The International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT) – a CGIAR Research Center – develops technologies, innovative methods, and new knowledge that better enable farmers, especially smallholders, to make agriculture eco-efficient – that is, competitive and profitable as well as sustainable and resilient. Headquartered near Cali, Colombia, CIAT conducts research for development in tropical regions of Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

www.ciat.cgiar.org

CGIAR is a global research partnership for a food-secure future. Its science is carried out by 15 Research Centers in collaboration with hundreds of partners across the globe.

www.cgiar.org
Coffee and Cocoa Value Chains
Gender Dynamics in Peru and Nicaragua

Tatiana Gumucio,¹ Hannah Yore,² Denyse Mello,³ and Claudia Loucel⁴

¹ Tatiana Gumucio is a Gender Postdoctoral Fellow in the Decision and Policy Analysis (DAPA) Research Area at CIAT in Cali, Colombia. She is also the CIAT Gender Focal Point to the CGIAR Research Program in Forests, Trees and Agroforestry (FTA).
² Hannah Yore is a graduate of Clark University's Masters Program in International Development, Community and Environment and supported the International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT) as a Gender and Climate Change Fellow.
³ Denyse Mello is a Postdoctoral Associate at the Center of Latin America Studies at the University of Florida in the Tropical Conservation and Development Program. Her research focuses on socio-environmental governance and gender development in the Amazon region, Brazil.
⁴ Claudia Loucel is an Economist who worked as an Independent Consultant for the International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT) in Cali, Colombia.
Contents

Introduction 2
Literature review 4
Women’s and men’s contributions to value chains 6
Benefits perceived from value chain participation 7
Factors that influence benefits perceived 8
Case studies 10
Policy background related to gender, coffee and cocoa production 10
Gender and coffee 12
Gender roles 12
Factors that influence benefits perceived 13
Gender and cocoa 15
Gender roles 15
Factors that influence benefits perceived 15
Conclusions and recommendations 17
References 19
Acknowledgements

This research was carried out by CIAT as part of the CGIAR Research Program on Forests, Trees and Agroforestry (CRP-FTA). This collaborative program aims to enhance the management and use of forests, agroforestry and tree genetic resources across the landscape from forests to farms. CIFOR leads CRP-FTA in partnership with Bioversity International, CATIE, CIRAD, CIAT, and the World Agroforestry Centre.

We would like to thank the CIAT Linking Farmers to Markets research team for sharing information from the project “A Multicenter Learning and Scaling Initiative for Enhancing PIM Value Chain Tools and Improving Smallholder Participation with a Gender Lens” to include in the analysis for this paper.
Abstract

The present report assesses women’s and men’s participation in coffee and cocoa value chains in Latin America in order to identify key considerations and next steps for the development of research, policy and practice on value chain upgrading for enhanced smallholder prosperity. In particular, the report analyzes the differential roles that women and men play and the benefits they perceive from their participation in coffee and cocoa value chains. It also considers the role of producer organizations in limiting or enhancing women’s participation in and benefits from coffee and cocoa value chains. The report first reviews existing studies of gender and coffee and cocoa value chains in Latin American countries in order to identify principal trends; then, the paper focuses on Peru and Nicaragua as two country cases. In general, the report demonstrates that while factors such as labor burdens, access to productive resources, and socio-cultural norms can limit women’s participation in and returns from coffee and cocoa value chains in comparison to that of men, varied initiatives have sought to address these restricting conditions via producer organizations. The extent and circumstances of their success in advancing gender equality in coffee and cocoa value chains will be an important area for future analysis.

Key words

Gender, value chains, cocoa, coffee, Nicaragua, Peru.
Introduction

The present report examines the gender dynamics of coffee and cocoa value chains throughout Latin America. The importance of addressing gender issues in agricultural production and rural prosperity is two-fold: firstly, reducing gender gaps in access to productive resources can help enhance food security and reduce poverty (FAO 2011; IFPRI 2000; Kennedy and Peters 1992); secondly, paying attention to women’s interests can improve women’s individual livelihoods and support gender equity (ibid). This is particularly important with respect to cultivation of high-value tree crops such as coffee and cocoa, cash crops upon which numerous smallholder livelihoods rely in Latin American countries (CEPAL 2002, Gómez García and Vignati 2016). Value chain analysis is a valuable tool for identifying approaches to poverty reduction, based on improving the positions of resource-poor individuals along value chains (Mitchell et al. 2009). For this reason, the report uses a value chain approach as a way to examine how men and women participate in and benefit from the production of coffee and cocoa in two target Latin American countries, Peru and Nicaragua, wherein CIAT and its partners are engaged in work on enhancing smallholder production and market linkages.

A gender analysis of cocoa and coffee value chains is particularly important given women’s growing participation in commercial agricultural work throughout Latin America, referred to as the feminization of agriculture (Deere 2005, Katz 2003). There has been significant out-migration of men and youth from rural to urban areas in Latin America. This has greatly impacted women’s roles in agriculture and exacerbated their responsibility for the production of agricultural outputs for both subsistence and profit (Lyon et al. 2010).

Although women are increasingly responsible for agricultural work, they continue to face laws, values, and institutions, which contribute to their
discrimination and prevent them from fully benefiting from their labor (IFAD 2003). For example, women often operate on smaller plots of land, have less credit and other financial services, and are more likely to be employed in low-paying and seasonal agricultural work (FAO 2011). Gender trends in agrarian community organizations can prioritize male participation and prevent female workers from participating in community decision making. This is based on the tendency to view women as domestic caretakers and men as economic providers, thereby erasing the contributions and realities of women farmers (Lyon et al. 2010).

The first part of the paper constitutes a literature review of gender and coffee and cocoa value chains in Latin America. The second section focuses more specifically on gender and coffee and cocoa production in Peru and Nicaragua, detailing the relevant policy and institutional backgrounds for the two countries; gender aspects of coffee production; and gender aspects of cocoa production. The latter two sub-sections analyze women’s and men’s roles in production, benefits and return on labor, and participation in producer organizations. The final section provides conclusions and recommendations, based on the information discussed.
Literature review

The following review of research related to coffee and cocoa value chains in Latin American countries addresses the following themes: what are women’s and men’s roles in the chains; how do women and men benefit from their participation in the chains; and what factors influence benefits perceived. In general, the review notes that men tend to be more involved in sales and marketing nodes in comparison to women for both coffee and cocoa value chains. While women may contribute significantly to production activities prior to sales, their participation may often go unrecognized, due to its lack of association with commerce, its unpaid nature, and its association with women’s other homecare responsibilities.

In particular, with regards to cocoa value chains, processing into derivative products may be a women-specific income opportunity. Also, income gained by women tends to be spent more on family welfare, in comparison to that controlled by men, which may be spent on personal expenses. Land ownership and access to other productive resources are important for women’s enhanced benefits from value chains; however, membership in producer organizations can also facilitate increased access to resources and services and as a result, greater benefits in both remunerative and non-remunerative terms.

1 This resonates with other research on gender and value chains, which notes that women may be limited from participating in sales due to mobility constraints (Shreckenberg and Marshall 2006).
Women's and men's contributions to value chains

Research on organic and fair trade coffee production in Mesoamerica observes that men tend to be concentrated in commercial activities, further downstream the value chain, in comparison to women. A study with organic coffee producers in Chiapas, Mexico, notes that women participate in productive processes, including nursery, harvesting, and processing and milling activities; women usually do not participate in negotiating product sales (Jazibi Cárcamo et al. 2010). Research on fair trade-organic coffee producer organizations in Guatemala and Mexico likewise demonstrates that women’s work activities tend to be particularly labor-intensive tasks like picking, washing, drying, and quality selection (Lyon et al. 2010). Men’s tasks, while also labor-intensive tend to be more mechanized, including activities like pruning, cleaning fields, applying organic fertilizer, and depulping. Furthermore, in contrast to women’s tasks, male-dominated activities support commercial processes and require coordination with extra-household actors. These tasks include warehouse construction, infrastructure maintenance, technical extension, and inputs purchasing.

Cases of cocoa value chains furthermore demonstrate women’s participation in a range of production activities, while absent from sales. For example, Mello’s (2014) research on an organic cocoa value chain in the Transamazon region of Pará state, Brazil, notes that women contribute to all cocoa production activities, with most significant participation in cocoa seed drying and classification and in seedling nurseries. Pontón Cevallos’ (2005) study of cocoa production in Ecuador demonstrates that, while women and men participate in all stages of sowing, maintenance, harvest, and post-harvest, men particularly dominate marketing. Pontón Cevallos further discusses that even when women cocoa producers in Ecuador do participate in sales, they tend to be paid a lower price than that given to men.

It is important to note that women household heads may be limited from participating in organic agricultural production due to the extra input requirements needed and the tendency for women headed households to be resource poor in comparison to men or to jointly-headed households. For example, women producers without a male partner may find it particularly difficult to cover the extra labor demands, given the effort that soil conservation requires (IFAD 2003). Here, women may be unable to hire wage labor to carry out these functions due to capital constraints.

Mello’s (2014) research in Pará state, Brazil, highlights in particular men’s predominance in the commercialization of the high value cocoa crop while women contribute significantly to lower value cocoa derivative value chains. Women are especially responsible for processing cocoa into other products such as liquor, pulp, coconut candy, and chocolate. These are usually sold in local and regional markets, as well as at fair trade events and local celebrations that promote family farming. Women work significantly in
the commercialization of the cocoa crop derivatives; however, regional development projects do not consider them to be as significant as the high-value cocoa crop.

Despite women’s comparable participation in production in comparison to men, women’s contributions to coffee and cocoa production may be disregarded under the presumption that it is men’s work. In a study of organic coffee production in Chiapas, Mexico, women were seen to work in the coffee fields on average three months per year, three days per week, while men worked three months per year, 6 days per week (Jazibi Cárcamo et al. 2010). In addition to cultivation activities, women were responsible for food preparation for the other field workers. Correspondingly, Lyon et al.’s (2010) study on fair trade-organic coffee production in Mesoamerica demonstrates that women may work almost twice the time of men in production systems where capitalization is low. While both women and men participate in cocoa activities from production through post-harvest in Ecuador, women’s contributions are often disregarded (Pontón Cevallos 2005). Mello’s study (2014) of the organic cocoa value chain in Pará state, Brazil, found that women producers tend to be regarded as men’s assistants, instead of as production owners. Furthermore, interventions do not recognize the variety of products that women develop from cocoa and their local and regional market potential.
Benefits perceived from value chain participation

In general, men are seen to benefit more significantly in remunerative terms than women from their role in value chains. For example, in Honduras, the cocoa producer organization Aprosacaco found that women were particularly involved in harvest and post-harvest activities; however, the majority of women’s contributions tend to be non-remunerated, since these activities tend to take place on the farms of their husbands or fathers (Gumucio 2016). Less than 15% of the producers who receive payment for sales or any type of service in the value chain are women.

Research on women’s and men’s wage labor in value chains demonstrates that while women may be involved significantly in processing or packing facilities, these are often temporary or lower wage work positions. For example, organic agriculture can often provide women with additional opportunities to participate in wage labor, due to the increased labor needed during harvest (IFAD 2003). Additionally, in El Salvador, women comprise close to 100% of the employees working in organic packing facilities. Despite the compensatory work opportunities that these allow, women tend to predominate temporary work positions in comparison to men; furthermore, often the tendency for factories to hire women more than men is due to the possibility to hire women piecemeal and pay less (Stoian 2005).

These considerations are important given findings that indicate that income controlled by women can contribute to increased spending on education and children’s health (Maertens and Swinnen 2012). Shreckenberg and Marshall’s (2006) analysis of women’s contributions to sixteen commercial non-timber forest product (NTFP) value chains likewise demonstrates gender-differentiated uses of monetary and nonmonetary income generated from NTFP value chains: women participate significantly in cocoa trade in the Bolivian Amazon; commonly they trade cocoa beans for household goods, whereas men may be prone to trade for alcohol or cigarettes.

Women may benefit less than men from interventions due to the downplayed significance given to women’s contributions to commercial agriculture. Mello’s (2014) study of organic cocoa production in Brazil demonstrates that because of the interventions’ focus on cocoa bean production and men’s association with the cash crop, programs target men over women as beneficiaries. For example, fewer women than men have cocoa product certification. Additionally, women benefit less than men in non-remunerative terms in that the former tend to be excluded from trainings. In general, capacity building in product quality improvement can fail to take into account women as well as other actors not seen as primary cocoa producers, like young people and sharecroppers.
Factors that influence benefits perceived

Land access can be a key factor influencing the nature of men’s and women’s participation in FTA value chains. In general, in Latin America there exists a persistent gender inequality in land ownership, due to male preference for inheritance and for marriage privileges, and also as a result of gender biases in land markets and in state land distribution programs (Schmink and Garcia 2015). Consequently, women’s lack of formal land access inhibits them from participating in critical decision-making spaces on production activities, including commercialization processes. This correspondingly excludes them from sales negotiations. Jazibi Cárcamo et al.’s (2010) research on an organic coffee producer organization in Chiapas notes that coffee land title ownership was a requirement for organization membership; women who were members experienced more significant monetary benefits and recognition for their work as producers, in comparison to women producers who were not. Women members could participate directly in decision-making on coffee sales and the commercialization processes, as well.

A global review by IFAD (2008) notes that men are largely members of producer organizations and women minimally, allowing men greater opportunity to participate in decision-making on product commercialization. Mello’s (2014) research of organic cocoa production in Brazil’s Transamazonian region likewise notes that few women are members of the cocoa production organization, less than 30%. Those with formal positions within the organization play roles with limited or no power in strategic decision-making. In addition, when they assume leadership positions in the organizations, women suffer greater scrutiny than men to demonstrate good leadership skills. These factors contribute to women’s limited integration in decision-making within the cocoa organizations.

Jazibi Cárcamo et al.’s (2010) study further demonstrates the enhanced remunerative and non-remunerative benefits women can experience through their participation in coffee producer organizations. Women members experience significantly greater economic benefits than the wives of members. They also experience enhanced self-esteem and greater acquisition of new knowledge, although this difference is not as great, most likely due to the fact that wives are able to participate in organization trainings. Women members also reported developing greater friendships, and feeling less alone and more productive.

A study on fair trade-organic coffee production in Mexico and Guatemala provides some evidence that women’s participation in fair trade organic certified producer organizations can promote gender equity, by enhancing women’s role in farm operations and increasing their monetary income (Lyon et al. 2010). The study highlights that male out-migration was an important factor to consider in the research results. In this context, certification procedural requirements like on-farm inspections and product
tracing, which demand that the farm operator be present, contribute to women’s assumption of the farm operator role in the male household head’s absence. Additionally, through their participation in the producer organization as farm operators, women can perceive increased monetary income, especially when the fair trade-organic market price for coffee is greater than that for conventional coffee. Furthermore, certification procedures that track sales receipts facilitate women farm operators’ access to payment channels. Through their participation in the producer organizations, women have gained improved access to commercialization channels, as well.

The following section focuses on gender aspects of coffee and cocoa value chains in the specific country cases of Peru and Nicaragua. After a summary of the relevant policy and institutional background in each country, the section analyzes men’s and women’s participation in and benefits perceived from a) coffee value chains and b) cocoa value chains in Peru and Nicaragua. The discussions of benefits perceived particularly addresses enhanced services and resources available to women, as a result of initiatives facilitated through producer organizations.
Case studies

Policy background related to gender, coffee and cocoa production

Peru

The Ministry of Agriculture is the main agency responsible for rural development and agriculture in Peru. According to the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), Peru has attempted to combat rural poverty by working to:

- Strengthen the competitiveness of small producers and members of the Andean and Amazonian indigenous communities in order to increase employment and income levels
- Increase the profitability of available resources
- Contribute to household food security and nutrition
- Build smallholders’ capacities to take advantage of market opportunities.

(2013: 2)

Peru’s model of rural development thus focuses on inclusive rural development policies that work to integrate the rural poor into the market economy. Here, the Peruvian government has invested significantly in providing women farmers opportunities to enter the market economy and profit monetarily from their agricultural labor. For example, Peru’s Market Strengthening and Livelihood Diversification in the Southern Highlands Project has worked with approximately 9,000 women to open savings accounts (IFAD 2013).

National fiscal policy is particularly relevant to women’s opportunities to access productive resources and thus participate in and benefit from commercial agriculture. While Peru’s banks tend to lend money to medium and larger producers that export crops, the country’s rural and municipal banks and finance companies lend to small and micro producers who require US$2,000 or less. As such, Peru’s micro, small, and medium producers have access to a range of regulated financial institutions. According to the 2012 Agricultural Census, approximately 10% of Peru’s surveyed producers said that they had applied for financing and 90% of those individuals said they had received a loan (Grace et al. 2014). Eighty-seven percent of the small and medium producers who did not receive financing stated that their applications were rejected because they lacked land titles or collateral.² Peruvian banks conceive of small farmers as individuals with fewer than 50 hectares (14); this is particularly beneficial for women who are more likely than men farmers to have smaller plots of land.

² Of those that did not apply for loans, approximately 33% said they did not apply because they did not need credit. A roughly equal percentage of respondents said that their reason for not applying was high interest rates and one quarter of surveyed producers said that they did not think they would be eligible for a loan or did not have sufficient collateral (Grace et al. 2014).
However, in order to receive financing, an individual must possess a title to land which may present barriers to women farmers without land tenure.

Nicaragua

Approximately four-fifths of Nicaraguans living in rural areas depend solely on agriculture for their livelihood, and small and medium farmers produce roughly half of all agricultural exports in the country. Like Peru, Nicaragua has invested significantly in integrating smallholders into the market economy by providing loans, technical assistance, and training. According to Nicaragua’s Progress Report on National Human Development Plan of 2010 conducted by the International Monetary Fund, this has “allowed for efficiency and effectiveness in domestic resources, private resources, and cooperation resources, ... (in order to) allow this segment of formerly marginalized producers and communities to join large producers in capitalizing on Nicaragua’s comparative advantages” (2011: 15). National policy from 2007-2010 centered on providing small producers access to credit. During this time, 90,209 Nicaraguan women received micro loans under the Zero Usury loan program (IMF 2011). The Political Constitution of Nicaragua of 1986, and its respective reforms, makes an explicit and direct recognition of the right to food. It is the right of Nicaraguans to be protected against hunger, and the State is responsible for promoting programs that ensure the availability of food and its equitable distribution (FAO - Plataforma de Seguridad Alimentaria y Nutricional n.d.). Throughout its programs in the past ten years, Nicaragua has worked towards more inclusive and responsible politics, especially considering women as a potential engine of its economy.

The Ministry of family, community, cooperative and associative agriculture (MEFCCA) through its General Direction of Family Agriculture has launched programs targeted to improve and guarantee food security, taking into account rural livelihoods capacities (MEFCCA n.d.). The Ministry works to promote and assure socio-economic improvement of its population through development plans and strategies. One of the flagship programs is FONDEAGRO, a program to strengthen men’s and women’s capacities to play an active role in local development. According to the formulation document, FONDEAGRO has two main instruments to involve women in program activities: implementation of the yard component and provision of incentives for joint titling as an instrument to promote empowerment. The yard component is called Patio Saludable, and consists of empowering Nicaraguan families to mitigate food crises by planting different fruit trees and vegetables, in their own backyards. This program worked on a US$2.9 million budget. Another program, PROCACAO, works on the improvement of the organizational and productive capacities of the cocoa producers in the mining triangle. To develop this project, the Ministry has needed US$4.2 million, aiming to strengthen 1,200 producers’ capacity, through technical assistance and credit granting. NICADAPTA is an additional program which supports cocoa and coffee producers, with a focus on helping them to adapt to climate change.
Gender and coffee

Gender roles

According to a study of coffee organizations in Nicaragua and Peru carried out by Twin (2013), women and men both contribute significantly to coffee production, although they participate in differing manners and degrees, according to the task. For example, both women and men participate in planting and crop maintenance; harvesting; and fermentation and washing. However, more men-specific tasks tend to be land preparation; transporting crops from the plot to the home; depulping; delivery and sale; and receiving and recording deliveries. Women-specific tasks tend to be care of nurseries; and supervision of drying. With regards to the activities where there is joint participation, by focusing on specific sub-tasks it is possible to see complementarity of men’s and women’s roles: for instance, with respect to planting, men dig the holes while women plant the seedlings; regarding crop maintenance, men carry out heavy and mechanized weeding and pruning while women tend to lighter weeding and manure application. In Nicaragua, with regards to harvesting, it is noted that women participate more during the peak season. Additionally, they spend significant time in meal preparation, cooking for hired workers during this time.

According to Twin’s study (2013), in Nicaragua women are reported to participate less in coffee production than men, in comparison to Peru. For example, thirty percent of coffee production work is carried out by women in Nicaragua, while the remaining 70% is carried out by men. In contrast, in Peru women carry out 55% of the work for coffee production and men are responsible for 45%. Furthermore, producers in Peru regard the activities as joint-work between the two sexes. Notwithstanding, results from Twin’s study suggest that if women’s participation in meal preparation and harvesting tasks were taken into account in Nicaragua, the ratio of labor division reported above would be more equal.

There has been an increase in women’s participation in coffee production in Peru in recent years, although gender norms continue to undermine women’s contributions. According to Reyes (2002), Peruvian women are traditionally regarded as mothers and wives and not as decision-makers or landowners. As a result, women’s work is thought of as a way to support primary male producers. A wife’s work laboring in the fields, for example, is regarded as merely an extension of her household duties, supporting the work of her male partner. In Twin’s study (2013), only 10% of Peruvian women involved in coffee production reported that they experience an equal gender division in all tasks both on the farm and in the home. Furthermore, in many cases women who partake in agricultural labor often cite their primary occupation as “homemaker” in official census collections (Reyes 2002). Consequently, women’s participation and roles in productive activities are not well documented in country-wide statistics, nor are they widely recognized or valued. Although insufficiently documented, however, women’s participation in agriculture greatly contributes to the household’s farming capacity.

As in the Peruvian case, women’s contributions to coffee production in Nicaragua are often not recognized, and they are viewed mostly as a support
to men’s work (Twin 2013). Additionally, women are responsible for domestic duties (90% of tasks), and this exacerbates their work load. For example, Nicaraguan women might work from 3 am until 11 pm during peak harvest season. As such, women are less able to enjoy leisure time than their male counterparts.

**Factors that influence benefits perceived**

Both women and men can benefit from participating in producer organizations, due to the access to capital equipment and marketing channels that these allow; however, participation can help women in particular to access technical assistance and capacity-building on coffee production that otherwise may have been beyond their reach due to socio-cultural barriers (Higuchi et al. 2012). For example, in Peru 80 women producers were able to participate in a coffee rehabilitation pilot offered by the Junta Nacional de Café in 2011, through their producer organizations (Twin 2013). The pilot provided the women technical assistance on systematic coffee pruning as well as access to subsidized organic fertilizers. The pilot saw a 63% adoption rate and productivity increased by 80% at one of the participating producer organizations.

Despite women’s increasing participation in producer organizations, women still receive fewer benefits for their labor than their male counterparts. In a study conducted by Lutheran World Relief (n.d.) in Matagalpa, Nicaragua, of the Flor de Pacasán cooperative, researchers found that female members had less access to the services offered by the cooperative such as credit, training, marketing, and technical assistance. For example, a mere 30% of women members were able to access credit. Men also reported a greater control over the household income generated from the sale of coffee and cocoa. The study also found that while 45% of women members of the cooperative attended meetings, they were underrepresented in many of the cooperative’s major decision-making bodies. Similarly, in a study regarding small coffee producers’ participation in fair trade in northern Nicaragua, Utting-Chamarro (2005) found that, although the status of women is improving in rural communities, women’s lack of access to and control over key productive and financial resources restrict their participation in fair trade. For example, women own approximately 20% of agricultural land in Nicaragua (USAID 2011). This lack of land ownership often prevents them from joining farmer organizations (TechnoServe n.d.).

In response to these challenges, producer organizations have made efforts to prioritize women’s involvement and ensure that women receive the support they need to participate equally with men. In particular, coffee producer organizations in Peru and Nicaragua have been addressing problems of access to land and to credit. For example, although 58% of land is jointly owned by men and women in Peru and the government prioritizes joint ownership, land tenure can still be a significant barrier to women’s enhanced benefits from the coffee production value chain (Twin 2013). Furthermore, the credit necessary for land purchase is often difficult for women to access. Consequently, producer organizations in both Peru and Nicaragua have encouraged men to gift land to women. Some have also offered small credit amounts for women to purchase land or to invest in businesses which will allow them to save towards purchasing land. In Nicaragua in particular, through umbrella organization CAFENICA, producer organizations have campaigned for the government to offer women credit to buy land. Furthermore, Twin’s study found that women in producer organizations are more prone to own land, in comparison to national averages: 26% of women in producer organizations vs. 16% of women in the country in Peru; and 25% of women in producer organizations vs. 13% of women in the country in Nicaragua.

It is important to note that the above mentioned land action campaign in Nicaragua has been possible through the efforts of the Coffee Flowers Movement, an organization that promotes gender justice and represents women growers, co-producers, and technical and managerial staff across the producer organizations of CAFENICA (Twin 2013). The Movement’s initiatives have resulted in gender policies in several of the participating organizations, as well as increased women’s participation in cooperative trainings.

There are also cases of individual organizations that have focused on issues of land access as well as social and economic empowerment. One producer organization in Peru, UNICAFEC, has focused on developing a women’s empowerment program. The organization is based in San Ignacio and has a total of 406 members, 94 of whom are women (Twin 2013).
In particular, one of the types of coffee produced by the organization is a certified Women’s Coffee, supplied by women producers to customers who pay a “gender premium.” Income from the premium goes to the women’s empowerment program; it also has been used to develop a fund administered by the organization and by the women’s committee for initiatives like agricultural technical assistance and home improvements. An additional benefit to women producers through the Women’s Coffee has been their direct communication with buyers (i.e., Equal Exchange U.K.), allowing them enhanced access to market information.

Another organization in Nicaragua, Soppexcca, also uses the funds from a Women’s Coffee line to promote gender equality. Soppexcca is an association of 18 coffee cooperatives with 650 members in northern Nicaragua. Women comprise 40% of the cooperative’s members (Root Capital n.d.). Roughly 43% of its board of directors and oversight committee are comprised by women, and women producers make up 28% of its membership. The association has its own gender policy that has been used as a model for the gender policies of 33 other Nicaraguan cooperatives (Olivan et al. 2014). It began supplying Women’s Coffee in 2001, which currently carries the brand-name Las Hermanas. Funds from the corresponding gender premiums have been used for a cervical cancer screening initiative; they also have been used for an access to land program, which has resulted in an increase in women’s membership in the organization from 68 to 210, over 2003 to 2013 (Twin 2013). The quality of the women’s coffee was also seen to increase by 2 points over that delivered by men, according to the Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA). Furthermore, Twin’s study found that, while women members of producer organizations experience increased say in how money is spent in their households, the suppliers of Women’s Coffee have experienced this even more so.

The Pangoa Grower Cooperative in Peru also has a gender program and has made efforts to increase women’s access to credit. This has been possible through the organization’s Women’s Development Committee, CODEMU, formed in 1997. The co-op serves approximately 600 members (Just Coffee Co-op n.d.). CODEMU works to improve the lives of women stakeholders, including wives and daughters of organization members. When it was first formed, the Committee focused on microfinance schemes and leadership development for women. For example, loans from the micro-credit scheme have been used by women for home improvements and income-generating activities. CODEMU has expanded its focus since its inception and currently works with producers to improve family nutrition and promote gender justice through self-esteem workshops (Twin 2013). It also arranges medical check-ups for women over 30 years-old in order to detect and prevent disease (Just Coffee Co-op n.d.).

PRODECOOP in Nicaragua has also made significant efforts to promote gender equality, through its five-year gender policy. Instituted in 2008, the policy indicates a 40% quota for women in organization leadership positions (Twin 2013). Other points include the creation of an economic development program for women, an awareness campaign on women’s contributions to coffee production, and a training program for field staff to promote women’s access to technical assistance.
Gender and cocoa

Gender roles

In comparison to coffee value chains, less information exists on gender aspects of cocoa value chains in Peru and Nicaragua. However, information available suggests trends similar to those found in the discussion of coffee. According to a study conducted by Escobedo Aguilar in 2010 surveying cocoa producers, only 6% of cocoa producers in Nicaragua were women. Lanzas (2010) found that the first stage of cocoa production, including harvest, collection, transfer, and removal of seeds is most commonly completed by the male heads of the household (45%) and secondly by the wife (35%) (cited in Escobedo Aguilar 2010). There is more equal participation during second stage of production, which includes fermentation and drying, of which 43% of male heads of households participate and 40% of women. The third stage, packaging and transporting, is also most likely to be completed by a man (38%), followed by hired labor (35%), and children (27%) (ibid). Similarly, cocoa producer organization La Campesina, in Nicaragua, has noted with regards to its business model that there tends to be more gender equitable representation of women and men among employees in the post-harvest node (Gumucio 2016). Furthermore, in alignment with Mello’s (2014) study of cocoa producers in the Brazilian Amazon, women are most likely to be involved in the transformation of cocoa into a final product (i.e., chocolate) (Escobedo Aguilar 2010).

Women are also seen to be involved in activities that complement their household care work, while men are associated more with paid labor and commercial agriculture. Emenius’s (2012) study of cocoa producers in the San Alejandro region of Peru found that women living in cocoa-producing households were more likely to prepare food for the street market and engage in childcare, domestic duties and care of animals. Men, however, were more likely to work in the fields and participate in extra income-generating work off the farm. This same study found that gender bias influenced employers’ preferences for men cocoa employees. One woman employer stated that this was because she perceived men laborers to be harder workers and less encumbered by their household duties. As such, men may be more likely to be employed in cocoa chacras (ibid).

Factors that influence benefits perceived

The benefits women cocoa producers receive along the value chain mirror those of women coffee farmers. That is, women receive far fewer benefits from their labor than men producers. The aforementioned study conducted by Lutheran World Relief in Matagalpa, Nicaragua, of the Flor de Pacasán cooperative found that women cocoa producers, like women coffee producers, did not feel they were owners of their cocoa plots and were less likely to benefit from trainings offered by local cooperatives such as the Flor de Pancasán cooperative (Lutheran World Relief n.d). Despite socio-cultural restraints, women cocoa producers have in some cases been able to
participate in producer organizations. For example, in an inclusive-business model analysis carried out by the non-governmental organization (NGO) VECOMA with producer organizations in Nicaragua, the cocoa producer organization La Campesina found that while women’s participation in the organization’s directive board was low, men and women were seen to participate more equitably as technicians (Gumucio 2016).

Furthermore, there do exist efforts to improve women’s participation in producer organizations and cooperatives. For example, under the USAID Cooperative Development Program, TCHO, a San Franciscan chocolate company, and Equal Exchange, a Fair Trade worker’s cooperative in Massachusetts, support cocoa cooperatives in Peru by providing financing, technical assistance, and trainings. In 2013, consultants from Equal Exchange supported a membership education program comprised of 42 workshops for approximately 1,700 cooperative members. These workshops covered a range of topics, including the importance of member capital and ownership and the history and principles of cooperatives. The audience was comprised of 39% women (Weihe 2013). The Oro Verde cooperative in Peru also adopted a member equity plan in March 2013 which emphasizes the importance of equal participation by women coffee and cocoa farmers (ibid).
Conclusions and recommendations

Women participating in cocoa and coffee value chains in Peru and Nicaragua face unique obstacles and have different needs than their male counterparts. The present report analyzed gender trends in value chains, with a focus on women’s participation in and benefit from cocoa and coffee value chains. It paid particular attention to the potential benefits of women’s participation in producer organizations, as well. In light of the information discussed, the paper draws the following recommendations and considerations for policy and development interventions to improve women’s participation in cocoa and coffee value chains. These recommendations address the cases of Nicaragua and Peru, but they can be applicable to initiatives for gender equitable value chain enhancement in Latin America in general.

- **Improved access to productive resources and support services**

Lack of land tenure is a barrier that many women farmers face throughout Latin America (Root Capital 2014). Land ownership influences women’s ability to acquire credit and technical assistance, receive income generated from the sale of cash crops, and participate in farmer organizations (Twin 2013, LANDESA 2012). Development interventions that seek to improve women’s participation in and benefits derived from cocoa and coffee value chains thus must work closely with governments to improve legal and social barriers that restrict women’s land tenure (Lastarria-Cornhiel 2006). In addition to improved access to productive resources, women farmers must also have access to support services to assist them in their cocoa and coffee production.

- **Addressing women’s “time burdens” and role in household and family care**

In most countries around the world, “women balance a greater multiplicity of roles and responsibilities than male members of their households” (Kabeer 1994: 191). This burden prevents women from participating in the sale and production of cash crops on par with men. For example, according to Root Capital (2014), women are less likely to sign on as registered suppliers to agribusiness or cooperative members due to time constraints related to their caretaking responsibilities, lower mobility, and other cultural norms. Thus, improving women’s participation in and benefits derived from cocoa and coffee production in Nicaragua and Peru requires that efforts be made to reduce women’s workload and that domestic responsibilities be distributed more equally. Correspondingly, reducing women’s time burdens necessitates change in entrenched gender norms; for this reason, development interventions that seek to promote women’s empowerment in the agricultural sphere must effectively incorporate men and boys in their programming.
• **Promoting gender equality through producer organizations' policies**

Producer organizations can play an important role in promoting gender equality in coffee and cocoa value chains, as suggested by the cases discussed in the report. Initiatives that target gender gaps in land ownership and access to credit and capital help facilitate women’s more significant participation in and profit from the value chain. In particular, results from Twin’s (2013) study demonstrate producers’ increased sensitization to gender equality and greater joint decision-making among men and women household members, as a result of the interventions of producer organizations.

This last observation highlights an additional critical point regarding initiatives for gender equality, spearheaded by producer organizations: their foci need not be limited to production and income generation; rather, as alluded to in the previous recommendations made, increased gender equality requires transformation of gender norms. For this reason, several organizations’ interventions included activities such as self-esteem workshops and campaigns to build awareness of women’s contributions to commercial agriculture. In this way, the more comprehensive scope of such initiatives can address not just the practical needs of women producers, but also their strategic needs, meaning that they go beyond satisfying the needs that women’s roles require and seek to change institutions that structure the distribution of benefits between men and women (Molyneux 1985).

• **Knowledge gaps**

The report also suggests certain knowledge gaps critical to address moving forward, for example, gender considerations of cocoa value chains in Peru and Nicaragua. While studies exist on women’s and men’s roles and returns from their participation in coffee production, similar research on gender and commercial cocoa production may be lacking.³

Furthermore, it will be important to assess how market integration affects the valuation of women’s unpaid care work in varied contexts. For instance, observations from the cases discussed suggest that coffee production is considered to be carried out thanks to the equal efforts of both sexes in Peru; in contrast, in Nicaragua producers consider that men dominate coffee production, and women’s seasonal contributions and care work are not taken into account. Additionally, the case discussed of cocoa production in Peru demonstrated that women’s role in care work rendered them less desirable as laborers. It is key to analyze the gender norms and institutions that underlie and influence varying valuations of care work with increased market integration.

An additional question for research, although not addressed directly here, has to do with the extent to which fair trade and organic cooperatives affect women’s social and economic empowerment. In particular, outcomes associated with Women’s Coffee initiatives in organic and fair trade businesses suggest that these can be successful in building awareness of women’s contributions to coffee production, increasing women’s access to resources and information necessary for more lucrative production, and enhancing women’s household decision-making power (Twin 2013). However, other research demonstrates that other socio-economic aspects (i.e., education, class, access to capital) can limit certain types of women from participating in organic and fair trade production (Lyon et al. 2010). It will be important to take into account the influence of socio-economic variables beyond gender in future research on the potential for fair trade and organic coffee and cocoa production to advance gender equality.

---

³ Particular data collection methods can help support more robust gender analysis in agriculture. Firstly, researchers must ensure that they capture the opinions and experiences of women farmers (Doss 2013). Researchers must also not assume that particular groups are engaged in certain activities based on gendered social norms (ibid). Rather, researchers must frame their interview questions in such a way that allows for a range of answers that reveal how gender patterns in agriculture are changing (ibid). Further, researchers must collect data on associations related to agricultural production and marketing in order to investigate how institutions may unintentionally reinforce gender-based constraints on the populations they are purporting to help. There is also a need for regional and international partnerships in gender agricultural research in Latin America. Collaboration has shown to be a successful way of information sharing and capacity building particularly for countries in the Global South (Stads and Beintema 2009).
References


Higuchi A; Masahiro M; Fukuda S. 2012. The Impact of Socio-Economic Characteristics on Coffee Farmers’ Marketing Channel Choice: Evidence from Villa Rica, Peru. Sustainable Agriculture Research SAR 1(1).


Headquarters and Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean
Km 17 Recta Cali–Palmira C.P. 763537
Apartado Aéreo 6713
Cali, Colombia
Phone: +57 2 4450000
Fax: +57 2 4450073
General e-mail: ciat@cgiar.org

CONTACT
Carolina Navarrete, Coordinator
c.navarrete@cgiar.org

Regional Office for Africa

c/o ICIPE
Duduville Campus,
Off Kasarani Road
P.O. Box 823-00621
Nairobi, Kenya
Phone: +254 20 8632800 / +254 719 052800 / 721 574967
Fax: +254 20 8632001

CONTACT
Adebisi Araba, Regional Director
a.araba@cgiar.org

Regional Office for Asia

c/o Agricultural Genetics Institute (Vien Di Truyen Nong Nghiep), Vietnam Academy of Agricultural Sciences (VAAS), Pham Van Dong Street, Tu Liem (opposite the Ministry of Security - Doi dien voi Bo Cong An)
Hanoi, Vietnam
Phone: +844 37576969

CONTACT
Dindo Campilan, Regional Director
d.campilan@cgiar.org