dispute settlement?
- Disseminate information about land reform policies to both women and men. Ensure information reaches local leaders. Ensure awareness raising and training is carried out at district and village level on women's land rights (amongst land officers, community development officers, legal officials)?
- Support activities that help women claim their land rights?
- Support systems to monitor institutional reforms to ensure existing inequities are not exacerbated?

2.2.3 Livestock assets

In comparison to other assets, there appears to be less evidence available on the extent to which women own livestock, how they acquire livestock, which species are most important to them, or how important livestock are relative to other assets (Njuki and Mburu, 2013).

It has been generally documented that women and men often manage different types of animals. It is also assumed that ownership of livestock by women increases the probability that households will benefit from the consumption of livestock products or from food bought using income derived from livestock (contributing to economic empowerment). In this sub section we ask the following questions:

- What does the evidence tell us about female ownership of livestock?
- What enhances livestock opportunities for women?
- What information gaps exist?



What does the evidence tell us about female ownership of livestock assets?

Based on a comprehensive review of the evidence, Kristjanson et al. (2010) conclude that the breeds and types of livestock women keep vary considerably by region, culture and even by household. According to a review study and based on qualitative research, Flintan (2008) finds that in East African pastoral societies, women frequently own fewer animals than men, but livestock assets are generally more equitably distributed between men and women than other assets like land. Although some women buy livestock, many obtain animals informally (through for example, inheritance or as gifts). Quisumbing et al. (2014) found that producer groups in Bangladesh have used group savings to purchase dairy cows in a groups' name.

Using primary surveys, Doss et al. (2011) found patterns of livestock ownership quite different in Karnataka India, Ghana and Ecuador. For instance according to their survey results, livestock in Karnataka is reported as being owned by all household members. In Ghana, the majority of animals are owned by individual men, with women individually owning 29 percent of the small stock and 34 percent of the poultry. In Ecuador, the principal couple owns 25 percent of each category of livestock, with the majority of the large stock owned by men, and the majority of small stock and poultry owned by women.

Kristjanson et al. (2010) wonder whether informal acquisition of livestock may explain the limited rights women have over animals and recommend interventions that secure women's rights to livestock, in the event of household dissolution. For example although legislation in northern Namibia exists to prevent asset grabbing from widows, it still occurs, with women losing livestock assets. Interventions that increase women's rights to livestock and help to safeguard women from dispossession of their stock (from theft or relatives death) are generally recommended, although how to do is a long process that requires change in culture/attitudes. Women may own livestock, acquired through the market or inheritance before or during marriage, but may not have decision-making authority over such livestock.

Beyond ownership women and men are responsible for different aspects of their livestock's care. IFAD outline livestock production systems can be divided into four categories of increasing responsibility based on gender and age⁵⁶:

- no involvement by women;
- women responsible only for processing products;
- women responsible for managing and processing small stock and other animals kept at the homestead;
- women responsible for managing and herding large stock and other animals, and for the processing of livestock produce.

Based on different levels of data analysis and an overall review, Njuki and Mburu (2013) stress that while patterns of livestock ownership across species by men and women within households can be documented, this does not allow for the comparison of total livestock asset portfolios owned by men and women individually or jointly. This in turn does not allow for the relative value of livestock asset portfolios to be compared to other assets, or allow for an understanding on decision making around livestock assets. For example decision making around shifting from grazing to stall-feeding; or deciding to keep higher yielding and perhaps more demanding breeds. Women may provide labour for the various tasks related to

⁵⁶ http://www.ifad.org/gender/thematic/livestock/live_2.htm

livestock but may or may not control the process of decision-making or benefits from sale of produce. On the other hand, women may have a say in livestock sales decisions even though they do not 'own' the animals.

Pastoralism, where men and women make their living by tending herds of large animals, may have very different gender dimensions. Some argue that the distinct roles of men and women complement each other in traditional pastoral societies. For pastoralists illiteracy and isolation often means that women (and men) are unaware of their rights according to state, district, or country where they are located. Shifts in policies (less access to communal land) or targeted interventions for pastoralists (such as encouraging pastoralists to settle in one location) can also have differential impacts on men and women.



What enhances livestock opportunities for women?

Converting livestock into positive livelihood outcomes is influenced by a number of factors, including: women's access to capital; their skills, capacities and ability to organise; as well as constraints on their mobility. Livestock ownership, or control over the benefits of livestock produce may change depending on how interventions are designed and implemented. Kristjanson et al. (2010) identify a number of factors that enhance or constrain livestock related opportunities for poor women in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, mentioning building and safeguarding livestock assets; increasing livestock productivity; and enhancing participation in livestock markets. These are an important focus for livestock interventions to concentrate on. With respect to increasing livestock productivity, interventions that aim to increase outputs such as milk, meat, eggs and surplus animal stock are evidently important. Improving animal feeds, breeds and animal health contribute to livestock productivity and should also be targeted at women. Two examples follow:




Artist: Elijah Njoroge: Source: IIRR 1998

Veterinary services targeted at women: Following a primary descriptive study that included participatory assessment and household questionnaires (400), Kimani et al. (2012) found social and gender factors are important determinants of exposure to zoonotic disease in dairy farming in the Dagoretti area of Nairobi. Their research indicates that gender is an important variable in knowledge about the transmission of infectious diseases, and it is important that both women and men have good knowledge about disease vectors.

Packages of support: The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) poultry model is according to Kristjanson et al. (2010) a good example of supporting women with supply (stock, feeds, and vaccines) and service activities (training, credit, and extension). BRAC involve women in all these areas (Dolberg 2001 quoted in Kristjanson et al., 2010). Women who provide supplies receive support in order to be able to go to market. By the millennium, BRAC was reaching more than 1.4 million women with this model.

Less evidence appears available on women, livestock and empowerment. However, Das et al. (2013) provide results from GAAP quantitative and qualitative research with BRAC (between 6,000-7,000 households interviewed) in Bangladesh. BRAC provided female members of households with livestock assets such as cattle, goats and poultry, along with training on how to use the assets for income-generation. Mixed results were found. Results



indicated that asset transfers targeted to women can increase their ownership and control over the transferred asset, but may not necessarily improve women's relative bargaining position in the household with regard to other assets and decision making. Qualitative interviews did however reveal that women's assessment of gains focused on intangible rewards (self-esteem, satisfaction in children's well-being, social capital), rather than their rights or material gains.

In the Manica province of Mozambique, Land O'Lakes International Development has a programme to help restore the dairy industry. Jersey cows and training in fodder crop and pasture management and animal husbandry were provided to participants to the project. Two members of participating households were requested to attend training, and two thirds of household chose at least one woman. Johnson et al. (2013) surveyed up to 150 participating households, comparing households that had female trainees with households that did not. They also conducted qualitative research. Although their findings showed that households increased their income from dairy production, men controlled most of the income. Joint ownership of cows did not translate directly into control over income. If control of income for women is the goal of a programme, more sensitisation work with men; and a better understanding of men's gender identities and cultural reasons for control over income must be factored into programmes.

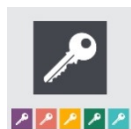


What information gaps are there with regard to women and livestock?

More evidence on supporting women's empowerment in the livestock sector is required. For example we require more examples of how support was provided for women to better access livestock markets so they can convert livestock assets into financial outcomes? More research is required on how changing markets and the commercialisation of livestock production affect the management and control of income by women. When women are unable to transport livestock and livestock products to market, and when men sell products, how can benefits and income be retained is also an important question.

Other gaps in knowledge exist. More information on gender differences in knowledge of and risk from zoonotic diseases in rural areas is required. Does having women as livestock veterinary workers benefit women? Are there differences in knowledge of breeding and selecting cattle, sheep or goats? What are the emerging gender issues in livestock marketing and value chain development? Do shifts in policies (less access to communal land) or targeted interventions for pastoralists (such as encouraging pastoralists to settle in one location) have differential impacts on men and women?

Further information may be required on the relationships between gender and the negative environmental impacts of livestock production. For example do women suffer more from the environmental impacts of livestock?



Key messages 8 Livestock and women

- Examples of women's involvement in livestock vary in different parts of the world. The roles women play in livestock management and related enterprises should be better recognised by development partners.
- Women's ownership of livestock may not correlate with making decisions regarding sale or management of livestock.
- Well designed programmes that help women acquire livestock will increase the probability that the household will benefit from the consumption or sale of livestock products.
- More evidence of how to enhance livestock opportunities for women should be shared.



Key questions 8 Livestock and women

How can interventions be designed that:

- Pay attention to how households accumulate and lose livestock assets?
- Support women's rights to livestock and help to safeguard women from dispossession of their stock (e.g. from relatives death)?
- Understand and concentrate support where women are responsible (e.g. milking, tending young stock, poultry feeding)?
- Intensify livestock production for women's economic empowerment, ensuring that the workload of women and girls is not exploited?
- Involve women in obtaining new information with respect to livestock?
- Ensure better contact with livestock advisory services for women as well as access to information on markets?

2.2.4 Forestry management and access to forest resources

Natural resource management deals with governing the way in which people and landscapes interact. Acknowledging that forests are only one of the world's natural resources, this section uses forestry as an example to illustrate how women's and men's actions as stewards play a critical role in managing the natural resource base.⁵⁷ Many of the equality /empowerment issues raised here may also apply to other aspects of natural resources management. Gender issues pertinent to reducing emissions from deforestation and degradation (REDD) are not fully explored in this section, although reference is made to REDD. Nor are gender issues explored in relation to *Payments for Environmental Services* (PES) schemes⁵⁸ (although reference to PES is made). This sub section asks:

- What are the perceived gender differences in roles and management of natural resources?
- How are women involved in forestry value chains and changes to the management of forestry resources?
- What guidance is there for future research and practice?



What are the perceived gender differences in roles and management of natural resources?


Many argue that the nature of women's activities and their constrained access and tenure, means that they tend to use fewer natural resources such as land and water, and typically grow a wider diversity of crops, contributing to greater biodiversity. Yet, case studies from various countries show that differences between women and men tend to be modest and are context specific. For example women and men can undertake different roles in the use and management of forests - women (and children) typically hold more responsibility for collecting firewood for fuel and cooking and often use traditional medical remedies located in forests.⁵⁹ Although gender differentiated responsibilities vary from region to region, some argue that women act as primary caretakers and natural resource managers. That said, claiming that women have a 'special' relationship with the environment can be viewed as being essentialist, and can reinforce traditional stereotypes of women (as a homogenous group). A recent review (Meinzen-Dick et al., 2014) also states that despite early claims that women are naturally more conserving of resources, the empirical literature gives a more mixed and nuanced picture. This review found that conservation is influenced not only by gender but also by a host of other factors, including local ecology, context, and culture.

Thus a more sensible focus emphasises the importance of understanding processes of resource use and how gender relations affect natural resource management (Momsen, 2010). Women's use and preferences of resources are important, as is women's knowledge.

⁵⁷ Apart from biodiversity, forests provide many assets to humans – e.g. they are sources of fuel, and timber for construction; they provide honey; mushrooms growing in forested areas can be sold for income; forests provide shelter for animals that can be hunted and eaten or sold; leaves provide feed for animals. Reducing the degradation of natural resources relates to limiting the encroachment of agriculture into bio diverse tropical forests. Deliberate efforts are required to reduce biodiversity loss and reduce climate changes issues arising from land conversion from forests to agriculture.

⁵⁸ See Roe (2014) - Evidence on Demand Publication on Ecosystems Services. Available here: <http://www.evidenceondemand.info/topic-guide-ecosystem-services>

⁵⁹ Forests harbour wild plants that supplement diets and provide medicine.



Sunderland et al. (2014) investigated common assumptions and case-specific findings about differential patterns of forest use by men and women, finding some product-specific gender-differentiated roles, but not as pronounced as expected. Women dominate the subsistence-oriented forest product sectors in Africa. Men are more involved in hunting, wood harvesting, and minerals than women. Using data from the Poverty and Environment Network ('PEN') they find that men make large contributions to firewood collection in Africa, and generally contribute a much broader range of forest activities than typically assumed. They find that many forest products are harvested from state lands, and that women collect more forest products from common property resources in Asia, but not in Africa. Men have higher participation in forest user groups, and tend to dominate forest management organisations. Like Meinzen-Dick et al.'s research highlighted above, Sunderland et al. (2014) conclude that the gendered practices of forest use and management are much more nuanced than previously thought, and varies significantly from region to region.




How about women's involvement in forestry value chains?

Generally the forest management sector tends to be male-dominated, with more men employed in the timber industry. Men dominate trade and transport of forest goods over long distances. Even though economic activities around timber are usually managed by men, women's role is often under estimated as they may be clustered in the informal sector. Using action research and value chain analysis to understand the role and position of women workers in furniture making in Jepara's teak value chain (Indonesia), Purnomo et al. (2010) found that both men and women are involved in all furniture value nodes (furniture retailers, furniture warehouses, furniture workshops, sawmills and wood retailers) with some similar but also different roles due to cultural divisions of labour. Men made more decisions and worked in better paying jobs than women. Women workers were paid 50 percent less than men who work the same hours (gender issues around waged work are outlined later in Section 3.1). Purnomo et al.'s focus groups discussions revealed that women are perceived to lack furniture-making skills, even though they are fully involved in furniture making value chains nodes.⁶⁰

In many cultures non-timber forest products (NTFPs) provide a source of income for women or a source of nutrition for the household and offer opportunities for women. Carr (2008) outlines that NTFPs include for example edible nuts, mushrooms, honey, fruits, herbs, spices, aromatic plants, and game. NTFPs also include fibers (used in construction, furniture, clothing or utensils); resins and gums; and plant and animal products (used for medicinal, cosmetic or cultural purposes). Women may be involved in a host of activities like: processing, extracting fibre, butchering bush meat, extracting seeds, boiling, drying, etc.. Shackleton et al. (2011) researched women's participation in value chains of selected NTFPs from Burkina Faso, Ethiopia and Zambia. They found that product commercialisation is in some instances associated with increasing male take over. However, women can earn an independent income, increasing their livelihood security.

Women's efforts to earn an income are not always fully supported by authorities. In Burkina Faso for instance, the authorities had previously turned a blind eye to men producing charcoal and firewood, and selling for cash during lean periods. But in some instances, when women did the same they were stopped by the authorities.

⁶⁰ For a summary of this research see 13 Slides from slide share available at: <http://www.slideshare.net/CIFOR/green-economy-and-furniture-value-chains>



Although NTFPs may offer promise for women, particularly indigenous women, women may require access to information on value chains and markets, training on improved processing methods, as well as further information on ensuring sustainable supply of raw materials. As outlined in Section 2.1.2 organising into producers' or marketing groups may help women increase their control and returns. Quality control, capacity in leadership and negotiation are also important skills to help women strike better deals and provide a quality product. Section 4.2.3 below will elaborate issues around women maintaining control along value chains. These points are relevant to value chains in NTFPs, where there is also the risk of male appropriation of a value chain node once it becomes profitable.



Women's involvement in the management of forestry resources?

Women are largely under represented in discussions on the commercial use of cleared land, compensation and trading systems, forest governance reform such as logging regulation and their enforcement. Primary research from India and Nepal has shown that community forests with a high proportion of women in key decision-making bodies had significantly improved forest conditions (Agrawal 2009).

Case Study 2 Building women's representation in conservation committees over time in Section 2.1.2 Social capital and collective action, highlighted that women may need encouragement to participate in forest management organisations. In qualitative research that assessed the perceptions and behaviour of rubber agroforest farmers under existing conservation agreements, Villamor et al. (2013) found that gender does influence decisions to change land use practices amongst populations living in the tropical forest margins of Jambi, Indonesia.⁶¹ Their observational study along with testimonials from role playing games, found that it is very important that women are involved in negotiations with external investors proposing logging or oil palm conversion. In this cultural context their research revealed that women tended to convert forest land to oil palm quicker than men. This included women from both upland and lowland villages. They suggest that the reason for gender differences could be because men have had more involvement with conservation agencies. Nonetheless these findings are in contrast to the stereotype of conservation-oriented females.

Another study by Villamor and van Noordwijk (2011) in relation to reward schemes for maintaining agro forests in Jambi Indonesia highlighted that villagers have a strong conservation belief system founded on social norms. They state that setting up a market-based scheme should be based on the understanding of the local dynamics and conditions for informed consent. Co-investment schemes may be an appropriate starting level for any form of *Payments for Environmental Services* (PES) schemes. This would mean that local people benefit alongside investors. The authors argue that attention to social norms (such as reciprocity and trust, collective action, and communal sharing), are key for successful environmental service enhancement.

⁶¹ After Brazil, Indonesia has the second highest rate of deforestation.



What guidance is there for future research and practice?

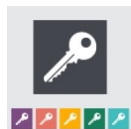
Based on her earlier work around governing the commons and collective action, Ostrom's (2011) framework (called the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework) helps us understand how individuals behave in collective action settings. There is a strong focus on the 'institutional' foundations that inform the situation.⁶² She stresses the importance of sets of values amongst communities that affect outcomes on the ground. Values include the attributes of the local community; rules that create incentives and constraints around actions; and interactions with other individuals. If the costs and benefits of outcomes deter the acceptance of the issue to be addressed, no conservation will occur. Although Ostrom did not focus on gender, cultural values and social norms include gender roles and relations. Her framework has been tested and validated by many researchers. Koontz (2003) proves this framework is significant for forest management and applies it. In addition, the CGIAR Research Program on Forests, Trees and Agroforestry has a useful strategy for improving gender-responsive research, highlighting that substantial differentiation can exist among men and women and not only between them (CIFOR, 2013).

FAO, UNDP and UNEP have been devising strategies to engage women-led community based organisations (and other groups) in national reducing emissions from deforestation and degradation (REDD+) programmes. Such strategies include increasing the role women can play as leaders, participants and beneficiaries in the management of forestry resources and ensure programmes do not particularly restrict women's access to the resources they depend on for their livelihoods.⁶³ Tanzania is an example of a country that is attempting to mainstream gender in its national REDD+ strategy and projects.⁶⁴

⁶² Institutions are defined within the IAD Framework as a set of prescriptions and constraints that humans use to organise all forms of repetitive and structured interactions.

⁶³ More information on REDD+ and gender is available at: http://www.un-redd.org/Newsletter21/Gender_Responsive_REDD_Strategies/tabid/54807/Default.aspx. See also Gurung & Setyowati (2012)

⁶⁴ See 4 page brief on Mainstreaming Gender in REDD in Tanzania by the Tanzania Natural Resource Forum 2011. Campese http://www.careclimatechange.org/files/carbon/Tanzania_REDD_GenderBrief.pdf



Key messages 9 Natural resource management

- There can be clear divisions between men's and women's roles and tasks relating to natural resources use and conservation of biodiversity. Women and men often have complementary roles, which also depend on age, ethnicity and socio-economic status. However, generalisations over who does what and who makes decisions should be avoided. It is good practice to document the actual situation accurately.
- Efforts to curb deforestation must identify clear costs and benefits for women and men.
- Efforts should always be made to consult with both women and men in communities and encourage women's involvement in forest (and other natural resource) management organisations.
- Efforts to mainstream gender into international mechanisms such as PES frameworks or REDD+ require attention and support.



Key questions 9 Natural resource management

How can interventions be designed to:

- Examine the extent to which males and females differ in their decision making and response to land use options where competing agents are promoting either conversion of land or conservation?
- Understand men's and women's different motives and preferences for specific changes in natural resource use?
- Respect women and men's local knowledge of their environment?
- Be inclusive of women and men in discussions around natural resource management?
- Encourage women to participate more in natural resource management committees?



Selected follow-up references

The Care Economy

A short animated video from IDS is worth watching as it outlines the many caring tasks that a woman typically faces and the challenges in reconciling such caring duties with economic work. The video highlights the need for budgets to factor women's caring role in order to facilitate women working. Available at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VVW858gQHoE>

Policy on poverty reduction and gender

World Bank (2011) **PRSP Sourcebook: Chapter and Annexes Chapter 10: Gender** (Michael Bamberger, Mark Blackden, Lucia Fort, and Violeta Manoukian). This 42 page document examines lessons from the analysis of poverty reduction strategies and outlines the rationale for integration gender into poverty reduction processes. It makes the argument that attention to gender improves efficiency and equity and outlines how to engender the poverty analysis framework, including how to integrate into a poverty diagnosis and defining priority public actions that take gender into account.

Available at: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/383606-1205334112622/4221_chap10.pdf

Budgeting

Budlender, D. and Hewitt, G. (2003) **Engendering Budgets: A Practitioners's Guide to Understanding and Implementing Gender Responsive Budgets**. This guide consists of four parts, outlining descriptions of what a gender responsive budget would entail, how to get started and contains detailed information on the budget process and the different groups that should be involved for gender budget work. Case studies are included as well as advice on applying a gender budget analytical framework. Available at:

http://internationalbudget.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/Engendering_Budgets_final_doc.pdf

Collective action

Futures Policy Brief 68 (2014) **Women's economic empowerment and collective action in agriculture: new evidence and measurement challenges**. This short 8 page brief written by Sally Baden examines some ideas/ evidence around collective action and economic empowerment. Available at:

<http://www.future-agricultures.org/publications/research-and-analysis/policy-briefs/1862-women-s-economic-empowerment-and-collective-action-in-agriculture-new-evidence-and-measurement/file>

Productivity

World Bank. (2014) **Levelling the Field: Improving Opportunities for Women Farmers in Africa**. The World Bank and One Campaign. This report provides a number of recommendations and actions that governments can consider in their efforts to boost farm productivity for the benefit of women farmers. Available at:

http://one.org.s3.amazonaws.com/pdfs/ONE_Levelling_The_Field_Report_EN.pdf



Agricultural advisory work

Mbo'o-Tchouawou, M. and Colverson, K.E. (2014) **Increasing access to agricultural extension and advisory services**: How effective are new approaches in reaching women farmers in rural areas? ILRI Project Report. Kenya. This short paper (19 pages) is a review of selected approaches to agricultural extension and advisory services, and discusses the effectiveness of these processes for reaching poor women and men farmers equally. This paper highlights the need for implementing innovative practices based on a gender-equitable approach which should apply at the farmer, provider and policy levels to reduce gender gaps in accessing agricultural advisory services. Available at: https://cgspace.cgiar.org/bitstream/handle/10568/35495/PR_extension%20services.pdf?sequence=5

Bernier Q, Franks P, Kristjanson P, Neufeldt H, Otzelberger A, Foster K. (2013). **Addressing Gender in Climate-Smart Smallholder Agriculture**. ICRAF Policy Brief 14. Nairobi, Kenya. World Agroforestry Centre (ICRAF). This 4 page policy brief summarises the constraints that women face to more equitable participation in smallholder carbon and climate-smart initiatives. It highlights the important role that a flexible learning approach plays in advancing equity goals, and offers recommendations for concrete actions that can empower both women and men. Available at: <http://www.worldagroforestry.org/downloads/publications/PDFs/PB13013.PDF>

ICTs and mobile phones

Scharwatt, C.P. and Minischetti, E. (2014) **Reaching half of the market: Women and mobile money**. GSMA Mobile Money for the Unbanked/ GSMA Connected Women. This short summary report (about 7 pages of text) is based on the findings of the 2013 State of the Industry Report on Mobile Financial Services. In 2013, *Mobile Money for the Unbanked* was able to collect data on the gender of mobile money users through a global survey, which asked mobile money operators to report the gender composition of their customer base. Semi-guided interviews were then conducted with 10 of the operators that had reported high levels of penetration of their mobile money service amongst women in emerging markets. They had implemented successful strategies to drive usage among women. Available at: http://www.gsma.com/mobilefordevelopment/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/2014_DI_Reaching-half-of-the-market-Women-and-mobile-money.pdf

CTA and ICT4Dev – Year 2025 of the Agricultural Revolution

Although not necessarily gender focused, a 4 minute video outlining possible directions of ICT for farmers in Africa in 2025 is interesting to watch. A challenge is to ensure ICT benefits male and female farmers equally, and not widen the gap. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zGodAfYlaF0>

Gender and assets

A 16 minute **interview with Ruth Meinzen-Dick**, a senior research fellow at IFPRI, who discusses why it is important to close the gender asset gap, especially in rural development. Apart from outlining why it is important to reduce the gender asset gap. Dr Meizen-Dick highlights how donors who championed gender issues have picked up considerable research that showed how important this was for long-term food security and for long-term poverty reduction. The interview is on the webpage of the Global Donor Platform for Rural Development. Available at: <http://plt.fm/0Bcf3>.



Land and property rights

Scalise, E. and Giovarelli, R. (2014) **Women's Land Tenure Framework for Analysis: Land Rights**. Updated April 18 2014. Landesa provide a useful framework for land tenure and land rights analysis. Included is a need to analyse individual and household rights to land; communal and/or customary rights; and the state distribution of land. The customary law framework must be analysed in parallel, including its legitimacy, enforcement and who is vulnerability under customary law. The framework presented in this publication will help to think through both formal legal and customary rights to property for women, and help identify gaps and issues that should be considered when supporting a land related programme. It can be used as a checklist to remind us of questions that should be asked around gender and land rights. Available on Landesa's webpage: <http://landwise.landesa.org/guides/3>

FAO. (2013) **Governing land for women and men**. This 120 page technical guide based on agreed government principles, supports the achievement of responsible gender-equitable governance of land tenure. This guide is a reference tool that provides administrators, technicians and professionals working in the land sector with guidance and examples of good practice – what has worked, where, why and how – for achieving land tenure governance that is gender-equitable. One section focuses on building gender-equitable participation into land policymaking processes, another section focuses on legal issues. A third section focuses on gender-equitable participation and representation in the institutions of land tenure governance. There are also sections on gender issues in land administration and communication to support gender-equitable land tenure governance. Available at: <http://www.fao.org/docrep/017/i3114e/i3114e.pdf>


Lastarria-Cornheil, S., Lamb, T., Ragasa, C., Mackedon, J. and Sazen, A. (2013) **Toolkit for Integrating Gender-Related Issues in Land Policy and Administration Projects** (World Bank 2013). This 4 page guide is for those leading land administration projects, titling components of larger operations, or other land titling initiatives. The objective is to ensure greater participation by women in the land titling process. A core checklist is provided for the successful implementation of a project at the socioeconomic, legal, and institutional levels. This checklist is organised around the four project stages: (1) identification, (2) design and preparation, (3) appraisal, and (4) implementation, supervision, and completion. Available at: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTARD/Resources/GenderLandtoolkit.pdf>

Livestock

Gender and Livestock Tools for Design IFAD: This 12 page brief explains key issues associated with gender and livestock. The main benefits for women are summarised, along with the obstacles and constraints women face. The brief also usefully outlines key questions and issues for project design. Available at: <http://www.ifad.org/lrkm/factsheet/genderlivestock.pdf>

Forestry

A presentation from Bina Agarwal entitled Gender and forest governance: Does women's presence make a difference? This presentation (52 minutes) provides an excellent overview with examples of gender and forestry issues, men and women's use of forests and forest governance. Accessed 3.10.2014, available at: <http://www.stockholmresilience.org/21/research/research-videos/10-4-2013-gender-and-forest-governance-does-womens-presence-make-a-difference.html>



CIFOR. (2013) **Gender in the CGIAR Research Program on Forests, Trees and Agroforestry**. Bogor, Indonesia: CIFOR. A collaborative effort led by the Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) is researching the significance of gender roles and relations through community led mapping of resource use and mapping of male and female's knowledge of forests as well as analysing data from the Poverty and Environment Network (PEN) (See Sunderland et al. 2014). This document outlines a strategy for research including how to collect sex-disaggregated data; develop partnership for gender sensitive research; and sharing knowledge on practice and action as well as monitoring and evaluation. Available at:
[http://library.cgiar.org/bitstream/handle/10947/2795/CGIAR_Research_Program_on_Forests , Trees and Agroforestry - Gender Strategy.pdf?sequence=1](http://library.cgiar.org/bitstream/handle/10947/2795/CGIAR_Research_Program_on_Forests,_Trees_and_Agroforestry_-_Gender_Strategy.pdf?sequence=1)



SECTION 3

Waged work and social protection and empowerment

In rural areas, livelihood options for women can be limited. In this section we examine some off-farm wage-employment opportunities that are available for women in rural areas and what can help them access such opportunities (see section 3.1). We also look at some linked social protection measures that aim to support rural livelihoods. These are outlined in Section 3.2.

3.1 Private sector work and rural labour markets

Many women may wish to remain in rural areas but work in off-farm activities. Eliminating legal and formal barriers to women's work is important. Apart from income, work can pave the way for broader social and economic advancement for women. Work provides opportunities for women to make different types of friendships, and become more exposed to the world outside their families. But, in some contexts to create these opportunities community leaders or male relatives should be sensitised to reduce the stigma and acceptance of women working outside of the home.

In this section we look at:

- what better work for women implies
- issues around waged work in high value agriculture
- wage differences and control of wages
- migration and rural women.



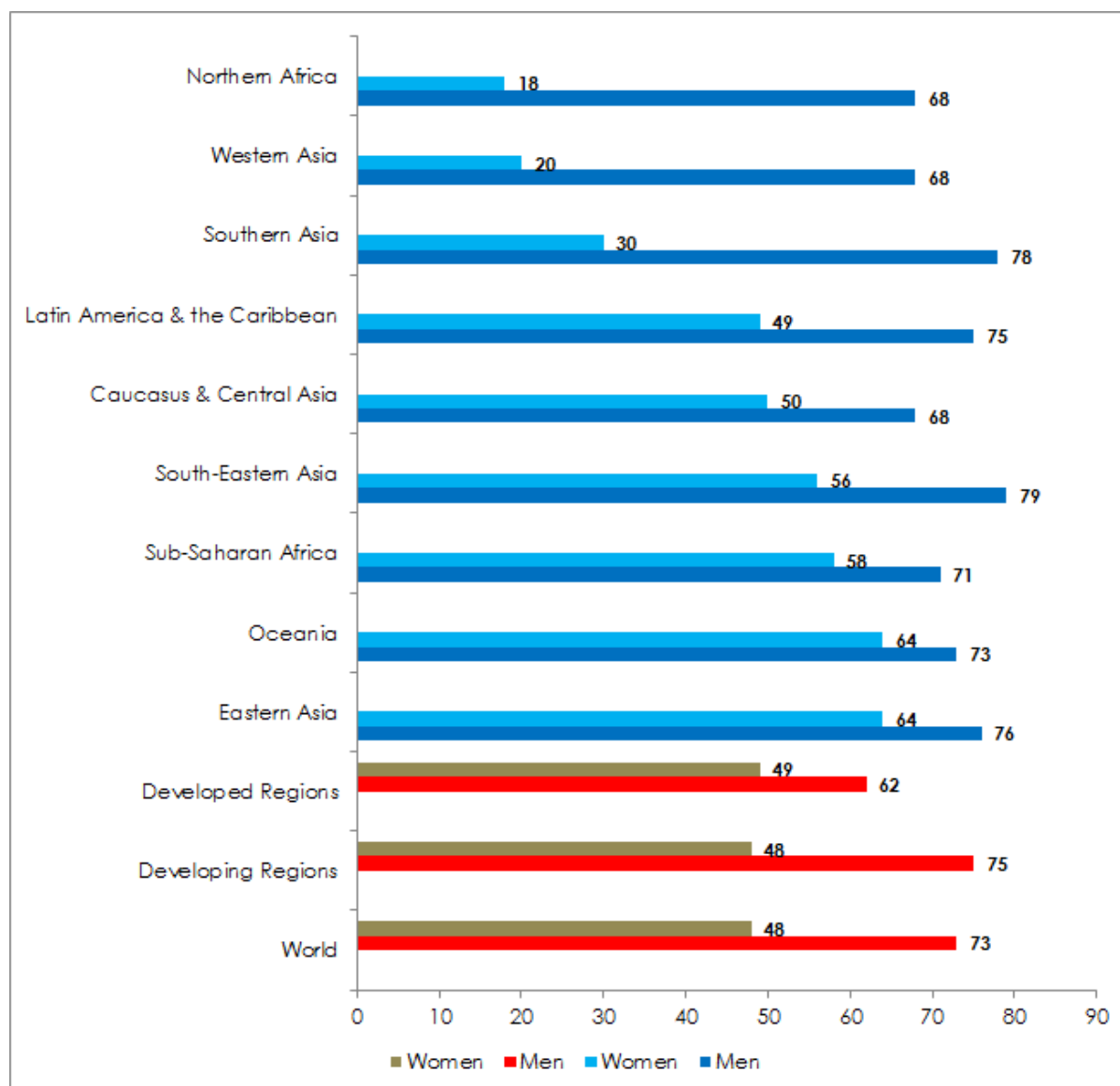
What does better work imply?

Work in rural areas includes agricultural employment, employment in agro-processing and rural marketing enterprises and industries, and employment in the informal economy.⁶⁵ Fontana and Paciello (2009) mention livelihood options as including self-employment, working in trade, small enterprises providing goods and services, wage labour in these and wage labour in agriculture.⁶⁶ Data on the gender dimensions of rural work is patchy. Figure 2 below sets out regional male and female employment to population estimates. Disaggregated national-level surveys allow for more nuances than are available from global datasets. The private sector accounts for a very high percentage of jobs in many countries, 90 percent according to the World Bank, 2013, and should not be underestimated.

⁶⁵ A target on *Decent Work* added to the MDG 1 Target (1B) *Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people*.

⁶⁶ Fontana and Paciello (2009) argue that in rural contexts, the domestic sphere and market production are more intertwined than in urban areas. Many women engage in unpaid labour. Poor infrastructure and lack of facilities mean that domestic activities are harsher for women.

Figure 2 Employment-to-population ratio, women and men, 2012* (percentage)



* Data for 2012 are preliminary estimates

Source: Adapted from *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2013*

DFID emphasizes the promotion of responsible employment practice through investment and purchasing practices – as well as through directly managed company operations. According to Bernhardt and Milberg (2011) the internationalisation of production brings new opportunities and new challenges for the improvement of living standards in some countries. Economic upgrading is defined as a combination of growth in export market shares and export unit values. Social upgrading is a combination of changes in employment and real wages. Bernhardt and Milberg investigated the social consequences of economic upgrading, based on quantitative research of 30 cases in horticulture, apparel, tourism and mobile telephones sectors spread across different countries.⁶⁷ Their econometric analysis suggests that economic and social upgrading occurred in 16 to 17 of the 30 cases (depending on the measurement technique adopted), showing that livelihoods improvements are not always

⁶⁷ Bernhardt and Milberg's study is part of a larger research programme supported by DFID & the Brooks World Poverty Institute, University of Manchester "Capturing the Gains: Economic and Social Upgrading in Global production Networks and Trade"

automatic or immediately correlated with trade performance. The occupational proxies and wage indicators used in this research were not however disaggregated by sex.

Challenges and constraints faced by women that are engaged in private sector waged work may occur at different stages in their lifecycle. As mentioned in Section 2.1.1 rural women face particular constraints such as unpaid housework and child-care which can limit their ability to avail of waged work opportunities.



The ILO concept of Decent Work provides a useful reference point as it emphasises the multiple dimensions of working conditions: the availability of employment in conditions of freedom, equity, human security and dignity (ILO, 2011).⁶⁸ Employers and authorities have a responsibility to ensure health and safety regulations are in place and are implemented in the private sector (which employs the majority of workers). Efforts to encourage companies to examine their company culture and structures to close gender gaps are gaining momentum. The private sector is in some cases driving improvements along global supply chains and in their directly managed operations. Some companies recognise the benefits of improving working conditions for women, and its potential links to productivity. Others have not yet put in place these measures. The gender dimensions of agricultural and rural employment require more attention, in relation to economic empowerment for women.⁶⁹

3.1.1 Waged work in high value agriculture and plantations




What type of waged work is available for rural women?

Women are waged workers in export-oriented high-value agriculture in fruit, flowers, vegetable growing and packing, or producing fish and shellfish for export. Waged work can take place through large-scale agricultural arrangements such as on banana, sugarcane, coffee or tea plantations. Mechanised production in large-scale plantations may help women by eliminating the most physically strenuous part of work, but may also displace women's tasks (Meinzen-Dick et al., 2012). On the other hand, Behrman et al. (2011) caution that the 'gendering' of tasks takes place – where women are assigned tasks because of their perceived 'nimbleness'. For example the propagation of horticultural plantlets or cross-fertilizing flowers. According to Dolan and Sorby (2003, quoted in Fontana and Paciello, 2009), women account for 79 percent of the workforce in floriculture in Zimbabwe. If this is the case, a key question is whether women are compensated adequately for their assigned task? Does the 'gendering' of tasks lower the status of the job relative to other tasks carried out by men?



⁶⁸ According to the ILO, 'Decent Work' involves opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income, security in the workplace and social protection for families, better prospects for personal development and social integration.

⁶⁹ See for example <http://www.fao-ilo.org/publications3/workshop/presentations010/en/> or Fontana & Paciello, 2009.



A quantitative World Bank study (Mirza et al., 2014) of agricultural operations at 39 large-scale, mature agribusiness investments in sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia found that although the provision of employment opportunities was the most frequently mentioned positive impact arising from investments, a gender bias in employment was evident. Across 24 investments in the study which provided numbers for female employees, around 35 percent of employees were women. Where women were employed, it was more likely that they were casual, temporary, or seasonal jobs. Almost 60 percent of women were in jobs that fell into this category, whereas less than 45 percent of men employed were on non-permanent contracts. Women were overrepresented in the worst paid and most insecure jobs. Those in lower-paid and temporary jobs tend to be poorer and less educated, and this is strongly associated with female employees. The authors state that in some cases the remuneration women receive is so low that it is difficult to say that their employment was a positive impact on their lives. Women were also disproportionately represented for certain tasks, notably seedling cultivation within plant nurseries, applying fertilizers, and harvesting flowers.

In plantations or export oriented agriculture, better work implies ensuring that occupational safety and health issues are implemented, and appropriate safety equipment is also given by supervisors to both women and men workers – such as well fitted protective gear given to workers with adequate training for safe use of agrochemicals. Meinzen-Dick et al. (2012) refer to how overall employment on large-scale agricultural farms can have beneficial impacts by increasing the amount of income controlled by women, but care should be taken to avoid occupational health and safety risks. Many NGOs and researchers have documented negative reports of waged work in high-value agriculture. These should be examined to highlight unsafe working conditions as well as occupational health issues.

In summary globally more women are in vulnerable employment (ILO, 2012a). The incidence of decent work deficits is particularly high among young rural women. More studies are required to document this phenomenon and outline how to redress it. Overall it seems that rural labour markets in most developing countries do not yet provide sufficient productive work opportunities for women. Generally in rural areas there is weak enforcement of labour legislation; insecure and low incomes; poor health, safety and environmental conditions; and there is often gender inequality in pay and opportunities.

3.1.2 Wage differences and control of wages



What about wages differences between women and men?

Studies often find that, on average, women are paid less than men for doing the same job. The World Bank's Gender at Work report (2013) provides information on global wage gaps. Wage differences can be due to '*feminized*' tasks. For example an analysis of the shrimp sector in Bangladesh revealed that women and men cluster in different activities. In Bangladesh, according to Cook (2008), in (2006) women and girls constitute 40 percent of all fry catchers and 62 percent of all processing plant workers.⁷⁰ Women fry catchers and sorters earn about 64 percent of what men fry catchers and sorters earn according to research reported by Cook (2008). Based on interviews (over 188 persons) and focus group discussions in Bangladesh a USAID report concluded that women were found to be absent from other important elements of the value chain, limiting their ability to economically gain from shrimp farming (USAID, 2006).

⁷⁰ The shrimp culture industry depends on catches of the wild fry (juvenile) of shrimp. Rural poor people often find employment as fry-catchers.



Others have found through a comparative analysis of data that the gender wage gap in export-oriented industries is 3 to 6 times lower in comparison with other employment sectors (Maertens et al., 2012). More generally Hertz et al. (2008) examined gender wage gaps in rural versus urban areas in 14 countries and found that rural wages do not appear to display any greater pro-male bias than do urban wages. They argue that this result is encouraging for increasing women's wage-labour employment in rural areas. Countries and areas in which men and women are found in very different occupations contain the largest wage gaps. Hertz et al. (2008) suggest that where labour market institutions work to reduce overall wage inequality (through for example unionisation or minimum wages), wage gaps are reduced. They conclude that better access to education for women and girls can be a remedy for helping to reduce wage gaps. Katz (2013) in a review of eleven youth employment programmes that had gender specific components found that wages are significantly higher in export-oriented formal sector industries than in the informal sector (where women with low levels of education are clustered).



What about decision making with regard to income earned?

Maintaining control over income earned can be an indicator of a woman's ability and confidence to act on her own will and make decisions herself. Focusing on Senegal, Maertens et al. (2012) report that employment in the bean export industry benefits rural households directly through increased income from wages, contributing on average 30 percent of their income, and also indirectly through investment linkages at the household level. Wages earned in the export industry are partially invested in the households' own farm business, leading to higher outputs and farm incomes. Their econometric analysis shows that households with access to wages from the agro-industry cultivate their land more intensively and use 75 percent more agricultural inputs. They further find that employment in the bean and tomato export industries in Senegal has important indirect gender consequences. A large proportion of the employees in these sectors are female, 90 percent in the bean and 60 percent in the tomato sector. Maertens et al. (2012) observes that wages earned by women in the export industries contribute to female empowerment within rural households, as indicated by increases in primary school enrolment by 9 percentage points. In Maertens et al.'s studies (2012), wage labour had positive outcomes for women beyond earning an income.

The Global Wages Report 2014-2015 reviews trends in wages in all countries, and analyses wage inequality in the labour market and in household income (ILO, 2015). Explained and unexplained gender wage gaps are presented for selected countries. A series of policy proposals, including suggestions to address inequalities and discrimination in the labour market are put forward.

Overall more sector specific studies with due attention to wage differentials amongst males and females in rural areas would be useful for addressing economic empowerment. Whether women are well paid, or just surviving on wages earned is an area that requires more attention, along with consideration of how women use their wages. Indeed the recognition of economic and social impact of remittances (e.g. flows of money back to families in rural areas) from migrant workers is increasing (Ramírez et al., 2005), with remittances from men and women working elsewhere critical to the survival of thousands of individual families. Some aspects of migration are elaborated further below.

3.1.3 Migration and women



What are the effects of migration on rural women?

Large movements of people from one place to another occur continually. Large cities look very attractive for young people living in rural areas. Conflict, harsh living conditions, poor incomes, and a lack of food security push people out of rural areas, whilst economic opportunities act as a pull factor. Through choice or if there is no

waged work available in rural areas, those without land may migrate. For poorer people migration is often made under extremely difficult conditions. This short sub-section looks at migration for rural women and stresses how domestic work is often a basic low paid option available for unskilled rural women. We do not look at forced labour, trafficking or migration for the sex industry.



Male mobility tends to be higher than female, both between places and between jobs. Often more women are left in rural areas. Yet, there is growing recognition that women are independently migrating for work in considerably greater numbers than in the past. Differences exist between males and females in terms of their reasons for migration, their experiences during travel and the conditions of work when they arrive (Murray, 2005b). Youth migration represents a specific category whose unique needs and challenges are not always addressed (GMG, 2014)⁷¹. Whether migrant women are 'empowered' by migration; or whether women left behind are more 'empowered' to make decisions in the absence of their husband when he migrates may vary depending on the culture and particular conditions.

If a household head is male, but has migrated elsewhere, he may still have decision-making authority around inputs in his place of origin. De Brauw (2013) suggests that programmes that develop off-farm work for unskilled male labour could potentially boost women's empowerment in farm households left behind. Based on data collected in 36 village organisations from Northern Mozambique, around decisions about what to grow, De Brauw found women controlled nearly a third of plots studied. Among the plots that women control, they make decisions about what to grow about 70 percent of the time. Women appear to have more decision making power when men are able to work off-farm. Most of their husbands are seasonal migrants. De Brauw cautions that to understand agricultural decision making processes better, information on other male relatives inputs to decision making may be relevant.

Using descriptive and empirical research, Brockhaus and Djoudi (2011) who focus on a forest-livestock interface in Mali found that women did not yet have increased decision making power when men out-migrate for work. Male and female traditional roles and activities are evolving faster under recurrent drought and migration. Women are increasingly undertaking 'male' activities, but without acquiring automatically the same rights. For example women's workloads are increased as they undertake traditionally male tasks such as livestock herding. Yet Brockhaus and Djoudi stress that in the long term, out-migration of men could give women the social space to assume leadership in household decision making.

⁷¹ For a discussion on young women migrants, see Chapter 4 in GMG, 2014



Domestic work as a migration option for rural women and girls?

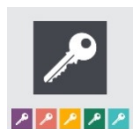
Domestic work is often a significant and basic ‘work’ option for young women with limited education, who migrate to nearby urban centres, or further. Indeed domestic work is a growing sector of informal employment – conservatively estimated at employing 53 million worldwide (ILO, 2012b). Domestic workers are described as among the most vulnerable groups of workers, often excluded from the scope of labour legislation (ILO, 2012b; 2013). Dinat and Peberdy (2005) outline how for South Africa domestic workers included both internal migrants and cross-border migrants. Since the Domestic Workers Convention came into force in 2011, much attention has been placed on abuses facing domestic workers. Action has focused on facilitating domestic workers to organise, as well as policy measures for domestic workers (and also gardeners or other informal workers) such as access to social protection or eventual access to a pension.⁷²

For some, migration overseas as a domestic worker or a ‘carer’ is an option, particularly those with education. Ethiopia and the Philippines are two so-called ‘sending’ countries where an increasing number of young women migrate to the Middle East. In 2000, the global emigration rate of skilled females (defined as those having at least one year of post-secondary education) in low-income countries was 10.2 percent, compared to 6.3 percent for skilled males. According to Bang and Mitra (2011), this is attributed mainly to women being discouraged from staying in their native countries by the lack of economic opportunities for them.



More recognition of domestic work as a livelihoods option and category of worker is required including what happens over the longer term to rural women who migrate to work as a domestic worker, and their social protection rights. On the whole, the acceptance of discrimination and exploitation of women at their place of work must be put on the agenda even if legal sanctions are less likely to be enforced in rural areas. If sex based segregation occurs, sensitisation coupled with the enforcement of non-discrimination in hiring can be encouraged.

⁷² Further resources on domestic workers are available from ILO, including issues facing domestic workers, see ILO (2013) Information and tools are available at: <http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/domestic-workers/lang-en/index.htm>



Key messages 10 Women and waged work

- The private sector must be encouraged to focus on gender equality in their human resource management.
- A sense of responsibility a company displays towards the community and environment in which it operates should extend to equal wages for women workers. Some leading companies are already proactive on better working conditions for all workers and cognisant of gender gaps.
- A focus on employment/unemployment rates of women and men in rural areas is required.
- Indicators to measure employment rates should include broader categories of informal workers. For example domestic workers or casual labourers working in private households or on farms are often not considered as workers per se, yet they work long days for low wages.
- Ensure consideration of how migration has gendered effects for those who migrate and changes the situation for those left behind is necessary.



Key questions 10 Women and waged work

How can interventions be designed to:

- Support advocacy groups and women's rights groups who can put issues such as women's improved employment opportunities in conditions of improved working conditions on the policy agenda?
- Better use the improved standards that some (global) value chains bring to improve working conditions for their suppliers (as a condition of doing business)?
- Promote gender sensitive productive work options in rural areas by sharing examples at regional and global mechanisms?
- Ensure recognition of the extent of female waged work in agriculture including smallholder farmers who informally employ both male and female waged workers?
- Encourage the collection of sex-disaggregated data in agri-industry and high value agriculture?
- Take into consideration the gendered effects of migration and recognise some previously ignored informal workers (e.g. domestic workers)?



3.2 Social protection

Targeted social protection programmes attempt to reach the poor and vulnerable. They are implemented by national governments, but often supported by development agencies. Social protection comprises social assistance, social insurance, labour policies and social care. We do not systematically examine all of these, but focus on:

- elements of labour market support programmes
- public works programmes and gender
- cash transfer or social assistance programmes and whether they are empowering for rural women.

3.2.1 Labour market programmes and youth programmes



How are active government programmes faring in rural areas?


Many countries are running Active Labour Market Programmes (ALMPs) to reduce unemployment and promote employment. ALMPs in theory aim to:

- promote entrepreneurship
- create jobs through public works programmes
- increase the productivity and employability of young people by providing skills training
- improve the functioning of the labour market, such as linking labour demand and supply (African Economic Outlook, 2012).⁷³

The impact of ALMPs is often assessed to be sluggish and it would seem that labour market programmes and skills training are not effective unless part of a wider package of support (see Section 4.1). Without distinguishing between males and females, the African Economic Outlook (2012) stated that the general track record of many programmes to cover youth employment is poor and coverage is low. Among 36 African country experts, 21 said programmes implemented to tackle youth unemployment are dysfunctional and have a low coverage. A well-developed programme covering more than 50% of young job seekers was said to be in place only in Morocco. The African Economic Outlook (2012) further states there is a lack of understanding of the challenges young people face, and a lack of evidence on what really works. These points relate to disaggregating youth on many grounds (sex, place of origin, level of education etc.) rather than treating all youth the same. This would imply considerable efforts should be made to avoid assumptions about young rural men and women.

Although not focused on rural areas specifically, in a review of 20 impact evaluations on different types of ALMPs to improve women's labour market participation rates, Todd (2013) found that ALMPs helped female workers find jobs more quickly, but at a lower wage, than searching by themselves. They found that short-term (e.g. 3-6 months) training sessions do not bring about large changes in earning capacity. Linking training programmes to private sector initiatives and on-the job training is considered important. Asking trainees to

⁷³ The *African Economic Outlook* report combines the expertise of the [African Development Bank](#), the [OECD Development Centre](#), the [United Nations Economic Commission for Africa](#), the [United Nations Development Programme](#) and a network of African think tanks and research centres.



contribute a small amount to their programme can help in the self-selection of those who may benefit most from the training. More information on training for entrepreneurship is outlined in Section 4.1.

Case Studies 6 and 7 outline two different programmes for young women and men. The youth employment programme in *Case Study 6* ignored gender issues in design, whereas specific strategies were implemented to reach more young women in *Case Study 7*.

Case Study 6 Gender issues in design of employment intensive growth programmes

An employment-intensive growth programme for Indonesia, (East Java districts of Malang and Pasuruan) aimed to create job opportunities for young women and men through policy support.⁷⁴ As well as activities relating to value chains, a key focus was on building stakeholder capacity for the development of national employment policies. The project reached more men than women, (589 people in total, 254 men and 150 women as well as 185 young people, unknown sex).

Although the project apparently undertook a careful analysis of local context, a gender analysis did not feature. It was reported that “there was limited scope for gender equality promotion” (Núñez and Sievers, 2011). As often happens, gender equality concerns were absent from project design, with vague gender-specific activities that were not linked to the overall goal of the project and no gender related strategy. Gender expertise was not requested amongst the implementation team nor was gender training provided for the project staff. Consequently there was less involvement of women in project implementation.

A lesson learned is that for project design, an analysis of the local context should also include an analysis of gender related issues as they relate to planning interventions.

⁷⁴ The government of the Netherlands sponsored the project, implemented by ILO in collaboration with UNDP, UNIDO and the UNWTO. It began on 1 May 2007 and ended on 30 April 2010. The total budget was US\$2,757,980. There was also a value chain focus, including tourism, food, biogas, infrastructure and waste management.

Case Study 7 Experiences of a youth employment programme (YERP)

In West Africa a Regional Programme for Youth Employment and Social Cohesion (YERP) began in 2009, managed by UNDP (UNDP, 2012).⁷⁵ YERP promoted enterprise development and job creation under a number of pilot projects in Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Sierra Leone and Senegal. Through these initiatives about 1,364 youth have been trained in entrepreneurship and about 7,430 job opportunities have been created leading to self-employment in many instances. The programme also includes technical vocational education and training of young people. Over 3,500 youth have benefited from various trade related training initiatives, internships, life skills training etc. In some instances YERP services are deployed through microfinance institutions. In Guinea since 2009 a total of 1,854 young women and 1,561 young men benefited since the start of the revolving fund to develop agri-businesses in sectors such as retail trade, textile, agri-business, food industry and breeding. The rate of loan recovery is very high.

Gender related lessons from YERP:

- Labour force data must be disaggregated (by sex, age and location).
- Policy makers and programme designers need much better evidence of what works and what does not in youth employment promotion (for both males and females).
- Most programmes remain largely unmonitored and unevaluated. More and better evaluations mixing control group designs with participative methods and cost-effectiveness analysis are needed to help policy makers identify what really works best for both women and men.
- Programmes to promote youth employment can be most effective when addressing all important constraints, not just one. This would imply looking at gender based social norms and caring duties that may limit young women participating.
- Programmes based on a single initiative are unlikely to work for the unemployed young. Instead, programmes are most effective when they address financial and skill gaps at the same time. A sex disaggregation of such gaps is required.
- Skill building and temporary employment programmes need to be followed by job placements (for both women and men).
- Strong co-operation with the private sector is required to understand employers' needs and create opportunities for young people in the form of apprenticeships and internships are crucial. However work place discrimination against girls may occur in some sectors and must be tackled.


3.2.2 Public works programmes



What about public works programmes to support rural women's livelihoods?

Public works schemes can stimulate livelihoods in three ways: wages, asset creation and skills training. In Ethiopia for example, the public works component of the Productive Safety Nets Programme (PSNP) involves asset construction work on communal lands (schools, roads, soil and water conservation), which provides incomes each year for thousands of poor households who are under-employed (Maugham, 2013).

⁷⁵ YERP works with many agencies including IFAD, ILO, UNIDO and WFP, and the Songhai Centre in Benin.



Factors that contribute to the participation of women in public works schemes include the location of projects, daily transport particularly to remote work sites, quotas for women's participation, wage payment modalities (some women may prefer to work for piece rate wages than daily wage rates, as it allows greater flexibility to fulfil other chores) and availability of childcare. Where only one member of the household may participate, women may be excluded (ILO 2009a).

Some evaluations of public works programmes show that they are generally better suited to help people meet their basic needs, than to promote employment, as most only provide short-term employment opportunities, with little evidence of transition to formal private sector employment (Dar and Tzannatos 1999; Betcherman et al. 2004). Some worry that public works programmes create dependency, hindering beneficiaries' transition to unsubsidised employment (Puerto, 2007). On the other hand, empirical evidence on the impact of the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Programme (NREGA) in India shows that NREGA had a direct impact on women's participation in the agricultural sector, first on the supply of labour and then on the average wages offered. NREGA provides a basic level of income support through a guaranteed 100 days' work per year for poor unskilled households in rural areas. At least a third of all working days have to be reserved for women (MacAuslan, 2008). In summary, it can be stated that it is difficult to draw conclusions with regard to the effect of public works programmes. Effects seem to be country specific and probably depend considerably on the design and targets of these programmes.



3.2.3 Social assistance programmes

Cash transfers are a form of social assistance. Cash transfers are sometimes targeted to women rather than men as women are assumed to use transfers more productively from a social protection/social development perspective. The logic is that women generally take care of food, nutrition and health needs of children.




Can cash transfers be 'empowering' for women?

According to Molyneux (2008) targeting payments to women is unlikely to bring about their empowerment on its own, or significantly reshape gender dynamics and the balance of care responsibilities between women and men. However, targeting payments to women beneficiaries can increase their status, self-esteem and autonomy, which can be measurements of empowerment. On the other hand, although there are many advantages, Harvey et al. (2005) highlight that women may be less able to keep control of cash in the household than food as a potential disadvantage.

Based on empirical primary research⁷⁶, De Brauw and Liu (2013) provided preliminary evidence of the impact of the Pakistan cash transfer programme (Benazir Income Support Programme or the BISP) on household, child and maternal welfare and impacts on gender equality and women's empowerment (as well as impact on poverty reduction). BISP transfers are made to women, so it was assumed that women have more control of income in the household, and therefore their agency within households would increase. De Brauw

⁷⁶ 3,467 households interviewed against a baseline in four provinces



and Liu used ten measures of women's decision making and empowerment to assess progress. Measures included whether or not women report they can vote; or whether women needed to seek permission from a male within a household before going to specific places. They found evidence that cash transfers have been effective in increasing women's decision making power, bearing in mind that those receiving the transfer must have a BISP card, indicating that they already have additional rights. The percentage of all adult women with a card increased from 65 percent to 72 percent. Of those with cards: there were large increases in the number of women who agree that males should help with household chores; who felt that females can work outside the household; wives should be able to express opinions; and larger increases in the number of women who disagree with the statement that it is better to send sons to school than daughters. Although women reported being slightly more likely to be permitted to visit specific places without a male, the authors did not find evidence of impacts on voting rights. On the whole however, De Brauw and Liu's findings suggest that giving women cash transfers supports empowerment within the home.

Arnold et al. (2011) in their literature review for DFID state that only a few cash transfer programmes have explicitly targeted the potential for transforming gender relations at the household and community in both economic (e.g. opportunities for work) and social (e.g. voice and agency) spheres. Targeting has been a factor in cash transfer design particularly with regard to payments going directly to women with young children. Arnold et al. argue that this can increase their bargaining power within the home and improve intra household allocation of resources. They quote studies on the Progresas/ Oportunidades programme in Mexico as indicating women increased their decision-making role in household expenditure, financial security, self-esteem and social status; and also studies from Brazil on their cash transfer programme Bolsa Familia which found that women's domestic status increased because the income they received was regular (when the wages of other household members was uncertain).

Yoong et al.'s (2012) systematic review of the impact of economic resource transfers to women versus men found that there generally appears to be some differences in family outcomes from transfers to women compared with transfers to men, such as improved child health and nutrition. Differential impacts seem to depend on the programme/country where the transfers take place, so drawing conclusions is difficult. The authors concluded there is a need for further research comparing the differential impacts of economic-resource transfers to women versus transfers to men examining indicators of family and household well being.

Focusing on one study from Sri Lanka by de Mel et al. (2009, quoted in Yoong et al., 2012), it was found that when unconditional cash and in-kind grants are made to males and females (with small businesses), men obtained a permanent increase in income. Women did not. They observed that females, in contrast to males, do not use small grants to make investments. Women invested large grants, but earned no return. There was no evidence suggesting higher investment in schooling or health by women compared with men.

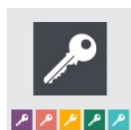
Turning to older women, evidence from a cash transfer pension scheme in South Africa is often quoted (Duflo, 2003; Bertrand et al., 2003; both quoted in Yoong et al., 2012). Pensions for women have a positive impact on children and younger adults in the same household, including school enrolment, nutrition and expenditures. This is not the case with pensions for men. But the pension did not have an impact on the pensioner but rather on family members living with the pensioner. Bertrand et al. (2003, quoted in Yoong et al., 2012) find that in South Africa men's pensions have no effect on the labour supply of male and female household members, but women's pensions have a negative effect. Why this is the case is speculative, but indicates that increasing female control of pensions does not guarantee expected outcomes.



What information gaps are there with regard to cash transfers?

On the whole many impact studies do not yet adequately stress gender equality issues or gender related effects. The Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) in Ethiopia has, since 2005, distributed cash and food transfers to food-insecure households (Holmes and Jones 2010; Koohi-Kamali 2008). A PSNP impact report by Berhane et al. (2011) did not mention women or gender equality issues. The authors stated that they had hoped to look at disaggregation of household head by gender, but the data were not available.⁷⁷ This indicates that systems should be in place to measure and monitor impact by sex.

Although much has been written about cash transfers, there is disagreement regarding whether cash transfers given directly to women actually reinforce women's traditional caring roles, versus cash transfers to women as empowering. Through a review of different social protection instruments and programmes, Antonopoulos (2013) claims that access to land and agricultural extension services, plus price subsidies for inputs (seeds, fertilizers) directed at women farmers are more transformative than family cash transfer addressing income poverty alone. Molyneux (2008) recommends inclusion of empowerment of women as an explicit goal in cash transfer programmes. She recommends that conditional cash transfers should encourage a more dynamic model of gender and generational cooperation (i.e. include fathers), rather than reinforcing gender roles.



Key messages 11 Women and social protection programmes

- Labour market programmes should pay particular attention to gender issues in their design and strategies.
- Many factors influence whether public works programmes benefit rural women (transport, quotas, childcare). Much depends on the overall objectives of a public works programme (long-term employment, or temporary relief during food insecure seasons).
- Depending on how they are designed, cash transfers and social protection can influence gender relations and support economic empowerment.
- The design of a cash transfer or social protection programme should stress the need to collect disaggregated baseline data and subsequently monitor the effects on males and females. This implies collecting basic information/indicators on empowerment dimensions (see Section 5).
- Impact evaluations of these programmes must request that changes in gender inequalities are examined.

⁷⁷ The authors state in a footnote that they found that the results for female-headed households were sensitive to the matching variables that they used. Seemingly small changes in the set of matching variables could cause impact estimates to halve or double. For this reason, they have not included them.



Key questions 11 Women and social protection programmes

How can interventions be designed to:

- Address constraints women face such as the need for greater sharing by household members of unpaid housework and child-care, particularly for public works programmes?
- Encourage national governments to ensure that when initiating and expanding the coverage of social protection programmes, empowerment dimensions and reducing gender inequalities are inbuilt into the programme design?
- Measure changes in empowerment and gender inequality through cash transfer or social protection programmes?



Selected follow-up references

Waged work

UN Women and ILO (July 2012) **Decent Work and Women's Economic Empowerment: Good Policy and Practice**: UN Women - ILO Policy Brief.

This 8 page policy brief contains key messages related to how women are discriminated against in the world of work, and how more jobs and decent work for women promotes sustainable development and is the right thing to do. Six measures are outlined to support decent work and women's economic empowerment. Available at:

http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_ent/---ifp_seed/documents/genericdocument/wcms_184878.pdf

Policy briefs on decent work in rural areas: A range of policy briefs (such as on gender and rural employment; gender-equitable rural work; and migration and rural labour markets) are available following an inter-agency conference (ILO, FAO, IFAD) in 2010 on the gender dimensions of agricultural and rural employment. See: <http://www.fao-ilo.org/publications3/workshop/presentations010/en/> (Accessed 26.10.14) See also <http://www.fao-ilo.org/publications3/workshop/en/>

World Bank. (2013) **Gender at Work**: Washington, D.C. A four page brief with emerging messages as companion report to the World Development Report on Jobs. The brief outlines how women are less likely than men to be in the labour force, employed in wage and salaried work, and less likely to receive the same pay. The implications of this area also discussed. Regional graphs are presented to demonstrate differences. Available at:

http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSPContentServer/WDSP/IB/2013/10/16/000356161_20131016154002/Rendered/PDF/818510BRI0Gend00Box0379846B0PUBLIC0.pdf



The full report (92 pages) is available at:

http://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/Event/Gender/GenderAtWork_web2.pdf

Migration

Ghosh, J. (2009) **Migration and Gender Empowerment: Recent Trends and Emerging Issues**. Human Development Research Paper 2009/04.

This 61 page report stresses how women are increasingly significant as migrants, but migration policy has typically been gender-blind. How the process of migration can be gender-differentiated is explored. For instance whether migration is forced; because of marriage; or whether it is migration for work (illegal or legal). Some public policy for migration through a gender lens are recommended. Available at:

http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdrp_2009_04.pdf

Social Protection

Holmes, R and Jones, N. (2010), **Rethinking social protection from a gender lens**. ODI Working Paper No. 320. This synthesis report (57 pages) stresses how gender-sensitive policy and programme design and implementation have the potential to reduce to increase the effectiveness of social protection, but stresses how gender equality objectives have mostly been secondary goals of social protection programmes. Recommendations as to how best to ensure that specific social protection instruments are gender sensitive in design and implementation can be found in the report. Available at:

<http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/6273.pdf>

SECTION 4

Entrepreneurship, value chains and empowerment

We now consider whether there is an adequate focus on women, entrepreneurship and value chains in rural areas. Entrepreneurship options in rural areas are many and varied. For example, they include: many different types of food processing and other agri-businesses, marketing, micro franchising, agro-tourism, repair services, energy production including renewable energy, mechanical and agricultural engineering, irrigation services, food catering, textiles and garment making, hairdressing and cosmetics, handicrafts, childcare and elder care, manufacturing, recycling, construction and infrastructure, technical or information technology services, land management, and small retail ventures to name but a few.

Young women and men often perceive agriculture negatively because of the high manual labour demands. Yet for some women opportunities for agri-business development exist. This requires a focus on identifying opportunities for adding value to raw agricultural products through combination with other resources. For example yogurt, food processing, beer making, drying fruits, small scale processing etc. Skills to be able to add value are essential, as are marketing skills and access to credit to expand, or savings facilities to place profits that may be eventually reinvested. An emphasis on products being processed locally is sometimes important for increasing profits, rather than selling the raw produce (for example maize is often sold to be shelled elsewhere). Mushroom growing, fruit juice processing or commercial seedling nurseries are promising enterprises, but may also require new skills. Where there are adequate markets, there can be a range of entrepreneurial opportunities.

Value chain development, has increasingly come to address gender issues, with many guides now available.⁷⁸ Generally in these guides issues around the competitiveness and performance of value chains are examined with explicit attention to the different roles and opportunities for men and women. It is still challenging to locate evidence of impact or indicators of empowerment for women along a value chain.



In the subsections of 4.1 we look at:

- entrepreneurship
- what works, skills and training and the importance of targeting
- micro credit and savings.

⁷⁸ For a list of publications on gender in value chains, visit: <http://genderinvaluechains.ning.com/page/publications-1> for notifications, please visit <http://genderinvaluechains.ning.com/>. See also USAID (2009) and Chang (2011)



In the subsections of 4.2 we look at:

- profitable value chains and rural women
- maintaining control along value chains.

4.1 Entrepreneurship for livelihoods diversification

Self-employment in rural areas implies entrepreneurship. Being entrepreneurial requires an ability to build a small business from practically nothing by first mobilising or identifying resources to producing a product that people need and will buy. Entrepreneurship implies that women are able to produce and/or source goods and services for economic gain, but requires women to avail of an 'enterprise culture'. An *enterprise culture* is defined as a set of attitudes, values and beliefs operating within a particular community or environment that led to both entrepreneurial behaviour and aspiration towards self-employment (Gibb, 1988). Gender roles and relations affect processes of production and sales. Information on market opportunities is evidently important. In some contexts women and men are both highly entrepreneurial but perhaps involved in different activities, resulting in different returns. Based on action research, Purnomo et al. (2011) found a gender differentiation in income generated in the teak wood and furniture value chain node in Jepara Indonesia. Although both men and women are involved, men were working closer to furniture buyers, so generated more profit. In some societies, women face family constraints to engage in different parts of the value chain; or negative attitudes.

A common way of supporting entrepreneurship is through packages of training, access to credit, mentoring and producer group support. For individuals to 'step out' of agriculture, and/or engage in more 'lucrative' entrepreneurial activities, specialised training on processing or quality standards is particularly important.


4.1.1 Skills and business training



How effective are skills and business training for women entrepreneurs?

Rural women often require training, skills and access to capital to pursue higher return and non-farm activities. Woodruff and McKenzie (2013) reviewed a range of rigorous evaluations of skills and business training programmes. They found that although baselines levels are extremely low, most studies report a positive effect of business training on business practice, but the magnitude of these effects is small in absolute terms. One study they reviewed found that following training profits for males increased by 24 percent and sales by 29 percent. Impacts were insignificant and close to zero for women. Woodruff and McKenzie do not give an explanation from this study why there was limited impact for women. However, to improve the impact of business training on the growth of female-owned firms, they suggest following up on the training with technical visits or expert advice tailored to the firm. With training offered free, low rates of impact following training were noted by Woodruff and McKenzie.

The Economic Empowerment of Adolescent Girls and Young Women (EPAG) project in Liberia focused on 2,500 young women. Implemented by the government, the programme combined six months of classroom based technical and life skills training, with a focus on skills with high market demand, followed by six months of follow-up support to enter wage employment or start a business. Adoho et al. (2014) found in their impact evaluation (using randomised controlled trials and focus groups) that employment increased by 47 percent and earnings by 80 percent. Positive effects on a variety of empowerment measures were found, including access to money, self-confidence, and anxiety about circumstances and the



future. At the household level, there was evidence of improved food security and shifting attitudes toward gender norms.

Bandiera et al. (2013) reviewed and synthesised 19 evaluations of interventions that focused on the skills constraints of poor women in developing countries.⁷⁹ For self-employed women in subsistence-level work, their review found that a large capital transfer, if paired with income generation training and follow-up technical visits, can transform occupational choices of very poor women, and can be cost-effective. Small liquidity injections, such as microloans, are generally ineffective at starting new businesses. Training programmes must be comprehensive (lengthy). On-the-job training combined with life skills, in conjunction with large capital transfers is found to be effective. Bandiera et al. (2013) found in their review that short trainings are largely ineffective. For instance in Bangladesh, they stress that a large capital transfer (most often a cow or other livestock with an asset value of about \$140), intensive training related to the asset transfer, and regular follow-up visits by specialist officers from the implementing organisation, during a two-year period had a significant, transformative impact on the occupational choices of very poor women. A randomised evaluation of a BRAC programme after a two-year interval showed that, very poor women changed occupational choices from casual day labour to self-employment and increased earnings by 34 percent relative to the baseline. Although all the women included were very poor, the effect was still largest for women who had the highest relative earnings at the start. This finding indicates that women who are already slightly advantaged compared to other women benefit more. Other socioeconomic characteristics also matter (e.g. education, marital status etc.).

Early results from research under the IZA/DFID funded *Growth and Labour Markets in Low-Income Countries* (GLM-LIC)⁸⁰ suggest that it is challenging to develop skills training programmes that improve labour market outcomes of young men and women. For example one vocational training programme in Kenya, is finding limited evidence that the training leads to improvements in employment.

It seems from the evidence reviewed above; benefits from programmes focused on self-employment (or entrepreneurship) are mixed. For helping existing enterprises, small capital injections are only effective for the most profitable businesses. Capital transfers appear to work better when they are large and combined with intensive detailed training (rather than short one-off training programmes). Overall it would appear that short training courses are less effective than longer tailored courses with follow-up support. Capital injections and skills training are both required. However reviews of skills or business training to women do not seem to dwell on two key factors:

- i. the quality of the skills training/business training service provider and whether they adopt an approach that supports empowerment;
- ii. baseline information on entrepreneurial traits in the participants who participate in a skills or business training course.

⁷⁹ Interventions were organised into capital and training; capital alone; and training alone.

⁸⁰ The IZA/DFID Programme on Growth and Labour Markets in Low-Income Countries (GLM-LIC) supports research to improve the global understanding of labour markets in LICs and their relevance for economic growth. The GLM-LIC programme funds around 30 projects in total. Many of the GLM-LIC projects are studying the impact of skills training on labour-market outcomes. These include randomised controlled trials (RCTs) as well as studies using longitudinal survey data.

4.1.2 Targeting women for entrepreneurship



Who attends entrepreneurship programmes?

When discussing women's access to entrepreneurship training, it may be relevant to ask if women volunteer or opt for such training. Additionally it is important to note that some women require 'permission' from male relatives to attend. Many women may be unable to participate due to their family and caring responsibilities. It may also be relevant to review whether attendees are slightly better off and already have a business, which they wish to expand, or whether they are attending because they have no other options. Using analyses of data from Ghana, Rwanda, and Tanzania, Gamberoni et al. (2013) distinguish between different types of entrepreneurs. Subsistence entrepreneurs are those who turn to self-employment out of necessity. In contrast, transformational entrepreneurs aim to grow their business and create jobs for others. This analysis indicates that a classification of potential trainees based on incentives to start a business may be a useful categorisation particularly when offering business development skills.

Micro franchising is a newish intervention to connect unemployed participants with well-established businesses via small-scale franchises. Only one urban micro franchising example was located as part of the research to inform this Topic Guide. The International Rescue Committee (IRC) is focusing on micro franchise business models for young women aged 16-19 living in Nairobi's poorer areas. These include hair salons and smoked sausage mobile food carts. Initially 300-400 women joined the programme. Preliminary results from the pilot are that many women do not complete the process of beginning a small business, dropping out before completing the programme.⁸¹ The high exit rates may relate to the target population of the micro-franchising scheme. Of the women who complete the programme, they have a 17 percentage point higher probability of owning a business. However 65 percent of those who started a business were no longer in self-employment one year later. This may indicate the need for better targeting of female participants, or screening motives and commitment as selection criteria.

Working with pastoral women from the Boran tribe in Kenya and Ethiopia, Coppock and Desta (2013) identified six criteria to identify those who were willing to take risks, were innovative and 'entrepreneurial'. The following personal characteristics were noted:

- limited financial and livestock resources (they needed to earn cash)
- self-motivated, illustrated by at least preliminary involvement in local enterprise or community endeavours
- pastoral women with new ideas
- an ability to serve as community role models, namely innovators with the aptitude to deliver results and build trust
- willing to commit some personal resources (money, time, labour, land, livestock, etc.) to cost-share in the early stages of an entrepreneurial activity
- energy and a youthful orientation and basic literacy.

⁸¹ Information source: David Lam, Director, GLM-LIC Programme, University of Michigan and Maryam Naghsh Nejad, GLM-LIC Programme, IZA, Bonn 25 February 2014. Researchers for the micro-franchising scheme: Pamela Jakiela & Andrew Brudevold (University of Maryland), Maddalena Honorati & Owen Ozier (World Bank).

Coppock and Desta's list includes those who are willing to try something new, because they have limited other resources. This would indicate that in this East African pastoralist socioeconomic context, groups with assets (livestock) may be more averse to risk. Other issues such as marital status and education may also affect women's priority regarding entrepreneurship. More generally it is interesting to note that many 'entrepreneurial' traits relate to 'agency', self-confidence and self-esteem, which are similar to some of the measures of empowerment.



What entices women to move to more lucrative businesses?

Ellis (2013) in the *Agriculture and Growth* Topic Guide comments that observing what women do, and attempting to reinforce their position in those activities, is the wrong way to tackle the problem of gender imbalances. This is because such an approach can entrench rural women into low return positions. He also suggests that more energy should be directed at opening up new options that provide higher returns for women.

Taking one example, Uganda, Campos et al. (2013) examined a range of factors that may hinder or help women entrepreneurs to enter male dominated sectors (for example carpentry, electrical, metal fabrication, shoe making and repair). Their study used a mixed-methods approach comparing women owning businesses in male-dominated industries with female entrepreneurs in traditional sectors. They found that women who crossover into male-dominated sectors make as much profit as men, and more than women who stay in female-dominated sectors. The decision to try a non-traditional enterprise comes from a combination of factors of which start-up capital matters more than human capital. Women who lack start-up capital are less likely to enter more capital intensive male-dominated sectors. However start-up capital is not enough.

Women with a male role model (in youth) are 55 -74 percent more likely to crossover into a male entrepreneurship. Being an apprentice or being taken to observe a friend or family member in the sector is important. Campos et al. suggest that women who remain in female dominated sectors do not always know that they are making less profit than women who try non-traditional enterprises. Whilst harassment from the police is common to all entrepreneurs, in Uganda women who crossover to male sectors more frequently experience vandalism of their premises, and are almost twice as likely to experience sexual proposals. This would imply that women who cross over to other male dominated sectors have to contend with and resist sexual and other harassment.




4.1.3 Micro credit and savings services



Does the availability of capital and financial services help women's enterprises?

Microfinance services are considered by many to be an effective tool for meeting the needs of self-employed women, who tend to have less access to formal financial sector providers. Credit and savings are also important for addressing constraints in agricultural productivity (as outlined in Section 2.1.3). Micro credit and savings services are important for many aspects of agriculture (e.g. to purchase new agricultural tools, or to place cash earned in a secure place).



Accessing micro loans provides women with a type of independence for their agricultural activities or business (for example they do not have to borrow from relatives or money lenders). Much has been written about microfinance over the years with stories of impact. A systematic review by Duvendack et al. (2011) provides a good understanding of the impact of microfinance on the well-being of poor people.

Clearly rural women require credit and saving services. In Malawi, using household survey data, Dimova and Gang (2013) found that credit for women has a strong positive impact on female involvement in cash crops, but men did not use the credit for crops. Doss et al. (2012b) found that loans are most effective when combined with savings opportunities for women. Reviews from Mehra et al. (2012) of 31 evaluations of microcredit and by Bandiera et al. (2013) of 19 recent field experiments concur that small injections of funds through grants or loans are ineffective in stimulating growth in the micro-businesses of poor women. The strongest empirical evidence Mehra et al. (2012) find with regard to the impact of financial services is that savings services have a positive impact on women's businesses and expenditures. They also conclude that there is some limited rigorous evidence that credit always has a positive impact on women's business.

In his review, Knowles (2013) rated rural savings interventions as promising to improve rural women's productivity. He emphasises approaches such as the formation of a network of rural deposit collectors who forward the collected deposits to a bank, or the use of mobile-phone based systems such as M-Pesa in Kenya. One study Knowles highlights is a mobile payment (cash transferred via a mobile-based payment system) in Niger as being more cost-effective than traditional methods of cash transfer. Many authors (e.g. Sherraden, 2007; Karlan et al. 2014) stress that people who are poor can and do save, but often use formal or informal instruments that are riskier. Karlan et al. (2014) summarise five sets of constraints that may hinder the adoption of savings products namely: transaction costs; lack of trust and regulatory barriers; information gaps; social constraints; and behavioural biases. Women are often said to display lower financial literacy in Africa and South East Asia. This is the case in many parts of the world - a study from Lusardi and Mitchell (2009) found that women in the USA displayed significantly worse financial literacy than men. Karlan et al. quote another study from western India (Field et al., 2010) that found that giving financial literacy training to women working in the informal sector did not increase savings. Financial literacy training only raised borrowing and business income among a sub-group of women (who faced strict social constraints).

Linking back to Section [2.2.1 Assets at the household level](#) (land and property for women), whether land rights facilitate more access to credit is also an important question and again not straight forward to answer. Rodgers and Menon (2012) found less evidence in their meta study on the impact of land rights and access to credit, highlighting that studies that have documented a positive correlation between land rights with access to credit apply mostly to richer households, urban areas and larger-scale farms. They caution that the ability to successfully use land as collateral depends also on transparency in the regulatory system. As we mention in Section 2.2.2, the actual willingness of women (or men) to mortgage land is also something to consider.



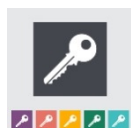
Does microfinance support women's empowerment?

Evidently microfinance is much needed. Many claims are made about microfinance and its ability to 'empower' women. Duvendack et al. (2011) did not find convincing evidence that microfinance empowers women.⁸² Some reviews complain that well-known studies, which claim to have found positive impacts on females, are based on weak research designs, inadequate data and problematic analyses, which might not have survived replication or re-analysis using other methods (see for example Stewart et al. 2012; Khandker 2005; Mehra et al. 2012; Duvendack et al. 2011). More recently Duvendack et al. (2014) find the impact effects of microcredit are smaller than claimed. Kabeer (2001) cautions that preconceived notions about impact also relate to assumptions and interpretations of empowerment.

In summary the evidence around microfinance is mixed. Recent reviews now highlight that along with credit (which is lacking for women) people who are poor require access to other financial products such as savings, and insurance, combined with training and technical support (see Section 4.4.1).⁸³ Women if targeted with credit can sometimes be pressurised to borrow for male relatives. Encouraging transparency about loans within the family is thus important. Financial literacy and business education are necessary to ensure loans are used effectively.

⁸² Nor did they find robust evidence of microfinance's positive impacts on women's status, or girl's enrolments into school, however they caution that almost all impact evaluations of microfinance suffer from weak methodologies and inadequate data affecting the reliability of impact estimates adversely.

⁸³ Duvendack et al. reference Collins et al. (2009).



Key messages 12 Support for entrepreneurship

- Better screening of women's motives and commitment as selection criteria for entrepreneurial training programmes are necessary. Not everyone is inherently an entrepreneur, but poverty should not exclude participation in entrepreneurship training programmes.
- Consider women's caring responsibility when organising support for entrepreneurship. Perhaps shorter but more frequent sessions of support or training are required, nearer to where women are located to accommodate women's family responsibilities and their ability to travel. Some women may require child care services or space to include a chaperone when attending activities far from home.
- Disaggregating (by age and sex), monitoring effects, addressing different constraints (including finance and skills gaps) and linking to the private sector are important for entrepreneurial support programmes.
- Exposure to new more lucrative sectors for adolescent girls may be worthwhile, as well as the presence of male role models who can operate as 'gate openers' for women who wish to 'cross-over' into more lucrative enterprises.
- Savings services may be a significant microfinance service required by female entrepreneurs.
- A comprehensive approach to supporting entrepreneurship would encompass a strong focus on savings services; credit; insurance products, financial literacy training; and longer lasting business skills development.



Key questions 12 Support for entrepreneurship


How can support for entrepreneurship and livelihood diversification be designed to:

- Expand knowledge on the importance of personality traits as a driver of entrepreneur's success for both women and men in different cultural contexts?
- Take into account context specific patterns of the care economy to ensure all women can respond to entrepreneurial opportunities that arise?
- Evaluate impacts of different types of business training on later business practices as well as on profits of those trained?
- Collect and share information about the returns to investments in male-dominated sectors to encourage women to try more lucrative male dominated sectors?
- Set up mentorship schemes or apprenticeships for young women to cross-over into male dominated sectors, and sensitise men?
- Encourage microfinance programmes to consider more clearly what they mean by empowerment and include empowerment dimensions in their impact evaluations?
- Encourage partners to complement savings and credit services with financial literacy and more in-depth business skills training tailored for women?

4.2 Value chains

A value chain describes the full range of activities that are required to bring a product or service from conception, through the intermediary phases of production, delivery to final consumers, and final disposal after use. This includes activities such as design, production, marketing, and distribution and support services up to the final consumer (and often beyond, when recycling processes are taken into account). As the product passes through several stages of the value chain, the value of the product increases (Kaplinsky 2004). The activities constituting a value chain can be contained within a single firm or divided among different firms, as well as within a single geographical location or spread over wider areas. Gender roles and different opportunities may be evident along various activities making up value chains.⁸⁴ Rural women attempting to participate along higher 'rungs' or 'nodes' of a value chain, in comparison to men, face different disadvantages (such as those outlined in Box 2). For example being less able to move freely from their place of production; less access to assets (as outlined in Section 2.1); limited market information; or fewer inputs to help them add value to raw produce. All or some of these disadvantages combine to make it more difficult to access and maintain profitable market niches and capture larger profits.

⁸⁴ Module 5 in the World Bank, FAO, IFAD (2009) outlines broad regional differences in terms of women's involvement in selling market crops.



Quisumbing et al. (2014) point out that there has been less focus on the links between women's assets and their participation in market-oriented agriculture. Support is often required to help female producers modify their product, improve knowledge and skills on what to do and what will sell, or how to combine with other raw materials to produce something with added value. ICTs can also facilitate access to market information (which may improve negotiation power) along value chains.

An important starting point is undertaking a gender analysis of men and women's participation in different value chain activities, highlighting how they can positively move up a value chain node, given their family responsibilities. The next step is to assess how both men's and women's positions in the value chain can be improved without sacrificing competitiveness.

Although it is important not to box women into particular activities, some types of rural businesses such as horticulture, plant nurseries, and broiler chickens are attractive to women with young children. At a certain point in their lifecycle (for example when pregnant or minding young children) women may need to stay near their homes because of their family responsibilities and caring demands. Yet women with home gardens growing varieties of vegetables, herbs and spices for household consumption often sell surplus (for example tomatoes, peppers, peas, beans). They often require support to move to higher stages in the value chain. *Case Study 8* concerns the 'successful' Bay Leaf enterprise in Nepal and highlights the importance of having a gender aware approach from the start to ensure profit for women.

Case Study 8 What contributed to the success to the Bay Leaf Enterprise?

(Bhattarai et al., 2009)

A value chain approach to a *Bay Leaf* enterprise project in Udayapur, Nepal implemented by the Federation of Community Forestry Users of Nepal (FECOFUN) in collaboration with ICIMOD contributed to more than doubling of household incomes in one year. Income went up from 3,300 to 7,000 Nepalese rupees. The increased income helped to improve the living conditions in households. Women invested in food, clothes, and the education of their children, including education of girls. Women also used profits to invest in a share of the community cooperative.

The following attributes of project design ensured that the Bay Leaf Enterprise project was 'successful':

- Gender perspectives were strong elements in project design and provided a basis for all value chain activities.
- The gender sensitivity of the facilitator working with the project was extremely important for the inclusion of women in producers' groups and cooperatives.
- Women were given leadership positions, which had a knock on effect of breaking down gender stereotypical behaviours prevalent in the community and elsewhere, including the implementing organisations.
- Involving women in the market survey, which required travelling and staying away from home for several nights, demonstrated the fact that women, given equal opportunity and trust, can perform the job as well as men.
- Building alliances of different producers' groups in the form of a cooperative provided the producers, especially women, with collective strength, as the cooperative provided a forum for discussing different aspects of value chain activities, and provided an opportunity to access financial resources.

4.2.1 Profitable markets for rural women



How to support linkages between female smallholders and more profitable markets?

Many women are involved in informal markets, which can prove profitable for them. Contract farming involves agricultural production being carried out on the basis of an agreement between the buyer and agricultural producers. Moving smallholders to formal markets along the value chain involves linking with companies including supermarkets, agro-processors or exporters who set up contracts with producers and buy products. Sometimes they pay more than local market prices, or provide a consistent source of income. Consistent quantity and quality are important for linking to value chains. Keane (2008) highlighted opportunities for non-traditional agricultural goods. Such goods are described as high value and new to the country of origin, and can be exported. Compared to primary traditional commodities, non-traditional goods offer opportunities as they may currently have less actors and nodes in the value chain.

Based on secondary data, Rubin and Manfre (2010) state that women's formal participation in contract farming provides mixed evidence. Quoting research by Masakure and Henson (2005) from Zimbabwe, it was found that 61 percent of contract farmers in vegetables were women. In contrast quoting Dolan (2001) it was found that women made up only 10 percent of the farmers in the fresh fruit and vegetable sectors in Kenya. Mirza et al. (2014) based on a field-based survey on the conduct of agricultural operations at large-scale, mature agribusiness investments in sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia found that nearly all out-growers were men, with only 1.5 percent female. In their review, Meinzen-Dick et al. (2012) mention one large-scale contract farming venture in China contracted exclusively with male household heads. In this example, women did most of the agricultural work, leading to disputes with women because women were often not properly compensated for their work. In contrast, the authors mention another contract farming venture for non-traditional export crops in the Dominican Republic, which provided women with an opportunity to obtain compensation for their increased labour. The authors also cite an example of cotton contract farming in Zambia where females were targeted, and where contract farming was profitable for female farmers. The example from Finlays in Kenya outlined in Section 1.2 demonstrated that more accurate disaggregated details should be registered when contracts with smallholders are being negotiated (Chan, 2010).

Clearly there is a need to make more efforts to ensure that female headed households and women generally are considered in contracts, smallholder groups, and training opportunities. Smith (2014) based on qualitative research and case studies in Kenya concludes that the empowerment of women smallholders even within existing ethical supply chains is often low. We require more evidence about how women were included in more profitable markets. One way of linking women farmers to higher-value markets is through supporting producer (or marketing) groups (discussed in Section 2.1.2 under *Social Capital and Collective Action*). Evidently for shared prosperity in contract farming, women require 'agency' or collective action to negotiate better deals. Literacy is important to be able to understand contractual obligations and we need to consider whether information and advice reach rural women (as discussed in Section 2.1.4 of this guide).

Another way to reach rural women is through female sales agents or female middle 'women'. Taking one example of this, a programme implemented by the Mennonite Economic Development Associates (MEDA) in Balochistan, Pakistan, sought to increase incomes of women producers (making crafts). The evaluation of this programme states that between 2009 and 2012 about 5,400 women were reached by facilitating their access to viable markets via 'middle women'. MEDA's approach to target female sales agents as

intermediaries to producers was because they found this achieved a better impact and scale with fewer resources than targeting lots of small producers (USAID, 2012). Sales agents or ‘middle women’ are vital links to small producers in the value chains. Working with ‘middle women’ was successful in this particular cultural context, and may be worth considering when programmes cannot afford to individually reach many producers. A focus on local female agents and female managed small shops as distribution channels is also important for climate friendly social enterprises being set up in many parts of the world for products such as for portable solar lights and energy efficient stoves.

4.2.3 Women maintaining control along value chains



How to help women retain control along the value chain?


One dimension of empowerment relates to women being able to maintain control over the generation of their income (and use of that income). Simultaneous economic opportunities for men may be important to minimise the likelihood that they will take over women’s profitable activities. This point was stressed in Box 1 in Section 1. Otherwise women can face challenges maintaining control as products become more economically attractive to men. Culture and social norms often constitute a barrier to women maintaining control. For example Kristjanson et al. (2010) quote studies conducted among the Fulani in northern Nigeria (Water-Bayers, 1985, 1988) where men took over dairy markets with the advancement of commercial markets for milk. Women’s traditional control over milk products was eroded, decreasing their power within the household. In contrast, among the Baggara pastoralists of Kordofan, Sudan, with the growth of cheese factories and an increasing demand for milk, women’s traditional dairy role was not taken over by men. Rather women’s role evolved into their control of milk marketing (Nori, 2008 quoted in Kristjanson et al., 2010). How to ensure women maintain control is context specific and requires a deep understanding of different socio-economic and cultural factors. Indeed men may help women in their traditional tasks or on their crops in response to economic opportunities such as price changes. Shea nuts in Burkina Faso is often quoted as an example of increased male involvement when the sale of shea nuts become more profitable (World Bank et al., 2009).



Quisumbing et al. (2014) indicate that the GAAP⁸⁵ quantitative and qualitative research demonstrates the impact of value chain development projects on men and women’s abilities to accumulate assets.⁸⁶ Preliminary results from horticulture value chain projects with women farmers in Burkina Faso (home gardens) and Uganda (sweet potatoes) illustrate issues around who decides and who controls decision making (Quisumbing et al., 2014). In Burkina Faso, approximately 75 percent of women engaged in these value chain projects

⁸⁵ See Section 4.2.3. Also see recent case studies (Quisumbing et al., 2014) from four GAAP interventions provide further lessons on the links between gender and value chain development in Asia and Africa.

⁸⁶ By providing training and facilitating the return of benefits to the women who are producers and suppliers, the GAAP projects follow principles for gender-equitable value chain development. Each study emphasises the importance of investments in human and social capital through training programmes and the formation and management of different types of farmer associations —as facilitating the accumulation of other types of physical and natural assets. The authors highlight that other targeted support to the farmers’ groups may be needed to translate these gains into ability to purchase physical assets to expand agribusinesses and enter the non-production nodes of the value chain.



made decisions on the sale of vegetables and kept the income from these sales. Only 50 percent were able to decide to sell or keep proceeds from the sale of chickens. In Uganda, although both men and women discuss and consult, men are more likely to have the final say on crop type and crop quantity for a given plot. Women are more likely to be solely in charge of decisions about which and how much of a crop to grow on plots controlled and managed by women. With regard to marketing sweet potato vines, depending on the district it can be either men or women who sell the vines and keep the cash.

Based on their primary qualitative research, Sebstad and Manfre (2011) believe that the power dynamics related to value chain governance is less understood. A current focus tends to be on gender differences in production, productivity, or sales rather than on understanding the behaviours, practices, and relationships. Quoting Sahan and Fisher-Machkey (2011) Ruffer and Wach (2013) found that gendered assessments of *Making Markets Work for the Poor* (M4P) programme impacts are very limited. For example they are limited to the disaggregation of direct effects by sex and do not capture changes in social relations, roles and power. This they say can lead to superficial conclusions about the gendered effects of a programme.


The relative importance of the different groups in terms of numerical strength or power may help to understand different practices in a value chain. But as mentioned in Case Study 9 below, kin relationships may affect business autonomy, piece rates paid to individuals or how decisions are made (separately or as a group). It is important to understand different relationships and decision-making patterns to understand power relations (and empowerment). Gender biases are also present in the institutions along the value chain. Examining how men and women interact at different points along the value chain can help to identify where women lose control, such as indicated in the example among the Fulani in northern Nigeria above. Sebstad and Manfre's (2011) analysis of the citrus value chain in Ghana and the sweet potato value chain in Kenya concludes that better communication with field partners and better data collection is required.



How can support be provided for value chain development?

As outlined above certain activities along the value chain may be clustered because of gender roles and appear inflexible. Although certain behaviours may relate to culture, gender roles can change. There may also be a lack of information on better ways to operate along the value chain. Beyond a focus on technical production issues, a stronger focus on improving women's opportunities to participate in and benefit from markets, (such as decision making about the sale of produce) are required. More information may be needed on the significance of men and women working together in terms of control over income earned.

According to a stocktaking review by Núñez and Sievers (2011) there is an emerging consensus on the role development agencies, donors and governments can play when supporting value chain development. Value chain development and M4P practitioners recommend a 'light touch' approach. They emphasise facilitation so as not to distort existing market systems. In other words, the development agency does not take on the role of, or replace, market actors. Instead development agencies try to encourage support and enable market actors to fulfil their roles better in ways that benefit all.



Various studies have made recommendations regarding supporting more lucrative outcomes when supporting value chains. Many of these types of recommendations have already been mentioned in relation to other contexts and presented in other sections of this guide, with a few specific recommendations outlined below.

Goldstein et al. (2013) from their study in Benin, state that if female farmers are to engage in more lucrative cash crop portfolios, they require secure land titles and land rights. Donor support for women's land tenure is therefore important. Doss et al. (2012a) stress the use of farmers' groups to link small farmers to the market and help in negotiations with buyers, including teaching women farmers how to negotiate. Supporting women's groups for collective action is important. Improving access to time-saving technologies is also helpful as suggested by Goldstein et al. (2013) and Quisumbing and Pandolfelli (2010). These types of recommendations are contained in the emerging and plethora of guides developed for ensuring a gender focus when supporting value chain development.⁸⁷

The *Gender Action Learning System* is one type of approach, which promotes a 'participatory' approach and different types of 'learning' for resource poor people at the bottom of the value chain and is summarised in *Case Study 9*.

⁸⁷ Extracted and adapted from Bhattarai et al. (2009), Lubbock (2009), Farnworth & Gallina (2009)



Case Study 9 Gender Action Learning System (GALS)

The *Gender Action Learning System* (GALS) approach applies participatory methods in value chain interventions.⁸⁸ GALS supports a self-reflective process or path for producers including establishing and understanding the current situation; reflecting on where they have come from in terms of their personal achievements; and identifying the opportunities and constraints that will affect the realisation of their vision. Support is provided through ‘trainers’ who facilitate participants to identify their objectives, and asks participants to set milestones on the road towards the achievement of their overall vision. Trainers receive compensation based on performance. *‘Promoting Gender Equality and Women’s Rights’*, from GIZ⁸⁹ and OxfamNovib used GALS.

Farnworth and Akamandisa (2011) believe that the GALS, with a focus on the coffee value chain, as implemented by Bukonzo Joint Cooperative Microfinance Ltd, in Uganda, unseats powerful cultural norms that have existed for generations. For instance norms that undermine the individual and economic development of women (and the community). If women and men follow livelihood strategies that work against each other, GALS analysis and discussion can help to build a better vision together. This could include shifting norms so that women can register land in their own name, not only through purchase but also through modifying local cultural norms. Farnworth and Akamandisa (2011) indicate however that some people remain attached to customary norms, particularly with respect to land and inheritance.

In terms of the product (coffee), the GALS has helped men and women communicate with traders and has helped to improve relationships between traders and producers, with a focus on coffee bean quality. Women traders are now included in the value chain as a direct consequence of the GALS. Barter traders (women) and village traders (men) are often married to each other. According to Farnworth and Akamandisa (2011), the GALS works because it starts where people are, as change agents, and takes them through a staged process, where they themselves identify and challenge obstacles in their environment. It also starts with people’s strengths. The process is like a gender-aware SWOT analysis, adding a sense of direction by starting with individual visions.

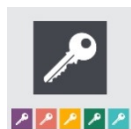
GALS requires organisational support for the process to work, which may not always be available. For instance personnel who can facilitate a process that should support empowerment. GALS also requires a strong commitment from all involved.⁹⁰

The GALS approach is innovative and if applied well can promote gender equality and support empowerment. GALS encourages male leaders’ and husbands’ support to ensure women can actively participate along the value chain. The cost-effectiveness of this approach must however be weighted against the numbers reached through GALS. Skilled facilitators are required to move men and women through such a self-reflecting process, and enable them outline their vision for the future.

⁸⁸ Based on the work of Mayoux (2012)

⁸⁹ the Deutsche Gesellschaft für International Zusammenarbeit

⁹⁰ See further recommendations in Farnworth and Akamandisa (2011)



Key messages 13 Value chains and women

- Women's participation in value chains can deliver economic benefits for women. A focus on value chain nodes that yield higher returns for women (e.g. integration into more profitable markets) is necessary.
- Opportunities may stem from non-traditional agricultural trade.
- Female producers require more equal opportunities to participate in contract farming, should they wish to get involved.
- A focus on access to and control of resources for rural women must be better facilitated for women to benefit from non-traditional value chains.
- It is necessary to consider the role of men along value chains nodes, if a programme wishes to ensure that once the enterprise becomes profitable women do not lose control.
- The better integration of women in value chains requires an understanding of how and the degree to which, gender norms do not allow women to participate at higher nodes of a value chain. Barriers may be due to traditional caring responsibilities, laws, and institutional structures.



Key questions 13 Value chains and women

How can interventions be designed to:

- Include a gender analysis in the overall scoping of the value chain, to understand access to and control over resources and benefits?
- Enable women to integrate into more lucrative contracts with buyers or make choices to move into more lucrative sections of value chains – through linking female producers to networks and helping them to negotiate contracts?
- Focus on constraints which female producers face and strive to remove them so that they can participate better in higher nodes of a value chain?
- Ensure that control does not shift from women to men and ensure payments go directly to women and can be retained by them?



Selected follow-up references

Entrepreneurship

ILO (2014a) Effectiveness of Entrepreneurship Development interventions on Women Entrepreneurs. Stocktaking on effectiveness of women entrepreneurship interventions examining 23 impact evaluations and 6 meta-evaluations between 2010-2014. The 16 page brief contains conclusions and recommendations to guide future interventions. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---emp_ent/---ifp_seed/documents/publication/wcms_329356.pdf

MF4A (2012) Policy Brief: Advancing African Women's financial inclusion Making Finance Work for Africa Secretariat African Development Bank. This Policy Brief outlines how policy makers, namely government entities, central banks and other regulatory authorities, can promote women's financial inclusion. It lays out a set of recommendations designed to tackle this issue. Available at: http://www.africa-platform.org/sites/default/files/cop_resources/advancing_womens_financial_inclusion_0.pdf

Markets for the poor (M4P)

Maugham, C. (2013) Markets for the Poor (M4P) Training Day: Overview, *Evidence on Demand* October 2013. This short report available from Evidence on Demand summarised four case studies. The importance of gendered market analysis, as well as the need to establish gender-based indicators for monitoring meaningful job creation was emphasised. Available at: <http://www.evidenceondemand.info/Core/DownloadDoc.aspx?documentID=761&contentID=3465>

Skills

ILO (2014b) The gender divide in skills development: progress, challenges and policy options for empowering women. This 12 page brief outlines the challenges for girls in accessing skills training and presents recommendations for improving the outreach of skills development programmes to those excluded. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---ifp_skills/documents/publication/wcms_244380.pdf

Value Chains

Rubin, D. and Manfre, C. (2010) **Technical Note on Applying Gender-Responsive Value-Chain Analysis in Agricultural Extension and Advisory Services.** USAID. This detailed 4 page note examines how extension agents could apply a gender focus in their advisory work on value chains. Recommendations are also provided as well as links to useful tools. Available at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00HSST.pdf

Chan, M-K. and Barrientos, S. (2010) **Improving opportunities for women in smallholder-based supply chains: business case and practical guidance for international food companies: case studies.** Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. This executive summary (10 pages) presents the business case for a focus on women smallholders, and practical guidance for international food companies. Available at: <https://docs.gatesfoundation.org/Documents/gender-value-chain-exec-summary.pdf>



SECTION 5

Monitoring, evaluating and assessing impact

Often there is much hype about empowerment, with little evidence of how support was provided, particularly evidence directly from those allegedly ‘empowered’. There is no one guide that provides a set of ‘off the peg’ indicators to monitor and measure the impact of policy or programmes for women’s empowerment. As Kabeer (2001) stressed not everyone accepts that empowerment can be clearly defined, let alone measured.

In this section we refer to four different frameworks for measuring empowerment and highlight their relevance to what has been outlined in Sections 1-4 of this guide. Some of the key messages in the previous Sections should provoke discussion on how to develop both quantitative and qualitative indicators. Measurement criteria outlined in this Section can also act as starting points to shape and steer thinking. We start by presenting some issues around measuring ‘empowerment’, and follow up by looking at the different dimensions of empowerment in various attempts to measure it.


5.1 Can we measure empowerment?

Practically speaking, to demonstrate that support initiatives are on the right track, women’s economic empowerment dimensions must be translated into some form of measurable outputs and outcomes (de Silva et al., 2014). Due to the nature of development programmes, rough time-scales within which we hope to support broader empowerment goals are often requested, along with estimates of, for example, the numbers of women to be reached.

How ‘empowerment’ is defined matters. Sections 1.3 - 1.4 explored the challenges in defining ‘empowerment’. However most importantly, we need to reflect on what exactly is to be measured and why? Can data and reports move beyond the numbers of women who engage, and reflect the outcome or impact parameters of interventions? In other words how can development initiatives contribute to the level of control women have over different aspects of their own lives? For example rural women may not see themselves as exploited workers in comparison to their male counterparts in low paid agri-industries. Instead they may consider the opportunity that working provides them in terms of emancipation from patriarchal authority. Indeed the buying power achieved by having their own (meagre) wages allows a certain level of independence from parents or male companions. Women must recognise for themselves where there is discrimination before any indicators of change can be measured (see Longwe and Hlupekile framework in Section 5.2.1 below).

It is also appropriate to measure changes in supporting ‘empowerment’ amongst ‘development professionals’ themselves. Again this entails clarity on how empowerment is defined. Supporting empowerment requires self-reflection on the facilitating role of an ‘institution’ attempting to support empowerment, examining the overall ‘institutional culture’ in terms of gender attitudes and gender mainstreaming in all programmes. Useful tools for institutional self-analyses are found in a range of gender audit materials.⁹¹ Thinking about and devising strategies to support empowerment may be useful for the development

⁹¹ See for example materials for participatory gender audits (ILO, 2007)



institution. Section 5.2.3 below outlines strategies towards *empowerment* along a value chain (Laven and Pyburn 2012).

If the focus is mainly on supporting economic empowerment, then it is important to consider what indicators realistically measure economic advancement. Wu's (2013) *Economic Empowerment Measurement* in Section 5.2.2 may help in this regard.

Measurement of something usually involves devising pointers of change or indicators. Gender indicators capture information that allow an analysis of performance regarding gender equality, plotting equality progress in relation to the situation of women relative to men (Murray, 2005a). Indicators will differ depending on the objective of empowerment being measured (e.g. greater self-respect, or access to the benefits of economic growth, or the creation of a just social and economic order). Choosing indicators will depend on whether there is a narrow focus on women's economic empowerment such as an increase in income that women can spend, or a broader focus on contributing to women's sense of internal strength and confidence; the right to make choices; the power to control their own lives within and outside the home. Devising good indicators can be precarious. For example, if the focus is on supporting collective action, indicators that gauge collective action may be easier to measure if tangible outcomes can be shown such as raising issues pertinent to women at local council meetings. But other intangible benefits may not be clearly apparent immediately, such as the sense of solidarity in coming together around a common interest, or feeling less isolated. It is probably best if indicators are decided upon by those involved or at the centre of collective action.

Another focus can be on supporting empowerment for individuals within a household. If so, important questions are how support can best be organised and how is it possible to measure it? The *Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index* in Section 5.2.4 below (Alkire et al., 2013) may be useful in this regard. Personal dimensions such as self-confidence are subjective and culturally sensitive. Women or men may have power because they are considered an 'expert' at their job, regardless of what that job is. They may also be powerful because of their status, their personality, or their popularity. Other sources of power may come from an individual's position within their family/kin/tribe or their political affiliation. Evidently indicators that are common for all women are difficult to gather.

Considering that empowerment is not necessarily a linear process and there may not be an end point, it makes the concept of empowerment even more difficult to gauge or measure. With the complexity of defining 'power' and the impossibility in attempting to represent how an individual feels power to take control of one's own life and act on it, it may be easier to measure a decrease in oppression and 'disempowerment'. Even with all the above difficulties, practitioners and scholars often attempt to list aspects or dimensions to empowerment that may be commonly accepted, a few which are captured in the sections below.⁹²

⁹² Canada's *International Development Agency* CIDA (Beck & Stelcner, 1997) prepared a lot of groundwork for measuring gender equality and indicators of empowerment. In addition Kabeer provided considerable reflections on measuring women's empowerment (e.g. Kabeer 2001).

5.2 Different empowerment measurement frameworks

Four different frameworks for measuring empowerment are outlined below. Each has different emphases:

1. The Women's Empowerment Framework (Longwe, but adapted by UNICEF)
2. Economic Empowerment Measurement (Wu, 2013)
3. Value chain empowerment framework (Laven and Pyburn, 2012)
4. The Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (Alkire et al. 2013; 2012).

In outlining each of the four frameworks we refer back to some relevant sections in this Topic Guide, where we had discussed related issues. The links back to the previous sections of the Topic Guide are in the right hand column of the framework presented.

5.2.1 Measuring levels of empowerment

The United Nations Fund for Children (UNICEF) adopted the Women's Empowerment Framework developed by Longwe and Hlupekile (1991) to measure gender mainstreaming and empowerment. In this framework empowerment is viewed as a continuous process, rather than an either/or situation. Five different levels (welfare, access, conscientisation, participation and control) that are inter-related with an incremental increase in empowerment are presented. These five levels are seen as a continuous process towards self-determination.

Levels of empowerment:	Examples from Sections 1-4 of this Guide
Welfare - where only basic needs of women are addressed and women are passive beneficiaries of benefits.	This would be the case when cash transfers are targeted directly at women due to their poverty or vulnerable situation. See Section 3.2.2 Social assistance programmes
Access - where equality in access to resources such as education opportunities, credit and benefits is achieved.	This may imply a focus on equality of opportunity in interventions. Examples would include business training for women, or encouraging women to cross over to different types of employment, normally in the male domain. See Section 2.2 on Rural resources and Sections 2.2.1 - 2.2.4
Conscientisation - where women recognise that problems they face are not inherent but are because an unequal division of labour overburdens them.	Political participation and inclusion in planning processes can facilitate this process. See Section 2.1.1 Inclusive planning for growth
Participation - where women have moved to a level where they take decisions alongside men, collective organising is often necessary for reaching this point.	This may occur when women and men work together in groups around a common interest See Section 2.1.2 and Box 1
Control – where women have control over the use of their labour and workload, and the balance of power and control in decision making is equal between men and women.	For example points raised about women maintaining control along a value chain Section 4.2.3

Table 1 Levels of empowerment framework

These levels (welfare, access, conscientisation, participation and control) can be useful when discussing the approach and emphasis a development activity may have when for example supporting women's groups on the ground. For instance how can a proposed social protection programme also address the root of key problems? What assets are lacking that

are a barrier to well-being? Why do we have these particular problems in the first place? How can women organise collectively so that we can gain increased representation to voice concerns or highlight issues that should be tackled?

5.2.2 Measuring economic empowerment

Various guides are available to measure economic empowerment (see for example Golla et al., 2011). Wu (2013) produced a set of common factors to measure economic empowerment for private sector development. These were developed for the Donor Committee for Enterprise Development (DCED). The common factors for women's economic empowerment are outlined on the left hand side of the table below, with some examples from Sections 1-4 of this Guide on the right hand column. Wu's (2013) framework may be useful when defining the parameters of economic empowerment that may be measured.

Wu's factors to measure economic empowerment	Examples from Sections 1-4 of this Guide
Access and control (decision-making, negotiation and voice) over productive assets and income.	Issues around access to productive resources were outlined in Section 2.2, for example decisions around livestock, land or forestry resources.
Access to information, services, resources and markets through both formal and informal sources	Access to information and advice in a rural context was outlined in Section 2.1.4. ICTs can play an increasing role in this regard.
Average number of hours per day on housework as a percent of the working day, across men, women, boys and girls	This aspect is often not measured adequately due to a lack of baseline data. Some examples of reduced household labour may occur, but as indicated in some examples in the Topic Guide, the incentive for role changes only starts to occur, when men see the economic benefits. Section 2.1.1 outlines the links between the Care Economy and economic growth.
Freedom / restriction of mobility	Women often cite restriction of mobility as a major constraint in improving their livelihoods or running business activities. See Section 4.2.1 and Section 3.1.3 migration and women
Changes in domestic violence and conflict	Not discussed in this Topic Guide
Men's and women's perceptions, value and attitudes toward women's status, work and gender relations	Issues around the values of individuals towards gender equality and women's status are highlighted in Key Messages 2. Throughout this Topic Guide, the importance of positive attitudes toward women's status is stressed. Case Study 3 on the Zambian Agricultural Support Programme provides insights on changes in attitudes. Case Study 8 outlines how an approach adopted in the Bay Leaf Enterprise project helped to break down gender stereotypical behaviours.
Women's and men's sense of self-worth, self-efficacy, confidence and autonomous action	Qualitative studies and case studies provide this context specific information. For example Case Study 8, which summarises the Bay Leaf Enterprise in Nepal, stresses how women were able to take on leadership positions in the community.
Women's control over their own sexual and reproductive health	Not discussed in this Topic Guide
Share of men and women's investment to household, healthcare, children, self	Examples of spending on children were given as evidence of economic empowerment by many studies quoted in this Guide. Spending on



Wu's factors to measure economic empowerment	Examples from Sections 1-4 of this Guide
	children is frequently used as a proxy for empowerment. Many cash transfer programmes to mothers are designed around this premise. For example in Section 3.2.3, evidence (De Brauw and Liu, 2013) on the impact of the BISP Pakistan programme showed increases in the numbers of women who agree that males should help with household chores.

Table 2 Economic empowerment framework

Using the DCED standard for results management, Markel (2014) further developed guidelines on women's economic empowerment tailored to private sector development programmes. These suggestions outline measurements for practitioners that focus on women's economic empowerment but also pay particular attention to measuring household-level changes. Eight components in a results chain are articulated in terms of economic empowerment. These range from articulating women's economic empowerment aims; developing gender responsive indicators of change; finding innovated ways to establish progress in measuring changes in women's economic empowerment; estimating attributable changes; capturing systemic change at the household level; budgeting or estimating programme costs for women's economic empowerment; reporting results; and establishing a gender-responsive system for results measurement.

5.2.3 Value chain empowerment framework

Laven and Pyburn (2012) provide an '*engendered value chain empowerment matrix*' as a framework, which may be useful to gauge how value chain interventions are faring. Empowerment is viewed around women's ability to both create and control value of goods or produce in a value chain. Their basic questions concern:

- who does what in the value chain (activities)?
- who determines how things are done in the value chain (governance)?

For activities, they argue that if a person is involved in a wide range of value chain activities (in addition to production), this can contribute to their empowerment. Governance is a concern across various aspects of management along a value chain. For example controlling the terms of payment, defining standards of products, or managing innovation. How to contribute and obtain this power in governance is an important question.

Laven and Pyburn outline four empowerment strategies in their book on empowerment (p28-29). These are outlined in the column on the left in Table 3 below. Links to earlier sections of the Topic Guide are presented in the right hand column. Although focused on value chain development, the strategies in the left hand column may be useful for support to entrepreneurship more generally. As already mentioned in Section 5.1, development institutions can develop strategies that would help their staff better support empowerment amongst groups they work with.

Leven and Pyburn used the matrix to analyse 25 qualitative case studies of women in agricultural value chains. They provide several examples of women who increased leadership in production and subsequently took on leadership activities within their communities. In some examples, men increased their contributions to domestic work, easing women's responsibilities within the home.



Empowerment strategies for value chain development	Links to Sections 1-4 of this Topic Guide
1. Upgrading as a value chain actor. Here individuals do what they do better. For example, farmers become livestock specialists with a clear market orientation.	Evidently access to information and specialist advice in a rural context would be a good support for farmers to become better informed about what they do, and improve their management of their activities. This was outlined in Section 2.1.4 in the Topic Guide. Skills and business training is also important for upgrading as a value chain actor.
2. Upgrading by adding value through vertical integration. Female farmers enter into activities further up the value chain. For example, they move into processing and marketing in order to add value.	As with 1, advice, inputs and training along with access to micro credit and entrepreneurship training may help women to upgrade and add value to their produce.
3. Upgrading by developing value chain partnerships. Female farmers build long-term alliances with buyers, centred on shared interests and mutual growth.	Section 2.1.2 focused on social capital and collective action, which may help farmers strengthen their ability to build alliances with buyers and others. Section 4.2.1 also outlined some issues around contract farming.
4. Upgrading by developing ownership over the value chain. Farmers become owners of chain enterprises. For example, they build direct linkages with consumers or become shareholders in a retail company.	This strategy relates to Section 4.2 in the Topic Guide, maintaining control along value chains. Case Study 9 demonstrated how a particular approach GALS helped men and women communicate with producers, traders and transform relationships between traders and producers.

Table 3 Empowerment strategies for value chain development

5.2.4 The Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index

The Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) is a measurement tool that helps to indicate women's control over their lives in the household, the community, and the economy. This includes a focus on who makes decisions about production; access to and decision-making power over productive resources and time use.⁹³ Empowerment is viewed across five dimensions with corresponding indicators in the WEAI. Alkire et al. (2012) outline in detail the indicators to measure empowerment from WEAI. Decisions about agricultural production, access to and decision-making power over productive resources, control over use of income, leadership in the community and time use are the broad areas of focus in the WEAI. This comprehensive index is being tested through the Gender, Agriculture and Assets Project (GAAP), with some results mentioned in earlier sections of this Topic Guide (Quisumbing, 2014; GAAP, 2013).

⁹³ Launched in 2012, WEAI requires data collected through household and community surveys (with a focus on women and men within households). The portfolio of countries for which WEAI data is available is growing. DFID (2014a) note that the framework does not directly capture access to knowledge through extension services.



Empowerment dimension in WEAI	Indicators	How is it measured	Links to Sections 1-4 in this Topic Guide
1. Decisions about agricultural production	a. Input in productive decisions Including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. whether an individual participated in an activity, how much input did the individual have in making decisions about the activity ii. to what extent does the individual feel he or she can make his or her own personal decisions regarding the different aspects of household life. 	Answer scales for questions regarding input in decisions range from: 1 = no input 2 = input into very few decisions 3 = input into some decisions 4 = input into most decisions 5 = input into all decisions	Section 2.1.3 and 2.1.4 outlines some issues and studies around decision making
	b. Relative autonomy in making productive decisions.	Rating answers from never true to always true for statements such as whether they would get in trouble with someone if she acted differently or whether women do what they do it's the right thing to do, or because others do not think poorly of her	Section 2.1.3 and 2.1.4 outlines some issues and studies around decision making
2. Access to and decision-making power over productive resources – 3 indicators	a. Ownership of assets does he or she report having sole or joint ownership, conditional on the household's owning those assets	Reporting through interviews	Issues around resources and access to assets was covered in Section 2.2 of this Topic Guide
	b. Decision making about productive resources	Questions concerning who is the person who can decide regarding the purchase, sale or transfer of land and assets?	Section 2.1.1 of the Topic Guide outlined some points around inclusive planning, which do not relate directly to planning at the household level.
	c. Decision making about credit. A person must belong to a household that has access to credit	A person must have participated in at least one decision about credit.	Section 4.1.3 of the Topic Guide contains links to studies on microcredit
3. Control over use of income	a. If an individual participated in the activity, how much input did the individual have in decisions about the use of income	Reporting through interviews	Reference to decisions regarding income generated was alluded to in many examples from impact studies throughout the Guide.



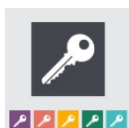
Empowerment dimension in WEAI	Indicators	How is it measured	Links to Sections 1-4 in this Topic Guide
	generated		However this information is not systematically nor automatically collected in studies, unless specifically asked for in the original study request.
	b. To what extent does the individual feel he or she can make own personal decisions regarding the aspects of household life i. his or her wage or salary employment ii. major and minor household expenditures.	Answers to this are on a scale related to input in decisions from: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> no input to input into all decisions. 	Section 3.1.2 of the Topic Guide looked at wage differences and control over wages.
4. Leadership in the community	a. Active membership in community groups , including: agriculture, producers'/ marketing groups; water or forestry users; credit; mutual help or insurance groups; trade associations; charitable groups; local government groups; religious and women's groups	Reporting through interviews	Section 2.1.2 outlined some issues around social capital and producer groups
	b. Comfort speaking in public.	Answer scale: 1 = no, not at all comfortable, 2 = yes, but with great difficulty, 3 = yes, but with a little difficulty, 4 = yes, fairly comfortable, 5 = yes, very comfortable.	Not covered in this Topic Guide, but could be used as a variable in measuring the impact of groups coming together Section 2.1.2. Section 2.1.1 mentioned an example from West Bengal (Chattopadhyay and Duflo 2001) where women were more likely to voice their grievances if the leader of the village council was female. The challenge is to do so with male leaders.
5. Time use	Workload refers to the allocation of time to productive and domestic	Derived from a detailed 24-hour time allocation module in which respondents are	Reference to a domestic task reduction for women



Empowerment dimension in WEAI	Indicators	How is it measured	Links to Sections 1-4 in this Topic Guide
	tasks.	asked to recall the time spent on primary and secondary activities in the 24 hours.	made in some studies mentioned in the Topic Guide. Section 2.1.1 outlined issues around the <i>Care Economy</i> .
	Leisure time captures the individual's satisfaction with the time available for leisure activities.	Respondents rank their level of satisfaction with the time available for leisure activities (visiting neighbours, TV, radio, movies sports) from 1 = not satisfied to 10 = very satisfied.	Not covered in this Topic Guide

Table 4 Dimensions of empowerment in the WEAI

The WEAI would appear to be a comprehensive framework for use in agricultural and rural development programmes. It is recommended that the WEAI instructional guide to assist practitioners in implementing the Index is used (Alkire et al., 2013). This guide points out critical issues for consideration and good practices in the survey design, data collection, calculation, and analysis of the WEAI.



Key messages 14 Measuring empowerment

- Measuring empowerment depends on the understanding of what it means. To develop indicators, we need to go back to our definition of 'empowerment', bearing in mind what women themselves view as progress or as 'empowering'.
- Indicators developed by rural women themselves will best define what empowerment means in their unique context and how they could measure progressive progress toward their own path to empowerment. Nevertheless some indicators developed or adopted from existing frameworks can be helpful.
- It is easier to measure the narrower concept of 'economic empowerment'.
- The depth to which personal level empowerment can be measured by 'outsiders' sometimes raises ethical questions.



Key questions 14 Measuring empowerment

How can interventions be designed to keep track of paths to empowerment that:

- Focus on women's views themselves?
- Adopt or use dimensions of empowerment as outlined in this Section, depending on the livelihoods focus?
- Measure the extent to which women influence decision-making processes?
- Measure the extent to which women's participation (compared to men), in major decisions in their locality/household is increasing or decreasing?
- Measure the extent to which women and men perceive that women are becoming more empowered? And why?
- Measure the extent to which women perceive that they now have greater self-respect? And why? Measure whether this relates to men's perceptions?
- Measure the extent to which women/men perceive that they now have greater economic autonomy? And why?
- Examine the level of commitment and understanding of women themselves, as to why there should be a focus on empowerment and how such a focus should be supported?



Selected follow-up references

Indicators and statistics

Gender and Statistics: Two page brief on gender differentiated statistics and indicators with some examples and links to further sources of information. GTZ 2008. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/dac/gender-development/44896238.pdf>

The **Evidence and Data for Gender Equality (EDGE)** Initiative at the UN **Global Gender Statistics Programme** seeks to accelerate efforts to generate comparable gender indicators on health, education, employment, entrepreneurship and asset ownership. EDGE is executed by the UN Statistics Division and UN Women, in collaboration with the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, African Development Bank and the OECD. Activities include: (i) the development of a platform for international data covering basic health, education and employment indicators; (ii) the development of standards for measuring ownership of assets and entrepreneurship indicators; and (iii) piloting data collection on asset ownership and entrepreneurship in several countries. <http://genderstats.org/EDGE>



Measuring empowerment

Markel, E. (2014) **Measuring Women's Economic Empowerment in Private Sector Development: Guidelines for Practitioners**. The Donor Committee for Enterprise Development (DCED). This practical guide articulates women's economic empowerment in results chains and gives examples of gender-responsive indicators. This guide provides practice advice in how to make each aspect of results measurement more gender-responsive, paying particular attention to measuring household-level changes. Available at: <http://www.enterprise-development.org/download.ashx?id=2433>

Short video on Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (November 9th 2012), providing an overview of what the index is measuring and why. A webinar provided information on how to calculate the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) and its indicators. A representative from USAID and IFPRI discuss the purpose of the Index for Feed the Future, how it is used as monitoring indicator and a diagnostic tool. Available at: <http://agrilinks.org/events/webinar-fffs-womens-empowerment-agriculture-index-weai>. Other details available at: <http://www.ifpri.org/book-9075/ourwork/program/weai-resource-center>

Evaluations and gender

Taylor, G. and Perezniето, P. (2014) **Review of evaluation approaches and methods used by interventions on women and girls' economic empowerment**. ODI, Social Development Direct and UK Aid. This review assesses the quality and effectiveness of evaluation methods used to analyse programmes or projects on women and girls' economic empowerment (WGEE). The review provides information to improve the design and commissioning of evaluations to deliver stronger positive impacts across the different dimensions of women and girls' economic empowerment. Available at: <http://www.odi.org/publications/8275-review-evaluation-approaches-methods-used-by-interventions-women-girls-economic-empowerment>.

Guidance for integrating gender into evaluations – a handbook developed by the UN Human Rights and Gender Equality Task Force to provide guidance and options on how to integrate human rights and gender equality dimensions in evaluation. Available at: <http://www.uneval.org/document/download/1843>



Conclusions

This Topic Guide framed and provided examples and evidence from research and studies to demonstrate how different types of interventions and other inputs can support rural women's livelihoods in changing rural contexts. Economic empowerment, as an important step towards broader empowerment for women is highlighted throughout the Topic Guide. Broader aspects of empowerment beyond economic indicators are stressed throughout. Some conclusions that can be drawn are highlighted here.

'Empowerment' is often ignored

Empowerment is rarely measured. It was surprising to find that many studies on important agriculture related topics completely ignore empowerment considerations. This is remarkable, given that the literature tells us that 'empowerment' is such an important consideration for long lasting improvements in the quality of life for women, men, families and communities. Yet frameworks for measuring empowerment have not yet diffused to the mainstream. Perhaps this is because the acceptance of women's empowerment has not reached all levels. The barriers and entry points for the diffusion of empowerment ideas must be acknowledged. Much more consideration and reflection are required as to how those in positions of power can develop capacity and become willing to support empowerment.

Supporting empowerment is context specific

Often evidence does not seem to tell us what we expect to hear. Some evidence presented in the Topic Guide from one region or a particular programme seems to contradict evidence presented from another part of the world. We can conclude that supporting empowerment requires a strong understanding of the contextual conditions that influence change in a country or locality. However across most contexts, empowerment requires engagement from both women and men. Women's concept of empowerment differs, and incremental changes required are context specific. Men wield power over many aspects of women's lives, but the nature of this control may differ.

A focus on resources / advice / inputs for rural women still required

Rural women seem to fare worse than rural men in terms of assets, resources and control over those resources. In order to address rural women's productivity, there needs to be a strong focus on providing access to assets and information. Depending on the approach adopted, support and advice provided to rural women can enable their empowerment or not. Certain types of rural women benefit from skills and business training and require support to ensure they are involved in more profitable value chains.

More representation of rural women is necessary

The need for organisations that can assuredly represent women in the design of interventions was a recurring theme. More consultation and better participation of segments of society that represent the people interventions are designed for, are also required. Specifically, this may require support to be given to organisations that represent women's interests (both economic and gender equality interests). Bearing in mind that power dynamics are inherent in local groups and civil society organisations, a key question is how representative different women's groups are, and how those that actually represent rural women's interests can best be supported. Opportunity, space and time must be given to support the interaction between those administering programmes and citizens. Those with power and financial resources must be prepared to accommodate women fully, and develop more positive attitudes towards women's overall contribution in rural areas.



‘Institutional Change’ to support empowerment

Much of the evidence provided in this Guide would point to the need for institutional change with respect to attitudes to women’s position in society and perceptions of women’s abilities. Outsiders’ understanding of gender roles and relations can be fraught with misunderstandings. Those working in development agencies need to respond in a dynamic rural context and target the right populations. To support empowerment on the ground, there is a requirement to both appraise assumptions underpinning gender equality rights agendas in institutions and understand the field level context. It is important that all are encouraged to reflect on their perceptions of rural women and question how their intentions affect women’s livelihoods. The ‘corporate’ attitude probably matters as much as the particular type of support for rural women envisaged. It can be concluded that support for women’s empowerment requires a fundamental change in attitude for those whose work touches the lives of rural women. The assumptions regarding gender relations that underlie an intervention should always be questioned, bearing in mind that gender roles change, and differ across generations.

Implementation details and positive attitudes towards rural women matter

Good intentions can become distorted before they reach rural women. This can be due to a lack of understanding of how public policies or development plans become socially accepted and are diffused through development agencies, bureaucracies and the institutions of government and beyond. Gender equality depends on the values of individuals and their willingness to actually do something concrete to challenge inequalities. A deliberate strategy is often required. Donor agency staff themselves require a solid understanding of political economy dynamics within their own and their partners organisation. The examples and case studies provided in the Topic Guide suggest that the approach taken during the implementation of support programmes matters a lot. This can be for example how social protection programmes are rolled out and targeted, or how there was a flexibility to respond to emerging situations. The care economy is often overlooked during implementation. Practical support and sharing of caring responsibilities is frequently important for women to move to a level where they can benefit from economic opportunities.

Change has political dimensions

An understanding of local political dynamics is thus important to acknowledge what is realistically possible before empowerment-type interventions can be supported. For example local government backing is necessary for many types of change. To understand the incentives driving political behaviour and local political incentives that will support or hinder women’s empowerment, we must be aware of local factors resisting the change that rural women want. A deeper understanding of the motivations and contributions of different types of stakeholder that influence change for rural women is appropriate.

Change takes time but that should not hinder action

Change in attitudes towards women does not happen overnight, and requires perseverance. For instance case studies on land reform indicate that customary laws restrict land reform for women and that change takes time and resources. In some instances slow incremental changes can be effective. In other instances radical changes are required.

Guidelines, advice and many examples exist to help

This Topic Guide provides some examples of what has worked and produced impact. Yet we also found that many mistakes are being repeated over and over again - the same points around supporting women’s empowerment have been made for decades. A focus on women’s empowerment is not technically difficult, although it requires adjustment of resource allocation and an understanding of power dimensions. Yet it also requires a major change in attitude towards rural women. In all cases it is common sense and good development practice.



Useful websites

UNDP: Human Development Report - Gender-related development index (GDI) – a composite measure reflecting disparity in human development achievements between women and men in three dimensions—health, education and living standards: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/table-5-gender-related-development-index-gdi>

World Economic Forum, Global Gender Gap: <http://www.weforum.org/issues/global-gender-gap>

Africa Gender Innovation Lab (GIL) The World Bank's Africa Region Gender Innovation Lab (GIL) is set up to enable project teams and policymakers to advocate for better gender integration using evidence. GIL designs, launches, and oversees impact evaluations of interventions to generate knowledge on what works. The following thematic areas are covered: Agriculture; Private Sector Development; Property Rights; and Youth Employment. <http://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/africa-gender-innovation-lab#1>

enGENDER IMPACT offers a gateway to gender-related impact evaluations: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/0,,contentMDK:23457844~pagePK:210058~piPK:210062~theSitePK:336868,00.html>

Harvard University's Women and Public Policy Program launched the **Gender Action Portal** for gender-related impact evaluations in 2014: <http://gap.hks.harvard.edu/>

The **Knowledge Gateway for Women's Economic Empowerment:** <http://www.empowerwomen.org/>


IFAD Gender Website: www.ifad.org/gender

FAO: A series of videos on gender in agriculture are available at: <http://www.fao.org/gender/gender-home/gender-resources/gender-videos/en/>

UN Women Knowledge Gateway for Women's Economic Empowerment, <http://www.empowerwomen.org/>

Roadmap for Promoting Women's Economic Empowerment: <http://www.womeneconroadmap.org/sites/default/files/WEERoadmapReportFinal.pdf>
Databases of reports used in the Roadmap for Promoting Women's Economic Empowerment report (Buvinić et al., 2013). <http://www.womeneconroadmap.org/sites/default/files/Roadmap%20for%20ActionEvaluation%20Database.xlsx> Background papers for Roadmap for Promoting Women's Economic Empowerment (Buvinić et al., 2013) <http://www.womeneconroadmap.org/>

OECD Gender-wiki: Initiated by the [OECD Development Centre](http://www.oecd.org/development/) to facilitate the exchange of gender equality-related issues – with a strong focus on gathering empirical evidence and identifying adequate statistics to measure gender equality. The importance of Social institutions are highlighted such as norms, traditions and cultural practices that impact on women's empowerment. <http://www.wikigender.org/index.php/NewHome>



Bridge: Development – Gender. BRIDGE supports gender advocacy and mainstreaming with a vast range of information in print and online. It includes a series of cutting edge packs with topics such as gender and climate change, gender and migration, gender and budgets, gender and trade and so on. <http://www.ids.ac.uk/bridge>

ELDIS, hosted by IDS, University of Sussex, Brighton. This is a resource for sharing information and best practice in development policy, practice and research. It includes resources on gender: www.eldis.org/gender and also a section on gender manuals and tools: www.eldis.org/go/topics/resourceguides/gender/gender-manuals

OECD-DAC. The OECD Development Assistance Committee works on gender issues through the Network on Gender Equality (GENDERNET). This is an international forum for gender experts from development co-operation agencies to collaborate on common approaches in support of gender equality. See the Gender Equality Homepage: www.oecd.org/dac/gender. OECD gender-wiki. This new gender wiki from the OECD Development Centre focuses on gathering empirical evidence and identifying adequate statistics to measure gender inequality: <http://www.wikigender.org/index.php/NewHome>

Siyanda – Mainstreaming Gender Equality. Hosted by the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. Siyanda is an on-line database of gender and development materials from around the world. It is also an interactive space where gender practitioners can share ideas, experiences and resources: <http://www.siyanda.org/>

Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index WEAI

<http://www.slideshare.net/ifpri/ifpri-policy-seminar-innovations-in-measuring-womens-empowerment>

World Bank. Gender and Development pages include Tools for Mainstreaming Gender, Gender Data, Gender issues in various sectors e.g. agriculture, energy, and so on: www.worldbank.org/gender. World Bank. Poverty and Social Impact Analysis (PSIA) pages, contain information on PSIA as well as methodological tools, including the Framework and Tools for Institutional, Political and Social Analysis (TIPS) www.worldbank.org/psia. The World Bank Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook is a joint product with FAO and IFAD and is available at: <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/aj288e/aj288e.zip>

The **Gender in Agriculture** website provides an understanding of gender issues with compilation of evidence of good practices and lessons learned in gender programs. <http://www.genderinag.org/ginag/content/tools-and-resources-module>

Databases on Land

Studies and guidelines on gender and land available at Landesa's website: <http://www.landesa.org/>

FAO's Gender and Land Rights Database: <http://www.fao.org/gender/landrights/home/en/>

USAID's Land Tenure and Property Rights Portal: <http://usaidlandtenure.net/>



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