CHAPTER 2

Gender and Social Norms in Agriculture: A Review

Emily Hillenbrand and Maureen Miruka

There is a growing literature on gender norms—the unwritten, informal social rules that determine socially acceptable behavior for men and women—and how they shape the possibilities for women's empowerment. Research on social norms is moving beyond public health into other sectors, including agriculture, and there is growing interest in incorporating a social norms lens in policy models and strategies for women's empowerment. In this chapter we review the current thinking around the gender dimensions of social norms and offer some examples of how gender norms influence and shape some of the key indicators of women's empowerment in the agriculture sector. There is much to learn about how norms operate, how to change them, and how interventions can most strategically build on this understanding, particularly in agriculture. We first outline how different disciplines have approached social norms within the larger framework of behavior-change models and how norms, as categories of collective beliefs, differ from and relate to attitudes and practices. We discuss how feminists frame gender norms in the goal of gender equality and present some of the growing literature from women's economic empowerment programs on how entrenched gender norms broadly can hinder women's economic gains. We discuss five common domains of gender norms that are applicable to agricultural programming across multiple contexts, including norms that shape skills, capacities, and self-confidence; norms that govern productive and reproductive work; norms that shape access and control over inputs, land, and productive resources; and norms that can limit women's intrahousehold voice and influence. We also emphasize the context-specificity and inherent fluidity of gender norms, which shift in response to new opportunities as well as over the life cycle of men and women. Presenting some global evidence about what seems to work to support transformation of harmful norms, we conclude with reflections on the complexities, precautions, and ethical dimensions of integrating a social norms approach into women's empowerment in agriculture programming.

Understanding Social Norms: Definitions and Disciplinary Approaches

Social norms theory has entered the development discourse relatively recently, predominantly in the field of public health and in public policy interventions in developed countries—for example, to popularize safe driving, safe drinking, or recycling practices. Social norms fall into a broader literature of behavior-change theories, which examine the determinants and influences of people's actions at individual, interpersonal, and societal levels. While development interventions have often focused on individual behavior and one-way behavior change (theories of diffusion of innovation, for example, focus on one lead farmer influencing another), behavior-change research from a variety of disciplines recognizes that a cluster of social and nonsocial factors determine one's actions (both one-off and habitual). In early behavior-change theories, rational choice theory prevailed, and interventions focused on influencing individual behaviors. Drawing from economic theories and influencing many information/education/communication (IEC) campaigns, rational choice theory is based on assumptions that humans make rational decisions to maximize their well-being, and therefore, if they are informed of a superior practice (or seed or product) or if they understand the harms or costs of an existing practice (smoking, gender-based violence), they will be persuaded to make different actions and decisions. Social psychology and behavioral economics research, however, showed that people often take mental shortcuts and engage in "irrational" rationalizations that, for example, allow them to downplay future consequences or reject immediate loss or risk at the expense of future benefit (Mayne et al. 2018, 5). Social psychology theories also acknowledge that humans are influenced by their social environment and peer groups, and that effective behavior-change strategies must also understand and address the social factors (including norms, role models, institutional cultures) that influence behaviors.

So, what are social norms? Social norms are a category of *collective belief* referring to the social environment—specifically, the *expectations* one has about a peer or reference group, or an agreed-upon expectation and rule by which a given group guides the behavior of its members in any particular situation. The DFID Guidance Note "Shifting Social Norms to Tackle Violence Against Women and Girls" defines a social norm as "a rule of behavior that people in a group conform to because they believe: a) most other people in the group **do** conform to it (i.e. it is typical behavior) AND b) most other people in the group believe they **ought to** conform to it (i.e. it is appropriate behaviour)" (cited in Alexander-Scott, Bell, and Holden 2016, 9). In sum, social norms refer to the desire for social approval or risk of sanction from one's peer group, which appears to have a greater influence on behavioral outcomes than individual attitudes and internal beliefs alone (Mayne et al. 2018).

"Beliefs about what others do, and what others think we should do, within some reference group, maintained by social approval and disapproval, guide a person's action in her social setting. If a harmful practice is social in nature, programs that concentrate on the education of the individual or increase in the availability of alternatives, or provide external incentives, may not be enough to change the social practice. Programs may be more effective if they support the revision of social expectations of people throughout the community of interest" (Mackie et al. 2015, 5).

The terms *attitudes, beliefs,* and *norms* are sometimes used interchangeably in development practice, but these terms must be used with precision for intervention efficacy. *Attitudes* describes one's personal beliefs and convictions, which may necessarily adhere to individual *behaviors*—the ways in which individuals conduct themselves, whether in one-off actions and decisions or habitual practices and patterns of action. While many interventions (particularly in health or adoption of technologies) have focused on *individual* adoption of behaviors, a *social norms* perspective shifts the unit of analysis to examine the broader "social ways of doing things," or *social* behaviors of a particular group. This recognizes that people's identity as group members is also important, and it places an emphasis on relational social processes, as opposed to individual cognitive processes (Mackie et al. 2015; Reynolds, Subašić, and Tindall 2015).

The lens of social norms examines multidirectional influences on *group* behavior, showing how beliefs about what one's peer reference group thinks and does, and potential social sanctions of that reference group, motivate and influence individuals' behavior and actions (Mackie et al. 2015). *Social norms* are located at the interpersonal or community level of behavior patterns and are considered interdependent behaviors—meaning that we engage in a behavior under the condition and expectation that others conform to the same—and therefore strategies need to examine how to influence *collective* rather than individual behaviors.

As Cislaghi and Heise's diagram illustrates (Figure 2.1), a social norms lens integrates a broader constellation of behavior-change influences on gender–power dynamics. Individuals can exercise agency according to their *personal* beliefs, while *material* factors such as economic incentives and sanctions or political, legal, or technological changes drive social behavior shifts and influence normative change at the broader environmental level (Cislaghi and Heise 2018).

Gender Norms and Women's Economic Empowerment

In the women's economic empowerment space, two World Bank reports, *Gender Equality and Development* (World Bank 2011) and *Mind, Society, and Behavior* (World Bank 2015), brought mainstream attention to the role of gender norms in fostering or undermining women's economic empowerment, and to the possibility of engineering social norms to influence behaviors. Gender norms internalized into women's and men's consciousness can limit women's individual self-confidence and self-efficacy, which constrains their agency—regardless of their particular skills or potential. For example, societal beliefs that leadership is associated with maleness can hinder women's self-confidence, preventing them from attempting leadership positions—even when quotas or affirmative actions are in place. Their lack of representation then reinforces the social norm and societal perception that leadership is a male domain (World Bank 2011).

Looking at the relationship between women's empowerment (comprised of agency, endowments, and economic opportunities) and growth, the 2012 report showcases how informal institutions (including social norms around care and markets) pose some of the major systemic challenges that explain the gap in women's economic achievements and overall equality despite much progress and policy attention to gender. Dispelling rational-choice economic theories and the myth of "economic man," the 2015 report draws on behavioral economics to emphasize that, for better or worse, "human sociality" and the tendency to act as groups determine behaviors, and that this has important implications for designing development interventions or enforceable policy. Describing social norms as *informal governance mechanisms*, the report points to growing examples of policy interventions that have successfully leveraged social norms to enforce socially beneficial behaviors, such as safer driving or tax paying. Economic incentives are not the only motivating factors, and desire for social prestige and belonging can be used alongside economic motives to influence practices (World Bank 2015).

In their review of gender and women's economic empowerment programs, Singh, Butt, and Canepa (2018, 11) concur that "social norms can be more potent than a monetized incentive or deterrence/cost. Meaning, an opportunity for more profit may not incentivize someone to do something new if a norm implies there are negative consequences." Even where appropriate policies and laws exist, social norms and fear of social sanctions can constrain women's agency and prevent them from taking opportunities that are available to them. For example, while legal restrictions on women's mobility are quite rare, social norms governing women's

FIGURE 2.1—THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL NORMS VISUALIZED ON THE DYNAMIC FRAMEWORK

Institutional
e.g. Laws – family inheritance, property
Institutions
Governance structures (political representation)
Economic policy (tax structure, social protection, job market)
Criminal justice system

Global
e.g. Rising consumerism
Globalisation
Technological innovation
Ideologies (human rights, fundamentalism)

Material
e.g. Availability of services
Transport/Infrastructure
Available assets (property, land, jobs, livestock)

Normative space

POWER GENDER

Individual
e.g. Factual beliefs
Aspirations
Skills
Attitudes
Self-efficacy

Normative space

Social
e.g. Social networks and support
Availability of models
Positive deviants

Source: Cislaghi and Heise (2018).

sexual purity, modesty, and caregiving roles in many parts of the world effectively curtail their movement, leading to negative health-seeking behaviors and job-seeking outcomes. Where a law is at odds with a strong social norm (such as genital cutting or early marriage), legal changes are unlikely to influence practices.

Prevailing gender norms may determine whether women's increased income translates into greater bargaining power at the intrahousehold level (World Bank 2011). Gendered norms broadly determine what is valued and supported by public policy and private investment. For example, the assumption that "if you are working for no pay, that work has no value" applies to women's socially assigned caregiving roles as well as to subsistence or food-crop agriculture produc-tion that is often performed by women. As a result of these normative assumptions and value systems, policy supports and investments go to technology and equipment for production of "high-value" crops or market-oriented activities, rather than into labor-saving technologies that might, for example, reduce women's laundry and caregiving efforts (Singh, Butt, and Canepa 2018). In a review of "the norms factor" in women's economic empowerment programs, Marcus (2018) identifies four common categories of social norms that can impede women's advancement. These include (a) norms that assign most domestic work to women; (b) norms of sexual decorum and fear of sexual violence as retribution; (c) norms of decorum and reputation (which can include prohibitions on women interacting with men in the workplace); and (d) norms about women working outside the home (distant farms or markets is an example in the agriculture sector). Entrenched norms of masculinity also hold back gender equality, and men's behaviors appear to be influenced

less by their own personal attitudes and even enabling policies than the normative climate (what they think other men do) (Institute for Gender and the Economy, n.d.). However, to date, limited rigorous empirical data exist about the ways in which norms of masculinity affect division of labor, job segregation, and women's paid and unpaid work (Marcus 2018).

Gender Norms in Agriculture

When it comes to gender norms in agriculture, it is important to understand that there is no single set of norms—or even regional set of norms—that determines gender and agricultural practices. Norms operate and must be understood in a very specific, localized context (cultural as well as economic). A major qualitative comparative research initiative of CGIAR entitled GENNOVATE examined interactions between gender norms, agency, and agricultural innovation in 137 agricultural communities from 26 countries across the Global South. Drawing on a set of GENNOVATE case studies from Africa south of the Sahara, Petesch et al. (2018) introduce the concept of the local normative climate to address the contextual social processes by which different gender norms relax, hold tight, or perhaps tighten further to accommodate the varied and changing circumstances of community members. They examine the normative climate in a village where men but not women are perceiving significant latitude for exercising agency in their agricultural livelihoods, and then compare those conditions with a context where women but not men observe strong agency. The authors discuss how norms fluidly evolve as women and men move through their life cycle and as the local economy and other institutions change. The very fluidity of norms contributes to heterogeneity in the processes affecting women's and men's perceptions of their agency. They also emphasize the importance of examining norms of masculinity along with norms for women and how these interact with women's agency (Petesch et al. 2018).

At the same time, in an effort to draw lessons for practice, across cultures some familiar patterns of gender norms exist that can interact with opportunity structures to prevent women from advancing in the agriculture sector. We have outlined several root categories of gender norms that can reproduce unequal power relations and produce unequal outcomes within the male-dominated agriculture systems and structures. These categories can serve as areas of inquiry for identifying how the local normative climate may interact with and constrain opportunities for women's equitable participation in agriculture programs.

Capacities, Skills, Confidence: Norms of Who Is a Farmer and What Are Women's Crops

Agriculture extension systems and many agriculture interventions led by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) aim to build farmers' skills and capacities and improve their uptake of technologies and services. In many contexts, however, women are considered "farmers' wives," not farmers, and are thus not targeted for services regardless of their actual contributions to production and marketing. Gender norms and gendered images of who is a farmer may limit women's access to timely information and quality extension services. Many policy makers and rural advisory services implicitly or explicitly characterize their target groups according to features such as "head of household" or "cash crop versus subsistence crop farmer," while women are seen as subsistence producers (Manfre et al. 2013; Farnworth and Colverson 2015). The common categorization of "men's" and "women's" crops often segregates food and cash crops, orienting extension support and financial resources toward the cash crops, which are often owned or controlled by men. This gendered crop segregation can yield significant income disparities, as in Malawi, where the primary cash crop, tobacco, is planted on only 3 percent of women's plots compared to 10 percent of men's plots. Overall, there is a 28 percent gender gap between women and men in the fraction of land devoted to export crops in Malawi. Closing this gendered cash-crop gap has the potential of raising gross domestic product more than $28 million in Malawi, $3 million in Tanzania, and $8 million in Uganda (UN Women et al. 2015). In commercial agriculture, gender norms around occupational segregation reserve certain jobs—generally technical or higher-paid—to be more appropriate for men than for women (Singh, Butt, and Canepa 2018).

In practice, the shorthand of "men's and women's crops" tends to be oversimplified, as production practices and control are not neatly divisible by sex, and women often contribute significantly to "men's crops" and vice versa. When new opportunities arise, through changes in markets or technologies, these norms can shift rapidly—but not always to women's advantage. Socially determined patterns of labor will shape who is able to take advantage of new opportunities, and women's labor burdens in household work and food production may limit their ability to take advantage of such opportunities (Doss 2017).

Even when technical trainings and services are made available to women, gendered norms around mobility and communication with male nonrelatives

(interacting with norms of control over women's sexuality and purity) can prevent women from attending meetings, hence barring them from building skills. Gender social norms that prioritize marriage over education for girls can limit the literacy and numeracy skills of women—and since such skills are often key selection criteria for the lead farmers or community-based extension representatives that agriculture advisory systems look for, these systems may continue to reproduce the normative image and assumption of the male farmer.

Beyond technical agricultural skills, self-confidence, group management, and negotiation skills are vital for farmers to proactively seek agriculture-related opportunities, and to leverage the collective bargaining power they need to compete effectively in agricultural markets. Multicountry research into what works to empower women shows that the soft skill of "critical consciousness-raising" and the solidarity that women can gain through participation in collectives remain instrumental to challenging normative assumptions about women's representation and building the skills to claim entitlements and recognition within discriminatory systems (Cornwall 2016, 347; Hillenbrand et al. 2015, 35).

Norms of Productive versus Reproductive Work

The almost-universal patriarchal value system that views productive work as more important than reproductive work has far-reaching gendered implications. Gender norms and social institutions feminize caregiving, assigning unpaid care work as women's domain while associating norms of masculinity and manhood with the provision of income and paid work. These discriminatory social norms influence labor markets as well as overall productivity. This normative division of labor dissuades men from assuming equal caring responsibilities, symbolically diminishes women's contributions to earned income, and burdens female farmers with unremunerated childcare work in addition to their agricultural activities (Singh, Butt, and Canepa 2018). Gendered expectations that good mothers should prioritize caregiving responsibilities first can also limit women's access to training and external capacity-building opportunities (see above), which contributes to lower productivity, as women have less access to labor and time for crop activities. Closely related to the gender norms that create the breadwinner/caregiver dichotomy, the common notion that women are primarily responsible for food crops and small livestock for nutrition (which is not universally true) normalizes men's control of earning income from cash crops and presents "women's crops" and nutrition outcomes as secondary objectives of farming enterprises.

Access and Control over Inputs, Land, and Productive Resources

Asset accumulation and ownership of productive resources are vitally important for productive engagement in sustainable agriculture. Appropriate equipment and technology can greatly increase yields and returns to labor inputs, while productive assets allow farmers to manage short-term environmental shocks and longer-term climate shifts. Ownership of assets also increases women's bargaining power, giving them greater voice in decision making at home and in the community and securing their fallback position, particularly in the event of dissolution of marriage. Women may also be required to work on men's fields and in men's businesses before tending to their own. Sometimes women find it hard to implement the training they have received because they need to obtain the agreement of their partners to make changes—which may not be forthcoming (Farnworth et al. 2013). An IFPRI-Oxford paper exposing four common myths about women in agriculture cites a study of forest user groups in Kenya, Uganda, Mexico, and Bolivia to challenge the myth that women are "naturally" better stewards of the environment (Doss 2017). This research based on comparative analysis of International Forestry Resources and Institutions (IFRI) data found that female-dominated groups were less likely to adopt new technologies and resource-monitoring practices that are associated with improved sustainability. The authors attributed this gap to gender biases in technology access, labor constraints, and limitation to women's sanctioning authority (Doss 2017). The consequences and productivity gaps associated with unequal access to quality inputs (land, labor, knowledge, fertilizer, and improved seeds) have been well documented and constitute a considerable financial loss in Africa south of the Sahara (UN Women et al. 2015).

Social norms around land inheritance and land rights often contradict legal frameworks and need to be understood and addressed in their local cultural context. Even where women's rights to land are guaranteed by law, many women can access land only through men, and they may not have the same rights if the marriage dissolves; they are often expected to renounce their inheritance claims to preserve alliances and secure support within the family (Singh, Butt, and Canepa 2018, 14). Social norms around land inheritance are often embedded in religious institutions—which may contradict and outweigh the legal rights frameworks. In a project in Niger, CARE found that working with religious leaders and using the Koran was a crucial starting point for

negotiating women's land inheritance and land control. As one participant observed, "Religion is everywhere in Niger—it structures people's lives with different rituals from when they get up in the morning until they go to bed at night. We cannot promote social changes effectively for the benefit of the poor without a dialogue with the religious leaders. So even if Islam says that women are only entitled to inherit half that of men, we think it's a place to start. The use of the Koran can promote women's access to land, also when NGOs are long gone" (CARE 2013, 12). Along with raising women's awareness of their rights, the project found that promoting community recognition of women's role in agriculture creating a favorable environment for a normative and material shift in women's land claims.

Intrahousehold Influence and Voice

Gender norms that designate men as heads of household and privilege male control over productive resources can enshrine practices of intrahousehold competition, inefficient allocation of resources, and poor information sharing within the household unit, all of which can have a detrimental effect on food security, productivity, and nutrition outcomes (Smith et al. 2011). In Uganda, for example, research found that the quality of the coffee that was being sent to the market was poor, because both women and men were picking and selling unripe beans in order to sell them before their partners managed to do so (Markel and Jones 2015). Gender norms that tolerate gender-based violence can dissuade women from sharing their views, leading to male-biased (and partial) perspectives on household needs and production decisions. In societies where seclusion of women is the norm, women are dependent on a family middleman for all communication external to the household, including accessing loans and markets (CARE 2013).

A cost–benefit analysis of CARE's multicountry smallholder agriculture program Pathways demonstrated that directly addressing gender norms in intrahousehold power relations contributed significantly to gains in food security, resilience, and women's empowerment (Weatherhead et al. 2016). In the Uganda coffee project example mentioned above, the Gender Action Learning System (GALS) methodology was introduced to identify gender disparities and support changes to informal rules at the household level. Results included significant changes in gender relations, particularly with regard to gender division of labor. Participants reported more equal management of household resources

and increased income, while coffee buyers reported increased quality of coffee (Markel and Jones 2015).

In Niger, CARE Danmark found that challenging social norms of women's seclusion (by providing women access to mobile phones) countered their sense of isolation and freed them from dependence on husbands, allowing them to receive updates on prices for market products and land plots and access markets. Contravening this social norm around technology access had far-reaching implications for women's solidarity, empowerment, and intrahousehold independence. Symbolically, it restored an important sense of privacy and reduced their sense of social isolation: as one project staff person observed, "the prospect of getting a phone motivates women to learn to write and read. After receiving a phone, women become much more connected to other women and relatives outside the household. They write text messages to reach family members, who live both nearby and far away, for instance in the village, where they were born and raised. They are no longer restricted to talk only with their husbands, children and family-by-marriage. This social aspect is very important" (CARE 2013, 19).

A number of papers have indicated the importance of collective action and solidarity groups to women's empowerment in both social and economic terms (Singh, Butt, and Canepa 2018; Cornwall 2016; Sanyal, Rao, and Majumdar 2015). Sanyal, Rao, and Majumdar's qualitative investigation into *how* self-help groups in Bihar empower women and change gender norms discovered that participation in groups gave women access to *symbolic resources* that complemented their previous identities as members of kin or caste groups. This shifted their intrahousehold influence by giving them access to "a well-defined network of people and access to new systems of 'knowledge' with which they could challenge old generationally transmitted systems of knowledge that were more concerned with preserving gender boundaries than disrupting them" (Sanyal, Rao, and Majumdar 2015, 10).

Transforming Social Norms: What Works?

The deep-seated gender norms described above are reflected in the design and enforcement of formal policies and are embedded within the mentalities, mind-sets, and habits of actors at multiple institutional levels—including the traditional authorities that govern resource access; market actors; farmers' collectives and farmers' unions that represent smallholders' interests; and the NGO

staff and researchers implementing empowerment interventions. This highlights the importance of applying the ecological model for transformative change, but also of recognizing that institutions are ultimately made up of and influenced by humans and their biases. The potential application of social norms theory to deep systemic change derives from understanding that people are influenced by what they think others are doing and are deeply motivated by desire for social acceptance. People are especially motivated by the need to belong to a given reference group, and therefore are motivated to bring their behavior in line with what the community believes is acceptable.

In policy application, use of behavioral "nudges" referring to social norms has been shown to effectively shift behavioral outcomes. In one classic study, a hotel notice that simply requested people to reuse towels had a 35 percent response rate. When the notice *also* reminded people that most *previous guests* had recycled (suggesting the prevalence of a social norm), the reuse rate increased to 49 percent (Mayne et al. 2018). In intervention terms, an "I love recycling" campaign focuses on an individual positive *attitude* change (precursors to individual behavior change), whereas a social norms change campaign would aim to influence the *perception* of what is commonly practiced ("recycling is really common in my community") (Tankard and Levy Paluck 2016).However, the cues that affect behavior in one direction or another may be very subtle, and campaigns can also misfire or have unintended effects. For example, in one famous experiment, a national park sign requesting forest park users not to steal wood (and depicting a *single* thief on the sign) had the intended effect of reducing the behavior, as the sole thief suggested this is an isolated and unsanctioned behavior. In contrast, a sign with the same message—but depicting *several* thieves—subtly conveyed the idea that stealing wood *is* a group norm, and it actually increased the behavior by 7 percent (Mayne et al. 2018). In a 2007 study by Schultz et al., surveyed participants who learned they were using *less* electricity than the norm responded by increasing their electricity consumption; the study found that adding evaluative feedback (a smiley face to signal approval of the non-normative performance) could eliminate that negative response (Tankard and Levy Paluck 2016).

Gender norms are not static or learned for a lifetime; rather, perceptions of norms are constantly being updated by our interactions and observations of others' public behaviors. Thus, interventions that aim to reshape gender norms recognize that women and men resist and withdraw from norms continually throughout their lifetimes. While gender norms may represent dominant perspectives on what gender relations should be like and how individuals of particular genders should behave through their gender role, equitable and less-equitable practices exist in a given community at any given point at time (Marcus 2014). The challenge and opportunity for interventions is to promote the more equitable norms to become more openly recognized as typical and therefore appropriate behaviors by the wider community (Springer and Drucza 2018; Tankard and Levy Paluck 2016).

In development practice, much of the evidence on how to do that comes from efforts to tackle HIV/AIDS (because of the clear link between unequal gender relations and infection risks), harmful traditional practices such as early marriage and female genital mutilation, and violence against women (Cislagi and Heise 2018). The Department for International Development's (DFID's) comprehensive guidance note offers a three-point framework for shifting social norms that entails (a) shifting social expectations not just individual attitudes; (b) publicizing the change; and (c) catalyzing and reinforcing new norms and behaviors. Importantly, "in order to shift social norms, *'interventions must create new beliefs within an individual's reference group so that the collective expectations of the people important to them allow new behaviours to emerge"* (Alexander-Scott, Bell, and Holden 2016, 11, citing Heise and Manji 2015).

The critical first step to changing social norms is to diagnose the existing gender norm and to understand what behavior is acceptable, and whether the targeted behavior is upheld by personal beliefs and attitudes or social norms and sanctions. In other words, do people practice it because they believe others do it (typical) or because they think others expect them to do it (appropriate), or both? In diagnosing collective beliefs, it is important to note that social norms operate with respect to a specific social reference group, and that what is appropriate may be defined within a very localized normative climate (Petesche et al. 2018). Only after actually diagnosing all the facets of a social norm (including who the reference group is, what the social sanctions are for a particular behavior, what the range of actual practices are) can one intervene effectively to change social expectations. DFID's guidance note on shifting social norms to prevent violence against women and girls identifies five key steps that can be adapted to tackling gender norms in the context of agricultural programming. These are outlined as follows.

1. Influence individual attitudes.
Although social norms are *collective beliefs*, and individual attitudes are generally not enough to change rigid social expectations and behaviors, influencing

individual attitudes can help weaken the hold of a harmful social norm. Tactics such as interpersonal counseling, trainings, and awareness raising can also operate to influence individual attitudes. A social norms campaign can also be used to highlight the harms of a particular practice, reframing it to show how it is in contradiction to other values (including religious, cultural), or highlighting the fluidity of a practice or how it is changing. It is possible that individual attitudes and collective norms may differ, as in the case of "positive deviants" or change agents, who for personal or moral reasons choose not to conform to a particular practice. In the case of "pluralistic ignorance," a behavior might be prevalent in some areas despite individual attitudes being against it. In this case, people are *conforming in the mistaken belief* that the majority supports it. Using data to expose the difference between "taken-for-granted" attitudes and the actual diversity of practices in a community can be effectively used to shift the perception of what is acceptable and normal behavior (Alexander-Scott, Bell, and Holden 2016). As described earlier, however, such interventions can backfire and make a harmful norm more prevalent; they should be carefully pilot-tested for effectiveness and coupled with evaluative feedback to influence the direction of the normative shift (Tankard and Levy Paluck 2016).

2. Provide inclusive arenas for dialogue and learning.

Because social norms operate as collective expectations, the element of public debate and discourse seems vital to shifting behaviors and expectations, particularly around gender. Engaging influential leaders in this process can be particularly effective, as it can offer models for communities to change together and to allay fears of social sanction. Community mobilization approaches that use community conversations, public debates, and also radio call-in programs or "edutainment" can provide platforms for people to hear how others in their reference group are shifting their own views and practices. This helps communities come to agreement on the harms of a practice and propose alternatives.

3. Promote alternative expectations.

It is not enough to condemn an existing practice or harmful norm. It is also vital to provide alternative rules and social expectations, and to frame them in a way that highlights the benefits of the new practice. Promoting the family and economic benefits of women's empowerment has appeared to be an effective message for some level of gender norm changes, but the benefits must be salient to the reference group's values. Promoting positive relationship terms (respect, partnership,

harmony) and the benefits of egalitarian decisions (happier families, sounder decisions, more resources) may be appealing to men as well as women; formative research can identify how the reference group expresses the positive benefits of the desired changes in their own words. Making sure that the new behavior is visible (see point 4) can accelerate the process of changing social expectations.

4. Provide opportunities for public change.

Because norms are collective and enforced within a reference group, providing public opportunities to speak out against a harmful practice or to commit to a new norm can effectively cement the perception of the social acceptability and potential social sanctions for a new practice. According to DFID guidance, this works best once significant individual attitudinal shifts have taken place, and when social sanctions against the new norm are already weakened. Making collective action plans to address gender inequalities as a community, under the leadership of influential community members, is often a culminating step in community dialogue and social mobilization approaches (Alexander-Scott, Bell, and Holden 2016). For more on practitioner considerations for changing social norms, see Box 2.1.

5. Unpack norms of masculinity.

It is recognized that masculinities, like femininities, are multiple, and that norms and performances of masculinity vary culturally and contextually, with expectations differing by class, race, and age. Globally, social norms about what it means to be a man can be defined in four broad categories of behavioral expression: (a) physical dominance (expressed as well through risk-taking and violence); (b) family formation and fatherhood; (c) schooling and education; and (d) employment and breadwinning status. The concept of hegemonic masculinity—the dominant form of masculinity in a given context, which defines the masculine in contrast to the feminine, and is the prevailing concept against which men measure themselves and other men—is important for understanding the social pressures and expectations that men are held to, even as personal beliefs about gender and gender-equitable relations may vary (Green, Robles, and Pawlak 2011).

Like women's roles, attitudes and practices of masculinity can shift in response to policy and structural opportunities. While economic shifts and emergencies have been shown to produce rapid changes in the gendered allocation of roles and responsibilities, particularly for women, observations

indicate that the bounds of hegemonic masculinity are rather more rigid than the more changeable occupational roles that women can take up. A study from the United States indicates that even when supportive policies are in place (in this case, paid paternal leave), those supportive structures and even men's own progressive ideologies are not as significant at influencing men's behaviors as are the social norms and expectations around masculinity. Where men thought that other men valued more egalitarian social relationships, they were more likely to take advantage of existing paternal leave policies. Calling out the "stalled revolution," the article notes that a focus on women's empowerment

and efforts to integrate women into market systems, leadership positions, and equality in the workplace have tended to put the onus on women "leaning in," and have required little behavioral change on the part of men to adopt more egalitarian practices, particularly in the household (Thebaud and Pedulla 2016).

Gender-awareness education with girls and women alone does not always provide them with the skills and social support to challenge norms; nor does economic empowerment alone translate into gender norm changes. There is some evidence, however, that small-group education with men and boys *combined* with intensive community mobilization can be effective at changing gender norms (Alexander-Scott, Bell, and Holden 2016). Promundo's Program H and its Journeys of Transformation, EngenderHealth's Men As Partners program, and MenEngage Alliance's MenCare campaign are examples of successful models that create opportunities for men to separately discuss and share about underlying gender norms, usually through the lens of a particular sectoral issue that matters to them, including reproductive health/sexuality, fatherhood, and, in the case of Journeys of Transformation, supporting women's economic empowerment. (See the accompanying case study for a discussion of Journeys of Transformation and other approaches to influencing norms of masculinity and men's behaviors.)

Applying Evidence-Based Gender Norms Models to Agriculture Interventions

Rigorous evaluations of Stepping Stones, Raising Voices' SASA!, and Tostan's Community Empowerment Program have demonstrated their effectiveness in reducing gender-based violence and harmful traditional practices (such as female genital mutilation) by addressing underlying gender norms and beliefs. These models follow a community-mobilization approach that relies on skilled and passionate community facilitators to lead community groups through a series of public dialogues, reflections on the harms of the norm, and commitment to an action plan. In the agriculture sector, there is a limited but growing body of evidence about the efficacy of integrating similar approaches into agriculture programs to improve both social norms and sectoral outcomes. For example, an aquaculture intervention by WorldFish in Zambia and Bangladesh tested a gender-transformative approach that used community mobilization tools and role-plays to publicly debate and tackle gender norms. The studies found that in both contexts, there was a significantly higher positive change in gender

attitude scores for those who participated in the gender-transformative approach as compared with the "practical gender approach" that did not address social norms. There were also noticeable differences in gender behaviors, such as joint ownership of agriculture equipment and assets (Choudhury, Cole, and McDougall 2017). An external evaluation of CARE's Pathways to Empowerment program, which integrated gender dialogues with men, women, and community leaders into an incorporated service delivery model, found that the gender activities specifically contributed not only to gender equality outcomes but also to gains in food security, incomes, and resilience (Weatherhead et al. 2016). A recent meta-analysis conducted by CIMMYT into social norm change in Ethiopian agriculture interventions concluded that CARE Ethiopia's agriculture programs WE-RISE and GRAD are currently providing the strongest evidence of effective gender norm change models in the sector. Both approaches followed a combination of women's economic empowerment activities (starting with the village savings and loan model) and Social Analysis and Action, a community-mobilization model of dialogue around gender and social exclusion norms. The evaluation concluded that "by targeting economic empowerment through loans, savings, and agricultural productivity, and then layering on gender norm change, VESA's appear to have successfully stimulated discussion and norm change between genders. This builds the evidence base that economic models, when paired with explicit gender-sensitivity programming, can enhance women's, men's, and household outcomes from development projects" (Springer and Drucza 2018, 21).

Implications for a Social Norms Lens on Gender and Agriculture Programming

Social norms tie into systemic change aspirations that few NGOs or civil society organizations (CSOs) can "engineer" on their own, but they can contribute ethically and effectively by working through broad social networks, encouraging adoption of change by government and legislation, and addressing other structural constraints or influences that determine or limit behavior change (Mackie et al. 2015). Organizations applying a social norms approach must have a deep understanding of the theory and evidence behind social norms so that they may recognize the risks and potential for such interventions to backfire—which can in turn call into question or invite funding cuts to the entire gender approach.

When it comes to introducing a new social norm, Tankard and Levy Paluck (2016) identify five key conditions under which norms are more likely to shift.

First, when individuals identify with the source of the information, they are more likely to accept the proposed norm. Second, the new norm must be a believable representation of the group's opinions and behaviors; if the idealized new norm that is being promoted is too far from the current practice and reality, people may resent or disbelieve the picture that is being presented and respond negatively. Similarly, when an individual's personal beliefs are already somewhat in line with the new norm, they are more likely to respond favorably. When information about a new norm is widely broadcast, rather than personally shared, people are more likely to perceive this as information that is endorsed and legitimated by the social group. Finally, contextualizing descriptive norms makes it less likely that awareness-raising about negative norms can backfire and unintentionally reinforce a negative trend. For example, sharing statistics to raise awareness about the prevalence of a trend (such as the rate of gender-based violence) can unintentionally have the effect of legitimizing or normalizing that behavior. Describing the favorable direction in which a harmful norm is changing can prevent this; if the central tendency of a behavior is negative, another effective tactic may be to demonstrate the diversity and heterogeneity of practices, allowing people to relate favorably to a positioning outside what they perceive to be *the* norm (Tankard and Levy Paluck 2016).

Diagnostic and Measurement Issues

Building the evidence base for how to change social norms in the agriculture sector is a pressing priority. The CIMMYT evaluation of social norms interventions in Ethiopia noted that the CARE examples stood out because of the rigor of their external evaluations, a quality that many gender-focused interventions lack, even though internal documentation may provide rich documentation on processes of social change. To build that rigorous evidence base on social norms in the agriculture sector, the authors recommend gender-focused monitoring-and-evaluation (M&E) systems that establish explicit gender goals at the highest level, follow a clear theory of change for how those goals are to come about, and use credible and rigorous qualitative data to explain quantitative trends (Springer and Drucza 2018).

One of the pitfalls of measuring and monitoring social norm change is the common habit of using attitudes as proxies for social norms or behaviors. While many programs measure *attitudes* or *beliefs* about the nonsocial environment, and some measure *self-efficacy*, which relates to behavior change, few programs draw on social norms theory or measure the central question of *social expectations* that are at the heart of social norms. Many programs rely heavily on

information campaigns and measure attitudinal change as an outcome, despite strong evidence that attitudes do not always correlate with habitual practices. Practitioners must design M&E tools for measuring *social norms* change based on a deep understanding of the social determinants of a given behavioral practice. For example, it is important to diagnose whether the practice in question is a custom, a social norm, or a preference, as well as to understand the incentive structures that uphold it (Mayne et al. 2018; Mackie et al. 2015; Bicchieri 2017).

CARE's Social Norms Analysis Plot (SNAP) framework (CARE 2016) tries to bridge this gap by providing guidance for integrating social norms theory into both quantitative and qualitative measurements. The SNAP tool offers guidance for integrating normative aspects of behavioral/attitudinal questions into baseline–endline surveys to capture how empirical and injunctive norms may shift over the course of an intervention. It also proposes using hypothetical vignettes to explore norms in qualitative discussions. Hypothetical vignettes, rather than speaking to direct experience, allow respondents to explore the social sanctions associated with a particular transgression and to consider the circumstances under which a socially transgressive behavior might be acceptable. Dialogue around the vignettes allows for exploration of how and where particular social norms might be weakening.

In addition, it is important to note that although gender roles can transform rapidly (especially in response to conflict, new economic opportunities, or new technologies), the transformation of collective behaviors and beliefs particularly around gender can take time. While designing for longer-term programming is important to promote this type of social transformation, better monitoring tools can also be used to capture the dynamic and interactive nature of social change, document incremental shifts, and monitor for and reduce the backlash that almost inevitably accompanies gender social change. CARE's gender-indicator monitoring approach offers a gender-transformative monitoring tool for both encouraging and measuring incremental behavior change related to gender relations (Hillenbrand et al. 2015). Drawing on outcome-mapping methodology (Earl, Carden, and Smutylo 2001), which focuses explicitly on visible, measurable behaviors (rather than norms or attitudes), this tool works through community mobilization approaches to define the gender-equality goals that the men and women of the community would love to see, in visible and measurable terms. They then collectively establish the "progress markers," or the visible, tangible baby steps that would demonstrate movement in the direction of this broader social vision. In the process of regular, public monitoring, the participating community groups can acknowledge and applaud initial small changes, while recommitting publicly to the more challenging and transformative changes. The process of regular public dialogue about the social norms in turn creates another entry point and mechanism for reevaluating and thus transforming those norms. Whatever the tool, regular monitoring by skilled gender staff is an essential do-no-harm practice that allows for quick identification and appropriate resolution of any negative or unforeseen outcomes of social change.

Retaining a Political Commitment to Gender Justice

Finally, as with all gender interventions, it is important to note that sophisticated technical approaches, including application of social norms theory, cannot replace or bypass the political nature of gender relations. In their review of a 14-year self-help group program in Bihar, Sanyal et al. (2015) provide salient evidence (qualitative and quantitative) that development interventions can catalyze significant and lasting shifts in gender norms, with liberating outcomes for women in terms of mobility, access to resources, and household economic improvements. However, while they assert that social norms can transform rapidly, they conclude with an emphasis on the political nature of shifting gender relations, cautioning that "shifting culture is not just a matter of nudging individuals to move towards new forms of behavior. Simply tricking the brain into behaving differently cannot result in long-term change, without a fundamental reconfiguration in the relationships of power at the household and community levels" (53). Their study concludes that there are certain guidelines for the process of "undoing gender" through development interventions—specifically, "promoting non-conventional ways in which women and men act and interact; declining salience of sex categorization; diminishing male privilege; enhancing women's (as a sex category) status by creating interactional settings around socially valued tasks which privilege women's participation and where women are acknowledged as equally competent to similar men; and also by changing the subjective and objective resources women have access to" (18–19). All of these actions, however, require deliberate political commitment to the project and principles of gender equality, and may not necessarily respond to the pressures of scaling up.

Cultural Institutions and Gender Norms in Matrilineal and Patrilineal Kinships of Malawi

Edward Bikketi and Esther Njuguna-Mungai

Kinships are networks connecting individuals as relatives; they constitute descent and lineage. Descent constitutes the social institutions that identify individuals with a selected category of their kin, while lineage traces descent from a common ancestor, male or female (Kaarhus 2010). There are two types of kinship structures, matrilineal and patrilineal—the former is when descent is traced through women, and the latter is when it is traced through men (Meijer et al. 2015). Most ethnic groups in Africa are governed by these two kinship structures, organizing social systems, cultural institutions, and gender norms within households (Berge et al. 2014). They determine context-specific layered rights of access to and management, ownership, and inheritance of productive resources and assets within households, along lineages (Rao 2016). Most African ethnic groups are patrilineal in structure, a biased worldview reinforced by colonialism that exacerbates gender inequality and inequity with regard to women's access to, control of, and ownership of productive resources. Thus, it is crucial to compare matrilineal and patrilineal structures to understand normative influences on women's empowerment in agricultural development as an important pathway to gender equality and equity, besides addressing material deprivation and building stable livelihoods (Rao 2017). Malawi is one of the countries with ethnic native communities practicing matrilineal and patrilineal kinship, allowing us to compare how matrilineal and patrilineal kinship structures influence gender norms and cultural institutions among smallholders producing groundnuts in Malawi.

Methodology

This case study is drawn from a larger project that used mixed methods to analyze gender yield gaps in groundnut productivity in Malawi.

Sex-disaggregated data were collected using mixed methods. The qualitative sample consisted of a total of 40 farmers interviewed from five focus group discussions (FGDs) (eight farmers per group; two groups of male farmers and three groups of female farmers), four case histories (two each for the matrilineal and patrilineal), and five key informant interviews (two extension staff and three managers of the National Smallholder Farmers' Association of Malawi). The qualitative exercise informed the development of a quantitative survey instrument that was administered to a sample of 285 smallholder respondents in three districts in Malawi (Table C1.1).

Research Sites

Fieldwork was conducted from February to March 2017 in Mchinji, Mzimba, and Mangochi districts, purposively sampled for groundnut production and different kinship structures (Figure C1.1). Mchinji and Mangochi districts are matrilineal, while Mzimba district is patrilineal. Matrilineal structures have prevailed in 20 districts of the central and southern regions of the country, while patrilineal structures prevail in all five districts of the northern region (Mwambene 2005).

Livelihoods, Cultural Institutions, and Kinship Structures in Rural Malawi

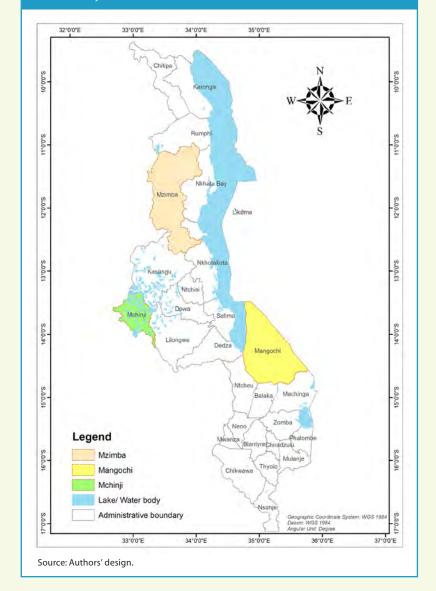Matrilineal descent and devolution of land rights are the cultural institutions of the majority of the population in the central and southern regions of Malawi, whereas the formal landholding system is modeled on patrilineal English legislation (Berge et al. 2014). The Chewa in Mchinji district are the largest matrilineal ethnic group, according to the female FGD and mini-ethnography respondents:

TABLE C1.1—RESPONDENTS' PROFILE

Districts	Mangochi	Mchinji	Mzimba
Extension planning area	Mtiya and Namwera	Kalulu, Mikundi	Emfeni, Embegueni, Mbawa, Kapalankwali
Number of villages	25	31	40
Number of respondents	72	100	113
Kinship structure	Matrilineal	Matrilineal	Patrilineal
Household headships	Female managed	Female headed	Male headed
Gender	Male: 0% Female: 100%	Male: 51% Female: 49%	Male: 52% Female: 48%
Households	72	51	57
Ethnic tribe	Yao	Chewa	Tumbuka
Average age	37.1 years	45.5 years	47.2 years
Average household size	4 people	5 people	5 people
Education attainment			
Average number of years of schooling	5.97	13.31	9.52
Land size			
Average land size (hectares)	0.342	0.404	0.270
Source: Survey data.			

FIGURE C1.1—RESEARCH DISTRICTS: MCHINJI, MZIMBA, AND MANGOCHI

Source: Authors' design.

A Chewa village consists of related families locally known as "fuko," with blood relations and marriage tracing descent through a female ancestress. Under the authority of the eldest living female matrilineal relative generally in charge of the group of families. Within the fuko are family units known as the "mbumba"— matrilineally related. The matrilineally related men in the mbumba—brothers and uncles related to these women—are known as the "Nkhoswe." The mbumba is under the control of the eldest Nkhoswe, the guardian of the lineage and specific family units of his sisters known as the "Banja."

In Chewa, the postmarital residence is uxorilocal, and locally known as "Chikamwini." Landholding and inheritance are determined by the wife's family with guidance from the "Nkhoswe," as confirmed by the respondents of the male and female FGD:

In Chewa culture land is transferred through our kinship structure and it determines the residence of the couple. For example, as customs dictate, it is women who inherit land; men can only borrow and use our land.

Chewa women are empowered by the kinship structure to inherit land; however, the Nkhoswe controls allocation of land to the mbumba as confirmed by the female FGD respondents and mini-ethnography:

The Nkhoswe oversees the homes, and even participates in decision making on farming enterprises and land allocation among other important activities within our homes.

The Yao in Mangochi district also practice matrilineal kinship and are sociocul-turally organized like the Chewa, although they predominantly practice Islam dating back to the 18th century after assimilating Islam during the slave trade (Mwambene 2005). Yao marriages are also matrilineal and transacted through bride service.[1] Divorce is common given the out-migration of men to South Africa, who sometimes never return due to their low status accorded by marriage. However, the out-migration seems to empower Yao women as the divorces and separations lead to two types of households: female-headed households and female-managed households. This is confirmed by the respondents of the FGD and mini-ethnography:

Most men have left for work in South Africa; this gives us increased freedom in comparison to our mothers, to make decisions without much consultations from men.

In contrast, the Tumbuka in patrilineal Mzimba were previously matrilineal but as a result of incursion and occupation by the Ngoni, took up Ngoni culture and patrilineal kinship, which altered their social organization, including the central-ized chieftainship, descent, and bride wealth (Mushibwe 2009). The Tumbuka assumed Ngoni patrilineal marriage as a means of identifying themselves with

new rulers including paying bride wealth. The residence after marriage is virilo-cal, also known as "Chitengwa" in Chichewa. Arrival of Scottish missionaries reinforced the notion of bride wealth and substituted for it the term "dowry." A respondent in a case history confirmed this:

The Tumbuka took up [the] culture and practices of [the] Ngoni tribe including wife inheritance, currently still accepted by the Tumbuka. They call themselves Tumbuka-Ngoni, a mixture of the two tribes.

In the current Tumbuka culture, inheritance and succession are patrilineal, and according to the female FGD respondents, the sociocultural gendered norms institutionalized by the kinship structure tend to limit equality and compel women to accept male dominance at the expense of their own status:

In our daily lives, we emphasize [the] importance of respecting men's authority and keeping our distance from them as heads of the households; this is what we teach our girls as they grow up.

Agricultural Productivity Differences in Groundnut Enterprises

Table C1.2 compares the productivity of male-managed, female-managed, and jointly managed plots in matrilineal and patrilineal households. On average, farmers in patrilineal Mzimba had the lowest yields (570.78 kilograms per hectare) compared with farmers in matrilineal contexts (814.02 kilograms per hectare in Mchinji and 726.48 kilograms per hectare in Mangochi). Groundnut production carries the stereotype of being a women's crop in Mzimba, as con-firmed by the extension staff and respondents of the female FGD:

Groundnut is generally considered as [a] woman's crop even though men also participate mainly because of incomes derived. Most farmers will say they manage groundnut plots jointly; however, the bulk of groundnut work

---

1   In matrilineal-matrilocal societies, the husband pays "bride service" by working for a negotiated duration and taking care of his family and has no control over land rights. In event of divorce or death of the wife, the husband loses the user rights over the land and is expected to return to his original village, leaving the children with the wife or her family, as children belong to the matrilineal kin (Meijer et al. 2015).

is left to women except land preparation and sales of the produce. Most men have switched to soybean production from tobacco as soybean is now the most lucrative.

Jointly managed plots in Mchinji had the highest yields overall (1,122 kilograms per hectare), followed by male-managed plots also in Mchinji (784 kilograms per hectare) and female-managed plots in Mangochi (726 kilograms per hectare) respectively. In Mchinji, groundnuts are characterized as both a woman's crop and a cash crop. For men, growing groundnuts offers them some solace from the low status and meddling within the uxorilocal context, as confirmed by the male FGD respondents and mini-ethnographies:

Groundnuts here are associated with women. Therefore to avoid conflicts that always arise with the Nkhoswe's interference, we produce groundnuts with our wives. Some men have managed to save incomes from groundnuts and purchased land to settle elsewhere, leaving their marriages.

In Mangochi the absence of men owing to out-migration generally gives the women agency to produce groundnuts as a cash crop. On further inquiry, it was revealed that out-migration sometimes lasts for periods of two to five years, although most men opt never to return.

The comparisons in Table C1.2, however, do not account for other factors that could potentially affect productivity. Thus, Table C1.3 presents the results of a regression analysis of groundnut productivity including controls for gender and kinship structure as well as other covariates. The first column presents the gendered differentials for matrilineal Mchinji and patrilineal Mzimba only, because the sample in Mangochi consisted only of women, which would not permit a comparison by gender. Mchinji is the reference category. The second column presents differentials based on all three districts—based on a women-only sample and including controls for covariates of productivity; the reference category is Mangochi. Yield per hectare is the dependent variable.

The results reveal that the age of a farmer, a proxy for experience in farming, is positively and significantly associated with yield. Farm size is inversely associated with yield, suggesting higher efficiency on smaller plots, while higher fertility and shorter distance from the plot to the homestead are associated with higher yields. Matrilineal kinship is associated with higher groundnut yields.

TABLE C1.2—PRODUCTIVITY COMPARISONS BY KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND GENDER OF PLOT MANAGER

District of residence	Kinship structure	Mean kilograms per hectare by gender of plot manager (number of observations in parentheses)			
		Female managed	Male managed	Jointly managed	Total
Mangochi	Matrilineal	726.48 (71)	n.a.	n.a.	726.48 (71)
Mchinji	Matrilineal	643.22 (39)	748.37 (35)	1,121.98 (25)	814.02 (99)
Mzimba	Patrilineal	645.66 (42)	478.81 (39)	585.51 (30)	570.78 (111)
All sites		682.79 (152)	623.33 (74)	829.36 (55)	695.82 (281)

Source: Survey data.
Note: n.a. = not applicable.

Although jointly managed plots had higher yields than male-managed plots in matrilineal Mchinji in bivariate regressions (not reported here), no significant difference in productivity is seen depending on the gender of the plot manager. Lastly, specific experience in farming groundnuts is associated with higher yields among women.

Discussion

Matrilineal and patrilineal structures in Malawi shape cultural institutions and gender norms in groundnut-producing contexts. Both structures have institutionalized customary landholding systems with differential access to and control over land among women and men determined by descent, inheritance, and postmarital residence. The two structures mirror each other in terms of strong beliefs in the rights of the lineage to landholding; however, they exacerbate gender inequality and inequity.

Unsurprisingly, in patrilineal areas, the prevailing gender norms and cultural institutions do not favor women with regard to ownership and control of productive resources, translating to their limited agency and the stereotyping of groundnuts as a women's crop. Women's weak land rights and lack of control over productive resources may underlie the generally lower yields in patrilineal

TABLE C1.3—CORRELATES OF GROUNDNUT PRODUCTIVITY FROM MULTIVARIATE REGRESSIONS

Dependent variable: yield/hectare (groundnut productivity)		
	Gender differentials (Mzimba and Mchinji, only)—Set 1	District differentials (women only)—Set 2
Variable		
Age	8.052*** (3.305)	3.414 (3.077)
Plot size (hectare)	-831.50*** (212.4)	-1,097.3*** (217.8)
District		
Mangochi/matrilineal (yes = 1)	n.a.	Reference
Mchinji/matrilineal (yes = 1)	Reference	20.74 (115.8)
Mzimba/patrilineal (yes = 1)	-332.4*** (86.92)	-320.7*** (122.08)
Number of years of schooling	(14.21) (12.48)	(35.126) (16.849)
Plot soil fertility (fertile = 1; 0 otherwise)	296.7*** (83.12)	285.9*** (80.63)
Challenges in accessing inputs (yes = 1)	-75.46 (74.95)	-63.88 (72.58)
Accessed extension (yes = 1)	48.16 (83.26)	-23.97 (82.62)
Accessed training (yes = 1)	-135.3 (96.74)	-66.51 (91.94)
Plot distance from homestead (meters)	-0.082** (0.038)	-0.043 (0.033)
Male managed plot (= base)		
Female-managed plot	21.42 (86.21)	0.035 (95.50)
Joint plot management	134.5 (97.33)	126.3 (107.4)
Years in groundnut farming	2.258 (3.898)	8.855** (3.99)
Constant	658.0 (229.2)	-320.7 (214.4)
R-squared	0.215	0.186
Number of observations	212	284

Source: Survey data.
Note: n.a. = not applicable. Robust standard errors in parentheses. ** and *** indicate significance at the 5% and 1% levels, respectively.

versus matrilineal areas. However, despite women's stronger rights to inherit land in matrilineal contexts, the gender norms and cultural institutions there do not empower women. These women have limited agency, as primary control and authority over households, agricultural enterprises, and labor arrangements are under the Nkhoswe. The uxorilocal residence offers men very limited agency, relegating them to either produce groundnuts jointly with their wives or solely on small plots allocated to them; others opt to out-migrate to escape the low status accorded.

We conclude that kinship structures have a significant influence on the organization of social systems among smallholders and result in an unequal layering of rights to assets and resources based on gender. It is crucial for development interventions to understand how context-specific structures can influence gender norms and cultural institutions and affect production systems.

Engaging Men in Creating New Gender Norms and Practices: Lessons from CARE

Emily Hillenbrand and Maureen Miruka

"Engaging men and boys" is an important component of gender-focused agriculture programs (Marcus 2018), both from a do-no-harm perspective and as a strategy to divest men's identities from harmful or limiting social norms of masculinity. There is growing demand for evidence-based guidelines on how best to engage men in gender-transformative agriculture-sector programming. This case study presents some of the promising models that CARE has been applying in its economic empowerment programs, which offer some general reflections for practitioners working toward gender equality in the agriculture sector.

From a do-no-harm perspective, involving men in women's economic empowerment programs is important to prevent potential risks associated with shifts in the balance of power and changing gender roles. Men's economic displacement from their gendered breadwinning role can be associated with an uptick in gender-based violence, which can serve as an alternative outlet for men to assert their masculinity (Heise 2011). A review of the evidence from microfinance initiatives shows that when such programs for women are seen to question men's authority, they can also be associated with a temporary increase in violence, even where the long-term impact for women is positive. Another critical masculinity-related risk in the agriculture sector speaks to the resilience of gender inequality, even as it demonstrates the fluidity of gender roles: when typically low-valued, "women's" crops become profitable or find a market (through women's economic empowerment or agriculture development programs), men often move into that sector, crowding out the women and taking over land and resources that had previously been in their control (Baden 2013; Doss 1999). Beyond the do-no-harm perspective, however, the social-norms-change literature from the gender-based violence prevention and HIV prevention sectors clearly demonstrates that women on their own cannot transform harmful and inequitable social norms; it requires the equal and active participation of men in the process of deconstructing and recreating more equitable norms and relationship dynamics.

Evidence-based social change communication interventions that change gender social norms include the SASA! approach developed by Raising Voices, Tostan's Community Empowerment Program, CARE's Social Analysis and Action approach, Save the Children's Community Conversations, and the International Center for Research on Women's work addressing gender norms with boys in the school system in India. These approaches generally work by mobilizing groups of men and women at the community level (typically with strong engagement of recognized community leaders) in a series of conversations or action-research exercises that entail analyzing specific gender norms and practices, building new understandings around positive behaviors, and realization of rights. Such dialogues are then followed up with a plan of action that is spearheaded by community leaders. The case studies that follow describe how CARE has modified and drawn on these good-practice community dialogue models to engage men in gender social norm change in the context of women's economic empowerment and agriculture programming.

Journeys of Transformation: Men as Allies in Women's Economic Empowerment

CARE Rwanda's Journeys of Transformation (JoT) curriculum was designed in 2011 together with Promundo, drawing heavily from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) study results, which showed that women's economic empowerment programs can exacerbate intracouple conflict, and that

even as women's earnings increase, they are still fully responsible for the majority of household work (Slegh, Pawlak, and Barker 2012). Noting the associated negative risks of women's economic empowerment programs discussed earlier, the objective of the JoT curriculum was to engage men as allies in such programs and to prevent backlash and couples' conflict in response to such programs. The JoT curriculum targets male partners of women involved in CARE's microfinance or cash transfer programs. The program was designed based on formative research into key questions related to male partners of women village savings and loan association members. On the basis of this formative research, the group education curriculum was designed around 17 sessions, with topics such as business and negotiation skills, couples' decision-making processes, individual health and well-being, and laws and policies related to gender-based violence. Throughout the sessions, couples are encouraged to reflect on rigid gender norms, examine their personal attitudes and beliefs, and question traditional ideas about household decision making and division of labor, caring for children, and sharing household tasks. The JoT curriculum was later adopted (in combination with elements of SASA!) in the CARE Rwanda Indashikirwa program. In 2015–2016, a qualitative evaluation was conducted with couples who took part in the curriculum training. Three rounds of interviews with 14 couples (in single-sex groups) were organized before, during, and after the curriculum. The evaluation found that initially, some topics (particularly sharing financial resources, consent around sex, alcohol use, and men's sharing in domestic tasks) were considered taboo or difficult, but communication became easier over the course of the curriculum. It was important that the curriculum was rolled out over months, allowing the participants to build confidence and comfort in discussing norms. The couples appreciated the skill-building focus, including take-home exercises around decision making, communication, and spending time together. The evaluation also found that the multidimensional concept of power—including positive types (power with, power within)—avoided a reductive view of men as perpetrators and women as victims and helped couples to work together economically and to prevent partner violence (Stern and Nyiratunga 2017).

Abatangamuco: Leveraging a Men's Social Movement for Change

CARE Burundi has leveraged an informal rural men's movement to support its women's empowerment programming and transform gender social norms, particularly around men's use of violence. The Abatangamuco (which means "we who have seen the light") are a social movement of men who have made a personal decision to renounce the use of violence in their personal lives. Through engagement with CARE Burundi, this originally spontaneous social movement of men has now developed into a formalized network whose members engage in both public testimonials and private counseling activities, to persuade other men about the benefits they have seen to giving up gender-based violence. In their public activities, Abantangamuco members travel to other villages and use the entry point of an existing meeting (sometimes working with religious leaders, local authorities, or nongovernmental organization program activities) to speak to the community about their own personal experiences of both using and renouncing violence. They speak to gender norms about income control, men's alcohol use, and various forms of violence and then focus on how making changes to their own personal behaviors has changed their family life (including their economic well-being) for the better. They may make individual counseling visits to households where conflict is prevalent; men talk to other men and may counsel them on conflict-resolution techniques or offer advice. The power of the approach depends on the credible personal conviction and role-modeling of the men who share their testimonies. Some men who listen to the testimonials adjust their behavior incrementally. Others are moved to join the Abatangamuco network, becoming leaders and activists themselves. In this case, there is a formal induction and vetting process to ensure that models are credible and authentic. Men commit not only to nonviolence but also to treating their wives as equals—they commit to including their wives in decision-making processes, such as about income, and sharing all household and caregiving work equally. The Abatangamuco present an unusual movement, but CARE Burundi has integrated this grassroots approach into its gender-transformative programming. Part of the success of the approach seems to be that it is not a rejection of traditional masculinity, but rather a reframing of new behaviors to meet existing Rwandan cultural values: "They are promoting a new perspective on old ideals, urging men to see how particular aspects of traditional ideals of masculinity are counterproductive for efforts to achieve other ideals—such as prosperity, status and harmony. Building on existing and recognizable ideals rather than trying to introduce new ones has made it much easier for men to relate to the organization" (Wallacher 2012, 4).

CARE Pathways: Mapping Men's Behavioral Pathways to Change

In CARE's Pathways to Empowerment program—implemented in Bangladesh, India, Malawi, Mali, Ghana, and Tanzania from 2013 to 2017—the Farmer Field and Business School (FFBS) curriculum integrated dialogues with men and women into a farmer field school approach that follows the agriculture seasonal calendar. These dialogues (using role-playing, participatory rural appraisal tools, and communications exercises) invite men and women to analyze community norms related to the division of labor, asset ownership and landownership, income decision making, and communication. A qualitative midterm evaluation from across the five-country program found that men's attitudes (if not behaviors) were influenced fairly quickly by the program and both men and women attributed positive changes in their households to the "gender dialogues." While the economic incentive of women's access to agricultural training did serve to bring men on board initially, they ultimately valued not only the economic benefits but also the expressions of greater intimacy, harmony, and respect that began to result from the dialogues. This intimacy factor was in fact a draw for men to continue participating in the dialogues. Women participants also urged CARE to continue the dialogues with men, noting that in households were men did participate, there was less friction and violence (CARE 2015).

One important modification of this standard dialogue approach was the application of Outcome Mapping methodology to define a culturally relevant behavioral pathway to equitable relationships for men as well as for women. Rather than putting the onus on women to empower themselves, this process worked with men and women in the target communities to identify the visible and incremental "progress markers" that would show the behavioral actions that represent shifting social norms. For men, for instance, some of the early and visible behavior changes included fetching firewood or water to support their partners or sitting down to share meals together. More transformative changes related to men taking on more childcare tasks, making a budget together with their spouses, and resolving conflicts without violence. Developing incremental progress maps (with men's involvement) was a tool that both celebrated initial efforts and could be used to continue pushing men and women to pursue more aspirational changes. CARE facilitators of these participatory monitoring sessions observed significant changes in the interactions between men and women in the process, noting that they were able to discuss ever-more sensitive topics, and that women interacted more confidently and freely. Male participants often expressed appreciation for this structured opportunity to share feelings, grievances, and intimate problems that they otherwise were rarely able to bring up, and for the improvements in their family relations that they saw as a result.

Implications and Precautions for Engaging Men in Social Norms Change

A World Health Organization (WHO) review of interventions that engage men found that well-designed interventions can catalyze significant changes in men's attitudes and behaviors (Peacock and Barker 2014). Programs that are "gender transformative" were found to be more effective than those that are "gender sensitive" or take a more accommodative approach. Box C2.1 cites the key features of successful approaches to working with men.

CARE's internal review of its own engaging men and boys approaches echoes many of the principles we have discussed but also identifies some programmatic challenges that must be considered in designing ethical and gender-transformative programs. For example, while recognizing that role models are important for behavior change and that formal recognition ceremonies can be encouraging to male "positive deviants," it should also be recognized that these individuals are fallible and that their own process of change may not be linear. Further, when a public status is accorded to the title of "male champion," it may attract men who are not as personally passionate about gender equality or whose personal behaviors are not in alignment with their stated commitments. CARE does not discount the use of role models but cautions that continued support and establishing a process to deal with behavioral "regression" should be anticipated and built into the approach.

Creating safe spaces by separating into single-sex groups at first is generally important to build trust, allowing men and women to share their true experiences before exchanging with the broader community (Save the Children 2017). However, the question of mixed-sex versus single-sex groups has other implications in agriculture markets systems. In some cases, having some men in the collectives appears to strengthen women's bargaining power and entry into market spaces. At the same time, there is a risk that such an arrangement perpetuates men's dominance over the value chain or household income, or both (Baden 2013). CARE Pathways negotiated this tension by setting gender

BOX C2.1—WHO REVIEW: EFFECTIVE APPROACHES TO WORKING WITH MEN AND BOYS

- Use positive and affirmative messages.

- Encourage men to reflect on the costs of hegemonic masculinity to men and women.

- Ensure that approaches are evidence based and theoretically informed—use formative research, begin with or develop a theory of change, and carry out ongoing monitoring and evaluation.

- Recognize that men are not homogenous and develop interventions that reflect men's different life experiences.

- Use an ecological approach that recognizes the range of factors shaping gender roles and relations.

- Use a range of social change strategies—community education, community

- mobilization, media, policy development, and advocacy for implementation.

Source: Peacock and Barker (2014).

quotas for the market research committees (three out of five members should be women), which directly provided the information to groups of (mainly women) farmers. Over time, women gained experience, skills, and confidence. In an external review of CARE Ethiopia's work, it was found that targeting women as beneficiaries but working with husband–wife teams to address gender norms (through a facilitated Social Analysis and Action dialogue process) was an important success factor for the program (Springer and Drucza 2018).

Using an entry point that appeals to men's self-interest can be effective in bringing men on board in gender discussions. The appeal of positive fatherhood or touting the economic benefits to men of women's economic engagement may

be seen as nonthreatening "hooks" to incentivize men's initial participation in programs. Many organizations shy away from controversial conversations and the potential tensions and resentment that come from exposing the negative or problematic aspects of prevailing norms. On the other hand, practitioners must be aware that when programs start by building on the practical economic interests of men (and women), the inherently political question of power relations and women's social status may become subsumed, and "conflating poverty alleviation and gender equality objectives may also hurt gender transformative efforts long-term when these two ends no longer align" (CARE 2016, 7, citing Jackson 1996). CARE's self-evaluation concludes that programs must firmly ground practical (economic) incentives in a broader and explicit strategy for gender equality and gender justice (CARE 2016).

For practitioners in the agriculture sector, the challenge is to find a balance between preventing negative reactions, making it easier for men to be allies, and still advocating clearly for women's rights and gender justice. Reflections from Save the Children on their Community Conversation approach have emphasized the importance of working with skilled, passionate, and voluntary facilitators, who advocate from their own personal conviction and are permanently invested in the community (Save the Children 2017). Notes from Raising Voices on their successful SASA! model show that fostering a spirit of community activism is a key feature of successful violence prevention models that "stick." They also note that the intensity, frequency, and coordination of interventions are important for bringing systemic change (Heilman and Stich 2016). In fact, a common feature of all of the best-practices curricula is that they take place over weeks and months, not days and refresher training days. When challenging deeply held social norm and entrenched power dynamics, it is critical to allow sufficient time for careful adaptation of approaches to the particular context, and for couples and communities to follow through the process, build dialogue skills, and experience perspective shifts. For practitioners, this may mean educating donors and advocating for intensity and long-term engagement over scalability, and continually monitoring the processes of the engagement to better understand the incentives and the messages about gender equality that appeal to both men and women. Formal, external evaluations of the promising engaging-men models that include outcome data, process documentation, and cost data can provide evidence for investing in and responsibly scaling effective models for social norm change.