



Cocoa field in Ghana (Top); Coffee field in Uganda (Bottom)

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Gender Equality as a Pathway to Sustainable Development of Cocoa and Coffee Value Chains in East and West Africa

Brian Chiputwa, Faustina Obeng Adomaa, Hanna Julia Ihli, Leonard Rusinamhodzi

Highlights

- Achieving gender equality and women empowerment is increasingly being recognised as a central tenet to achieving sustainable development in value chains for coffee and cocoa
- This chapter explores the evidence on gender inequalities within cocoa and coffee value chains in East and West Africa, respectively
- Additionally, the chapter highlights how gender gaps can be closed for coffee and cocoa value chains to be more inclusive to disadvantaged groups like women to participate and benefit.
- Investing in gender-sensitive initiatives that ensure that institutional and legal barriers are removed to enhance women's human, social, financial, and physical capital.

1. Introduction

Over the last couple of decades, there has been major growth in global supply chains for high-value tree crop commodities such as cocoa, coffee, oil palm and rubber. This rise in demand has partly been driven by socio-economic drivers such as population growth and rising incomes (Chiputwa et al 2015). In response to this growing demand, global supply chains for tree commodities have increasingly become more modern and vertically integrated. Thus, a single actor can control one or more stages along the supply chain. The structures in the supply chains

of tree commodities profoundly affect the socio-economic welfare of smallholder farmers and other actors along the supply chain. Vertical integration, on the one hand, can be an important medium for linking farmers to more stable and lucrative international markets and has the potential to benefit from higher prices, improved quality, access to inputs, extension, and credit (Asfaw et al 2010, Maertens and Swinnen 2012).

Furthermore, farmers may benefit from the technical and institutional support that is sometimes provided in vertically integrated supply chains, thus reducing transaction costs, increasing productivity, and improving access to information and technology (Carletto et al 2010, Henson et al 2005, Maertens and Swinnen 2009, Rao et al 2012). In many producing countries among developing countries, tree commodities contribute significantly to export earnings and hence to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Global supply chains are increasingly being seen as pathways for employment creation, income generation, and poverty alleviation, which all have the potential to contribute directly to SDGs 1, 2 and 8 (Bamber and Staritz 2016). However, global supply chains are often characterised by disproportionately favoured, powerful, well-integrated actors such as retailers, processors, and manufacturers. They generally have better bargaining power and market share than smallholder producers and disadvantaged groups such as the poor, women, youth and other groups (KIT, Agri-Pro Focus and IIR 2012, Muradian and Pelupessy 2005, Swinnen and Vandeplass 2012).

Despite some progress over the past decades in awareness that gender inequalities affect women's participation in various stages of agricultural value chains, there is still limited knowledge among practitioners and policymakers on how best to ensure value chains support the realisation of how to ensure women and other vulnerable groups are empowered (Kasente 2012). This chapter contributes to this void by analysing some of the critical issues around gender inequalities that are responsible for constricting women from reaching their full potential within cocoa and coffee supply chains. It also offers some suggestions on how to close these gaps in a transformative manner. As indicated in Giovannucci (2010), gender transformative approaches address equity issues not only in terms of gender roles and power dynamics but also systemic issues embedded in institutional and legal frameworks in pursuit of global development outcomes. While this chapter focuses on identifying the gaps facing women's integration into cocoa and coffee supply chains in West and East Africa, we do, however, acknowledge that men also have their challenges, as well as other groups like youths and the disabled, depending on the context.

2. Gender issues common in cocoa and coffee value chains

It is well documented that generally, women in developing countries often have less access to land, information, improved inputs (e.g. seed, fertilisers, climate information), technology, extension capital and credit, and other inputs than men to participate in agricultural commodity chains (Deaton 2018, FAO 2011, Hill and Vigneri 2014). More specifically, these differences have recognized in tree commodity value chains for cocoa (Banerjee and Duflo 2014, Bymolt et al 2018, Kumase et al 2010) and coffee (Chiputwa and Qaim 2016, ICO 2018). Men tend to be more likely than women to own land or livestock, adopt new technologies, use credit or other financial services, or receive education or extension advice (FAO 2011). This unequal access to resources hampers the ability of women to fully participate at different stages of the supply chains, from production at the farm to processing and marketing of cocoa and coffee products. Socially constructed cultural norms shape gender-differentiated roles and responsibilities of men and women on how tree commodity value chains are organised and governed.

For tree commodities such as cocoa and coffee, ownership, access and use rights for land and trees are key determinants for farmers' ability to participate in the production stage. Land ownership is legally recognised as the right to acquire, use, and transfer land, which can be defined legally or customarily (FAO 2002). It is considered a high-value productive asset, especially in developing countries where agriculture is a key livelihood source for food security and economic empowerment. Access to and control over land are usually associated with wealth, status and power. They can be instrumental in empowering women, eradicating poverty, improving food security and nutrition, and aiding greater bargaining power at the household and community levels (FAO 2011, World Bank 2011). However, in most developing countries, women face social and legal restrictions in acquiring land and may resort to investing in other forms of capital such as social networks, informal safety nets and membership in organisations (Quisumbing 2003). As highlighted in Doss et al (2015), securing women's land rights is imperative and contributes to eradicating poverty and hunger, environmental sustainability, and investments for the future. Land tenure security is particularly important in the case of tree commodities due to the longer planning horizons required for planting and managing slow-maturing trees whose benefits accrue are realised after a certain time lag (Chiputwa et al 2020, Mercer 2002). Ethiopia implemented a large-scale land certification program beginning in 1998 that strengthened the land property rights of smallholder farmers in Ethiopia and improved women's economic and social status. Empirical evidence has shown that female-headed households that received land certificates were more likely to rent out a plot (Holden et al 2011, Bezabih et al 2016) and had higher crop productivity (Bezabih et al 2016)

than male-headed households without certificates. Another study, Melesse et al (2016), also shows that land certification increases women's empowerment and representation at both the household and community levels.

On the other hand, tree tenure is often distinct from land rights. Tree tenure is characterised by a bundle of overlapping rights over trees and tree products, which may revolve around different people at different times. These rights include the right to plant trees, the right to own or inherit trees, the right to have access and use of the trees and tree products, the right to dispose of the trees and the right to exclude others from the use of trees and tree products. Factors affecting who has what rights include the nature of the land tenure where they were planted, the nature of planted trees and tree products, and the nature of the land ownership. Often, landowners tend to have an advantage in access and use rights to trees compared to those with temporary rights to the land. Therefore, the tenure of land and trees is very central in the design of restoration initiatives. Gender relations and norms, which often differ by context (country, culture, religion, intersectionality, etc.), play an important role in shaping opportunities and constraints for different groups; including men and women, landowners, renters and stewards; old and youth. Hence, providing relevant solutions and leveraging opportunities requires understanding the complex role of gender in shaping livelihood and resource management decisions, governance, and the distribution of benefits from cocoa and coffee tree-based systems (Fortman 1985, Kiptot and Franzel 2011).

The role of women diminishes higher up the value chain stages such as marketing and retailing of tree commodities. This often results in women and youth being under-represented (in terms of power, leadership and decision making), particularly in the marketing and value addition processes compared to men: results in gender-differentiated benefits.

3. Gender issues in cocoa value chains in West Africa

Cocoa production supports around 50 million people globally, with 14 million coming from rural communities and thus, significantly contributes to the economic and social development programmes of top-producing countries (Fountain and Huetz-Adams 2018). West Africa remains the largest cocoa producing region, with Ivory Coast and Ghana accounting for over 60% of global output. Figure 16.1 shows the trends in cocoa production in Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon between 2008 and 2016.

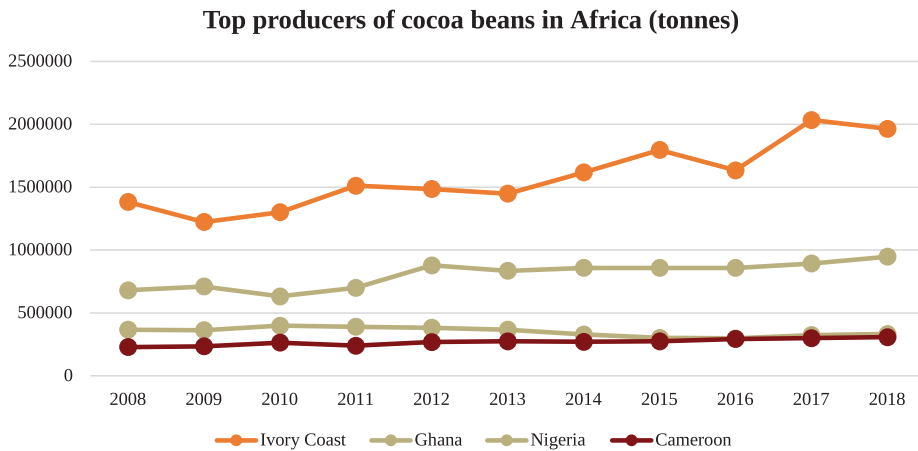


Figure 16.1: Top cocoa producers in Africa between 2008-2018.

Source: FAOSTAT, 2020

3.1. Gender access to productive resources for cocoa production

Cocoa is a perennial crop, and its cultivation demands secured access to land due to the long production cycle which can be up to 40-50 years. In the cocoa growing countries of West Africa, customary norms that govern land impede women’s access to and ownership of land for such long-term cultivation. In Ghana, for instance, 80% of the land is under customary governance, and the norms of this governance system are constructed along gender lines (Bugri and Yeboah 2021). Customarily, men are seen as having the strength to clear forests and/or work on land for long term productive activities compared to women (Higgins and Fenrich 2011). Thus, this custom makes men’s access to land paramount and discriminates against women’s access to lands through first clearance, inheritance, or sharecropping arrangements. In Ivory Coast, the individual or corporate legal land rights introduced by the French in 1902 did not significantly impact rural areas where land was largely governed by customary norms of communal ownership (UTZ 2009). Therefore, the situation is not different in the Ivory Coast, where communities recognise male ownership of land. Thus, women rarely own land, nor are they considered cocoa farmers (FLA 2014). In Cameroon as well, women’s access to and ownership of land is lower than men’s (UTZ 2009). Regardless of marital status, women encounter discriminatory practices that deprive them of owning or inheriting land (Tankou 2000). Hence, in cocoa-producing countries, men tend to dominate the production of cocoa due to the favourable access to land they have.

Women with financial capital may overcome gender norms and purchase land on the market under common law freehold or leasehold. For instance, Higgins and Fenrich (2011) show that land access in Cameroon is gradually moving towards individualised access, and more women can buy and own land and thus venture into cocoa cultivation. While this is possible, women still face cultural barriers in accessing land in the market without a man fronting the transaction on their behalf. Additionally, land scarcity is increasing the cost of land. Thus, women (who constitute a greater proportion of the poor in society) do not own the resources to access land in the increasingly competitive land market (Higgins and Fenrich 2011). For instance, in Ghana and Ivory Coast, the savannah vegetation is expanding into the forest zones, thereby reducing lands suitable for cocoa (Bymolt et al 2018). This, coupled with the population increase in both countries and competition from small scale mining, particularly in Ghana, is fuelling land scarcity (Bymolt et al 2018). This scarcity, in turn, worsens the cultural and economic limitations on women's ability to access land in the land market for cocoa cultivation.

However, few women have accessed land through inheritance from parents or husband transfers in recent years. For example, some women have inherited lands or cocoa farms from their parents or spouses (Tsikata and Eweh 2018), and more men are bequeathing and or 'gifting' part of their farms to their wives in Ghana (Barrientos and Bobie 2016, Quisumbing et al 2004) and Cameroon (Kumase et al 2010). In Ivory Coast, however, the few women who inherit cocoa farms are expected to cede management of the farm to other male relatives such as husbands, sons, brothers and uncles due to the local culture that recognises cocoa farming as a man's job (FLA 2014). Due to the cultural and economic discrimination against women in accessing lands for long term perennial crop production, they are largely excluded from cocoa farming in their own right (Mounjouenpou et al 2014). Thus, cocoa is considered a 'male crop', and only about 20% of the recognised cocoa farmers in Ghana are women (Barrientos and Bobie 2016). Marston (2016) estimates the proportion of women cocoa farmers to be around 25% in the West African region.

About 25% of women who own land in general or cocoa farms and are regarded as cocoa farmers face more challenges. These challenges include low access to inputs, labour, extension services and credit, which culminating in the low productivity of farms owned by women. Discrimination in access to land, for instance, means that even when women have access to land, their holdings are usually smaller than men's holdings. Women access land mostly through inheritance or gifting, and these parcels of land are fragments. Average farm sizes for males are higher than for females in Nigeria (Ayodele 2020) and Cameroon (Kumase et al 2010).

In Ghana, men are primarily recognised as cocoa farmers because they have passbooks; thus, they are integrated into training, extension services and access to finance very easily. However, women who work as unpaid family labourers are largely excluded from these activities and

rely on their husbands (Barrientos and Bobie 2016). Furthermore, Barrientos and Bobie (2016) show that the extension officer to farmer ratio is high, and thus, attention is given to wealthy and influential farmers, who are rarely women. In Cameroon as well, males have more regular contact with extension officers compared to females (Tankou 2000). Additionally, women face discrimination in accessing credit (Quisumbing 2003).

Women face more challenges than men in accessing labour for their cocoa farms. Since female cocoa farmers spend more time on reproductive roles than males, they have fewer hours to spend on their farms than men (Kumase et al 2010). Men tend to use more of their own labour on their cocoa farms (Ayodele 2020) or have more access to and use of family labour compared with women who rely on hired labour (Ayodele 2020, UTZ 2009). Higgins and Fenrich (2011) further report that more men mostly self-managed their farms, with only 7% of them using sharecroppers, while as much as 45% of women relied on sharecroppers. Due to their reliance on sharecroppers or other hired labour, the production cost of women cocoa farmers is higher, reducing their profit (Ayodele 2020, UTZ 2009). In Ghana as well, increasingly, hired labour is less available and when available is expensive (Barrientos and Okyere 2008). As women farmers use more hired labour (Bymolt et al 2018), they encounter these labour constraints more and spend a higher amount of their potential income on hired labour. Female farmers can be held back by social norms in accessing labour markets. For example, Hill and Vigneri (2014) reported that female cocoa growers in Ghana face constraints in accessing labour through gendered labour exchange groups, which is especially problematic for physically demanding farm work. In other cases, female farmers may receive help from men in the community, but only after the males have completed working on their plots (FAO 2011).

In addition to gender disparities in land, labour, inputs and extension, a crucial resource that influences men and women differently is the level of literacy (Ayodele 2020, FLA 2014, Kumase, Bisseleua and Klasen 2010). In their study of cocoa-growing regions of southern Cameroon, Kumase et al (2010) show that gender biases in education among men and women is a constraint that prevents women from adopting new methods of cultivation that can enable them to benefit from the economies of scale. Ogunniyi et al (2012) also note that a low level of education contributes to the technical inefficiency of female cocoa farmers in Nigeria. Ayodele (2020) shows that within the Ekiti state in Nigeria, he reiterates this by highlighting the difference in the involvement of men and women in cocoa farming in terms of their level of literacy. The study also shows that 41.9% of men and 45.2% of women had no formal education, while the proportion of men with a post-secondary education is 13.9% compared to 6.5% for women. The study concluded that these differences had implications on the adoption of improved and sustainable technologies in their farming.

The gender disparities in farm sizes, access to inputs, credits, extension service, labour and level of literacy all culminate into lower productivity of farms owned by women within the West African cocoa-producing countries. Productivity on farms owned by women is lower than on farms owned by men, such as in Ghana (Danso-Abbeam et al 2020), Cameroon (Kumase et al 2010) and Nigeria (Ayodele 2020). According to Ayodele (2020), although cocoa farms in the study area were smallholdings, output was higher in male-owned farms than female-owned farms. In Nigeria, it was noted that female cocoa farmers were less technically efficient than male cocoa farmers. This gap could be attributed to the difference in their resource endowments (Danso-Abbeam et al 2020).

3.2. Women’s participation across the cocoa value chain

Although few women own land to cultivate cocoa by themselves, they are an active labour force in cocoa production. It is estimated that women contribute up to 45% of labour input in cocoa production and their activities are critical to the quality of the cocoa beans. Women provide labour on cocoa farms owned by their husbands and or families (Marston 2016). Cocoa production is labour intensive, and while households use hired and communal labour, a greater part of farm activities is conducted with household labour, of which women are an important source (Bymoltet al 2018, FLA 2014). For instance, in Ivory Coast and Ghana, women’s labour is the most commonly used type of family labour in cocoa farms (Marston 2016). Among sharecropping households, labour demands are even higher due to tending to multiple farms. In such households, women’s labour in cocoa farms is needed even more, especially in Ghana and Ivory Coast (FLA 2014), where sharecropping is common. However, these women work as unpaid family labour, and they are often not recognised for their roles



Figure 16.2: Male and female representation along different stages of value chains for tree commodities

(Marston 2016). This is in addition to the reproductive roles associated with the responsibilities of child-care and domestic tasks within the household. Not only do women work on family farms, but they also work as hired farm hands in cocoa plantations (FLA 2014, Mounjouenpou et al 2014). However, in cocoa plantations, female-dominated tasks receive less pay than male-dominated activities (Higgins and Fenrich 2011). For instance, in Ivory Coast, women make up 68% of the labour force in cocoa plantations; however, they earn 21% of the income from cocoa production.

As illustrated in Figure 16.2, women and men tend to contribute disproportionately at different stages of the cocoa value chain, from planting to marketing. In the marketing of cocoa, particularly transporting, negotiating prices and aggregating, men dominate. Transporting cocoa beans to marketing centres and negotiating sales is almost exclusive to men in Ghana, Ivory Coast and Cameroon (Kumase et al 2010, Mounjouenpou et al 2014, Nangia and Forsac-Tata 2020). In households with husbands and wives, men usually market the cocoa produce and thus, control the income (UTZ 2009). In Cameroon, Banerjee and Duflo (2014) note that female farmers who market their produce themselves always receive significantly lower prices than males. Thus, handing over produce to men to sell was a default mechanism for higher prices and incomes. However, with men handling the sale of cocoa, they tend to control the gains from such sales, leading to a loss of control over women's incomes.

Men also dominate the aggregation of cocoa through middlemen or cooperatives. Women hardly participate in cooperatives as members and even less as leaders in places where cooperatives are an important medium for aggregating and marketing cocoa, especially in Ivory Coast (UTZ 2009). Due to women's time poverty, they usually do not have time to join and/or attend cooperative meetings and the few that do, are not able to overcome gender norms that bestow group leadership to men. In places where middlemen are dominant, such as Ghana and Nigeria, these are rarely women. In Ghana, purchasing clerks are the middlemen who aggregate cocoa for large buying companies. Per their operations, buying companies require purchasing clerks to provide high-value assets such as houses or cocoa farms of not less than 10 acres as collateral. For women, most of whom do not own a house or cocoa farm of that size, this becomes a major constraint for them to participate in the cocoa value chain as purchasing clerks. Thus, they are excluded from being aggregators. The few who can provide such collateral are also less successful. A purchasing clerk's relationship with farmers depends on their ability to give financial support in the lean season to farming households from whom they aggregate cocoa beans. Female purchasing clerks do not have access to the financial resources to fulfil such informal obligations and therefore struggle to succeed as purchasing clerks. In Nigeria, Akinola (2005) showed that women could succeed in the cocoa marketing sector. However, they face challenges in entering the marketing for cocoa due to their inability to provide collateral security to secure loans for their businesses.

Loading of trucks and transporting cocoa beans from aggregation centres to the ports is also men's job due to cultural norms considering such activities as hard labour and the reserve of men. Thus, women hardly take part in this activity along the cocoa chain. A few companies semi-process cocoa beans in West Africa before export. These companies offer employment in their processing units in the producing countries. In Ghana, for instance, such processing happens in export processing zones. While processing units in such zones offer employment to many women, jobs in such zones, globally and in Ghana, are precarious and insecure. This employment, therefore, likely offers few empowering opportunities for the women employed in the processing side of the cocoa value chain in the producing countries.

4. Gender issues in coffee production in East Africa

Coffee is one of the most traded commodities in the world. According to statistics from the Observatory of Economic Complexity (OEC) (OEC 2021), USD 30 billion of coffee was traded globally in 2019, accounting for 0.17 percent of total world trade. The world's top coffee importers are the United States of America, Germany, France, Italy, and Belgium, which imported USD 13.81 billion worth of coffee in 2019. Reports from the International Coffee Organization (ICO) show that more than 120 million people in the world depend on coffee-related activities. Coffee farming provides a primary livelihood to about 25 million rural farmers and workers directly dependent on coffee-related production activities. Around five million of the estimated 25 million coffee producers worldwide are women (ICO 2018).

Africa grows about 11 percent of the world's total coffee, with the highest number of coffee-producing countries globally and the largest population involved in growing and processing coffee. In 2019, a total of USD 30 billion of coffee was sold worldwide and the top exporters from Africa and the top exporting countries in Africa in terms of market share are Ethiopia (2.8%), Uganda (1.3%), Kenya (0.8%), Tanzania (0.5%), Ivory Coast (0.5%) and Cameroon (0.1%) (OEC 2021). Ethiopia and Uganda alone account for 70 percent of total African coffee exports and rank eighth and eleventh, respectively, among world coffee producers (UN 2018). Figure 16.3 below shows the trends for the top five coffee producing countries between 2008 and 2018.

Top producers of green coffee beans in Africa (in tonnes)

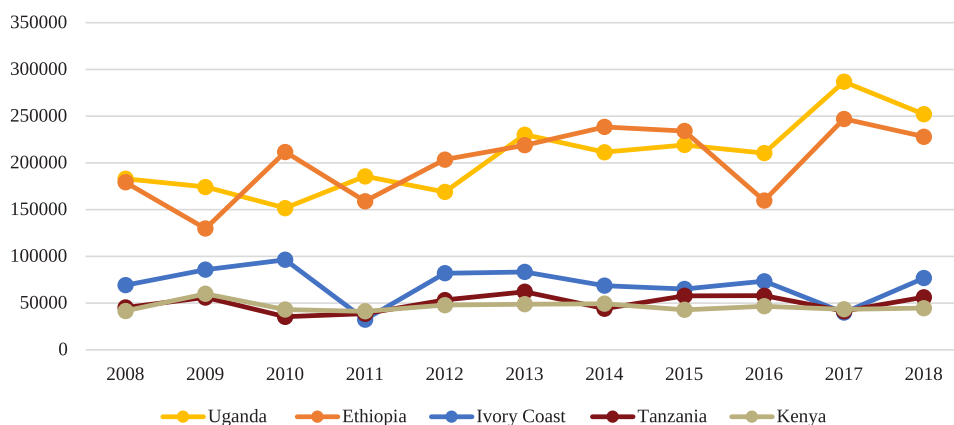


Figure 16.3: Top coffee producers in Africa between 2008-2018. Source: FAOSTAT, 2020.

Smallholder farmers are the main actors along the coffee supply chain in these countries, with about 10 million farmers and workers deriving their livelihoods from the coffee production (UN 2018). The ability to benefit from the supply chain depends on how farmers participate and whether the distribution of income gains from the crop benefits men and women equally. However, gender equality is a necessary and sufficient condition for inclusive economic development in any supply chain and increases competitiveness and participation in economic activities, contributing to economic growth (Leach 2014, Rubin et al 2019). It is expected that increased fair involvement of men and women within the supply chain leads to a more equal distribution of benefits and thus contributes to gender equality and livelihood improvement. In most cash crops, including coffee, fair participation of men and women is not always achieved in developing countries (Kangile et al 2021, Leach 2014, Quisumbing et al 2014, Rubinet al 2019). Therefore, it is essential to understand how income generation and distribution lead to gender equity and livelihood improvement in order to propose gender-responsive policies.

4.1. Gendered access to productive assets for coffee production

Evidence from existing studies in terms of gender differences in access to land from the coffee sector is still limited (Avila-Santamaria and Useche 2016, Sekabira and Qaim 2017). According to information on landholdings of female- and male-headed households from existing studies and World Bank census data, women, on average, own 25 percent less land than men. The gap ranges from 20 percent in Uganda to 40 percent in Tanzania (ICO 2018). Gender differences in land ownership are particularly strong where customary practices that limit access to and rights over land exist. Reasons for these differences are often country-specific and include male preference in inheritance, as well as marriage and male bias in land redistribution

programmes (Deere and Leon 2003, Melesse et al 2018). The study by Slavchevska (2015) also confirmed that there are differences in productivity between men and women-managed farms. Slavchevska (2015) found that women-managed farms are less productive, contributing to the low incomes of these farms. This is highly related to land ownership, which is central to coffee production. However, land ownership also has multiplier effects on other indicators, as land ownership is associated with access to credit. Apart from gender differences in land endowment, Sekabira and Qaim (2017) also found an 8 percent difference in the age of trees on plots that were operated by women. They argue that this reflects the lack of access to finance for the renovation and rehabilitation of coffee plantations.

The performance of the coffee sector could be enhanced by strengthening women, who are crucial along the entire coffee value chain through their role as farmers, labourers or entrepreneurs. However, they often face severe constraints in accessing production factors (ICO 2018). Compared to men, women farmers often have less access to land, inputs, finance and knowledge. Within rural households, women in many cases, have limited decision-making power and are constrained in their access to training and extension services. They also often lack control over income derived from agricultural production and investment decisions. These differences in access to resources and empowerment translate into a gender gap in agronomic and economic outcomes such as yields, revenues from crop sales and household welfare (FAO 2011). For example, Sekabira and Qaim (2017) found that the household income of female coffee producers in two regions of Uganda was 41 percent lower than that of male producers. One of the factors that may explain gender differences in farm income discussed in the study is the capacity for on-farm value addition in terms of post-harvest processing. While 29 percent of the male-headed households sold their coffee in green form, only 18 percent of the female coffee producers sold their coffee in this form, which might have resulted in a lower selling price.

Similarly, an analysis of World Bank census data showed that revenues from selling coffee were 39 percent and 44 percent lower for female-headed households in Ethiopia and Uganda, respectively (ICO 2018). Fieldwork among couples of coffee farmers in Uganda revealed that women work disproportionately longer hours than men. More specifically, men were found to work eight-hour shifts per day, while women worked up to 15 hours per day, totaling the number of hours spent on coffee production and household tasks (Kasente 2012).

As illustrated in Figure 16.2, women and men tend to disproportionately contribute to the different stages of the coffee value chain. Women on smallholder coffee farms tend to be responsible for key farm management activities such as planting, seeding, transplanting, watering, weeding and harvesting (i.e., picking and carrying cherries). They also tend to

take the lead in coffee processing, which includes activities such as pulping, washing, and drying coffee beans. Despite recognising that women conduct a substantial part of the coffee production process, coffee is generally considered a “man’s crop”. Hence, men tend to have greater control over marketing activities and revenues from coffee sales (Chiputwa et al 2015, Kasente 2012, Meemken et al 2017).

4.2. Women’s participation in coffee value chains

Women significantly contribute to the global coffee production. Between 20 and 30 percent of coffee farms are female-operated, and up to 70 percent of labour in coffee production is provided by women (ICO 2018). Depending on the region, there are significant differences in female labour contribution in coffee production, which can reach up to 90 percent in fieldwork and up to 80 percent in harvesting activities (ICO 2018, ICT 2011). The availability of labour in households largely depends on the size and composition of the household as well as the ability to hire labour. Female-headed households are often disadvantaged in terms of labour availability given the smaller size of the household and a higher number of dependents (FAO 2011, Wairegi et al 2018). Furthermore, they are often double burdened with domestic tasks and farming activities (Alkire et al 2013, Dietz et al 2018). In addition, women tend to receive minimal compensation and are often excluded from decision-making processes.

The role of women diminishes higher up the value chain into processes like marketing and retail of tree commodities. This often results in women and youth being under-represented (in terms of power, leadership and decision making), particularly in the marketing and value addition processes compared to men, resulting in gender-differentiated benefits. For example, Kangile et al (2021) found that the structure of the coffee supply chain, from ownership and control of resources to participating in production and marketing, limits women’s active involvement. Women are highly integrated into the lower end of the coffee supply chain and perform activities such as harvesting and post-harvest handling, including drying and sorting. At the same time, men are involved in applying agrochemicals, pruning coffee trees, and other high-level activities in the coffee supply chain. The results show that 34.5% of women are fully engaged in coffee production, while the percentage for men is 65.5%. Women’s participation in coffee trading is low (27.5%) compared to 72.5% of men who participate in coffee trading. Bergman Lodin et al (2019) and Kangile et al (2021) argue that women’s low participation in trade is related to the hurdles they must overcome to sell coffee through agricultural marketing cooperatives.

5. Closing gender gaps in cocoa and coffee value chains

This paper has highlighted several inequalities between men and women in cocoa and coffee growing countries and value chains in SSA. Investing in strategies that ensure that women and girls are empowered and that institutional and legal barriers are removed is important in contributing to the economic development and SDGs in cocoa and coffee-growing countries. We identify some of the key issues that affect the status of women as determined by the social norms and power dynamics that shape their choices and opportunities in the cocoa and coffee value chains in SSA.

- ***Recognition of women and their contribution to production and reproduction roles***

The responsibility for unpaid care, involving maintenance of the household and care provision to family members, which are necessary activities to sustain households, communities and societies, generally falls disproportionately on women. Not only is this contribution unpaid, but it is also often unrecognised and limits women's involvement in labour-force participation, as well as paid work, which must be accounted for in policy decisions. For example, through investment in programs that help reduce time pressures on women and improve the redistribution of chores within the household. Interventions that can contribute to reducing the burden of women's unpaid care work include water pumps, which can reduce the time women spend carrying water, and energy-efficient cookstoves, which reduce the time spent cutting, fetching, collecting, and carrying firewood. Also, family-friendly policies in the workplace that recognize the essential role of mothers as caregivers, such as flexible working hours, paid parental leave to meet the needs of their young children, and the establishment of services for young mothers in the workplace, such as daycare for children, regular breaks for breastfeeding mothers, and designated breastfeeding rooms or stations.

- ***Improve working conditions that ensure fair, equitable incomes, secure contracts and a safe working environment***

Cocoa and coffee production have the potential to make an important contribution to economic growth. Assessment of labour and wage standards to ensure workers (in particular women) receive above living wage standards, improve occupational health and safety, are not subjected to compulsory overtime and are covered by all current and future labour standards legislation.

- ***Improve land rights and land tenure security***

Greater engagement with women's groups, cooperatives and community leaders on women's legal land rights is essential. Programs that encourage land registrations jointly between men and women would enhance gender equality and also encourage male farmers to realise the importance of land transfers to their spouses engaged in production (as gifts or through inheritance etc.), especially in cases where customary land systems are complex. It is therefore important to invest in inclusive and socially responsible land governance systems that progressively address the historical and customary gender imbalances in land rights and ownership between men and women. This can be done through gender-responsive reforms in laws and policies that are implemented and enforced to ensure women's access to land and land rights.

- ***Closing the gender gap in access to productive assets and capital***

Ownership of productive assets such as land and the ability to access finance and credit is a major constraint, particularly for women farmers in cocoa and coffee value chains. The gender gap in access to assets and capital is a function of gender differences in property rights, inheritance, decision-making power over household income, and discrimination in financial and credit markets. Limited access to productive capital may inhibit women's ability to take risks and acquire the human and physical capital necessary for investing in profitable crops, becoming entrepreneurs, and entering non-farm work (Smita and Kotikula, 2018). Therefore, there is a need to establish and strengthen community-based organizations (particularly those that prioritize women's membership) in financial literacy and link them to formal financial institutions and market opportunities.

- ***Increase women's participation in training programs on improving crop production and quality***

Training of both members (male and female) in cocoa and coffee value chains to improve production yields, value addition, and gender equity in the household should also be encouraged. Women often face challenges in accessing training and education opportunities related to crop production. Training and empowerment must be tied to resources to improve women's basic capacity in the production and handling of cocoa and coffee. This can also include supporting women's organisations and making marketing channels more accessible for women farmers. It is imperative to include men and women when deciding who should attend training sessions, so there is wide support for women's participation in the household and community. This could

be done through participatory community-led engagement in providing extension and training programs that promote inclusion and a safe learning environment. This creates a conducive environment and community appreciation for the participation of marginalized groups such as women, youth, and the disabled. Training programs could address growing crops, coping with climate change, acquiring entrepreneurial and marketing skills, building self-confidence, developing leadership skills, and learning to bargain and negotiate.

- ***Promote women's representation in leadership positions***

Women are often under represented in leadership positions within communities, farmer cooperatives and groups, provision of extension services and within various segments of the cocoa and coffee value chains. This is mainly due to limited resources (e.g., land, labour, capital), education, experience and networks. In addition, other factors such as cultural and historical factors as well as gender norms and patriarchal structures limit female participation in leadership roles. To improve this, it is important to focus on promoting women's empowerment and leadership capacity development programs that target women and other marginalized groups. Then, focus on removing institutional and structural barriers that prevent women from taking up leadership positions. These barriers are often context-specific and driven by existing gender stereotypes and social norms.

- ***Interventions that promote more gender equity***

It is important to put in place deliberate programs that promote women's decision-making and empowerment at different levels (the household, community and across the cocoa and coffee value chains). At the household and community levels, this could include involving and engaging both men and women (couples meetings) to understand and debate with each other about gendered inequalities in roles and responsibilities and propose solutions that promote gender equity that consider the social and economic context.

- ***Promote women participation in sustainability standards***

The role of private standards and voluntary certification schemes such as Organic, Fairtrade, and Rainforest Alliance and UTZ in global cocoa and coffee markets has grown significantly over the last couple of years. Many of these standards involve smallholder farmers and, as a result, can be an important driver in improving gender equality and the empowerment of women and participation in economic decision-making. All three certification schemes have incorporated gender equity workshops and women's empowerment initiatives as key components to improving social conditions (Chiputwa et al 2015). Certification schemes can potentially be important pathways for challenging practices that contribute to gender inequities and limit women's effective participation. This can be done by regulating production practices

within the supply chain, such as ensuring fair prices for farmers, decent work conditions, fair pay/wages, and secure contracts for farm and factory workers, addressing specific needs of women (particularly related to motherhood), capacity building, training, and assistance, and advancing women's representation in leadership positions within producer cooperatives and at different stages of the value chain, as shown in Figure 16.2.

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