

# Gender gaps in the adoption of modern agricultural technologies

Caroline Mieke and Anusha De

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## Abstract

This study investigates the barriers to effective uptake and impact of modern agricultural technologies among female smallholder farmers, using three rounds of previously self-collected panel data from 3,500 maize-farming households in Uganda. It pursues three objectives. First, we estimate gender gaps in the adoption of improved maize varieties, in agricultural productivity, and in income. Second, we apply the Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition to disentangle the extent to which these gaps are driven by differences in observable endowments versus structural factors. Third, recognizing that women may realize smaller gains from technology adoption even when adopting the same modern agricultural technology, we assess the impact of adopting an improved maize variety on farm productivity and income for female-headed households. To address potential endogeneity, we employ an instrumental variable strategy that leverages randomized exposure to a prior experiment, which influenced adoption behavior but is plausibly exogenous to farm productivity or income. The study contributes new evidence on gender-differentiated impacts of modern technologies and sheds light on constraints to equitable productivity gains from agricultural innovations.

## 1 Introduction

Agriculture is the backbone of many sub-Saharan African economies, contributing a large share of both output and employment. Although increasing agricultural productivity is essential for GDP growth, poverty reduction, food security, and structural transformation, progress has remained stubbornly slow, with productivity growth lagging well behind other regions (e.g., Suri & Udry, 2022).

One of the most persistent and costly inefficiencies is the gender gap in agricultural productivity and income (Buehren, 2023). Structural, institutional, and social constraints systematically disadvantage female farmers and female-headed households. Women are more likely to farm smaller and lower-quality plots, face weaker land rights, and have more limited access to credit, labor, inputs, and information. Time constraints due to household and caregiving responsibilities further restrict their productive capacity, while limited market

access and weaker bargaining power reduce returns and reinvestment opportunities. Risk aversion, exacerbated by narrower financial safety nets, also hampers the adoption of high-return practices.

Another key constraint on agricultural productivity is the widespread under-adoption of modern agricultural technologies, such as improved seeds and fertilizers. Despite decades of investment by CGIAR and others, uptake remains well below potential, as outlined in a recent review by Suri and Udry (2022). And again, women are consistently less likely to adopt productivity-enhancing technologies due to economic, social, institutional, and cultural barriers. These include limited access to extension services, agricultural networks that facilitate technology diffusion, and credit to purchase inputs.

Crucially, even when women adopt improved technologies despite those additional constraints, their productivity and income gains are often smaller. This reflects persistent disadvantages in complementary resources such as fertilizer, labor, and land quality. Inadequate access to agronomic advice, labor shortages linked to domestic responsibilities, and restricted access to markets further erode potential gains. Understanding and addressing these gender-differentiated constraints is essential for achieving inclusive agricultural transformation and realizing the full benefits of modern innovations.

## 2 Research questions

- RQ1: To what extent do gender gaps exist in the adoption of improved maize varieties, agricultural productivity, and farm income?
- RQ2: What is the relative importance of endowment versus structural effects to the gender gap in agricultural technology adoption and productivity?
- RQ3: What is the impact of adopting improved maize seed varieties on farm productivity and income among female-headed households?

## 3 Literature review

First, we contribute to the literature on gender gaps in the agricultural sector (incl. De, Miede, and Van Campenhout, 2024). While women constitute a substantial share of the African agricultural labor force – over 50% in Malawi, Tanzania, and Uganda; 37% in Nigeria; 29% in Ethiopia; and 24% in Niger (Palacios-Lopez et al., 2017) – they consistently produce less per unit of land than men. In 2014, estimated gender productivity gaps ranged from 6% in Tanzania to 25% in Malawi (O’Sullivan et al., 2014). More recent estimates indicate a gap of 11% in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (World Bank, 2021) and 30% in Nigeria (World Bank, 2022). We extend this body of work by estimating gender gaps in agricultural productivity and income using plot-level data from the Busoga region of Uganda for 2021–2022.

Second, we advance the literature that disentangles the roles of endowment versus structural effects in driving gender disparities. Women face two broad types of constraints: limited access to productive inputs (endowment effect) and discriminatory social norms and practices that reduce returns to those inputs (structural effect). Existing studies indicate that both play a role. When gender differences in access to inputs are controlled for, the estimated productivity gap often narrows (Gilbert et al., 2002 in Malawi; Kinkingninhoun-Médagbé et al., 2010 in Benin), highlighting the importance of endowments. However, other studies find that productivity gaps persist even after equalizing input access, pointing to structural constraints (Ali et al., 2016 in Uganda; Bello et al., 2021 in Nigeria; O’Sullivan et al., 2014 in Malawi, Niger, Uganda, Tanzania, and northern Nigeria). We contribute to this literature by estimating the relative contributions of endowment and structural effects to gender gaps in agricultural productivity and income in Busoga.

Third, we contribute to research on gender disparities in agricultural technology adoption. Female farmers are generally less likely to adopt modern inputs, and when they do, tend to use them less intensively (Sheahan and Barrett, 2017). Studies report lower fertilizer access and adoption among women in Malawi, Niger, northern Nigeria, and Uganda (O’Sullivan et al., 2014). In Nigeria, male farmers use over eight times more fertilizer and 50% more herbicide per hectare than women (World Bank, 2022). While most of this literature focuses on fertilizer, we examine gender gaps in the adoption of improved maize seed varieties, a key technology promoted by CGIAR institutions, where evidence remains limited. Moreover, we assess whether adoption disparities are driven more by endowments or by structural barriers.

Lastly, we contribute to evidence on the impacts of agricultural technology adoption by estimating the effect of improved maize seed adoption on productivity and income among female-headed households. While some studies report lower returns from fertilizer use among women (O’Sullivan et al., 2014), others show that fertilizer subsidies increase productivity for both genders but do little to reduce gender gaps (Giné et al., 2015; Kilic et al., 2015; Karamba and Winters, 2015; Ngoma et al., 2021), and again others suggest women may benefit more from bundled interventions: in Benin, women provided with both inputs and information for Nerica rice cultivation achieved higher yields and incomes (Agboh-Noameshie et al., 2007). These mixed findings suggest that the productivity impact of agricultural technology adoption may vary by gender. We contribute to this literature by providing evidence on the gender-differentiated returns to modern agricultural technology adoption.

## 4 Data

We examine the constraints to uptake and the potential impact of improved maize seed varieties using panel data from three survey rounds with approximately 3,500 smallholder maize farmers in southeastern Uganda. The data were originally collected for a project focused on agro-dealers and their customers.

The agro-dealer sample was constructed by listing all agro-dealers operating across eleven districts in the Busoga region. To link agro-dealers with farmers, each agro-dealer was asked to identify the villages where most of their customers reside. Enumerators then randomly sampled ten maize-growing households from each of these villages, yielding the sample of about 3,500 farmers. Baseline data were collected in April 2021, followed by midline surveys in January-February 2022 and endline surveys in July-August 2022.

Enumerators interviewed the household member most knowledgeable about maize cultivation. A subset of questions specifically targeted the household head, who may or may not have been the respondent. In addition to general information on agricultural practices, farmers were asked to list all their maize plots, from which one was randomly selected for detailed data collection. This approach minimized survey duration and respondent burden while preserving representativeness at the household level, due to the random selection of plots.

## 5 Methods

1. We will begin with a comprehensive review of the literature on gender gaps in agricultural technology adoption, productivity, and income.
2. We will estimate gender gaps in (i) the adoption of improved maize seed varieties, (ii) agricultural productivity (yield), and (iii) agricultural income (sales and revenue). (Note: We have multiple measures of adoption, including self-reported use of improved seed on any plot, use of seed from an agro-shop on any plot, hybrid seed or OPV on a specific plot, and use of seed from an agro-shop on a specific plot.)
3. To investigate the sources of gender disparities in adoption, productivity, and income, we will apply the Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition (Blinder, 1973; Oaxaca, 1973). This method decomposes observed gender gaps into two components:
  - (a) Endowment Effect: Captures differences due to observable farmer and farm-household characteristics, such as access to land, credit, education, and inputs. These are factors that reflect unequal resource access.
  - (b) Structural Effect: Captures differences in returns to those resources, potentially reflecting discriminatory social norms or practices – for example, women receiving lower prices for the same outputs. This component accounts for unexplained variation not attributable to observable endowments.
4. Women may derive lower productivity and income gains from adopting the same improved maize varieties as men, hence we will estimate the impact of adoption on productivity and income for female-headed households. To address potential endogeneity and isolate the causal effect, we will implement an instrumental variables strategy. Specifically, we will use exposure

to a previously implemented experiment as an instrument: it affects the likelihood of adoption but does not directly affect farm productivity or income. Using two-stage least squares, the first stage will predict adoption based on the instrument, and the second stage will estimate the effect of predicted adoption on productivity and income.

## 6 Conclusion

Given the substantial benefits of modern agricultural technologies, this study addresses a high-impact research area. While both men and women face adoption challenges, our focus is on understanding constraints specific to female farmers. The project will generate actionable evidence to enhance technology uptake among female smallholders in sub-Saharan Africa, a critical step toward building resilience in a vulnerable population.

## 7 Literature

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