



Agricultural Policy Research in Africa



SOCIAL DIFFERENCE AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COMMERCIALISATION OF AFRICAN AGRICULTURE

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ACRONYMS

ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
APRA	Agricultural Policy Research in Africa
CFS	Committee on World Food Security
CPDP	Common Property Dependent Persons
DFID	Department for International Development
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GDP	Gross domestic product
HDI	Human Development Index
ILO	International Labour Organization
IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
RAI	Principles for Responsible Investment in Agriculture and Food Systems
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WEAI	Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index

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SUMMARY



This paper was commissioned to support the research design activities of the Agricultural Policy Research in Africa (APRA) Consortium, generating new evidence on pathways to agricultural commercialisation, on the theme of social difference and women's empowerment. First, the paper explores methodological approaches and key concepts that underpin the analysis of social difference, as people move along different pathways to commercialisation. It analyses social difference in terms of gender, age, wealth, ethnicity and indigeneity, while placing special emphasis on APRA's focus of women's empowerment. Second, the paper draws on three key outcome criteria – which we identify as power relations, structures and mechanisms, and distribution of resources – to analyse APRA's hypotheses and research questions through a lens of social difference. Third, the paper explores avenues for inquiry at the level of household and community, sectoral changes and political-economic factors, bringing attention to the interconnections between individual, social structures and wider political-economic developments, and makes recommendations for research questions in these areas.

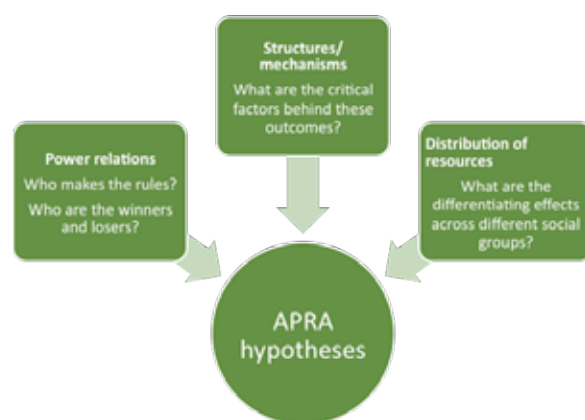
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This paper was commissioned to support the research design activities of the Agricultural Policy Research in Africa (APRA) Consortium, generating new evidence on pathways to agricultural commercialisation. APRA's central question asks: *What are the pathways to agricultural commercialisation that have been most effective in empowering women and girls, reducing rural poverty and improving nutrition and food security?* The Consortium explores the diverse ways in which different people engage with processes of agricultural commercialisation – including smallholder, contract farming and large-estate arrangements – along value chains, from production to processing to marketing. It also examines the consequences as people step out, step up, hang in and drop out along various pathways to commercialisation over time, and the risks and benefits this presents for different people. This paper, commissioned during APRA's inception phase, contributes to the research design of six country case studies to be conducted in Ghana, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Malawi and Zimbabwe.

First, the paper explores methodological approaches and key concepts that underpin the analysis of social difference, as people move along the pathways to commercialisation. While discussing a range of categories associated with social difference, including gender, age and generation, wealth, ethnicity and indigeneity, the paper places special emphasis on APRA's focus of women's empowerment. Second, the paper analyses APRA's overarching hypotheses and research questions through a lens of social difference by drawing on three key outcome criteria, which we identify as power relations, structures and mechanisms, and distribution of resources (Figure 1).

Figure 1 Outcome criteria for analysing social difference in APRA



Source: Authors' own

This approach draws attention to the interconnections between individual agency, social structures and wider political-economic developments. The paper explores: avenues for inquiry at the level of household and community, including changes in household incomes, care work and diets, land tenure security and access to the commons; sectoral changes in membership of labour organisations and access to high-value food chains and global markets; and political-economic factors, such as the effects of regulation of cheap food imports and investment in public goods. Finally, it recommends a set of key research questions on social difference and women's empowerment for household questionnaires, stakeholder interviews and focus group discussions.

1.2 Methodological issues

This paper proposes a methodological framework drawing from broad approaches that have been developed throughout the mainstream and gender literature on agricultural commercialisation in Africa. Whereas liberal economic frameworks tend to focus on the consequences of commercial agriculture for productivity and sustainability, recent research which has taken a political-economic perspective focuses on the dynamics of capital investment, the nature of state policies and politics, and local processes of production,

accumulation and livelihoods (Dubb, Scoones and Woodhouse 2016). Within the rich body of feminist research, Doss, Summerfield and Tsikata have identified and described three approaches to the study of gender and agricultural commercialisation, namely feminist human rights, liberal economic and political economy approaches (Doss et al. 2014: 16). These authors recommend drawing on the strengths of these various approaches when bringing a gender perspective into research on agricultural commercialisation (Dancer and Tsikata 2015: 7-8; Doss et al. 2014). This enables researchers to analyse intra-household production relations, individual agency and structural factors in the context of changes in the local agrarian and wider political economy.

Important bodies of work on the relationship between gender and agriculture in the liberal economic tradition (Meinzen-Dick et al. 2011; Quisumbing 1995) have been primarily concerned with the effects of processes of agricultural commercialisation for individual economic outcomes. The approach is prominent in the current terminology of 'women's economic empowerment', as used by the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Oxfam, among many others. The individualism built into the women's economic empowerment agenda recognises that ultimately, the empowerment of large groups in society requires that many individuals unlock the 'power within' (Kabeer 1999) before they gain other kinds of power. Individual economic power, as the building block for women's empowerment, is expected to improve gender equality, boost productivity, and enable sustainability, food security and nutrition. But these relationships are not as linear or as close as might be expected, and income is not the sole determinant (Bhagowalia et al. 2015; van den Bold, Quisumbing and Gillespie 2013).

Liberal economics offers a comparatively confined conception of women's empowerment, as ultimately about change within the income, expenditure and asset domains of the domestic political economy – a narrowing of the earlier meanings of women's empowerment in development (Chopra and Müller 2016; Cornwall and Rivas 2015; Chopra, Kelbert and Iyer 2013; Eyben and Napier-Moore 2009). Liberal economists note the roles of markets and governance in shaping the environment

for women's empowerment, but do not strengthen our understanding of the mechanisms through which individual economic gain translates into empowerment for women as a group – a process of social mobilisation and transformation of ideas, interests and institutions. A key gap in the liberal economic approach to women's empowerment until recently has been the neglect of women's responsibilities for unpaid care, which we discuss further below.

More structural approaches have emerged to understanding the effects of participation in agricultural commercialisation on women's empowerment. We know that as women enter into global and other value chains in agricultural markets, the new structures of constraint (Folbre 1994) will include how those markets work to limit their bargaining power, exploit their effort, and ignore their responsibilities for the unpaid care sector (Phillips 2016, 2011). New forms of agricultural production and labour may also yield new forms of collective identity and organisational capacity for women (Dolan, Johnstone-Louis and Scott 2012; Coles and Mitchell 2011; Mbilinyi and Shechambo 2009; Dolan 2004; Mbilinyi 1988).

Work on the implications for women's empowerment of higher-order structures of constraint as they move into and up global value chains has generally applied political economy analysis to explore the relationships between globalisation, economic liberalisation and agrarian change (Tsikata 2010; Razavi 2003), as well as how these shift gender relations in the specific local context (Doss et al. 2014). In addressing APRA's central question on the effectiveness of different pathways of agricultural commercialisation in empowering women and girls, reducing rural poverty and improving nutrition and food security, we propose a methodology which mediates between feminist liberal economic and more structural political-economic approaches. The aim would be to assess the impact of economic liberalisation and agricultural commercialisation policies in the local and wider political economy on households and local communities, as well as the implications for social difference of individual empowerment and changing land and labour relations in agricultural production systems across intersecting social groups.

2. THEORIES FOR ANALYSING SOCIAL DIFFERENCE

2.1 *Social differentiation and social difference*

Studies of social relations and agrarian change in Africa have pointed to, on the one hand, local social relations that are fluid and dynamic and struggles over resources that produce social differentiation (Berry 1993). On the other hand, it has been argued that situations and processes, such as commoditisation and economic liberalisation, produce and deepen inequality and exclusion for certain social groups (Peters 2004) (see also Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2017). Theorists since Durkheim (1893) and, more recently, Parsons (1971, 1966) and Luhmann (1975, 1971), have sought to develop explanations for the emergence and tendency towards social differentiation in industrialised societies based on the operation of social systems, including households and family life. However, from a feminist perspective these systems approaches are problematic because they fail to accord significance to individualised agency. Yeatman (1990) explicitly rejects the possibility of a feminist theory of social differentiation, arguing that systems approaches are orientated to authority, in contrast to the feminist commitment to a post-patriarchal democratic culture.

This paper examines the significance of both agency and systemic and processual factors. On the one hand, questions surrounding power relations, individual empowerment and agency can assist in answering the question: Who are the winners and losers in processes of agricultural commercialisation? Equally, a discussion of structures and mechanisms draws attention to how systemic factors can also affect an individual's or a household's capacity to move along different pathways of agricultural commercialisation. In addressing dimensions of social difference, the paper emphasises the importance of an intersectional approach to the analysis of social relations and social difference at the level of individual identity, and how different social groups may shape, or become marginalised or excluded by, processes of agricultural commercialisation in practice.

2.2 *Intersectionality and African feminist theory*

A study of social difference and women's empowerment in Africa needs to draw from contemporary theories of intersectionality and African feminist theory. Both were part of the so-called 'second-wave' of feminism globally. Intersectionality theory finds its origins in the United States' multiracial feminism of the 1960s and 1970s, but was later coined as a term by critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) and developed by sociologists in the 1980s. While multiracial feminists (notably Zinn and Dill 1996) focus on the relationships between race, class and gender in structures of domination, intersectionality theorists seek to understand the complexity of interactions across multiple forms of social categories, including gender, age, class, religion, sexuality and ethnicity, in shaping social structures and matrices of inequality and oppression. Moreover, in analysing the interplay of social categories, McCall (2005) argues that it is also important to pay attention to the experiences of people who cross boundaries of constructed categories.

African feminism itself developed from the grassroots, and the African women's movement began over 40 years ago while multiracial feminism was becoming prominent in North America. By comparison with multiracial feminists, the African Feminist Forum (AFF), which was formed in 2006 by self-identifying African feminists, advocates a transformative approach for the African women's movement (Wanyeki 2007). AFF's Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists 'places patriarchal structures and social relations systems which are embedded in other oppressive and exploitative structures at the centre of [their] analysis', with a focus on the development of 'tools for transformatory analysis and action' (AFF 2006). The Charter draws attention to the interrelationship between patriarchy and class, race, and ethnic, religious and global imperialism. Therefore, whereas multiracial feminists have explored agency and resistance through intersecting structures of gender, race, class and sexuality, African transformative feminists have

gone beyond this, emphasising political economy approaches in their exploration of the interplay of intersecting social structures with patriarchy and global capitalist hegemony.

2.3 Equality and equity

A study of social difference raises questions of both equality and equity, of how these concepts are theorised, whether their aims are desirable, and how they can be measured. Development theorists are often concerned with inequality of outcomes, which are measured in terms of material wealth and overall standards of living using indicators of income or consumption. From a feminist perspective, equality indicators also need to take into account the care economy and the impact of unpaid care work (predominantly performed by women) on inequality of outcomes; however, unpaid care work is rarely measured. Beyond feminist theory, most Euro-American outcome-focused theories of equality have tended to pay little explicit attention to gender. Marxist equality theories, for example, commit to ensuring that every individual has an equal share of the particular social benefits in question. Utilitarian equality is another form of outcome-focused distributive equality; although here, resources may be distributed unequally to ensure equal treatment of everyone's interests by following a principle of 'marginal utility' (Harsanyi 1975). Some equality theorists mediate between liberty and equality. This is seen in Rawls's approach to 'justice as fairness', in which he argues for a fair distribution of resources that supports the worst-off in society to compensate for personal and social inequalities – but not at the cost of basic liberties for all (Rawls 1971). Dworkin (2000), by comparison, advocates a distribution of resources that grants every person equal concern and respect within society, without seeking to fully compensate for the consequences of inequality arising from innate individual personal characteristics.

Feminism as a broad umbrella interacts with these theories – for example, through liberal, difference or Marxist feminisms, and takes the equal legal and human rights of women and men as a core principle. However, feminists also differ in their views on what substantive equality should look like: for example, the priority that should be given to equality over freedom, over the rebalancing of power relations between the sexes, or the degree of focus on transforming patriarchal and capitalist social and economic structures – the latter being a particular hallmark of African feminism. Feminist theories based on an ethic of care rather than individual rights – notably Gilligan (1982) – take the differences between how men and women view morality as their

starting point and draw attention to the engendering of care to women, and the effects of its devaluing in social, political and economic structures.

The notion of equity in social science is concerned with principles of distributive justice whenever there is an exchange of valued social resources, whether those resources are goods, services, money, love, and so on (Cook and Hegtvedt 1983: 218). In the context of African land tenure, Whitehead and Tsikata (2003) note equity-based approaches in, for example: policy calls for the equitable reallocation of land to address the political nature of land distribution and the development implications of accumulation (World Bank 1975); the importance of women's participation in decision-making processes to promote equitable land allocation (Leonard and Toulmin 2000: 14-15); the limits of the effectiveness of statutory law in dealing with issues of discrimination and the interplay of customary and statutory laws (Karanja 1991: 131-2); the impact of social power relations on inequity in land relations; and the importance of the state as a source of equity for women's land issues (Stewart 1996).

For APRA, we propose approaching issues of equality and equity in a way which:

- **pays attention to the limitations of formal equality at the cost of ignoring inequalities of power, patriarchy, the interplay of customary and statutory laws, and differentiated social structures**
- **reflects on how the construction of overly rigid social categories by legal and socio-economic systems and by researchers themselves can lead to disempowering outcomes**
- **takes a broad approach to the concept of 'resources', which acknowledges the diversity and value of contributions to household, local agrarian and wider political economy.**

2.4 Marginalisation and exclusion

Social exclusion refers to the processes through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live (Babajanian and Hagen-Zanker 2012; Zohir 2008; Hickey and Du Toit 2007; Kabeer 2000; de Haan 1998; Bhalla and Lapeyre 1997; Rodgers, Gore and Figueiredo 1995; Silver 1994). Originating in 1960s' European public policy debates about how to explain and tackle the social effects of economic restructuring, social exclusion entered development debates in the 1990s in reaction to calls to recognise poverty as a multidimensional problem with non-material, subjective and relational dimensions (de Haan 1998; Rodgers et

al. 1995). Uses of the term vary and it has now become almost synonymous with processes and effects of marginalisation. The concepts usually imply multiple deprivations arising from mutually reinforcing practices and structures that devalue people's cultural or social beliefs, or restrict their access to economic activity or political power. These practices and structures are usually:

- **social: rules and norms that devalue or restrict ethnic and religious minorities or 'deviants' or people with disabilities;**
- **economic: prohibitions or discrimination in job markets, property rights or public services;**
- **political: weak representation, lack of voice and political organisation, majority rule that undermines minority rights; and**
- **spatial: remoteness, transience, and distance from the centre contribute to social exclusion.**

Although some question its value in developing countries in which most people subsist in poverty, social exclusion continues to be a useful concept because people who live on low and precarious incomes characteristically find it hard to participate with dignity in social, economic and political life, regardless of their social or cultural identity. At the same time, groups that lack cultural or political power tend to be poorer and more vulnerable, and less likely to be reached by public services. Social exclusion thus draws attention to the underlying structures and relations that sustain deprivation, and the dynamics through which different types of deprivation reinforce each other (Babajanian and Hagen-Zanker 2012; Bhalla and Lapeyre 1997).

In the 2000s, thinking about poverty in development took a 'political turn' and social exclusion in relation to development processes became associated with concepts like marginalisation, adverse incorporation, and intersecting or durable inequalities, which drew attention to the foundations of poverty and the factors that sustain it (Hickey 2010, 2008; Kabeer 2010; Hickey and Du Toit 2007; Green and Hulme 2005; Hulme and Shepherd 2003; Hulme, Moore and Shepherd 2001). Adverse incorporation challenges the idea that social inclusion is necessarily desirable, as development could mean economic participation on adverse terms – for instance, in precarious, demeaning or low-paid work (Hickey and Du Toit 2007). This is particularly relevant for APRA in that it draws attention to the terms (contracts, wage levels, protection) on which people are integrated into processes of agricultural commercialisation.

2.5 Women's empowerment

Rather than an outcome, empowerment is conventionally understood as a process of change through which groups that have been denied the ability to make 'strategic life choices' come to acquire that ability (Kabeer 2005). In relation to aid and international development, women and girls are understood to be disempowered because socially ascribed gender roles restrict their ability to make and enact choices, reproducing those restrictions across generations and society through gendered socialisation and institutions. Within development thinking, action to empower women and girls typically aims to relax those restrictions by empowering women and girls with respect to localised patriarchal control (for instance, Hashemi, Schuler and Riley 1996). However, processes of empowerment tend to involve complex multi-faceted change, in which gender roles and relations intersect with other social, economic, political and spatial characteristics along pathways that may be distinctly non-linear, concealed, or specific to context (Cornwall and Edwards 2010). As processes of disempowerment are shaped by the intersection of gender with class, location and other markers of social marginalisation or exclusion, men may also experience high levels of disempowerment – for instance, in relation to agriculture in developing countries (Malapit et al. 2014).

Empowerment is ultimately a process of change experienced by individual women, often starting with an awakening sense of 'the power within' (Kabeer 1999). But the methodologically individualistic conceptions of women's empowerment common to development thought and practice (for instance, Buvini and Furst-Nichols 2016) have been roundly criticised in recent years, with key arguments including that 'empowerment is... not just about improving women's capacities to cope with situations in which they experience oppression or injustice' (Cornwall and Rivas 2015: 405), and 'not only actively exercising choice, but also doing this in ways that challenge power relations' (Kabeer 2005: 14). In recent years, development thinking and practice has begun to specify the goal as 'women's economic empowerment', treating the purpose and outcome of empowerment as enabling women to gain control over incomes and access to markets (Esplen and Brody 2007). Among the limitations that are relevant for the APRA work is that such methodological individualism may fail to take into account the shared nature of the changing economic and social contexts that women face (Chopra and Müller 2016), and the ways in which patriarchy re-emerges in new forms to fit with changing social and economic conditions. As they move along different pathways of agricultural commercialisation, the

source of their disempowerment may shift from local to more global actors and factors, and the means of empowerment towards more collective and political processes (Fraser 2016; Said-Allsopp and Tallontire 2015; Baden 2013).

A related reflection on the pathways to women's empowerment is a tendency towards strictly oppositional gender binaries, in which women are pitted as a distinct group of 'victims or heroines' against oppressive male patriarchs (Cornwall and Rivas 2015). This may not accurately reflect the sources of women's disempowerment in all contexts, and it treats women's concerns as separate from or opposed to the concerns of men (Cornwall, Edström and Greig 2011), which may be unhelpful in relation to the analysis of the effects of agricultural commercialisation. A binary-oppositional view of gender minimises differences among and between women and limits the sources of disempowerment to those operating in marital and household relations. It also discounts the lessons of history, which point to the process of women's empowerment being embedded within wider movements for social justice (Cornwall and Rivas 2015; Batliwala 2007).

Measures or indicators of empowerment often judge it against the achievement of wellbeing outcomes, although such change tends to come about through concurrent gains in the resources needed to make choices, as well as the agency to take them. Measures that rely on outcomes alone tend to be imperfect (Kabeer 1999). The Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative treats empowerment as 'agency... with respect to different *domains* of life' (Ibrahim and Alkire 2007: 5). Operationalised within the Women's

Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI), this domain-based concept of agency points towards interventions or pathways that expand women's sphere of action in relation to decisions about production, control over resources, income and their time, and leadership and group membership (Alkire et al. 2012).

While the WEAI domains encompass key aspects of women's lives, in relation to the APRA research question, it is relevant that WEAI measures of empowerment do not appear to relate closely or along the expected pathways to bring about nutritional outcomes for children (Malapit and Quisumbing 2015). Autonomous access to and control of income and assets are common to the definitions and indicators of women's empowerment, and the single most important indicator of women's economic empowerment (Hunt and Samman 2016; Esplen and Brody 2007); both are also closely related to income-consumption poverty measures. However, it is increasingly clear that even using more plural understandings of empowerment, there is no constant or necessary relationship between the growth in women's personal and economic power and the nutritional status of themselves and their children (Bhagowalia et al. 2015; van den Bold et al. 2013). This relationship warrants further investigations. It also implies the need for an approach to women's empowerment that takes full account of the economic and social systems within which they live, in order to secure more enduring gains in women's power (Chopra and Müller 2016). In particular, women's empowerment requires attention both to women's productive and their reproductive labour, and to how these interact (Fontana and Paciello 2010: 19).

3. DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL DIFFERENCE IN AFRICA

3.1 Gender

Unlike biological sex, the concept of gender is relational, fluid and constituted by both locally specific and globalised social structures. Gender is defined by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) as: ‘... the relations between men and women, both perceptual and material. Gender is not determined biologically, as a result of sexual characteristics of either women or men, but is constructed socially. It is a central organising principle of societies, and often governs the processes of production and reproduction, consumption and distribution’ (FAO 1997). Gender relations also intersect with other important social relations within agrarian political economies, including class, patron–client, kinship and generation, race, nationality and local citizenship (host–stranger relations) (Tsikata 2015). Some scholars see gender as constructed through roles rather than relations. However, theories of gender roles do not account for the significance of power relations in the context of gender, or the extent of fluidity and variation of gender across cultures and time (Dancer and Tsikata 2015: 9; Connell 2005; Edwards 1983).

Gender is one of the most significant dimensions of social difference in African agriculture, because it is used to construct social power relations, asset accumulation and livelihood opportunities, both inside and outside the household. Across the types of commercial agriculture in Africa, gender differentiation can be seen in employment conditions, job opportunities, casualisation and feminisation of the workforce, as well as leadership in labour organisations and local administrative institutions. Within the household, the division of labour, responsibilities for care and reproductive activities, and control over resources including land, are often organised according to gender. It follows that marital status as part of the construction of gendered power relations plays an important part in social difference as the family steps out or up in commercial agriculture. Depending on the nature of the conjugal contract, the division of household labour and the control and use of land within a family may change, with potential shifts in control over household income and assets and increased time burdens for married women who

participate in the model. It will be important for APRA to explore the relationship between gender, marital status and shifts in household organisation and the extent of any change in care work as a consequence of people moving along different commercialisation pathways.

3.1.1 Care work

Unpaid work responsibilities are a key determinant of how and whether women enter the paid labour force. Reproductive labour or unpaid care work refers to work that is predominantly performed by women, which involves ‘close personal or emotional interaction’, and which benefits in particular infants, the elderly and the sick, who may not survive without it. Able-bodied adults (in particular men) also benefit from women’s unpaid care work.

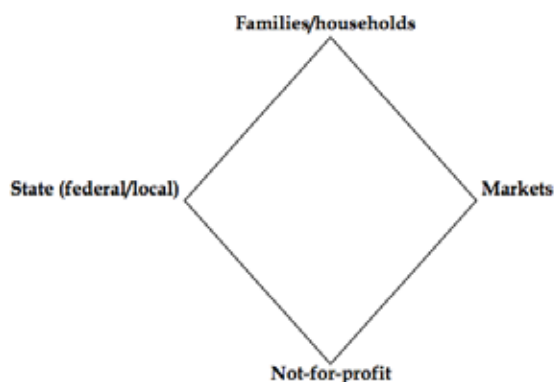
In some definitions, care may also include:

- **tasks classed as directly ‘productive’ (e.g. gathering fuel or water) but which are unpaid**
- **the ancillary tasks necessary to care for family members (for instance, by cooking, cleaning, shopping, and grooming, as well as feeding, supervising and nursing)**
- **work (or labour) within the paid economy, notably for services previously or conventionally provided by adult women but outsourced to the market or the public sector (e.g. nursing, teaching, childcare) for low wages (Folbre 2006).**

How care is provided, by whom, and at whose costs of time, effort and resources, is an important determinant of the extent to which women are likely to gain power through participation in commercialised agricultural pathways. The provision of care can be conceptualised through the ‘care diamond’, which can highlight how families (and therefore women) are responsible for its provision as compared to other providers (Razavi 2007). Feminist approaches to addressing the burden of women’s unpaid care work focus on recognising, redistributing and reducing the drudgery of such work (Fälth and Blackden 2009). For this reason, public policies in relation to public health infrastructure,

healthcare and food systems are acknowledged to play a potentially significant role in enabling women's empowerment, and are more likely to matter directly for women's empowerment than for men (Razavi 2011).

Figure 2 The care diamond



Source: Razavi (2007).

Predominantly unremunerated and performed by women across the world (Budlender 2008, 2007), in developing countries care work has been mostly invisible to policymakers, who have typically viewed it (if at all) as natural and costless (Eyben 2012). This invisibility to policymakers is not merely an oversight, as Elson has argued, but has led to a strong overall 'male bias' in approaches to rural development (Elson 1999, 1995). The responsibilities women bear for unpaid care tasks in most societies form an important part of the 'structures of constraint' within which they experience the opportunities for economic advancement through agricultural commercialisation (Folbre 1994). Women's time and energy, timetables, seasonality and locations, and the need to travel or spend significant periods away from immobile infants, elderly or sick family members shape whether and how much they are typically able to participate in income-earning work.

3.2 Age and generation

Age and generation have emerged as relevant categories of analysis of social difference in development studies, but unevenly so. Ageing and the wellbeing of older people has been the subject of attention in relation to social protection (for example, Kalache and Blewitt 2012) and nutrition (for instance, Agewell Research & Advocacy Centre 2008; Kabir et al. 2006), and attracts attention in relation to demographic shifts in the need for care provision (Apt 2002; Lloyd-Sherlock 2000). The issue of care provision across generations is also relevant to the questions being addressed by APRA, both in terms of scope for women and girls' empowerment, and for

nutrition outcomes. A particularly good example of this is the influence of grandmothers on children's nutrition (Bezner Kerr et al. 2008).

In relation to agricultural commercialisation and agrarian change, the age-related category that has attracted most interest has been youth. Rather than a strict and objectively defined category, 'youth' usually encompasses groups beyond legal childhood (usually up to age 18), sometimes stretching into the middle thirties, referring to the transitional socialisation period between childhood and adulthood (UNESCO 2016). In many societies, including developed countries, youth is seen to be extending later in life partly as a result of changing social norms, but chiefly due to how the demographic transition leads to later marriage, childbearing, and longer lifespans, and how insufficient employment opportunities delay the start of independent family life (ILO 2015; Assaad, Binzel and Gadallah 2010). In relation to African societies, youth has been a fluid social category, historically constructed, a relational concept and a distinct demographic, socioeconomic and political grouping (Durham 2000). The youth population is growing fastest in Africa (Filmer and Fox 2014), leading to concerns about mass unemployment, crime and militancy, and 'antisocial' masculinities. Concerns about 'youth' and in particular their unemployment generally imply concerns about young men: for girls and young women, the focus tends to be on early, risky and coerced sexuality in adolescence, and on the implications for disease prevalence and on pregnancy, infant mortality and early childhood development (Luke 2003).

There has been a particular focus on the aspirations of young people to exit agriculture (Sumberg et al. 2014; Sumberg et al. 2012; te Lintelo 2012; White 2012). These aspirations have been linked to, among other things, changing skill sets and educational attainment and more modern attitudes, partly due to improved access to information and communications technologies (ICTs) (Blasco and Hansen 2006). However, from the perspective of the APRA research questions, it is relevant that agro-food system change – including pressures on land, the financialisation and industrialisation of agricultural production, volatility in agricultural commodity markets, and the growth in employment in commercialised agricultural enterprises – all shape the nature and extent of youth participation in agriculture, and their attitudes towards such participation (Leavy and Hossain 2014; Anyidoho, Leavy, and Asenso-Okyere 2012; Chinsinga and Chasukwa 2012; Leavy and Smith 2010).

3.3 Wealth

In recent years, international measurements of national wealth have gradually been shifting from using national gross domestic product (GDP) (as an assessment of income) and the Human Development Index (HDI) (combining education, life expectancy and income), to a more comprehensive range of factors in the United Nations Inclusive Wealth Index. This measures a nation's wealth, taking into account three kinds of capital: human (education, skills, earning potential, life expectancy, and population); natural (fossil fuels, minerals, forest resources, and land); and produced (roads, railroad tracks, buildings, vehicles, machineries). However, while measurements of wealth at a national level have helped to identify trends in accumulation of assets and social inequalities, a lack of disaggregated wealth data at the household level has masked wealth inequalities within families, leading to an unreliable picture of the 'gender asset gap' and wealth inequality between men and women (Deere and Doss 2006).

This gender asset gap matters because, as Deere and Doss (2006) argue, there is a well-established relationship between asset ownership, reduced poverty and enhanced security. Inequalities in the share of wealth within a household have important consequences for women's empowerment and bargaining power (Agarwal 1997, 1994), as well as household wellbeing, including education, health, and food and nutrition security (Doss 2006; Thomas 1999). In Africa, the ability to accumulate wealth – whether through access to markets, marriage or inheritance of family land – is strongly gendered. Contributing factors to inequality in the labour market include the gender division of labour within the household, feminisation of the workforce and gender pay inequalities. Within families and marriages, gendered patterns of land inheritance often favour men, leading to unequal power relations in control and decision-making over the use of land. Assets brought into a marriage may legally remain vested in the original owner, or partially or entirely become part of the community of property of the marriage, depending on national, religious and customary marriage laws and traditions.

For a study of the consequences of agricultural commercialisation in Africa for social difference, it is necessary to research the distribution of wealth by gender within households. This requires not only a comparison of differences in wealth accumulation between households headed by men or women, but also an analysis of how wealth is held between husband and wife within households. Household surveys need to gather data from relevant individuals, and not assume

that a 'benevolent dictator' governs the household economy in the equal interests of all (Kabeer 1994; Evans 1991). Deere and Doss (2006) argue that the credibility of data on gendered asset accumulation at this individual level of analysis depends crucially on an understanding of marital and inheritance regimes of asset-holding in any given context, including whether laws recognise community of property or separation of property between spouses and how these relate to local customary norms for *inter vivos* transfer and bequest. For APRA, this will require a background survey of marital property laws, land tenure regimes and customary land tenure practices for each of the six country case studies, to inform the process of recording data for cross-country comparison in household surveys.

3.4 Ethnicity and indigeneity

The concepts of ethnicity and indigeneity are distinct, with ethnicity being a particularly contested and elastic concept. Both within and beyond social science, ethnicity and ethnic group has been used, for example, to replace problematic terms such as 'tribe' (Southall 1970: 47-8), or synonymously with religion, race or other social identifiers. Historically, the debate over the meaning of ethnicity has divided between primordialists and constructionists, which has been well summarised by Lentz (1995): constructionists (Elwert 1989; Banton 1983; Weber 1972; Barth 1969) argue ethnicity to be a socially constructed, historically and politically embedded concept. Some constructionists, notably Barth, see it as relational in that it exists through the development of social boundaries between members of a group and outsiders. For this reason, constructionists do not take actors' own discourses of ethnic identity as a given.

By contrast, primordialists (Van den Berghe 1983, 1981; Isaacs 1975; Shils 1957) see ethnicity in essentialist terms, linked to common ancestry, culture and language that is inherited and in turn shapes human belonging to a social group. In the field of African anthropology, Geertz (1973) extended the debate by drawing on both schools of thought. He contended that modernisation itself had led to the increasing mobilisation of 'primordial attachment' as a political mechanism for defending group interests. Exploring these theories across a number of African case studies, Lentz concludes that there can be no universal theory of ethnicity in contemporary Africa; rather, ethnic identity is historically and regionally specific (Lentz 1995). It follows that as a concept which is based on more than an extension of kinship or race, it cannot be accurately used as a substitute term for

either. It is also distinct from – although may overlap with – other social categories that denote an economic or political interest, such as wealth and class.

By comparison with ethnicity, the concept of indigeneity encompasses, in an undefined way, a number of distinctive political, social and cultural features. There is no official United Nations definition of indigeneity that attempts to encapsulate the diversity of peoples globally who may self-identify as indigenous. The International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169 (1989) on the Rights of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples does not define, but rather indicates, that it applies to:

‘(a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations; (b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.’

It was subsequently argued by the Chairperson-Rapporteur of the UN Commission on Human Rights’ Working Group on Indigenous Populations, Erica-Irene Daes, that a definition was not only inadvisable in capturing the diversity of indigenous peoples worldwide, but also ‘nearly impossible to attain in the current state of global realities, and would in any event not contribute perceptibly to the practical aspects of defending groups from abuse’ (Daes 1996: para 71). Instead, she has highlighted non-definitional factors which may be present to a greater or lesser extent in any given context. Abridged, these are: (a) priority in time, with respect to the occupation and use of a specific territory; (b) the voluntary perpetuation of cultural distinctiveness;

(c) self-identification, as well as recognition by other groups, or by state authorities, as a distinct collectivity; and (d) an experience of subjugation, marginalisation, dispossession, exclusion or discrimination, whether or not these conditions persist (Daes 1996: para 69). Notwithstanding the lack of any international definition, the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR) has identified characteristics of indigenous peoples in Africa, which have also been adopted by the African Union. Here, the focus is primarily on self-definition and self-identification of indigenous peoples and their distinct cultures and ways of life compared with other majority groups within a state. The characteristics also emphasise the risks that discrimination, domination and marginalisation pose to their way of life and access to the land and natural resources that their way of life depends on (IWGIA n.d.). By comparison with ethnicity, therefore, an important consideration for APRA is that indigeneity embodies a cultural identity intrinsically linked to the land itself, which is separate from the majority of peoples within a state.

Three of the six APRA countries include peoples who self-identify as indigenous. These include the pastoralist and hunter-gatherer communities of Ethiopia and Tanzania, and the Tshwa and Doma of Zimbabwe. In the APRA countries, pastoralists in particular have experienced violations of their rights and threats to their ways of life in various ways, including land dispossession for villagisation programmes in Ethiopia, or for commercial agriculture and other national development plans in Tanzania. Therefore, in areas where pastoralists and other indigenous peoples occupy or use land that is the subject of agricultural commercialisation, it will be important to consider indigeneity in the analysis of social difference. Here, the study should reflect on the impact that this kind of agrarian transformation has on indigenous peoples’ access to land and the social, spiritual, productive and legal values of self-identifying indigenous peoples living in these areas. Special attention should be given to the kinds of double-discrimination that indigenous women may face and, equally, the nature of participation in decision-making and other forms of empowerment that indigenous women seek for themselves.

4. ISSUES FOR RESEARCHING AGRICULTURAL COMMERCIALISATION AND SOCIAL DIFFERENCE

4.1 *Changes in household incomes, care work and diets*

4.1.1 **If demand for agricultural production increases, what happens to household incomes, care work and diets? How are these changes shaped by gender and other forms of social difference?**

A general rise in demand for agricultural production should raise agricultural prices and incomes, particularly for seasonal and casual labour. Rural wage labour markets, including ‘disguised wage’ labour arrangements such as share-cropping, have been inadequately studied in the developing world, and the extent of waged work in agrarian and non-farm sectors tends to be underestimated as a result of policy bias and statistical blindness to the diversity and dynamism of rural labour markets (Oya and Pontara 2015: chapter 1). However, what is known is that there are differential benefits in changes to employment conditions (Dolan 2004) and in practice, the impact on wages and labour conditions is heavily affected by wider labour market conditions and social norms. If there is broad unemployment or underemployment in an area, this structural factor will reduce any labour market benefit from buoyant agricultural prices (Maertens, Colen and Swinnen 2011; Selwyn 2007). The perpetuation of social norms that disadvantage certain groups, including poorer women, also means that such groups often do not experience a rise in pay or improved working conditions (Oya and Pontara 2015; Lerche 2010; Cramer, Oya and Sender 2008; Johnston 2007).

The prime beneficiaries of rising demand for rural wage labour should be those with the flexibility and strength to undertake agricultural production and its associated services for cash earnings. The strength comes from the fact that the direct beneficiaries should be mainly the young and the able-bodied, and of course those who profit from their labour. But to be flexible they need no ‘encumbrances’ of responsibility for infants or elders. Certain kinds of labour are segmented by gender in part

because of women’s other responsibilities, notably for children, which can encourage them to seek flexible and home-based work, typically low-return or piece-based. Labour recruitment often happens through existing social formations – locality, kin group, occupation – into which minority groups may be unevenly integrated. Those with connections and mobility have opportunities in a growing agro-economy, and physical access to markets may exclude more remote and indigenous populations from key distribution networks at the production level of the value chain. A process of commercialisation would typically bring new challenges for indigenous populations struggling with customary land and user rights, as transnational investors or the state seek to mine or build on their historic lands. Property rights may be a highly contested and power-laden domain under rapid commercialisation.

The more that women are drawn into production by increased demand, the more we should expect to see rearrangements of and depleting impacts of the continuing burden on women in the provision of care (Chopra 2015; Chopra et al. 2013; Elson 2012, 2010; Rai, Hoskyns and Thomas 2010). Women may be particularly affected if more integration into agricultural markets for basic goods comes with more volatility in the costs of goods needed for care (Scott-Villiers and Kelbert 2015; Elson 2012; Jones and Holmes 2011; Razavi 2011; Espey, Harper and Jones 2010; Jones 2009).

With respect to impacts on diet, the Global Nutrition Report 2016 recently noted evidence which suggests that low-income as well as middle-income communities are shifting to more industrialised and processed foods (IFPRI 2016). Such foods can enable women and families to save on work time necessary for direct care (food processing and preparation, storage, marketing, cooking) and to derive greater ‘value’ overall, including in terms of status, cost and convenience (Hossain et al. 2015); however, their impacts on nutrition may be less positive. In addition to understanding how women’s empowerment impacts on unpaid care work, it is also important to understand the wider food regimes within which they are set (Scott-Villiers et al. 2016; Baker and

Friel 2014; Alexander, Yach and Mensah 2011; Dixon 2009).

4.1.2 Who makes the rules? Who are the winners and losers?

Employers and agro-food industry buyers and suppliers of contracted outputs and outgrower arrangements higher up the value chain generally set the terms of participation in commercial agriculture. Larger firms in particular may in theory be bound by labour regulation. Regular wages and access to new markets will increase incomes for those able to participate. It may entail mobility and networks, which some groups are better equipped for than others, because they can travel or have mobile phones, have no domestic responsibilities, or are part of large majority kin or other groups. When new opportunities arise, provision for unpaid care work needs to be reorganised. Other women and girls in the household may take on more of the burden, or other services or help may be found (such as childcare facilities); alternatively, the quality of care may suffer (Zambelli et al. 2017; Chopra 2015). Who wins and who loses from agricultural commercialisation depends in part on the social reorganisation of care. The impacts of new income opportunities will include questions about the social reorganisation of care, including the following.

- **Who decides how care responsibilities are allocated when new labour and income opportunities arise?**
- **Are adult women and other providers of care depleted by their double (or triple) burden?**
- **Do younger and older women and girls undertake more of the unpaid care work as other adults move increasingly into commercialised agriculture and concentrate on cash incomes?**
- **Do patterns of unpaid care work change as work patterns, timetables and travel change? With what effects on its provisions?**
- **Are there changes specifically in who is responsible for food provisioning and (separately) preparation, including new services in the market or from the state?**

With respect to diets, specifically, there are reasons to examine the impacts on domestic meals of changes in household income and women's time-use, in light of the changing food supply.

4.1.3 What are the critical factors behind these outcomes?

To understand these dynamics, we also need to recognise how the wider food environment influences food and nutrition outcomes. A key question is: has there been a shift from self-provisioning of food to purchasing of food? This shift may result from changes in supply chains and openness of food markets to national, regional or international food commodities, which affect growth in regional and domestic markets and urban centres. The demand mechanisms may include higher cash incomes, time poverty, women's increased work outside the home (place as opposed to time as a factor), changes in allocation of household land and labour, changes in relative prices, changes in opportunity cost (income vs. self-provisioning foods), and wider modernising social changes in tastes and diets influencing rural food habits. Younger people's food preferences may be particularly closely shaped by advertising and marketing.

4.1.4 What are the differentiating effects across intersecting social groups?

These effects will differ in particular depending on how different social groups access the market. Marginalised and minority populations, and people living in remote locations, find access physically or socially more demanding. The opportunities for women, particularly mothers, are set by their capacities to manage care. Responsibilities may devolve onto other women in the household, affecting their empowerment. We would also expect that women's time poverty will have an important impact on diets, if families switch to more convenient processed foods. Income rises are associated with increased dietary diversity, but dependence on bought foodstuffs whose price is volatile may push people into eating less diverse foods and relying more on staples, risking micronutrient deficiencies (Benfica and Kilic 2016; Martin-Prevel et al. 2012; Thorne-Lyman et al. 2010).

4.2 Access to high-value food chains and global markets

4.2.1 What social differentiation exists in access to, and benefit from, high-value food chains and global markets?

How different groups benefit from new income streams has already been addressed above. How successfully different actors navigate the new opportunities of

access to high-value food chains and global markets will largely depend on how new markets in labour and goods are regulated, and in whose interests those regulations are enforced. Political economy analysis will reveal which interests are behind the development of high-value food chains on better terms. The impacts on farmers, workers and family workers on larger-scale farms of entering high-value food chains is likely to differ from how smaller-scale farms experience the transition. However, there is no clear link between international prices for agricultural commodities and impact on wages specifically (Cramer et al. 2017).

4.2.2 Who makes the rules? Who are the winners and losers?

If people gain access to high-value food chains as consumers and this improves access to and affordability of more diverse diets, the benefits may be widely shared. But if such access is linked to a reliance on more volatile food markets, or on cheap, marketed processed goods of low or no nutritional value, poorer groups may suffer. The nutrition and long-term development of infants and pregnant women are particularly vulnerable to short-term food security shocks, and so food price volatility needs to be taken into account in considering the pathways of impact.

Questions to ask include whether men are more likely to rely on 'food away from home', if so, with what nutritional effects? Are women more likely to benefit in terms of time conserved from increased availability of affordable, processed convenience foods and ingredients – for example, purchased flour instead of own-produced maize? How does women's participation in agricultural or other rural wage labour markets shape household food systems and practices? These questions are best explored through qualitative research (Nordang et al. 2015; Kadiyala et al. 2014; Ilahi 2000), which can supplement quantitative assessment of dietary diversity and nutrition and food security.

4.2.3 What are the critical factors behind these outcomes?

The critical pathways behind these outcomes include income and its wider impacts, the social organisation of care, state provision and protection, and economic integration. We would expect changes in the food system, in how care (and cooking-related tasks) are managed, and in tastes and eating habits, and in patterns of paid work. Much depends on whether people are net food consumers or producers, and on relative price movements, in particular between labour

and food. Growth and absolute price changes may not compensate for poor labour conditions, low pay, poor access to public services such as water and sanitation, as well as squeezes on women's time, so that nutrition outcomes are not directly or linearly connected to income rises or lower staple prices (Johnston et al. 2015; Kadiyala et al. 2014).

4.2.4 What are the differentiating effects across intersecting social groups?

Is there an impact on local markets that changes access to food for particular social groups? The entry of global value chains into the local food system may have adverse impacts on property rights and resource tenure (of land, water and other resources), particularly for pastoralist, indigenous and other marginalised populations, where lands used for grazing and forest resources have been made available to large-scale investors (Letai 2015; Shete and Rutte 2015; Sulle and Smalley 2015; Keeley et al. 2014; Cotula 2013; Cotula et al. 2009).

It would be important to assess gender equality in relation to wages and earnings from participation in global value chains, in order to pinpoint any areas where policy is failing women, and needs adjusting to equalise or improve terms and conditions. It is also important to make sense of changes in gender divisions of labour in own-production farming, in outgrower arrangements and in large-commercial estates – up and down value chains. There are likely to be important domains of intra-household negotiation over control of the benefits of commercialisation, which will affect the empowerment of women and girls.

4.3 Regulation of cheap food imports

4.3.1 How are the interests of different social groups affected by regulation of importation of cheap foodstuffs?

It is often assumed that farmers and urban consumers may have broadly opposed interests regarding the import of cheap foodstuffs, benefiting and losing alternately as prices rise or drop; 'the right price of food' is, therefore, always an inherently political choice about whose interests food policy should serve (Swinnen 2011). Analysis needs to identify those interests, and how they shape public policy. Much will depend on the extent of urban bias, but in respect of cheap food, it is important to recognise that urbanisation is, in fact,

increasing consumption demand from cities (Jones and Corbridge 2010). If freer trade in staples means average food prices drop, most poor consumers (including the high proportion of smallholders who are net food consumers (Ivanic and Martin 2014)) will benefit. Greater market integration is expected to reduce volatility, thereby smoothing consumption over time; but as the global food price spikes of 2007-08 and 2010-11 showed, they may also expose people to newer threats from the contagion of globalised crises of production or distribution (Headey 2011; Vanhaute 2011). An indicator that the urban precariat may have strong influence over food trade policy would be food riots that work to elicit a supply response (see Bush and Martiniello 2017; Hossain and Scott-Villiers 2017).

In addition to urban-rural divides, there may be strongly gendered outcomes from decisions about the import of cheap foodstuffs. Nutritional outcomes are likely to depend not only on relative price changes from trade, but on the nature of the paid work women do, and on the social organisation of care and its implications for food choices and household diets (Elson 2002; Fontana, Joekees and Masika 1998). Empowerment may not always be consistent with a sustained quality of care, unless women's responsibilities for the work of care are somehow supported or replaced (Chopra 2015).

4.3.2 Who makes the rules? Who are the winners and losers?

Global trade regimes and large agro-food business interests may play an important role in food trade policy in particular countries, but the rules are not so much set as negotiated, including at times taking into account the interests of marginalised groups, including small-scale farmers, poor consumers, women and vulnerable groups. To frame understandings of how individual women's empowerment is being shaped by agricultural commercialisation within its wider policy and political context, it will be useful to know whose voices make it to the policy table, as well as whose voices are silenced or left to resort to the street. Questions to raise include the following.

- **To what extent are large domestic farming interests represented in policy dialogue? Who are the big domestic food producers? Are they members of ethnic majorities or politically dominant groups, connected to multinational concerns, and predominantly led by men?**
- **How are the impacts of any trade agreement on smaller and more localised food producers estimated or forecast?**

- **To what extent are the interests of low-income consumers, including the urban poor, taken into account? Who represents their concerns in the policy space?**

In the *medium term*, who benefits from the rise in import prices will depend on which producers have the capacities/inputs to adjust production, and which producers have the capacities/inputs to access markets.

4.3.3 What are the critical factors behind these outcomes?

Reducing cheap imported foodstuffs would have the effect of raising food prices *in the short term*, until and unless an agricultural supply response could emerge that would return consumer prices to previous levels. Such short-term deficits could be offset by social protection and/or food security interventions that specifically stabilise staple food prices or provide packages of support during periods of food system adjustment.

Alternatively, the period of adjustment could mean people take on new income-earning work, and/or adjust their food habits. The impacts on adult women of more pressure to earn cash incomes may include a squeeze on unpaid care work responsibilities, and/or a delegation of those responsibilities to girls or older women in or connected to the household. Overall, the point here is that social difference shapes the success with which people are able to adjust to changes in the food system without harm to their wellbeing. Important factors here include: who has or can get access to land, political connections for fertiliser subsidies, irrigation, seeds, etc., geographical remoteness and access to roads, transport and distribution networks.

In the *longer term*, there are questions about changing diets: what kinds of food crops are replacing imported cheap foodstuffs? What are the nutritional implications? To what extent would the new sources of food add to or reduce the burden of unpaid care work of food processing and preparation?

4.3.4 What are the differentiating effects across intersecting social groups?

For net consumers, reduction of cheap staple imports and other short-term upward pressures on prices are likely to mean a short-term decline in wellbeing. As women are primarily responsible for feeding families, making up the shortfall would mean additional pressure

on women to cope with a household food gap. Any short-term food deficits are particularly hard on households already living on low or precarious incomes, people already suffering from malnutrition, pregnant and lactating women, and children under two (or three). For this group, even short-term food deficits can have permanent effects (Ruel et al. 2010). The net wellbeing effects are likely to be most adverse for women living in poverty.

People already highly dependent on food markets for provisioning, which would include the urban poor (on whom APRA does not focus) as well as people who rely predominantly on wage labour, including agricultural wage labour, for their living, are likely to benefit in the short term from price reductions assumed to follow from cheap imports of staples. However, dependence on food markets may expose those on low incomes to volatility and shortages in rural and urban areas. Recent global price spikes associated with the effects of financial speculation, climate change, and the 'contagion' of integrated food markets have demonstrated that short-term increases in poverty and hunger (Anderson, Ivanic and Martin 2014; Ivanic and Martin 2014; Swan, Hadley and Cichon 2010; Mendoza 2009), medium- and longer-term effects in terms of entry into more precarious forms of labour (Scott-Villiers et al. 2016) and enduring changes in food cultures and habits with potentially adverse nutritional consequences (Hossain et al. 2015; Sneyd 2013) are all associated with growing dependence on volatile food markets.

There are also likely to be direct effects on employment patterns and conditions. These may include gendered divisions of labour in own-production farming, in outgrower arrangements and in large-commercial estates. Whether or not changing food systems positively influence people's lives largely depends not only on their income gains (or losses) in the short term, or on the changes in the costs of living, but also on where they are positioned within the value chain, and crucially, on the extent to which they have power over their employment conditions, including through collective action (Phillips 2011; Dolan 2004; Barrientos, Dolan and Tallontire 2003).

Trade regimes may have particular implications for indigenous communities, particularly if they mean a decline in customary diets in favour of cheaper, less time-intensive, and 'modern' ultra-processed industrial foods. Indigenous populations typically have worse hunger, undernutrition, obesity and overweight conditions compared to other social groups (Ramirez-Zea et al. 2014; Egeland and Harrison 2013; Kuhnlein et al. 2013). This appears to be particularly true of

indigenous peoples who are more dependent on food markets than on household production. Marketised food systems may also have indirect effects on tenure regimes and customary rights that disempower indigenous communities without substituting formal social protection or legal rights systems.

4.4 Membership of labour organisations and access to markets

4.4.1 What are the implications for social differentiation of labour organisations advocating for better access to markets and organising members to 'cooperate and compete' in various market systems?

Rural wage labour has been a neglected area in development studies. Data and analysis are uneven, but in general tend to downplay or miss the significance of rural labour markets in livelihoods and local economies (Oya and Pontara 2015). Agricultural labour markets and labour organisations tend to be highly segmented. This has the impact of reducing the power of policy actions to improve pay and labour conditions for all workers, such as through the adoption of certification and other standards. A rural labour force survey for Mozambique found that while there was some mobility through rural wage labour, women tended to be crowded into the worst jobs in the sector – those poorest paid and with the worst conditions (Cramer et al. 2008). This in part reflects women workers' 'fallback position', which may be so weak as to prevent strike action or other forms of mobilisation. But it also reflects the nature of demand for rural labour. Johnston notes, for instance, that poor, older, Basotho female household heads were preferred by South African employers of seasonal agricultural wage labour because they were assumed desperate enough for the work, but unencumbered by small children. Employers were keen to avoid having to adopt potential pro-worker labour legislation by hiring foreign workers, and organising work groups among immigrants by ethnicity (Johnston 2007). Women's gendered 'contractual inferiority' (Razavi 2009) is thus an important part of their lack of bargaining power with employers within the rural production process (Selwyn 2007).

The strength and effectiveness of labour organisations depends not only on labour market segmentation and differentiation within the population, but also on the economic and institutional structures within which

they operate. Employer demand plays a significant role in setting the structures of constraint on labour market opportunities and choices (Johnston 2007). For commodities produced as part of a global commodity (or value) chain, Selwyn argues for a global commodity chain analysis that examines labour relations and workers' power along a chain including wholesalers, retailers and final consumers, as well as the state and other employers (Selwyn 2007). He recommends a specific focus on analysing 'the balance of class power between labour and capital' to assess the human development benefits and equity of patterns of economic growth (Selwyn 2007, 2016: 1769).

4.4.2 Who makes the rules? Who are the winners and losers?

Women's leadership is widely recognised as an effect of their empowerment, and the leadership of women farmers' and agricultural labour or workforce associations is critically important. However, more important, particularly given the spread of women's groups through aid-funded development projects and programmes, is their activism. A critical question to ask here is: how effective is collective action over conditions of labour and contract in agricultural commercialisation? In which forms and sectors does it succeed in bringing about equitable change, and among which groups of farmers, workers, women and others? This takes a strong 'informal politics' or power analytical approach to the study of labour organisation. It is also important to understand what the formal system is mandated to do, so it is necessary also to ask: to what extent do formal laws and provisions influence actual labour and contract regimes? Where are the mechanisms of accountability to ensure that they do so?

As noted above, the effectiveness of labour organisation depends a great deal on how power is distributed between labour and capital at different points along the global commodity chain. External regulatory frameworks such as certification processes or official labour monitoring exercises may shape the context of that power. But wages and basic rights and rewards are frequently negotiated between employers and workers (frequently women) in contexts of large demand for cash incomes – or supply of cheap and 'docile' labour. Nonetheless, even women agricultural wage labourers with apparently weak bargaining power mobilise to defend their basic worker rights, and with

some modest success (Johnston 2007). Workers' gains from wage employment need to be analysed in relation to the nature and form of the power they wield in the production relationship in order to understand the impacts of agricultural policy on income growth, women's empowerment, and nutrition.

4.4.3 What are the critical factors behind these outcomes?

Groups of socio-politically marginalised people may face additional barriers to collective action. Care responsibilities and socially ascribed gender roles may limit the space for women to organise. Indigenous groups may lack mediated access to powerful institutions in the state or market (Phillips 2011; Hickey and Du Toit 2007). However, evidence suggests group mobilisation may have important empowering effects for participants, by creating a sense of possibility, of leadership skill, and experience with organising around shared concerns (Agarwal 2002; Heyer et al. 2002; Mahmud 2001).

Much of the 'political opportunity space' around which they might mobilise will depend on the extension and application of labour and social protection rights regimes to women producers and workers under conditions of more commercialised agriculture, and on the legal and political frameworks for enhancing empowerment in different agro-food sectors and country contexts.

4.4.4 What are the differentiating effects across intersecting social groups?

The key differentiating effects will be along lines of patterns of employment and participation, and their associated working conditions and prospects for collective action. Those patterns are, to some extent, pre-determined along gendered lines as noted above. Commercialisation may introduce new labour market dynamics, particularly if more 'feminised' modes of production are introduced into global value chains. However, there are no reasons to believe that women's 'contractual inferiority' (Razavi 2009: 198) disappears with their wider access to markets. It is important to understand the terms and contracts on which different groups participate in the commercial opportunities of agriculture.

4.5 Land tenure security and access to the commons

4.5.1 What are the implications of and for social difference in land tenure security and access to the commons in a climate of agricultural commercialisation and rural land investment?

Since the 1990s, governments across Africa have pursued a wave of land law reforms, promoting the formalisation of rural land tenure and harnessing land for commercial investment (Manji 2006). This has included transacting large areas of land for commercial agriculture that had previously been used (or had been assessed as unused) by local people (Hall, Scoones and Tsikata 2015; Cotula 2013; Deininger et al. 2011; World Bank 2009). In many countries, at the micro level of individual and household, the new wave of land law reforms has also promoted security of tenure through individual or joint titling of land, which can then be used as collateral for credit. The aim of such schemes has been to facilitate land markets, create opportunities for business enterprise as well as bring land and business interests within the ambit of state governance through land registration and taxation. However, they can also lead to marginalisation and exclusion on the basis of gender, wealth, ethnicity, indigeneity or other forms of social difference (Hall et al. 2015; Doss, Summerfield and Tsikata 2014; Englert and Daley 2008).

4.5.2 Who makes the rules? Who are the winners and losers?

One effect of national land tenure reforms has been a constituting of power in the hands of governance institutions recognised by the state (Boone 2014; Wolford et al. 2013). The extent to which this power is devolved to local administrative structures, or to traditional leaders through statutory or *de facto* recognition of customary land tenure systems, varies considerably across countries. While local executive organs may have responsibility for the rollout of statutory systems of land tenure administration, in countries where land is ultimately vested in the hands of the president or central government control, these reforms have served to preserve or extend executive decision-making power on large-scale investment projects and make it legally possible for the status of land to be converted by those in power to make it attractive to investors. While attention has often focused on 'land grabbing' by foreign investors, a large proportion of land has, in fact, been acquired by national and local elites (Hall et al. 2015, 10; Peters 2013) as a result of longer-

term processes of social differentiation and capital accumulation (Cotula 2013: 52-6).

The concern of executive institutions to safeguard the interests of communities, indigenous peoples, minorities and other vulnerable groups, and provide compensation for land loss as a result of these processes, has varied considerably. Across the continent, reported land disposessions as a result of land deals are in the thousands (Anseeuw et al. 2012) and the impact is likely to be underestimated (Cotula 2013: 128). At a household level, impacts of land registration schemes in areas of high demand for land are particularly gendered. The introduction of land titling in Kenya in the 1990s, for instance, saw many women lose out in circumstances where family plots became registered in the sole name of a husband, and a wife's management of the land was not recognised or reflected in the title document (Yngstrom 2002; Lastarria-Cornhiel 1997; Mackenzie 1993). More recently, some land titling initiatives have paid greater attention to safeguarding women's interests. However, studies have also shown a minority of titles registered in women's sole names, and jointly held interests of women may have been under-recorded (Doss et al. 2014; Daley and Pallas 2014). This has gendered consequences for access to credit and participation in outgrower and other commercialisation models, where it is often the legal title-holder who is named on company contracts and receives income from the scheme.

Both the African Union and the FAO have attempted to militate against the most adverse social and environmental consequences of rapid and widespread large-scale acquisition of land for investment through the promotion of voluntary guidelines, including the Voluntary Guidelines for the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security of 2013; and the 2014 Principles for Responsible Investment in Agriculture and Food Systems (RAI) produced by the FAO Committee on World Food Security. The FAO Voluntary Guidelines are premised on the idea that secure tenure is a precondition for food security and for the progressive realisation of the right to adequate food. The RAI guidelines similarly advocate responsible investment in agriculture and food systems, which recognises women's equal rights to tenure, access and control over productive land. However, these guidelines remain voluntary and their implementation in practice remains variable.

Women and indigenous peoples who rely on the commons for their livelihoods may also be the losers where such land is identified as 'unused' and earmarked for large-scale investment. Cases from Ethiopia, Kenya

and Tanzania have catalogued incidents of conflicts between pastoralists and investors over land loss and population displacement, often without compensation (Letai 2015; Shete and Rutte 2015; Sulle and Smalley 2015; Keeley et al. 2014).

4.5.3 What are the critical factors behind these outcomes?

Transparency and effective monitoring of executive actions in the transacting of land for large-scale investment deals plays a significant part in the protection of interests of whole communities and indigenous peoples against land loss, and compensation for any land displacement. This includes realising the right to a remedy through effective legal processes of dispute resolution. However, such processes may be unfair or unpredictable if elites are able to ‘out-lawyer’ poorer parties who lack the financial means, social capital or legal knowledge to support their case (Askew, Maganga and Odgaard 2013). Within communities, the way in which land titling programmes are rolled out in agricultural commercialisation areas, the extent of gender discrimination in land allocation and registration systems (including customary tenure arrangements favouring men) and the processes of dissemination of information and gender sensitisation at the local level can all have a significant impact on the extent to which women’s land rights are officially recorded and recognised in practice.

4.5.4 What are the differentiating effects across intersecting social groups?

In commercial agricultural areas, land titling policies that prioritise certain social groups, such as farmers who are already participating in the commercial model, are likely to create differentiating effects across wealth as well as gender lines. Women, hunter-gatherers and pastoralists are likely to be most affected by loss of the commons to large-scale land investors, in terms of loss of livelihoods, pastures and sources of sustenance and fuelwood.

Research questions on these issues should aim to measure changes in gender inequality ratios in registered and documented land ownership, as well as managerial decision-making over land, including planting, harvesting and disposing of crops (effective ownership), as women and men pass from insecure to more secure land tenure through processes of formalisation (De La O Campos, Warring and Brunelli 2015: 1; Doss et al. 2015: 405-6). Linking these findings with other indicators such as control over income and food and nutrition security

may reveal patterns of increasing or reducing women’s empowerment. It will also be important to qualitatively assess how women and men perceive their interests in land (including customary interests and access to the commons) to be changing.

4.6 Investment in public goods

4.6.1 What are the implications of and for social difference when there is increased investment in public goods?

Investment in infrastructure development, including through internationally funded projects and public-private partnerships, has the potential to bring benefits to an entire community. Most large-scale land deals are now accompanied by some form of investment in local infrastructure including roads, dams, clinics, schools, water pumps and irrigation (Anseeuw et al. 2012). However, while such projects may bring widespread social and economic benefits, control over resources by particular social groups (including local elites) and the prioritising of certain kinds of public goods and agricultural production over others can also increase social inequality, marginalisation and exclusion within a local area (Cotula 2013: 132-8).

4.6.2 Who makes the rules? Who are the winners and losers?

For APRA, questions in this area should aim to explore the political economy of infrastructure development for commercial agriculture, making connections between international funding priorities, local social and political relations and governance structures and elite capture in agrarian systems; it should also explore the extent to which improved local infrastructure favours or adversely impacts different groups of farmers.

Key aspects of infrastructure development that are relevant to social difference in the context of commercial agriculture include access to roads and to water for households and irrigation. Depending on how these resources are developed and distributed, they can improve living standards and agricultural production for the many, or deepen social inequalities and marginalise particular groups. The Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 9 (Infrastructure) indicator, ‘number of people living within two kilometres of an all-season road’, is a useful measure for assessing which farmers within a community benefit from road infrastructure projects that are critical for access to land and harvesting.

Water resource management is also an important factor for analysing who are the winners and losers. For example, irrigation projects may be geared towards benefiting large commercial estates with thirsty crops such as rice and sugarcane, to the detriment of water supply to nearby farms and households of smaller-scale producers. Studies of the gender impacts of irrigation schemes in areas of sugarcane production in particular have highlighted the adverse consequences for certain groups of female farmers, including poorer rural women where subsistence agriculture was disfavoured for irrigation projects (Pellizzoli 2009) or where rapid rollout of irrigation schemes accompanied by a move away from production of cotton and certain food crops towards sugarcane placed female-headed households at particular risk of food insecurity (Peter, Simelane and Matondo 2008; Peter 2006).

4.6.3 What are the critical factors behind these outcomes?

An important consideration here is the source of investment in public goods and how infrastructure projects are regulated and managed at various levels to ensure that the benefits of investment do not favour

certain groups of farmers to the detriment of others. Here, research questions should seek to ascertain the extent to which local community members are able to participate in decision-making processes over development projects, including water and sanitation, and analyse how the distribution of such schemes is determined and monitored.

4.6.4 What are the differentiating effects across intersecting social groups?

Increased infrastructure investment may impact on productivity and employment in different ways for different agricultural models, as well as other kinds of economic activity such as food processing and hawking. Research questions should aim to assess the impact of construction of new infrastructure on land markets and land use. For example, does better transport infrastructure lead to greater freedoms and choices for particular groups? At a micro level, household questionnaires can explore the differentiating impact of irrigation and new water supplies on households, including time burdens for water collection within households and the availability of irrigation for farms of different sizes owned or managed by women and men.

5. CONCLUSION

To address APRA's central question through a lens of social difference and women's empowerment, we propose a methodology that explores ways in which individual agency, power relations, structural factors, and wider political-economic developments combine to produce trajectories of change in agrarian systems. Questions surrounding social power relations, individual empowerment and agency can assist in answering the question: who are the winners and losers in processes of agricultural commercialisation? A discussion of structures and mechanisms draws attention to how systemic factors can affect the capacity of farmers to move along different pathways of agricultural commercialisation. An analysis of the causes and consequences of social difference in the context of commercialisation processes highlights differentiating outcomes in the distribution of resources across social groups.

We emphasise the importance of an intersectional approach to the analysis of social categories and social difference, and the ways in which these shape processes of agricultural commercialisation in practice. Gender (linked with marital status) remains one of the most significant dimensions of social difference in African agriculture, both within the household and in employment contexts. However, we argue for an examination of the relationship between gender and other key dimensions of social difference, including age and generation, wealth and ethnicity as intersecting factors affecting individual agency, power relations, household organisation and participation in agriculture, as people move along different commercialisation pathways. In addition, a study of social difference should also give attention to the impact that the commercialisation of agriculture has on self-identifying indigenous peoples in affected areas (including their access to land) and the kinds of double-discrimination that indigenous women may face and the forms of empowerment that indigenous women seek for themselves in agricultural contexts.

Contemporary development thinking on women's empowerment as a process of change has taken a somewhat individualistic methodological approach,

placing particular focus on women's economic empowerment. Widely used indicators of women's empowerment based on wellbeing outcomes – for example, the WEAI – are useful in pointing towards interventions or pathways that expand women's agency in particular aspects of their lives. However, in relation to APRA's central research question, they cannot stand alone in order to establish a relationship between women's personal and economic power, food security and nutritional outcomes. This is an uncertain area which warrants further investigation. In particular, we argue for a mixed-methods approach that takes fuller account of women's productive and reproductive labour and the economic and social systems within which women live.

6. RECOMMENDED RESEARCH QUESTIONS

<p>1. Measuring changes in household incomes, care work and diets (by gender, age, asset-ownership and ethnicity across commercial agricultural sectors and countries), with a particular focus on women's empowerment.</p>	<p>Individual interviews of women and men within households to assess:</p> <p>1.1 Impacts on unpaid care work of women's participation in agricultural commercialisation:</p> <p>1.1.1 With whose help do you complete all the necessary daily household tasks (specify food shopping, preparation and cooking, care of people including children and sick people, and water and fuel collection)? Choose ONE answer that fits your situation best:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">i. I usually manage fine aloneii. I get a lot of help from other women and girls in the householdiii. My husband and I usually divide responsibility for daily household tasksiv. We pay for someone to help with daily household tasksv. Other <p>1.1.2 How well are necessary daily household tasks performed in your house? Choose ONE answer that fits your situation best:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">i. Household daily tasks are easily managed in the time availableii. Some household daily tasks get left undone when I am very busy with other workiii. Household tasks get completed, but it is exhausting/I am overworkediv. Important tasks often get left undone (e.g. children go unwashed or unfed)v. Other <p>1.1.3 How many hours a week does each member of your household spend collecting water?</p> <p>1.1.4 Additional questions in focus group discussions:</p>
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- i. Choose a few care responsibilities that are 'very different' to before. How has this care responsibility changed since you started working in commercial agriculture?
 - ii. What has changed in how you organise your daily care activities?
 - iii. Has the time required changed?
 - iv. What has changed in terms of the types of support you get for performing care activities?
 - v. How have care roles and responsibilities changed within the family?
 - vi. How has the community responded?
 - vii. What has changed in terms of goods (e.g. food available in the market) or services (e.g. water, credit, etc.) available around care provision?
 - viii. Have conditions for accessing these services changed?
 - ix. Have these services been affected by agricultural commercialisation?
 - x. Has there been any organised response from the community as a result of these changes?
- 1.2 Impacts on control of income of women's participation in commercialised agriculture (Source: WEAI)
- 1.2.1 How much input did you have in decisions about the use of income generated from: a) food crop, b) cash crop, c) livestock, d) non-farm activities, e) wages and salary, and f) fishpond culture?
- i. no input
 - ii. input into very few decisions
 - iii. input into some decisions
 - iv. input into most decisions
 - v. input into all decisions
- 1.2.2 To what extent do you feel you can make your own personal decisions regarding these aspects of household life if you want(ed) to: a) your own wage or salary employment? b) Minor household expenditures?
- i. not at all
 - ii. small extent
 - iii. medium extent
 - iv. to a high extent
- 1.3 Prevalence of food insecurity (Source: Food Insecurity Experience Scale (FAO))

I would like to ask you some questions about food. During the last 12 months, was there a time when, because of a lack of money or other resources:

- i. you or others in your household worried about not having enough food to eat?
- ii. you or others in your household were unable to eat healthy and nutritious food?
- iii. you or others in your household ate only a few kinds of foods?
- iv. you or others in your household had to skip a meal because there was not enough money or other resources to get food?
- v. Still thinking about the last 12 months, was there a time when you or others in your household ate less than you thought you should because of a lack of money or other resources?
- vi. Was there a time when your household ran out of food?
- vii. Was there a time when you or others in your household were hungry but did not eat?
- viii. Was there a time when you or others in your household went without eating for a whole day?

1.4 Prevalence of undernourishment (Source: Minimum Dietary Diversity-Women (FAO)):

Describe everything that you ate or drank yesterday during the day or night, whether you ate it at home or anywhere else. Please include all foods and drinks, any snacks or small meals, as well as any main meals. Remember to include all foods you may have eaten while preparing meals or preparing food for others:

- i. Did you have anything to eat or drink when you woke? If yes, what? Anything else?*
- ii. Did you have anything to eat or drink later in the morning? If yes, what? Anything else?*
- iii. Did you eat or drink anything at mid-day? If yes, what? Anything else?*
- iv. Did you have anything to eat or drink during the afternoon? If yes, what? Anything else?*
- v. Did you have anything to eat in the evening? If yes, what? Anything else?*
- vi. Did you have anything else to eat or drink in the evening before going to bed or during the night? If yes, what? Anything else?*

* For each eating episode, after the respondent mentions foods and drinks, ask if she ate or drank anything else.

2. Measuring social difference in access to high-value food chains and global markets.

See questions for issue 1 above

<p>3. Measuring how the interests of different social groups are affected by the regulation and importation of cheap foodstuffs.</p>	<p>See questions for issue 1 above.</p> <p>3.1 Individual interviews of men and women within households and focus group discussions with key informants should explore the extent to which actions by producer networks and groups of which women are members address conditions of employment and producer contracts. Questions should focus on understanding the extent to which women's or farmer or labour or other organisations or grassroots groups have succeeded in some of the following:</p> <p>3.1.1 Collectively identified actions needed to address constraints to their successful participation in different forms of commercial agriculture (as relevant: farmers', irrigation users, or credit groups, or workers' association, etc.)</p> <p>3.1.2 Mobilised other members, built organisational capacity, or networked and built coalitions with other groups and organisations around the relevant issues</p> <p>3.1.3 Planned and undertaken engagement with public authorities, powerful market actors, or other groups and organisations to advocate change in their interests</p> <p>3.1.4 Succeeded in bringing about change that they consider positive for their participation in commercialised agriculture</p> <p>3.1.5 Raised awareness among the group members of the possibilities of and need for collective action with respect to shared concerns</p> <p>3.2 Additional research question to agricultural employers:</p> <p>What is the proportion of men and women (and their ethnicity/indigeneity) in managerial positions and contracted as outgrowers?</p> <p>3.3 Additional research question to agricultural employers and employees:</p> <p>What are the average hourly earnings of employees/outgrowers/workers in different tiers of the workforce/on outgrower farms by sex, age and ethnicity/indigeneity?</p>
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<p>4. Measuring the implications for social difference of membership of labour organisations that advocate for better access to markets.</p>	<p>See questions for issue 3 above.</p> <p>4. Additional research questions to producer and labour organisations:</p> <p>4.1 What is the proportion of men and women in leadership positions in the organisation?</p> <p>4.2 What are the qualifications and criteria for leadership in the organisation?</p> <p>4.3 What are the criteria for membership of the organisation?</p>
<p>5. Measuring social difference in land tenure security and access to the commons in a climate of agricultural commercialisation and land investment.</p>	<p>5.1 Individual interviews of men and women within households regarding ownership and management of household plots of land Source: Adapted for APRA from the original extensive list of plot-specific questions in the World Bank Living Standards Measurement Study-Integrated Surveys on Agriculture).</p> <p>5.1.1 How was each plot acquired?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. Allocated by local government ii. Allocated by traditional leader iii. Allocated by agricultural company iv. Allocated by man's clan v. Allocated by woman's clan vi. Inheritance after death or inter vivos from man's family vii. Inheritance after death or inter vivos from woman's family viii. Received as a gift ix. Received as bride price x. Purchased xi. Cleared the land and planted permanent crops xii. Borrowed/used free of charge xiii. Used as a customary mortgagee xiv. Rented xv. Sharecropped <p>5.1.2 Who manages each plot? (e.g. who makes decisions on which crops to grow and which inputs to buy?)</p> <p>5.1.3 Who decides how the outputs from the plot are used (consumption and sale of crops)?</p> <p>5.1.4 Is your household's interest in the plot:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. statutorily registered ii. documented but not registered iii. undocumented but orally agreed iv. undocumented and used without permission <p>5.1.5 Whose names appear on documentation confirming the interest in the plot?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. Man ii. Woman iii. Joint (couple) iv. Other

	<p>5.2 Individual interviews of men and women within households and other key informant interviews to measure trends in tenure security of common property dependent persons (CPDP) (including pastoralists). Source: Adapted for APRA from UN-Habitat indicators:</p> <p>5.2.1 Do you consider yourself dependent on any shared resource?</p> <p>5.2.2 Have you been denied use rights to that shared resource in the past X years?</p> <p>5.2.3 Do you think your use rights to that shared resource will be violated in the next X years?</p> <p>5.2.4 Do women and men have the same tenure rights to that shared resource?</p> <p>5.2.5 Are you a member of an association with documented group tenure rights over the shared resource?</p> <p>5.2.6 Do women and men have equal opportunity to govern the group that manages that shared resource?</p>
<p>6. Assessing the implications for social difference of investment in public goods in areas of agricultural</p>	<p>See water collection question for issue 1 above. Individual questions to men and women within households:</p> <p>6.1 Do you live within 2km of an all-season road? (UN SDG Goal 9 indicator)</p> <p>6.2 Do you participate in decision-making about irrigation, water use and sanitation in your community?</p> <p>For respondents who own or have access to agricultural land:</p> <p>6.3 Have you received agricultural extension services?</p> <p>6.4 Do you have any form of irrigation on the land you own/ manage?</p>

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