EMPOWERING WOMEN FARMERS IN AGRICULTURAL VALUE CHAINS
Abbreviations

GALS: Gender Action Learning Systems
DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo
FTAK: Fair Trade Alliance Kerala
JNC: Junta Nacional del Café
FAO: Food and Agriculture Organisation
NASFAM: National Smallholder Farmers’ Association of Malawi
UNICAFEC: Asociación Unión de Cafetaleros Ecológicos
CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility

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UN Women believes investing in women’s economic empowerment sets a direct path towards gender equality, poverty eradication and inclusive economic growth. It is widely recognised that women make enormous contributions to economies, whether in businesses, on farms, as entrepreneurs or employees, or by doing unpaid care work at home. But they also remain disproportionately affected by poverty, discrimination and exploitation. These barriers curtail access to economic assets such as land and loans, limiting participation in shaping economic and social policies. And, because women perform the bulk of household work, they often have little time left to pursue economic opportunities.

Rural women are key agents for achieving the transformational economic, environmental and social changes required for sustainable development. But limited access to credit, healthcare and education are among the many challenges they face, which are further aggravated by the global food and economic crises and climate change. Empowering them is key not only to the well-being of individuals, families and rural communities, but also to overall economic productivity, given women’s large presence in the agricultural workforce worldwide.

UN Women supports the leadership and participation of rural women in shaping laws, strategies, policies and programmes on issues that affect their lives, including improved food and better nutrition security, and rural livelihoods. UN Women’s priority in Africa is promoting the rights of women cross border traders; support to women’s enterprise and small business development; and gender responsive services. In Tanzania, for example, we are working with the Women Chambers of Commerce and the Ministry of Industry Trade and Marketing on gender-sensitive reviews of trade and enterprise development policies, as well as supporting the formation of networks of women engaged in informal cross-border trade and trainings for rural women on solar power.

It is encouraging therefore to see the examples of best practice by producer organisations supported by international development organisations included in this report and to recognise the increasing role they play in promoting gender equality.
Executive Summary

Many businesses may be unaware of the crucial role women play in supplying the ingredients they depend on for their products, as this contribution is often unrecognised, unpaid - invisible. Women are active at all stages of agricultural production, in many cases providing the majority of the labour, yet when it comes to transporting crops to market and completing the sale women face a glass ceiling. These tasks are almost universally done by men, who subsequently retain much of the control over household income.

In addition to providing the lion’s share of labour, women tend to undertake crucial tasks essential for quality. Although there are no hard and fast rules, this study reveals that not only are women on the whole as engaged as men in planting and harvesting, they tend to take the lead in processing – where much of the value is added and product quality can be determined. In the commodities looked at, women are largely responsible for shelling and grading nuts, fermenting and drying coffee and fermenting cocoa – parts of the production process that influence quality, taste, and even food safety. This critical work is done on top of household labour, which is seen as ‘women’s work’.

Women also face additional barriers to men regarding land ownership, which affects access to credit and can disqualify them from joining producer organisations. As a result, women are underrepresented in the membership of such organisations and at all levels of their governance. This perfect storm of restricted labour, income and ownership rights can leave women with little control over decision-making in the home and within producer organisations.

Women members of producer organisations, however, tend to be in a stronger position than their unorganised counterparts: they are more likely to own land and have better access to credit, training and services; they are more likely to undertake independent business activities and subsequently have more control over household expenditure; and they have better opportunities in terms of engaging in the business side of farming or taking on leadership roles. In some cases, Fairtrade certification also supports women’s empowerment through social projects on gender funded by the Fairtrade Premium.

Although many smallholder communities are yet to embark on their journey towards gender empowerment, this report presents best practice examples which demonstrate that significant strides can be achieved in relatively short time periods. Women’s Coffee initiatives are engaging consumers about the role of women in coffee production, and providing additional premiums that fund projects targeted at women, such as the projects implemented by UNICAFE in Peru and Soppexca in Nicaragua. Women’s committees are providing a platform for women to receive training, access funding, engage in development of micro-enterprises and have a greater say within producer organisations, such as the CODEMU women’s committee in Pangoa in Peru, which is integrated to the cooperative’s management structure. Quotas for women are also rapidly increasing women’s representation on cooperative boards, as seen in PRODECOOP in Nicaragua.

Business recommendations

In addition to the strong business case for investing in women in agriculture in terms of ensuring high quality, consistent supply, gender investments can provide a strong consumer and CSR story to consumers and stakeholders.

Business can:

- Develop corporate gender policies that recognise the role of women farmers and workers to progressively improve gender justice within their value chain
- Encourage suppliers to commit to equal representation for women in membership and leadership within producer organisation
- Ensure investments in agricultural training and resources are inclusive of women, such as extension services and agricultural inputs and technologies
- Share business expertise and invest in income-generating initiatives targeted at women, such as the creation of micro-enterprises run by women
- Develop differentiated products that promote women’s empowerment, connect women producers and consumers, and give women producers market insights

Proper organisations and development organisations recommendations

Not only are women smallholders the most marginalised actors in the value chain, investing in programmes targeted at women could have a greater impact on education, health and food security.

Proper organisations and development organisation can:

- Develop and implement gender policies that formalise a producer organisation’s commitment to gender justice, from inclusion in the organisation’s constitution to communicating the value of women’s work on the farm and in the home
- Encourage women’s membership of producer organisations by reviewing membership policies and encouraging men to share or gift land to their wives or other female family members
- Establish women’s committees or other platforms within a producer organisation’s governance structure, which develop women’s leadership skills and increase women’s access to decision-making and financial resources
- Involve women in a producer organisation’s business activities to provide additional income and teach business skills, from selling products and employing female purchasing clerks to setting up and running small businesses
- Prioritise access to affordable credit for women and campaign for subsidised credit from the government or local credit providers
- Invest in adult literacy programmes for women to support effective participation in democratic processes, such as leadership elections, and to promote awareness of land ownership rights
Introduction

Women play a key role in agriculture across the world and in Africa. FAO studies reveal that 70% of the work in agriculture is done by women (Doss and Sofia Team 2007). The disaggregated data in these reports is regularly quoted in many academic papers related to gender justice and by practitioners working in rural development.

As a result, the crucial role played by women in agriculture is becoming well documented. Evidence suggests that empowering women farmers and workers, economically as well as politically, can have a variety of positive impacts across the different levels of social and economic organisations; enhancing women’s decision-making power and control over assets within the household; strengthening democratic systems and encouraging a more equitable allocation of resources within producer organisations; and helping to raise productivity and improve quality.

The United Nations Development Programme’s measure of gender empowerment is “whether women and men are able to actively participate in economic and political life and take part in decision-making” (UNDP, 1995). Women’s empowerment in this study refers to the ability of women farmers to realise their full potential as economic and social actors through a just division of labour and distribution of returns, and through equal participation and decision-making in producer organisations.

However, there remains a significant gap in knowledge about women in food value chains, their roles and contributions in the production process and the barriers to their economic and political empowerment. This study carried out by Twin, an ethical trading organisation working with smallholder producer organisations in Africa, Asia and Latin America, aims to identify and analyse the existing gender dynamics in smallholder value chains and highlight examples of best practice adopted by producer organisations which recognise and empower women farmers. The report also presents recommendations on the approaches that are most effective in bringing about gender justice in value chains and broader communities.

Twin conducted this gender assessment in 14 producer organisations across six countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America to understand better the role of women in three commodities – coffee, cocoa and nuts (groundnuts and cashew nuts).
Methodology

Conducted between October 2012 and July 2013 by Twin staff and associates, the assessment included a literature review, interviews with representatives from 14 producer organisations and two producer networks in six countries: Peru, Nicaragua, Malawi, Ghana, Uganda and India. The field assessments focused on identifying gender dynamics of farmer communities in each country and understanding key lessons from gender initiatives implemented by producer organisations.

Farmers’ workshops or focus groups were conducted with 184 farmers (men and women) using the GALS methodology. GALS represents a creative response to the challenges of researching gender and of reaching marginalised voices in the value chain: poor men, and especially, women. It incorporates participatory approaches to social research in value chains and has been used successfully by a number of organisations, including the International Labour Organization (ILO) (Mayoux and Mackie 2007), Oxfam Novib and Twin. Over 3,000 women and men have been involved in GALS research in Uganda, and 25,000 in Latin America (WEMAN global 2013).

GALS principally combines in-depth group discussions with the use of diagrams: working as individuals and in groups, participants draw pictures to reflect their social and economic realities. This research employs the “gender balance tree” tool (figure 1), which portrays household situations regarding labour, income, property and decision-making (Mayoux 2011). The link between these four indicators can positively or negatively affect women’s empowerment and their position within value chains.

The tree features ‘roots’—“who does what?” which are split into paid and unpaid work. The left-hand side of the tree is reserved for women’s work; the middle of the tree is for shared work; and the right hand side details men’s work. Symbols are used to represent tasks pertaining to each of the roots, which the participants draw to reflect their particular household situation. The information collected regarding paid and unpaid labour had a special focus on the agricultural commodities prioritised in this study: cocoa, coffee and nuts.

Branches are drawn and symbols added on the relevant side of the tree for ‘who spent what’. Items that represent higher expenditure are highlighted. Finally, participants draw symbols to represent ownership and decision-making on the appropriate side of the tree.

The second part of this report presents gender transformative approaches which have been implemented by smallholder producer organisations over the last two decades. Twin visited various initiatives implemented by producer organisations and conducted interviews with beneficiaries as well as implementers. See Annex 1 for a list of interviewees.
There are some important points to consider while reading this report:

→ The assessments of smallholder farmers were all organised through producer organisations.

→ Most of the producer organisations studied in this report are Fairtrade certified. Certified organisations have a better understanding of the numbers and location of their membership and have access to an additional income through the Fairtrade Premium, which is often invested in social programmes.

→ Some of the smallholder farmers who participated in the focus groups may have benefited from gender awareness programmes implemented by producer organisations. Their realities and perceptions might not fully represent the local context as their views and perceptions might have been influenced by these activities.

→ Some of the conclusions and recommendations included in this report were drawn from Twin’s experience of working on women’s empowerment for over a decade. In particular, from the work currently being implemented at Gumutindo Coffee and Bukonzo Joint in Uganda and at Muungano Cooperative in the DRC.

Therefore, the data presented in this report should be interpreted as a set of initial and general findings. In reaching conclusions Twin has supplemented these findings with its own knowledge and experience of working with smallholder value chains over 28 years.
Cross Cutting Themes

The following is an overview of the four key themes of gender justice analysed during the research: the distribution of work (who does what?); the management of income (who controls what?); the balance of property ownership (who owns what?); and women’s participation in decision making in the home and the producer organisation.

In most cases, the analysis looks at the situation of couples. However, there are examples of female-headed households in all contexts and polygamous arrangements in the DRC, Uganda and Ghana. In Sub-Saharan Africa, 31% of rural households are headed by women, while in Latin America and the Caribbean and Asia women head 17% and 14%, respectively (FAO, Women and sustainable food security).

WHO DOES WHAT?
Research into the distribution of agricultural work by gender included an analysis of the role that men and women play in the production of three cash crops: cocoa (in Ghana), coffee (in Peru, Nicaragua, Uganda, the DRC and India), and nuts (in Malawi and India). It also looked at other income-generating work carried out by men and women, including the production of additional cash crops and other non-agricultural activities, and the balance of domestic work.

Work on principal cash crops
The following is an analysis of the production cycle of the three principal crops, giving an overview of the tasks usually carried out by men and women. The production cycle has been categorised in four stages: pre-planting, planting and crop maintenance, harvest and processing, and sales and marketing.

Pre-planting
Land preparation: This commonly involves digging and weeding the land to prepare for planting. In all cases, men were primarily responsible for this as it requires heavier labour, with women assisting in some cases. In Malawi, women worked alongside men, as until recently, groundnuts were perceived as a crop mainly produced by female farmers.

Care of nurseries: In the case of coffee production in Peru, Nicaragua and India, this is usually a woman’s responsibility. In Ghana, the purchase of cocoa seedlings is usually carried out by men.

Planting and crop maintenance
Planting is usually carried out together, with men digging holes for new plants, and women planting the seedlings.

Weeding, pruning (selective removal of parts of plants) and application of fertilisers: These tasks are frequently shared, with a split along gender lines in some contexts. In Malawi, once the initial land preparation is complete, women are responsible for the maintenance of the groundnut crop and frequently work 8 hour days in the field, while men carry out other work. In Ghana, men are responsible for spraying and fertilising cocoa, while women assist with fetching water and weeding. In Peru, Nicaragua and India the maintenance of coffee and/or cashew trees is seen as a joint task, with men playing a larger role in heavy or mechanised weeding and pruning, and women undertaking lighter weeding and applying manure.

Harvest and processing
Harvesting and primary processing: This varies between location and crop. In Malawi, men and women work together on lifting (harvesting) groundnuts and sorting the shelled nuts. Stripping and shelling groundnuts, two of the most arduous and time-consuming tasks, are nearly always done by women. In India, women have primary responsibility for harvesting and supervising drying of both coffee and cashew. In Peru, picking coffee is seen as a family activity where both men and women participate equally, while in Nicaragua men saw it as primarily their role, but women regularly worked alongside them during peak harvesting. In Ghana, women are heavily involved in primary processing (fermenting and drying) of cocoa, key stages determining quality.

Transportation of groundnuts from the field to the home is usually done by men. In Ghana, women reported requiring assistance from hired labourers when carrying the cocoa themselves. In Peru and Nicaragua, men are usually responsible for carrying the coffee from the plot to the home.

Depulping Arabica coffee by hand was done mainly by men in Peru and Nicaragua. In some cases, women would assist the men and in a few cases carry out this work done usually when they are the head of the household. Men and women work together on fermentation and washing of Arabica coffee and are usually responsible for supervising the drying of coffee.

Sales and marketing
Bagging and transportation of crops to the point of sale is nearly always done by men; women sometimes assist in bagging, but are seldom involved in transportation. An exception to this is in Uganda, where some women carry the coffee on their backs, walking behind the men until they reach the buying centre, where the men sell the coffee and receive payment.

Delivery and sale: men are most frequently responsible for delivering the crop and receiving payment, usually because they are the named member of the producer organisation. However, even in situations where women are permitted by the producer organisation to deliver the product on behalf of the family, as is the case in Malawi and India, men dominate in this area for cultural reasons, which are explored in the following two sections. Exceptions to this are women members of coffee co-operatives in Peru and Nicaragua, some of whom are single heads of household, or part of a Women’s Coffee programme.

Receiving and recording deliveries: This is a powerful position at any producer organisation. Clerks or recorders make decisions about purchasing a commodity and paying a specific price, taking into account the guidelines provided by the producer organisation. In producer organisations where members are elected to perform this task rather than paid staff, a small number of women now work as recorders or purchasing clerks in cocoa, coffee and cashew depots. In India (where this is a recent development), as well as in Ghana (where approximately 3% of recorders in the Kuapa Kokoo cooperative are women), this has provided an additional source of income for the women involved and has also exposed...
them to activities further up the value chain (please see case study Changing gender roles in value chains).

Overall estimates of the percentage of productive work carried out by men and women varied according to location and crop: in Peru, coffee production is perceived very much as a joint task, with an estimated 55% of the work carried out by women and 45% by men. In Nicaragua, it is estimated that 70% of the work in coffee production is carried out by men and 30% by women. However, there was also the perception that if women’s work in assisting with the harvest and preparing food for labourers were taken into account, their share would be greater.

Historically, women’s work has been less visible and, in some cases, less valued than the contribution that men make to agriculture. There was a tendency in discussions for women’s labour to be referred to as the ‘help’ that women give to men on the farm and not be officially recognised as work, for example with harvesting coffee and preparing food for workers in Nicaragua or with field work on cocoa in Ghana.

Women who are single heads of household either used hired labour to assist with heavier or more time-consuming work, or received support from family members. Their workload and level of responsibility is normally greater than women whose husband is involved in agricultural work.

In 2011, the Junta Nacional del Café (JNC) started a coffee rehabilitation pilot working with 80 female growers across five producer organisations. The core elements of the pilot are:

- Technical assistance for field staff to train female farmers on systematic coffee pruning. These techniques were introduced to areas varying between 0.5 and 1 hectare.

- Access to subsidised organic fertilisers. Female farmers received 8 bags of organic compost through a loan with annual interest rates of between 2.5 and 5%.

The results achieved to date include:

- The pilot achieved a 63% adoption rate. Some members have been reluctant to prune despite the old age of the trees and their declining productivity. Farmer exchange visits to demonstration plots had a positive impact on adoption rate.

- Productivity has increased by 80% at Chirinos Cooperative, one of organisations involved in the pilot. The boost in productivity has led to improved incomes for female coffee producers.

Women’s Coffee Rehabilitation Project in Peru

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Other income-generating work

In addition to producing the four primary crops analysed, both men and women cultivate other cash crops and undertake additional income-generating work. For men, this includes fishing (in the DRC and India), driving taxis (Ghana, India), and working in construction or as a labourer (India, DRC). Some men and/or women own small shops or tea houses, either individually or together (India, DRC) and women take on work in tailoring (India, Ghana) and hairdressing (Ghana).

In several contexts, men took a lead in the production of additional cash crops, such as tobacco (Malawi), banana and pineapple (Peru) and rubber (India). Women often assisted men with this work, and in India, where the farms are particularly diverse, women and men worked together on the production of other cash crops such as spices (pepper, nutmeg, ginger and turmeric), coconut and areca nut.

Many of the women interviewed were involved in individual or group farming and business activities; cultivating and selling vegetables or preparing food to sell in local markets. In some cases, the producer organisation had encouraged this activity, providing low-cost loans, technical assistance, seeds and training. In others, there was an established tradition of women generating additional income in this way.

Across all locations, women usually take the lead on caring for farm animals; for example breeding chickens or guinea pigs; cleaning out the goat or cow shed and providing animals with food and water. Where these initiatives had been targetted at women, they usually retained ownership over the sales of the product and the income generated. However, where this is not the case, men may step in when it is time to market the products. For example, in Kerala, men milk cows and deliver the milk to the local collection office for sale, and usually take any vegetable produce or animals for sale to the market.

Non-income-generating work

Analysis of unpaid work showed a marked imbalance between the work carried out by men and women in the majority of contexts.

In Nicaragua, it was estimated that women perform up to 90% of domestic tasks and this high proportion was echoed by participants in discussions in all locations.

Domestic work

Women are nearly always responsible for child care, cleaning, cooking and washing clothes as well as caring for elderly relatives, and fetching water and firewood. Men chop firewood and carry out construction or maintenance in the home, and in India are responsible for setting up household water systems. In a few cases seen in the DRC and India, men assist with childcare; in India the focus is on supporting children with schoolwork, or helping to get them up and ready for school. In Malawi, Nicaragua and India, men usually do the household shopping.

Women are usually responsible for managing vegetable gardens which provide additional food for the family; frequently men take a lead on cultivating other food crops such as banana, plantain and cassava.

Sharing tasks, shifting roles

In a few cases in Peru (about 10%), women reported that they had achieved an equal gender division in all tasks, on the farm and in the home. However, this was the exception rather than the rule and was the result of gender sensitisation programmes implemented by producer organisations over a period of up to 15 years.

More frequently, women reported that men were happy to assist women with domestic work, and in exceptional circumstances, if time was short or if women needed to attend a cooperative meeting. Where this is not the case, women get up earlier to finish domestic tasks before leaving the house, or they postpone their work until the following day.

In discussions in Malawi, Ghana and Nicaragua, men expressed that despite traditional roles, it was important for men to help women with domestic work. However, in some contexts, women showed resistance to men encroaching on their “territory”, in particular with food preparation and cooking.

It was clear from discussions that both for men and women, traditional roles are an important source of identity, personally and socially. In FTAK, some women expressed concern that if they left the house for the whole day to go to an organahised meeting, neighbours might comment that they had ‘nothing better to do’ at home. In Malawi, men expressed the fear that if they helped in home, their wives would make fun of them and gossip with neighbours. It is evident that work on change in this area needs to be approached sensitively and with an understanding of the incentives for dividing work more equitably.

Length of working day

Studies have indicated that in developing countries, women tend to work far longer hours than men. In Asia and Africa, women work as much as 13 hours more per week (FAO, Women, agriculture and food security).

Analysis of the length of a woman’s working day, taking into account both paid and unpaid work, showed a tendency for women to work longer days and to have more regular daily tasks. In peak harvest times, a woman’s working day in Nicaragua can start at 3am and continue until 11pm. In Kerala, women often start their day at 4 or 5am, and work for 10 hours, while men might get up at 6am and work a 6-hour day. Official ‘leisure’ time and activities feature infrequently in women’s accounts of their day-to-day lives. Men’s leisure time is usually spent with each other, often outside the home.

In Peru, Nicaragua and India, the on-farm tasks carried out by men, such as land preparation or heavy digging, are more intense physically but are often periodical rather than daily; as one woman expressed at a gender workshop in Kerala ‘what men do in intensity, women do in duration’.

Processes of change in division of labour

When considering what change is desirable and/or possible, it is helpful to consider the basis for the allocation of roles. In some contexts, as illustrated above, work is divided according to (perceived) physical ability and the usability of different tools. Tool design is in turn influenced by perceptions of which work is usually carried out by men and women. So men in many contexts take on more physically demanding work, such as digging and ploughing and women are becoming involved as being more meticulous with work which requires careful handling, such as detaching cashew nuts from the fruit, or shellimg and sorting groundnuts. These distinctions are not absolute however, and not immovable. One women’s group member in Kerala proudly proclaimed that ‘any job a man does, we are also capable of doing’.

Location of work is also a factor; tasks usually carried out near the home are traditionally seen as women’s work, such as drying coffee or cashew, or cultivating vegetables, as these can be more easily combined with domestic responsibilities.

Power relations and ownership, and cultural ideas of what activities are suitable for men and women also play a strong part in how work is divided. For example, in some cultures (Malawi, Kerala) it is less acceptable for a woman than a man to go to the market to sell directly.

The processes of change which have successfully and positively influenced the distribution of work between men and women have often included the following elements:

→ Communication and learning activities which make women’s work visible; encouraging both men and women to recognise and value both women’s contribution to the cultivation of cash crops and their domestic work.

→ The creation of spaces for both men and women to learn about gender and consider ideas about identity.

→ Practical initiatives which support women to get involved in selling products, for example promoting women’s membership of the organisation and supporting them to set up and run small businesses.

It is also the case that women’s involvement in producer organisations, through attending meetings, becoming members in their own right and taking on Board-level positions, could
have a catalytic effect on the distribution of work in the home. When a woman’s sphere of activity widens and she travels outside of the home, this changes her sense of self, and also gives the opportunity to other members of the family to step in and take on some of her tasks. In practice, this does not always happen, and women can end up working an even longer day; but it can provide a gateway to discussing these issues.

**WHO CONTROLS WHAT?**

All farming households which took part in the research are managing multiple income streams, from sales of cash crops to national and international markets, and from other supplementary work, as described earlier. Analysis of how income is controlled and managed at a household level indicated that there are several dominant scenarios:

**Scenario 1: men manage the income and women have little control**

One male participant in a workshop in Malawi declared, “There is only one family bank, and I am the bank manager,” which sums up the prevailing attitude of men farmers interviewed towards the management of household income and expenditure.

Women farmers expressed that they do not have direct access to the income generated from groundnuts and would not feel able to spend more than MK500 (approximately US$60 cents) without their husbands’ permission. The income from groundnuts represents on average 30-60% of the household income, rising to 70-80% and even 100% in some families, where tobacco production has declined.

It was mentioned in many discussions that men are frequently not transparent with their wives about the price at which they had sold their groundnuts; in one association, the men in the group estimated that on average only 2 out of 10 men would take the money home to count openly with their wives. One female participant in another association reported that her husband had sent a boy with her when she went to sell groundnuts, to prevent her from taking money from the proceeds.

Women usually identified what was needed for the household, including food, and men decided how much would be spent; either men carried out the purchase themselves, or gave the money to women to spend, asking for the change on their return. Women had no access to disposable cash and their only personal expenses were clothes and mobile phone credit for essential calls.

In Uganda, men in one coffee co-operative dismissed out of hand the idea that they should share some of their coffee income with their wives, and especially that they should plan the expenditure of coffee income together. The men expressed the belief that women must work on the coffee because it is their duty as wives, but that this duty carries no corresponding right to participate in decision-making about the income from coffee sales.
Scenario 2: men and women earn and manage income independently (DRC, Ghana)

In the DRC and Ghana, the issue of transparency arose in discussions about money. In both places, men felt that women spent too much on clothes and accessories and wanted them to contribute more to farm-related expenses; in the DRC, women felt that men were not transparent with them about what they earned from additional business activities, and in Ghana, they wanted more say in big purchasing decisions.

In the DRC, women are expected to share the income from all activities and to tell their husband how much they had earned, but the same principle did not apply to men. When men suggested they could help women with harvesting cassava, women were reluctant to allow them to do so, as they felt that men would take over the selling of this crop, demonstrating the power struggles that can arise around access to income.

The question of infidelity in marriage was also quite openly discussed. It was felt by both men and women that men could divert some income that should be for the family to other women. Drinking and gambling featured in men’s listed expenses and were identified as potentially problematic diversions of income away from the family.

Joint expenditure in Ghana was mainly on education, food, and family costs such as funerals. The amount spent on food was decided by men even though the purchases were carried out by women, who often had to supplement the food budget with their own income to meet family needs.

Scenario 3: men and women work together to manage the income resulting in greater transparency (Peru, Nicaragua)

In Peru and Nicaragua, there was a range of experiences identified and discussed. The overall impression was of change taking place as a result of interventions by the farmer organisations, encouraging transparency and joint planning.

In both Peru and Nicaragua, men traditionally manage household expenditure and authorise small budgets to be spent by women. However, in both contexts, this pattern is changing. 60% of the participants in Nicaragua said that they now plan together as a family. In Peru, women reported that decisions about what to spend are increasingly made jointly, and it is often women who manage the household accounts.

In both cases, the majority of the income is spent on joint expenses including education, health, and agricultural inputs. In Peru, personal expenditure by men and women was quite equally distributed. Participants reported that expenditure on alcohol used to be more significant but had reduced.

In Nicaragua, men’s individual expenditure was higher than women’s. Although expenditure on alcohol and extra marital relationships was not consistently reported by the group, it was included in gender trees in both the female and male groups. The participants also reported that this type of expenditure was decreasing in the communities benefiting from gender programmes in producer organisations, but was still a common issue in the country.

A link was made between women becoming direct members of the organisation and deciding more actively how money should be spent, in particular where members are supplying women’s coffee [See case study on page 31].

Scenario 4: men and women have equal rights over managing the income (India)

In Kerala, men and women both contribute to the cultivation of the principal cash crops, but men dominate in land ownership and they nearly always deliver the products to the depot and receive payment. Despite this, most women interviewed individually and in focus groups said that they feel an equal right to the money generated from these crops.

Several factors may contribute to this: FTAK offer family membership, rather than individual, which encourages the view that the crops belong to the whole family. Although the majority of land is registered in the man’s
name, in some families women manage the farms and their husbands work in another city, or in local off-farm work. Even where men and women work alongside each other, there seemed to be recognition by men and women of the contribution that women make to the cultivation of cash crops, through their labour. There is also a high degree of transparency in the home about the money generated from all activities. In a few cases, women manage the household accounts, but even where this is not the case they feel an equal right to spend money on both individual and joint expenses.

Personal expenditure was perceived as fairly balanced between men and women. The most significant expenses identified were education and medical care. In some instances, alcohol and gambling were recognised as men’s expenses which might affect transparency within families.

FTAK has not undertaken specific work on encouraging transparency and joint management of income. This can in part be credited to the economic and social environment in Kerala; a literacy rate of 92% for women and 96% for men, low birth rates and universal education for both girls and boys all play a role, as well as government schemes which offer subsidised small business loans to women and encourage the formation of women’s savings and credit groups.

Women’s access to income and family wellbeing

It is often asserted that by increasing women’s direct access to income, more resources are directed to the family’s and in particular the children’s wellbeing. Studies have shown that women use almost all their income from the sale of agricultural products and handicrafts to meet household needs. Men use at least 25% of their earning for other purposes (FAO, Women agriculture and food security).

Although not specifically assessed in this study, evidence suggested that families who discuss and plan together were better able to direct access to income, more resources are therefore able to advocate for them. Land ownership affects opportunities for women; it determines their ability to become members of farmer organisations, obtain credit and technical assistance. It influences their access to the income generated from the sale of cash crops and to participation in decision making relating to agriculture. It also affects their status within the family and society and their security, in particular if they are widowed. This report therefore prioritises land as the main focus of study when referring to ownership.

In some of the organisations visited, there are specific initiatives in place designed to improve women’s access to land ownership. The following is an overview of the situation concerning women’s land ownership.

Malawi

In Malawi, most agricultural land is communally owned. However, individuals may be recognised custodians of a piece of land, and can pass on land usage rights to their children.

When a couple marries, some traditional cultures in Malawi demand that a man should live on a woman’s land while in others, the reverse is the norm. In the majority of groups interviewed in Central Malawi, the practice of men moving to their wives’ land was becoming less frequent. This is in part due to the prevalence of HIV and AIDS; men’s families are now concerned that if the men pass away, his family will have no access to his children. In some instances, men who come to live in their wives’ homes are excluded from community decision-making, another factor discouraging men from this practice.

A woman who moves to her husband’s land and is subsequently widowed is likely to experience tensions with her in-laws who want to claim ownership of the land, in particular if she re-marries or has no children.

Peru and Nicaragua

In both Peru and Nicaragua, women participated alongside men in the struggle to achieve agrarian reform from the 1960s-1980s, but were then sidelined when land was redistributed. Currently, 18% of the agricultural land in Nicaragua is owned by women (FAO, Global policy brief).

In Peru, there is a greater emphasis on joint ownership: 58% of all land is jointly owned by men and women (Wilg 2012). This is the result of efforts from the government over the last 10 years to prioritise joint land ownership when awarding land titles.

In both countries, women can inherit land and are free to buy it. However, credit can be difficult to access. Producer organisations are working individually and collectively to change the situation of land ownership, encouraging men to gift land to their wives, and in Nicaragua, campaigning for the government to offer credit to women to buy land.

Ghana

Where households involve a couple, the landowner is in most cases male. It is becoming increasingly commonplace for men to gift portions of land to their wives or female family members, enabling them to become members of the producer organisation in their own right (Quismumbing et al. 2004). One incentive for
this is that it enables both husband and wife to access support services and agricultural inputs available from the producer organisation. Currently 32% of Kuapa Kokoo members are women.

In general, women face more barriers than men in accessing land ownership and it is almost impossible for an unmarried woman to access land. Women seldom take part in clan or lineage meetings where land ownership is discussed and it is more difficult for women to obtain bank credit as they lack the necessary collateral. An important legal reform took place in the 1980s awarding spouses equal inheritance rights (widows previously had no claim to their husbands’ property after death), but women are not always aware of this law nor of their rights (Wiig 2012).

**India**

In Kerala, the majority of agricultural land belongs to men but increasing numbers of women are becoming land owners. In the groups interviewed, at least 40% of women had some land registered in their name. However, women’s portion of land was usually smaller, between 0.5 acres and 1 acre, representing between 20 and 40% of the total farm size. The exception to this was widows who had inherited some of their husbands’ land.

The increase in female land ownership is due to two principal factors. Firstly, couples are buying newly acquired land in the name of the woman in order to obtain additional loans from the bank. Secondly, some men are gifting land to women to protect their rights should they die before them, or as a matter of principle. However, the cost of changing land registration is prohibitive, at around 10-14% of the total land value.

Although women can inherit land, they are often given jewellry or other assets in lieu of land, as the perception is that they will be ‘married off’ and will live on their husband’s land. When a woman marries, ownership of any dowry becomes shared, and in some cases women perceive that men feel greater ownership over their dowry than they do, for example, taking a lead in deciding to use the dowry as collateral for a loan.

**Democratic Republic of Congo**

It is customary for women to live on their husband’s land when they marry. Couples may choose two kinds of marriage contract – “Communauté de biens” or “Séparation de biens”. The former means that whatever both parties bring to the marriage becomes communal property after they marry and the latter refers to all assets remaining individual property.

In practice, many people do not have an official marriage certificate, or if they do, the cultural norms take precedence. Although land may officially belong to both parties, men perceive the land and all crops cultivated on it as belonging to them. If a husband dies, a wife may be chased off the land by his family, unless she has young children, or marries another member of his family.

Men tend to be members of the producer organisation as perceived owners of the land. They may also buy land for their second wife or multiple wives, who are likely to live separately from their first wives, although in some cases they live together.
The role of producer organisations in promoting women’s access to land

A key finding from this study is that the average landholding of women belonging to producer organisations tends to be higher than the national average for women. The table below compares some of these data at national and producer organisation level.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Country average</th>
<th>Producer organisation average</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nevertheless, producer organisations could continue to encourage greater gender equality in the ownership of land and other assets in a variety of ways:

- Promoting ‘Made by Women’ programmes which offer incentives for men to gift land to women, as well as generating resources which can be used by women to obtain land titles
- Sensitisation of land with their wives, through gender
- Adult literacy programmes are also an important factor, as these affect women’s ability to be aware of and advocate for their land rights.

Land Purchase

In all counties, women have the right to buy land. However, credit can be difficult to access. In Peru and Nicaragua, producer organisations are offering small amounts of credit for women to buy land and invest in businesses which increase their economic independence, thereby enhancing their ability to save towards buying land. In Nicaragua, the umbrella producer organisation CADEFNICA has campaigned for the government to offer credit to women to buy land. [See case study on page 34].

Encouraging men to gift land

Some organisations in Peru, Rwanda, and Nicaragua are encouraging men to ‘gift’ land to their wives, so that women can become members of the producer organisation in their own right. This is frequently motivated by Women’s Coffee initiatives and supported by reduced organisational joining fees for women.

Decision-making

Decision making by men and women was analysed at the household and producer organisation level.

Household

It was found that there is a strong link between control of income, ownership of assets and decision-making in the home.

Men, as primary land owners, were identified as having the final say regarding agricultural decisions (use of land, choice of seed etc) in Malawi, the DRC, and in some cases, Peru. In other contexts, in particular Nicaragua and India, agricultural decision-making was shared between men and women.

Decision-making regarding money was dominated by men in situations where they perceived themselves as owners of the crop and the proceeds, in particular in the DRC, Malawi, Uganda and Ghana, and in some cases in Nicaragua. It was shared more equally in Nicaragua and Peru, where gender sensitisation had taken place, and in Kerala.

In both Peru and Nicaragua, women saw themselves as taking a more active role in decision-making regarding their children’s education and their family’s health.

Women’s participation in producer organisations

In order to participate in decision-making at an organisational level, women must become members of the organisation in their own right. This usually requires women to become owners of land or trees (in the case of cocoa and coffee), although some organisations have different membership requirements.

In some organisations, women have formed committees, some of which are outside the organisational structure. It was found that incorporating the committees or groups into the organisation’s governance structure offered women a higher level of decision-making, as their voices could be officially represented at a board level, and they were usually allocated some of the annual budget.

The majority of producer organisations assessed in this report have quotas for female representation on boards and are actively encouraging more women to join. Some barriers to membership and participation include:

- Land ownership – as illustrated above, women face multiple barriers to owning land. These barriers can be overcome if men are willing to gift some land to women, at least as a temporary measure, and by supporting women to become land owners through credit schemes.
- Cost of membership fees – in some situations, it is unattractive to the family to register two adult members, as it means paying two lots of membership fees. However, the organisation can decide to waive or subsidise these fees.
- Attendance at meetings – some women face cultural prejudice or opposition from their husbands, which prevents them from attending meetings. They may also be too burdened with work at home and on the farm, or be inhibited by a lack of confidence or low literacy levels. Organisations can address all of these challenges through awareness raising and support, such as arranging meetings at times and locations suited to women’s needs, and offering practical support with transport.

Women who begin participating in women’s groups or women only activities often find the confidence to take on leadership roles and contribute to the organisation as a whole.
This section highlights examples of gender best practices implemented by producer organisations across Latin America, Africa and Asia to respond to issues affecting the position of women.

The concept of ‘Women’s Coffee’ has been piloted for over a decade, beginning in Nicaragua in 2001 through an alliance between the cooperative Soppexcca and Peet’s Coffee. The second Women’s Coffee product began life in Peru in 2004 with Cecanor, a coffee producer organisation based in the north of the country, and Cafe Femenino. Although various Women’s Coffee initiatives have been launched in recent years, the Nicaraguan and Peruvian initiatives remain central to development of this concept.

Cecanor started by separating the coffee grown by 880 female farmers and selling it to the US brand Cafe Femenino, which paid an additional gender premium for each pound of coffee produced by the women. Since 2004, Women’s Coffee volumes in Peru have grown steadily. The Junta Nacional del Café (JNC) estimated that 20 containers (360 MT) of organic and/or Fairtrade certified Women’s Coffee were exported in 2011 by 13 producer organisations. This coffee was sold to customers in USA, UK, Australia and the Netherlands.

UNICAFEC is one of the producer organisations in Peru which is currently supplying Women’s Coffee to two different buyers, Cafe Femenino and Equal Exchange UK, which converted 70% of its product line to Women’s Coffee in 2011. A number of benefits have resulted from these trading relationships including:

- Use of premiums and external support on women’s empowerment activities – the gender premium paid by both buyers has been ring fenced in a fund which is jointly managed by the producer organisation and the women’s committee. Some of the initiatives funded to date have included agricultural technical assistance for women and house improvements (kitchen and bathrooms). In addition to this, Equal Exchange UK funds Twin to support UNICAFEC in further developing its gender programme.
- Direct communication with buyers – Equal Exchange UK and UNICAFEC have developed a close relationship that ensures the producer organisation is aware of any developments in the Women’s Coffee market in the UK. Female farmers also benefitted from an improved understanding of the UK market and the way their coffee is sold to end consumers.

In the case of Nicaragua, Soppexcca created a Women’s Coffee brand called “Las Hermanas” which was set up with the support of Peet’s Coffee, Cafe Motto and Sustainable Harvest. The premiums generated from sales were invested in a cervical cancer screening initiative which reached 15,000 women in the region and an access to land programme which resulted in an increase in female membership from 68 in 2003 to 210 in 2013. The quality of coffee delivered by women has also shown a marked improvement and now averages two points above the coffee delivered by male members in the Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA) quality classification.

“When women are members in their own right they have access to information… therefore, they can be empowered.”

Felipe Alberca, President UNICAFEC, October 2012.
Pangoa started to work on women’s empowerment in 1997 and established a Women’s Committee in 1999. Since its inception, the committee has provided a space for capacity building and integration of female farmers in the development of the cooperative. The Women’s Committee, known as CODEMU (Committee for Women’s Development), initially focused on microfinance schemes and female leadership. Today, CODEMU supports farmers, which include women married to members, in improving family nutrition and promoting gender justice through self-esteem workshops.

CODEMU is fully integrated within Pangoa’s structure, and as such a board member is responsible for the implementation of its gender programme. They have a member of staff and can actively participate in organisational decision-making.

Norma Valderrama, Secretary of the Committee, stated: “The CODEMU has helped women in the cooperative to voice their worries and their opinions. This has changed our lives. My husband now supports me with the housework while I attend the monthly committee meetings. We both work at the farm, but I manage the income after we jointly decide how to distribute it.”

In addition to the capacity building programme, the Committee is currently managing income-generating initiatives for its members. Pangoa’s microcredit scheme for women has a fund of 20,000 soles (8,000 USD) and offers small loans to women at a 1% interest rate. The members of the Women’s Committee have received training on microcredit management and are now responsible for reviewing and approving the loan applications. The credits approved often support house improvements or alternative income-generating activities, such as rearing chickens and guinea pigs or establishing organic vegetable gardens. Female coffee producers pay back their loans with volumes of coffee during the harvest. 23 women are currently benefiting from this fund.

Pangoa’s transformational gender work has been supported by Socodevi and local NGOs Flora Tristan and Acción por los Niños.
The Coffee Flowers defines itself as a ‘movement’ of women, whose mission is to lead a process of empowerment of female growers, co-producers and female technical, administrative and managerial staff. It was formally constituted in September 2006 under the auspices of CAFENICA, an association bringing together 10 smallholder organisations in Nicaragua. The initial meeting had over 100 participants, from whom an elected board composed of one member from each organisation was established. The Board adopted the responsibility of positively influencing their organisations in the area of gender equality and ensuring the Coffee Flowers have presence at all relevant events.

A key achievement of the Coffee Flowers has been giving women a sense that they are part of a movement which belongs to them, through which they have a voice in discussions and a higher degree of visibility and presence. It also provides a space for coordination and work on gender justice issues at the strategic level across CAFENICA.

As a result of the Coffee Flowers Movement, six out of 10 CAFENICA members have developed and implemented a gender policy. There has also been a marked increase in the percentage of women taking part in cooperative training activities or meetings outside the home, increasing from 27% in 2006 to 75% in 2011. Finally, CAFENICA and its partners are in the process of securing government funding to provide credit for women to buy land.

Saleen Manuel and Delphin Ocran are two female farmers from two different countries who have a lot in common. Saleen (42 years old) is a coffee grower who lives in India and sells her coffee through Fair Trade Alliance Kerala (FTAK). Delphin (45 years old) is a cocoa farmer and member of Kuapa Kokoo in Ghana. Saleen and Delphin put themselves forward to manage purchasing centres at their cooperatives. This role of ‘controller’ or ‘recorder’ is traditionally taken by men, as it is physically demanding and requires knowledge on quality, prices and accounting skills.

Saleen explains the inspiration behind her actions and her experience as a depot manager: “My first inspiration was when an international buyer visited my society and explained the concept of Women’s Coffee. He said, women can own land, they can cultivate it, harvest the coffee and sell it, why not consider women running the coffee depots? FTAK suggested that if women come forward, they could run a depot. We took the initiative to do this. People told us that it was not easy, that we had to handle money. FTAK said that if that if we are ready, the organisation would support us. The members who delivered their coffee were encouraging, they were happy to see women handling the collection. It has given us the opportunity to meet different people related to the world of coffee. We hope to do it again next season. We will continue to find new ways to take advantage of opportunities to develop our capacities.”

Delphin’s election as society recorder has allowed her to access a new income stream through the commission received on each bag of cocoa sold, as well as to use her position to mobilise women farmers into a forming group to manage an income-generating project. She is proud of what she has achieved as a female cocoa farmer and believes that more of her peers should strive to participate more actively within Kuapa Kokoo: “As a female recorder I am able to buy more cocoa than men because people trust me. More women should have the courage to put themselves forward for these positions. If you are honest, have respect for your fellow members and can communicate effectively people will believe and trust in you.”

“More women should have the courage to put themselves forward for these positions.”

“More women should have the courage to put themselves forward for these positions.”
Conclusions and recommendations

The foregoing analysis of the role played by women farmers in the value chains of three key agricultural commodities across six countries contributes to the growing body of evidence documenting the imbalance between the contribution women make and the control that they have over income, property and decision-making. Although smallholder producer organisations are implementing innovative initiatives to address this imbalance, empowering women on a large scale will remain a challenge if actors do not invest within their value chains.

There are significant variations in the results seen in all four indicators of gender justice across both commodities and geographies. However, in general it has been demonstrated that:

→ **Labour**: women’s on-farm productive labour is often significant but under-recognised and under-valued, while at the same time men carry out the majority of household labour;

→ **Income**: women tend to have less influence than men over how household income is used, although this balance of control improves where income is received by women directly from their own business activities;

→ **Ownership**: women own significantly less land than men, which in turn affects their ability to become members of producer organisations in their own right, access credit and obtain technical assistance. Nevertheless, the average landholding of women belonging to producer organisations tends to be higher than the national average for women;

→ **Decision-making**: as a result of the above three trends, men tend to dominate decision-making both in the household and within the producer organisation. As well as helping us understand more about these key areas of gender justice, the assessments also enable us to identify a number of examples of good practice in recognising and empowering the role of women farmers and workers that can be encouraged and replicated in other value chains.

**Businesses**

Any business which sources agricultural ingredients from smallholder producers will owe a huge debt to women. Not only can business play a transformative role in strengthening gender justice within their value chains, they can also benefit from such targeted interventions.

**Businesses recommendations:**

→ Develop corporate policies that explicitly recognise the role and contribution of women farmers and workers at each stage in the production and marketing of the commodities they buy, process or sell.

→ Encourage and support producer partners to become stronger, more democratic organisations with a commitment to gender equity in membership and leadership, understanding that participation in producer organisations in itself can create opportunities for women to gain skills, confidence and challenge gender norms.

→ Invest in programmes that improve women’s access to farming resources and agricultural knowledge—for example, inclusive extension services, agricultural inputs and technologies, and microcredit schemes—recognising the contribution that women make to the volume and quality of agricultural products.

→ Use their business expertise and financial resources to support practical income-generation initiatives that target women, encouraging the creation of alternative micro-enterprises that can provide women and their families with a supplementary source of income and food security.

→ Develop differentiated products—for example, ‘Women’s Coffee’—that promote women’s empowerment. Build relationships between women producers and women consumers, and provide the opportunity for women to gain insights into the market side of commodity value chains.

**Producer organisations and development organisations**

Producer organisations, encouraged and supported by development organisations, should continue to strive to improve their work on gender justice.

**Producer organisation and development organisation recommendations:**

→ Develop and implement gender policies that formalise producer organisations’ commitment to gender justice and have the potential to generate transformational change in gender relations – for example, introducing an explicit commitment to gender justice in the producer organisation constitution, or engaging in communications activities that increase the visibility of women’s work both on the farm and in the household.

→ Enable more women to become members of the producer organisation in their own right by reviewing membership policy and/or encouraging men to share or gift ownership of land to their wives and other female family members.

→ Establish spaces to act as “incubators” for women’s leadership and to allow both men and women to learn about gender and consider ideas about identity. Inclusion of women’s committees in the producer organisation governance structure also enables women leaders to have more influence over decision-making and access to financial resources, helping to place a greater emphasis on women’s priorities in organisational strategy.

→ Create opportunities for women to get involved in selling products—for example as purchasing clerks or running small businesses—both to provide an additional source of income and to give women a greater understanding of market dynamics.

→ Prioritise access to affordable credit for women and/or campaign for subsidised credit to be offered by the government or other local actors.

→ Invest in adult literacy programmes to enable women to engage more effectively in democratic processes such as leadership elections and increase their awareness of and ability to access rights over land ownership.

→ Promote ‘Made by Women’ initiatives which add value to women’s produce, generating additional resources that can be used to finance further women’s empowerment initiatives and enable increased investment by women in their farms and families.
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Annex: List of Interviewees

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<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
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<td>Peru</td>
<td>Junta Nacional del Café</td>
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<td>Mary Mabel Addy, Monica Dadzie, Juliana Fremah, Isaac Baidoo, Kwame Owusu, Emmanuel Arthur</td>
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