

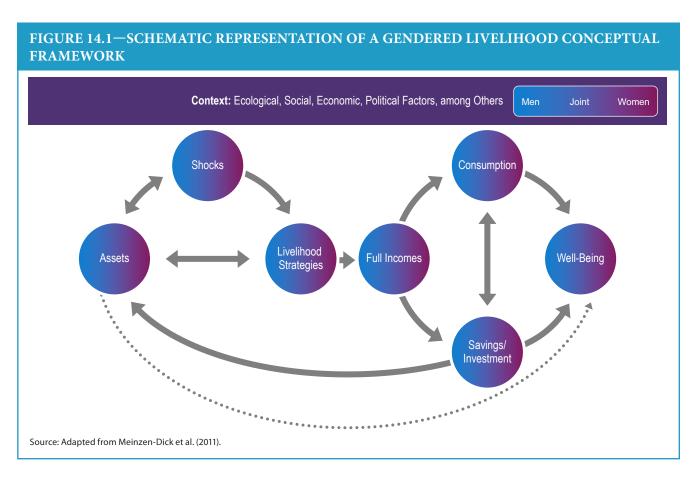
Agnes Quisumbing, Ruth Meinzen-Dick, and Jemimah Njuki

his report examines the ways in which explicit attention to gender is key to achieving the Malabo goals of shared prosperity and improved livelihoods through inclusive agricultural growth. The evidence presented here shows convincingly that gender gaps in assets, livelihood strategies, and control over income impose costs on households, communities, and nations. There have been attempts to estimate the costs of gender inequality in Africa south of the Sahara (SSA). For example, a report by UN Women estimates losses at an average of US\$95 billion per year (UN Women et al. 2015). Although such estimates vary widely depending on their underlying assumptions, it is likely that, by focusing only on economic costs, they understate the full social costs of gender inequality in Africa. To identify pathways toward agricultural transformation, poverty reduction, and

gender equality, this report applies the conceptual framework of the Gender, Agriculture, and Assets Project (GAAP) (Figure 14.1), which traces the gendered linkages between contexts, resources, livelihoods, and well-being. This framework helps us to better understand how policies and programs can help realize the Malabo commitment to gender equality.

Understanding the social, political, and institutional context is a first step to ending gender inequality. The context shapes the environment in which individuals and households use their resources to engage in various livelihood opportunities. Social norms regarding gender are part of that context and influence behavior in profound ways. More than individual attitudes and personal beliefs, social norms shape expectations of what it is to be a man or a woman (Miruka and Hillenbrand, Chapter 2), and by restricting women's options disproportionately, social norms impose costs at the individual, household, and community levels.

Gender gaps in resources are costly for households. These costs take the form, for example, of productivity losses in agriculture, because women farmers have less access to land and productive inputs than men farmers (Doss and Quisumbing, Case Study 3); of poor health and nutritional status, because women do not have the control over income and time to ensure adequate nutrition for themselves and their families (Njuki, Doss, and Boote, Chapter 11); and of foregone income, because of missed opportunities for women entrepreneurs to enter profitable nodes of the value chain (Rubin et al., Chapter 6). These gender gaps also impinge on men's and women's ability to be resilient to shocks (Theis et al., Chapter 9).



Restrictive gender norms deprive communities of potential leaders. Women continue to be underrepresented at the top levels of organizational and political processes in most African regions (Barnes and Burchard 2013). Data from the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) show that lack of membership in groups is an important source of disempowerment for both women and men alike in Rwanda and in Uganda (Meinzen-Dick et al., Case Study 6). Leaders who support gender transformative change need not, and should not, be only women, but gender transformative leadership requires a change in mindset and a commitment to bring people together and inspire them to work together (Mbo'o-Tchouawou et al., Chapter 3).

Gender gaps also impose structural constraints on economies and nations and hinder their ability to benefit fully from trade reform. For example, even if Niger's implementation of the ECOWAS Common External Tariff (CET) is likely to lead to positive outcomes for both men and women when compared with the baseline (Fofana et al., Chapter 8), the CET implementation is likely to increase the gender gap in employment levels and earnings. This means that the potential gains from trade liberalization may increase gender inequalities and exacerbate existing gender gaps.

Gender gaps and restrictive gender norms also impose costs whose monetary value is difficult to quantify. These costs, often taking the form of missed opportunities, are felt primarily by individuals, for whom gender gaps may mean inability to realize one's full potential. The costs of missed opportunities can be very high for young men and women who are constrained by sociocultural norms and gender-specific barriers from pursuing different career paths or entering nontraditional employment sectors, and thus prevented from taking advantage of potential opportunities offered by structural transformation (Heckert et al., Chapter 7). Norms regarding masculinity hold men back from participating fully in caring for their children (Mkandawire and Hendriks, Case Study 5) and may underlie high rates of intimate partner violence. Gender disparities in resources and access to social safety nets detract from men's and women's capacity for resilience (Theis et al., Chapter 9; Peterman et al., Chapter 10).

Connecting the Pieces for Change

While each of the chapters illustrates different components of the conceptual framework (Figure 14.1), understanding their linkages helps to identify effective entry points for change. To begin with, contextual factors, notably social norms

and legal and institutional arrangements, shape control over assets, including land and natural resources. The legal reforms that have taken place in recent decades (documented by Ghebru, Chapter 4) can help increase women's land rights, but changing social norms is also important to increase the social acceptability of women's land rights. Secure land rights, in turn, can contribute to women's investments in their land, thereby increasing productivity and resilience to shocks (Meinzen-Dick et al. 2018).

Social norms and formal institutions also shape financial inclusion. The acceptability of women's mobility beyond the homestead affects their ability to access conventional banking services, although innovative technologies and approaches to financial inclusion are allowing women to build savings and obtain loans and insurance, as discussed in Chapter 5 (Njuki, Melesse et al.). Financial inclusion is not only critical for investments and expanding production, but also can be an important source of resilience, such as through investments in irrigation or other climate-smart agricultural technologies or through insurance or consumption smoothing (drawing down savings or taking loans to maintain healthy diets and keep children in school when shocks do occur). Social safety nets and expanding employment options for young women and men similarly can increase resilience to shocks by diversifying income sources. Chapter 9 on resilience (Theis et al.) illustrates how these connections play out at different levels, from the individual to the national, while Chapter 10 on social protection (Peterman et al.) examines the African experience with social safety net programs. Chapter 7 (Heckert et al.) discusses how the livelihood opportunities, created by structural and rural transformation may be quite different for young men and young women.

Control over land plus financial services for investment can lead to productive agricultural livelihoods or entrepreneurship. If that, in turn, gives women more bargaining power and control over income, it can shift patterns of consumption and savings. But women's ability to translate increases in production into income under their control depends on the structure of value chains and access to financial services.

Case Study 4 (Asare-Marfo et al.) shows that increased women's decision making in production can influence consumption directly through the adoption of higher-nutrient biofortified crops. However, Case Study 5 on nutrition (Mkandawire and Hendriks) cautions that improving nutritional status should not be left to women alone—it is important to work with both men and women to secure improved nutritional outcomes for all.

These linkages take place in a dynamic environment, making it all the more important to understand the context. For many women, increases in agricultural productivity and land market activity are causes of insecurity (Ghebru, Chapter 4). Trade policies and agricultural value chains can create new employment opportunities that expand livelihood strategies, but attention is needed to ensure that these are accessible to women and do not worsen existing gender gaps (Fofana et al., Chapter 8).

Gender is More Than Women

In the pursuit of gender equality, the focus has often been on women: how to remove barriers for the inclusion of women, how to empower women, how to ensure that women gain access to health, economic, educational, and other opportunities. And for a good reason. Where gender inequality exists, it is generally women who are excluded or disadvantaged in relation to decision making and access to economic and social resources (as illustrated in many of the chapters in this report). Therefore, a critical aspect of promoting gender equality is the empowerment of women, with a focus on identifying and redressing power imbalances and giving women more autonomy to manage their own lives. Measuring empowerment and gender equality is an important step toward this, requiring data on women and men, as illustrated in Case Study 6 (Meinzen-Dick et al.) and Chapter 12 (Buvinic and Carey).

The achievement of gender equality implies changes for both men and women. More equitable relationships will need to be based on a redefinition of the rights and responsibilities of women and men in all spheres of life, including the family, the workplace, and the society at large, as illustrated in Case Study 2 (Hillenbrand and Miruka) and Case Study 5 (Mkandawire and Hendricks). It is therefore crucial not to overlook gender as an aspect of men's social identity. The GAAP framework (Figure 14.1) recognizes that each of the components—assets, shocks, livelihood strategies, control of income and how it is spent on consumption or investment, and even ultimate well-being outcomes—are gendered.

It is also crucial to recognize that the lives of men are just as strongly influenced by gender as those of women. Societal norms and conceptions of masculinity and expectations of men as leaders, husbands, or sons create demands on men and shape their behavior. Men are too often expected to concentrate on the material needs of their families, rather than on the nurturing and caring roles assigned to women. Additionally, socialization in the family

and later in schools promotes risk-taking behavior among young men, which is often reinforced through peer pressure and media stereotypes. In many cultural contexts, gender norms and expectations for the role of boys and men extends beyond the household and can play a powerful role in reinforcing behaviors. Because of these norms, men may resist stepping outside expectations of masculinity for fear of being shunned by their peers (Hillenbrand and Miruka, Chapter 2). Understanding the drivers behind the motivations and behaviors of boys and men can help identify and address unspoken societal barriers to gender equity. Besides in their roles as parents, men can actively challenge traditional gender norms and expectations as champions for gender equality.

A key implication of this is that gender analysis must consider intrahousehold dynamics including individual and joint asset ownership, decision making, and control over resources. Moreover, since inequalities are often created by unequal power dynamics between men and women, efforts that shift these dynamics, encourage normative and behavior change, and engage men and boys as allies, are central to making progress on gender equality. While some organizations have engaged men to work toward gender equality, the sometimes passive role that men have historically played in supporting women's advancement is a challenge but could provide an opportunity for change.

Ensure That Systems Work for Women

Most global conversations about women's empowerment in the agriculture sector have been about how women can contribute to food security and poverty reduction, and how we need to organize women and build their capacity to play this role better and more effectively. This is not enough. What if our approach to gender inequality stopped focusing on "fixing women," and instead focused on "fixing the agriculture and food system" so that it better serves women? Agriculture development programs designed to fix the agriculture and food system would look very different from current programs. While we need to build women's agency and increase women's access to knowledge and information, we also need to address the social, structural, and institutional barriers that create gender gaps. This would mean removing the burden from women of changing themselves in order to change the world, and instead creating a world that works for women.

Creating this world requires a food system that is gender transformative. A gender transformative food system is inclusive, sustainable, and eliminates gender inequality. This means that the transformation of the food system must go

hand-in-hand with the transformation of women's (and men's) lives (Njuki and Alba-Corral 2018).

Such a system must address the structural impediments to gender equality and the achievement of women's rights. While this thinking is not new and draws on a wide variety of gender integration approaches, including those that aim to transform gendered power relations, the major challenge has been how to apply the approach in practice within an agriculture and food system (Njuki and Alba-Corral 2018).

Achieving a gender transformative food system would require a focus on four key elements of gender equality that have been addressed in this report, but in combination—increasing access to control over productive resources, investing in women's leadership, addressing gender and social norms, and removing structural and institutional barriers. The latter two strategies—addressing gender and social norms and removing structural and institutional barriers—are less common in the agriculture sector, yet they are the most fundamental to creating a gender transformative food system.

Social and gender norms underlie both the progress toward gender equality and persistent gender gaps. Chapter 2 (Miruka and Hillenbrand) discusses how gender and social norms define women's and men's roles and dictate responsibilities in households, markets, and public life in their communities. Social norms play a central role in the relation between people's agency and the opportunities that their communities provide. They can either help or hinder an individual's capacity to take advantage of available opportunities, for example accessing resources, taking up economic activities, engaging in markets, or even participating in leadership. Changing norms and expectations through community dialogue, engaging men and boys, influencing traditional leaders, and using male champions for gender equality, alongside traditional agriculture interventions, can create transformative change that allows women to benefit from agriculture without having to "fix" women.

Similarly, structural and institutional barriers can be a hinderance to the achievement of gender equality in the agriculture sector. Transforming formal and informal structures and institutions, rather than training women to circumvent or overcome these barriers, can lead to more lasting, broader, and transformative change. Chapter 5 (Njuki et al.) describes how financial systems can be transformative and move away from making "women bankable" to making banks and other financial institutions "womenable"—by applying a

gender lens to the financial project cycle, from product conceptualization and design through product delivery and marketing to evaluation of impact.

These interventions are key contributors to women's empowerment—but are not as effective when applied in isolation as when applied in combination, which can lead to long-term sustainable change. For example, land policies may be designed to favor women, but if cultural norms against women's ownership of land do not change and women are not leading the change process themselves, the outcomes can be short-term and unsustainable (Njuki 2019). Ultimately, for agriculture and food systems to truly work for women, they must be shaped in a multilayered way so that they contribute to equitably transforming gender and social relations.

What's Measured Gets Done

As the official M&E report for CAADP, Chapter 13 tracks progress in CAADP implementation and indicators. The chapter shows that African countries and regions have continued to advance their implementation of CAADP. To date, 25 countries have held domestication events to launch the process to formulate Malabo-compliant second-generation national agriculture investment plans (NAIPs). And as of September 2019, 49 countries had submitted Biennial Review (BR) reports and data to feed into the second continental BR report and the Africa Agriculture Transformation Scorecard, which will be presented during the African Union summit of heads of state and government in January 2020.

Trends presented in the chapter show that, overall, Africa and most subcategories (regions and economic classifications) have continued to make good progress on key targets and development outcomes although the rate has slowed. For example, Africa's GDP per capita growth decelerated from 3.3 percent in 2003–2008 to 0.2 percent in 2014–2018, and the prevalence of undernutrition declined modestly from 20.6 percent in 2003–2008 to 18.2 percent in 2014–2016. Moreover, Africa as a whole and several regions and countries still lag behind in meeting key CAADP growth and expenditure targets. Africa's growth in agriculture value added averaged 3.2 percent in 2014-2018, which is below the CAADP target of 6 percent, and the agricultural budget share averaged 3.2 percent over the same period, also below the CAADP target of 10 percent.

Considering the slowing progress on key growth and development targets, there is need to accelerate efforts to transform Africa's agriculture sector. This transformation calls for substantially raising agricultural productivity

growth and investments in the sector, including in market access and trade infrastructure. The current second-generation NAIPs provide an important entry point for designing and implementing plans that are evidence-based and Malabo-compliant. In addition, regular, comprehensive, and inclusive CAADP mutual accountability processes—both to facilitate evidence-based review and dialogue and to hold stakeholders accountable for their commitments to the agriculture sector and gender equality—play a key role in fast-tracking progress toward the Malabo goals.

There is growing momentum and commitment within Africa and globally to the goals of women's empowerment and gender equality. Following the issuance of the Solemn Declaration of Gender Equality in Africa in 2004 and the adoption of the Malabo Declaration on Accelerated Agricultural Growth and Transformation for Shared Prosperity and Improved Livelihoods in 2014, 193 countries adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its 17 Sustainable Development Goals in 2015. Women's empowerment and gender equality are now recognized as SDG5, as goals in their own right, apart from their instrumental value in achieving other goals. According to the United Nations, "Gender equality is not only a fundamental human right, but a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world. Providing women and girls with equal access to education, health care, decent work, and representation in political and economic decision-making processes will fuel sustainable economies and benefit societies and humanity at large."

Challenging entrenched gender norms to achieve gender equality is not an easy task. One of the key ingredients in the effort to achieve gender equality is good data to show where gender gaps exist (which impose substantial costs and missed opportunities) and monitor progress toward closing those gaps. Good data also require the infrastructure to produce, interpret, and use that data for programs and policy. The CAADP BR process has laid the foundation for that infrastructure to be built, but much remains to be done.

Monitoring progress toward gender equality requires that national statistical systems collect sex-disaggregated data. Yet, the chapter on gendered data (Buvinic and Carey, Chapter 12) reminds us that sex disaggregation of key indicators continues to be a major challenge. The chapter's assessment of current data availability for 15 countries in Africa found that economic measures

of assets, income, and work remain challenging to disaggregate by sex; social empowerment indicators are not well reported at the international level; and while food security and nutrition indicators performed best, the level of sex disaggregation varied significantly among countries.

Tracking progress toward women's empowerment is even more challenging. Gender equality can be monitored using aggregate data or administrative data, but measuring women's empowerment requires data at the level of the individual, given that empowerment is inherently a personal experience. Aside from measures based on the WEAI and its variations, which are based on interviews of both women and men, most empowerment measures, such as those based on data from the Demographic and Health Surveys, only focus on women's empowerment. These measures that report only on women cannot diagnose sources of disempowerment for men, or measure progress toward gender equality. However, existing versions of the WEAI remain too long and expensive to implement as part of national statistical systems. The time is ripe for the development of a national measure of women's empowerment, based on individual data, that can be integrated into national statistical systems. If properly designed and implemented, this measure could track both women's and men's empowerment, giving us insights into progress toward gender equality.

Just as the costs of gender gaps are experienced at the household, community, national, and regional levels, so action to redress the gaps will also need to come from all these levels. As men and women work together in households, they can increase their resilience, incomes, and ultimate well-being. As communities shift social norms and make services available to all, they will expand the pool of leaders to drive progress. As countries adopt gender-equitable laws and implement programs to deliver services to women as well as men, they will provide the framework within which gender equity can take root. The regional agreements such as the Malabo Declaration, complemented by data to monitor progress, can reinforce such positive changes for society as a whole.

¹ https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/