

Equally Resilient? Final evaluation of LINKAGES gender equality results

1 Background to the Final Analysis

At the beginning of LINKAGES, each project team was asked to prepare a gender strategy with key goals and an informal theory of change. Projects articulated the main gender inequalities that prevented food security, resilience, and women's economic empowerment in each of their contexts and developed strategies to address these inequalities in all three arenas of agency, relations and structure. These are featured below. At the program level, LINKAGES set itself a challenge to meaningfully change gender relations and structures in ways that would sustainably lead to more equitable resilience.

In Bolivia, the Tukuy Yanapana team said that if women's productive labour, and the social and economic value of that labour became more visible to cooperative and household members, then women's overall status would increase, and cooperative and municipal leaders, as well as householders and cooperative members, would begin engaging in the conversations and activities necessary to change household decision-making relations, and gender dynamics in cooperative and local economic development governance.

In Ethiopia, the team decided that if women and men more equally access and control productive resources and make key household decisions, then women will be able to economically empower themselves and household resilience will be sustained. Ethiopia put an emphasis on gender specific and gender equity strategies and on increasing women's economic options as a method of decreasing the number of chronically food insecure women receiving support from PSNP.

The Promise project posited that working in soybean and cowpea value chains (with crops that are traditionally "women's crops") would act as an entry point to engaging women in the more valued and valuable stages of an agricultural value chain.

Finally, CARE Mali emphasized women's visibility and participation in community planning, addressed social norms concerning women's management of public assets including land, and in order to provide women with the basic assets needed for nutrition security.

The purpose of this final gender analysis is to determine the extent to which these predicted gender changes came to pass using the routes to change outlined above. As usual, the overall measure of success for gender work in LINKAGES is the three ultimate outcome indicators.

This gender section begins with a brief methods discussion before comparing changes under each universal indicator between the project mid-point and final evaluations. Overall lessons learned and final recommendations close the report. Significant gender change in agency, relations or structure and promising practices are highlighted in orange text boxes.

2 Methodology

For this report, a team at CARE Canada compared mid-term GE results against primarily secondary data gathered in the form of Final Evaluations and reports from each project country. As the figure to the right shows, this is supplemented with some raw data from Universal Tools and rolling profiles from Ghana, Ethiopia and Mali. In Ethiopia and Mali, the data sets from mid-term were stronger. In Ghana, the data set from mid-term was weaker and in Bolivia, data sets for mid-term were not generated. This presents a challenge for endline comparison. Where comparative data exists, it has been used. Where final data has not been as deeply comparative, an attempt was made to match meaningful data points measuring the same phenomenon. All data was subjected to a standard gender analysis using CARE's Gender Equality Framework and focusing on questions related to the theories of change described above.

This report synthesizes...

The 2016 Final Report
from all four countries

Endline Independent Evaluations
from all four countries

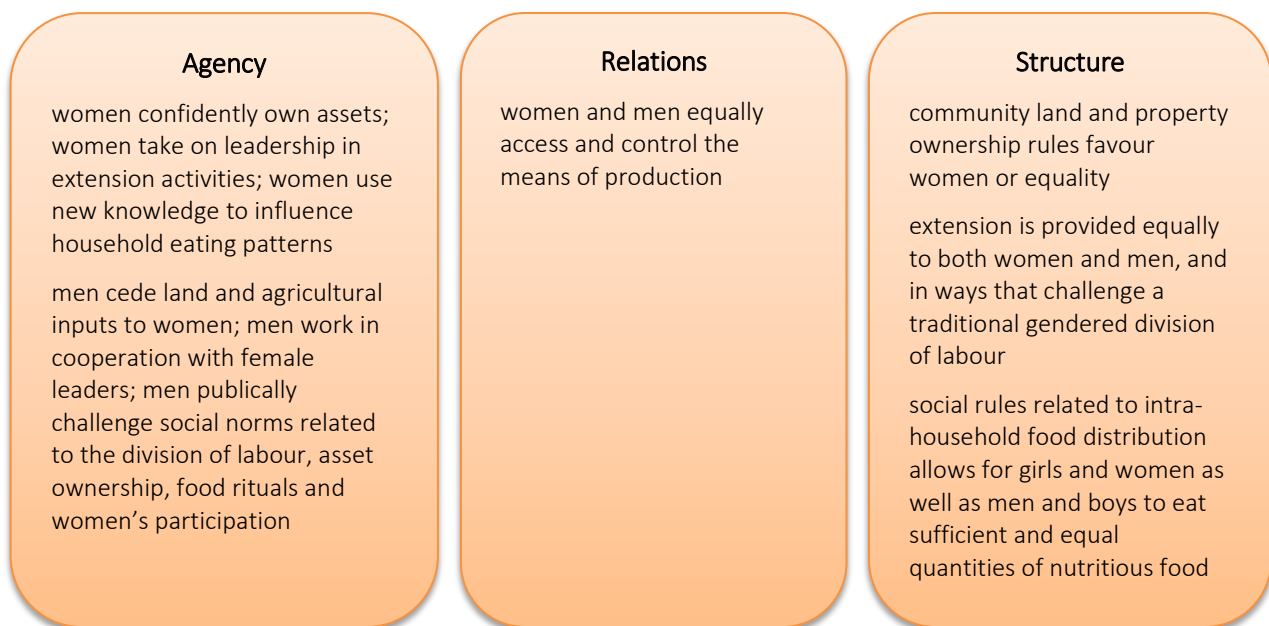
The Universal Gender Tools
access and control data from Ethiopia and Ghana,
women's economic empowerment data from
Ghana

Other Sources
including rolling profiles and completed research
reports

3 Findings

Universal Indicator #1:
Proportion of women to men with access to assets that are key to resiliency

LINKAGES posits that women and men cannot be equally resilient, with equally valuable and sustainable livelihoods options, unless the following changes in agency, relations and structure such as those pictured below have taken place. If these changes have occurred, projects have been successful in closing access and control gaps related to their theories of change.



3.1 Access To and Control Over Key Agricultural Assets

3.1.1 Bolivia

Tukuy Yanapana tracked the extent to which women and men were able to access and control the means of production in SMEs and households. This includes equipment such as percolators, small processing tools, roasters, chemicals, freezers and various types of husking, packaging and grinding equipment that cooperative members use either in their households or in cooperative facilities. At the end of the project, 80% of respondents to the final external evaluation survey said that both women and men controlled these assets at the SME level, while 20% said that men controlled them. Gender equality training did raise the awareness of cooperative leaders as regards the different types of assets that women and men need to access or control in order to produce high quality products. The ability of the business planning process to shift gender norms was, on the other hand, more mixed. While 187 women and 95 men from five SMEs had greater access to tools and equipment, the final external evaluation notes that in general the business planning process failed to consider women's specific needs or to identify gender equal methods of distributing the means of production.

"Harvesting amaranth is easier for women if they have secateurs, and losses are fewer. PASOS gave us (tents and secateurs)."

~ Former President of APTA-B

Protective gear for women (according to the business plan) will allow them to be more involved in working with bees. (Filtering) tanks in each segment of the organization makes the filtering easier for women and results in cleaner honey."

~ Vice-President of APAMG

3.1.2 Ethiopia

A comparison of baseline, mid-term and endline data sets shows a steady decrease in the gap in women's and men's control over key assets. This is mostly due to an increase in women's access and control

(rather than a significant change in men's as well as women's data). At endline, as Table 1 shows, even where men continue to control key farming assets, the gender gap has significantly decreased.

Table 1: Women's and Men's Control Over Key Agricultural Assets in Fedis, 2013 and 2016 Compared

Agricultural Resource	2013			2016			Percentage Change in Gender Gap	Point
	% Control			% Control				
	W	M	Gap	W	M	Gap		
Goats	12%	50%	-38%	89%	71%	18%	60	
Seeds	12%	88%	-76%	60%	88%	-28%	58	
Fertilizer	11%	86%	-75%	51%	74%	-23%	52	
Oxen	5%	56%	-51%	48%	58%	-10%	41	
Land	12%	89%	-77%	47%	86%	-39%	38	
Chat	11%	63%	-52%	54%	76%	-22%	30	
Cows	11%	38%	-27%	49%	49%	1%	28	
Sheep	3%	15%	-12%	36%	24%	12%	24	
Camels	1%	4%	-3%	2%	4%	-2%	1	

The greatest decreases occurred in assets of lower value that are more traditionally distributed to women in animal sharing or seed distribution schemes, but significant decreases were also seen in high value assets where it is traditionally more difficult for development projects to intervene, and that are traditionally the bastion of men's control. Descriptions from qualitative interviews explain this pattern as a spill-over effect that is the result of a combination of strategies. The project listed women as the project beneficiary and "household head" even if there was a senior adult male present in the household (61% of all beneficiaries were listed this way). It signed to women sole ownership over both traditional and non-traditional assets (such as oxen) and provided basic and high-level technical training and income generation support. Simultaneously, it held social change discussions. Staff observation and key informant and beneficiary testimony describes a virtuous cycle in which women's ability to capitalize on assets originally distributed to them led to greater control, which led to increased status, which led to greater control. Evidence from upcoming sections in this report shows how this greater control helped women to diversify their economic activity in ways that spurred household resilience.

As we women began to be recognized and [to get] access to resources... [husbands'] hearts could not be as cruel as before.... Those husbands who were counting their wives [as] useless began to recognize their importance. As the project was providing the productive resources in the name of women..., husbands usually [had] to ask the willingness of their wives to use those resources. This was a huge victory for most women in our Kebele. There was only one household head before the project, my husband. But today, there are two heads, including me, the wife.

3.1.3 Ghana

Evidence from Promise shows just what the effect of deep rooted gender inequalities are on women's ability to participate equally in markets, as well as how urgent land ownership issues are to women's economic empowerment. On the one hand, the project was fairly successful in shifting community norms to increase women's access to and control over agricultural inputs and land. This led to some small

increase in the amounts of soybean and cowpea that women produced. At the same time, women still weren't able to produce enough to be able to bulk and sell in quantities sufficient for producers to enter into contracts. Neither land sizes nor substantive control over key means of production changed enough to allow for commercial sales.

At project mid-term, women were listing a number of ways in which their access to and control over the means of production had increased, but they also noted that this access was conditioned by male privilege such that insecurities in crop production remained. Table 2 shows a decrease between the gap between women's and men's access to and control over key agricultural resources as measured through the Universal Tool. Note that this table shows not the rate at which women and men access or control goods, but the gap between this rate. In other words, at baseline, there was a 64% difference in the rate at which women and men were able to access land. By the end of the project, this had decreased to only a 10% difference.

Table 2: Gap in Agricultural Asset Access and Control in Northern Ghana

Agricultural Resource	Percentage Point Gap in Women's and Men's Access		Percentage Point Gap in Women's and Men's Control	
	2013	2016	2013	2016
Seeds	12	7	10	43
Fertilizer (organic)	58	12	54	43
Oxen	56	28	98	45
Hired labour	10	0	6	50
Fertilizer (chemical)	2	17	0	53
Labour (family)	48	0	79	63
Land	64	10	100	77

Over the project lifetime, then, gender gaps in *access* to key resources including labour, fertilizer and land decreased significantly. Women's access to the key means of production increased. Significant gender gaps in control remain, with greater gaps in key areas such as land and family labour.

At the same time, the amount of land that women were able to devote to soybean and cowpea crops increased, but remained below the 1.5 to 2ha needed to start bulking and meet commercial contract commitments. At the beginning of the project women put about 1.12ha under soybean cultivation and 0.99ha under cowpea cultivation. By the end of the project, they were using 1.18ha and 1.06ha.

Three sets of project activities can be linked

Box 1: It's All About Communication

Gender dialogues are participatory exchanges of ideas and opinions on socio-cultural and religious issues amongst men, women and male and female youth with a view to reaching a conclusion that is both individually and socially acceptable. An expert in gender equality and facilitation leads the dialogues, and guides participants to take decisions, reform or enforce laws and design action plans. Promise used gender dialogues to work with men and traditional leaders such that they released 1,033 acres of good land to women for soybean and cowpea farming. Using a good gender equality programming practice, Promise piggybacked community dialogues onto project activities under all three major outcomes in order to dispel myths and raise awareness about women's access to productive lands and ownership of household assets, division of labour, women's rights, and other key topics.

to the changes that the project did manage to support. The mid-term gender analysis featured the key role of male gender champions. Box 1 describes the process of community dialogues, key to examining the social stereotypes that lead to gender inequalities. Finally, the LINKAGES research project showed that men's control over traction and processing equipment such as threshers led to bottlenecks in women's soybean production, processing and marketing activities, motivating the project to deliver threshers, donkeys and plows directly into the hands of about 2% of female beneficiaries. In other words, engaging men on gender issues and delivering key assets into the hands of women served to change local gender relations somewhat.

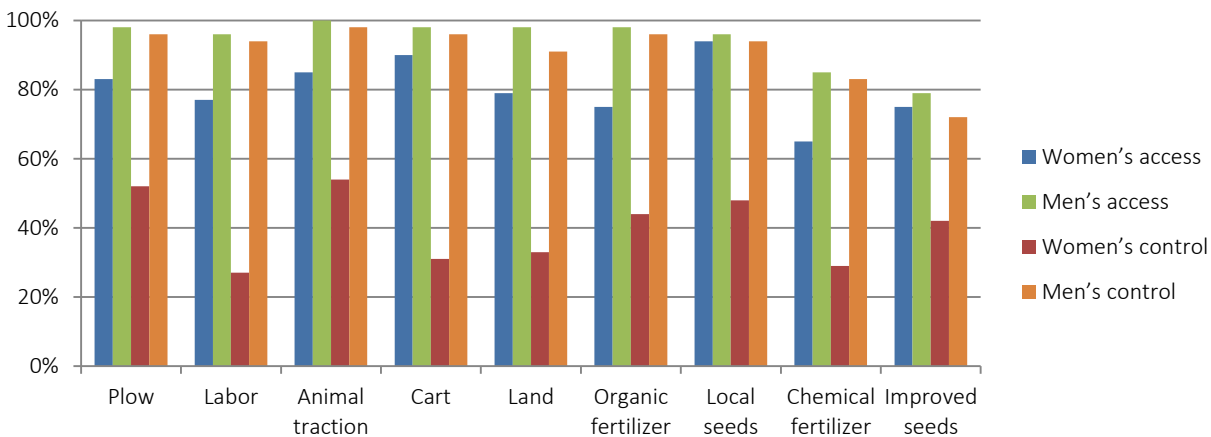
Despite these activities, did gender dynamics in access and control over agricultural resources change enough? Final project data to answer this question is ambiguous. Despite the evidence presented above, both beneficiary testimony and evaluator observation at endline stresses men's dominance in control over key assets such as land and women's time. The final external evaluation also notes that women are still not producing sufficient amounts of soybean to allow them to aggregate in quantities that are attractive to buyers.

3.1.4 Mali

Access and control in the Segou region showed deep divides at baseline, with men heavily controlling agricultural resources as well as women's time and labour. Looking at changes from midline to endline from the Universal Tool across all agricultural resources, there are decreased gaps between women's and men's control of resources. The most significant change was in women's increased control of resources across all assets, and particularly for plows, animal traction, organic fertilizer and local and improved seeds.

The endline results of Universal Tool 1 can be seen in Chart 1 below, where women's access to and control over productive assets does remain below that of men, as reflected in the final data from the PMF (see Final Narrative Report, section *Overall Program Performance Assessment*) which found that 63.90% of women compared to 83.7% of men have access to productive assets (land, technology, information). The target of 50% was exceeded, and comes as a result of multiple advocacy efforts led by the project in implementing the village agreements that were jointly developed by local authorities, landowners and local councillors. Further, as men already had access to productive resources at baseline, the project had a strong focus on engaging men and boys on this and on broader gender issues as well.

Chart 1: Women's and Men's Comparative Access To and Control Over Agricultural Resources (Endline)



Specifically regarding women's access to land, a key objective of IFONS' gender strategy, women were given a parcel of one hectare of land under the project to farm. However, women had limited access to equipment, and if they did not farm the land, they were at risk of losing it. Midway through the project, IFONS used the conclusions from its learning research project and prior project success with women's group management to pilot an equipment rental scheme among MJTs. IFONS subsidised the initial capital investment, and the MJTs were then responsible for pooling savings to contribute to animal traction, agricultural tools and harvesters, and must manage the equipment according to a business plan.

This supports today allow women to become permanently involved in agriculture. They become more and more entrepreneurs and take initiatives. Men make women a place in the household management and know that their support is necessary for the harmony of the household. Currently equality between men and women is not at a satisfactory place in the town, but it is strengthening to know that the inclusion of the gender dimension has started.

~ Mayor of Kamiandougou

As evident from rolling profiles, the effort to engage men and boys on gender issues, including women's rights and women's access and control of land, has proved fruitful. Men note that women are now permanently involved in agriculture and are becoming more entrepreneurial, and that the project has provided agricultural equipment and land for women to access.

However, there is a theme among men's rolling profiles that although men are in favour of 'equality,' it is primarily to reduce the burden on men and benefit the household; change is acceptable and women can have more mobility and have more free time to pursue other activities so long as they are bringing in an income. The underlying social norms around a woman's role as to support her husband remain deeply entrenched. Women's control over land and other assets remains below men's, despite project gains (see Chart 1), as men continue to retain control in key areas such as the means of production. As noted by one of the village chiefs, *'For the purchase of equipment and the production of goods, it is men who decide. Women use their crops as they want, but men manage the household crops.'* This is tempered by several beneficiaries who note that although gender progress has been made as a result of the

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Men are supporting and encouraging women to pursue income generating activities.

project's sensitisation campaigns, the real change in mentality and wider structural change requires a long-term perspective.

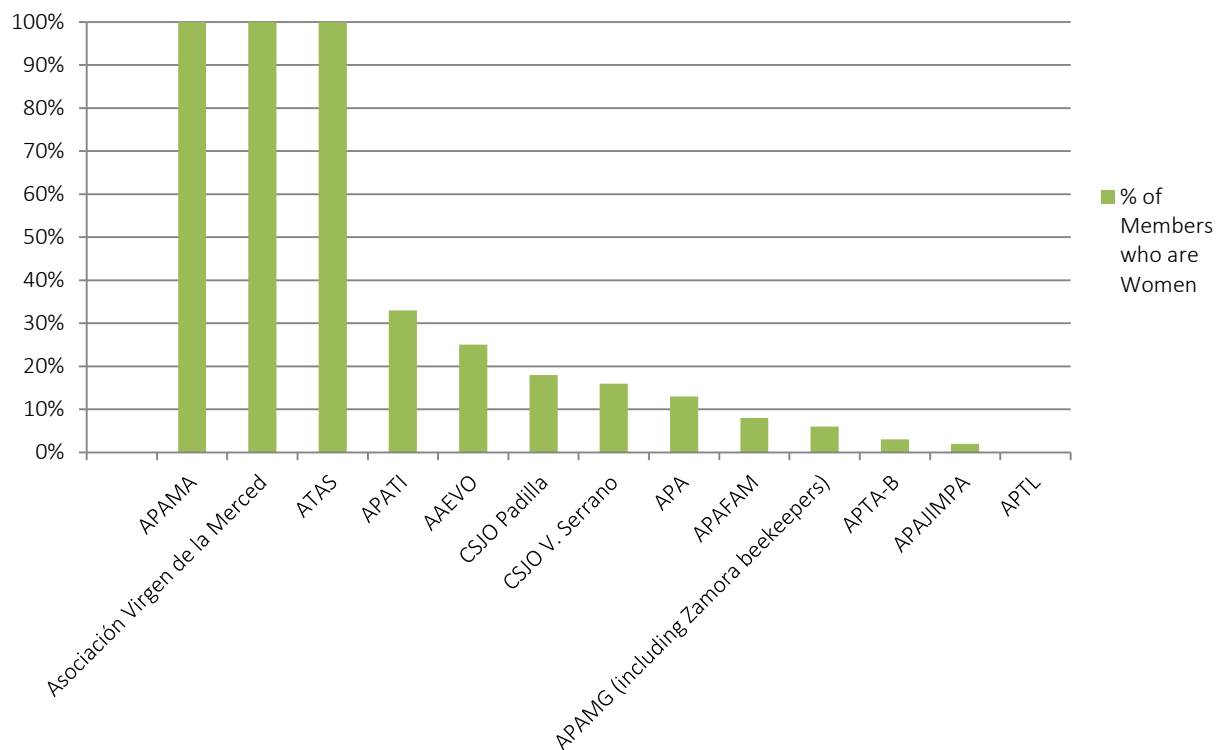
3.2 Extension Services

3.2.1 Bolivia

Tukuy Yanapana ran two tracks of training, one focused on production, business development and governance at the SME and Municipal Government levels, and one focused on gender issues in all three of households, SMEs and municipalities. While some of the gender equality training resulted in significant changes in attitude, the business planning process remained problematic from a gender equality perspective.

The business planning process was a key mechanism through which the project was to strengthen SME performance and address gender issues in local enterprise behaviour. At the beginning of the project, the CARE Bolivia team assessed the capacities of mixed-sex and single sex (women's and men's) SMEs and identified training needs for both. After SMEs were selected to become part of the business planning school, training was carried out by attending to the different needs of those in mixed-sex as compared to women's SMEs. This meant more tailored training in leadership and capacity building, governance and collective work for women-only SMEs. Other aspects of the business planning school were more problematic from a gender equality perspective. On the one hand, proportionately more women's organizations were chosen to take part in business planning school. Effectively, this meant that only three of the 14 organizations chosen for the school were women-only SMEs, and the remainder included less than 33% female members (see Chart 2 on next page). Only 27% of business school participants were female. The business school passing grade was lower for women, a handicap that potentially bars them from becoming fully knowledgeable and competitive.

Chart 2: Percentage of Female Members in SMEs Chosen for Business Planning Process



Tukuy Yanapana engaged in a deliberate set of gender equality awareness raising activities based on action learning research and participatory engagement. These 21 events focused on division of labour, masculinities, and the ways in which gender dynamics in family life and SME governance affect business profitability. Project staff also used flagship men's engagement techniques, key messaging, accompaniment and other techniques to strengthen the ability of women and men to identify and address gender issues in household life, cooperative operations and municipal governance. As Table 3 shows, both women and men showed some attitude change as a result of this training.

Table 3: Women's and Men's Gender Equality Attitudes at the End of Tukuy Yanapana

Attitude Tested	% of Women who Agree	% of Men who Agree
Women are more involved with the rural association (SME)/lost fear to participate and speak/Men allow more women's participation/SME allows more women's participation	29%	15%
Men are less macho/bully/treat women and children better/Change of attitude/Women and men get along better	20%	41%
Men help with household work/look after and guide children	27%	15%
Share of workload/men assist at home and women in the field	10%	10%
Women and men share decision-making	2%	7%
Men work/participate more than women in the SMEs		5%
No/little change	12%	7%

Other endline testing of gender change found that all of those surveyed felt that women and men should have the same opportunities and that they have the same rights. Seventy three percent of women and 82% of men understood that gender equality is not just a women's issue. Seventy one percent of women and 55% of men were hopeful for changes to the division of labour, while the rest fell back on biological determinism and customary practices as rationale for no change in this area. Using Most Significant Change, women and men observed that women's substantive daily participation in SME activities had increased and cooperative members were more likely to allow and encourage women's involvement. Women observed that their husbands no longer opposed their involvement in public productive work and women were less afraid to get involved. As a result of training, women and men were able to more openly discuss household division of labour and family level compensations and rewards. Women no longer see their work as "help," but as key to the overall household and cooperative economy.

Agency

Both women and men value women as economic actors and can see women's productive activity in private and public.

The action learning research and participatory techniques that project staff used to address gender issues resulted not only in key attitude changes that contributed to the project's theory of change, but also to significant learning in terms of what good gender equality programming looks like. Staff learned that, given how difficult it is to address gender issues, approaches that are compelling to men will bring them on board at the beginning of the initiative and lay the ground to discuss more tense gender issues as time goes on.

3.2.2 Ethiopia

At baseline, both women and men had access to different types of external knowledge, but the targeting of that knowledge was gendered. As Table 3 shows, gaps in women's and men's access to extension services closed over the life of the project until at final evaluation they were less than 2%.

Table 3: Gaps in Women's and Men's Access to and Control Over Extension

Year	Access			Control		
	Women	Men	Gap	Women	Men	Gap
2012	50.60%	72.40%	21.80%	21.20%	71.80%	50.60%
2014	68.20%	72.40%	4.10%	60.00%	60.60%	0.60%
2016	71.80%	75.90%	4.10%	60.00%	61.20%	1.20%

In the beginning, the project involved women in basic skills and production training around traditional crops, vegetables and livestock rearing. Training later expanded to touch on using improved inputs, market pricing, business planning and management, and working in value chains. Training was delivered using a cascade training-of-trainers style that involved key government counterparts. It was also delivered parallel to gender equality awareness raising and social change training. The final evaluators observed women who were competitive, confident and creative problem solvers as a result of their

My wife has [had] several benefits from ABDISHE project. She [has] developed [a] sense of ownership [over] our sources, her ability and participation [in] decision-making and managing and controlling... resources has increased and, as a result, our family [has] gained a chance to get credit to improve our productivity.

involvement in this program. Beneficiary women and men both link women's stronger technical and business and farm management skill and knowledge with gender changes in asset control and household decision-making. Women link their ability to apply new knowledge and meet their own performance goals to new-found confidence and self-esteem. Qualitative evidence implies that women increasingly see themselves as capable managers who have a right to take ownership and manage farm processes and assets. As they do this in ways that contribute to household resilience, husbands and community members begin to value women more, with an implied change in their overall social status.

3.2.3 Ghana

At baseline, women remained passive recipients of extension, either highly reliant on husbands to access farming information or unable to identify the external sources of information that they themselves accessed. By mid-term, about half of female project beneficiaries were able to directly access extension services themselves (through the project's CBEA function) and to clearly identify where to get extension.

Endline information showed that while women continued to access the bulk of their extension through CBEAs, a few were also beginning to link directly with indigenous sources that provided quality technical advice on advanced farming and marketing issues. By the end of the project, CBEAs were taking increasingly pro-active measures to link women to suppliers or district services. Women stated that they felt less reliant on husbands and were more likely to source information from CBEAs. Women also felt more empowered and more mobilized to lobby the government and ask for resources through their CBEAs. At the same time, about 41% of women responding to the external evaluation survey had met an officer from the department of agriculture, and 32% had met an officer from PARED or PAS-G, the local NGO partners.

According to the Universal Tool, while women's access to and control over extension has increased as a result of CBEA activity, it is actually men who have made the more substantive gain. Although 97% of women say they control and 63% say they access extension at endline, Table 5 shows that the actual decrease in the access and control gap is higher for men than for women.

Table 5: Decreased Gender Gap in Access to and Control Over Extension

Women						Men					
Mid-Term and Control	Access	Endline and Control	Access	Percentage Gap Closure	Point	Mid-Term and Control	Access	Endline and Control	Access	Percentage Gap Closure	Point
53	50	97	63	44	13	38	20	90	80	52	60

This data shows not only the importance of community extension mechanisms, but also that extension designed to be gender sensitive, or to reach women, has the spin off effect of reaching men who are, themselves, not benefitting from current systems. Given that the project not only created strong CBEAs but also began to link women to indigenous extension sources, it has made significant progress in strengthening gender-sensitive extension in the Garu Tempene and East Mamprusi regions.

3.2.4 Mali

Table 6 shows a significant reduction over time in the gap between women's and men's access to extension services, reducing from 13% at midline (2014) to 7% at endline (2016). This corroborates the

positive trend seen in terms of the reduced gap in women's and men's access to agricultural resources, and women's overall increased access to agricultural resources. Control over extension services was not measured in Mali.

Table 6: Women's and Men's Access to Extension Services from Midline to Endline

Year	Women's access	Men's access	Gap
2014	45%	58%	13%
2016	67%	74%	7%

The wider impacts of increased access to extension services in Mali can be seen in women's increased harvest yields from baseline to endline of millet (+84%), sorghum (+30%), groundnut (+45%) and sesame (+59%). On the other hand, despite better access to extension services, men had increased harvest yields of millet and cowpea by +92% and +23%, respectively, but decreased yields in sorghum (-25%), groundnut (-37%) and sesame (-40%). In the reporting of these figures it was noted that women put more effort into the maintenance and farming of crops to improve their performance and the adoption of new farming techniques recommended by the project, whereas men were noted to do very little, in particular with regard to the traditional 'women's crops' of sorghum and sesame. Data shown in Chart 1 shows that both women and men had almost equal rates of access to local and improved seeds. In explaining the cowpea crop, where women's yields decreased by -33%, women had limited access to the necessary processing equipment, whereas men did have adequate access to these resources.

The qualitative and quantitative evidence from IFONS suggests that where women were able to put their newly acquired knowledge from extension services into practice without the limitation of restricted access to processing equipment, they were able to significantly increase their harvest yields, in turn resulting in better household resiliency.

3.3 Intra-household Food Distribution, Consumption and Dietary Diversity

3.3.1 Ethiopia

CARE Ethiopia's indicators focused on food distribution and consumption rather than dietary diversity. Mid-term data was sex-disaggregated well enough to show that women were eating slightly more meals than men per day and that about half of women interviewed were eating with their husbands or husbands and children. This study was done during a season of relative plenty, leaving questions about the extent to which women's status had changed sufficiently to sustain an increase in food intake through the lean season.

Endline data, taken in a lean season, showed that women were still eating slightly more food per day than men. Sixty percent of mixed-sex respondents said there was no difference in women's and men's food consumption. Project data partially links this sustained equal food intake to men's involvement in cooking demonstrations, equitable food allocation demonstrations and related activities to raise men's consciousness of equality in intra-household food distribution.

3.3.2 Ghana

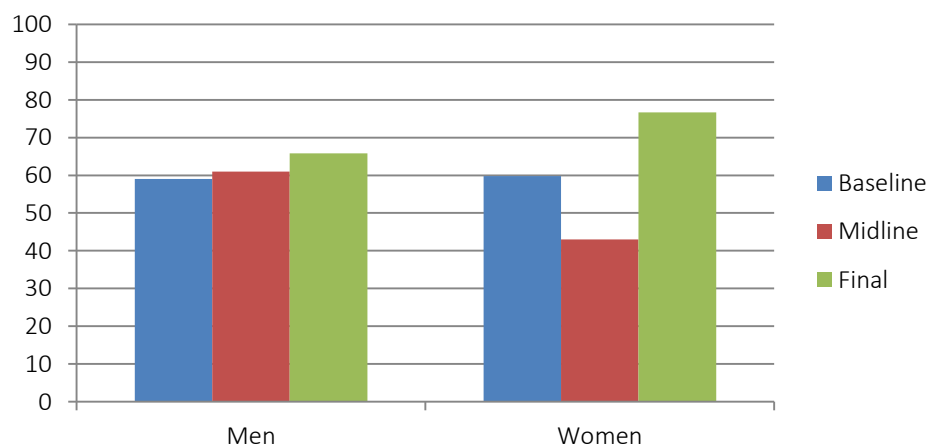
One of the main operating premises of Promise was to introduce increased amounts of soybean and cowpea products into women's and girls' diets to make up for current dietary deficiencies in meat and green leafy vegetables. As information from the baseline noted, these deficiencies were partially caused by general food insecurity in northern Ghana and partially caused by socio-cultural norms that affect intra-household food distribution. Mid-term data showed an increase in soybean and cowpea production and storage, and implied that women were increasingly incorporating this protein into their diets. The mid-term data set did not measure the extent to which socio-cultural norms had changed.

Endline information indicated that women and girls were consuming over 55 percentage points more soybean and cowpea products than at baseline. It also showed that overall household food consumption and dietary diversity had increased. As this information was not sex-disaggregated, and as no changes in social norms were tested, it is not possible to determine the extent to which underlying gender inequalities related to malnutrition have shifted in the project area. While encouraging women and girls to eat more soybean and cowpea products addresses an immediate need for protein, it does so without challenging the social norms that privilege meat and green leafy vegetables going to men and boys. This still leaves women and girls more food insecure. Given this, Promise's ability to promote gender equality in this area needs to be re-evaluated.

3.3.3 Mali

As shown in Chart 3 below, generated from Mali's PMF data, for both men's and women's dietary diversity significantly improved from baseline to endline. IFONS' report data indicates that this was characterised by an increase in consumption of the five food groups, namely fish, oils and fats, dark green leafy vegetables, milk and dairy products, and other vegetables. Although different values were captured in Mali's final Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices survey, presumably as a result of different data collection methods, a similar trend of increasing dietary diversity is observed from base-, mid- to endline.

Chart 3: Evolution of % of Women and Men with a Good Dietary Diversity Score from 2012-2016



As noted in the midline analysis, there had been a deterioration in women's dietary quality and a wider gap between women's and men's consumption of healthy protein and vitamin-rich foods; this trend can

clearly be seen in the dietary diversity scores above, where there is a clear drop at midline in the percentage of women with a good dietary diversity score, whilst the percentage of men consistently increased throughout the project. From midline to endline, the percentage of women with good dietary diversity jumped +34%.

Although we cannot definitively identify factors that contributed to the increase in women's good dietary diversity, rolling profile data clearly identifies women as the primary carriers of health and nutrition knowledge for the household, and are noted to have significant influence and decision-making power on household eating patterns. The available data also suggests that strategies to engage men and boys on household nutrition were met with some success. At the beginning of 2014, a new practice was introduced by the women-run nutritional funds to overcome gender barriers to equally sufficient nutrition by training and supporting *community relays* to make house visits to reach men with nutrition information. Staff observed at midline that men were beginning to take up the cause of women's nutrition, and at endline that many men were now informed on good nutritional practices. This finding was also reinforced by the final set of rolling profiles, in which many men note the positive impacts of the home visits, in addition to the market gardens and other nutrition-related activities, on the overall food and nutrition security of the household.

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Men are more knowledgeable and aware of equal household nutrition principles and are willing to learn from women leaders.

Universal Indicator #2

Increased and more equal control over livelihood assets by direct beneficiary women and men

The data in this section centers on gender issues in economic growth. LINKAGES posits that the following changes in agency, relations and structure are essential in order for women and men to have similar and equally valuable economic opportunities, and to be equally resilient from business activity.

Agency

women confidently manage and run sustainable businesses in non-traditional areas

women control sufficient amounts of capital and profit to start and grow businesses as remunerative as men's

women have strong voice in decision-making, and decide how their own profits are used

men respect women's autonomy and voice in decision-making

Relations

women and men equally participate in and benefit from the most valued stages in the value chain

women and men equally decide on farm management and profit use

Structure

traditional division of labour does not determine the type of enterprise a person undertakes

business development service providers tailor their services to meet women's needs, and are run for gender equal outcomes

3.4 Gender Sensitive Value Chain Analysis

3.4.1 Bolivia

Tukuy Yanapana's work on gender equality in value chains focused on increasing the visibility of women's reproductive and productive work within the value chain, on persuading key decision makers to count the value of this work into business models and cases, and on strengthening women's roles as business people and decision makers. By mid-term, TY had implemented a number of activities, including gender sensitive value chain analysis, action learning research and iterative dialogues with household members and SME boards, to raise awareness about the visibility and value of women and work. Mid-term results showed that women and men were more likely to recognize the value of women's work. There was some evidence that women's self-esteem had increased and that men were better able to define basic gender equality concepts. By endline, there was evidence that these gains had consolidated more deeply and sustainably across SMEs, although the actual amount of change was difficult to measure given a lack of rigorous baseline and mid-term information.

"There is more awareness of women's work; in the chili pepper chain women participate mainly in the harvesting, selection and curing stages, and in the amaranth chain, mostly in harvesting and selection. Now it is acknowledged that women and men's work have the same worth."

~ Secretary of Records of APA

Women: "Women perform the cutting, the curing and the selection (of amaranth). PASOS calls upon women to provide them with training in production-related matters, but husbands do not allow us to go; they want the training for themselves."

Men: "Only one of us can attend the training; the house cannot be left unguarded, women do not want to participate."

Value Chain Stage: Production and Initial Processing

At the household or general member level, both women and men were more likely to acknowledge women legitimate productive actors, although both also continued to assign women with full responsibility for reproductive labour. Over 60% of women and men said that women's work is as important as men's to the family economy. Forty-one percent of women and 39% of men stated that women are still only "helpers" in productive work. Both sexes were able to list the value chain stages and activities in which it is women who add value to products. About 30% of men and 42% of women recognised that women transform products for sale.

At the same time, both women and men still considered women as fully responsible for reproductive work. Men were also more likely to overestimate the amount of reproductive work they do. Men who helped more with reproductive work were either the husbands of women leaders or of women entrepreneurs.

Value Chain Stage: Product Value Add and Marketing in SMEs

The gender equality tasks at this stage in the value chain focused on changing how SMEs managed both technological processes and labour. For example, at the final evaluation, 88% of women and 77% of men think there should be equal pay for equal work. While the project shifted the opinions of SME board members as regards women's contribution, overall gender changes to support women labourers were mixed. The final external evaluation showed that the more interaction and gender equality training boards have had, the more likely they were to undertake gender equity measures in labour management. By the end of the project, leaders in women-only SMEs showed a high degree of self-appreciation for their work while men in mixed-sex SMEs appreciated women's ability to add economic value to households.

Gender issues in labour management remain. The bulk of seasonal hires are women, and wage gaps for both permanent and seasonal work still exist. For example, at one SME male seasonal workers earn on average BOB 60-70 per day while women earn BOB 35-45. Gaps are justified along traditional gender lines of men doing “heavy” work as a main breadwinner and women doing “fine” work as supplementary labour. The final external evaluation also noted an ongoing issue with the difference between new equipment acquired under the business plan either making women’s work easier or rendering them redundant.

The project has seen some increase in women’s involvement in cooperative marketing, although their degree of involvement depends on the SME and the degree to which women are already involved on boards and as active members.

This shows that while the project was able to change women’s and men’s attitudes regarding women’s economic contribution to SME processes, it was not able to turn the attitude change into a practice change.

3.4.2 Ethiopia

Neither baseline nor mid-term data collection activities included a rigorous enough gender analysis of value chain activity to determine the extent to which women were increasingly participating in key valued processes. The mid-term report did show an increase of 37% in women’s income generating activity. At the time 49% of women interviewed indicated that they earned more than their husbands and 31% said they earned about the same.

By endline, 64% of women and 71% of men were engaging in off farm activities, an increase of 14 percentage points since mid-term for women. Women’s average monthly income from these activities was double the men’s. Seventy percent of all project beneficiaries indicated that they were adding value to their products, but mostly on-farm and at the most upstream stages of the value chain. While participation and training numbers showed that stronger beneficiaries were increasingly becoming VSLA group leaders or business promoters, the number of women taking on these roles remained small. For example, of 102 VSLA promoters, only 38 are women. Only 3% of beneficiaries (women and men) are linked to the kinds of MFI financing that are related to small or medium (rather than micro-) entrepreneurship.

The results from Ethiopia shows that while addressing gender dynamics in access, control and decision-making at the household level may be enough to increase and strengthen women’s economic activity so as to improve household food security, it is not enough to address gender issues in higher stages of value chains. In the original project analysis and rationale for Abdishe, CARE noted that one of the reasons why women are chronically food insecure and why there is a high level of dependency on PSNP is women’s and men’s inability to sustainably link into vibrant markets. While project activities were able to address some of the household reasons for this, they were less able to address issues related to weak and gender unequal markets.

3.4.3 Ghana

One of Promise’s key goals was to inculcate women in successively more profitable sections of the soybean and cowpea value chains. The baseline market analysis showed that while women were involved

in soybean and cowpea production, most aggregation, value addition and wholesale and retail sales were done by men or companies owned by men. In the end, Promise was unable to produce sufficient value chain or gender equality data to compare progress in this area against this baseline. Existing data shows that while the project was able to increase women's involvement in and some benefit from the most upstream processing activities in the value chain, it was unable to support or organize women to participate in activities beyond the farm gate.

Value Chain Stage: Crop Production and Processing

Project information notes the high ratios of women involved in soybean and cowpea crop production and processing. The final external evaluation calculates that women are making a 45% profit on the crops they sell and between 79% and 89% profit on other value added activities related to the two crops.

Value Chain Stage: Home-based Soy Processing into Foodstuffs for Village Level Sales

Information from the Universal Tool shows that home processing value added activities, represented by dawadawa in Table 7,¹ are of some increasing importance in women's overall economic activity.

Table 7: East Mamprusi Types of Business by Sex, 2013 and 2016 Compared

Type of Business	2013		2016	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
petty trade	27%	17%	20%	20%
farming	19%	67%	20%	50%
dawadawa	4%	0%	20%	0%
soy processing	12%	0%	13%	0%
pito brewing	0%	0%	13%	0%
chop bar	4%	0%	7%	0%
shea butter	27%	0%	7%	0%
seamstress	4%	0%	0%	0%
animal rearing	4%	8%	0%	10%
fuel	0%	4%	0%	0%
herbalist	0%	4%	0%	10%
motor king taxi	0%	0%	0%	10%

There was little change in the gendered trend in which men rely on agriculture as a primary line of business while women rely on a variety of traditionally acceptable income generating opportunities. The table does show an increase in one activity related to the soybean and cowpea value chains, dawadawa processing. During the project, a select number of women were taught on how to make soy kebabs, supplement for baby food and related products using soy as an additive. Reports indicate that some women were able to increase the amount of value added soy or cowpea goods that they sold, but outside of individual examples and quotes such as the one featured here, the project has no overall data to indicate the extent to which women are participating in or benefitting from these activities.

¹ The sample size for 2016 data is extremely small. Because data for 2013 was available only from East Mamprusi, data from the same region was extracted from the overall 2016 sample that covered both regions.

Value Chain Stage: Cleaning, Sorting and Aggregating Soy for Sale to Commercial Buyers

The goal of the project was to group women into selling collectives that would contract with local commercial suppliers. This was to be a substitute to the current value chain stages in which subsequently larger aggregators buy raw beans for sale to commercial processors. Women's economic activity in this area of the value chain did not come to pass as part of the project.

I make huge profits from the sale of soybean products such as dawadawa. I even send some dawadawa to an agent in Kumasi who sells everything and returns my money to me."

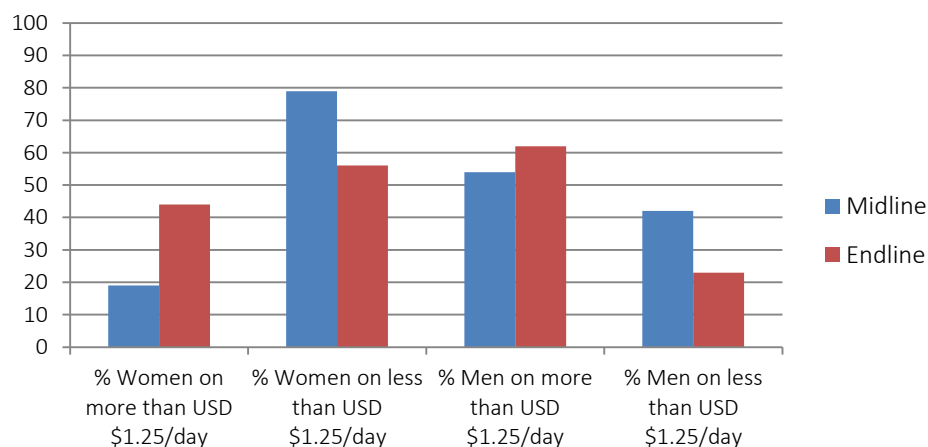
~ Mariam, Bantafaragu

Results from Ghana show similar lacunae as those from Ethiopia. By working with women to produce more soy and turn it into high-protein food products for consumption, the project has met certain food security goals, but it has not met women's *economic* empowerment goals at multiple stages of the value chain. Just as this would have meant working on off-farm market activities and linkages in Ethiopia, it would have meant inculcating women in soybean and cowpea aggregation, value addition and wholesale activities beyond the village level.

3.4.4 Mali

Much of the rich gendered value chain analysis data that was reported on at midline was not collected at endline in Mali. The most significant indication of how access, control and participation dynamics lead to gender unequal outcomes in the Segou region comes from the percentage of women and men living on less than USD \$1.25 per day. When comparing the change from midline to baseline as shown in Chart 4, there is a clear positive trend for women, with +25% more women living on more than USD \$1.25 per day at endline compared to midline, versus an +8% increase for men across the same period. The overall gender gap at endline is 18% more men living on more than USD \$1.25 per day than women, versus 33% more women than men living on less than USD \$1.25 per day.

Chart 4: Evolution of Women and Men on USD \$1.25 per day (2014-2016)



In line with this trend, PMF data notes that 63% of women and 34% of men increased their income from baseline. Project staff cite the primary factors resulting in women's increased income as women

developing new IGAs, such as selling produce from their market gardens alongside their usual activities such as petty trading and cattle rearing, in addition to lower cereal purchasing costs courtesy of the cereal banks and the increased supply of agricultural equipment to increase harvest yields.

As per Mali's gender theory of change, if women are able to control sufficient amounts of capital and profits, their spending habits over time should reflect an ability to increasingly invest in productive expenses. Looking at data from the Universal Tool presented in Table 8, we can see that at endline significant gaps remain in women spending their profits on non-remunerative items, such as clothes and social events, far more commonly than men. As was seen in other LINKAGES countries, gendered patterns of reinvestment remain, with men investing more significantly than women in agricultural inputs, and women focusing their efforts on investing in their businesses. Women and men equally report that they consistently (100% response rate of 'yes') invest in their IGAs, a significant change for men since midline.

Focusing in on changes from midline to endline, men have increased their spending on health, agricultural inputs and children's school fees at a far higher percentage rate than women. This is in contrast to rolling profile statements that note that it is the women who take sick children to the community health centre and pay for consultations and medication, and women reporting that what they earn in terms of revenues is used for household expenses. Note that this data does not take into account proportional spending on each expense item but rather whether profits are spent (yes or no) in each of these expense areas.

Table 8: How are spending habits changing? What do you spend your profits on?

Type of Expense	Midline Women, in %	Endline Women, in %	% Change from midline	Midline Men, in %	Endline Men, in %	% Change from midline
Reinvest back into an IGA	91	100	9	77	100	23
Clothes	85	56	-29	46	19	-27
Food	80	77	-3	77	79	2
Social events (marriages, funerals, MJT)	63	60	-3	15	21	6
Children's health	57	58	1	67	85	18
Agricultural inputs	30	33	3	40	51	11
Children's school fees	28	31	3	46	62	16
Parents' health	28	31	3	67	87	20

Taken together, these data points indicate the project's success in progressing women's income relative to men, albeit the shallow depth of change around spending habits and women's ability to invest in productive resources raises questions regarding the sustainability of these changes.

3.5 Decision-making Over Profit and Income

3.5.1 Bolivia

Decision-making over profit happened at two places in the Tukuy Yanapana project, at household level, in deciding on how overall household income (including income from SME activities) was spent, and at SME level, in deciding on how the share-out process is managed. At mid-term, interviews with women and men showed that household decisions around profit and income were usually taken by the "whole family." The project was in the midst of discussions with SMEs to promote women's leadership and changes to membership regulations that would potentially result in greater decision-making in the hands of women.

By endline, schemes to promote the direct payment of share-outs to women had moved somewhat, but had not made as much progress as desired. Forty percent of payments were received by men and the rest were received by either women or men. Eighty-eight percent of women and men said that they decided on what is done with share-out together. Sixty-seven percent of women said they had more decision-making power at SME meetings, although in focus groups some said they were still having trouble expressing strong opinions and participating in an informed and thoughtful way in public. Final evaluators noted women's increased decision-making around the nature of benefits, how they are distributed and to whom. At the same time, few formal SME policies to entrench equality in decision-making exist. In other words, women's increased decision-making remains dependent on their physical presence and participation in SME activities rather than on formal policy statements or overall organizational political will to more gender equal power dynamics.

3.5.2 Ethiopia

Data from the baseline illustrated key ways in which women were unable to command appropriate control over the profits of their labour. By contrast, men retained privilege to not only make decisions about the proceeds of key agricultural and business activities, but also about the inputs into and benefits from women's labour. By mid-term women were able to control assets that they had acquired with their own income. The endline took some measurement of decision-making data, but it is difficult to gauge the extent to which gendered power dynamics in this area have shifted significantly towards equality due to the type of indicators and data collection methods used.

The only mid-term to endline comparable data shows a gain in women's power in decision-making by 0.52 points on a mean scale of 1 to 4 points, with gains in making decisions about the money the woman herself earns or use of her own savings. Qualitative data stresses women's greatly increased role in making decisions, and men's change to take their wives' opinions into account or to include women as equal decision makers in key household affairs. Again, both male and female beneficiaries link this change to women's greater technical knowledge, control of assets and subsequent ability to contribute to household security.

Unfortunately, the only other endline data on decision-making challenges these claims somewhat. At mid-term, 65% of women said they independently made decisions about their own economic enterprises and 76% indicated that they participated equally in agricultural input and output decision-making. Table 9 consolidates partial information provided by the external evaluation to show that women's actual degree of autonomous decision-making at endline was still low in a number of key areas. Related qualitative narrative is ambiguous in its descriptions of power dynamics during "joint" decision-making.

Table 9: Gender Dynamics in Farm Management and Decision-making

Subject of Decision	Decision Made Jointly	Decision Made by Woman Autonomously	Decision Made by Man
to trade grain	67%	13%	20%
to trade livestock	75%	25%	
how to use the income from cows		78%	
how to use the income from goats		92%	
how to use the income from household enterprises	67%		
how to use the income from livestock products and annual plants		46%	
how to use the income from crop products		19%	

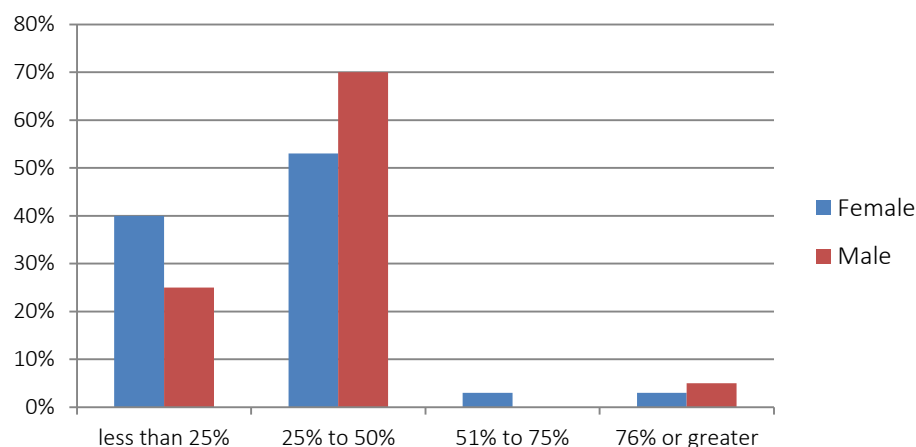
Even though questions remain about the depth and breadth of change towards ultimate decision-making equality, evidence shows that change has been strong enough in the project area for women and men to begin to start comparing gender change in terms of the old culture and the new culture. In other words, women and men are beginning to talk about structural change. Women describe an increase in their own confidence and knowledge of what is due to them. Men describe a greater ability to listen and take what wives say as legitimate. Both sexes are more likely to define valued assets (including land) as held in common and to acknowledge women's right to make decisions about this property. Beneficiaries label this as part of a new culture in which men help with household chores, recognize women's importance in breadwinning and acknowledge women as farm managers. Again, as the learning research report notes, gains in each of the areas of access, control and decision-making become part of a virtuous cycle where the more control or decision-making power women have, the more they are able to produce food security or economic results that then provides them with more control and decision-making power.

3.5.3 Ghana

It is once again difficult to draw conclusions on the extent to which decision-making relations have changed in the project area. Although data collection methods and quality improved over the last year of the project, the data set against which this improved data needs to be compared remains weak.

The percentage of profit reinvested back into the business is used as a proxy indicator of decision-making on the assumption that women with strong decision-making power will be able to reinvest sufficient amounts back into their businesses (rather than turning these amounts over to their husbands). Mid-term data shows that women had increased the amount of profits they reinvested in their business from 19% to 25% in East Mamprusi. This compares with endline data shown in Chart 5, where more men than women invest 25% to 50% of their profits back into their businesses and more women than men invest less than this.

Chart 5: Percentage of Profit Reinvested Back into the Business



The Universal Tool asks women and men what they spend their profits on in order to determine if women are able to invest sufficiently in productive activities. Mid-term data from East Mamprusi showed that women and men both spent profits on health care, housekeeping and school fees, but men dis-invested in business while maintaining high levels of investment in agriculture. Women were increasingly investing in business but decreasing their investments in agriculture.

Table 10: What do Women and Men Spend the Profits of Their Businesses On?

What are Profits Spent on?	Women	Men
reinvest back into the business	73%	70%
health care for children	37%	10%
school fees	37%	40%
health care for self	33%	15%
clothes	27%	5%
agricultural inputs	20%	55%
health care for spouse	3%	10%

As Table 10 shows, the trend at endline (aggregate for both districts) showed similar gendered patterns of reinvestment. Men invested much more than women in agricultural inputs and women invested heavily in business. In contrast to the mid-term data, men invested almost as much as women in their business and did not invest at all in reproductive activities. There is no qualitative reason provided for men's dis-investment in reproductive care.

Baseline data showed about 33% of women autonomously making decisions about household income derived from selling farm produce. Data from the Universal Tool at endline (see Table 11) confirms this high degree of women's autonomy in decision-making, with 44% of women either deciding themselves or having the final say after consultation and another 13% signaling that decision-making is equal. Fifty percent of men signal that decision-making is equal and 30% signal either autonomy or "final say." This shows a shift from the mid-term data gathered in East Mamprusi only, which suggested a slight

retrenchment into traditional decision-making patterns where men exhibit high degrees of autonomy and “power up” consultation and women’s autonomy and use of the power of the weak has shifted towards a potentially gender blind understanding of doing business “for the good of the family.”

Table 11: How Do You Make Decisions? What is Your Power Position?

Scale of Decision-making Responses	Women	Men
Autonomy: I have say over income because I am a single head of household.	20%	0%
Autonomy: I decide on how to spend the money independently of my husband.	27%	20%
Respectful independence: I consult with others, but make the final decision.	17%	10%
Gender equality: For small needs I can decide by myself, but for others my husband and I discuss together. Even if he has different opinions from me, we express our views freely and he respects my knowledge and judgement. In the end, we find a solution that meets my needs and his.	13%	50%
Power of the weak: I discuss with my husband. He may have suggestions. If they are good, I take them. If his suggestions are not the best, I use some means to avoid taking them.	27%	20%
Compulsion: With my business profits, my husband (or other) and I discuss. Even if I have some different ideas about how to spend the money, his say is greater than mine so I must take his advice.	0%	0%
Gender blind: My profits are for the good of my family.	0%	5%
Gender blind: Society says that a woman should spend money on her children and her house, so that is what I do.	0%	0%

Although, again, it is difficult to draw comparisons with the mid-term situation because information collected using this tool was highly ambiguous, the results here show some shift towards women’s increased independence or autonomy in decision-making and men recording a high degree of equality in decision-making. Results also show that women and men do not hold the same perceptions of exactly how equal the gender dynamic is in decision-making. Women are much more likely to record that they are deciding as independent agents or using the power of the weak. Men are much more likely to record a type of equality that women feel they have not yet reached.

While these data points show women’s relatively strong ability to make key decisions on their own, this data seems overly optimistic given the cultural context, the outcomes of control data discussed above, and given that the research report continues to describe household decision-making as male dominated. In reflective learning conversations, LINKAGES staff from all five countries involved have identified a strong need for decision-making measurement and analysis tools that are somehow both nuanced and easy to apply in future programming.

3.5.4 Mali

One of the most significant changes observed in Mali over the life of the project is that of the positive increase in gender equal decision-making since midline, as shown in Table 12. This was the greatest change for both men (+32%) and women (+21%) from midline, and at endline was the most common response for men. In addition, for

Relations

Women and men are listening to one another and making decisions in a gender equal way.

women, traditional inequality experienced the greatest drop (-18%) from midline and more women (35%) than men (26%) are now reporting that they are making respectfully independent decisions. Ultimately, this demonstrates significant progress in gender equal relations within the household and men's growing respect for women's autonomy and voice in decision-making.

Table 12: Mali Decision-making Scales (2014-2016)

	Scale of Decision-making Responses	Midline % of Women Responding	Endline % of Women Responding	% Change from Midline to Endline	Midline % of Men Responding	Endline % of Men Responding	% Change from Midline to Endline
6.1	Autonomy: I decide how my business profits are used myself.	24	33	9	8	9	1
6.2	Respectful independence: I inform my partner out of respect.	17	35	18	27	26	-1
6.3	Consultation with choice: I consult my partner but I also have the choice to take their advice or not.	22	29	7	25	28	3
6.6	Gender equality: My partner and I discuss together, each of us is heard and feels respected, and both of our needs are met in the end.	2	23	21	0	32	32
6.4	Compulsion: I consult my partner, and I must take their opinion when they give it.	9	10	1	0	2	2
6.5	Traditional inequality: My partner has final say over key profit or business management decisions.	26	8	-18	19	17	-2

Qualitative data provided by rolling profiles further verifies that there is more equal decision-making between husbands and wives, yet also highlights ongoing gender divisions as per the context of decision-making. Men and women are reported as discussing much more at the household level, with men making more space for women with regard to household management and an increased recognition that women's support is essential to a harmonious household; men also express more openness to assisting their wives with their household tasks, such as fetching water or chopping wood. However, there is

Currently my relationship with my wife is very good thanks to the awareness campaigns conducted by the project. Together we share a lot. Before, I did not dialogue with my wife, or take care of the children even if their mother was sick. But sensitisation made me understand the best practices... By adopting these practices, I left behind me all the bad practices that prevented the development of my household.

~ Kalilouc, Tongué

a general sense that although women have access to household resources, the decisive control and authority rests with the husband. For example, the husband will make decisions around business, agricultural household activities, including what cereal to sell and how much, and will have the agricultural equipment in his name but accessible for his wife to use upon request. In line with this, women make the decisions around nutrition, health and cooking and meals, with the gender stereotype that women are the 'carers' and that '*domestic tasks are for women*' for the most part remaining heavily entrenched. This latter point could also explain women's increasing dietary diversity within the household, specifically the positive change from midline to endline, as they hold the power in this regard.

In addition, as previously mentioned with regard to access to and control of agricultural resources, the rolling profile data indicates that men appear more open to allowing women more freedom and decision-making power when it leads to increased income for the household. As one woman notes, '*...formerly, women leaders and entrepreneurs had problems with their husbands when they were involved in activities or doing business outside of the village. Indeed, men did not agree with their movements. But now most men have begun to understand the consideration of gender to develop the household and the community.*' Men retain control of the household plots, those of the most importance and value, and will allow women to manage their own plots of land and spend time on their businesses.

Such gendered patterns of decision-making suggest limited structural change around social norms and an ongoing tension within households between progressing women's rights and adhering to the traditional customs, where it is the role of the wife to obey her husband in all respects. Although there have been positive changes with regard to husband and wife relations around decision-making at the household level, sustainable structural changes around social norms and gender stereotypes have not yet been observed.

3.6 Engagement With Business Collectives and BDSPs

3.6.1 Bolivia

From the beginning of the project, Tukuy Yanapana engaged SMEs on gender issues in governance, technical capability, women's participation and similar issues. By mid-term, some women in specific SMEs had improved their positions within the collectives themselves as well as in value chains, and felt more confident in negotiation, public leadership and networking. Endline results show that the project used a strong combination of good gender practices to attempt to shift relatively intractable gender inequalities in collective governance, planting the seeds for deeper change in the future.

Tukuy Yanapana used an intentional series of participatory and iterative activities to engage SME governance bodies on gender issues. Using action learning research and gender analysis, for example, the project engaged SMEs to include gender equity measures in bylaws, internal regulations, organizational structures, wage policies, board membership and technical roles.

SMEs amended their bylaws or internal regulations to be more gender responsive by revising bylaws to incorporate elements of national gender equality policy, referring to gender equality as a cooperative principle, promoting women's attendance at meetings, and opening up registration to allow women to represent households even where male heads are present. Some SMEs created a provision so that the chair or presidency of the board or similar high offices rotates between women and men. Larger SMEs attempted to hire or retain equal numbers of women and men on staff, eventually retaining two women and six men as managers and ten women and six men as technical staff. In the last year of the project, 58% of women participated in meetings, 13% did not participate and 29% participated occasionally (there is no comparative baseline data). Of the 21 SMEs working with the project on an ongoing basis, 44% of the offices for all SMEs and 32% of offices in mixed-sex SMEs were held by women in 2016.

Structure

SMEs have begun to change their governance structures and operations to include equity measures.

The governance changes that the project attempted to bring in took greater or lesser hold over the project lifetime. In terms of attitudes, 91% of those surveyed for the final external evaluation stated that women can be board members, while the rest indicated that women are afraid and men have stronger leadership skills. Fifty-eight percent of women and 61% of men noted that women leaders perform their duties "just like men." In terms of practice, SMEs with a more mixed executive were more likely to attempt to address gender issues in governance with the project. While some SMEs did change their membership rules, in others the majority of women remain "alternate" members who substitute for husbands, rather than members in their own right. Participation in project activities may have been divided along traditional in some SMEs, with women more likely to attend gender equality training or meetings and men more likely to attend governance and technical meetings. Some SME committees showed low political will to make changes (on the part of men) or to take on extra responsibility (on the part of women). The final external evaluation noted that slow uptake of gender equal governance is conditioned by the extent to which board members or leaders had exposure to gender concepts in the past, and to which town rules or municipal policies that govern the SMEs allow for women's participation.

Married women can now enroll as main members (not only widows or single women). The organization used to have three or four women who were main members, now there are 11. In regular meetings only those main members present have voting rights and alternates are allowed to speak. In extraordinary meetings both main and alternate members have speaking and voting rights. Now men go to one meeting and women go to another. It is hard to get them both to participate because the cattle must not be left unwatched. Now men stay with the cattle and women attend the meetings. We changed (the day of) the meeting to Saturday or Sunday when children can take care of the cattle.

~ APA President

Addressing gender issues in the governance of business collectives is one of the toughest challenges in women's economic empowerment work because it requires a savvy combination of practical and technical skill building to produce short-term change while addressing deep rooted social inequalities over the long term with individuals who have little internal motivation to challenge the status quo. Tukuy Yanapana is the only LINKAGES project to have intentionally and continuously addressed these issues,

sometimes requiring CARE Bolivia staff to exert themselves beyond their own gender comfort zones and to learn about the best way to engage men and address gender issues in the business world. Given the toughness of this challenge, the results shown here, even though they are mixed, are significant enough to indicate significant progress under this outcome.

3.6.2 Ethiopia

Mid-term data showed a trend in which women were increasingly participating in non-traditional agriculture activities and support groups that were run by the project (as lead farmers, linkers, VSLA members or community trainers).

Data that rigorously measures progress between mid-term and endline is thin. The project was able to consolidate a number of BDSP links beyond the bounds of the project by linking some VSLA members to a rural savings and credit cooperative (RUSACCO). Rolling profile data shows that some trailblazing women are linked into MFIs, the Hamaressa Edible Oil Share Company and other types of higher-level, traditionally male-dominated BDSPs. Reports describe savings or credit groups and community agriculture or garden groups providing significant numbers of women (alongside men) with training, technical advice, and business development services and links to government services. Community members (not sex-disaggregated) indicate that there is a general improvement in BDSPs' ability to publically recognise the needs of and support women as farmers and entrepreneurs. Staff have observed that where actors have had exposure to gender equality concepts, and where women are demonstrating greater agency (partially a result in decision-making changes at home), they are increasingly able to participate in or increasingly visible in off-farm stages of local value chains.

3.6.3 Ghana

It is the Promise project's ability to form women into collectives in order to sell soybeans and cowpeas and attain better business development services that formed the lynchpin of circumventing intermediary aggregators and involving women in more valuable stages of the value chain. In the end, the project made almost no progress in this regard.

At baseline, 80% of women in Garu-Tempene and 30% of women in East Mamprusi received support to produce and market soybeans from the SMC or other BDSPs, but the dominant trend was for individual women (or their husbands) to sell bags of soybean at the farm gate to small aggregators who sold to larger aggregators until selling to a wholesale processor. By mid-term, the project had linked a few individual women soybean and cowpea farmers to two NGOs, Azure Farms and Asumkpat, to provide agricultural inputs, traction and transportation services.

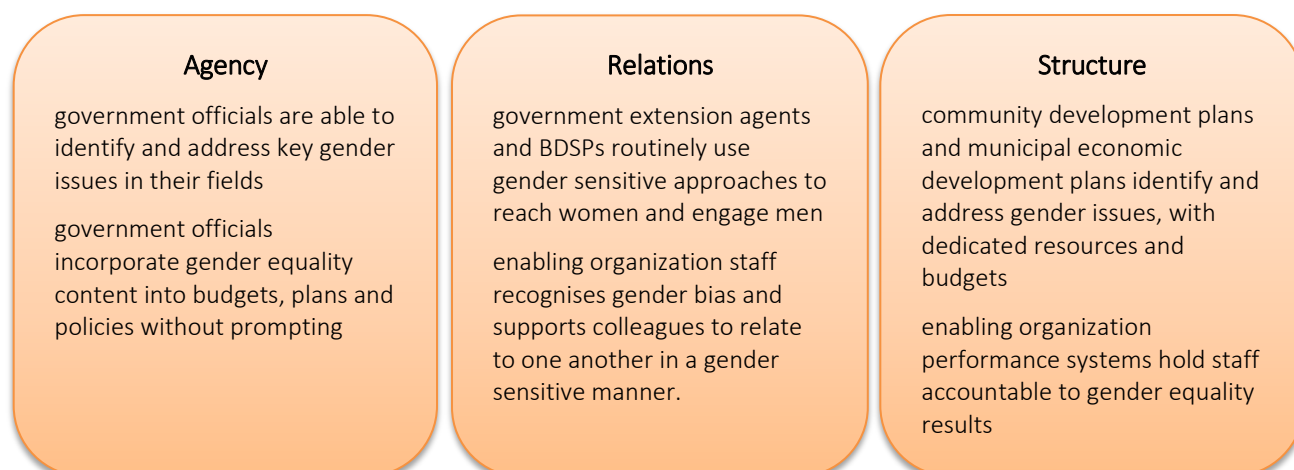
In the final year of the project, Promise trained women's collective leaders in lobbying, negotiation and advocacy. It set up market research meetings between the Ghana Grain Council, Ghana Nut, Yedent, Vester Oils, SMC and Fara Naya and women producers, but only SMC signed a purchase agreement with farmers for the 2015 season. The project supported three women to become micro-dealers in East Mamprusi. Seventy-seven producers' groups opened bank accounts and seven of these received loans to strengthen production and processing.

The project formed two women's aggregation and selling collectives, but these collectives have encountered two challenges. First, women are still not able to produce and aggregate enough legumes to

satisfy the contracting requirements of most buyers. Women have not been able to form strong trust and collective bonds necessary to act as a business collective, and, although grouped, still sell individually. Second, market linkage activities were only begun in the last six months of the project. This means that even though women are grouped, these groups have nowhere to sell to. In this regard, there is a risk of gender harmful programming when poor and food insecure women use their scant time and agricultural assets to engage in collective marketing activities without a guaranteed market. Therefore, it is important to initiate linkage activities within the first six months of a project and ensure that a market will provide a strong return on the women's investment.

Universal Indicator #3: Enabling organizations exhibit at least two characteristics of a gender sensitive organization

LINKAGES uses standard gender audit categories and benchmarks to determine the extent to which enabling organizations are gender sensitive. Adapted for the women's empowerment framework, some of these benchmarks include the following.



3.7 Organizational Capacity to Address Gender Issues

3.7.1 Bolivia

In the first years of the project, Tukuy Yanapana engaged in a number of action learning research initiatives with the Faculties of Sociology and Economy of the Sucre University that looked at the value of women's unpaid labour in business, the division of labour and determinant factors that influence change in women and men's role in the value chains. This, plus information collected using the universal tools and other gender analyses was used to ground gender work in reality and to carry out action learning research and reflective activities.

Twelve women and 16 men took part in inter-municipal exchanges between Municipal Governments and SMEs on local economic development. Although there was an attempt to increase women's participation and visibility at the municipal level through mentorship and soft lobbying, in the end numbers shifted very little.

The national economic development guide includes a number of mentions or directives to “take gender equality into account” [CARE’s emphasis]. In other words, while the guide now inserts the phrase “gender equality” into strategic locations (including analysis and accountability sections), there is no real content or elaboration of the specific gender issues in municipal development or how they will be addressed. Similarly, the municipal laws do not allocate resources to gender equality-driven economic activities, nor to women-only economic activities, but they do require that tripartite meetings will discuss gender issues and that success and accountability measures include gender equality indicators. Given the baseline gender awareness of municipal staff, planners and lawmakers, getting gender equality mentioned this way in laws or national planning guidance is a strong first step, but it falls short of the project expected result to engender planning guidelines with a focus on securing a funding quota for women’s organizations.

Perhaps more successful in shifting the gender dialogue were the tripartite meetings, where SMEs were able to hold municipal councils accountable for the commitment to take gender into account.

3.7.2 Ethiopia

By mid-term, Abdishe had made some fairly significant gains in strengthening the Women, Children and Youth Affairs Office (WYCAO) and linking it to counterpart line agencies. Line agencies revived embedded gender equality functions and began to strengthening reporting and liaising on gender work both internally and with the WCYAO. Abdishe’s emphasis on gender sensitive and transformational programming, along with its close links with the WCYAO, has strengthened the legitimacy of Women’s Affairs in the eyes of peer line agencies and catalysed its work.

By endline, Woreda line agency offices had strengthened their gender equality reporting to compare progress against their sectoral gender equality mandates. The WCYAO continues to note a change in attitude where other line agencies are taking ownership for gender equality results rather than leaving women’s empowerment programming to the WCYAO. Project female beneficiaries are also noting that line agency service deliverers are increasingly recognising women’s roles in food security and are to some extent working to increase women’s access to financial and extension services.

“The burden of speaking on behalf of women’s rights was exclusively considered to be the task of our sector. However, after the Abdishe project, we have seen tremendous change in those major development sectors such as agriculture, health, education, and SMEs. There were significant changes in the attitude and practical commitment of each sector in terms of planning and implementing gender inclusive development activities. The justice sector has also been undertaking planned measures in order to protect the rights of women and girls.”

To engage government counterparts and other enablers in gender issues, CARE Ethiopia used a variety of techniques such as cascade training, jointly providing extension or other training to village women and men, direct and indirect training and awareness raising at government offices, holding gender equality discussions in multi-stakeholder platforms, and joining with Haramaya University and the WCYAO as local experts. Although direct measures of government service providers’ attitudes do not exist, staff observation and qualitative testimony demonstrates that enablers are more aware of women’s activity and needs in the public sphere, and of their right to be there. Enablers have been able to reinforce gender equality messages regarding household access, control and decision-making, and have started to respond to the demands of increasingly empowered and publically engaged women. As with Bolivia, while gender change in this area

is ongoing, it is significant enough for a project the size and scope of LINKAGES and to support household level changes predicted through the theory of change.

3.7.3 Ghana

In the end, project interaction with the value chain governance and enabling environment was piecemeal and started too late to effectively address gender issues in a sustainable way. The project worked with traditional authorities, assembly members, university departmental heads and women leaders to raise awareness of gender equality myths and women's rights. Anecdotes show some individual changes in behavior, but there is no robust evidence showing the effect of this programming on changes in the enabling environment.

The project provided gender equality awareness raising and planning training to D/As staff within the first 12 and last six months. This included two different types of training in gender equality advocacy for assembly persons and women leaders and training on gender mainstreaming in planning for assembly persons and department heads (in the latter, 67% were men). Because the women's collective groups were not formed and the A/Cs were not functional, there were no instances of collective and multi-stakeholder lobbying.

Work on gender equality planning with the D/As in the project's final six months shows that enablers are willing to engage on gender issues. After training, D/As replicated training at the community level and began to consult communities about women's needs. For example, the Garu-Tempane D/A worked with women as well as men to analyse design and construction of a local market. District plans incorporated priorities that village women had identified in participatory community planning, including institutional latrines, classroom blocks, and entrepreneurship training for women.

"Ever since I came to this district, this is the first time such training has been conducted for assembly members. We need more of these programmes"

~ Mr. Kelly, Deputy Planner of EM D/A

Given the lack of consistent activity in this area or strong results management, it is difficult to determine the extent to which an increased and more gender aware enabling environment contributed to women's greater economic empowerment at higher levels of the soybean and cowpea value chains.

3.7.4 Mali

Qualitative data from rolling profiles suggests that women are increasingly representative in decision-making bodies and have more equal access to the same positions of responsibility as men do. For example:

- 50% of women are represented in the school management committees and in the community health associations (ASACO);
- 8% (100/173) of village leaders are women, compared to 6% at baseline;
- Participation in the community food security planning processes was 64% women and 36% men; and
- Women's groups set up 26 nutritional funds for the prevention and management of malnutrition through the facilitation of nutritional demonstration sessions at the community health centres and through household visits across 71 villages.

As to the quality of women's involvement in these organizational bodies, and in turn the changes in the enabling environment, again the qualitative data looks promising. Men and women beneficiaries report that women's voices are heard and are becoming increasingly important in decision-making, with their opinions considered to be on an equal footing with men's. In terms of the political will of higher local officials, the Mayor of Fatiné encourages women to participate and to not be silent, and the Mayor of Tongué wants 50% women's representation in political offices; such support is an encouraging sign in terms of sustaining the progress made thus far. At the individual commune level, in making revisions and in integrating priorities into the newly developed PDSECs, the gender dimension is noted as clearly visible in these strategic documents, with the caveat that the challenge now lies in training elected official on gender and implementation of the revised plans.

The representation of women in decision-making bodies is no longer taboo.
- Salim, village head of Cinzana

Women appear to have a much stronger leadership role and voice at the local and community levels in Mali's project areas. There is not enough data to conclude that the wider enabling environment has undergone such changes, however the project has been able to make key progress in the gender sensitisation of its key partner organisations and communities. A key constraint mentioned, however, is the illiteracy of women and a lack of confidence. There has also been an indication that women are not adequately represented at the higher municipal level due to the cultural and religious custom that a woman must submit to her husband.