

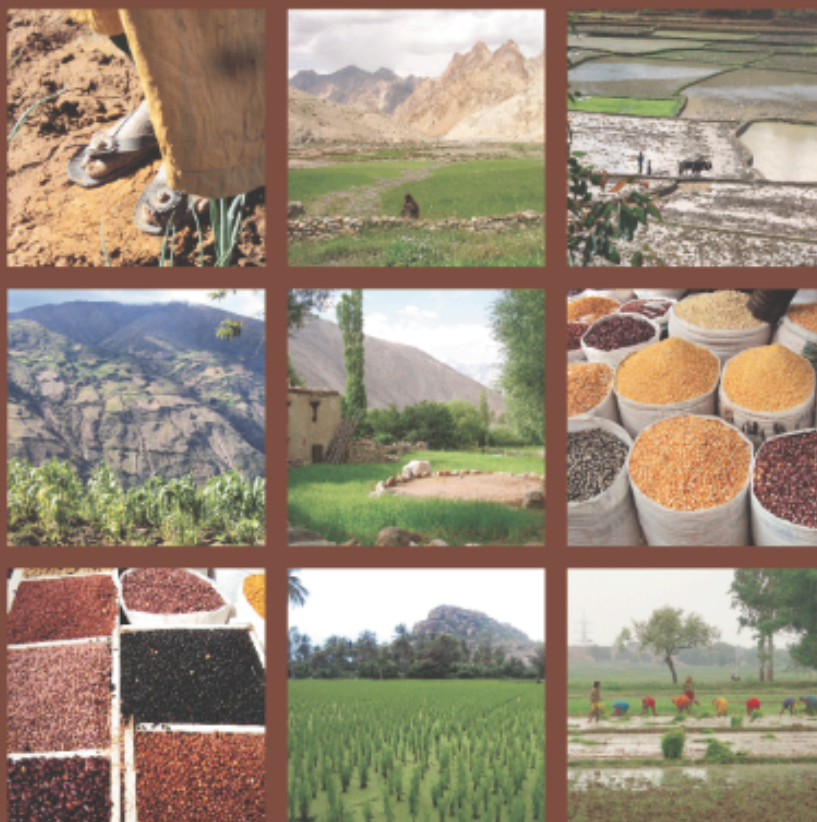
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THE IMPACT OF GENDER INEQUALITIES ON FOOD SECURITY: WHAT POLICIES ARE NEEDED ?

L'IMPACT DES INEGALITES DE GENRE SUR LA SECURITE ALIMENTAIRE : QUELLES POLITIQUES ?

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Introduction

Gender equality in access to productive resources and services in rural areas is essential for countries to reach their Millennium Development Goal 1 commitment, eradicating hunger and poverty. Women face systematic discrimination in access to all of these resources and services in all regions of the world, but more markedly in the poorest regions. Recent data have demonstrated that closing this gender gap can generate significant societal gains in the reduction of food insecurity as well as in long term development through multiplier effects in education, health and nutrition.

Agriculture sector (including fisheries and forestry) and rural development policies are needed to close the gender gap in access to productive resources and services. However, an analysis of these policies shows that, for the most part, they do not

address women's and men's specific needs, constraints and obstacles, and when they do, they do so in varying degrees. These degrees have different outcomes for women and men, as well as for the efficiency of the policies in reaching their objectives.

This paper analyses some of the gendered constraints in agriculture and proposes a classification of gender sensitivity of policies. Its aim is to aid policy makers in understanding what makes a policy more or less gender sensitive and ultimately, to have better agriculture, food security and development outcomes for developing countries.

Why gender in Agriculture?

The importance of productivity in the agricultural sector

According to FAO's estimations, 925 million people are currently undernourished in the world, down from over a billion people just after the food price crisis that hit the world in 2007-08. The fact that about one out of six persons in the world does not have enough food for their minimum needs remains an issue of the utmost concern. The increase in world population of 34% forecast to take place during the next 40 years will create added demand for food as well as for feed, fuel and fibre. FAO estimates that food production needs to increase by 60% (and nearly 77% in developing countries) to feed the additional 2.3 billion persons that will be living in the world in 2050 (OECD and FAO, 2012). In addition, by that year, population is expected to be more urban and wealthier, creating shifts in the composition in food demand as well as increases in overall consumption levels. In order to reach an average of 3 070 kcal per person per day, an additional 940 million tonnes of cereals and 200 million tonnes of meat a year need to be produced by 2050 (OECD and FAO, 2012). Due to increasing incomes, economic growth and investment in processing capacity in many developing countries, consumption will change from staple foods towards more fats and animal protein diets, that is to say, a higher demand of meat, oils and sugar. The projected expansion in arable land of 69 million ha (less than 5%)

will not suffice to accommodate these production increases (OECD and FAO, 2012). Critical issues such as climate change, scarcities of natural resources degradation of land and water resources, increasing demand of developed countries for bio-fuels, and urbanization among others, will further challenge the world's ability to increase agricultural production.

Ensuring food and nutrition security will require increases in productivity as well as in production around the world but especially in developing countries, but it is not enough to ensure long term food security. An increasingly important challenge for farmers today is to conserve natural resources, especially in regions where climate change is expected to exacerbate vulnerabilities, and to prioritize sustainability (by the adoption of sustainable land management practices, etc.) in agricultural productivity growth to permit both a higher agricultural productivity and a conservation of lands and natural resources essential for agricultural production.

Women are key actors in the increase of agricultural productivity as well as production. They play a critical role in agriculture and rural enterprises in developing country regions as farmers, workers and entrepreneurs. However, they face systematic and generalized gender-specific constraints in all the areas that have a bearing on productivity in all regions of the world. These constraints are more evident in the access to productive resources across the board, be they physical (land, inputs) or not (knowledge, financial services, technological innovations). Agriculture is essential for women, as this sector provides the majority of employment opportunities for them in most regions of the world. More productive agriculture will provide not only better livelihoods but also free time for women and allow more empowerment.

Rural women's productivity: observations and issues

Even if women make essential contributions in agriculture in developing countries (they represent 43 percent of the agricultural labour force in these countries, including 50 percent in Eastern Asia and in sub-Saharan Africa, cf. Figure 1), there is a

huge “gender gap” between women and men in the access to all the resources needed to be productive in the agricultural sector. This gender gap strongly interferes with women’s productivity in agriculture, reducing their contribution. A wide number of studies carried out throughout the developing world show that plots managed by women are about 20 to 30 percent less productive than plots managed by men. The size of the productivity gap varies according to the crop¹. This gap is not a consequence of lower capabilities of women: it is entirely explained by women’s lower use of productive inputs, which, in turn is a consequence of gender-specific social norms. Bringing yields on the land farmed by women up to the men’s levels would increase agricultural output between 2.5 and 4 percent in developing countries (FAO, 2011). Substantial production gains could be reached if female farmers could achieve the same yields as male farmers.

Closing this persistent gender gap in agriculture would produce significant gains for all society by increasing agricultural productivity and outputs in the developing world, as well as through numerous multiplier effects. Increasing women’s agricultural productivity can have a major impact on the reduction of world food insecurity and undernourishment in developing countries, as demonstrated in *The State of Food and Agriculture 2010-2011*, which quantifies the gains for the agricultural sector and for society: if women had the same access to productive resources as men already have, they could increase yields on their farm by 20-30 percent. A direct consequence of this significant increase would be a decrease of the number of hungry people in the world by 12-17 percent, bringing the estimated number of 925 million people undernourished down by as much as 100-150 million people (FAO, 2011).

In addition, increased incomes from closing the gender gap would have positive effects both on women’s status and power in the household and on their economical and political position within the society. Women’s higher income is conducive to a higher participation of women in national economic growth, a more efficient access to good practices and technologies, and as a consequence, an ever more important increase of agricultural productivity with its consequent benefits.

¹ FAO, 2011. 20 percent lower for vegetables, 40 percent lower for sorghum.

Women's higher productivity in the agricultural sector has a number of multiplier effects with long term societal benefits. Numerous studies have linked women's income and greater bargaining power within the family to improved child nutritional status². Income gained by women is more likely to be spent on food and children's needs (such as education, health and household services) than men's income (World Bank, FAO and IFAD, 2009). Closing the gender gap in agriculture requires a sound policy and enabling environment to ensure land rights and access to natural resources, access to financial services and incomes, access to decent work, reinforcement of girls' and women's education, information and access to technologies and increase of women's participation in decision making.

Obstacles rural women face and need for gender-specific policies in agriculture

In spite of being mentioned in many national and regional agricultural food-security policy plans, gender issues rarely get translated into the ensuing action plans. In fact, they rarely get past the diagnosis or analysis section of such documents.

The gender gap in agriculture is the result of deeply ingrained social norms perpetuated by a gendered system of social relations, and by cultural and religious values and practices which differ by country and region (cf. Table 1). Gender determines to a great extent a person's opportunities and life standards, including access to basic resources such as land, education, modern inputs or technologies, which are strongly restricted for women in comparison with male farmers. Policymakers must identify difficulties women face through data and analysis based on gender, especially in the agricultural sector which is particularly affected by customary laws. Unfortunately, "many agricultural policy and project documents still fail to consider basic questions about the differences in the resources available to men and women, their roles and the constraints they face - and how these differences might be relevant to the proposed intervention" (FAO, 2011). Most of the time, policies remain gender blind or are not implemented by rural communities where

² FAO, 2011: studies such as Smith *et al.*, 2003.

customary practices and traditional laws prevail over statutory laws and rights. Specific agricultural sector policies that aim at reducing the gender gap are badly needed. When statutory laws do exist in this regard, governments and policy-makers must fight against opposition and enforce them.

Access to land and natural resources

Land is the most basic requirement for farming and is often considered as a symbol of power. Robust evidence from all regions in the world shows that men are more likely to hold land titles, and to have larger holdings, as well as holdings of better soil quality. Women own between 5 percent (in North Africa and West Asia) and 30 percent (in countries such as Botswana, Cape Verde and Malawi) of all land holdings (FAO, 2011) (cf. Figure 2 and Figure 3).

In Bangladesh, Ecuador and Pakistan, for example, average land holdings of male-headed households are more than twice the size of those of female-headed households (FAO, 2011). Many countries where women encounter difficulties in the access to land reformed their legislation by introducing equal rights for women and men, but in some of these countries, tradition and customary laws (especially concerning inheritance and marriage) are the only rule for rural communities. Other countries explicitly recognize customary tenure rules and include them in their legislation (when legislation on land tenure exists).

Closing the gender gap in the access to land is a main domain where gender sensitive policies are needed. Even if many governments of developing countries officially recognize the equal access to land and property for women and men in their legislation, most of the time, women do not benefit from general land distribution and titling efforts. Marriage and inheritance, which are the most frequent sources of transfer of land and ownership, are very often based on customary practices which give men more rights than women.

Despite laws ensuring the equal tenure of land by both spouses (for example, in countries of Latin America, like Bolivia or Nicaragua, where civil capacities of married

women are still limited (World Bank, FAO and IFAD, 2009)), only the husband's name appears for the most time on the land title. Concerning inheritance, social and legal norms and practices vary from place to place, but in many patriarchal societies women have very limited rights to inherit, particularly as daughters (especially when they are married: it is considered that they leave their birth community and belong to their husband's community). In countries where levirate is present (many eastern and southern African countries), women can lose their land after their husband's death (grabbed by the husband's family). In Burkina Faso, levirate is widely practiced (even if statutory law forbids it). In other countries and particularly Muslim countries, daughters can inherit land amounting to half of what sons inherit, or cannot inherit from their father when they are married.

Policies which ensure women and men equal access to land need to be reinforced and completed by measures to protect women's rights to land tenure and property. In countries where discrimination under the law still exists, a key strategy is the revision and the reform of all national legislation about land and natural resources. Policy-makers cannot underestimate the importance of customary rules and practices in rural areas during the revision of the laws, and their legislation needs to be strongly supported by regulations and gender-specific guidelines that educate officials in agriculture ministries and land institutions. Strong laws providing joint titling for spouses are a good option for redressing gender imbalances in access to land.

Access to financial services

Financial services are essential to improve agricultural output, food security and economic opportunities both in the household and in the society. Many microcredit programs target women. A vast literature shows that women's incomes are more likely to be used for the welfare of the household and that their repayment rates are higher than men (World Bank, FAO and IFAD, 2009). However, legal barriers and cultural norms (such as restrictions on women's mobility) still bar women in many

countries from holding bank accounts or signing financial contracts in their own right. The situation of women's access to credit varies considerably from one country to another: for example, in Madagascar, the share of female-headed households that use credit is 9 percentage points lower than the share of men, whereas in Ghana, no gender gap is apparent in the use of credit (FAO, 2011). In spite of exceptional good practices, evidence shows that credit markets are not gender-neutral. Women have less access to financial services and credit, especially when loans are larger: in most financial institutions, women generally receive smaller loans than men (even for the same activities) and there is a strong tendency to take loans in men's names (World Bank, FAO and IFAD, 2009).

Financial institutions, NGOs and particularly governments should promote financial literacy for women and simplify procedures. Improvements can be made in the design of products too: in fact, in societies with wide gender disparities, women need financial products adapted to their status and activities. It is also important to create and promote a women-friendly financial system, which should be based on the excellent results of microcredit programmes on women's empowerment.

Access to decent work

Women's employment income can make a critical difference in the poverty status of their households, but female employment rates are lower than male rates in developing countries: about 70 percent of men and 40 percent of women are employed, even if these rates vary across regions (FAO, 2011). When rural women are in wage employment, they are more likely to be in part-time, seasonal or low-paying jobs (FAO, 2011)³ and even for equivalent jobs and comparable levels of education and experience, they are paid less than men (cf. Figure 4)⁴. Rural employment has

³ In Nepal, 70 percent of women and 15 percent of men work are in part-time, and in Malawi, 90 percent of women are in part time versus 66 percent of men. In Ecuador almost 50 percent of women but fewer than 40 percent of men hold seasonal jobs. In Malawi more than 60 percent of women are in low-wage jobs compared with fewer than 40 percent of men. In Bangladesh, 80 percent of women and 40 percent of men have low-wage jobs.

⁴ FAO, 2011 (Ahmed and Maitra, 2010; Fontana, 2009).

generally poor social protection for both women and men, but under temporary employment conditions, dominated by women, protection is lower than under permanent conditions.

Women's reproductive roles (child care and child-rearing responsibilities, and other household activities such as preparing food, taking care of sick and indigent relatives) add a huge burden and frequently create obstacles to productive roles in agriculture. Fetching water, firewood or fuel consumes significant amounts of time. One study estimates at 40 billion the amount of hours that women spend fetching water every year in sub-Saharan Africa alone. When both agricultural activities and household responsibilities are taken into account, women generally work longer hours than men. Policies to support the creation of decent employment in rural areas as well as the improvement of work conditions are badly needed for both men and women. They should constitute a centre piece of any strategy to reduce hunger and poverty. However, for these goals to be reached, these policies need to address women's reproductive burdens, including childcare facilities, as well as infrastructure improvements including water and electricity as well as roads (FAO, IFAD and ILO, 2010).

Access to education, extension and technologies

New technologies (such as tools, fertilizer - cf. Figure 5 - and communication tools), education, knowledge (including agricultural research) and extension are crucial to improve agricultural productivity. In some regions (especially in Southern Asia and sub-Saharan Africa where the education gender gap is wider than in other regions such as Latin America) girls and women are less likely to have access to education and more likely to be illiterate⁵. This limits their access to information concerning good practices, extension and improved technologies (fertilizers, adapted tools or improved seeds).

⁵ Roughly two thirds of the world's estimated 793 million illiterate adults are female (UN, 2009).

In social contexts of developing countries where meetings between women and men from outside the family nucleus are restricted, the lack of female extension agents for rural women bars them from participating in productivity growth in agriculture. A 1988-1989 FAO survey covering 97 countries shows that only 5 percent of extension resources were directed at women and according to another survey of 1993, only 15 percent of the extension personnel were female (FAO, 2011). Even if the data vary from one country to another (in the United Republic of Tanzania for example, one-third of extension officers were women by 1997; FAO, 2011), there is generally a lack of female extension agents and women face difficulties to access relevant and quality extension services. Male extension agents tend to visit female farmers much less than male farmers and even when women have access to their services, contacts with extension agents often contribute to output only on male-managed plots (FAO, 2011)⁶.

Education and training are essential for women's empowerment, improving their possibilities to access decent employment, participate in decision making and obtain information about their rights. Education should be linked to more technical instruction in agricultural science and technology, especially in areas where women represent a large part of the agricultural sector. In spite of significant progress in the achievement of gender parity in primary school attendance everywhere in the developing world (and especially in Latin America), the share of female professional staff in agricultural higher education (lecturers, professors, scientists, etc.) remains very low in most countries. In Africa, the share of women in total professional staff in agricultural research ranges from a high level in South Africa (41 percent), or Mozambique (38 percent) to very low in other African countries like Ethiopia (only 6 percent) and Togo (9 percent)⁷. Low female representation in agricultural research may have a bearing on rural women, as the choice of research agendas may not reflect their needs.

⁶ In Kenya, contact with the extension agent contributed significantly to output on male-managed plots, but not necessarily on female-managed plots (Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling, 1994).

⁷ These data are based on a 2008 survey of the Agricultural Science and Technology Indicators (ASTI) and the African Woman in Agriculture Research and Development (AWARD) programmes (FAO, 2011).

Rural women more often than not face significant barriers in accessing new technologies (such as mobile phones, fertilizers, and appropriate farm tools) crucial in improving agricultural productivity, aggravated by their limited education and financial and time constraints. Women's access to technology varies across type of technologies and regions of the world. In Ghana, for example, only 39 percent of female farmers adopted improved crop varieties (in comparison, 59 percent of male farmers used them) because they have less access to extension services, to education and to land (FAO, 2011)⁸. In some Kenyan districts, women owned only 18 percent of the farm tools and equipment owned by male farmers (FAO, 2011)⁹.

Governments' policy interventions need to focus on school enrolment for girls in regions where it is lower than boys', target women's specific needs, and include gender training for teachers. Giving visibility to women's work and contributions in agriculture through media could be a good way of ensuring female positive models for research organizations, extension offices and more generally for young girls and students in agriculture. Policies should focus on hiring female extension agents for female farmers, and male extension agents could be sensitized to the realities and needs of rural women to improve the quality of the information provided to them. Moreover, a greater involvement of women in agricultural research, higher education and gender sensitive extension methods could enhance the development of female-friendly technologies, including improved varieties and tools, pest management, etc.

Access to decision making

Rural women, partly because of their lack of access to education and resources, and to a greater extent because of social norms of rural societies, have difficulties accessing decision-making roles both at local and national levels. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) 2008 data, the number of women in parliament remains very low: 17.9 percent in the lower house and 16.7 percent in the upper

⁸ Cf. Doss and Morris, 2001.

⁹ Cf. Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling, 1994.

house. In governments the situation is of more concern: only 4.7 percent of heads of State are women, 4.2 percent of heads of government and 16 percent of ministerial portfolios are held by female politicians. Women's representation among policy-makers is essential for societies, but will not suffice for the formulation of gender-sensitive policies in the agricultural sector. Gender-sensitive men and women are needed to make gender-aware agricultural policy decisions, with a focus on eliminating the gender gap in the sector. Good agricultural policy requires an understanding of the gender dimension at stake to take into account the constraints that women face in the agricultural sector. Women's improved access to decision making roles at local levels could ensure better access to land and resources essential to increase their productivity and incomes, and achieve decent work opportunities.

Women's groups and cooperatives are of the utmost importance for their voice to be heard in policy making processes, as well as to obtain benefits in production and productivity such as economies of scale, access to markets and productive resources, and higher control over their income among many other benefits. An example of the power of these organizations in empowering women and improving their livelihoods is the Self Employed Women's Association -SEWA- in India. Farmers and producer's organizations worldwide, however, continue to be dominated by men. The organizations and representation of women in rural communities have to be supported and promoted and rural communities should be involved in decision-making processes. Efficient measures are needed to remedy the lack of women among decision bodies. Quota systems in local governments have had good results in some areas, but they need to be carefully designed and monitored.

What policies exist: scope and impact

Agriculture sector policies tend to be non gender sensitive for the most part. They rarely take into account women's specific needs. When they do, they frequently reflect common gender biases, stereotyped women's roles and the value attributed to

them. While some focus on women's roles as mothers and target them as instruments for the well being of their children, some, less frequent, address their needs as workers and agents of change and seek to empower them and promote their full participation in development.

A major factor in making agricultural policy gender sensitive is the recognition of the burden of domestic work and other reproductive activities as taking substantial amounts of women's time and energy. For the most part, reproductive activities remain invisible to policy considerations. The degree to which reproductive chores are explicitly addressed will thus be a determining factor of the extent of the policy's gender sensitivity.

Another main feature characterizing agricultural sector policy from a gender perspective is the underlying assumptions of women's roles and contributions to society and to the economy. Policies vary from recognizing their full productive capacity and contribution to viewing them solely as mothers whose main contribution is to prepare a new generation for the future.

Evidence-based policies choose their evidence base very much reflecting these underlying assumptions. For example, policies seeking to reduce the gap between men and women in access to productive resources in order to increase agricultural productivity would use data on land tenure and on access to other crucial resources and services. In contrast, policies seeking to improve nutritional outcomes among children tend to use studies on the nutritional impact of women's education¹⁰. In the first example, addressing constraints generated by reproductive responsibilities becomes a major component for the success of the policy. In the latter, reproductive activities are the objective of the policy and the women carrying them out tend to become invisible.

Table 2 proposes a typology of agricultural policies in terms of their sensitivity to gender issues, and provides illustrative examples. I propose a characterization of agriculture sector policy varying from what I have called Gender-Purposive (policies

¹⁰ Studies in some African countries showed that mothers who have spent five years in primary education are 40 percent more likely to live beyond the age of five (OECD, 2008).

whose main objective is to reduce gender inequalities in the context of a larger overall agricultural goal) to Gender-Blind and Gender-Neutral policies. Between these extremes, there is a range of policies varying in their gender sensitivity, as the way in which they address women's and men's specific needs rest on different views of women's roles and value, have different kinds of objectives, use different kind of data, and monitor and measure their impact in consequently different ways. I have labelled these Gender Sensitive - Transformative (the objective is to improve life and food security in rural areas using gender sensitive indicators to understand women's specific needs), Gender Sensitive - Residual (gender issues are not explicit among policies' objectives and women are indentified as a vulnerable group among others) and Gender Sensitive - Instrumental (those policies are based on women's traditional roles within societies and households: mothers, care givers, etc.).

The following are examples of different kinds of Gender Sensitive policies:

Gender Sensitive - Purposive

The explicit objective of creating more equality between men and women in the access to productive resources and services in order to attain an agricultural sector goal (including food security) does not seem to be present, or at least, no example could be found for the time being.

Gender Sensitive - Transformational

One of the best known and relevant examples of gender sensitive policy concerning access to work is the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA), enacted in India in 2005. This Act guarantees 100 days of paid work to all rural households whose adult members are willing to perform unskilled manual labour. The NREGA states clear objectives for women's participation. It requires that at least one third of the workers should be women and that man and women are paid an equal wage (the

statutory minimum wage ascertained by the state government). Moreover, the NREGA explicitly addresses some of the constraints women face to participate in the labour market arising from their reproductive roles, providing childcare facilities and local work. Thanks to this Act, significant benefits have been reported by women: improvement of food security and health, increase of incomes and security of employment (Sudarshan, 2011).

However, this initiative has not succeeded in all regions equally (cf. Figure 6). In Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, for example, women were reported to have had major difficulties in registering as workers under the NREGA (Khera and Nayak, 2009), and according to 2007 data, employment opportunities for women in those States were less than 25% of the total workday generated (PACS, 2007). Some Panchayas of those States refuse to provide work opportunities for women, and preference is given to men (PACS, 2007). In addition, there is a lack of childcare facilities everywhere in the country (FAO, IFAD and ILO, 2010).

The NREGA is an example of a well formulated programme from the point of view of gender sensitive considerations. However, its impact on gender relations and on the empowerment of women can only be ascertained by including a set of appropriate indicators.

Gender Sensitive - Residual

Malawi developed a programme to improve small holders' access to agricultural inputs at subsidized prices called the Farm Input Subsidy Programme (2005-6 to 2008-9). It was administered through a series of vouchers that enabled rural households to buy fertilizer, seeds and pesticides at greatly reduced prices. Beneficiaries were identified using four criteria: (1) that the household owned land being cultivated during the relevant season; (2) that the household was a bona fide resident of the village; (3) that only one beneficiary would be eligible in a household; and (4) that vulnerable groups, especially households headed by children and women would be given priority (Chibwana *et al.*, 2010).

In 2008/09 this process involved the selection of more than 1.5 million fertilizer coupon beneficiaries from more than 2.5 million farm households, printing and distribution of 5.9 million coupons, and purchase and distribution of more than 3.4 million bags of fertilizer. The Ministry of Agriculture attributes a substantial increase in production to this programme. In 2005-6 production increased by 0.5 million tonnes while in 2008-9 it rose by 1.3 million tonnes (Kachule and Chilongo, 2007).

The CFMS (Chibwana, Fisher, Masters and Shively) study of 2010 found that households headed by young women were less likely to receive a complete input subsidy packet than those headed by older males (cf. Figure 7). In addition, richer and more educated households were likelier to receive vouchers. This could be due to the smaller plots of female headed and poorer households.

Although the programme identified women as beneficiaries, it did so only in as much as they are members of “vulnerable groups”. It made no provision for addressing women’s reproductive burdens in order for them to be able to actually participate, nor did it, probably, use gender sensitive indicators to monitor its roll out, given that it resulted in benefitting more the more educated and male headed households.

Therefore, although the FISP did explicitly include women as beneficiaries, it is an example of Gender Sensitive - Residual programme.

Gender Sensitive - Instrumental

Food and nutrition security policies frequently see women primarily as mothers, focusing only on infants and young children or pregnant women’s nutrition. In targeting mothers, they aim at reducing child malnutrition, contributing to longer term food security of the whole population. Instead of addressing constraints caused by reproductive roles for economic and social participation, they tend to use these roles as a basis to generate societal benefits. Women who are not mothers or mothers to be such as teenage girls or women in post-reproductive age have specific nutritional needs which are generally not taken into account (Nestel, 2000). One example is the Government of Sri Lanka’s policy response to malnutrition through the

Maternal and Child Health and Nutrition programmes, consisting of three broad strategies: direct food assistance programmes, poverty reduction programmes and the Ministry of Health's provision of an integrated package of maternal and child health and nutrition services.

The programme targets lactating mothers, pregnant women and young children by providing services on maternal care during the pregnancy and lactation and nutrition education (by supporting breastfeeding practices, etc.), but does not target women who are not mothers or mothers to be. The food supplements distributed to them were frequently shared with the rest of the family.

Another example of this type of policy is the CARICOM Regional Food and Nutrition Security Policy. It sets a wide context for the analysis of the factors affecting food security in the region, including the absence of a strong agricultural sector with proper infrastructure, the high vulnerability to natural hazards and to climate change, and the dependence on food imports. In spite of explicitly stating that "Improving nutrition inherently requires a strong gender perspective to achieve long lasting success", the policy actually targets women as one vulnerable group among children, youth, the elderly, the physically handicapped, the indigenous people and poor sections of the population. The policy rests on women's motherhood roles for children's nutrition: "It is the care that they receive from conception through the first two years of life that is biologically the most crucial for them (...)".

Gender Blind

In Uganda, the promotion of non-traditional agricultural exports (NTAE) is a key current set of macroeconomic policies. In 2000, agriculture dominated the Ugandan economy with a share of 45 per cent of GDP (Kasente *et al.*, 2000), and increasing agricultural production is crucial for the country's development. In 2012, official data show that more than 11.5 million persons are economically active in agriculture, out of a total of some 30 million rural people. Non-traditional agricultural exports in Uganda refer to agricultural, livestock and fisheries products that have been introduced since 1986, just after the end of the civil war. The main objective of this

expansion of NTAE is to contribute to poverty eradication and food security by providing income to rural households (Dijkstra, 2001). The government has been proactive in promoting NTAE by taking macroeconomic and specific sector measures through various policies, especially concerning investments in the NTAE sectors (with policies such as the Investment Code, or the creation of the Uganda Investment Authority).

In their original formulation, policies promoting NTAE did not have specific measures taken to empower women in agriculture whereas more than 5 million women are economically active in agriculture, almost half of the work force in the sector, making this an example of gender blind policy (Kasente *et al.*, 2000).

After reactions to pressure by women's movements, the Ugandan government took some measures to address some of these concerns in the NTAE into agricultural policy a few years ago. However, there is still an "invisibilization" of domestic work, which is largely done by women, and no proposals for addressing women's burdens within the household, in spite of a strong tendency to reduce public health services due to structural adjustment (Kasente *et al.*, 2000). Moreover, in NTAE promotion policies considered "gender friendly" thanks to a predominance of women in some crops such as mushrooms or vanilla (Dijkstra, 2001), women supply the majority of agricultural labour, but are less likely to control the income from agriculture (Kasente *et al.*, 2000).

For the most part, the set of policies contained in NTAE are "gender blind", not stemming from a solid gender analysis and not relying on the systematic use of gender-disaggregated data, even if some of them impact men and women in different ways.

Gender Neutral

Gender neutral policies are those that do not have any different effect on women and on men and that therefore do not require the use of gender disaggregated data or gender indicators. This category can only apply to those initiatives where no human beings are involved, given that all human action is gendered. The category is included

only for reference and for completeness of the typology, given that all policies in the agricultural sector should involve at some stage men and women. Activities such as setting up a laboratory for the analysis of the HPAI virus should be gender neutral, but this is hardly a policy.

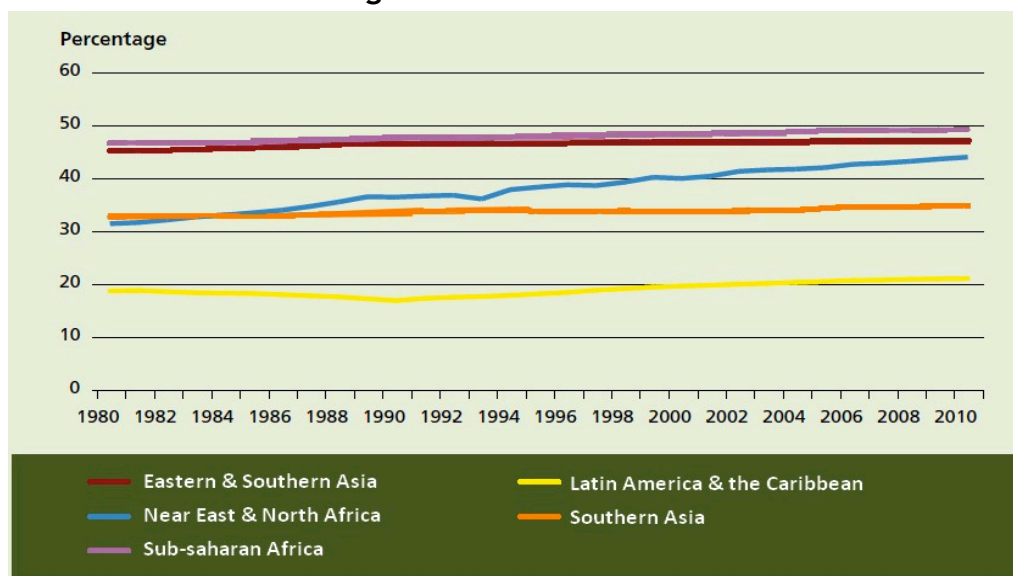
Conclusions

There is still a long way to go to close the gender gap in agriculture. Governments should develop Gender Purposive policies and invest in Gender Transformative policies to obtain long term societal benefits as well major gains in agricultural productivity and in food security. In the agricultural sector, policies tend to be gender blind or gender sensitive in mild ways, i.e. not addressing some of the main constraints women face, which constitute true bottlenecks for sustainable rural development. Moving towards Gender Transformative policies will require major efforts in demonstrating the impact of closing the gender gap on specific areas of the agricultural sector, in a similar way as the State of Food and Agriculture 2010-11 did for food security. It will also require investing in developing relevant capacities, as well as a redoubling of efforts in producing relevant data for evidence-based agricultural policy and for strengthening national capacities to collect analyse and use these data in policy making.

Figures and tables

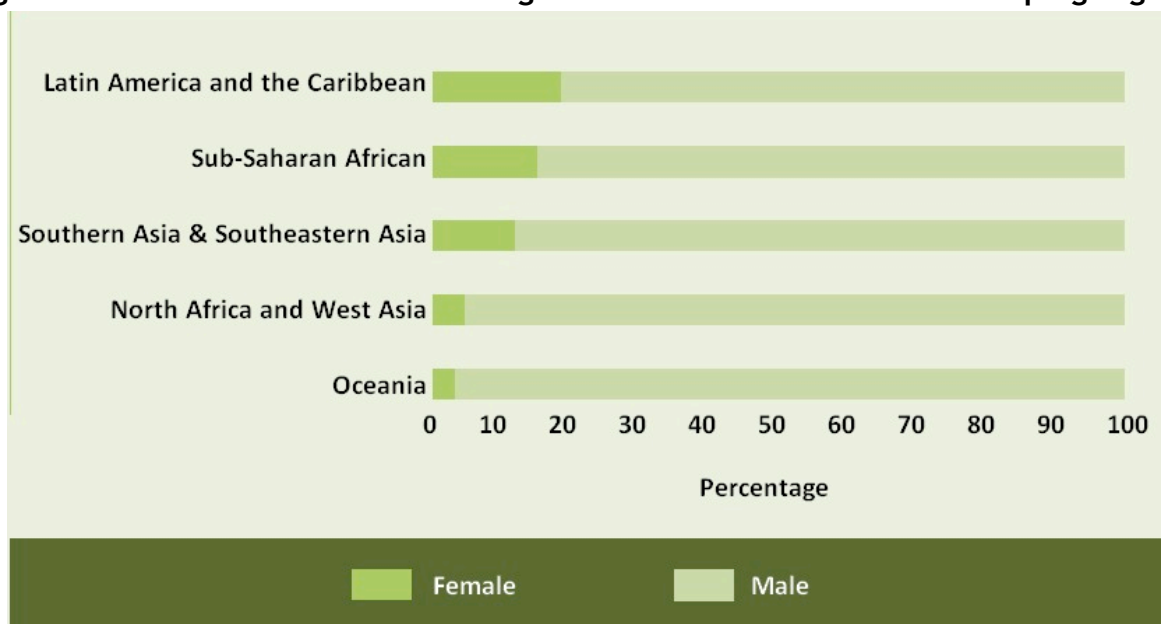
Figures

Figure 1: Female share of the agricultural labour force



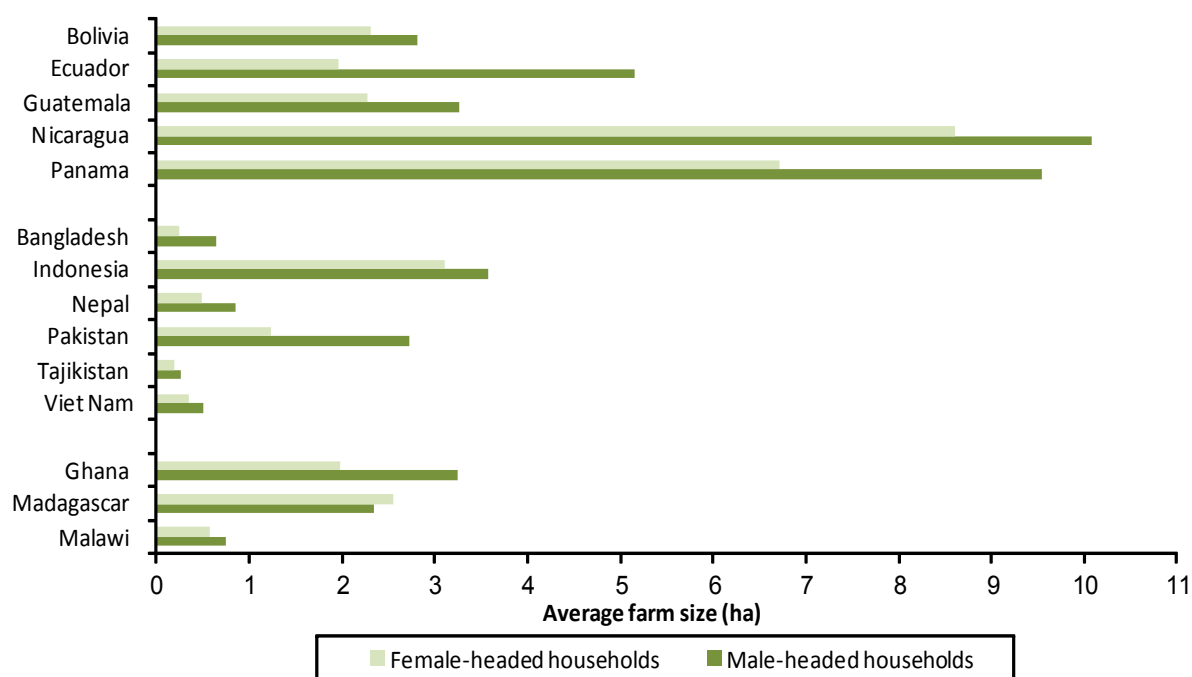
Sources: FAOSTAT. Note: The agricultural labour force includes people who are working in formal and informal jobs and in paid and unpaid employment in agriculture. That includes employed women as well as women working on family farms. It does not include domestic chores such as fetching water and firewood, preparing food and caring for children and other family members.

Figure 2: Share of male and female agricultural holders in main developing regions



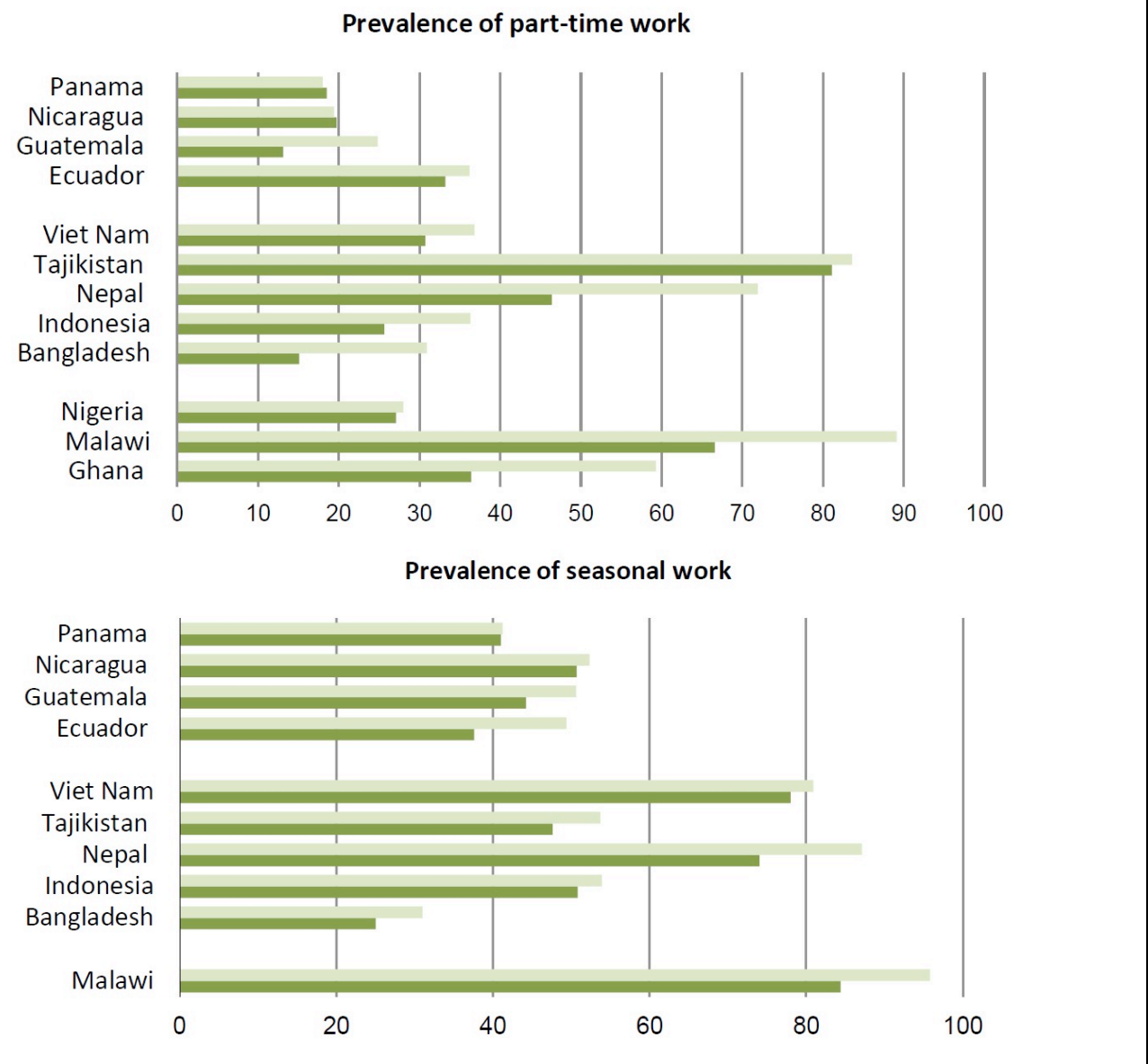
Sources: FAO, 2010f. Note: Regional aggregates do not include all countries due to lack of data.

Figure 3: Rural household assets: farm size



Sources: FAO, 2010dn and Anríquez, 2010. Note: Differences between male and female-headed households are statistically significant at the 95 percent confidence level for all countries, except for Bolivia, Indonesia, Madagascar, Nicaragua and Tjikistan.

Figure 4: Conditions of employment in rural wage employment, by gender



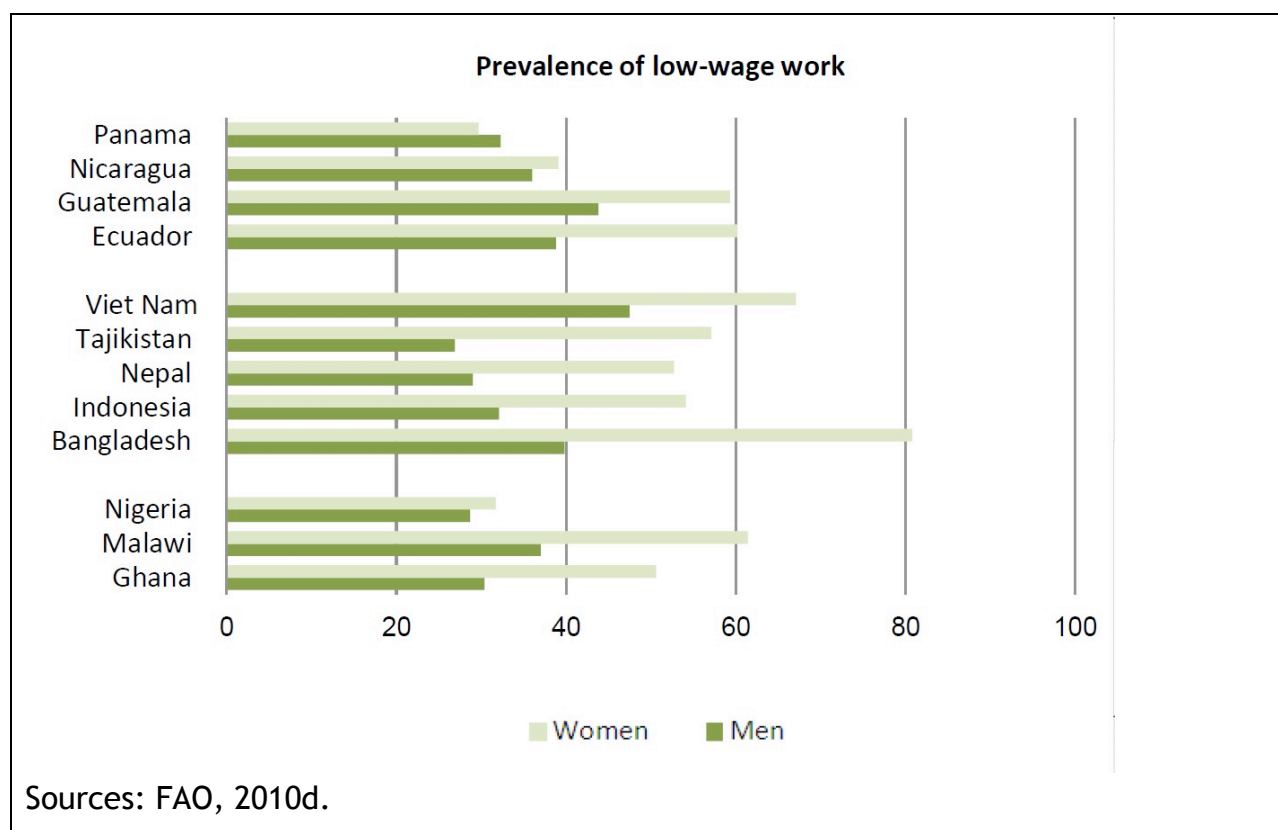
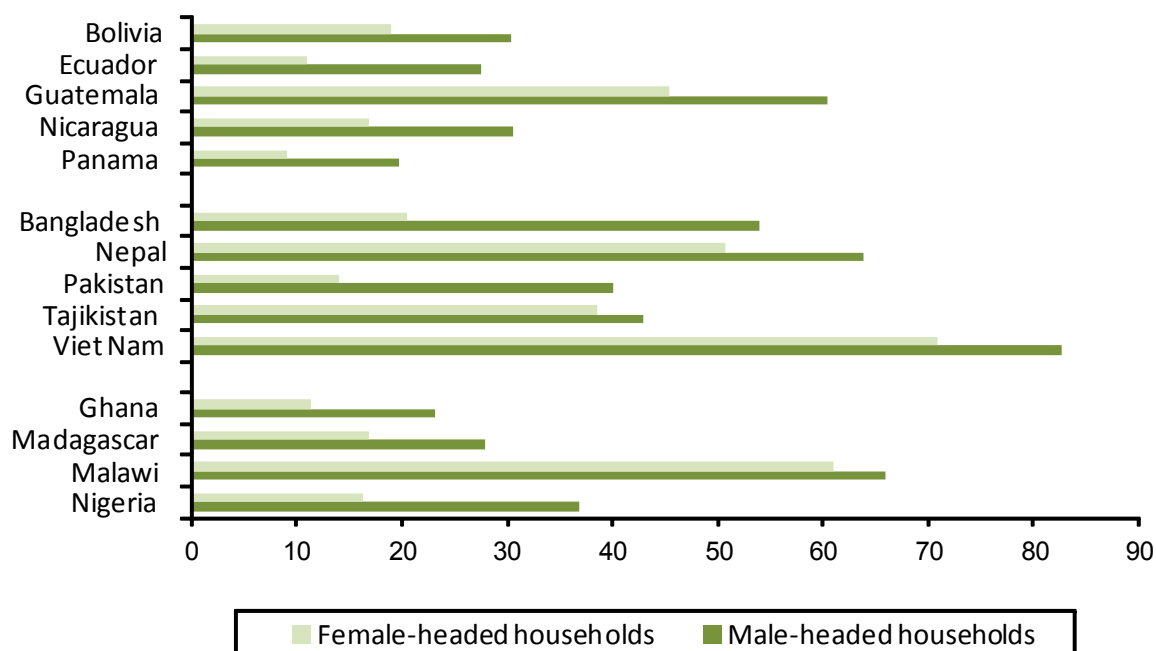
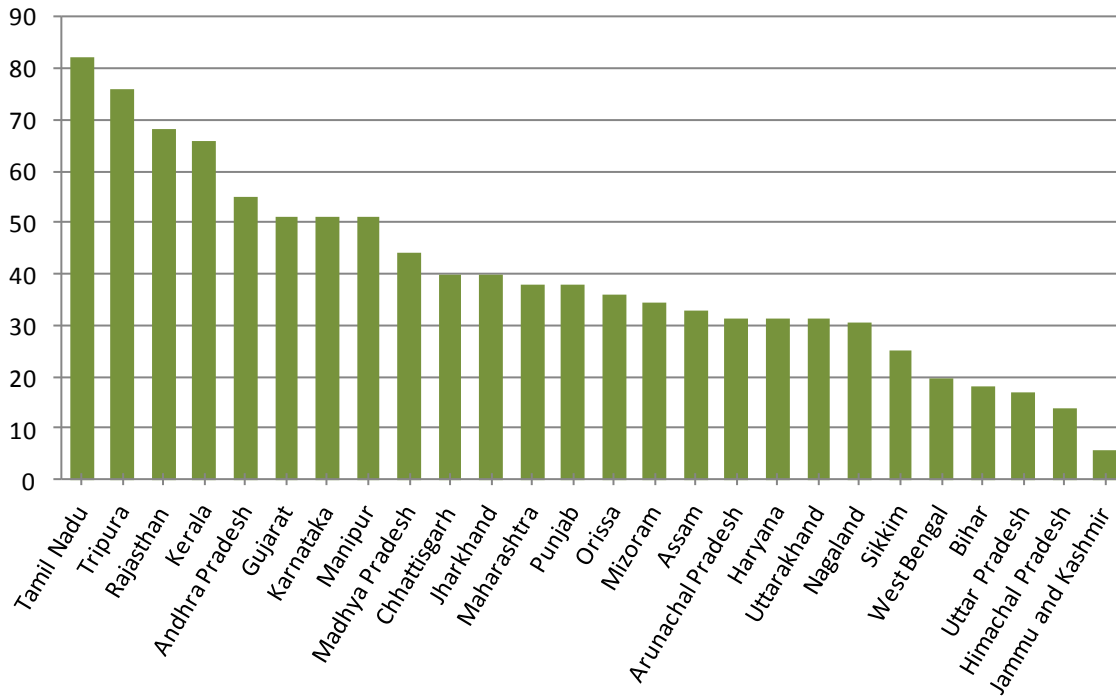


Figure 5: Fertilizer use by female- and male -headed households



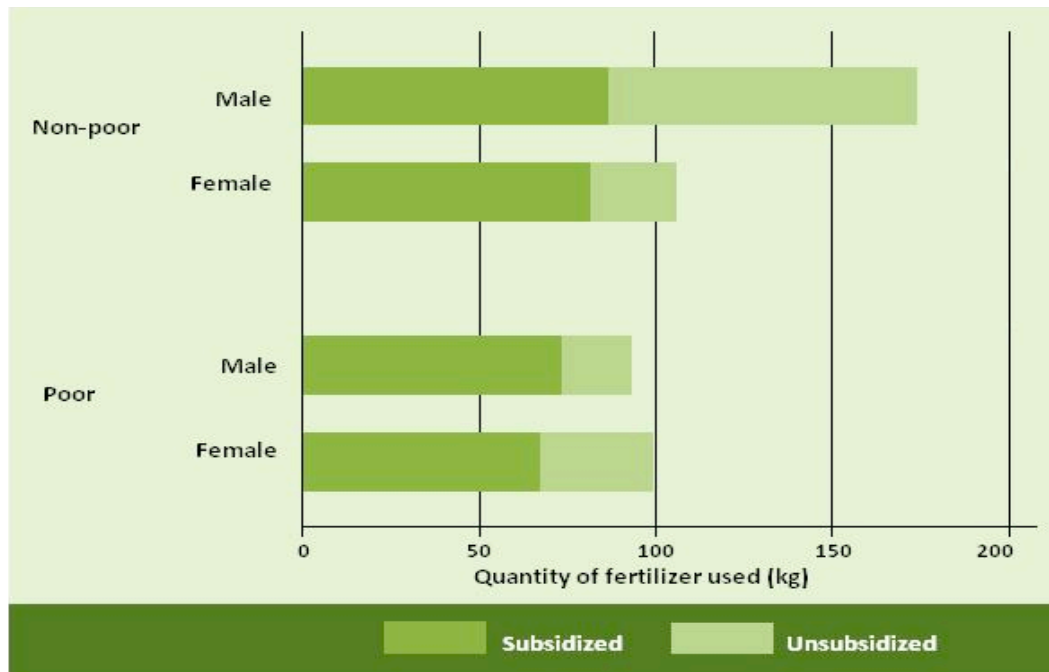
Sources: FAO, RIGA team and Anríquez, 2010. Note: calculation made using nationally representative household surveys. Differences between female- and male-headed households are significant at the 95 percent confidence level for all countries.

Figure 6: NREGA: level of women's participation (November 2007)



Sources: Sudarshan, R. M., 2011. *India's National Rural Employment Guarantee Act: women's participation and impacts in Himachal Pradesh, Kerala and Rajasthan*. Centre for Social Protection and IDS.

Figure 7: Malawi: share of subsidized fertilizer in total fertilizer used for maize, by gender



Sources: Chibwana C., Fisher M., Jumber C., Masters W., Shively G. 2010. *Measuring the Impact of Malawi's Farm Input Subsidy Program*.

Tables

Table 1: Discriminatory social institutions on women's ownership rights

Variable	Women's access to land	Women's access to bank loans	Women's access to property other than land
Country			
Afghanistan	0.5	0.5	1
Chad	1	1	0.5
DRC	0.5	1	1
Ethiopia	0.5	1	0.5
Ghana	0.5	0.5	0.5
India	0.5	0.5	0.5
Kenya	1	0.5	0.5
Malawi	0.5	0.5	0.5
Mozambique	0.5	0.5	0.5
Nepal	0.5	0.5	0.5
Nigeria	0.5	0.5	0.5
Pakistan	0.5	0.5	0.5
Sierra Leone	1	0.5	1
Tanzania	1	0.5	0.5
Zimbabwe	1	0.5	0.5

Sources: *Gender, Institutions and Development Database 2009*:
<http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=GID2>

Note: The OECD created this database on discriminatory institutions against women by analyzing specific countries through 60 gender discrimination indicators. In this table, 0 indicates the absence of discriminatory ratified at the institutional level, while 1 indicates high discrimination.

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