



s a l s a
small farms
small food businesses and
sustainable food security

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Deliverable 5.2

Report on governance frameworks and gender

Work Package 5 Analysis of the Governance of Small Farms and Food chains

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1. Executive Summary

This report represents findings on the role of women in small-scale farming (defined as farms up to 5 ha or 8 ESU), particularly in relation to governance frameworks associated with food and nutrition security. It follows SALSA Deliverable 5.1, which assesses the governance arrangements which impact upon small-scale farms and small food businesses. Both reports utilise the data collected in SALSA WP3 (In-depth assessment of food systems in 30 regions). A further deliverable is forthcoming on the particular types of small-scale farming which contribute to food and nutrition security (SALSA D5.3).

Findings in this report are based on

- Literature review in nine countries (Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Italy, Latvia, Norway, Romania, Spain, and the United Kingdom)
- Regional workshop reports from 21 reference regions (in Cape Verde, Ghana, Greece, Kenya, Malawi, Italy, Latvia, Poland, Portugal, Norway, Romania, Spain, United Kingdom)
- Statistical analysis of interviews from 30 reference regions: Europe (25) and Africa (5)

Findings confirm that women represent an important resource in food systems across Europe and Africa, comprising between 1/3 to 1/2 of people working in agriculture in the study countries. Just over 1/3 of participants in SALSA's reference region surveys were women. The academic literature on gender dynamics in agriculture (e.g. within households or organisations) does not typically differentiate between farms of different sizes, so there is limited academic information on the connection between farm size and specific gender dynamics (e.g. access to markets, subsidies etc). This deliverable addresses that gap.

Findings demonstrate that **when women lead farms (i.e. are identified as the primary decision-maker), they are more likely to do so at smaller scales than when men lead farms** (or multiple farm leaders are identified). This is true in both the African and European study countries. Female led farms are much less common than male led farms in Africa. Female-led farms are quite common in some parts of Europe (e.g. 45% of Latvian farms, ~30% of Polish, Portuguese and Italian farms are led by women). In both Africa and Europe, small-scale farms are most commonly led by family units, comprising both men and women.

Gender disparities are much stronger in the African study countries than in the European study countries. However, although it is well established in the academic literature that there are pervasive gender inequalities in the agricultural sector across Europe, **gender issues are less evident on small-scale farms in Europe than in larger-scale agriculture**. Gender was not recognised as an issue in the SALSA Regional Workshops in Europe: there is egalitarian representation in small-holder organisations, and closer link to self-provisioning than is characteristic of larger-scale farms. The smaller-scale of female-led farms means that **there is typically a higher percentage of female led farms amongst small-scale farms in Europe than is characteristic of large-scale agriculture**. However:

- Female-led farms are more likely to be located on marginal land and more likely to be focused on self-provisioning than male-led farms
- In Africa, women leading farms also tend to be less educated than male-leads



- In Africa, female-led farms are identified as less productive than male-led farms, owing to lower access to inputs, equipment and labour.

Women thus appear more vulnerable to shocks and stresses in some (but not all) regional food systems in the study countries.

The analysis of SALSA interviews found that **women are more commonly active in some types of small farm than others**. These are:

- Part-time farms, which are characterised by younger farmers who have weak market integration
- ‘Strugglers’: older and poorer farmers, with weak market integration
- Multifunctional smallholdings, which produce a variety of commodities and use hired labour

These findings are consistent with the academic literature from the study countries: **women are less likely to inherit land**, and therefore tend to have smaller farms. Latvia is an exception: there it is very common that, irrespective of gender, a child/children or other relative who is the most interested in farming inherits the farm. The tendency for **women to be more involved in developing diversification activities on farm is well established in Europe**. Women are more likely to be involved in processing of agricultural goods in both Europe and Africa. **There are also increasing numbers of women coming into the agricultural sector as new entrants in Europe**.

The research found important commonalities in the role of women in food systems in Africa and Europe:

- **There are well established, gender-based patterns of household-level roles in food production, decision-making and sales**
 - Women continue to be responsible for both agricultural production and reproductive labour within the household, often carrying a heavier workload than men
 - Women in both Europe and Africa are recognised as playing particularly important roles in food provisioning (i.e. food security relating to utilisation) within the household
 - Recent thinking in both Africa and Europe are pointing to the importance of childcare facilities to enabling women’s participation in agriculture.
- **Access to land is a major issue** in many countries, due in large part to cultural norms of (patrilinear) inheritance.
 - This impacts on access to capital and other resources (e.g. land acts as collateral or as a requirement for accessing subsidies or joining cooperatives).
- **Women are under-represented in the leadership of farming organisations**
 - Women in Africa often represent more than half of farm operators, but are rarely in leadership of farmers’ organisations (unless these are exclusively women farmers’ organisations). They are somewhat more common in leadership of agricultural companies.



- Women (in Europe) represent less than half of farm operators; a far smaller percentage are in leadership of agricultural organisations (although representation in targeted small-holder organisations is more egalitarian).
 - The exception is Norway, where quotas have been introduced, requiring equal gender participation in boards
 - **Women are more commonly involved in the leadership of organisations which are specifically oriented towards supporting small-scale farmers.**
- **Women are more likely to be involved in value-added processing**, and thus are particularly impacted upon by regulations addressing food safety and opportunities to engage in cooperatives
 - **In Europe food safety regulations were one of the most commonly cited type of governance that impacted upon small farms in the study**
 - Women are also more likely to be involved in direct marketing, particularly in Africa
 - **Women are more likely to be involved in alternative or organic agricultural production in Europe**
 - Women are generally recognised as contributing more to positive environmental management than men

There are important distinctions between Europe and Africa. **Women are recognised as the major food producers in the African countries and thus important players in the food system.** The link between women in agriculture and food security is well established in the five African countries studied; this is not the case in western Europe. In Europe, food insecurity is more likely to be related to age (e.g. children, seniors) than gender. Older households in the African study countries and some parts of southern and eastern Europe rely on subsistence-oriented production to secure the household food supply.

Targeted measures to support women in agriculture are common some of the African countries (e.g. Ghana, Malawi), but typically driven by public/private initiatives (e.g. development agencies). In Europe, EU countries are obliged to analyse the situation of women in rural areas, and take these into account when designing their rural development programs. However, with the exception of Spain, where there are targeted supports for female entrepreneurship in rural areas, **there was little evidence of specific interventions to support women on farms (of any scale) in Europe.**

Although there are targeted programs in Africa, in both Europe and Africa, **the failure to collect gender disaggregated gender when evaluating measures means that it is difficult to determine the effectiveness of these programs.** This also contributes to the invisibility of women, their roles and specific issues within the agricultural sector. The lack of recognition of women's work on farms (e.g. as unpaid labour) reduces their rights to employment benefits.

European workshop reports identify **few formal (e.g. legal) barriers to women** for establishing viable farm businesses, **but strong gender norms and cultural barriers persist.** Women tend to have a stronger role in farm-level decision-making in Europe than in Africa. New entrants to farming in Europe demonstrate more egalitarian gender relations. Overall, increasing numbers of female-led farms are being seen across Europe but there remain substantial gender imbalances in most countries.



The analysis also demonstrated important regional and national distinctions

- In Latvia, Romania and Spain, policies focus on supporting women in rural areas, of which women in agriculture are a subset.
- Emigration of women from rural areas is an important issue for Latvia, Romania and Spain
 - Romania and Spain have developed policies which target retention of women in rural areas, which includes encouraging female entrepreneurship.
 - Some of this emigration is to work in agriculture in other countries: women thus form an important resource in international agricultural systems
 - There are also issues around the labour conditions of temporary immigrant women in intensive agriculture in Spain.
- Spain and Norway have developed supports targeted at female-led farms
 - Norway and Spain have introduced legislation to enable more gender-balanced inheritance of land but have had limited success
 - In Spain, women may be identified as the 'primary farmer' when the farm is in reality operated by a man. Reasons for this include access to subsidies and maintaining the right to pension provisions for women.
 - Although Europe's RDPs are intended to specifically address gender issues, there are no specific gender programs in Italy, the UK or Romania
- Malawi has introduced laws aimed at increasing women's access to land but these have been delayed in implementation
 - Malawi also has policies to increase women's access to extension services
- Access to credit is a particular issue for women in Kenya and Ghana, linked to access to land



2. Introduction

2.1. SALSA, Food and Nutritional Security and Gender

The overall objective of SALSA is to develop “*a better understanding of the current and potential contribution of small farms and food businesses to Food and Nutrition Security (FNS) in an increasingly globalised and uncertain world*”. The role of women in food and nutrition security is well recognised. In general, women across the globe have traditionally been responsible for food provisioning and preparation for their households. However, the agricultural sector has traditionally been male-dominated. The UN Sustainable Development Goals and the Europe 2020 Strategy emphasise the importance of achieving egalitarian gender relations. About 80% of the world’s food is produced by small-scale farming, in which women play a major role but receive less support than men (Oxfam, 2019). This report draws connections between FNS, small-scale farms, and gender issues.

The aim of WP5 is to answer the question: *What governs Small Farm and Small Food Business activities?* The specific aim of this report (and the related task 5.2) is to consider the way in which institutional arrangements condition the access of women to assets (e.g. land, capital), services and markets, as well as the role of women in small farmers’ organisations. Women in small-food businesses are not addressed in this deliverable.

2.2. Conceptual and Theoretical Underpinnings

This analysis brings together several key concepts: small-scale farming, food and nutrition security, governance and power imbalances in the agricultural sector. These will be addressed in turn.

Food and nutrition security (FNS)

FNS is conventionally defined as existing when “*all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life*” (FAO 1996, reaffirmed in the 2009 Declaration of the World Summit on Food Security, FAO 2009). SALSA addresses the four dimensions of food security identified by the FAO:

Food availability: sufficient quantities of food. This represents the ‘supply side’ of production and stock levels available.

Food access: The ability of individuals to acquire appropriate food for a nutritious diet. This relates to food distribution. Food may be available to households, but not accessible for socio-economic reasons.

Food utilisation: adequate diet, clean water, sanitation and health care i.e. nutritional well-being

Food stability: access to food at all times (including at times of economic or climatic crisis)

FNS can thus be considered at a range of scales – individual, household, local/regional, national and global. SALSA is particularly concerned with economically and socially ‘sustainable FNS’ – i.e. environmentally, socially and economically sustainability. Social sustainability is about ensuring equal access to resources and engagement in the food system. Economic sustainability is both about the capacity to produce and enable access to appropriate and sufficient food, and the financial viability of the food system.

Small farms

SALSA focuses specifically on small-scale farms, defined as farms of up to 8 ESU (European Size Units) or 5 ha (hectares). Most farms of this size primarily utilise family labour (and are thus considered ‘family farms’), but comprise a wide range of holding types. In SALSA WP3, interviews with 717 small-scale farmers across Europe and Africa yielded the following typology:

“Weak market orientation” group:

- **Cluster 1, “Part-time”:** farming appears to be a secondary activity that supplements other sources of income, by generally young farmer; a high proportion of production stays in household. *11% of the sample. Common in: African regions, Romania, East Scotland*
- **Cluster 3, “Conventional strugglers”:** oldest cluster; farming is rooted in tradition and it accounts for high proportion of income; high proportion of production stays in household. *32% of the sample. Common in: African regions, Eastern Europe*

“Strong market orientation” group:

- **Cluster 2, “Conventional entrepreneurs”:** relatively wealthy, relatively old and established in farming; rely on family labour; access markets through cooperatives. *26 % of the sample. Common in: Mediterranean regions*
- **Cluster 4, “Business specialized “:** wealthiest group, relatively old and established in farming; extensive use of hired labour; access to markets through cooperatives, invest in certification. *23% of the sample. Common in: Greece, Lucca, Norway.*
- **Cluster 5, “Business multifunctional”:** wealthy, relatively young and new to farming; extensive use of hired labour; diverse portfolio of buyers. *8% of the sample. Common in Northern Europe.*

SALSA empirical data does not differentiate male or female led farms. As will be discussed in Section 3.1, this distinction is problematic in any case, as men and women most commonly collaborate on farm management (particularly in Europe), but the existence of female employees on farm does not necessarily indicate that women are involved in decision-making.

SALSA is based on the premise that small-scale farms are more commonly located in some regions than others e.g. peri-urban and remote areas. Small-scale farms are often located in regions where productivity has traditionally been low, representing further challenges to viable production. This issue will be further developed in SALSA D5.3.



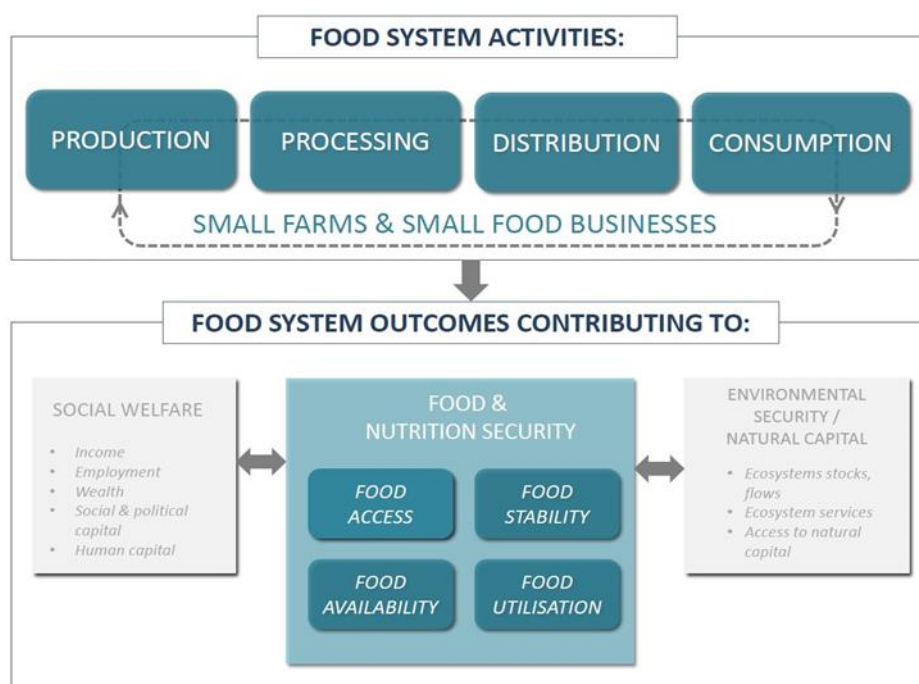
Food system

A key premise of SALSA is that food systems are territorially embedded, and therefore diverse. Governance must thus be understood in relation to the territory upon, across and within which they operate. Work package 5 Deliverable 5.1 (D5.1) adopts a spatially-sensitive analysis of the governance arrangements that influence the contribution of SF/SFBs to food security. The analysis for WP5 includes regional reports, which are based on local interviews, but also broader literature reviews which place these reports within national and European contexts.

The definition of a food system adopted in SALSA is based on the definition proposed by the High-Level Panel of Experts on Food Security and Nutrition of the Committee on World Food Security (2014):

“A food system gathers all the elements (environment, people, inputs, processes, infrastructures, institutions, etc.) and activities that relate to the production, processing, distribution, preparation and consumption of food, and the outputs of these activities, including socio-economic and environmental outcomes” (HLPE, 2014, p.12).

Figure 1. Food system conceptualisation (Modified from Ericksen (2008/a))



SALSA thus focuses on territorialised food systems – food systems which are located in specific places. The actors and characteristics of their relationships differ regionally (UNEP 2016). Although SALSA's reference regions focus at regional level, it is recognised that all actors in the food system may not be located within the region. Neither is all relevant food produced within the region – food is imported and exported. A key aspect of WP3 was to characterise the different food systems and subsystems operating within particular regions.

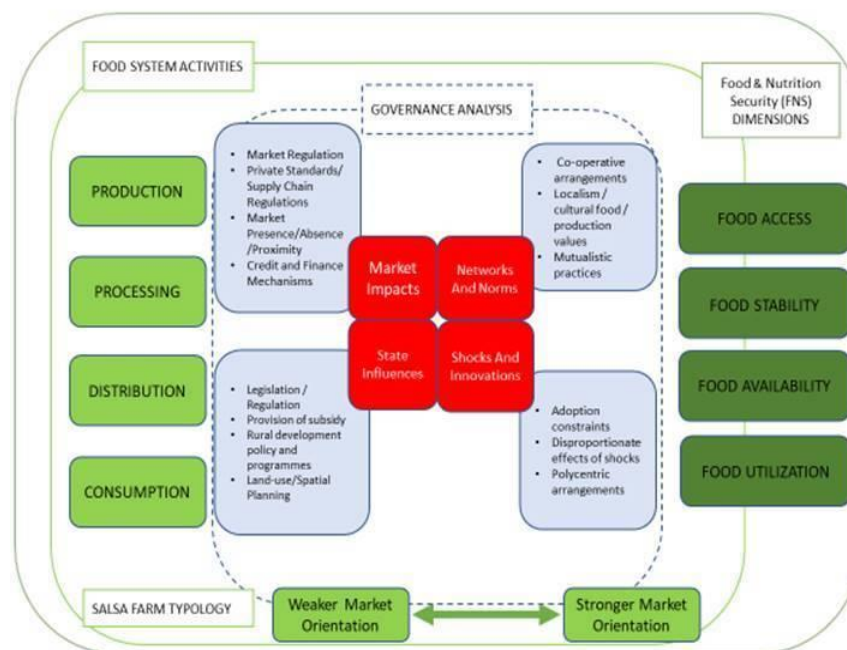
The contribution of small farms – and the women working on those farms - to FNS reflects how they are connected to the food system. Women may be involved in all of the food system activities, but norms, markets, policies and regulations may mean that they are more involved in some activities

than others, and thus contribute more specifically to specific aspects of FNS (e.g. enabling access stability, availability, utilisation).

Governance

At a basic level, governance arrangements can be defined as agreements between parties which small farms participate in or are affected by. These agreements vary in terms of their formality and scope. It is important to distinguish governance from government (formal state-based decision-making bodies – Mantino, 2009). Governance includes policies made by the state, but is much broader, including the actions of private actors (e.g. companies, households and social groups). The connections between FNS, food systems and governance are demonstrated in Figure 1.

Figure 2: Key Concepts for analysis of the contribution of SFs and SFBs to FNS



Source: SALSA D5.1

Governance arrangements were classified across the following parameters (See SALSA D5.1):

- Regulatory/legal framework
- Public policies and programmes
- Private food chain governance
- Local or traditional arrangements
- Collective action/cooperative
- Subsidies

This yielded 9 governance forms (categories of arrangements which enable or disable participation in food systems):

Table 1: Governance arrangements identified in SALSA

Governance Arrangements identified by SFs/SFBs	Examples	Frequency in Sample	Percentage of female respondents identifying this as an issue	Enabling Yes, when . . .	Barriers
1. Food Quality/Safety Regulations	<i>Private quality standards, public safety regs, animal welfare regs</i>	49.4%	46.0%	Y= In areas where tourist markets are significant	High investment req
2. Cooperative Arrangements and Associations	<i>Producer cooperatives, farmers associations</i>	46.2%	40.1%	Y= When organised around a key product, holding national monopoly	Low Cooperative Participation
3. Climate Adaptation Governance	<i>National adaptation frameworks</i>	N/A	N/A	Y= Provides new sources of funding	Maladapted to small farm conditions
4. 'Alternative' or 'Traditional' Agri-Food Networks	<i>Local Food Movements/Valorization, Food Assembling, Virtual Markets</i>	N/A	N/A	Y= When there is sufficient consumer demand. When there is a critical mass	Economies of scale,
5. State Subsidies and Financial Support	<i>Direct Payments, State Insurance Programmes, Food Aid</i>	73.1%		Y=for all farm types, but especially farms with low market integration	Transaction costs for small farms
6. Rural Development and Agricultural Policy	<i>CAP Pillar 2 (young farmers, small farms scheme), International Aid</i>	N/A	N/A	Y=Almost universally seen as enabling	May be maladapted to regional conditions
7. Labour sharing, food swap	<i>Climate Adaptation Support</i>	70.2%	66.3%	Y=focus on production enhancements	Accessibility for small farms
8. Mutual Farming and Food Sharing		54%	54%	Y=More significant where subsidy uptake is lower, and cooperative participation is lower	May be difficult for newcomers to access
9. Public Policies and Programmes	<i>Public Health Progs, Public Procurement agreements</i>	N/A	N/A	Y	Public will and finances, SF capacity

Source: Adapted from SALSA D5.1 Ellis et al.



SALSA D5.1 addresses the question “*When do enabling governance mechanisms effectively allow Small Farms and Small Food Businesses to contribute to Food and Nutritional Security?*”. This is broken down into three specific impacts:

- a. The ability of small farms to be successfully established and operated (by men or women)
- b. The structures that govern how much is produced and processed (i.e. differential engagement of women in production and processing)
- c. The ability to participate in market or extra-market exchange (i.e. differential engagement of women in markets and exchange practices of various forms)

For women to be contributing effectively to all four dimensions of Food and Nutritional Security, governance arrangements must be enabling in all of these arenas. The SALSA D5.1 analysis found that there were very few examples of regional food systems where *all* types of small farms participate in governance arrangements that are enabling in *all* three arenas/contexts. In general, this suggests that current governance **arrangements in the reference regions do not enable small farms to effectively contribute to FNS at a regional, much less national level**. However, in many reference regions, particularly those where small farms with limited market integration are common (i.e. ‘part-time farmers’ and ‘conventional strugglers’), small farms are able to maintain their contribution to household food security through their interaction with governance arrangements that facilitate their continued operation and buffer them against various land-use and income pressures.

Power dynamics

Gender research draws specific attention to power differences in how resources are distributed. In this analysis we draw on Lukes’ (2005) 3 faces of power. Lukes (2005) describes three faces or dimensions of power:

- power to achieve compliance (first face) i.e. to make someone do something
- power to influence the context in which decisions are made (second face), i.e. to influence who has the power to make decisions, and influence which questions are asked
- power to influence what people think is (un)important (third face), i.e. important enough to challenge or raise questions about. This relates to public conceptions of what is ‘normal’.

All three faces are important for gender relations in agriculture – the first face is evident in household relationships e.g. identifying who decides who has access to food and how household resources (including labour) are distributed. The second face is more evident in how governing bodies (e.g. farmers organisations) are comprised (e.g. there may be gendered issues relating to who is selected to participate in sectoral decision-making). The third face is subtle but evident in questions raised about whether gender is an important issue in agriculture, and therefore something that should be addressed through targeted measures. It is also evident in gender based social norms, about what is ‘appropriate’ or ‘natural’ behaviour or roles for each gender.



2.3 Methods

Data for the analysis set out in this report was sourced from the following reports and materials:

- Regional Workshop Reports
- Interview material (particularly the findings from section 5, questions 39-46 of the WP3 survey)
- Literature reviews conducted in Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Italy, Latvia, Norway, Spain, Romania, United Kingdom

Individual interviews and regional workshops were held in each of the 30 reference regions. Interviewees were selected to represent a wide variety of approaches to small-scale farming; statistical analysis of these interviews is therefore undertaken with care, as the dataset is not structured to be representative. The range and number of interview participants (716) represents a unique dataset from which different types of small farm can be identified, patterns in market engagement and access to supports identified, and barriers and opportunities identified. Details of the interview and workshop data collection and analysis protocols can be found in *SALSA D3.2 Report on Diverse small farm situations and livelihood strategies*.

The interviewees, as well as regional stakeholders (e.g. representatives from farming organisations, local councils) and businesses within the food sector (including restaurants, farm shops, and other supply chain members) participated in Regional Workshops. The Regional Workshop reports address the major issues faced by small-scale farmers, and thus the influence of markets, networks and norms, and the state, on the development and stability of governance forms, and whether these arrangements were enabling to small farms and small farm businesses. Gender issues and recent innovations and shocks are also identified in some of these reports.

The interviews were conducted with representatives of farming households, but not necessarily the 'primary farmer'. Although each report included multiple sections on gender, the responses were often quite brief and indicated that few or no gender issues had been raised (particularly for European reference regions). This was not consistent with academic literature on gender in agriculture in Europe. In some cases, the reports may thus be considered to reflect Lukes' third face of power, where gender issues did not appear sufficiently important to participants to discuss in depth in the workshop setting. The reports and interview responses are thus assessed in relation to the academic literature.

Nine countries were selected for targeted gender literature review, in order to contextualise the findings from the workshop reports: Ghana, Kenya, Italy, Malawi, Latvia, Norway, Romania, Spain, United Kingdom. Each was asked to characterise the literature i.e. in terms of the number of available academic articles and reports on the various issues, particularly women in agriculture (See Table 2 and 3). The literature reviews were oriented towards specific questions on the government policies, markets, and social norms that impact on small-scale farming, women in agriculture or both. Table 2 illustrates the key words and search techniques utilised by the team. As there are highly variable amounts of literature and sources available on the relevant topics in the study countries (see Table 3), teams were encouraged to pursue strategies that best suit their countries, based on guidelines in Appendix A.



Table 2: Search Activities of National Teams

Country	Key words	Databases searched	Other sources
Ghana	Women, gender, Ghana, agriculture, farming, statistics	Google search, google scholar, Women in Agricultural Development Directorate (WIAD), Ministry of gender, children and social protection	FAO smallholder data portrait / FAO Family Farming Knowledge Platform (Ghana country profiles and statistics), Gender in Agriculture Development Strategy 2016, National gender policy 2015, FAO gender and land rights database, Statistics on land use, FAO National gender profile of agriculture and rural livelihoods (2018)
Kenya	Women in agriculture, women's role in agriculture, types of farm, agriculture policies, agriculture strategies, agriculture legislation, gender policies, gender strategies, gender legislation, women and food chain, women and agribusiness, women entrepreneurs, women led agriculture groups, women in farmers cooperatives (all 'and Kenya')	Google scholar, google search, CGIAR database, FAO database, Kenya National Bureau of Statistics database, Ministry of agriculture web-site, Ministry of gender web-site, World Bank Database	2019 Financial Access Household Survey Key Findings; Kenya Census 2009; Kenya' Agricultural Sector Transformation and Growth Strategy 2019-2029
Malawi	Women, gender, Malawi, agriculture, farming, statistics, Gender roles in agriculture (including women's fields, women's crops, gender division of farm tasks etc.), Women and access to resources for farming (land, labour, inputs, advisory services), Women and nutrition, food security, Agricultural subsidies, especially the farm input subsidies programme, Access to extension services, Women and climate change, and climate smart agriculture,	Google search, google scholar, Women in Agricultural Development Directorate (WIAD), Ministry of gender, children and social protection	FAO smallholder data portrait / FAO Family Farming Knowledge Platform (Malawi profiles and statistics), FAO National gender profile of agriculture and rural livelihoods (2018), National Agriculture Policy 2016, National Extension Policy of Malawi 2000, Agricultural Gender Roles Extension Support Services, National Irrigation Policy 2016, National Gender Policy 2015, Microfinance Policy and Action Plan 2002, Malawi Growth and Development Strategy III 2017 – 2022, The Green Belt Initiative (GBI)



	Gender dynamics, norms, Collective action and empowerment, Household decision-making for agriculture, Gender gap in agriculture		
Italy	Donne, genere, agricoltura, Italia, women, gender, agriculture, Italy, policies, politiche, donne, 'Food system', region, "sistema alimentare" regione, food, markets, supply chain, "produzione alimentare", agricoltura mercati filiera, "certification standards", certificazioni standard, social norms, social movements, "norme sociali" "movimenti sociali", leadership,	Google search, Google scholar, Scopus	Confederazione italiana agricoltori (CIA). http://www.donneincampo.it/index Del Prete (2016). La complessità della dimensione femminile in agricoltura. Report CREA. Rete Rurale Nazionale (2018) La partecipazione femminile nella politica di sviluppo rurale.
Latvia	Women, small farms, farms, agriculture, rural women, gender	Google scholar, ScienceDirect, Ebsco Central & Eastern European Academic Source, Scopus, databases of dissertations of the University of Latvia and Latvia University of Life Sciences and Technologies. In addition, the journals "Journal of Baltic Studies" and "Acta Universitatis Latviensis" (LU Raksti), Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Welfare (the responsible authority for gender equality), Latvian Rural Women's	Screening and rapid appraisal of key agricultural policy documents, review of leaders of agricultural cooperatives and associations.



		Association, several NGOs of women entrepreneurs, food movement and farmer associations (Līdere, LOSP, Zemnieku Federācija, Zemnieku Saeima, Slow Food Latvia, Latvian Organic Farmers Association), statistical bureaus (Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia, Eurostat).	
Romania	Women in agriculture Romania, Femei in agricultura, Policies women agriculture (Politici femei agricultura), women entrepreneur in agriculture (Femei antreprenor in agricultura, social norms agriculture (Norme sociale femei agricultura)	Google scholar, google search	
Spain	españa agricultura mujer, España agricultura mujer - América-Latinoamérica - latinoamericana - Argentina -Bolivia -Brasil -Chile -Colombia - Ecuador -Guyana - Paraguay -Perú -Trinidad -Tobago -Surinam - Uruguay -Venezuela - Guatemala -Belice - Honduras -Salvador - Nicaragua -Costa-Rica, España agricultura mujer papel, España agricultura "papel de la mujer", España agricultura "papel de la mujer", España agricultura mujer	Google scholar, Scopus, Web of sciences, web-site of Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, National institute of Statistics web-site.	"Diagnóstico de la igualdad de género en el medio rural (Diagnosis of gender equality in rural areas)" from the agriculture ministry; the "Agricultura familiar en España (family farming in Spain)" publication from the Small Farmers Union (UPA).



	<p>rol, España agricultura "rol de la mujer", "women farmers" Spain, "female farmer" Spain, Policy and influence and farm and households and Spain, shared ownership, policy, generation, retirement, split up, purchase, tenure, succession, inheritance, españa cooperativas agrícolas papel mujer "órganos de dirección"; "mercado laboral", agroalimentario, agroalimentaria, spaña participación mujer mercado agrícola canales cortos, "venta directa", explotación división distribución del trabajo, "división sexual del trabajo", "diversificación del trabajo", rol mujer alimentacion hogar españa, shared ownership</p>		
United Kingdom	<p>Family farms, UK, women in farming, gender, small- scale farming, entrepreneur(ship)</p>	<p>Google scholar, Science Direct, web-pages of UK farming groups: National Farmers Union, National Farmers Union of Scotland, Scottish Rural Development Programme, Scottish Agricultural College, Quality Meat Scotland, Journal of Rural Studies, Sociologia Ruralis, Rural Sociology</p>	<p>Scottish Government's Women in Farming and the Agriculture Sector Report (2017).</p>

The time span of the search was 15 years, but some teams (e.g. Spain) searched as far as 1990.



Table 3: Available ‘women in agriculture’ literature in each country

Country	Approximate number of articles on women in agriculture
Ghana	Several 1000s
Kenya	Several 1000s
Malawi	1000s
Italy	Less than 10
Latvia	1, plus a few addressing female entrepreneurs in rural areas
Norway	Hundreds
Romania	Few – although many references offer retrospective studies of the role of women in agriculture during at the beginning of the 20th century, but mainly during the communist period (Cîrdei, 2012; Livia Coroi, 1999; Neculau, 2010; Roske, 2010).
Spain	Difficult to say, but not a major topic
United Kingdom	Hundreds

Literature review demonstrated that there is an **abundance of literature on women in agriculture in the three African study countries**, including a substantial literature addressing food and nutrition security. There is both academic and substantial grey literature (particularly reports from donors e.g. the UN/FAO, International NGOs, resulting from decades of donor-support programmes). Major issues include access to financial support, capital (banking, remittances), inputs, technology, land, and education. For example, in Malawi, most, if not all literature is in reference to small scale farmers, if not about commercialisation of farming. Most of the literature about agriculture in Ghana is about small-scale farming – which is probably true for most of sub-Saharan Africa. However, there is limited literature which specifically addresses women on small-scale farms.

There is **no literature specifically addressing gender on small-scale farms in Europe**. For example, in Latvia, a central theme in the literature on different scales and types of farming is production efficiency (e.g. Vēveris, 2009; Vēveris et al., 2016). Latvian publications on small-scale farming address issues such as improving small farms’ market capability (Leimane et al., 2014), access to assets, contributions to rural development, future developments, public support and its impact on small farms (LSAEI, 2013; Hauka, 2013; Benga, 2016), innovation (Melece and Hazners, 2017). However, gender is not addressed in these documents.



3. Findings

The **workshop reports from the African reference regions consistently identified a number of major gender-related issues**. In general, women have less access to land and markets than men. Strong cultural norms around division of labour put women at a disadvantage (e.g. with women responsible for processing and production of food consumed at home, and men for selling, although this varies between and within countries). Women (and youth) were identified as lacking the capacity to engage in profitable farming for a number of reasons, which are specifically addressed by national and international development initiatives.

In contrast, **several European workshop reports indicated that there were no specific gender distinctions or issues expressed by participants** (e.g. Norway, Poland, Italy, Scotland). Others, like Latvia, indicated there were very few issues (e.g. issues solely related to earlier male mortality rates). This is inconsistent with the broader literature on women in agriculture in Europe, which identifies a number of inequalities and gendered patterns in participation in food systems. This suggests that **gender issues may be less evident on small-scale farms in Europe, where there are typically larger percentages of women involved than is characteristic of large-scale farms**. However, it is important to critically consider this proposition. Lukes' (2005) conceptualisation of the faces of power (see Section 2.2, p. 13) suggests alternative possibilities: a) that the participants in the workshops did not adequately represent women, and therefore did not identify any issues (the second face of power), or b) that gendered issues are so culturally embedded that the workshop participants see them as 'normal' and therefore not important enough to discuss (the third face of power). The workshop participants were intentionally selected by the consortium members to represent a wide range of perspectives; all included several female participants. The third face of power is thus the more likely option, if power relations were indeed at play. These two options – the higher engagement of women in small-scale farms and the identification gender inequalities as 'normal' will be further addressed in the following sections.

It is important to note that the discussions of gender dynamics at Regional Workshops raised multiple, sometimes contradictory perspectives (see Box 1). The purpose of the workshops was to gain insights into participants' (varying) perspectives and identify the range of issues, not to gain consensus.

Gender discussion Reference Region 25: Giurgiu Region, Romania

The views of participants on the involvement of women in state actions affecting food security at various levels were varied. A few pointed out that the role of women is limited and men take up better positions in many institutions related to the food economy. A large group of participants pointed out that women and men are equally involved in state activities at various levels. There were also numerous participants arguing that the role of women is systematically growing and more and more women hold important decision-making positions related to food management, because they have substantive preparation and appropriate qualifications.



The policy context has influenced the availability of data on women in agriculture, but much of this data is not disaggregated by farm size. For example, the Europe 2020 agenda requires member states to monitor the participation of women. European laws protect against gender discrimination, so that market regulations and state policies do not create gender differentiation.

Spain is remarkable amongst European study countries: gender issues receive particular attention in government policies. However, the main focus is not on female farmers, but on rural women. This is evident for instance in the recent 'Plan for the Promotion of Women in Rural Areas 2015 – 2018' elaborated by the Ministry of Agriculture¹. Women are also prioritised in the application of certain policy measures e.g. Rural Development Programs (RDP) co-funded with the EAFRD. However, women share priority with young people in the selection of beneficiaries of rural development measures.

Spanish Policy Supports for Rural Women

The Spanish National Ministry of Agriculture commissioned several studies to assess the situation of rural women, which that served as a basis for the elaboration of the 'Plan for the Promotion of Women in Rural Areas 2015 – 2018'. The objectives of this plan were:

1. To make visible the role of women in rural areas and communicate this to the whole society.
2. Overcoming the gender gap in employment and entrepreneurship in rural areas
3. Facilitate the reconciliation of personal, work and family life and co-responsibility in rural areas.
4. Promote the incorporation of women in decision-making bodies and decision-making positions in rural areas.
5. Support the work of associations of rural women as key element of social, economic and cultural revitalization.
6. Incorporate the principle of equal opportunities between women and men in the design of rural development policies.
7. Improve and update knowledge about the situation of women in the rural environment.

There were a number of proposed actions linked to the incorporation of women to agriculture, but these tend to prioritize actions to increase the visibility of current agricultural work by means of campaigns to spread the shared ownership/holdership law, training and follow-up.

In Norway, national quotas for women on the boards of public organisations have been introduced; **gender quotas apply to the leadership of agricultural organisations and co-operatives** (50-50 balance, 40-60% minimum). In Latvia, Romania and the UK, gender is not specifically addressed in national agricultural policies. In Italy, policy documents, both from governmental institutions (Rete Rurale Nazionale, 2018) and producers' organisations (Confederazione Italiana Agricoltori, Coldiretti)

¹ https://www.mapa.gob.es/es/desarrollo-rural/temas/igualdad_genero_y_des_sostenible/documentodivulgativo_tcm30-151117.pdf.
https://www.mapa.gob.es/es/desarrollo-rural/temas/igualdad_genero_y_des_sostenible/MR%20trabajando%20en%20femenino_digital_tcm30-131214.pdf



emphasize the opportunities for women mostly in relation to multifunctional agricultural and non-agricultural activities (e.g. school farms). However, there is no monitoring of female participation in related programs.

In Africa, in addition to national policy frameworks, the role of international agencies is also important. The workshop report from Cape Verde identified a firm commitment to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women both in urban as part of the national rural plan. However, workshop participants agreed that the policies of international organizations may be negatively impacting gender policies, as often these policies do not reflect the reality of the country. Policies have been directed exclusively at women, which has contributed to a greater number of women in education and with greater school use, while on the other hand there is a perception that these have negatively impacted upon men. However, it is considered that there is a need for national level research to better understand local realities and to contribute to the adaptation of public policies (improving knowledge of the endogenous reality).

Gender and food and nutrition security

The role of gender in food and nutrition security (FNS) is not specifically addressed in relation to agriculture in most European study countries. For example, participants in the Romanian workshop claimed that, within the food system, there are no threatened socio-demographic groups in RR 19. According to them, race, age, gender or level of education do not influence the level of food security among inhabitants in RR 19 and there is no differentiation among men and women in terms of susceptibility to shocks and innovations in food systems. In northern Europe, access to food is related more to income than the ability to self-provision.

In the African study countries, it is clear that women are more vulnerable to food and nutrition insecurity; there are clear statistics about the role of women in agriculture, and how this relates to FNS. A study in Kenya (CGIAR, 2011) found that twice as many (9.6%) female-headed households (FHHs) in rural areas suffered chronic food insecurity compared to 4.9% for male-headed households (MHHs). Nearly 58% of MHHs were food secure but only 43% for FHHs (both *de jure* and *de facto*), a 15-point difference in percentage terms. The chance that a FHH would be chronically food insecure was 6% higher than that for MHHs and 12% higher for transitory food insecurity (Kassie, 2014). Food and nutrition security is part of Kenya's 'Big Four agenda'. Kenya's Agricultural Sector Transformation and Growth Strategy (ASTGS) 2019-2029- ASTGS recognises the unique challenges and opportunities for women and youth in the sector. It attempts to facilitate incorporation of tailored opportunities for women and youth as an integral part of delivering the ASTGS.

Although gender equity is stated as a goal in official documents (e.g. the national irrigation plan), Malawi faces a number of constraints. Malawi has various national policies in place to promote gender equality. This includes Malawi's ratification of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development (1997), the Gender Equality Act (2013), the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy, and sector policies that include statements on gender, including agriculture, environment and irrigation. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security produced the Agriculture Sector, Gender, HIV and AIDS strategy in 2012. There is also a dedicated Agricultural Gender Roles



Extension Support Services section within extension services to specifically target gender issues. These various national institutions provide the regulatory framework and mandate for improving gender-equitable outcomes from agricultural investments. The implementation of programs and projects aimed at ensuring achievement of this outcome, which currently lags behind attainment of these national goals (Lefore et al., 2017). Gender is also recognised as a priority in the National Agricultural Plan (NAP). However, the ministry of agriculture does not have a department mandated to address the gender gap in agriculture, in the way that, for example, Ghana does. Funding remains one of the main constraints to implementing activities that target gender equality and empowerment of women; gender activities receive comparatively little budgetary support from donors (Government of Malawi 2009). Programs conducted by the Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare are funded entirely by donors, and “gender issues are not taken seriously at central government level, and by senior- and high-level policy makers” (Government of Malawi 2009).

Ghana has a National Gender policy dated May 2015, developed by the Ministry of Gender, Women and social protection. Its aim is to achieve gender equality in all domains of life, including women in Agriculture. The NGP refers to the “Gender in Agriculture Development Strategy” developed by the Ministry for Food and Agriculture (MoFA). However, the FAO country gender assessment for Ghana from 2018 concludes that policy implementation has not been effective, with the strategies adopted for rural and agricultural development in Ghana having largely been in favour of the urban sector.

“The neglect of smallholder farmers, in particular, has been reflected in biased policies, inadequate market information and other relevant institutional arrangements, making it difficult for them to compete against the world’s most formidable agricultural systems. Rural women are the worst affected by these unfair institutional, economic and politico-cultural arrangements. Women farmers are invisible, and not fully supported in their competing roles, and are therefore not at the centre of policy interventions.... Most interventions in these sectors tend to target the parts of agricultural value chains where men have a competitive advantage. As a result, women farmers and their specific agricultural needs are inevitably sidelined, leading to a vicious circle of persistent gender inequalities – despite the fact that women play major roles in agricultural activities. The current development policy framework for Ghana is such that women’s potential is underutilized, and their role in policy formulation remains ambiguous at best, with a significant gap when it comes to their access to agricultural resources and rewards.”

In Ghana, women produce 80% of food for home consumption and therefore they ensure nutrition security at household level (National Gender Policy, 2015). **Gender inequities are thus identified as a persistent issue in agriculture in the African study countries, connected directly to issues of food and nutrition security. However, although gender features strongly in national policy statements, it appears that international agencies are primarily funding and driving this work.**



3.1 Women on farms in Europe and Africa

SALSA study countries were specifically selected because they have high numbers of small-scale farms, although this varies between countries. In both Africa and Europe, there are important distinctions between female-led farms (where a woman has primary responsibility for decision-making), working occupiers (where women working on farms may – or may not – have a role in decision-making), and female agricultural employees. **‘Employment’ in agriculture is substantially different from decision-making authority.** Even when women are identified as the head of the farm, this may be a reflection of male migration (common in Africa) or of strategic decision-making by the household (e.g. in Spain, where women are sometimes identified as the primary farmer in order to maintain access to targeted grant programs or subsidies). It thus does not necessarily follow that women have decision-making power or ownership of the land on which they work.

In Africa, figures are inconsistent, and the definition of female ‘headship’ of farms is particularly blurry. The World Bank (2019) estimates that about 40% of agricultural labour is provided by women in Ethiopia, Malawi, Niger, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Uganda. This varies from 24% in Niger to 56% in Uganda. Using individual-disaggregated, plot-level labour input data from nationally representative household surveys, Palacios-Lopez, Christiaensen, and Kilic (2015) reported the female share of agricultural labour for Malawi to be 52% (see also UN Women, 2015). Around 30% of households are female headed (Malawi literature review). Women are only 5% of registered landholders in Kenya (World Bank, 2007). More recent analysis for Kenya and Ghana in this present study indicates that, although agricultural censuses have recently been conducted, this data is not yet available.

The number of women working on farms is about 50% in the African study countries. For example, according to FAO’s gender and land rights database² the female labour force in Ghana in 2007 was 49 percent out of a total of 10.25 million economically active people. Fifty percent of the working women are engaged in agriculture, accounting for 44 percent of the agricultural labour force. Women produce around 70 percent of food crops, covering 40 percent of all the cultivable land. About 90 percent of women are self-employed or work as unpaid family labour in farming, agricultural enterprises, or small-scale manufacturing in the informal sector; only a minority are independent farmers. **Women thus have very little decision-making authority at farm level in the African study countries.**

There is no literature providing analysis on women farm operators and land size in Kenya. However, the employment statistics provide some insights. More than 75 percent of women live in rural areas, where they represent the primary workforce in the agricultural sector (floriculture, tea, coffee, vegetables, cereals, poultry, mangos, and oranges) (ILO, 2004). Agriculture employs ~75% of Kenya’s women (compared to 51% of Kenyan men), but only half of these women own their farms³.

Some 85% of Malawi’s women live in rural areas and derive their livelihood from agricultural production (Mutangadura, 2004). Palacios-Lopez, Christiaensen, and Kilic (2015) report the female share of agricultural labour for Malawi to be 52% (UN Women, 2015). Women play an essential role in the household as food producers and carers, as well as engaging in small-scale trading activities.

²http://www.fao.org/gender-landrights-database/country-profiles/countries-list/general-introduction/en/?country_iso3=GHA

³ <http://www.kilimo.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/AGRICULTURAL-SECTOR-TRANSFORMATION-and-GROWTH-STRATEGY.pdf>



Women in Malawi make up 32% of the 1.5 million agricultural holders – the individuals who make the major decisions regarding resource use and exercise management control over the agricultural holding operation. The agricultural holder is often, but not always, the household head (FAO, 2011b). Around 30% of households are female headed and are particularly vulnerable to shocks, as most of them do not have assets or savings. This is especially so for rural women (FAO, 2011a). Women in Malawi produce up to 80% of the food, which fetches low prices due to limited access to markets (National Gender Policy, 2015). The majority of Malawi's rural workforce is employed as *mlimi* (subsistence farmers). **Female farm managers are found to have lower levels of education and a smaller average family size, and to be less wealthy compared to all other plot managers.** (UN Women, 2015). Wealthier male-headed households are characterized by younger heads of household, whereas female-headed households tend to be older. Female-managed plots are, on average, overseen by individuals that are 5 years older and have 2 less years of schooling with respect to their male-managed comparators (Kilic, 2013). **Overall, a much higher percentage of the African study country populations live in rural areas and work in agriculture, than is typical of Europe.** Female farm managers are found to have lower levels of education and a smaller average family size, and to be less wealthy compared to all other plot managers. (UN Women, 2015)

In Europe, the most recent data (Eurostat 2013) suggests that **about 30% of farms are managed by a woman** (who is therefore likely to be responsible for decision-making). This varies considerably between countries, from ~45% in Latvia and Lithuania, to around 5% - 7% in the Netherlands and Denmark. Scotland (within the UK) also reported about 7% of female-led farms (in comparison to 38% of employees). The latter countries have much more egalitarian gender balances in other sectors (i.e. this is an issue particularly marked within the agricultural sector). The percentage of women amongst agricultural labour is 35% across Europe⁴. In many countries, the percentage of women working in agriculture is much higher than the percentage of women leading farms. **Women are thus very active in European agriculture, but have less decision-making power than men.**

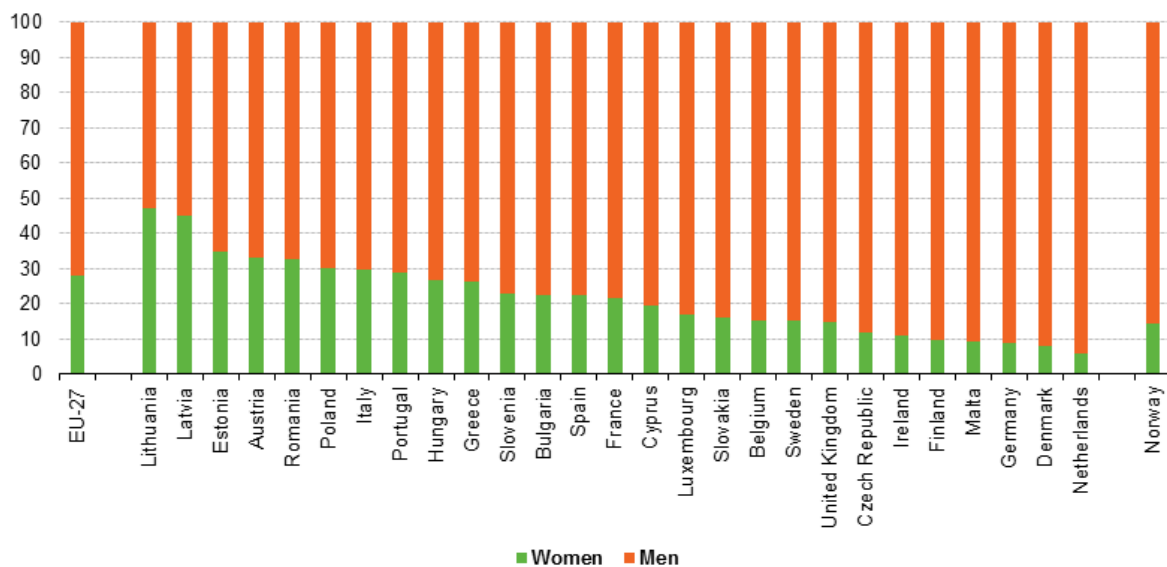
Europe's (and indeed North America's) farming sector is dominated by an older population; women are still a minority but somewhat more common amongst the oldest farmers, owing to earlier male mortality rates (i.e. women become the 'primary farmer' when they are widowed). In Europe in 2013, 40% of farmers over the age 65 were women. In terms of new entrants to farming, while there is substantial evidence that women are increasingly entering farming (EIP Agri Focus Group, 2016), only 4.9% of farmers under 35 were women, compared to 6.4% for men⁵.

⁴ https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Farmers_in_the_EU_-_statistics

⁵ https://ec.europa.eu/info/news/future-cap-where-are-all-women_en



Figure 3: European Farm managers by sex (2013)



Note: data for Croatia not available.

Source: Eurostat 2013 - [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Farm_managers_by_sex,_2013_\(FSS\).png#file](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Farm_managers_by_sex,_2013_(FSS).png#file)

The number of female-led farms in Europe is growing: in 2005, around 27% of EU-28 farms were female-owned⁶. Much of the grey literature, including independent reports by government bodies and farming bodies, highlight the rise in the numbers of women in agriculture, yet barriers remain. **Most of the growth in female-led farms has come from the enlargement of the EU since 2004** – new member states tend to have higher percentages of female-led farms, a reflection of the socialist legacy (where equality was promoted in labour markets, leading to higher numbers of women who were involved in agricultural production on collective farms, Andra and Sănduleasa, 2013) and of ongoing subsistence-style production in some regions. In Latvia, women constitute approximately 47% of those employed in agriculture, and 45% of farms are owned by women, which is one of the highest levels in the EU. There is evidence of slow growth in the number of female-led farms in several of the study countries (e.g. Norway, UK), but as a percentage, female-led farms remain low.

In both Europe and the African countries in this study, farms led by women tend to be smaller than farms managed by men. In Europe, a report to the European Parliament's Committee on Agriculture and Rural Development found that women were less likely to own the farms on which they work, but when they did, those farms are smaller (Shortall, 2010). Across Europe as a whole, the average farm size for farms managed by women is 6.4 hectares, less than half the average 14.4 ha farm size of farms managed by men⁷. These variations are much less pronounced in the newer EU countries, where on average women farm around 3.4 ha compared to 6 ha for men (Ibid). **Women are therefore much more prevalent on the small-scale farms focused on in SALSA, than they are in the agricultural sector as a whole.** For example, in Norway, women are much more common on small-scale farms (Table 3).

⁶ https://ec.europa.eu/info/news/future-cap-where-are-all-women_en.

⁷ Ibid.

A similar pattern can be found in Spain (Table 4) and has been observed by researchers in Scotland (Sutherland, 2017).

Table 2: Percentage of female led farms by farm size in Norway.

1 dekar = 0.1 hectare	Men	Women	% Women
0 dekar	766	189	25 %
1 - 4 dekar	107	27	25 %
5 - 49 dekar	2926	886	30 %
50 - 99 dekar	5181	1162	22 %
100 - 199 dekar	8308	1692	20 %
200 - 299 dekar	5398	976	18 %
300 - 499 dekar	5140	782	15 %
500 dekar or more	3698	374	10 %

Statistics Norway, 2019. (Average 16% of farms are female led)

Table 3: Percentage of Women Main holders by farm size in Spain

Size in hectare	2003		2016	
	Num. Holdings	% women as main holder	Num. Holdings	% women as main holder
All the farms	1,089,563	28.0%	880,636	32.4%
Farms with UAA	1,072,984	28.0%	866,586	32.5%
< 5 ha	599,129	30.3%	459,773	35.4%
5 to < 10	165,463	30.2%	135,246	33.3%
10 to < 20	126,204	27.3%	104,981	33.2%
20 to < 30	56,905	23.1%	44,761	29.0%
30 to < 50	48,090	19.9%	44,989	24.9%
50 to < 100	42,161	15.9%	41,311	21.9%
>=100	35,031	14.7%	35,525	17.2%

Source: Farm Structures Survey. INE

The Spanish example illustrates: (i) female holders tend to have smaller farms, as shown by the negative correlation between farm size and % of female holders; and (ii) the presence of women in farming is increasing in all the strata. In Italy, women represent 37% of the workforce in agriculture and 29% of farms are led by women (Rete Rurale Nazionale, 2018). 78% of female-led- farms are below 5 ha and 20% of farms are above 100 ha. Farms led by women are smaller than average, with 5.1 ha against an average of 8 ha at national level (Ibid).

Farm size is not directly correlated with business size – intensive production on smaller pieces of land may be more profitable than extensive production on poorer quality land. It was noted in Italy that farms led by women are more often located in marginalised areas, while men mostly lead farms in capital intensive environments (Marchesoni and Ros, 2009). Zumpano et al. (2013) confirms, building on FADN data for Italy, that female-led-farms are smaller in size and make a lower annual turnover



than male-led-farms. Some authors observed a lower role of women in strongly structured farms and capital-intensive agriculture in Italy, in comparison to men (Marchesoni and Ros, 2009).

The European literature addressed so far employs the use of 'family farms' when discussing the role of women (Whatmore et al, 1991; Brandth 2002; Bock 2004). Family farms in the literature usually imply small-scale farming. Moreover, women's labour and influence on farms has not always been recognised and their overall contribution - unlike that of their male counterparts - is often missing or only estimated for inclusion in official data sets (Shortall 2014). More detailed information including statistical analysis of women in farming is missing and this would allow for comparative studies with other European countries and international cases (Shortall 2010).

In the SALSA interview dataset, farms with female respondents were also smaller than those of male respondents. However, they were more likely to be under 30 in age (11% female versus 5% male) but less likely to be over 60 years old (14% female versus 24% male).

Types of farms led by women

Analysis of SALSA interview data in WP3 yielded the typology presented in Section 2.2 (page 9). When analysed for gender, women are more commonly active in some types of small farm than others. These are:

- Part-time farms, which are characterised by younger farmers and weak market integration
- 'Strugglers': older and poorer farmers, with weak market integration
- Multifunctional smallholdings, which produce a variety of commodities and use hired labour

These findings are consistent with the academic literature from the study countries: women are less likely to inherit land, and so tend to have smaller farms (which they have had to access through other means). Older households in the African countries and some parts of Europe rely on subsistence-oriented production to secure the household food supply; women become identified as the leaders of these farms when they are widowed. The tendency for women to be more involved in developing diversification activities on farm is well established in Europe. There are also more women coming into the agricultural sector as new entrants in Europe. These issues are further explored in the following sections. SALSA D5.3 will specifically integrate governance findings with the typology.

Context 1: What governs the ability of SFs and SFBs to operate in a given territory?

To establish and maintain viable small farms requires access to land and productive assets (e.g. labour, capital). In this section each of these assets is discussed in turn. First, an overview of the respective policy contexts in Europe and the African study regions is given.

European funding measures are aimed at ensuring a reasonable living for farming households, as well as public goods provision (e.g. maintaining rural areas and landscapes – EU 2019). Gender mainstreaming should be directly encouraged by Rural Development Programmes (RDPs) funded through the Common Agricultural Policy: EU countries are required to analyse the situation of women in rural areas, using these to design their national RDPs. However, **there is limited evidence of targeted supports for women in agriculture outside of Spain**. For example, in Italy, Rete Rurale Nazionale in its report (2108) highlights that in the national Rural Development Programs (RDPs), the development of women's entrepreneurship in agriculture is a main objective. However, at present, there are no measures or financial tools that directly address this goal. The absence of specific policy tools in RDPs that target women in agriculture does not allow for an assessment of how the policies impact on women. In particular, the set of policy tools of the RDP 2014-2020 that should have explicitly addressed women in agriculture and rural areas ("Donne nelle aree rurali") was not implemented. In the report of Rete Rurale Nazionale (2018), belonging to the Italian Ministry of Agriculture, it is clearly mentioned that **there is a lack of interest of policy-makers to developing women's entrepreneurship in agriculture**.

Similarly, in Latvia, gender equality has been designated as a policy field under the responsibility of the Ministry of Welfare since 1999. The integrated approach to gender mainstreaming in policy making means that the principle of gender equality has to be considered in developing all the policies at all levels. Latvia (together with five other countries in the world) guarantees full gender legal equality in employment and business (The World Bank 2019). The Ministry of Agriculture states that its key policy document - the national rural development plan - complies with the concept of gender equality, and any discrimination on the basis of gender is excluded (Lazovska 2010). Apart from that, gender equality does not look to be a priority in agricultural and rural development policies: no specific policy documents, support measures, or other actions targeting women in agriculture were found; even though ministries have commissioned studies that focus on women in the past (e.g. Latvijas fakti 2005; Zīverte, Šūmane and Tisenkopfs 2005). **There are no specific measures to support women in agriculture in the UK or Norway**.

In Romania, a study by Andra and Sănduleasa (2013) demonstrated that within the past 15 years there has been a renewed interest in gender dynamics prompted by European policies such as the Europe 2020 agenda, which promotes gender equality. As a consequence, the "National Strategy for Increasing Employment 2014-2020" includes an objective aimed at "increasing the labour force participation of women and vulnerable groups". One of the strategic action directions is "reducing women's employment in subsistence agriculture and facilitating the relocation of the labour force to other non-agricultural activities". Subsistence agriculture is seen as indicative of poverty and economic insecurity; agricultural employment is typically low wage.

In Africa, the FAO notes that *"the agricultural sector in many developing countries is underperforming, in part because women, who represent a crucial resource in agriculture and the rural economy through their roles as farmers, labourers and entrepreneurs, almost everywhere face more severe constraints"*



than men in access to productive resources” (FAO, 2011). In Kenya, the national and county governments have progressively facilitated integration of gender into economic, political, and social initiatives through implementation of the constitutional provisions on gender inclusion as provided for in the Constitution of Kenya (2010), and the Kenya’ Vision 2030. The National Gender and Equality Commission works with relevant institutions to ensure men, women and youth as well as people with disability are integrated into development activities. The farmers and development partners in Ugunja Sub County believe it is taking shape slowly, because more women and youth are still lacking the capacity to engage in profitable farming. Agriculture employs ~75% of Kenya’s women (compared to 51% of Kenyan men), but only half of these women own their farms.

Supports for Women in Kenyan Agriculture

The Constitution of Kenya (passed in 2010): provides a constitutional framework for addressing gender equality by seeking to remedy the traditional exclusion of women by facilitating their full involvement in every aspect of social, political and economic growth. The Constitution created:

- the Kenya National Human Rights and Equality Commission to promote gender equality and equity generally and to coordinate and facilitate gender mainstreaming in national development; it calls for elimination of gender discrimination in law, customs and practices related to land and property in land
- the National Gender Equality Commission (NGEC) through National Gender and Equality Act (Cap.15) of 2011. It’s main objective is to promote gender equality and freedom from discrimination in social, political and economic development of the country.
- The National Policy on Gender and Development (2000), which seeks to help Kenya meet its development goals and establish women and men-friendly institutions.
- The Micro and Small Enterprises Act No. 55 of 2012 — which promotes the mainstreaming of youth, gender and persons with disabilities in all micro and small enterprises activities and programs.
- The National Agribusiness Strategy, 2012: the Strategy is designed to make Kenya’s agribusiness sector a competitive driver of growth. It supports engendering and support to agribusiness women. It puts emphasis on bringing smallholder farming into mainstream agriculture value chains.
- The Third Medium Term Plan 2018 – 2022 of Kenya’s Vision 2030: it promotes gender equality, empowerment of women and other vulnerable groups during the Plan period.
- The Agriculture Act (Chapter 318) Revised Edition 2012 [1986]: to promote and maintain a stable agriculture, to provide for the conservation of the soil and its fertility and to stimulate the development of agricultural land in accordance with the accepted practices of good land management and good husbandry. However, gender and women have not been mentioned in the Act.
- The Agricultural Sector Development Support Programme II, Updated April 2017: promotes the use of innovations as one of the means of empowering the youth and women in Value Chain Development.
- The Sessional Paper, No. 1 of 2017 on National Land Use Policy, October, 2017: recognises that the gender imbalance in the control of productive assets such as land has resulted in women being more vulnerable to poverty among farming communities. It specifies that, t; To address the problem of rangelands degradation and secure pastoralists livelihoods and tenure to land, the Government shall take policy action including ensuring that the rights of women in pastoral areas are recognized and protected



Ghana has a “Women in Agricultural Development Directorate” (WIAD), which is one of the seven Technical Directorates of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA⁸). Its mission is to “*develop effective policies and programs that promotes delivery of improved technologies and information on agricultural production and post production in an environmentally sustainable manner*”. The WIAD appears to be primarily concerned with access to technology for women farmers and women working in food processing, but less with access to resources (in particular land and capital).

In general, Malawi’s female farmers are less productive (by 28% on average) compared to their male counterparts. This is so because women frequently have unequal access to key agricultural inputs such as land, labour, knowledge, fertiliser, improved seeds, and mechanization. However, Malawi stands to gain if women are more involved in the entire agricultural value chain (FAO, 2011a). The report estimates that closing the gender gap would result in a 7.3% increase in crop production, USD 100 million increase in GDP and lift 238,000 people out of poverty. Malawi ranks near the bottom of the UNDP Gender Inequality Index: 173rd of 188 countries ranked. The main dimensions of inequality include: (i) unequal workloads between men and women; (ii) control of productive assets is in the hands of men; (iii) limited participation in household and community decision-making; (iv) lower literacy rates (57% women versus 74% for men); (v) lower access to opportunities and services; and (vi) as the prime victims of gender-based violence. Plots of cultivated land among women-headed households are smaller than those of men. This is consistent with the fact that 57% of women-headed households live under the poverty line. (Ministry of Agriculture Irrigation and Water Development, 2018).

Both legal and cultural restrictions limit the capability of women to operate farms. These are explored in more detail in this section.

Access to land

Land is an important resource both for production and for **enabling access to the resources required to operate a financially viable farm**. This issue was not identified in the European Regional Workshop reports, but is particularly important in Africa, where small amounts of land can be used as collateral. For example, it was noted in the Kenya report that the lower level of ownership limits the ability of these women to join cooperatives and other farmer-based organizations which can help facilitate access to more affordable and higher-quality inputs, as well as access to markets. It also limits their ability to access financing, and this in part drives yield gaps of up to 20- 30% between male- and female-managed agricultural enterprises.

In both Europe and Africa, access to land is conditioned by patterns of sale and inheritance. Inheritance is by far the most common way to enter the agricultural sector in both Europe and Africa. Access to land is recognised as the most important barrier to new entrants to the farming sector (i.e. both men and women) in Europe (Zagata et al., 2017, EIP Agri Focus Group 2016).

⁸ <https://waapp.org.gh/agencies/mofa/wiad>



Europe

Shortall (2010), in her report to the European Parliament, demonstrated that **the cultural pattern of male inheritance of farms is prevalent across Europe**. There are few legal restrictions in Europe which would preferentially enable men to purchase land, but inheritance patterns have restricted women's ability to establish viable farms, and thus participate as producers in food systems. Latvia is an exception: women make up almost half of farm holders (see Figure 3).

In Norway, where legislation passed in 1974 gave the legal right of farm inheritance to the firstborn child, only 16% of farms are female-led. The Odels Act (Allodial Act of 1974) gave the first-born child the right to the farm. Sons' preferential rights were lifted with retroactive effect to children born in 1965 and later. With the same right to inherit, one could expect a statistical distribution approaching 50-50 female and male farmers. Gender balance in agriculture is national policy. However, there are no specific policy incentives to promote more women farmers.

In Spain, farming is also a predominantly male activity. This conditions farm succession, as retiring farmers tend to consider more their sons as successors at the detriment of daughters. **Most women who are in charge of their farms have generally assumed the ownership through family inheritance or retirement / death of their partner**. Only a small percentage of women have opted for this activity through entrepreneurship. However, the Law 35/2011 on shared farm holdership/ownership, whose main aim was to officially recognize the equal role, responsibilities and rights of a couple of farm holders, is contributing to making the role of women visible. Academic literature has paid attention to this legal framework from different perspective (legal studies, social sciences), particularly underlying the relevance of making officially visible the reality of many farms. This law placed Spain in the front line in Europe in recognizing rights of women farmers (according to the federation of rural women FADEMUR, only Spain and the Belgian region of Wallonia have a legal system of shared farm ownership⁹). However, whilst an estimated 100 000 farms would be affected by the application of this law, from 2011 to 2018 only 507 shared ownerships have been officially registered.

Cavicchioli et al. (2018) observed in Italy that, beside the law, **males and first-born potential successors are more likely to take over the family farm**. A study of older 'back to the land' adult migrants in northern Italy found that women took on increased domesticated workloads as well as adopting traditional gender stereotypes (2014). In this instance, coming new to farming, there was a divide between some women who derived a greater sense of self-worth from their increased workload whilst others felt a distinct lack of appreciation and an over-whelming sense of regressing into traditional gender roles. This points towards the importance of exploring gender identities in rural areas more generally. Previous comparable results in business management firm succession are mixed: for some authors, gender and birth order are important characteristics in child succession, as a consequence of familial and social normative beliefs. This phenomenon may also be the case for the agricultural sector, particularly for professional horticultural farms.

In the UK, cultural norms exhibiting more traditional perceptions of who holds more power in the running of a farm continue to play an important role in how women in farming are perceived. A study by Gasson and Winter (1992) implied that it is only when a couple are new to farming (i.e. are not

⁹ https://elpais.com/politica/2015/10/10/actualidad/1444479820_782507.html (last accessed March 2019)



brought up on a farm) that the farmer's wife holds a higher degree of power towards farm decision-making within the farming household. We can infer that **a non-farming background allowed for the development of a more equal share of power between the farmer husband and wife**. Similarly, from the same study example (1992), when both the male and female partner held employment off the farm, women's involvement in the farm decision-making process was noted to be higher. Coming new to farming at a later stage in life implies the farm size would likely be small and off-farm employment would likely also be important for the household. From the 1980s, women in the agricultural sector, began to garner increased academic interest, specifically regarding women as key decision-makers in farming activities and as a key labour source for farms in their own right (Whatmore 1991; Gasson 1992). Women in the agriculture industry in the UK have been steadily increasing and many acknowledge that women have usually played a significant role in farming, but their position of often handling administrative and financial matters were seen as less typical of what farming entails and thus less important. Investigating the farm household itself as the most important site for decision-making on the farm has led to women being recognised as playing a central role (Benjamin and Kimhi 2006).

It could be suggested that women do not 'choose' to farm for a variety of reasons (e.g. type of work, levels of remuneration, fit with family life course). This choice is also conditioned by power relations – Lukes' (2005) third face of power about what is considered a 'normal' career pathway for a woman. Whilst official government policies in Europe do not explicitly deny women from inheriting the land, cultural legacies remain playing an important role in how women access land, capital and services as well as how they are valued in rural communities. For example, Cassidy (2015; 2017) notes an 'agency paradox' amongst rural youth in Ireland. Daughters as well as sons from family farms were encouraged to seek further education at universities outside of their farming communities and pursue 'modern ideals' such as personal and financial independence. When it came to talk about the future and inheriting the land and farm, the female participants were noted for the lack of choice afforded over their brothers or other male relatives.

Africa

In Malawi, smallholder farm sizes were reported to be mostly less than 1ha, with 30% cultivating less than half a hectare (FAO, 2011a GOM, 2003) (Mangisoni, Katengeza, Langyintuo, La Rovere, and Mwangi, 2011), including those in Balaka (SALSA Malawi reference region), where typical households own 0.8ha (Mangisoni, Katengeza, Langyintuo, La Rovere, and Mwangi, 2011 *"Female-headed households and female operators had less land than their male counterparts – nearly half of female-headed households, compared to one quarter of male-headed households, have holdings of less than 0.5 hectares"* (FAO, 2011a). Another study found that *"although the average GPS-based plot area is 0.39 ha, female-managed plots are, on average, 12% smaller than their male-managed counterparts"* (Kilic, 2013). A study characterising maize producing households in Balaka and Mangochi Districts in Malawi found that men own an average of 3.57 acres of land while females have access to an average of 2.81 acres of land). Female-led farms are typically smaller than those of their male counterparts.

There is some evidence that land relations in Malawi are changing: a case study on the land tenure dynamics in Kachenga village in Balaka found that the land tenure system had adapted to changing circumstances: for example, the allocation role of the village headman has declined in the absence of virgin land to be allocated. Land is predominantly accessed through intra-family allocations. The



monetisation of the economy has led to the recognition of land as a saleable commodity which, in turn, is fuelling the development of a new conception of landholding, that of ownership as opposed to mere right of use. Families believe they have the right not only to loan out, rent out, pledge but also sell their land. The relevant village leaders acquiesce in these sales and declare themselves powerless to stop them, when previously they would have used their authority as trustees of the land to prevent it from passing out of the control of kin to non-kin (Kishindo, 2006).

Malawi National Land Policy (NAP)

The goal of the National Land Policy in Malawi is to ensure tenure security and equitable access to land, to facilitate the attainment of social harmony and broad based social and economic development through optimum and ecologically balanced use of land and land-based resources (NAP 2002). Key word search of the policy yields hits for gender (4) and women (4 – once in a list of the ‘vulnerable groups’, once in reference to inequalities associated with property inheritance, twice in reference to settlement of land disputes). The land administration section includes a subsection on Gender and Inheritance. There is reference to small farmers and ‘smallholder’.

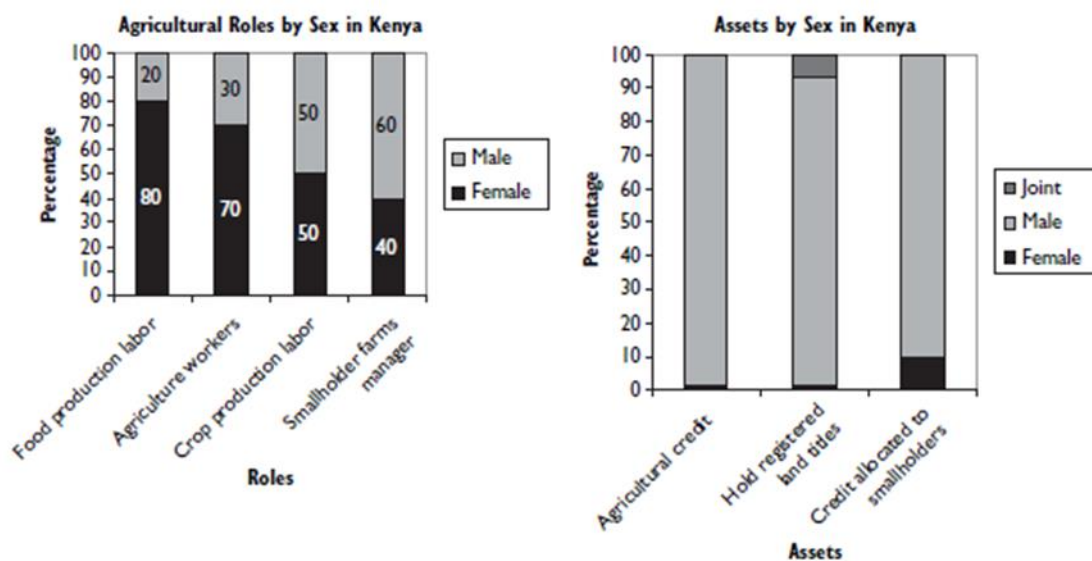
Among the policy objectives is ‘Promote tenure reforms that guarantee security and instil confidence and fairness in all land transactions’ which highlights guaranteeing secure tenure and equitable access to land without any gender bias [...] to all citizens of Malawi, as stipulated in the Constitution. Although indicated in the policy that it mitigates the most constraining land problems, there is little evidence that it adequately reflects the magnitude of the challenges that small holder farmers, particularly women, face, limiting their participation in food and nutrition security.

The Malawi National Land Policy, which passed but is being implemented very slowly, provides for all children to inherit land equally from their parents. However, some ethnic groups in Malawi are matrilineal and matrilocal, and their current customary system is more protective of women’s land rights than the new law (Economic Commission for Africa, 2003; Government of Malawi, 2002) (USAID, n.d.). There is a delay in enacting land-related laws that have the potential to improve land rights for women.

In Kenya, land is vital both because of the predominance of agriculture within the Kenyan economy and because of the significance of land in providing collateral for business finance. Women are 5 percent of registered landholders in Kenya (World Bank, 2009). **Over 65% of land in Kenya is governed by customary laws that discriminate against women, limiting their land and property rights.** This means that women farmers have to access land through either their husbands or sons (Jamila Abass, CEO and Co-Founder, M-Farm Ltd¹⁰). The lower level of ownership limits the ability of these women to join cooperatives and other farmer-based organizations that have collateral that can help facilitate access to more affordable and higher-quality inputs, as well as access to markets. It also limits their ability to access financing with their land as collateral, and this in part drives yield gaps of up to 20-30% between male- and female-managed agricultural enterprises.

¹⁰ <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/03/women-farmers-food-production-land-rights/>



Figure 4: Kenya: Relationship between gender and access to resources**Figure 1.4 Roles and Access to Assets by Women and Men in the Agriculture Sector**

Source: World Bank 2007a.

Land grabbing is an issue in Malawi. In recent years there have been a number of “land grabs” by large-scale investors, with dispossessed farmers receiving no compensation and having no recourse to justice. There has also been an increasing number of disputes and conflicts related to land and other natural resources (such as water), often stemming from poor enforcement of regulations or corruption by officials.

According to FAO data¹¹ which is based on the **Ghana** Living Standards Survey from 2012/13, there were 2,838,362 farm holdings in Ghana in 2013, out of which 2,245,165 (or nearly 80%) were small farms (up to 3.64 ha or 9 acre), with an average size of 1.56 ha. A 2012 FAO report says that “Men hold 3.2 times more of the total farms than women do, and 8.1 times more of the medium and large-sized farms (of 5 acres or more)”, but this seems to be derived from the GLSS done in 2005. There are regional differences, but overall women cultivate smaller farms than men. Men hold more farms than women and their farms are likely to be larger. Men hold 8.1 times more of the medium and large-sized farms of five acres or more. Even though women’s farms tend to be smaller, they are more likely to be market-oriented. Women invest less in their plots due to their weaker land tenure rights, resulting from their lower political power within the community (Goldstein 2008). However, in the Upper East Region female held farms are on average larger than those of their male counterparts (Britwum 2016).

Ghana has a National Gender policy dated May 2015, developed by the Ministry of Gender, Women and social protection. Its aim is to achieve gender equality in all domains of life, including women in Agriculture. The NGP refers to the “Gender in Agriculture Development Strategy” developed by the Ministry for Food and Agriculture (MoFA). NGP specifically mentions “*Limited access to land and other productive resources by women for agricultural purposes*” as a key challenge in achieving gender

¹¹ <http://www.fao.org/family-farming/data-sources/dataportrait/farm-size/en/>

equality. *“Land is normally controlled by the male head of household, who allocates land for meeting the family’s food security needs (in terms of staples) and allocates land to women and youths. This is often marginal land with low productivity. Labour is controlled by the male head of household. The family field has priority”*. In any case, access to land on its own is not sufficient to support women farmers. Dittoh et al (2015) concluded from their study in Upper East Region: *“Notably, national policies, seemingly influenced by donors, are pushing for greater land ownership by women ... but the policy tends to isolate access to land from the other productive inputs that women also find as critical, including finance”*. **Access to land is thus important an important foundation for accessing other resources.**

Maintaining land quality

The importance of land capability became evident in the workshop reports. African farms in particular were experiencing the effects of climate change. In Africa there is often a link between tenure security and land management (e.g. whether soil and water conservation practices are used). Where women and youths do not have secure access to land, they are less likely to improve land productivity (e.g. applying farm yard manure to maintain soil health in the long term, or to invest in bunding of field with earth or stone bunds to reduce erosion). Whether there is a statistically significant relationship between age and sex of the farmer cultivating a field and the amount of investment in long-term soil improvement strategies is not known.

In Italy, the role of women in agriculture or in rural activities is acknowledged with regards to the conservation of biodiversity and the specific aptitude to carry out multifunctional and non-agricultural activities. Mattalia et al. (2018) highlight the role of women in biodiversity conservation and traditional ecological knowledge keeping, particularly through managing home gardens in the North of Italy.

Labour

The academic literature in both Europe (e.g. Norway, UK, Spain) and Africa identifies **the ‘hidden’ or ‘invisible’ nature of women’s labour on farms, if they are not identified as the primary farmer or farm manager**. When women lead farms, they are more likely to identify a spouse working on the farm than vice versa (e.g. Norway, UK). In addition, women in both Africa and Europe maintain primarily responsibility for reproductive labour. This reduces their capacity to work on their farms, and often leads to long working hours. Migration to urban centres is also an issue in southern Europe and Africa and is addressed at the end of this subsection.

Europe

There are clear gender patterns to farm-based labour, although these vary between regions. A study by Bleahu and Janowski (2002) investigated the influence of various socio-economic and governmental factors on rural non-farm livelihood activities in two rural communities Romania. The study noted that *“neither women nor men claim exclusive right to exercise a certain activity”* as context and opportunities dictated who would be involved in household, agricultural or income generating activities. In spite of this equality in economic roles, in the private domain, woman are typically the housekeeper and the main household manager, while the man usually takes on a community



mediation role. The study noted that “*within the village, women’s networks are also very important, although less visible and less formal*”.

Men and women often take primary responsibility for producing different commodities.

- In Latvia, women are more involved in assuring the “food consumption side” in households, i.e., purchasing and in particular cooking. More women (82%) than men (57%) are cooking daily (Dzene, year unknown; Eurostat 2017).
- In Spain, women are more linked to small farm animals (rabbits, chickens) whereas bigger farm animals (pigs, cows) are normally produced by men. Housework remains a female activity, so this becomes an additional burden to women who carry out external work in farms or food business. There are some products that are predominantly processed by men, while others are mostly operated by men (e.g. olive mills, abattoirs and butchers). A participant in the Regional Workshop told how, when she succeeded her father in his butcher shop at the Central Market, several traditional clients (particularly women) started to go to other shops, as they initially did not accept a woman managing a traditionally male dominated activity.
- In Romania, in many areas women are more active participants in small-scale farming than men, women being responsible for family feeding and preparing meals. Women are more involved in maintaining local cultural heritage and culinary traditions, while men’s power comes mainly from tradition and physical strength, being in charge of more demanding physical work of the land.
- In Italy, women are mostly involved in horticulture and permanent crops, polyculture, and mixed systems with crops and livestock (Rete Rurale Nazionale, 2018). Farms led by women are particularly engaged in viticulture and olive groves.

These findings mirror what Shortall et al. (2018) describe as women in the Scottish agricultural sector taking up specific tasks on the farm due to perceived cultural notions of who is supposed to do what on the farm.

Among the conclusions of a 2011 (Spanish) report on female participation in agri-food cooperatives¹² it is worth highlighting the following: **Most women work on family farms without legal recognition nor right to employment benefits.** The reason given would be the lack of sufficient resources for paying more than one contribution to Social Security, which in practice means that many women start paying contributions after the age of fifty in order to secure the required minimum fifteen years to be entitled to a retirement pension. However, other, secondary activities / businesses such as rural tourism or food processing are usually registered under women ownership to ensure that agricultural subsidies granted, when farming is the main activity, are not lost.

There is also **an invisibility of the productive work on small-scale family farms carried out in the informal economy by many rural women that is considered as "family support"**. The participation of women in family farms is heterogeneous, and includes harvesting and animal care but also activities

¹² Cooperativas Agro-alimentarias de España (Coord.) (2011). La participación de las mujeres en las cooperativas agrarias http://www.igualdadenaempresa.es/recursos/monograficos/docs/mujeres_en_las_cooperativas.pdf (last accessed March 2019).



such as agritourism, depending on the type of agriculture and livestock, the types of land ownership, the profitability of farms, etc. Tasks assumed to a greater extent by women in family farms (and considered “family support”) include certain unpaid and invisible but fundamental ones: administration (e.g. processing of subsidies, income tax declaration) and research on seeds and pests to improve crops’ productivity (Fariñas 2017, Cruz et al., 2014). Since the productive contribution of women farmers is considered as “family support”, their legitimacy in the daily negotiations and decisions regarding the productive sphere dilutes. The scarce farm holdership/ownership by women contributes to the invisibility of women's productive agricultural work (Cànoves et al., 1989). There is also an overload of work on women and so their productive tasks in family farms often become an extension of the tasks assumed exclusively by women on the reproductive sphere (domestic, cares).

In the UK, women in farming were often assigned as farmer’s wives or farmer’s daughters, in a hierarchical structure subservient to a male figurehead (Little, 1987). Typically, women in farming are discussed in ‘family farm’ contexts, with unmarried, childless women not commonly found amongst academic literature (Desai and Rinaldo, 2016). This perception of women’s position in farming and within a farming household is changing in the UK. Women’s labour in farms is now more visible as is their contribution to the domestic sphere at home, but the work taken on by both men and women continue to reinforce gender identities (Shortall 2014, 2016). The issues women face in farming are often reflected in other industries, namely, the cultural assumptions placed upon women in the workforce and a perceived lack of time owing to domestic priorities, childcare and off-farm employment.

Africa

Gender norms in labour allocation were particularly marked in the African study countries. In Cape Verde, men are traditionally engaged in production activities while women are engaged in harvesting and marketing. However, factors such as unemployment, emigration and alcoholism have changed this tradition, imputing to women any task previously performed by man. In Ghana, women are usually not involved in the sale of animals – generally, sale of animals is the preserves of men; even animals owned by women are sold by their sons or husbands on their behalf. Most food processing is done by women (e.g shea nut and groundnut processing). Women are responsible for selling cooked foods and cooking ingredients such as tomatoes and vegetables. Men do not sell food ingredients; however, some men engage in wholesale trade at the farm-gate, dealing in bags of pepper and crates of tomato. In Kenya, traditionally, men and women do specific things separately and share some chores: weeding and harvesting are shared between the gender groups (women, youth and children); the land being tilled is majorly controlled by men, but women can decide on what crop to plant in consultation with the males/husbands. The production of cereals like sorghum and millet is primarily done by women (RR13 farmer interviews). The transportation of produce from household level to market is predominantly done by young men. Land preparation is predominantly done by men/husbands.

Women’s roles in farming are not limited to their family plots, but often involve work on other people’s land, as waged labour. In Malawi, women constitute 70% of all full-time agricultural workers. (FAO, 2011). While rural households across all wealth quintiles participate to some degree in agricultural wage labour, this does not necessarily offer a pathway out of poverty. Poorer households (in particular female-headed) are more involved in agricultural wage labour, which is likely to be low paid and casual (FAO, 2011a). This means that the majority of women are to be found in the



smallholder agriculture sector which is characterized by low incomes due to low productivity and unfavourable input/output prices ratios. The result is that 65.3% of the population lives on less than 20 US cents per day, and of these more than 70% are women (Malawi Government, 2003; White, 2007).

Women are the major food producers and contribute greatly to cash crop production in Malawi, (National Gender Policy, 2015). In their study, Aberman et al. (2018) found that overall, men have more decision-making weight around crops where exchange value dominates use value—that is, with crops that engage more closely with the public sphere of exchange. Women, on the other hand, have more decision-making power around crops whose use-value dimension is stronger (i.e. crops that tend to be used for home consumption). While informants tended to reject ideas about “women’s crops” and “men’s crops,” this is, in effect, the operative division. Beans, pigeon pea, vegetables, and cowpea fall into the former category, while non-food crops, such as sesame and cotton, occupy the “men’s crops” end of the spectrum. Soybean, groundnut, and maize occupy a middle ground because of their important dual roles as key items for household consumption and as a market commodity (Aberman et al., 2018).

Cultural distinctions between men’s crops and women’s crops are found frequently in the literature agriculture in West Africa. Research using the nationally representative household survey data from Ghana found that few crops can be defined as men’s crops and none are clearly women’s crops. (Doss 2002). However, SALSA regional workshop reports suggested that crops usually attributed to men are the main staples, or those grown for local or international markets such as cocoa, yam, millet, or sorghum and women operate with legumes and vegetables. But women are not wholly absent from cash crop production; they participate in their own right or as unpaid household laborers on their husbands’ farms or as waged workers on commercial farms (Grabowski et al, 2017). There seems to have been limited research on women’s reproductive roles and unpaid labour contributions. The ActionAid “Women’s Rights to Sustainable Livelihoods Project” undertook a baseline survey in districts of Northern and Upper East region of Ghana (Gushegu is in Northern region) that looked at unpaid care work and women smallholder farmers’ sustainable agriculture (ActionAid 2014). It highlights the large amount of unpaid care work done by women farmers in Ghana, the lack of recognition they receive for this work, and the need for women to be better organised to advocate for their rights. *“The lack of prominence of unpaid care work in policies and strategies also deprives women of their voice in decision-making, which is one way of cementing unequal power relations between men and women. Other impacts include women being deprived of income, and food security.”*

The dual roles of women in reproductive and farming labour are also evident in Africa. For example, women in Kenya are also “time-poor” because of their dual roles in the household economy and the labor market. (World Bank, 2007). Gender roles are more strongly evident in Africa than in Europe, but vary considerably between countries. In Kenya:

- when the study team interacted with the farmers and extension officers at the county government and NGOs working in Ugunja Sub-County, they agreed that men at the family level help in ploughing the land using hoe, oxen plough or tractor while other energy demanding activities like weeding and harvesting are shared between the gender groups (women, youth and children), especially when planting crops like maize, beans, and sweet potato.



- In land preparation, sowing, weeding and harvesting of sorghum and finger millet women do most of the work; men only contribute during land preparation.
- Women are less likely to grow high-value crops than men (31.0 percent grow napier compared to 48.0 percent for men; 11.4 percent grow hybrid maize compared to 16.9 percent for men; 6.4 percent grow tomatoes compared to 14.4 percent for men).
- Some women access tractor services, but majorly influenced by their husbands' social status and remittances.

Source for bullet points: Place et al 2002

Evidence of specific gender roles in production activities was not provided for the other African study countries.

Migration

Amongst the European study countries, Spain, Latvia and Romania have all seen an exodus of rural women. In Spain, this is internal domestic migration; in Eastern Europe, this is often to agricultural employment in other countries (e.g. in Latvia the biggest share of emigrated women (32%) are working in agriculture, Krišjāne 2008). The post-communist transition period was marked by many hardships for the Romanian population (decline in the productivity of industrial sector, unemployment, high consumption costs and small incomes-classical factors of any migratory movement). This prompted two types of national migration flows – one towards the countryside and to substance lifestyles that could provide basic livelihoods to families, and the other abroad, in search of seasonal labour. The researchers noted that the highest availability for departure for work abroad was noted amongst women. Their availability to migrate abroad was closely related to their relative autonomy vis-a-vis a production system and a permanent employment in their home country (Dumitru, Diminescu, and Lazea, 2004), but it surely contributed to an imbalanced rural labour force for many rural communities in the years afterwards. In Spain, the narrative is basically this: rural areas keep depopulating and aggravating the problem of demographic structure (rural population is aged and masculinised since the big rural exodus towards urban areas in the late 1950's, 1960's and early 1970's). There is therefore a problem of social reproduction in many rural regions and there is a need to attract women to these areas and motivate them to stay. In this main narrative, there is some attention to women in agriculture, but never in small-scale agriculture (small-scale farming is hardly a policy issue in Spain). Migration of women was not specifically addressed in the African reports, although emigration men was identified as a primary reason for the higher number of female-led farms.

Childcare

There is some indication in the literature that the lack of childcare in rural areas, or suited to the hours of farm working, is a growing issue in the agricultural sector. This was identified in Spain and in Scotland (where it is specifically being addressed by the Scottish Government's Women in Agriculture Task Force). The availability of childcare services is not rural-specific but has been explored by Halliday and Little (2002) as furthering the assumption of women's mothering role in rural spheres. By taking on the role of care-provider in the household, this limits the potential paid labour of women in the



agriculture sector. In rural areas there are fewer childcare services such as nurseries and play-groups and further distances to travel in order to access these. This mirrors Bock's (2004) Dutch study of 5 rural entrepreneurs over a 6-year period, who showed an increase in time devoted to on-farm projects only when they could more fully incorporate the activities into their lives by bringing together childcare responsibilities and work. The assumption for women in farms to bear the brunt of domestic labour and child-rearing responsibilities is still prevalent.

Recent thinking on Africa that childcare i.e. freeing up women's labour - is important for increasing agricultural productivity, which is substantially lower for women than men¹³. There has also been some work done in Mali, Sikasso, which is an area with high levels of cash crop production and women working in agriculture. Agricultural intensification and commercialisation there led to a decrease in human development indicators, in particular child mortality and nutrition. Research has shown that this is because women had less time to look after their children, breast feed them and take care of them, as agricultural labour opportunities emerged. It is known in the literature as the "Sikasso Paradox"¹⁴.

Capital/Subsidies/Credit

Europe

Some 73% of the participants in SALSA interviews had access to subsidies. In Europe, this ranged from 42% in Italy to over 90% in Bulgaria, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, and Spain. European subsidies provide support to farms at a range of levels. Although the complexities of grant and subsidy applications application can make it difficult for small-scale to access (see SALSA D5.1), this is not typically a gendered issue. The European Rural Development Program 2014-2020 provides specific supports for the development of small farms; there is no suggestion that these are differentially made available. Instead, restrictions appear largely cultural.

In Norway, there are specific programs that support women in agriculture (e.g. preferences given to support women applicants of innovation and growth support grants for farms and firms connected to agriculture). In Latvia, public subsidies compose a remarkable share in farms' net income (representing over 100% in all farm-size groups, and in particular on bigger farms) and are a considerable financial support to farming households (LSIAE, 2013). In the group of small and medium-size farms (with standard output to 25000 EUR), public subsidies make 18 % of household income (ibid). Despite several support programs targeting small and semi-substance forms have been implemented during the last decade, in general agricultural policies and support measures had been more beneficial to

¹³<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/325461534271550919/pdf/BRI-WLSMEInvestingInChildcareBrieffinal.pdf>

¹⁴<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/676141468280154043/pdf/WPS6561.pdf>,
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311679169_Unraveling_the_Sikasso_Paradox_Agricultural_Change_and_Malnutrition_in_Sikasso_Mali,
<https://www.worldhunger.org/in-malis-richest-region-sikasso-malnutrition-is-as-high-as-in-the-countrys-barren-north-due-in-large-part-to-concentration-on-cash-crop-export-oriented-production-in-the-rich-region/>



bigger farms and their households. In Italy, with regards to financial tools for supporting agriculture, Tocco et al. (2015) observed that the level of subsidies is generally lower in female-operated households; therefore this could reveal – as a consequence - the presence of credit constraints, preventing the capitalization of subsidies into fixed assets.

Access to finance was not raised as an issue in the European cases. Social insurance, state welfare and subsidized food distribution are also important to the FNS of households but are beyond the scope of this analysis.

Africa

Access to subsidies amongst SALSA's African participants was much lower (e.g. 13% in Kenya, 18% in Malawi, and 12% in Tunisia) than in Europe. In Africa, the difficulty for women to access loans was a major issue raised. Credit is difficult to obtain in general: for example, in Kenya 14% of men and 4% of women on farms have access to credit (FAO, 2007). Several studies from Kenya show that female-headed households have much lower adoption rates for improved seeds and fertilizers. These differences are explained by reduced access to land and labour, lower education levels and limited access to credit markets (Kumar, 1994; Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling, 1994; Ouma, De Groote and Owur, 2006). There are inadequate funds and no credit facilities for small farmers and small food businesses. Policy specifically targets capacity building for production on small farms, and financial access through microloans targeted at women.

On small farms in Kenya, households headed by single, divorced or widowed women are the least likely to use animal traction. In contrast, female-headed households in which the husband lives elsewhere are more likely to use animal traction and hired labour, because they benefit from their husband's name and social network and often receive remittances from him (Wanjiku et al., 2007). The national government initiated the provision of subsidized fertilizers and empowerment funds for youth and women. However, few women have access to subsidy program support. Women less aware and less informed than men about the subsidy supports available from the government. Access to farm inputs requires robust finance access. Women are disadvantaged because credit access majorly relies on land a collateral. The adopted 'table banking'¹⁵ by women is predominantly informal, hence not reliable in scaling up of women-led farming. The money mobilization platform called Table Banking is purely organised by women and it has been adopted across the country by women.

In Ghana, female heads of farm households relied mainly on borrowed money from village savings and loans group as a coping measure for climate change impacts; male heads of farm households depended primarily on sales of livestock (Assan et al. 2018). There are a number of studies on women's access to agricultural finance and advisory services. Most of these conclude that women are overall disadvantaged, with more limited access to these important factors of production. However, the picture is more differentiated. FAO (2013) states:

"In terms of women's access to other productive resources, gender disparities exist in access to credit, with men overall having better access to formal credit sources (public sector and private banks) compared to women. However, women are not necessarily disadvantaged across the

¹⁵ <https://joywo.org/table-banking/>



board: amongst subsistence farmers there is little notable difference in women's and men's access to formal credit (both rely overwhelmingly on informal sources). Amongst market-oriented farmers women have significantly better access to NGO and co-operative credit sources compared to men (...)."

Access to capital was mentioned as the most significant constraint to agrobusiness activities by both men and women in a study done by the WFP (Pepper 2017, page 31). FAO / ECOWAS (2018) says that the specific needs of women in relation to credit access are not addressed in official credit programs

"According to FASDEP II [the Food and Agriculture Sector Development Policy (2007)], Agricultural produce traders are mostly women, yet official credit programmes do not usually cover trading activities... Women in rural Ghana are less likely to access credit than their male counterparts. Disaggregating by gender, there are more women without access to credit than men. Women's abilities to access credit are limited due to lack of collateral security¹⁶.

The drive to improve women's access to credit has resulted in a proliferation of micro-credit schemes with different players spanning state, donor, private individuals, NGOs, and cooperative schemes. FAO (2013) states that women involved in market-oriented farming are reported as having better access to NGO and cooperative sources than men. The lending activity of NGOs is heavily concentrated in income-generating projects within the food processing industry. Women who are involved in food processing are more likely to benefit from the numerous credit schemes set up by NGOs working to ease access to credit for rural women. Age is an additional factor and younger women have been noted to face additional obstacles to credit than their older counterparts in similar standing.

¹⁶ https://cgspace.cgiar.org/bitstream/handle/10568/93431/desk_study_gh_ml.pdf?sequence=1



Context 2: What governs production and processing for women on small farms?

Food (and commodity) production and processing are regulated by private and public standards (e.g. public health and certification standards) as well as substantial gender norms around engagement in these activities. Farming organisations are particularly important for lobbying within the agricultural sector, thus representing part of the governance of small-scale farming. In this section, the role of women in farming organisations, and existence of organisations specifically supporting women in agriculture are addressed. This section also includes access to farm advisory and extension services.

Farming organisations

Women's participation in farming organisations and other key institutions of rural governance such as cooperatives or political parties is limited by both direct cultural barriers (e.g. to being elected) and practical barriers. The double working day that women perform (due to the dual work/domestic roles) and therefore their lack of available time, prevents women workers with family responsibilities from participating in these spaces.

Europe

Organisations specifically for women in agriculture or rural areas are common in Europe. While there are no 'women in agriculture' groups in Latvia, there is a well-established network of rural women's groups. A cursory examination of women leadership in agricultural organisations shows that there is quite good gender balance, in particular in farmers associations (13 of the identified 28 farmers associations' leaders were women), while there are more men (two thirds) leading agricultural cooperatives. One farmer NGO which is addressing the role of women in agriculture is the Latvian Farmers' Federation (LFF), which is the only farmer NGO in Latvia which also lobbies for and represents the interests of small farms. Issues such as ownership, salary, social guarantees, combination of motherhood and farming, quality of life in rural areas are mentioned as relevant to female farmers (LAOCC, 2015). However, according to the accessible documents, gender issues are very marginal even for LFF. However, there is a well-established network of rural women's groups with an umbrella organisation the Latvian Rural Women Association (LRWA). These groups have a solid link to the female farming community and they also address 'women in agriculture' issues, but not specifically those of small-scale farms. Many members of these groups are female farmers. The umbrella organisation LRWA is a member of the Latvian Agricultural Organization Cooperation Council, one of the key farmers' interest and lobby organisations in Latvia that is a member of the Consultative Council at the Ministry of Agriculture. The principal goal of these rural womens' groups is to support the education, entrepreneurship and wellbeing of rural women. Women's group activities have gradually expanded beyond initially dominant psychological assistance and mutual help to educational, social, community development and even economic and political activities (Tisenkopfs and Šūmane 2003). The groups organise a wide range of initiatives and projects: networking, training, micro-credit groups, artisan's (including farmers) markets, cooperatives and other (Lauku sieviešu veiksmes grāmata 2005). Līdere, an entrepreneurial organisation, can also be mentioned in relation to women working in agriculture. While this organisation does not focus on issues specific to agriculture, they provide support to female entrepreneurs - including those working in agriculture.



In Italy, the two main organisations of women in agriculture in Italy are related to the two main farmers' organisations of the country (i.e. CIA and Coldiretti). Within such organisations women in agriculture are coordinated in local networks through which they are active in the rural territories to promote the role of women in agriculture. No information was found about the proportion of such initiatives in relation to the actual participation of women in agriculture.

In the UK, women in farming are seen to be increasingly taking on senior positions in national and regional farming bodies including the National Farmers Union (NFU), NFU Scotland (NFUS), Agriculture and Horticultural Development Board (ADHB), National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs (NFYFC) and the Scottish Association of Young Farmers Clubs (SAYFC). The NFUS building on from the momentum after the publication of the Women in Farming and Agriculture Sector report to the Scottish Government in 2017, has established a Scotland-wide Women in Agriculture group and regional discussion groups with the aim to encourage more women to participate and also attend the general NFUS meetings for all members. Of note, positions on certain boards and farming bodies are often voluntary and this limits the potential contribution of women as they must consider any additional work amongst childcare, off-farm employment and other additional farm work. Shortall (2008) also considers the degree to which we rely on participation level as a measure of success for women in agriculture and asks whether other means of engagement practices should be noted instead.

In Spain, it is worth noting the importance, again, of farm ownership/holdership, in this case because it is linked to participation, representation and vote rights in farming organisations as well as in cooperatives and producers' organisations. The low percentage of women farm holders will therefore influence on their rights and participation in farming organisations. In recent years there have been positive changes in farming unions to address gender imbalance within the agrarian organisations. As it has been highlighted above, men continue to hold positions of responsibility more easily and there are very few women actively participating in the organisational areas. Some organisations have taken resolute actions in this direction. For example, the Sindicato Labrego Galego (SLG) (a regional agricultural union member of COAG, at state level), where women represent at least 50% of members, the statutes contain the gender parity in all the union's organs. At a higher scale, to address the unbalance representation of women and men in professional associations, the regional government in the Basque Country region have stated that will not grant aid to those professional associations in the agricultural sector that do not include women in their management bodies. Furthermore, in this region, since 2021 the presence of women in the management bodies will be required to be at least balanced to be eligible for grants.

In Italy, "Donne in Campo" (Women in the field) is an initiative founded in 1999 and led by CIA (Confederazione Italiana Agricoltori), one of the three main Italian producers' associations. Donne in Campo Association is committed to building "networks" of agricultural entrepreneurs to weave relationships between companies and build communities. It deals with gender issues in the agricultural sector as a key driver to sustainable rural development, to adapt legislation accordingly. Through active groups of entrepreneurs and officials, it promotes female entrepreneurship, supports women's networks, assists and trains women's models or alliances and organizes initiatives aimed at improving the entrepreneurial spirit, professionalism and safety of women in rural areas and encouraging their inclusion in the governing bodies of companies and associations. It develops agreements and partnerships with women's associations of the agricultural world, the business world,



the economic and social sectors, with particular reference to those of small and medium-sized enterprises at the local, national and international levels.

Similarly, another Italian initiative is provided by Coldiretti, with “Donne Impresa” (Women Enterprise) a self-managed category movement, active since 1953 and formalised in 1976. Through “Donne Impresa”, all women entrepreneurs in agriculture can obtain information on how to do business, carry out their projects, participate in training events and learn how to run structures such as, for example, social farms and educational farms. Coldiretti Donne Impresa is part of national (e.g. the Committee for female entrepreneurship, established at the Department for Equal Opportunities of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers) and European networks, such as COPA (European agricultural associations of the European Union). These initiatives contribute to elaborate a gender “vision” of Italian agriculture and its development, of the state of the territories and of the rural cultures in a perspective of preservation and innovation of the Italian agro-food culture.

In Norway, the Farmers Unions have a special gender equality focus, so do the Small Holder Unions. The latter have for the past decade had female leaders and gender is part of their focus. In addition there is a national rural women’s organisation bringing attention to the role of women in rural areas, and on farms in particular. The agricultural cooperatives have a gender balance policy for their boards and actively meet the quota requirements (min 40-60% difference).

In Spain there are specific associations for women in agriculture. These “only for women” spaces are considered important for those women that do not feel comfortable in traditional agricultural unions: *“what we say, what we think, how we behave, the distribution of space ..., everything is different”*¹⁷. In agricultural unions, most affiliated are men. This has triggered the formation of women associations within the unions to make visible the work of women in the field and to claim the social and professional rights that this work entails. Another claim is to modify the traditional organisational patterns in agricultural unions. It is also recognized that organizations are advancing in the changes leading to gender equality in their functioning although at different rates and intensities. There are three main women associations linked and created within the main farmer unions:

- Federación de Mujeres y Familias de Ámbito Rural (AMFAR, Federation of Women and Families in the Rural Context) linked to ASAJA.
- Federación de Asociaciones de Mujeres Rurales (FADEMUR, Federation of Associations of Rural Women) linked to UPA.
- Confederación de Mujeres del Mundo Rural (CERES, Confederation of Women in the Rural World), linked to COAG.

Interestingly, the names of the association of women do not include – despite being initially promoted by farmers unions - terms related with agriculture or farming. Instead, the focus of the name is ‘rural’. This approach is also found in their main objectives and mandates, in which the specific demands and activities revolving around agriculture constitute only a part of a broader agenda where training (in

¹⁷ “Agroecología y feminismos”. Editorial of Soberanía Alimentaria Biodiversidad y Culturas, 33. 2018. <https://www.soberaniaalimentaria.info/numeros-publicados/64-numero-33/582-portada-33>



several domains) and empowerment (in particular through the visibility of rural women's situations) dominates. In these broad agendas, there is not a specific focus on small-scale farms.

ICT has allowed new ways of communication in some spaces traditionally more isolated (i.e. the use of social media increased visibility¹⁸). In recent years, for example, an informal networking of women breeders "Ganaderas en Red" (Spain) has developed where many women on extensive livestock across the country participate. The initial interest of the network was to meet other women farmers, share knowledge and experiences and build mutual support. However, there were common topics to all of them that emerged very soon: invisibility (also in decision-making spaces); discrimination at family, social administrative and professional levels; low self-esteem. This informal network aims to develop a new gender perspective in livestock management .

In Romania, traditionally the men hold most of the leading positions, including in public institutions or community leadership.

Africa

In Africa, the role of women in farming organisations is highly variable. In Kenya, **the informal and formal farmer groups are primarily run by women**. There are hundreds of smallholder farmer organisations in the country. Women largely run table-banking groups and interest groups but there is limited literature explicitly addressing the role of women in the governance of smallholder farmer organisations. There is government support through various ministries, policies and legislations to support especially for women and youth to form formal groups, associations, and cooperatives in order to empower them in initiating micro, small and medium enterprises in Kenya. The policy support to women has seen thousands of women groups initiated in Kenya. One of the umbrella women-led body is the Joyful Women Organization (JoyWo), which is one of the most successful table banking groups in Kenya, with a membership of more than 11,500 women's groups, each group having 15 to 35 members on average. **There is affirmative action policy in Kenya that ensures at least 30% of public tenders in each Ministry are awarded to women and youth-owned businesses, groups, cooperatives and associations.** Women's groups facilitate empowerment of women and youth in agriculture through: capacity building, value addition, market linkage, access to finance and research and development. An example of groups focusing on smallholder farmers is the Joyful Women Organization (JoyWo) led groups and the Association of Women in Agriculture in Kenya. There are social movements in rural areas, but information about women's participation in these is not documented.

In Malawi, farming organisations offer little support for women. None make reference to women in their objectives. A number of initiatives are supported by International Agencies:

- Coalition of Women's Farmers (COWFA): Grassroots movement of rural women farmers in Malawi to have enough to eat and to achieve economic empowerment. (WOCAN, n.d.). It is a project initiated by ActionAid, which is linked up to officials at the local Ministry of Agriculture (Action Aid, n.d.). There is no indication of activity specifically in Balaka (the SALSA reference region), and very little information about the organisation.

¹⁸ e.g. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cx_QA1iHsNA).

- National Smallholder Farmers' Association of Malawi (NASFAM): NASFAM operates nationwide across Malawi, represents commercially-oriented smallholders, with field-based operations focused around offices in districts including Balaka. Although membership is both men and women, only 36% of members are female and so women are actively encouraged to participate. There is no further information on involvement of women in the umbrella organisation or the entities in Balaka.

In Ghana, very few women are members of agricultural cooperatives or formal farmer-based organisations that are able to provide services to members such as training. However, there are a large number of informal farmer organisations, often initiated by churches or NGOs, normally with donor funding. These groups are often organised as savings groups, to help women access capital for agricultural and non-agricultural purposes. In addition, there are important informal social networks, such as women organising themselves at village level to form working groups that weed or plant fields for other farmers against pay in grain or cash. The FAO / ECOWAS 2018: states: *“Agricultural rural institutions mostly take the form of farmer-based organizations (FBO), and are mainly commodity or activity-based (e.g. crops or livestock farmers’ associations, rice processors and traders’ associations). These groups may be made up exclusively of women or men, or may be mixed. The goal of rural associations is to come together to solicit support, especially credit for members’ activities. The apex body of these associations is the Peasant Farmers Association of Ghana (PFLAG). Interactions with the association during stakeholder consultation meetings revealed that it does not have a specific gender action plan to guide its gender mainstreaming processes. (...) PFLAG belongs to a variety of platforms and is currently working on a communication strategy to improve its outreach to FBOs.”*

Food production

In Europe, women are more prominent in organic and alternative agri-food systems (Pedersen et al., 2004; Cavicchiolo et al., 2018). For example, in Norway: women are more likely to be more common in organic farming; this is also true in Spain. The organic production and the agro-industry associated with it have been growing significantly in Europe during the last two decades. The participation of women in this type of production is important in comparison to the conventional sector, but there is a lack of statistical evidence to support these field observations. In Latvia, there is literature pointing to the specific role of women in organic agriculture (Aistara 2008). The resolution of the Baltic rural women conference (back in 2004) includes a single statement on agriculture which stresses the need to support organic farming and ecological consumption (Lauku sieviešu veiksmes grāmata 2005). However, descriptive data indicate that there are no more women among the managers of organic farms than of conventional farms (see Garkalne 2015). Females are participating in Slow Food Latvia, both as organizers and ‘lay’ participants, but their role does not appear to be distinctive from that of men.

Although there is no literature on the level of inputs utilised on female-led farms, in comparison to male led farms in Europe, this is a common topic in the African study countries. The gender gap in access to and ownership of most inputs, asset and services is important for agricultural activities, as recognised by the FAO (FAO, 2011). Ndiritu et al, 2014, analysed plot level adoption decisions of



sustainable intensification practices (SIPs) in Kenya by male, female or joint plot managers within the household, controlling for household characteristics, asset wealth and land quality factors that condition investments in intensification options. The found no gender differences in the adoption of soil and water conservation measures, improved seed varieties, chemical fertilizers, maize-legume intercropping, and maize-legume rotations.

Irrigation is a particularly important issue in Malawi, where the goal is to contribute to sustainable national economic growth and development through enhanced irrigated agriculture production and productivity. (Ministry of Agriculture I. a., National Irrigation Policy, 2016). Research was conducted on gender in irrigation, and the tools and frameworks used in the past to promote improvement for women in on-farm agricultural water management. AGRESS noted that most irrigating households are excluded from the dialogues and planning, because these methods target the poorest farmers with little or no assets. At the district level, some civil servants discussed the lack of activities on gender ‘fairness’ and benefits with regard to resources such as water and irrigation; they were critical of limiting interventions to women’s clubs and village savings organizations. One study participant stated that there would be no initiatives in irrigation related to gender unless brought by a donor or NGO, because “without an NGO there is no training.” (Lefore et al., 2017).

While gender may be stated in the goals of irrigation projects, that does not necessarily translate into project activities; gender activities in irrigation projects in Malawi seen as are ‘tokenistic’. Moreover, respondents stated that gender has not been part of the agriculture or irrigation indicators for which government collects data. Data on the number of female participants in an activity or meeting is usually the only data collected, if any; respondents also stated that this is why many women will be asked to attend only the first meeting of a project. The Irrigation Department stated it intends to collect data on the number of women in leadership positions of WUAs, but at a later, undetermined stage. A small number of donors do see indicators as an entry point for gender activities. Monitoring and evaluation officers interviewed from the Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and Water Development noted **that donors are insisting on gender-disaggregated data collection, but again, there is strong resistance and it is often not collected** (Lefore et al., 2017).

Processing, value-added and multifunctionality

In Europe, **food safety regulations were one of the most commonly cited types of governance that impacted upon small farms in SALSA**. Food hygiene standards are particularly difficult for small farms to achieve, which limits potential for value-added processing. Certification processes are also very expensive for small farms. Engaging in cooperatives is one way to address this, further discussed in Context 3: markets. There was no indication that there was differential gendered impact, beyond the consistent finding that women are more likely to be involved in processing than men.

Across Europe, female led farms tend to be more pluriactive/multifunctional. This is recognised in Norway, Spain, UK, and Italy. Several studies have also noted the likelihood with which females tend to drive diversification projects on the farm (e.g. MacKinnon, 1993; Bock, 2004) A lot of academic literature exists looking at female-led businesses using the farm premises but not related to the farm production, “non-farm but on-farm” enterprises (Warren-Smith and Jackson, 2004) more so than



female-led farms in general. The division of labour in farms can affect the power dynamics within the farming household and is often conditioned by existing gender norms (Gasson and Winter 1992). The diversification of the farm and 'pluriactivity' (MacKinnon, 1993; Blanc and MacKinnon, 1990; Benjamin and Kimhi, 2006) into other production means, has led to an increased awareness of women's role in farms. Bock's study (2004) of Dutch female farmers revealed that the rise of diversification on farms was often a reactionary response to dwindling levels of income from typical farm production and was not always considered in a positive light. The fact that many new farm diversification revenue streams were led by women may in turn explain in part why women's role in farming has come to be defined as less significant than their male partner.

In Spain, the role of women is commonly recognised in relation to farm diversification and 'alternative' agriculture. There are some articles tackling the role of women in farm diversification strategies, like agritourism (e.g. Caballé, 1999; Carmona et al. 2015; Guiné and Costa 2018) or small-scale food processing (Escribà Martínez et al, 2014). There is a kind of 'narrative' that can be also found in public administration discourse that tends to link women to these farm strategies (agritourism, artisanal food processing, craftsmanship).

In the UK, the shift to recognise that farming, especially small farming, often involves a level of diversification from off-farm activities has been interpreted as a largely feminine enterprise and less professional (Brandth 2002). Another study however argues that agricultural-tourism activities can provide the impetus to reduce differentiations amongst gender relations on the farm particularly if the activities remain on the farm premises (Brandth and Haugen, 2010). Women are also often identified as rural entrepreneurs, engaging in business-type activities to supplement the dwindling income from traditional farm production.

In Italy, the trend towards multifunctionality, diversification, recreational activities (such as agritourism), and school-farms schemes, is a rather new phenomenon for women in agriculture and is distinguishing typical female-led-farms from those led by men. Thus, women are contributing to the environment and biodiversity protection, local tradition conservation, and to increasing the quality of life (Rete Rurale Nazionale, 2018). At a national level the report by Rete Rurale Nazionale (2018) assessed that female-led-farms are more resilient - in terms of capacity to survive - in comparison to male-led-farms, and that their business strategies are mostly oriented towards multifunctionality and diversification. On average the turnover of female-led-farms is much lower than for male-led-farms. In addition to multifunctional activities, female-led-farms also carry out forestry related activities. Coldiretti's data confirm that 34% of its farmers-members carrying out multifunctional activities are women (against 20% of men). 13% of them produce organically (against 10% of men). Del Prete (2016), Zumpano et al. (2013), Marchesoni and Ros (2009) and Torquati et al. (2015), highlight the women's role in carrying out multifunctional activities in farms such as recreational activities and school farms.

In Latvia, many female farmers involved in rural women's groups oversee farm-diversification and innovation projects they have been carried out, such as on-farm shops, agro-tourism, artisanal processing, non-traditional (exotic, niche) agriculture, various 'nature-based' initiatives (for example, natural resources-based health farms) (Lauku sieviešu veiksmes grāmata, 2005). While there is some anecdotal evidence in the literature indicating that women are more inclined to these kind of diversification and sustainability initiatives (Jeroscenkova et al., 2013; Rivza et al., 2017), they are not regarded as being feminine of the specific domain of female farmers. In the SALSA Latvian team's own



research on small farms (as part of SALSA), they found that there was good gender balance in terms of decision making, farm management, and leadership. No particular gender-related differences were identified in attitudes towards farmers, division of tasks in farms or agricultural governance structures.

Access to extension services and training

In Europe, there are no legal difference in access to extension services, but it has been demonstrated in the academic literature that **smaller-scale farmers are underserved by extension services** (Labarthe and Laurent; Sutherland et al., 2017). In addition, there is evidence that advisory services in the UK, in targeting the ‘primary farmer’ in recruitment for extension activities, discriminate against women working on farms. Almost a quarter of farm women surveyed in a Scottish Government study (Shortall et al., 2017) indicated that they would be uncomfortable at training events, because these are dominated by men. In response to this research, Scotland’s Farm Advisory Service (FAS) which funded by Scotland’s Rural Development Programme (SRDP) have set up a Women in Agriculture Discussion Group and offered women – only training.

In Latvia, the Rural Advisory and Training Centre (the biggest advisory organisation in Latvia) participates in Erasmus+ co-funded project LeadFarm, which *“aims to get a generational and gender balance in the co-operative agricultural sector through strengthening the capabilities of young generation of farmers.”* The project will provide innovative training to young farmers, promote cooperative culture and values, strengthen business skills and promote gender balance.

Across Europe, there are increases in the number of women engaged in agricultural training. In the UK here has been a noted increase of women in farming, with a rise in female students into agricultural further education, an increase in women specific discussion groups and training events. In Romania, a study by Andra and Sănduleasa (2013) indicates that only 38.6% of women were part of the agricultural high schools and vocation training in 2013, but that this percentage decreased significantly when looking at higher education, where women represented 0.8-1.9% of students enrolled at universities between 2004 and 2011.

Africa

In Kenya, gender inequalities were prevalent in land use, financial use and access to extension services among men and women that affect agricultural value chains. (Mombinya and Tarus, 2018). In Malawi, female farm-heads tend to have lower levels of education than their male counterparts (UN Women, 2015). This gender gap has been seen to be a contributing factor in the gender gap in productivity between female-managed and male-managed farms. **Educational achievement is shown to be a strong predictor of the level of access to extension services**, an area where there is a significant gender gap, potentially also a factor in the lower productivity of female-headed farms. Education is a key factor with regard to land tenure, where **women with lower levels of education are less likely to know or be able to access their land rights.**



In Ghana, some studies (generally limited to specific communities / districts) show that **women have less contact with agricultural extension services than men** (Britwum et al., 2016). Access to agricultural extension services is generally poor in Ghana. There are commercial service providers that provide paid advice to agribusinesses (e.g. pineapple farms, larger scale cocoa farms), but small farms rely on either government services or NGOs. There is a large number of NGO-supported development projects and programmes operating in the country, many of which target women farmers to provide training, technical advice, support to social mobilisation / farmer organisational development and, increasingly, support to connect women farmer with formal agricultural value chains. The main challenge with these programmes is that they are donor-dependant and tend to operate only for a few years – often with limited long-term impact.

“With regard to extension services, gender differences are more pronounced. Farmers’ contact with extension officers is generally low, but one survey showed that whereas between 10 and 13 percent of male farmers had received a visit from an agricultural extension officer, only 0 to 2 percent of female headed households and female spouses had received a visit (...).”

Source: FAO, 2013

In Ghana, studies explain that the lack of parity in accessing extension services for women is due to a number of reasons. These reasons become more intense in Ghana’s northern regions. The first is the **absence of female extension officers**. In communities with entrenched patriarchal values, like the Northern Region, for example, cultural restrictions on the extent to which female farmers can interact with male extension officers further constricts women’s access to extension services. Again, extension services concentrate on cash crops to the neglect of locally consumed foods or subsistence crops, an area where men dominate and where few women dare to venture at the risk of offending culturally established norms. However, there are attempts to address agricultural extension services for women farmers, but it is challenging:

“Efforts to address gender starts with the characteristics of extension providers themselves. The challenge, however, is that the MoFA has not been able to attract and retain women as AEAs in the various districts of northern Ghana. As a result, women are heavily underrepresented in extension. Less than 14% of MoFA officers in the Upper West Region were females, and similar numbers were found in the Northern and Upper East regions. Similarly, only one District Director was female in the Northern Region, while no female directors existed in the other two regions.”

Source: Moore (2015)



Context 3: What governs the ability of SFs and SFBs to engage in market or extra market exchange?

This section addresses the patterns in market engagement of men and women. Direct selling, alternative agri-food networks, integration into mainstream markets and co-operatives are relevant here.

Entrepreneurship development supports

In Romania, the academic literature search pointed out to an article on the role of women entrepreneurship in the global wine industry, with a focus on Romanian traditional wine-making techniques (Pavel, 2012). In 2018, Radio France International (RFI) produced a series of 4 multi-media articles about women entrepreneurs in agriculture (Bianca Pădurean, 2018). There was no particular focus on the dimension of the farm, but rather its commercial success. The SWOT of the Romanian Rural Development Plan (2014-2020) notes that the involvement of women in the development of small enterprises as alternative sources of rural revenue has been identified as a strength, especially within the tourism industry. The anti-discrimination monitoring committee of the Romanian Rural Development Plan (2014-2020) mentions, besides public authorities, the involvement of the National Association of Women in Rural Areas (AFMR, n.d.), a GAL member involved in rural development as part of the LEADER program. The association has been involved in a Project for promoting social inclusion, financed through a Human Capacity Operational Program funded through the European Social fund between 2007-2013, and it promotes rural entrepreneurship and equal education opportunities for women. Other smaller groups likely exist within the country.

In Latvia, there are another initiatives, often led by NGOs, which aim at supporting (rural) women's entrepreneurship. These involve prizes (like, "Woman for Latvia"), micro-credits (Latvian Rural Women Entrepreneurship Support Centre). Many women benefiting from these initiatives are farmers. A 2017 survey of women in business showed that the majority of women entrepreneurs (92%) did not perceive any legal barriers to women entrepreneurs (Lidere, 2017). In fact, in the 2012 iteration of the survey, the most frequently mentioned obstacles were 'women's role in the family' and 'small parental leave allowance' (Lidere, 2012), while in 2017 only 3% of respondents indicated that gender biases and prejudice were an obstacle. In 2012, rural women-lead enterprises, to which farm businesses belong, viewed their economic situations as more critical when compared to urban-based ones. The owners of small and medium-sizes enterprises more often stated that access to financial resources was problematic. While this was also true of agriculture, note that there have been several support programs targeted towards small farms.

In Spain, national policies have evolved assuming the need to provide a special focus on the gender issue that, in rural areas, is reflected in the approval of the Law for the Sustainable Development of Rural Areas (Ley 45/2007 para el Desarrollo Sostenible del Medio Rural) and different strategic plans to address the inequalities faced by women. For this purpose, the different measures applied include positive discrimination directed at women and young people. The types of support for women that are included in the measures are basically of preference for the selection of projects, with a higher level of support or a requirement for a minimum threshold of nº of women to be eligible. However, some publications points out that mechanisms to measure the effectiveness of these measures have not been sufficiently implemented (for example, information on the type of employment created with



indicators showing that the supported investment has really fostered female employment) and, despite the advances, there is not a complete statistical / registry information disaggregated by sexes (Bennito and Langreo, 2009).

In the UK, as women are seen to be key to the development of new rural enterprises and diversification streams on farms, issues remain that reflect the gender imbalance for women developing their potential. As more women are responsible for off-farm income streams that are necessary for the continued viability of the farm, there is a need for strong rural policies that recognise the role women play off the farm (Shortall, 2010).

Africa

In Ghana, the NGP aims to address the challenges faced by women to access markets and productive resources via a policy commitment on “Women’s empowerment and livelihoods”, with the overall objective *“To accelerate efforts and commitments of government in empowering women (including women with disability) to have safe and secure livelihood, access to economic opportunities, decent work to improve earnings while addressing disparities in education, socio-economic and cultural issues, health and agriculture, trade and related matters.”* Strategic measures to achieve this objective include

- a) Review and implement existing reforms, programmes and projects (e.g. LAP) directed at ensuring equitable access to land and natural resources particularly for women for agricultural uses and other productivity ventures.
- b) Enforce the implementation of extension services to cover GE and WE issues to benefit all, particularly vulnerable women in agricultural practices in all regions of Ghana.
- c) Engender climate change processes and facilitate the participation of CSOs, farmer-based organisations to ensure that agricultural practices and other livelihood practices comply with acceptable standards.

Entrepreneurship supports were not addressed in the other African country reports.

Direct selling and marketing

Open air, traditional markets have historically been important in many parts of Europe and Africa. In Norway, women are highly visible and driving the new Reko-ringene (ordering local food directly through facebook-membergroup – pick it up at parking lots). In Italy, one of the main farmers’ organisation in Italy, Coldiretti, estimated that 30% of farms involved in the Coldiretti’s Campagna Amica direct sale’s scheme are female-led-farms. A recent study into 120 Dutch farms revealed that women’s role in farm business enterprises allow for more flexibility and the ability to access new networks and markets more so over their male partners (Seuneke and Bock 2015). The husband was seen to be typically more tied to farm production whilst the wife was seen to be more resilient and better able to adapt to change thus carving out new opportunities.

In Africa, women’s roles in direct selling and marketing are limited by gender norms. In Kenya, transporting, marketing and selling the produce, it’s shared between males and females in the family



but transportation is majorly by young men using the motorbikes and bicycles. Motorbike is majorly used in the county to transport agricultural produce to the nearest markets or to access main and tarmacked roads because the sub-county still has challenges of accessibility compounded by rains making the earth roads unmotorable. Despite gender analysis and direct targeting of women, none of the programs made a conscious effort to reduce cultural barriers that limited women's participation, such as making the financial decision to become involved in marketing of milk (Rapando et al, 2019)

In Kenya, produce is owned by the whole family but husband is consulted on what to sale; women are the major sellers in the market. Women predominantly occupy markets where short food supply and value chains are involved. In Ghana, women have equal access to markets and are very active in markets, but not in livestock markets. Women play a very important role in agricultural markets / trade – including in predominantly Muslim parts of Northern Ghana. They are particularly active as food processors and aggregators.

Zakaria (2016) discusses women's participation in cash crop production in Ghana, pointing to the links between intra-household power relations (such as women participation in household decision-making, control over household productive resources and control over household income) and smallholder women farmers' participation in cash crop production. Pepper (2017) found that:

“Women dominate small-scale agricultural production of most commodities, except when the product has a comparatively higher value added or is traditionally a “male-cultivated” product. For example, check-check (traditional fried rice) is a stream of rice sold primarily by boys and men because the value-added is higher than that of the standard stream of rice primarily sold by women. In addition to their domestic responsibilities and tasks in the households, women are also responsible for agricultural cultivation. Women producers may sell goods at farm gates or other locations, but they are unlikely to keep or retain control over their profits once they return to their household”.

Small-scale market vendors of unprocessed agricultural products are typically women. They purchase their products from predominantly male wholesalers, or women aggregators, and sell them for limited profit margins. Because they operate on a small-scale, often lacking capital and storage facilities, they are not able to purchase large quantities of products, store products based on going prices or store products that are not sold, thereby decreasing their capacity for generating higher profit margins. There are exceptions to this however, as in the case of “market queens” who control all transactions pertaining to a particular commodity in a market. These women may be market trader association leaders or hold similarly powerful positions in the marketplace. They tend to have comparatively greater access to capital resources, storage facilities, and other assets, and are able to use their resources to control the marketplace and influence supply and demand and, thus, create artificial price fluctuations.

Increased markets for local, or niche products are part of a broader shift in social norms, particularly in Europe. As discussed in SALSA D5.1, this was identified as an important opportunity for small farms in many European regions. **Women are particularly visible in alternative agri-food networks in Europe.** In Italy, study participants observed that women's roles are highlighted in food movement's initiatives such as Slow Food especially for the role women have in traditional cooking of local and sustainable products. In Spain, some participants argued that, in alternative food networks, women play a leading role in many entrepreneurial initiatives and related food movements. Although there is



no statistical evidence, this was a shared perception among some participants. There is an important process of feminization linked to artisanal transformation and commercialization through short food supply channels (SFSC) (Cruz-Sousa, 2010), which is usually associated to organic produces and small-scale farming. The agrarian union COAG (Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Agricultores y Ganaderos) and its aforementioned Confederation of Women in the Rural World (CERES) encourage the potential of SFSC to generate quality female employment in rural areas¹⁹. Initiatives related to the food sovereignty model, involving small scale, marketing through SFSC, reduction of chemical inputs (e.g., agroecological practices), etc. are considered to be a labour niche for women, where they have higher participation rates, leadership and external recognition (Urkidi, 2017) and their role is revalued (Reina et al., 2016). However, at the same time there are also voices warning that the participation of women in direct sales does not translate into an overload of women work (adding additional tasks²⁰). There is evidence that farms engaged in organic agriculture are achieving synergies combining the productive activity with other economic strategies such as agrotourism and environmental education and, in doing so, improving their economic viability (Guzmán, 2009).

Integration into mainstream markets – co-operatives

SALSA D5.1 found that producer cooperatives were seen by participants as crucial for facilitating access to markets and securing fair prices for SF products. Co-operatives enable larger quantities to be marketed and place a check on the monopolising power of large private firms. Cooperatives are better placed for improving access to variety of services needed by farmers including better price negotiation, delivery of produce and inputs and access to credit facility. However, co-operatives not available in all regions. There were also regional variations – the post-socialist experience of forced collectivisation lead to resistance of formalised cooperation in some areas. Some national governments have been more supportive of cooperative development than others, and for formation of particular cooperatives (e.g. in the dairy sector) than others.

In Europe, agricultural co-operative membership and leadership do not proportionately reflect the participation of women in the agricultural sector. In Spain, although the cooperative principles include respect for gender equality and despite their greater sensibility and tradition towards non-discrimination, women, experience unequal treatment in the cooperative sector (Salvador, 2016). Women represent only a quarter of the agricultural cooperatives' members, their attendance at assemblies drops to 14% and their participation in the Governing Councils is only 3.5%²¹. The cooperative legislation in Spain has not promoted gender parity in the governing bodies of

¹⁹ <https://www.agronewscastillayleon.com/ceres-coag-impulsa-los-canales-cortos-de-comercializacion-como-yacimiento-de-empleo-para-las-mujeres> (last accessed March 2019).

²⁰ Mundubat, Mugarik Gabe Nafarroa y IPES (2017). Mujeres productoras y soberanía alimentaria en Navarra: una mirada desde el género: <http://www.mundubat.org/gobernanza-alimentaria-navarra-videos-y-dossier/> (last accessed March 2019)

²¹ Cooperativas Agro-alimentarias de España (Coord.) (2011). La participación de las mujeres en las cooperativas agrarias http://www.igualdadenaempresa.es/recursos/monograficos/docs/mujeres_en_las_cooperativas.pdf (last accessed March 2019).



cooperatives and only some regional laws contain articles recommending a balanced representation of men and women. In the same way, there is little inclusion of equality clauses in the cooperative statutes, as well as a low degree of implementation of conciliation measures²². In the UK, leadership of agricultural co-operatives is similarly dominated by men. In Norway, agricultural organisations and cooperatives have run various programs to increase the role of women, but once these programs are over, the norm returns.

In the African study countries, **women are similarly less likely to be members and leaders of farming co-operatives**. In Ghana, there are a very low number of cooperatives in the reference region. Currently only yam and animal sellers have them, and there are no cooperatives for women. Women are underrepresented in cooperative decision-making positions – partly because women in cocoa-producing communities work an average of 20 hours a week more than men, according to Oxfam. Participation in cooperative leadership, which determines how Fairtrade premiums should be used to fund Fairtrade development plans, requires additional time women may not have. (see the film at <https://vimeo.com/154721350>).

In a CIDIN (2014) study of Ethiopia and Kenya, demonstrated that women are a very small minority in the cooperatives and among coffee farmers and play a limited role in the governance structures. Case studies in Ethiopia and Kenya show that independent female cooperative membership, female land/tree-ownership and more female education can increase their bargaining position. Participants in the SALSA Kenya reference region stated that the only existing cooperative in RR13 is a dairy cooperative but it's predominantly male occupied. Women's pronounced under-representation in the leadership structure of most cooperatives was explained by socio-cultural perceptions of men as 'natural leader'.

In Malawi, the factors affecting member loyalty included low levels of literacy and lack of understanding of how co-operatives operate, which due to the high levels of literacy among women, indicates a potential barrier for women. Women's traditional role having reproductive and domestic responsibilities were found to limit their participation in Agricultural Marketing Cooperative Societies (AMCOS) due little time or energy available to attend meetings while meeting those responsibilities. The study also found that limited access to resources and inadequate information and awareness were also limiting factors (Mbembela Mayala and Kumburu, 2018). Women tend to be less involved in rural organizations and decision-making, which limits their access to facilities, information and markets (FAO, 2018). Because one of the ways that farmers gain access to seed is via clubs, membership into these organizations is also important for participation in these value chains. The study also found that women made up only 24% of milk bulking group (MBG) members (Cook et al., 2014).

²² The co-operatives demonstrate gender balance in their employment practices, although women are more likely to be part-time or temporary staff and have lower salaries; it is the elected representatives that demonstrate gender imbalances.



4. Concluding Discussion

Gender relations within the food system, as they relate to the governance of food and nutrition security, are complex. In this section we reflect on some of the key issues emergent from the research; for a full summary of research findings, see the Executive Summary.

In both Africa and Europe, women are more likely to operate smaller-scale farms and are therefore particularly important to small-scale agriculture. Small-scale agriculture, however, is found (at present) to primarily contribute to regional food systems and FNS (in Europe and Africa), largely through self-provisioning (i.e. access and utilisation), producing a very small proportion of the overall food supply in Europe (SALSA D5.1). In contrast, small-scale farms produce a major proportion of food consumed in the African study countries. As the household members primarily responsible for self-provisioning and reproductive labour, women play a key role in food and nutrition security.

To better understand gender issues, we introduced Luke's three faces of power. In Africa, the first face of power is particularly evident – in many regions, women have less decision-making power than men. Much of this power dynamic relates to restricted access to land, which also disables access to credit, subsidies and other resources. Female-led farms may thus appear less productive than male led farms. Strong gender norms also limit the role of women in some types of markets. Lower overall levels of education also restrict the access of women to extension and other services. Gender imbalances are legalised through restrictions on inheritance.

In Europe, the second and third of Lukes' (2005) conceptualisation of the faces of power (see Section 2.2, p. 13) are evident. Although there are no legal restrictions on land ownership, access to subsidies or participation in food systems, farms continue to be predominantly run by men (with the exception of some north eastern countries like Latvia). In Latvia, where women represent almost half of farm owners and operators, it would appear that there are no conspicuous obstacles to women's access to assets, services and markets, or their participation in small farmers' organisations and agri-food networks. Gender distinctions across Europe in general are much less evident on small-scale farms than on large-scale farms. For example, women are more likely to be represented in smallholder organisations than in mainstream farming organisations. Women are also very active in farm diversification in Europe.

Gendered participation in food systems thus reflects intersecting issues of cultural norms, access to land, educational levels and labour allocations. Recent thinking in both Africa and Europe are pointing to the importance of childcare facilities to enabling women's participation in agriculture. 'Equipping' women (e.g. with better education, access to inputs, credit or subsidies) is insufficient to make lasting change while they retain primary responsibility for reproductive labour²³.

Small-scale farming is not a policy priority in many European countries but the issue of women on small-scale farms intersects with a broader range of issues not limited to small-scale farming or food security (e.g. social justice, economic development). National governments place varying emphasis on

²³ See also: <https://www.idrc.ca/en/events/typologies-change-gender-integration-agriculture-and-food-security-research>



small-scale farming in the African study sites; small-scale farming and gender issues are specifically addressed by a number of international agencies working in Africa, although the two issues are not necessarily addressed at the same time.

Government policies to support women in small-scale farming is not necessarily about food and nutrition security. Often it is about economic development in various forms (e.g. retaining populations in rural areas, increasing the economic viability of regions or sectors) or social justice around equality of access to resources and opportunities. Since female-led-farms are typically multifunctional businesses, policies aimed at supporting multifunctional as well as non-agricultural activities might have disproportionately benefit women in agriculture (Zumpano et al., 2013).

It was noted in both Africa and Europe that monitoring of female participation in programs and supports is not undertaken, even when it would appear to be a requirement. This is a reflection of Lukes' third face of power, where it is not deemed important enough to formally evaluate gender, thus there is limited information on how specific programmes impact differentially on gender. This reflects a larger issue of the **invisibility of much of women's contribution to farms in Europe and Africa**: if women are not identified as the 'primary farmer' or 'land owner', then their contribution to farm labour and household activities tends to go un-recognised. Similarly, when women are under-represented in farming organisations and co-operatives, their contribution to the sector appears less substantial and their specific needs are less likely to be addressed.

Although SALSA focuses on regional food systems, the research also found that women are important resources within international food systems, providing agricultural to other countries. Latvia and rural areas in particular have been experiencing massive emigration, and the biggest share of emigrated women (32%) are working in agriculture (Krišjāne, 2008).



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6. Appendix A: SALSA WP5 Gender Literature Review Guidelines

Purpose

To identify from national literatures how institutional arrangements (formal and informal) condition the access of women to assets (e.g. land, capital), services and markets, as well as the role of women in small farmers' organisations and agri-food networks (Task and Deliverable 5.2)

Method

This research is a desk review of academic and grey literature. It is expected that there is very little literature which addresses all these questions together for small-scale farmers. It will therefore be necessary to look at the literature which answers some of these questions and piece together findings in some cases (e.g. findings on the role of women in alternative agrifood networks with literature on small-scale farms), from which we can identify gaps and logical conclusions (e.g. that if women are more visible in alternative agriculture, and on small-scale farms then they are also likely to be more visible in small-scale farms that are engaged in alternative agriculture; issues that are common to small-scale farms and to women in agriculture are likely to be common to women on small-scale farms).

A.) Overview Scan:

- Please do a general survey of the literature on women in agriculture in your country (e.g. a google scholar search; read the titles and abstracts only). What topics are addressed? (e.g. in the UK, there is a substantial literature on the role of women in farming households, but these households are not typically differentiated by farm size. There is also a literature on female entrepreneurship, but this is distinct from the farming literature. The role of women is commonly recognised in relation to farm diversification and 'alternative' agriculture).
 - Is there a literature on 'female-led farms', and if so, what are the distinctive characteristics of these farms? (e.g. size, age of farmer, commodities produced, inheritance of land).
 - How much academic literature can you find on the role of women in agriculture in the past 15 years (e.g. just a few articles, more than 10, more than 50, over 100)?
- Do a search for grey literature e.g. government reports or web-sites to determine whether gender is specifically considered in government policies or industry group (e.g. national farming organisation) actions. What topics are addressed/issues to they see as important? This should be evident from executive summaries or web-pages (i.e. it is not necessary to read whole documents at this stage).
 - If possible, it would be helpful to know what percentage of the farm operators (according to national statistics) are women. If this can be broken down by size categories (e.g. in Scotland we can get statistics on holdings under 10 ha), it would be helpful to know what percentage of farm operators of holdings under 10 ha - or better yet, 5 ha - are female).
- Are there 'women in agriculture' groups in your country, and if so, what are their mandates? (e.g. what do they say their aim is, what types of events do they hold e.g. do they focus on training, empowerment etc). Is there any specific focus on small-scale farms?
- Is there a literature addressing different scales or types of farming (academic or policy). If so, are women more likely to lead or be involved in some types of farms than others? Does any



literature specifically address small-scale farming and if so, what are the issues addressed?
Does this literature intersect with the gender literature identified above?

- From this review, do any particular individuals emerge as experts e.g. because they have authored a number of authors or reports? These individuals may be appropriate for an interview at a later stage.

B.) Then select articles or reports to read in more detail that appear to address the following topics:

Government policies

- How do national or macro-regional agricultural policies influence farm households? Do these policies specifically address women/gender at all?
- Are there other policies which influence women's roles on farms or in farm households (e.g. childcare, child labour restrictions, agri-environmental incentives/restrictions)?
- How do national laws influence the inheritance and purchase of land by women?

Markets

- What is the role of women in regional food systems? What about national/international systems? (i.e. is this specifically addressed in any of the reports/articles, and if so, what is said?. Does any of this relate to small-scale farms?
- Are women disproportionately likely to be involved in particular markets (e.g. short food supply chains, direct to consumer selling) than others? Are there some markets where women rarely participate? Why is this?
- How do cooperatives influence gender dynamics (e.g. do they make it easier or more difficult for women to participate in markets)? Do women occupy decision-making or leadership roles in cooperatives?
- How do private certification standards influence gender dynamics (e.g. do they make it easier or more difficult for women to participate in markets)?

Social norms

In Europe, many of the restrictions on women inheriting land or engaging in markets are cultural, rather than legal.

- Does the literature on farming norms in your country specifically consider women's roles (e.g. in the household, markets, farm diversification). Are certain farm products of production processes more likely to be considered women's responsibility?
- How do women participate in farming organisations (e.g. is there a small-holding or small-farm organisation, and if so, how are women represented in the membership and leadership. How is this proportionate to women in agriculture more generally?)
- Is there any evidence for female participation in food or farming-related social movements (e.g. Slow Food)?
- Is there other literature that explores the influence of social norms around food on women? Does this literature intersect with the literature on farming and/or regional food systems?

Note – if there is no information on some of these topics, please state 'no information'. However, if you can draw reasoned conclusions by piecing together literature, that would be very helpful.



Reporting format

Please organise a paragraph (or more if needed) under each heading above. Please include key references where appropriate. It would be helpful to have a summary at the beginning highlighting key issues and gaps. Overall length: 5-10 pages. Due 15 March.

