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How Do Agricultural Development Projects Aim to Empower Women?

Insights from an Analysis of Project Strategies

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ABSTRACT

Increasing numbers of development agencies and individual projects espouse objectives of women's empowerment, yet there has been little systematic work on mechanisms by which interventions can enhance women's empowerment. This gap exists because of the lack of consensus on indicators as well as the lack of attention paid to measuring the effects of different types of interventions on empowerment. This paper identifies the types of strategies employed by 13 agricultural development projects within the International Food Policy Research Institute's Gender, Agriculture, and Assets Project Phase 2 (GAAP2) that have explicit objectives of empowering women. We distinguish between reach, benefit, and empowerment as objectives of agricultural development projects. Simply including women does not necessarily benefit them, and even activities that benefit do not necessarily empower. To identify strategies to empower women, we build on the domains included in the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) and are working with the GAAP2 portfolio of projects to develop an empowerment metric that is applicable in the project setting (a project-level WEAI, or pro-WEAI). We have identified the following potential domains to be included in pro-WEAI: input into production decision making, control over resources, control over income, leadership, time, physical mobility, intrahousehold relationships, individual empowerment, reduction in gender-based violence, and decision making on nutrition. The GAAP2 projects address these domains through a wide variety of activities that can be grouped into four main types: (1) direct and indirect provision of goods and services; (2) forming or strengthening groups, organizations, or platforms and networks that involve women; (3) strengthening knowledge and capacity through agricultural extension, business and finance training, nutrition behavior change communication, and other training; and (4) changing gender norms through one-way awareness raising or two-way community conversations about gender issues and their implications. In general, projects with activities in more activity areas target more domains of empowerment, and most projects target a core set of six empowerment domains. With the exception of intrahousehold relationships, which is always targeted by activities designed to influence gender norms, projects target domains with different types of activities or combinations of activities. This setup suggests that there may be no one-to-one link between a specific activity and empowerment benefits, and that implementation modalities will determine whether and how an activity contributes to women's empowerment. The effectiveness of these project strategies will be assessed using both quantitative and qualitative methods throughout the GAAP2 research project.

Keywords: women's empowerment, agricultural development projects, project strategies, monitoring and evaluation

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ACRONYMS

3D4AgDev	Farmer Participatory Rapid Prototyping via 3-D Printing for Improved Labor-Saving Innovations for Women Smallholders in Africa
A4NH	CGIAR Research Program on Agriculture for Nutrition and Health
ANGeL	Agriculture, Nutrition, and Gender Linkages
AVC	Impact Evaluation of the Bangladesh Agricultural Value Chains Program
BCC	behavior change communication
CRS	Feed the Future Nigeria Livelihoods Project (Catholic Relief Services)
FAARM	Food and Agricultural Approaches to Reducing Malnutrition
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FFH	Building Resilience of Vulnerable Communities in Burkina Faso (Freedom from Hunger)
GAAP1	Gender, Agriculture, and Assets Project Phase 1
GAAP2	Gender, Agriculture, and Assets Project Phase 2
Heifer	Empowerment, Resilience, and Livestock Transfers (Heifer International)
HKI	Helen Keller International
iDE	Small-Scale Irrigation and Women’s Empowerment in Northern Ghana (iDE)
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
JP RWEE	UN Joint Programme on Accelerating Progress towards the Economic Empowerment of Rural Women in Ethiopia
M&E	monitoring and evaluation
NGO	nongovernmental organization
pro-WEAI	project-level version of the Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index
TRAIN	Targeting and Realigning Agriculture to Improve Nutrition
Trias	Evaluation of Women’s Food Security Program for Impoverished Maasai Households
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WEAI	Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index
WINGS	Women Improving Nutrition through Group-Based Strategies
WorldVeg	Deploying Improved Vegetable Technologies to Overcome Malnutrition and Poverty in Mali (World Vegetable Center)

1. INTRODUCTION

Empowering women is an important development objective, and development investments in a range of sectors are increasingly expected to contribute to women's empowerment. There is an emerging consensus within the international development community that gender equality and women's empowerment are important goals from a human rights perspective, as well as for achieving a range of economic and social development objectives such as improved food security, child nutrition and education, and women's health (Kabeer 2010; Quisumbing 2003; Smith et al. 2003; World Bank 2011; Sraboni et al. 2014; Cunningham et al. 2015; van den Bold, Quisumbing, and Gillespie 2013; Malapit and Quisumbing 2015; Corroon et al. 2014; Gates 2014). There is evidence that expanding women's opportunities—particularly in access to health, education, and labor markets—as well as their rights and political participation decreases gender inequality and accelerates development (Duflo 2012). More recently, development policy makers and practitioners have recognized the importance of women's empowerment as a means to enhance agricultural production and reduce rural poverty. Accordingly, many organizations have incorporated empowerment objectives and integrated activities designed to empower women into the design and implementation of their agricultural projects and programs (World Bank 2015). To be able to monitor progress toward achieving these goals, many organizations have made investments in improving the ways in which women's empowerment is defined and measured at the individual as well as the national level (Alkire et al. 2013).

Because empowerment is both multidimensional and very personal, numerous definitions exist. A commonly used definition proposed by Kabeer is “an expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices, in a context where this ability was previously denied to them” (1999, 437). Kabeer (1999) argued further that there is a gap between the understanding of empowerment as a process, and more instrumentalist forms of advocacy that have required the measurement and quantification of empowerment. In Kabeer's definition, the ability to exercise choice encompasses three dimensions: resources (defined to include not only access but also future claims to material, human, and social resources), agency (including processes of decision making, negotiation, and even deception and manipulation), and achievements (well-being outcomes).

According to a recent review, “while there have been improvements in some areas, overall progress towards women's empowerment and gender equality is halting and inconsistent” (Head et al. 2014, 5). Despite their contribution to and dependence on agriculture, women face significant constraints in their ability to access and control productive resources and opportunities that are important to agriculture-based livelihoods (FAO 2011; Kilic, Winters, and Carletto 2015). Relative to men, women are less likely to own land or livestock, adopt new technologies, use credit or other financial services, or receive education or agricultural extension services. Within their households, women in general play a limited role in household decision making and have little say in how household income is used (Head et al. 2014). Women also face significant time and mobility constraints relative to men (Johnston et al. 2015; van den Bold, Quisumbing, and Gillespie 2013).

The growing commitment to supporting women's empowerment in agriculture is encouraging, and efforts are underway to operationalize it. A recent review of agricultural development projects that were identified as “success stories” in terms of improving women's economic empowerment highlighted key features of design and implementation that successful projects tended to share (Doss, Bockius-Suwyn, and D'Souza 2012). However, rigorous evidence on whether and how specific agricultural development investments empower women is limited. To address this evidence gap, we need to systematically examine strategies that agricultural development projects use to empower women and standardize ways of measuring empowerment, so that we can understand the initial conditions women face in different contexts and the impact of different interventions on women's empowerment and other outcomes.

The Gender, Agriculture, and Assets Project Phase 2 (GAAP2) is working to address both of these needs. Led by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the CGIAR Research Program on Agriculture for Nutrition and Health (A4NH), GAAP2 is working with a set of 13 agricultural development projects that have women's empowerment as one of their objectives.¹ GAAP2 will ensure that credible metrics for measuring and tracking empowerment are integrated into each project's evaluations, and it will seek to understand and compare how and why projects do or do not empower women. To understand what works to empower women in agriculture, GAAP2 will examine the range of women's empowerment strategies that projects are using and develop and validate a project-level version of the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (pro-WEAI) to measure outcomes.²

To maximize learning from the individual evaluations and the portfolio-level analysis, this paper systematically analyzes each of the 13 projects to identify how it expects to achieve its empowerment objectives. It does so by looking at the specific activities that each project is implementing with the expectation of influencing particular aspects or domains of women's empowerment. As is the case with many aspects of project design, how projects define their empowerment strategies will depend on several factors, such as the project context (and the designers' knowledge of it), familiarity with empowerment concepts, priorities of beneficiaries (as assessed by project designers), priorities and expertise of the implementing organization, priorities of funders, and available resources. As a result, strategies are likely to vary by project. However, there may be some generalizable principles for what projects can do to enhance their impacts on women's empowerment. Our examination of project strategies will allow us to develop some hypotheses that can then be systematically tested. This study will contribute to the building of a robust framework for understanding how agricultural development projects empower women, which will be a basis for shared learning and will be strengthened and validated throughout GAAP2.

¹ The analysis in the current paper is based on the initial portfolio of 13 projects. Two projects on livestock-nutrition value chains have recently joined GAAP2 but are not reflected here.

² For more information about GAAP2, see gaap.ifpri.info.

2. REACHING, BENEFITING, AND EMPOWERING WOMEN

In reviewing the gender-related strategies of the GAAP2 partner projects as well as other projects with a women's empowerment objective, we identified a need to conceptually distinguish between strategies to reach women as participants, to benefit women, and to empower women. These differences are illustrated in Figure 2.1.³

Figure 2.1 Project objectives for women



Source: Authors.

The distinction applies to the project's objectives for women, the strategies formulated to reach the objectives, and the indicators used in the projects' monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems to track progress toward achieving the objectives:

- Reaching women involves including them as participants in programs. There is an implicit assumption that they will benefit as a result of being involved in the program, but exactly how women will benefit is not specified. Reaching women may be a necessary first step to benefiting or empowering them, but by itself is usually insufficient. It may involve targeting women explicitly to be program participants (as in quotas for women's participation in projects, community meetings, or training programs, or even in credit programs). Indicators for reaching women may include number (or proportion) of women attending meetings, registered in groups, or receiving extension advice.
- Benefiting women requires that the project will deliver benefits to women. In projects with objectives to benefit women, program design and implementation would consider women's needs and constraints; in addition, outcome indicators of those benefits, such as improved productivity, income, or nutrition, should be disaggregated by sex of the beneficiary. Being able to track benefits at the individual level is a crucial step toward ensuring that they occur. While it is generally recognized that projects designed with women's needs and constraints in mind may be more effective at benefiting women, projects focused exclusively on women may fail to consider appropriate roles for men, thus risking backlash.
- Empowering women involves strengthening their ability to make strategic life choices and to put those into action. Empowerment may be the sole objective of a project; however, projects often seek to both benefit and empower women, because these objectives may be mutually reinforcing. Benefits to women may not be sustainable without changing the underlying balance of power between men and women, and changing the balance of power may be easier and less prone to backlash against women if it is accompanied by material benefits. Indicators of empowerment tend to focus on women's role relative to men's, for example their control over resources, participation in decision making, or individual agency. Empowerment indicators can also include reduction in outcomes associated with disempowerment, such as gender-based violence.

³ For more discussion of the concepts of reaching, benefiting, and empowerment in the context of agricultural development projects, see <http://a4nh.cgiar.org/2016/11/29/reach-benefit-or-empower-clarifying-gender-strategies-of-development-projects/>.

Many agricultural development projects have been (and many continue to be) gender blind, assuming by default that men are the primary farmers, focusing on (usually male) heads of households, or failing to recognize important gender differences. With growing recognition of women as farmers and value chain actors in their own right rather than just members of farm households or primary caregivers within their families, it makes sense to involve women in agricultural projects explicitly. It is assumed that if women participate in project activities, they will benefit. The principal challenge has often been viewed as including women in project meetings, trainings, groups, and other activities. In some cases, efforts focus on alleviating gender-based constraints to participation—for example changing the time and place of meetings, forming women-only groups, and hiring women staff in the implementing organization and as lead farmers or extension agents. In other cases, projects use quotas requiring that a percentage (typically 30 percent) of participants be female. To show that participation goals are met, projects count women, collecting sex-disaggregated data on their participation in various activities.

Although including (reaching) women is an essential first step toward gender-sensitive projects, it is not sufficient. Participation does not necessarily result in actual benefits, and the emphasis on participation as an indicator of project success may create the unintended consequence of increasing women's time burdens. In projects whose gender objectives are limited to reaching women, the extent and quality of women's participation and the effects of this participation on women's skills, time, and decision-making power—potentially positive or negative—are rarely measured. Projects that aim only to reach women are less likely to monitor whether these outreach and engagement activities effectively respond to women's needs in terms of content and format or allow for women to express their demands.

Greater donor and country attention to accountability for outcomes has led to more investment in understanding and measuring impacts on desired development outcomes. As understanding of project impacts grows, especially understanding of how and why the benefits and costs of projects may vary for different types of households and for individuals within households, it becomes clear that simply reaching women does not ensure that they benefit. Evidence is needed that women benefit in terms of outcomes such as access to resources, agricultural productivity, or income. Providing this type of evidence implies collection and analysis of sex-disaggregated data on outcomes, as well as evaluations designed to show attribution (something not necessary for outputs).

It is often expected that projects that lead to improvements in women's agricultural production, income, or nutritional status will begin to reduce underlying inequities between men and women. A growing body of evidence suggests that this does not happen automatically. The first phase of the Gender, Agriculture, and Assets Project (GAAP1)⁴ assessed the impact of eight agricultural development projects and showed that while some projects succeeded in increasing women's use, control, and ownership of assets (a key indicator of empowerment related to resource control and participation in household decision making), they rarely succeeded in narrowing the gender asset gap (Johnson et al. 2016; Santos et al. 2014; van den Bold et al. 2015; Quisumbing et al. 2013; Roy et al. 2015). Similarly, even when projects succeeded in increasing women's income, they did not necessarily increase women's control of that income and rarely increased women's control of overall income at the household level (Santos et al. 2014; Quisumbing et al. 2013). Whereas increasing the income that women earn would be considered "benefiting" women, if women do not have increased control over how this income is used, a project is not "empowering" women. Unintended negative consequences such as gender-based violence were documented by projects, and steps were taken to mitigate them (Nurul Amin Siddiquee, Project Coordinator, Strengthening the Dairy Value Chain in Bangladesh Project, CARE Bangladesh, personal communication 2011).

⁴ GAAP1, which ran from 2010 to 2014, worked with eight agricultural development projects to examine the impact of these projects on the gender asset gap and to ascertain whether paying attention to gender gaps in the use, control, and ownership of assets affected the take-up and eventual impact of the projects.

Despite these shortcomings, women perceived many intangible benefits from the projects that were, in some cases, associated with changes in their use, control, and ownership of assets: self-esteem (Das et al. 2013; Quisumbing et al. 2013), family unity (Johnson et al. 2015), and mobility (Quisumbing et al. 2013). Though only one project measured it quantitatively—van den Bold and colleagues (2015) looked at changes in people’s attitudes about women’s landownership—there is evidence that projects may have influenced attitudes and social norms about gender roles. These findings suggest that empowering women through development projects is possible but does not happen automatically or linearly, even when projects target women as beneficiaries. As a result, more work is needed to understand how projects benefit and potentially empower women.

3. THE GAAP2 PROJECT PORTFOLIO

Identifying what works to empower women calls for an examination of a range of approaches in different contexts, as well as a clear way of measuring empowerment outcomes. In order to do so, GAAP2 uses a portfolio approach that was also employed in the first phase of the project. However, GAAP2 goes beyond examining project impacts on just ownership and control of assets (as done in phase 1) by looking at a broader range of domains of women's empowerment.

The GAAP2 portfolio of projects was selected through a competitive process. In response to a call for expressions of interest released in August 2015, more than 80 applications were received. Of those, a review panel ultimately selected 13 (Table 3.1). Key selection criteria for individual projects included a convincing strategy to empower women and a sound evaluation design that would permit assessment of impacts on men and women in general, and on women's empowerment more specifically.⁵ Project timelines also needed to fit within the GAAP2 time frame. In addition to the project-level criteria, attention was paid to the composition of the overall portfolio, in particular to how projects clustered around the two main goals (income and nutrition) and intervention areas (crops and livestock). Geographical considerations also played a role.

The 13 selected projects, located in South Asia and Africa south of the Sahara, are being implemented by a range of development organizations. For the evaluations, implementing organizations are generally supported by a specialized M&E partner. The portfolio includes both livestock- and crop-focused projects; in addition to their empowerment objectives, these projects also aim to improve nutrition (directly or indirectly), increase income, or both (Table 3.2). According to the framework in the previous section, all projects in the portfolio aim both to benefit women (increasing income, improving nutritional status) and to empower them. In addition to measuring the achievement of these development objectives, the projects will employ mixed-methods approaches to understand and measure the impacts of their interventions on women's empowerment.

⁵ GAAP2 does not fund project implementation or fully fund the evaluations. Projects in the GAAP2 portfolio receive financial and technical support to adapt their existing evaluations to GAAP2 requirements.

Table 3.1 Description of projects in the GAAP2 portfolio

Project acronym	Project name	Implementer and evaluator	Country	Project modality	Project goal	Project objective	Project approach
3D4AgDev	Farmer Participatory Rapid Prototyping via 3-D Printing for Improved Labor-Saving Innovations for Women Smallholders in Africa	National University of Ireland–Galway	Malawi	Crops	Income	To harness user-driven innovation with women innovator groups to design, develop, deploy, and ultimately disseminate labor-saving agricultural tools for smallholder women	Works with innovator groups to transition prototypes of tools into final products and develop profit-sharing rural enterprises for women smallholders
ANGeL	Agriculture, Nutrition, and Gender Linkages	Ministry of Agriculture (Bangladesh) and International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI)	Bangladesh	Crops	Nutrition	To pilot alternative approaches to integrating agriculture, nutrition, and women’s empowerment, the most effective of which will be scaled up.	Three approaches are being implemented in different combinations: facilitating production of nutrient-rich food, conducting high-quality behavior change communication (BCC), and undertaking gender sensitization activities
AVC	Impact Evaluation of the Bangladesh Agricultural Value Chains Program	DAI and IFPRI	Bangladesh	Crops	Income and nutrition	To increase agricultural output and income, and improve food and nutrition security, through strengthened agricultural value chains	Conducts trainings aimed at building farmers’ capacity in the use of improved seed varieties and cultivation practices along with basic training on gender and nutrition issues and provision of promotional discounts to incentivize technology adoption
CRS	Feed the Future Nigeria Livelihoods Project	Catholic Relief Services and Gender Innovation Lab of the World Bank	Nigeria	Crops and livestock	Income and nutrition	To provide vulnerable households with the skills and resources needed to effectively engage in the local economy to reduce poverty and malnutrition	Sets up a variety of women’s groups (producer, savings, safe spaces, caregiver), engages with men and community leaders to create an enabling environment for women, provides vulnerable women with income transfers, and provides individualized support to households from a trained community liaison
FAARM	Food and Agricultural Approaches to Reducing Malnutrition	Helen Keller International (HKI) and University of Heidelberg	Bangladesh	Crops and livestock	Nutrition	To reduce undernutrition among women and young children through a food-based dietary diversification strategy and to increase the status of women within the household	Intervention based on HKI’s enhanced homestead food production model involves training rural women’s groups in vegetable gardening, fruit tree production, and poultry rearing, along with nutrition and hygiene

Table 3.1 Continued

Project acronym	Project name	Implementer and evaluator	Country	Project modality	Project goal	Project objective	Project approach
FFH	Building Resilience of Vulnerable Communities in Burkina Faso	Freedom from Hunger and Brigham Young University	Burkina Faso	Crops and livestock	Income and nutrition	To increase the resilience of vulnerable communities in disaster-affected regions by building women's economic empowerment, and to strengthen women's capacity to make decisions about children's nutrition	Uses community-based women's savings groups as a sustainable platform for improving livelihoods through training, education on agriculture as a business, linkages to agricultural services, financing for common agricultural activities, nutrition education, and gender dialogues
Heifer	Empowerment, Resilience, and Livestock Transfers	Heifer International and Montana State University	Nepal	Livestock	Income and nutrition	To increase income, food security and nutrition, and women's empowerment, and improve aspirations, hope, and economic resilience among the chronically poor by building physical, human, and social capital	Provides women with livestock transfers and trainings related to nutrition, home gardening, and livestock management; forms self-help groups through which women receive empowerment training
iDE	Small-Scale Irrigation and Women's Empowerment in Northern Ghana	iDE and IFPRI	Ghana	Crops	Income and nutrition	To expand production of food during the lean season and reduce production risks during rainy seasons through small-scale irrigation, which will increase income, food security, nutrition, and health	Provides women access to motor pumps along with training, access to credit, and other agricultural inputs
JP RWEE	UN Joint Programme on Accelerating Progress towards the Economic Empowerment of Rural Women in Ethiopia	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)	Ethiopia	Crops and livestock	Income and nutrition	To reduce gender inequalities in pastoralist communities related to access to resources, credit, and financial services in order to improve household food security, women's decision making within the household, and women's participation in the community	Interventions include strengthening associations and cooperatives to offer financial products to women farmers, providing credit to women farmers, and giving women financial literacy and entrepreneurship training
JP RWEE	UN Joint Programme on Accelerating Progress towards the Economic Empowerment of Rural Women in Ethiopia	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)	Ethiopia	Crops and livestock	Income and nutrition	To reduce gender inequalities in pastoralist communities related to access to resources, credit, and financial services in order to improve household food security, women's decision making within the household, and women's participation in the community	Interventions include strengthening associations and cooperatives to offer financial products to women farmers, providing credit to women farmers, and giving women financial literacy and entrepreneurship training

Table 3.1 Continued

Project acronym	Project name	Implementer and evaluator	Country	Project modality	Project goal	Project objective	Project approach
TRAIN	Targeting and Realigning Agriculture to Improve Nutrition	BRAC and IFPRI	Bangladesh	Crops	Nutrition	To reduce undernutrition among women and children by increasing the availability of and access to a more diverse diet; improving child feeding, health, and sanitation practices; and focusing on empowering women directly	Project interventions include BCC, increasing access to an agricultural credit program, providing nutrition-sensitive agricultural extension services, and sensitizing men about gender issues
Trias	Evaluation of Women's Food Security Program for Impoverished Maasai Households	Savannas Forever and University of Minnesota	Tanzania	Livestock	Income and nutrition	To increase food security of semipastoralist communities through a more diversified and secure income from improvements in livestock	Builds capacity of pastoralists' organizations to provide entrepreneurship training, business skills training, and advocacy for women; forms savings and credit groups and female-only farms; provides training on household budgeting and gender awareness
WINGS	Women Improving Nutrition through Group-Based Strategies	Professional Assistance for Development Action (PRADAN) and IFPRI	India	Crops and livestock	Nutrition	To improve women's and children's diets and nutrition outcomes through increasing own consumption and income	Uses existing women's self-help groups to deliver BCC and training on nutrition-sensitive agricultural planning, and works with the community and public systems/institutions to ensure that services of public health and nutrition programs are available and accessible in the project area
WorldVeg	Deploying Improved Vegetable Technologies to Overcome Malnutrition and Poverty	World Vegetable Center	Mali	Crops	Income and nutrition	To reduce malnutrition, especially of children, through diet diversification via the promotion of production and consumption of vegetables as affordable sources of essential vitamins and minerals	Conducts BCC sessions on nutrition and on water, sanitation, and hygiene, and provides technical training to women on vegetable production in home gardens with follow-up visits at home

Source: Authors.

Table 3.2 Project clusters

Modality	Income	Project agricultural objective	
		Nutrition	Income and nutrition
Crops	3D4AgDev	ANGeL, TRAIN	AVC, iDE, WorldVeg
Livestock			Heifer, Trias
Crops and livestock		WINGS, FAARM	FFH, CRS, JP RWEE

Source: Authors.

Note: See Table 3.1 for full project names and details.

To quantitatively measure women’s empowerment, GAAP2 is developing a project-level Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index, or pro-WEAI. This index builds on the Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI), which was developed by IFPRI, the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative, and USAID to monitor progress toward women’s empowerment in the US government’s Feed the Future initiative (Alkire et al. 2013). To measure women’s empowerment in agriculture at the level of a project, pro-WEAI expands on the five domains of the original WEAI to include additional domains that projects with explicit empowerment objectives identified as important. Based on consultation with the projects in the GAAP2 portfolio and others, the additional domains that are being piloted for inclusion in the pro-WEAI are physical mobility, intrahousehold relationships, individual empowerment, gender-based violence, and nutrition (Table 3.3). Revisions have also been made to some of the questions in the original five domains to make them more sensitive to the types of changes that projects seek to make.

Table 3.3 Domains and indicators of draft project-level Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index

Domain	Indicators
Production*	Input in production decisions* Autonomy in production* Access to information
Resources*	Use rights over land Ownership of assets* Access to and decisions on credit* Access to a financial account
Income*	Control over use of income* Autonomy in use of income
Leadership*	Group membership*
Time*	Workload* (plus childcare)
Physical mobility	Frequency of and decisions on physical mobility
Intrahousehold relationships	Mutual respect
Individual empowerment	Self-efficacy Life satisfaction
Gender-based violence	Attitudes about gender-based violence
Nutrition	Input in healthcare decisions Input in reproductive health decisions Input in infant and young child feeding decisions Input in food consumption decisions Input in food consumption decisions while pregnant/breastfeeding Input in purchasing decisions for food and medicine

Source: Authors.

Note: * Domains and indicators that are also included in the Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index.

Because GAAP2 is developing and testing a measure of women's empowerment, projects selected to be in the portfolio are those designed to have an impact on empowerment. The analysis of the empowerment strategies of the GAAP2 projects will tell us what agricultural development projects targeting women's empowerment are doing and how they expect their activities to influence empowerment. Ultimately, GAAP2 will tell us whether the projects' activities are effective. By having a portfolio spanning different types of projects and by looking carefully at the projects' underlying strategies, we hope to identify lessons that are generalizable.

4. WHAT STRATEGIES ARE PROJECTS USING TO EMPOWER WOMEN?

Methodology

A strategy is a set of planned activities undertaken to achieve a specific objective. To characterize the project empowerment strategies, we relied on the proposals that project teams had submitted to GAAP2, in which they explained how they expected their interventions to contribute to empowerment. Interpreting projects' planned strategies is not straightforward because projects have multiple objectives, of which empowering women is one, and among these objectives there could potentially be both synergies and trade-offs. Our goal is to define strategies in very practical terms—what specific activities projects are undertaking and how these activities, individually and collectively, are expected to influence empowerment.

What is reported here represents the current understanding and interpretation of the projects' strategies. Refining and validating this mapping will be a major part of the learning in GAAP2 and could lead to changes both in how we (project implementers, evaluators, and researchers) understand and measure empowerment and in projects' strategies for influencing women's empowerment.

Activities to Empower Women

The analysis of project empowerment strategies identified 11 specific activities that projects were using to benefit and empower women (Table 4.1). These activities can be grouped into four activity areas:

- Provision of goods and services includes the direct provision of goods, generally through asset transfer programs targeted at women, and services, most commonly credit. It also includes indirect provision, whereby a project makes the good or service more available in communities. An example would be JP RWEE's work with local institutions to increase the willingness and ability of lenders to provide credit to women.
- Strengthening organizations (formal and informal) plays an important role in reaching target beneficiaries and delivering other project activities. Projects work to form new groups as well as to strengthen existing groups. Projects work with many types of groups, the most common being farmer/producer groups and credit/savings groups. WorldVeg is the only project to use platforms or networks of organizations, in this case to connect women to vegetable technologies and information on improved nutritional behavior as well as water, sanitation, and hygiene. However, other projects also have nested levels of groups. For example, some of the iDE mixed-sex farmer groups are further broken down into smaller "trust" groups of five farmers each to receive an additional loan to purchase a motor pump. The 3D4AgDev project is planning to form social enterprises to promote technologies developed in the projects.
- Building knowledge and skills, mainly through training, is a mainstay of most development interventions. As might be expected from agricultural projects, agricultural training and extension is the most common form of capacity building, though implementation modalities are quite diverse in content and in form. Most projects train women; in Bangladesh, however, agricultural extension is typically provided to men, so TRAIN and ANGeL provide it to both men and women in the same household. Conversely, nutrition education, which is typically provided to women, has been broadened to include men, with the goal of improving understanding and strengthening joint decision making within households. FFH, JP RWEE, and CRS provide financial and business training.

- Influencing gender norms and attitudes through sensitization programs is an explicit part of activities in 10 projects. Although in many cases women are the targets of these activities, in all cases men and boys are involved. Awareness raising is a “one-way” approach based on the idea that making people aware of gendered attitudes and norms and their potentially harmful implications could lead to changes in attitudes and behavior. Community conversations also address norms and attitudes but do so through “two-way” exchanges whereby community members and project staff discuss and learn from each other.

Table 4.1 Activity areas and specific activities to empower women in GAAP2 projects

Activity area	Specific activity	Number of projects using the activity as part of their strategy
Provide goods and services	Direct provision of goods/assets to beneficiaries	7
	Direct provision of services to beneficiaries	5
	Indirect provision by supporting availability, quality, or access	2
Strengthen organizations	Form/strengthen groups or other organizations (such as enterprises)	8
	Form/strengthen platforms or networks that link organizations	1
Build knowledge and skills	Agricultural training and extension	10
	Business and finance training	6
	Nutrition education	8
	Other training	4
Influence gender norms	Awareness raising about gender issues and their implications	3
	Community conversations to identify community solutions to gender issues	8

Source: Authors

The activity areas target individual capabilities and resources as well as social and institutional contexts, consistent with definitions of empowerment that identify these different facets as necessary components of empowerment (Kabeer 2001) and with other studies that have looked at features of successful projects (Doss, Bockius-Suwyn, and D’Souza 2012).

Domains of Empowerment Targeted

Through the activities identified above, most projects directly target multiple domains of empowerment and may indirectly impact others (Table 4.2). Often, projects expect that empowering women in one domain will lead to empowerment effects in another domain. For example, improvements in control over production or resources are expected to lead to improvements in control over income. While these “knock-on” effects may occur—and will be assessed in the evaluations—in this exercise we focus on the domains of empowerment that are directly targeted by the project activities. Although less often discussed, there can also be negative indirect effects, especially on the time domain, as found in the first phase of GAAP (Johnson et al. 2016). Capturing these indirect effects is one of the reasons that projects will use the complete pro-WEAI survey in their evaluations even though they are planning to affect only a subset of domains (in addition to allowing for comparability across projects).

Every domain of empowerment is the focus of activities in at least one project. Some domains are more commonly targeted by project activities than other domains, but some, especially the new ones added for pro-WEAI (physical mobility, intrahousehold relationships, individual empowerment, gender-based violence, and nutrition), are directly targeted by only a few projects (Table 4.3). The most widely targeted domains, which more than half the projects aim to impact, are (in descending order of frequency) production, resources, income, leadership, intrahousehold relationships, and nutrition. Given that the

portfolio consists of agricultural development projects, it is not surprising that production and resources are the most commonly targeted domains. Only one project (JP RWEE) does not directly target the production domain, and only one (3D4AgDev) does not directly target the resources domain.

The other three domains—mobility, gender-based violence, and individual empowerment—are prioritized in some contexts. Only two projects target mobility (both of them in Bangladesh), and three projects target gender-based violence (all in South Asia). While mobility and freedom from violence are important objectives in many women’s empowerment programs, they are less commonly addressed in agricultural development programs. Three projects, all in Africa, target the individual empowerment domain.

Table 4.2 Domains of empowerment by activity area

Domains	Activities			
	A	B	C	D
Production	5	6	9	3
Access to resources	9	5	4	5
Income	1	2	5	4
Leadership		8	2	1
Time	2		1	2
Mobility		1		1
Intrahousehold relationships				8
Gender-based violence				3
Individual empowerment		1	2	
Nutrition		1	8	5
# of domains targeted	4	7	7	9
A	Provide goods and services	C	Build knowledge and skills	
B	Strengthen organizations	D	Influence gender norms	

Source: Authors.

Note: The size of and number inside a bubble represent the number of projects that use the respective activity area to target the domain.

In most cases, there is not a one-to-one relationship between a project activity and a single empowerment domain, with the exception of nutrition education (the activity) and decision making about nutrition (the domain). A single activity often targets more than one domain, and across projects, the same activity is often employed for different domains (Table 4.2 and Appendix Table A.1).

Some activities are versatile and are used across a range of domains. For example, community conversations are used to target almost all of the domains of empowerment (nine domains targeted by eight projects). Similarly, group strengthening or formation, other knowledge and skills training, financial literacy training, and awareness raising or sensitization each target five or six domains (Appendix Table A.1).

Many projects target one domain using multiple activities. For example, two-thirds of the projects target the nutrition domain. All of these projects have a nutrition education component that delivers training on nutrition, usually to women, and five projects complement this with other activity areas, most commonly related to changing gender norms. This approach to the nutrition domain aligns with the concept of behavior change communication, which combines increased knowledge with increased ability to apply that knowledge (McNulty 2013). Similarly, many projects that provide women with goods or services also undertake activities that reinforce women's ability to generate benefits from the goods and services and retain control over those benefits. These could be stand-alone activities such as capacity strengthening or community engagement around gender norms. They could also be part of the asset transfers or service provision, for example titling assets to women (and providing an appropriate mechanism through which women can defend their rights if challenged) or opening bank accounts in women's names.

Using multiple activities to target a domain of empowerment is consistent with the recommendations of the WEAI interventions guide (Stern, Jones-Renaud, and Hillesland 2016), which was developed to help implementers translate findings from WEAI pilots into practice. In general, GAAP2 project approaches reflect the belief that achieving empowerment in a specific domain is likely to result from a set of different but mutually reinforcing activities. What these sets of activities look like in the case of specific projects will be explored in the next section.

Toward Project Empowerment Strategies

To go from individual activities to project strategies, we look at how each project combines activities to achieve specific empowerment objectives (Table 4.3). When looking at the project-level strategies, it is important to note that although we are interested in comparing the composition of strategies across projects to learn about how projects expect empowerment to happen, we cannot directly compare the number of strategies or domains across projects because the projects vary in size (budget and number of beneficiaries) and in context. A project targeting more domains with more activities is not necessarily doing more to empower women than a project with fewer activities targeted at fewer domains.

A few general observations on the strategies are as follows:

- Most projects are integrated, with multiple activities targeting multiple domains.
- Projects that target more domains generally have more activities.
- Production, access to resources, and nutrition are the most likely domains to be targeted with activities from more than one activity area, perhaps reflecting the close link between these domains and achievement of other project objectives.
- Three projects that target increasing women's income as an objective don't target the control-over-income empowerment domain, and three projects that don't target income as an objective do target the control-over-income domain. This apparent misalignment suggests that projects do not necessarily see a clear link between increasing women's income and strengthening their control over income, which could translate to a gap in programming if increases in income are assumed to be controlled by women.

Table 4.3 Project empowerment strategies (activity areas mapped to empowerment domains), by cluster

Agric. objective	Project	Production	Access to resources	Income	Leadership	Time	Mobility	Intrahousehold relations	Gender-based violence	Indv. empowerment	Nutrition	Domains	Activity areas
Income	3D4AgDev	A B C		A B	B C	A C				B		5	3
Nutrition	ANGeL	C	D	D			D	D	D		C D	7	2
	FAARM	C	A D		B		B	D			C D	6	4
	TRAIN	C D	A	C		D		D			C D	6	3
	WINGS	B C	B C	C	B			D	D		C	7	3
Income and nutrition	AVC	A C D	A D	D				D				4	2
	CRS	C	A B	B C	B					C	C	6	3
	FFH	C	A B C D		B			D			C	5	4
	Heifer	A C	A B	C	B			D			C D	6	4
	iDE	A B	A		B	A						4	2
	JPRWEE		A C	D	C D					C		4	3
	Trias	B C	A B C	D	B				D			5	4
	WorldVeg	A B D	D	C			D	D			B C D	6	4

A Provide goods and services	B Strengthen organizations	C Build knowledge and skills	D Influence gender norms
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Source: Authors.

Note: See Table 3.1 for full project names and details.

Aside from these general observations, the strategies are very diverse and there are no patterns by cluster. This is perhaps to be expected given the nature of the projects. The following analysis looks at empowerment strategies by projects' agricultural objectives to see how projects integrate empowerment.

Projects with the Objective of Increasing Women's Income

Only 1 of the 13 projects focuses just on increasing income as a benefit. The 3D4AgDev project works with women innovator groups to design, develop, deploy, and ultimately disseminate labor-saving agricultural tools for smallholder women. Several of the GAAP2 projects have an explicit research dimension, but only in this project is the research related to technology development rather than evaluation of alternative program modalities. Empowerment impacts are mainly expected to be achieved by the women in the innovator groups and in the social enterprises that will be formed to disseminate the promising technologies. These women will benefit from capacity development, organizational strengthening, and in the case of social enterprises, provision of credit. Interestingly, this is one of the few projects that does not have activities related to influencing gender norms or a clear process for engaging men.

Projects with the Objective of Improving Nutrition of Women and Children

Four projects focus on improving nutrition. Two (WINGS and FAARM) include crops and livestock in their interventions, and two (ANGeL and TRAIN) include only crops. WINGS, implemented by Professional Assistance for Development Action (PRADAN) in India, is testing whether PRADAN's approach of creating women's self-help groups—which already had a strong focus on women's empowerment—could be effectively adapted to integrate nutrition. WINGS provides group members with financial training and livelihoods training, and supports income-generation activities. Through these groups, beneficiaries are also provided nutrition training along with extension services, which together impact the nutrition domain. Community-level conversations with leaders tackle topics such as gender-based violence and harmony within the household.

FAARM, in Bangladesh, is building on Helen Keller International's Enhanced Homestead Food Production model, including systematic engagement of men as well as women. The production domain is targeted by giving women training on homestead food production along with training to increase their productivity and their control over gardening and poultry. The project gives beneficiaries agricultural inputs and facilitates their ability to maintain ownership and control of assets and outputs through community conversations that discuss intrahousehold decision making and resource allocation. These community conversations also target the intrahousehold harmony domain and the nutrition domain by giving nutrition training to women and members of their family, including mothers-in-law. Women's farmer groups created by this project actively promote women's leadership and mobility.

Unlike WINGS and FAARM, which are building new objectives onto proven project modalities, ANGeL and TRAIN are both piloting new approaches to evaluate different combinations of interventions that target women's empowerment and nutrition. Both are in Bangladesh. ANGeL is implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture and TRAIN by BRAC, a nongovernmental organization (NGO). IFPRI is evaluating both projects and provided input into the projects' design, including the women's empowerment activities. Because both projects are attempting to evaluate the impact of specific interventions in a research context, each intervention arm had to be clearly defined in order to attribute impact; thus these programs have relatively few activities compared with other projects. Neither includes organizational strengthening.

The TRAIN project improves empowerment in the production domain by providing agricultural extension services to women, who are not typically provided with these services, and by holding interactive sessions with women and men to encourage discussion about women's productive roles. The agricultural extension messages are also expected to increase women's control over income. Women are given training on nutrition, and interactive sessions held at the community level allow the translation of this education into increased empowerment in the nutrition domain. Community conversations also touch

on topics such as women's time burden, harmony within the household, and the effects of intimate partner violence. The project is built on an existing agricultural credit program that provides credit to women.

In ANGeL, both men and women receive agricultural extension services as well as nutrition education, which is not traditional because women do not typically receive extension advice, and men are not usually included in nutrition messaging. This combined approach to men and women helps empower women in both the nutrition and the production domains, but also addresses gender gaps in knowledge within the household. Community conversations further enable women to be empowered in the nutrition domain. Gender sensitization activities, held at the community level, further impact empowerment by targeting a range of empowerment domains including income decisions, access to resources, mobility, gender-based violence, and intrahousehold harmony.

The empowerment strategies in all four projects reflect the evidence from nutrition studies that women's knowledge, control of resources, and participation in decision making are key determinants of nutrition outcomes (Ruel and Alderman, 2013). All four target intrahousehold relationships, and three of the four target control over income. Two of them (WINGS and ANGeL) include modules on gender-based violence in their community conversations and gender sensitization activities.

Projects with Objectives of Increasing Income and Improving Nutrition

The remaining eight projects target both income and nutrition objectives. Three do so through livestock and crop interventions, two through livestock only, and three through crops only.

The crops-only projects (AVC, WorldVeg, and iDE) tend to have relatively simple empowerment strategies. They have fewer activities, targeting fewer domains than do the other projects. This is especially true of AVC and iDE. AVC provides women with trial packs and possibly other goods and services to increase their ability to participate in the value chain, and it provides gender sensitization training to male farmers. With these activities, AVC targets four domains of empowerment—production, access to resources, income, and intrahousehold harmony. iDE creates farmer groups to target the leadership and production domains, and provides them with credit to install pumps to increase empowerment in the production, access to resources, and time domains.

The WorldVeg project creates platforms to organize women to increase their access to improved vegetable technologies. In combination with agricultural training provided through extension workers, the formation of platforms is expected to improve empowerment in the production domain. To increase empowerment in the nutrition domain, agricultural extension services have a nutrition-sensitive focus and the organized platforms are used to deliver nutrition education to women to promote improved nutrition behavior. The nutrition education is reinforced by home visits. Along with the creation of groups and provision of nutrition and agricultural training, the project carries out awareness trainings to sensitize women and men in order to foster women's access to arable land and encourage their role in vegetable production. Community meetings are organized with husbands and mothers-in-law to gain their support to reduce women's time burden in agriculture and to improve intrahousehold harmony.

Overall, it seems that the nutrition objective is much more prominent in WorldVeg than in the other projects, and this is reflected in WorldVeg's empowerment strategy. In the other two projects, women's empowerment is less articulated in the other parts of the project (not clearly seen as a means to an end, as it is in nutrition).

Both livestock-only projects (Heifer and Trias) have activities in all four areas. They both target a core set of domains (production, access to resources, income, and leadership), but with different approaches. They differ on whether and how they target some of the other domains, including nutrition. The Heifer project is an asset transfer project, whereby beneficiaries are provided with livestock, along with livestock management training and access to a community veterinarian. Access to resources is improved through the provision of credit through savings groups, the availability of zero-interest loans to cope with the aftermath of a natural disaster (an unplanned addition to the project after the April 2015 earthquake in Nepal), and provision of goats directly by the program and indirectly through the "pass on the gift" strategy, whereby original project beneficiaries transfer the offspring of their goats to other

women in their communities. The project provides beneficiaries with additional training on business management that targets the income domain. Gender justice training is given to both men and women to improve intrahousehold harmony and the nutrition domain. Nutrition education given to beneficiaries also targets the nutrition domain.

Trias uses agricultural extension services to train women about asset management and creates savings and credit groups along with women-only livestock enclosures (bomas) to improve women's access to resources. Empowerment in the production domain is increased through these agricultural extension services and through the formation of the bomas. The savings and credit groups also target the leadership domain of empowerment. Community conversations held with traditional leaders and men serve to raise awareness about gender-based violence and sensitize men to economic empowerment opportunities for women.

In both of these livestock projects, the work on changing gender norms is linked to the nutrition domain through the pathway of women's social status and empowerment, as described in the literature on agriculture-gender-nutrition pathways (Ruel and Alderman 2013). In this pathway, women's participation in agriculture can affect their access to, or control over, resources and assets, and increase their decision-making power regarding intrahousehold allocation of food, health, and care.

The last three projects are the most integrated, targeting nutrition and income with both crops and livestock. Credit, savings, and financial literacy play a key role in all these projects. Financial inclusion is an entry point in two projects (FFH and JP RWEE) and an important component in the CRS project. Group formation is important in two of the three projects (FFH and CRS). JP RWEE is the only project that does not specifically target the agricultural production domain.

FFH, in Burkina Faso, focuses its activities on the domain of access to resources. Using a "Resilience Framework," the project provides services in order to build the adaptive capacity of beneficiaries to make them less vulnerable to shocks. The project builds on its proven approach to women's savings groups to integrate nutrition. It forms savings groups to increase women's access to savings accumulation mechanisms and credit, and these groups are linked to agricultural extension service agents, who help women access agricultural training and input supplies. Via a local microfinance institution, the women are offered agricultural credit in tandem with credit for income-generating activities to help during the lean season. Through these groups, women are provided financial literacy training, which helps increase access to formal financial services. Finally, gender dialogues at the community level tackle norms about women's landownership. Women are also given nutritional training, and the project facilitates conversations between beneficiaries and their spouses, which can increase empowerment through the intrahousehold harmony domain.

JP RWEE, implemented in Ethiopia, focuses on building leadership skills and group membership among women by providing financial literacy and entrepreneurship training to them and holding community conversations to increase women's political participation. These gender-focused conversations also aim to build a more supportive environment for women to have control over income generation. The financial training also targets the individual empowerment domain insofar as it is expected to improve the self-confidence of women, and combined with capacity strengthening of rural financial organizations, it serves to improve women's access to resources.

CRS, implemented in Nigeria, creates various groups that target different domains of empowerment, and aims to increase group membership among women. Producer groups created for agricultural and value chain activities, along with access to extension services, target the production domain of empowerment. These groups are partnered with market committees to improve market linkages; combined with enterprise training, these partnerships serve to strengthen women's control over income. Savings groups provide credit, which, along with income transfers to vulnerable women, improves access to resources. Caregiver groups provide access to nutrition education for beneficiaries, which contributes to empowerment in the nutrition domain. The caseworkers in the project also work with individual households to develop plans for women to create and reach their personal goals, improving results in the individual empowerment domain.

5. DISCUSSION

As development agencies and individual projects espouse objectives of women's empowerment, we need a clearer understanding of how this goal can be achieved effectively. There has been little systematic work on mechanisms by which interventions can enhance women's empowerment, let alone on measuring the effects of different types of interventions on empowerment.

This paper represents a contribution to this effort, by identifying the types of strategies employed by 13 agricultural development projects that have explicit objectives for empowering women.

The first lesson from this exercise is the need to distinguish between reach, benefit, and empowerment as objectives of agricultural development projects. Simply including women does not necessarily benefit them, and even activities that benefit do not necessarily empower.

To identify strategies to empower women, it is helpful to think about what aspects of empowerment they can contribute to. Building on WEAI and working with the GAAP2 portfolio of projects, we have identified the following potential domains to be included in pro-WEAI: input into production decision making, control over resources, control over income, leadership, time, physical mobility, intrahousehold relationships, individual empowerment, reduction in gender-based violence, and decision making on nutrition. Each of these domains was targeted by at least one project; however, further development and testing of pro-WEAI will determine the final number of domains to be included in the index.

The GAAP2 projects address these domains through a wide variety of activities that can be grouped into four main types:

- Direct and indirect provision of goods and services
- Forming or strengthening groups, organizations, platforms, or networks that involve women
- Strengthening knowledge and capacity through agricultural extension, business and finance training, nutrition behavior change communication, and other training
- Changing gender norms through one-way awareness raising or two-way community conversations about gender issues and their implications

Most projects use activities from at least three of the four activity areas. In general (although there is a lot of variation), projects with activities in more activity areas target more domains of empowerment. Most projects target a core set of six empowerment domains—production, access to resources, income, leadership, intrahousehold harmony, and nutrition. With the exception of intrahousehold relationships, which is always a target of activities designed to influence gender norms, projects target domains with different types of activities or combinations of activities, suggesting that there is no one-to-one link between a type of activity and a domain of empowerment. Building knowledge and skills, organizational strengthening, and providing goods and services are all targeted to the same domains of women's empowerment. This relationship suggests that the way in which an activity is implemented in a particular project context may determine how and how much the activity empowers women in practice. Careful, mixed-methods evaluations will be needed to understand and document the impacts of project activities on women's empowerment.

Previous studies have shown that implementation modalities (targeting groups versus individuals, targeting specific individuals within households) may affect the extent to which projects can affect gender equality within households. For example, a study on the long-term impact of agricultural technologies in Bangladesh found that technologies targeted to women's groups had better long-term nutritional impacts for women and girls and were associated with smaller gender asset gaps than technologies targeted to households, which, by default, ended up reaching men (Kumar and Quisumbing 2011). Whether a program is implemented by government ministries and line agencies or NGOs and community workers may also matter. Because the GAAP2 portfolio includes similar projects with different implementation mechanisms, we will be able to explore whether the type of implementer matters for women's

empowerment. Many of the GAAP2 projects are complex interventions that involve layering different platforms for program delivery—for example, layering nutrition-sensitive interventions on top of existing agricultural service delivery platforms. This layering makes these interventions more complex to implement, which makes organizational capacity crucial to project success.

Although projects were spread across clusters based on their modality (crops, livestock, or both) and agricultural objectives (income, nutrition, or both), we did not find clear patterns in terms of empowerment strategies. Many projects that prioritized nutrition had empowerment strategies that were influenced by the agriculture-gender-nutrition conceptual frameworks, where there is clearly a role for empowerment in achieving improved nutrition outcomes. Whether and how women's empowerment relates to increasing women's income was not clear from the strategies, perhaps because thinking in this area is less developed than in the case of nutrition. Many projects have income and nutrition objectives, so comparing strategies across projects by objectives is not straightforward. The empirical analysis in GAAP2, both qualitative and quantitative, should provide important evidence on synergies and trade-offs among reaching, benefiting, and empowering women as project outcomes.

APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE

Table A.1 Domains of empowerment by activity and project

Activity	Domain of pro-WEAI										# of domains
	Production	Access to resources	Income	Leadership	Time	Mobility	Intra-hh relationships	Gender-based violence	Individual empowerment	Nutrition	
Direct provision of goods/assets	Heifer, WorldVeg, AVC, 3D4AgDev	Heifer, JP RWEE, CRS, AVC, FAARM	3D4AgDev		3D4AgDev						4
Direct provision of services	iDE	TRAIN, iDE, Heifer, Trias, FFH			iDE						3
Indirect provision of goods/services		iDE, JP RWEE ³									1
Group formation	iDE, WINGS, CRS, Trias, 3D4AgDev	Heifer, Trias, FFH, CRS, WINGS	CRS, 3D4AgDev	iDE, Heifer, FFH, CRS, WINGS, FAARM, Trias, 3D4AgDev		FAARM			3D4AgDev		6
Platform or network formation	WorldVeg		WorldVeg							WorldVeg	2
Agricultural extension	TRAIN, Heifer, Trias, FFH, CRS, FAARM, ANGeL, 3D4AgDev	FFH, Trias	TRAIN							WorldVeg, WINGS	4

Table A.1 Continued

Activity	Domain of pro-WEAI										# of domains
	Production	Access to resources	Income	Leadership	Time	Mobility	Intra-hh relationships	Gender-based violence	Individual empowerment	Nutrition	
Training in financial literacy, business development, markets	WINGS	FFH, WINGS, JP RWEE	Heifer, CRS	JP RWEE, 3D4AgDev					JP RWEE		5
Nutrition education										TRAIN, ANGeL, Heifer, WorldVeg, WINGS, FFH, CRS, FAARM	1
Other training, knowledge/skill building	WINGS	WINGS	WINGS	JP RWEE, 3D4AgDev	3D4AgDev				CRS		6
Awareness raising/sensitization	WorldVeg, AVC	WorldVeg, AVC	AVC				Heifer, AVC			Heifer, WorldVeg	5
Community conversations	TRAIN	FFH, WorldVeg, FAARM, ANGeL	JP RWEE, Trias, ANGeL	JP RWEE	TRAIN, WorldVeg	ANGeL	FFH, WorldVeg, WINGS, TRAIN, ANGeL, FAARM	WINGS, Trias, ANGeL		WorldVeg, TRAIN, ANGe2L, FAARM	9

Source: Authors

Note: Domain names are brief designations for the more complex empowerment issues covered by each domain. hh = household.

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