



Transforming Gender Relations in Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa

Cathy Farnworth, Melinda Fones Sundell, Akinyi Nzioki,
Violet Shivutse, and Marion Davis

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Agricultural Network Initiative (SIANI)

ISBN: 978-91-86125-44-8



This document has been
financed by the Swedish
International Development
Cooperation Agency, Sida.
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Cover photo: Women from the Mbini Self-Help Group in Machakos, Kenya, show off their fields.

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The authors would like to thank McKay Savage, Andrea Ciannavei and Mònica Coll Besa for generously sharing their photographs for use in this book. We would also like to thank Paul Mundy for enabling us to use photos from the Sida-Amhara Rural Development Programme; Diane Shohet of WorldFish for allowing us to use Georgina Smith's photos; and Linda Mayoux, Paineto Baluku of Bukonzo Joint, Fortunate Nyakanda of ZOPPA, Catherine Njambi of the Africa Biogas Partnership Programme, and Mike Shanahan and Khanh Tran-Thanh of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) for providing photos from their respective programmes. Finally, we would like to extend our appreciation to the individuals and organizations whose photographs of women farmers and agricultural development programmes in Africa, shared online with Creative Commons licenses, were also invaluable in illustrating this book.

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Foreword

This book is the result of a process to better understand the role of gender in agriculture that was initiated by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) in 2009. Recognizing the importance of empowering women farmers, Sida commissioned a study of the gender aspects of five of its major agricultural programmes.¹ The case studies from Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Zambia, and the accompanying umbrella analysis, highlighted many difficulties in working towards greater gender equality in agricultural development programmes, but it also revealed a number of valuable lessons and promising approaches.

Sida organized a seminar to present the findings of the report in the spring of 2010. At that seminar it became apparent that the findings, particularly in relation to successful approaches and their underlying reasons, needed to be spread to as wide an audience as possible. The Swedish International Agricultural Network Initiative (SIANI) agreed to organize a seminar in April 2011 entitled “Why Women Matter in Agriculture” to begin exploring avenues of further development. Discussion at that seminar made it clear that most everyone (from private, public, academic and civil society organizations) could agree that women matter a great deal in agriculture, and particularly with regard to food security in an African context. Participants were eager to move beyond the analysis of the past and look towards devising mechanisms for changing attitudes and roles – all of this in the overall context of agricultural sector growth and poverty alleviation.

SIANI then organized a four day “writeshop” with 20 participants facilitated with the World Café methodology.² The participants came from a wide range of institutions: bilateral and multilateral donors, academics, private-sector consultants and NGOs. All had field experience in agricultural development in Africa, and over half currently worked in African organizations.

The basic structure of the book and the references for case studies were generated by this writeshop, although it became clear that we had only scratched the surface of what could be said about successful approaches to transforming gender roles in agriculture. A smaller group was formed to edit the proceedings of the writeshop, which grew into a greater task as colleagues who had not attended also contributed interesting case studies. We also became aware of the need to include analytical

1 See Farnworth, C. R. (2010). *Gender Aware Approaches in Agricultural Programmes: A Study of Sida-supported Agricultural Programmes*. Sida Evaluation 2010:3. Stockholm. <http://www.sida.se/Global/About%20Sida/Sida%20Utv%c3%a4rderingar/Gender%20in%20Agriculture%20Evaluation%202010-3.pdf>.

2 See <http://www.theworldcafe.com>.

frameworks and a structure that would help readers “invent” new approaches – drawing on the successful examples, but tailored to their particular situations.

In the end, many participated in the production of this book; we have noted them all as contributing authors. We are also fortunate that several others agreed to review individual chapters to ensure accuracy and relevancy, or to provide photographs from their work all across Africa.

We hope that this book will serve as both a source of inspiration, and a rough guide to what can work in designing and implementing agricultural development efforts that empower women and men alike.

Our greatest thanks go to Anita Ingevall at Sida, who provided much of the inspiration and support for this project. We dedicate this book to her memory.

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"We need to ensure that the energy, skills, strength, values and wisdom of women become an integral part of the remodeled economic infrastructures now being developed by global leaders. Empowering and investing in women is part of a global solution for us all, now and in the future."

Graça Machel, African elder, activist and former First Lady of Mozambique and South Africa¹

A woman in Kenya sells produce at the market. ©thisisexcellent, Flickr.

1 Introduction

This book makes the bold claim that empowered women and men are better, more successful farmers who can make the most of the opportunities around them. We argue that there is a causal relation between more equal gender relations in the household and in the community, and better agricultural outcomes. The one underpins the other. This is a radical thing to say, because it means that the standard development interventions – more extension services, better information, more fertilizer, better machinery – will not fully achieve their goals unless women and men are on equal footing, able to make rational economic decisions unhindered by gender norms that limit what is “appropriate” for women or for men to do, or to be.

Empowering women as decision-makers in all areas of their lives is challenging and exciting. It is a key to poverty reduction. Transforming gender relations will help to make smallholder agriculture and associated development efforts more effective and efficient, with knock-on effects for a variety of development outcomes.

Of course we do not want to transform gender relations just to improve agricultural outcomes. We expect much more. We believe that women have the right, like men, to be enabled by their society to imagine, to wonder and ... to know.² Amartya Sen, in his rejection of instrumental approaches to development, says:

Human beings are the agents, beneficiaries and adjudicators of progress, but they also happen to be – directly or indirectly – the primary means of all production. This dual role of human beings provides a rich ground for confusion of ends and means in planning and policy-making. Indeed it can – and frequently does – take the form of focusing on production and prosperity as the essence of progress, treating people as the means through which that productive process is brought about (rather than seeing the lives of people as the ultimate concern and treating production and prosperity merely as means to those lives.”³

We agree with Sen. People are our ultimate concern. We are convinced that transforming gender relations in agriculture will enable women, men, and their children to live richer, more meaningful lives in the ways that they choose. We want this book to be a contribution to making that happen.

Our whole book is about strategies for empowerment. But what does gender equality involve? Genuine equality means more than parity in numbers or laws on the books; it means expanding freedoms and improving overall quality of life so that true equality is achieved without sacrificing gains for men and women. It is increasingly recognized that fostering gender equality involves working with men and boys as well as women and girls to bring about changes in attitudes, behaviours, roles and responsibilities at home, in the

1 Chapter 1 title page quotation: As quoted in Sachikonye, T. K. (2012). Why we must empower women. *NewsDay Zimbabwe*, 12 August. <http://www.newsday.co.zw/2012/08/10/2012-08-10-why-we-must-empower-women/>.

2 To paraphrase Nussbaum, M. and Sen, A. (1993). Introduction. In *The Quality of Life*. M. Nussbaum and A. Sen (eds.). Clarendon Press. At p.1.

3 Sen, A. (2005). Development as Capability Expansion. In *Readings in Human Development: Concepts, Measures and Policies for a Development Paradigm*. S. Fukuda-Parr and A. K. S. Kumar (eds.). Oxford University Press, USA, New York. At p.3.

workplace, in the community, in business and in society at large.⁴ Following from this, it is useful to ask: What do empowerment and disempowerment look like in context? Below we present an example, the story of Apiyo, a Kenyan woman farmer. It shows that some people reach the limits of their ability to change their lives more quickly than others might. In Apiyo's case, the limits to her power are fundamentally framed by the fact that she is a woman living in a specific society. Her gender determines her rights to resources and to assistance in her community. At the same time, like so many other women in Africa, she is full of hope and potential. Although Apiyo has a hard life, she is working actively for a better future by joining a women's group, developing her capacity and linking to a variety of government and private service providers.

Apiyo's story

Apiyo is in her early 50s and is a member of the Luo ethnic community in western Kenya, like the paternal family of Barack Obama, whose ancestral home is near Apiyo's. While in Kenyan cities and towns, people marry much as in the West, in many rural areas, the Luo practice virilocal marriage, which means that the wife moves to her husband's village upon marriage. A typical rural Luo wife is fully dependent on her husband for access to all farm resources, including land and machinery. He usually takes all the decisions on what to grow, when to plant, and what and when to sell.

Should the husband die, one of his brothers or close relatives can inherit his widow – a custom called “tero”.⁵ But the woman can also be left entirely bereft, particularly if none of the relatives wants to inherit her. The local people have a saying, “*A wife is next of skin, not next of kin.*” This means that she is not regarded as really “belonging” to the local community, and is therefore not entitled to any resources in her own right. In Apiyo's case, the worst happened. Her husband died, leaving her with nine children. Although he arranged for her to have the title to his land upon his death, this was not enough. Five of the children died of malnutrition within a short period because Apiyo could not call upon anyone to help her with the farm. She had no kin and no other income, and simply could not feed her children properly.

Today, Apiyo farms her 2.5 acres alone, growing cassava, maize and vegetables. She complains of a fast, irregular heartbeat and breathlessness, and comes across with a mixture of pride and worry. But she has joined the Nyi-Loka Women's Group to try and change her life. This is how the members of the Nyi-Loka Women's Group explain what they do:

We all come from the Southern Nyanza, which is far away, about 200 kilometres from here. Our friendship started at funerals. We realized that several of our

4 See, for example, USAID (2012). *Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy*. U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington, DC. <http://blog.usaid.gov/2012/03/translating-words-into-action-usaids-gender-equality-and-female-empowerment-policy/>. Also: The World Bank (2011). *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development*. Washington, DC. <http://go.worldbank.org/6R2KGVEXPO>. And: Sida (2005). *Policy Promoting Gender Equality in Development Cooperation*. Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Stockholm.

5 For a in-depth discussion of Luo widowhood practices, see Gunga, S.O. (2009). The politics of Widowhood and Re-Marriage among the Luo of Kenya. *Thought and Practice: A Journal of the Philosophical Association of Kenya*, 1(1). 165–78. DOI:10.4314/tp.v1i1.46313.

fellow women had married men here. In some cases the husband had died and the children could not go to school. We did not want to face the same situation. We became conscious of being alone. We began to gather together. Since many of us have lost husbands, we thought: why not help each other? When we started we were six people. Now we are nineteen.

There are three reasons for the **secret of our success**. First, we love each other. The distance from our family home makes us feel solidarity with one another. Second, we have clear objectives for our group. We aim to cover emergency situations. For example, if a relative dies back home, we make sure that there is enough money to go to the funeral. We have an emergency kitty for such costs. We also have a savings scheme called a merry-go-round to cover other expenses. Third, we are securing our livelihoods by developing farming and catering projects. To do this we have collaborated with the Ministry of Agriculture and Jaa Marafuku (a Ministry of Agriculture fund). This has enabled us to gain experience in different farming activities. We were given 40,000 Kenyan shillings for capacity-building from Jaa Marafuku to pay for private facilitators/extension workers with farming skills (equipment, stationery, facilitator allowances). We are also part of a food security network trained by the Food and Agriculture Organization at farmer field schools. In the farmer field school we learned many things like catering services, food preservation, and beekeeping. The Nyi-Loka Women's Group offers catering services, for example at parties and at funerals. Finally, we rent an acre of land that costs 2,000 Kenyan shillings per year which we work collectively, and we sell the produce together. Our aim is to buy our own land, since we have to change our rented field each year – the male owners always take over the land when we have improved it. However, buying our own field will be very expensive.



Children of the Luo ethnicity at play in Kisumu, Kenya. © US Army Africa, Flickr.

Apiyo's story is personal to her, but she has much in common with millions of other African women farmers. Her effectiveness as a farmer is limited by the fact that as a woman, she cannot access key resources by herself – she can only obtain them through marriage. Her husband tried to secure her future by giving her title to the land, but in the face of entrenched community norms that work against women's independence, his plans for his family's security were defeated, and five of their children died. Having land is important, but it is not enough – community support, money and extension services are vital to making that land productive. Millions of women are just as vulnerable as Apiyo. When their husband dies, they may lose their land, and some become destitute, and have to do sex work or move to urban areas to try and secure a living.

In many ways Apiyo is lucky, even though she remains extremely poor. She is not completely alone. Being a member of the women's group is really helping her. Apiyo's story shows that people in great poverty work actively to change their lives, but the gender relations of the society within which they live present huge barriers to escaping poverty for good.

The data

Across this book, we provide data and analysis to show that women must be empowered to become better farmers in order to raise levels of productivity and production and achieve the dramatic improvements in food security and nutrition that are so urgently needed in sub-Saharan Africa. We argue that women farmers are often not as efficient as they should be because gender relations frequently do not allow them to be effective decision-makers. In many African countries, women and men farmers operate separate farm businesses, but men may decide how to spend some or all of the profits from the women's businesses. This reduces the ability of women to generate working and investment capital, so their businesses often stay small, making women unattractive value chain partners.

Men frequently control key productive assets such as ploughs, which can mean that their fields are worked first. Women may also be required to work on men's fields and in men's businesses before tending to their own. Sometimes women find it hard to implement the training they have received because they need to obtain the agreement of their partners to make changes – which may not be forthcoming. All this means that women's fields may be ploughed last, be planted too late to maximize the growing season, and be harvested later than the optimal time. This affects food security because in many sub-Saharan African countries, women are the main growers of staple crops – even those considered “male crops”.

The FAO's State of Food and Agriculture Report 2010–2011 cites a wide array of studies from across Africa that show the impact of gender inequalities on agricultural productivity, especially because of differences in inputs (fertilizers, tools and equipment, etc.). For example:⁶

- In Kenya, men producing maize, beans and cowpeas achieve higher gross value of output per hectare than women, and the difference is accounted for by differences in

6 FAO (2011). *Women in Agriculture: Closing the Gender Gap for Development*. The State of Food and Agriculture 2010–2011. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome, Italy. <http://www.fao.org/publications/sofa/2010-11/en/>. See Chapter 4: Gains from closing the gender gap (pp.39–45), which includes citations for all the studies.

inputs. A study in western Kenya found female-headed households had 23% lower agricultural yields than male-headed households, and attributed the difference to less secure access to land and lower education levels. Another study in western Kenya found that women smallholders' maize yields were 16% lower than men's, largely because they used substantially less fertilizer.

- A study in Malawi found women's maize yields were 12–19% lower than men's, but when they were able to match men's fertilizer use on experimental plots, they achieved the same yields.
- In Nigeria's Osun State, women achieved 66% lower rice yields than men, again due to differences in inputs. Similarly, in Ondo and Ogun States, women smallholders achieved lower cassava yields than men because they used fewer inputs and bought lower-quality or more expensive inputs.
- A study in Ghana found women were as efficient as men in maize and cassava production, but their yields and profits were lower because they could not maintain the fertility of their land.



A farmer in Kenya applies fertilizer to maize. Photo by B. Doss © CIMMYT, Flickr.

The FAO report goes on to argue that if women had the same access to productive resources as men, they could increase farm yields by 20–30%.⁷ Closing the gender gap in agricultural yields worldwide could thus lift 100–150 million people out of hunger.⁸ Yet it is obvious that this will not *just happen*. Improving women's access to resources is a massive task which requires deliberate, planned and radical transformation in gender relations.

Transformation is worth the effort. Empirical studies show that production and productivity levels increase where there is more equity in asset distribution. This has been known for a long time. A 1983 study in Cameroon, for example, found that labour was not allocated efficiently across men's rice fields and women's sorghum fields.⁹ Research in the 1990s in Burkina Faso, using an extremely detailed agronomic panel data set, showed that plots managed by women had significantly lower yields than similar plots managed by men

7 FAO (2011), *op.cit.*, at p.5.

8 The FAO estimates that closing the gender gap would increase agricultural output in developing countries by 2.5–4%, and this could reduce the number of undernourished people by 12–15%. See FAO (2011), *op.cit.*, Foreword.

9 Jones, C. (1983). The mobilization of women's labor for cash crop production: A game theoretic approach. Cited in Doss, C. R. (1999). *Twenty-five Years of Research on Women Farmers in Africa: Lessons and Implications for Agricultural Research Institutions – With an Annotated Bibliography*. Economics Program Paper No. 99-02. CIMMYT, Mexico City, Mexico. <http://impact.cgiar.org/pdf/246.pdf>.

planted with the same crop in the same year. The yield differential was attributable to significantly higher labour and fertilizer inputs per acre on plots controlled by men.¹⁰ In each case, men ultimately decided how labour and inputs should be allocated on both male-managed and female-managed plots. Indeed, in many smallholder farming systems in sub-Saharan Africa, women work on the men's plots and may indeed have to prioritize those plots before turning to work on their own. In some cases, reciprocal labour schemes exist, but these are not necessarily equal.

Improving the ability of women to maximize production is critical to achieving well-being. Women in sub-Saharan Africa have the highest average agricultural labour force participation in the world, an estimated 62.5% in 2012, compared with 36.4% globally.¹¹ In Ghana, for example, women produce 70% of the nation's food crops, provide 52% of the agricultural labour force, and contribute 95% of the labour for agro-processing activities and 85% for food distribution.¹² In sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, women made up 43.8% of the economically active population in 2010, and 65% of those women were in the agricultural sector¹³ – by our calculation, almost 100 million women – though there is national variation, with women providing 70% of agricultural labour in Kenya, for example.¹⁴ This also highlights the importance of closing gender gaps: an analysis in Kenya found that the increased yields that would result from ensuring that women had the same access to agricultural inputs as men (22%) would translate to a one-off doubling in Kenya's growth rate, from 4.3% (in 2004) to 8.3%.¹⁵

Men and women often “control” different crops – meaning that they are ones responsible for selling or otherwise using those crops, including for household consumption. For instance, maize is considered a “male crop” when it is sold at market, because men are responsible for selling it, even though women may have contributed the bulk of the labour required for its production. Groundnuts have traditionally been considered a “female crop” in many parts of Africa because of their centrality to the family diet. However, when “female crops” become attractive in the market, ownership often switches to men.

Numerous studies show that resources and incomes controlled by women are more likely to be used to improve child health, nutrition and education. Measures to increase women's influence within the household, such as education, are associated with better outcomes for children, thus contributing to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals

10 Udry, C. (1996). Gender, agricultural production, and the theory of the household. *Journal of Political Economy*, 104(5). 1010–46. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/2138950>.

11 This is down from 70.8% in 1992, a far steeper drop than for men (from 64.4% in 1992 to 61.8% in 2012). See ILO (2012). *Global Employment Trends for Women 2012*. International Labour Organization, Geneva, Switzerland. http://www.ilo.org/global/research/global-reports/global-employment-trends/WCMS_195447/lang--en/. At.p.57, Table A8.

12 Post-harvest processing activities include husking maize, extracting vegetable and palm oils, grinding nuts, and smoking fish, among other tasks. See African Development Fund (2008). *Ghana Country Gender Profile*. <http://www.afdb.org/en/documents/project-operations/country-gender-profiles/>.

13 FAO (2011), op.cit.

14 Ellis, A., Cutura, J., Gillson, I., Manuel, C., Dione, N. and Thongori, J. (2007). *Gender and Economic Growth in Kenya: Unleashing the Power of Women*. The World Bank, Washington, DC. <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/6810>. At p.xxiii.

15 Ellis et al. (2007), op. cit., at p.19.

(MDGs). Research by the OECD Development Centre shows that women's control over resources, their level of decision-making power in the family and household, and their degree of control over their own physical security are all factors in the bottlenecks that hamper further progress across all the MDG targets.¹⁶ Countries where social institutions are highly discriminatory towards women tend to score poorly against the human development targets used to track progress towards achieving the MDGs. Box 1.1 presents some of the associations between women's lack of control over assets, weak decision-making power, and weak development outcomes.

BOX 1.1 Gender and the Millennium Development Goals¹⁷

MDG 1: Eradicate extreme hunger and poverty

Countries where women lack any right to own land have, on average, 60% more malnourished children. In Ghana, a 1% increase in the share of assets owned by rural women results in 2.8% increase of monthly expenditure on food.¹⁸

Where women lack any access to credit, the number of malnourished children is 85% above average.

MDG 2: Achieve universal primary education

The lack of women's decision-making power in the family and household limits their ability to make choices to safeguard the health, education and welfare of their children. Net enrolment in primary education is generally lower in countries with high levels of early marriage. In the countries where more than half of 15–19-year-old girls are married (Democratic Republic of Congo, Niger, Afghanistan, Congo, Mali), fewer than half of primary school-aged children, on average, attend school.

Other MDGs:

Where women's roles and decision-making power in the household are restricted, they have less ability to influence decisions regarding their children's welfare and well-being. This is reflected in the fact that under-5 mortality rates (an indicator for MDG 4) are, on average, higher in countries with family laws that discriminate against women.

The prevalence of HIV in the population aged 15–24 years (an indicator for MDG 6) is on average greater in countries where women have few rights in relation to inheritance or parental authority, and where polygamy is more prevalent.

Where women have few land rights, the proportion of the population with access to safe drinking water (an indicator for MDG 7) is on average lower as well.

16 OECD Development Centre (2010). *Gender Inequality and the MDGs: What Are the Missing Dimensions?* 'At Issue' brief. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris. <http://www.oecd.org/development/poverty/49016646.pdf>. OECD Development Centre (2010). *Gender Inequality and the MDGs: What Are the Missing Dimensions?* 'At Issue' brief. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris. <http://www.oecd.org/development/poverty/49016646.pdf>.

17 Unless otherwise noted, information in this box is drawn from OECD Development Centre (2010), op.cit.

18 Doss, C. (2006). The Effects of Intrahousehold Property Ownership on Expenditure Patterns in Ghana. *Journal of African Economies*, 15(1). 149–80. DOI:10.1093/jae/eji025. Doss, C. (2006). The Effects of Intrahousehold Property Ownership on Expenditure Patterns in Ghana. *Journal of African Economies*, 15(1). 149–80. DOI:10.1093/jae/eji025.

This book is packed with examples which show how policies and programmes that foster gender equity in agriculture improve not only women's lives, but overall well-being and agricultural production. It sets out an "empowerment pathway" which explains how action should be taken on several levels – the personal, community and the overall enabling environment – to ensure change is sustainable.

Overview of the book

Chapter 2 explains our conceptual framework. We place empowerment at its heart, and we show that no single intervention is enough to achieve gender equality and sustainable growth. We have to develop complex interventions, either directly or in partnership, to empower women at all levels. Otherwise, gains will not be secured.

Chapter 3 discusses the institutional settings which can encourage greater gender equity, including the role of gender in agricultural research and the use of gender audits within implementing institutions. It also provides a policy-level case study from Ghana on how to develop gender-responsive budgeting in the agricultural sector.

In **Chapter 4** we recognize that better data and better analyses have helped to create deeper understandings of how inequitable gender relations hinder effective agricultural development. This has led to a number of significant global publications which argue that developing **gender-centred policies** will ensure higher production and productivity in agriculture and generate a large number of social benefits. Within 18 months, the World Bank's World Development Report 2008,¹⁹ the International Assessment of Agricultural Science and Technology for Development,²⁰ and the *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook*²¹ all made the same case for radical change. Their message has been reinforced by many sources since, including in the World Development Report 2012, which focused on gender equality.²²

In **Chapter 5** we highlight the use of household methodologies, enriched by a growing insight in the development and research communities that the long-held assumption of households as cohesive units, with shared assets, needs and goals, does not always match reality. Rather, in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, women and men often lead separate lives even within the same household, with access to different resources and different production and consumption activities.²³

19 The World Bank (2007). *World Development Report 2008: Agriculture for Development*. Washington, DC. <http://go.worldbank.org/2DNNMCBG10>.

20 See McIntyre, B. D., Herren, H. R., Wakhungu, J. and Watson, R. T. eds. (2008). *Agriculture at a Crossroads: International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology for Development*. Johannesburg. <http://www.unep.org/dewa/Assessments/Ecosystems/IAASTD/tabid/105853/Default.aspx/>.

21 The World Bank, FAO and IFAD (2009). *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook*. The World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, and International Fund for Agricultural Development, Washington, DC. <http://go.worldbank.org/5Z9QPCC7L0>.

22 See The World Bank (2011). *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development*. Washington, DC. <http://go.worldbank.org/6R2KGVEXP0>.

23 Doss, C. R. (1999). *Twenty-five Years of Research on Women Farmers in Africa: Lessons and Implications for Agricultural Research Institutions – With an Annotated Bibliography*. Economics Program Paper No. 99-02. CIMMYT, Mexico City, Mexico. <http://impact.cgiar.org/pdf/246.pdf>.

Chapter 6 examines a variety of strategies to improve women's say at the community level, ranging from working with progressive decision-making structures in customary systems in Zambia, to grassroots women's organizations in Kenya, to men's organizations working for women's equality, again in Zambia.

Chapter 7 continues the policy discussion by looking at ways to improve women's access to land and productive inputs. Very different case studies from Kenya and Zimbabwe show the importance of combining work at the policy level with the work of advocacy networks and grassroots women's groups to achieve long-lasting change. Each study demonstrates that land reform is only the start of the journey. Much more needs to be done.

Chapter 8 examines ways to improve women's capacity to access and thrive in agricultural value chains, and to ensure that value-chain interventions adequately account for gender issues. The discussion is illustrated by case studies from Kenya and Zimbabwe.

Chapter 9 deals with the specific role that gender plays in "climate-smart" agriculture and, more broadly, in the development of strategies for mitigation and adaptation to climate change. This is a very new and poorly researched area, and there is little empirical evidence to date of effective strategies. However, all our understanding of gender relations suggests that if "climate-smart" agriculture is to succeed, it is critical to involve women from the start of any intervention.

The book ends with a brief overview of the larger themes that arise in the book, and some discussion of areas which need further research and further experimentation.



“Investing in women’s economic empowerment is a high-yield investment, with multiplier effects on productivity, efficiency and inclusive growth for the continent. This context presents a key opportunity for governments and business leaders to recognize and encourage women to be participants, beneficiaries and enablers of Africa’s growth.”

Kathleen Lay, ONE¹

Farmers who are working with GROOTS Kenya show off crops. © GROOTS Kenya

2 Developing Empowerment Pathways

In this book we provide ideas, methodologies and strategies for “empowerment pathways” to create permanent change in gender relations in the smallholder farming sector, in agricultural value chain development, and in climate-smart agricultural practices. The ultimate aim is to make these sectors work more effectively, unencumbered by gender norms that restrict effective, rational planning by men and women farmers and other actors.

Combining strategies for change is vital. The World Bank-sponsored Women in Development (WID) project in the Gambia in the 1990s² taught us that empowering women through targeted projects does not mean that their new-won capacity will ripple out into more decision-making power overall, or into increased personal freedom and ownership of assets. It is clear that improving women’s business skills without working to ensure that they are able to form independent relationships with other value-chain actors – by freeing up their time, investing in mobile phone technologies, ensuring safe and accessible transport, etc. – will limit their business success.

We know that training women in good agricultural practices without working to strengthen their access to productive assets, to strengthen their participation in producer groups and community decision-making bodies, and to strengthen their voice in intra-household decision-making rarely has a long-term impact on productivity. For these reasons, creating empowerment pathways that go from the individual, to the community, to the wider world is vital to ensure that change cannot be undone, but rather is truly resilient over time. Empowerment pathways are not linear: they rely on mutually reinforcing feedback loops to help create virtuous, ever-expanding, circles for change.

When talking about “empowerment”, we find it helpful to distinguish between four forms of power:

- Power over refers to direct and indirect control by one person or group over another person or group;
- Power within describes self-confidence, a sense of personal strength;
- Power to expresses being able to decide something and then to do it; and
- Power with describes collective power, when people come together for change.

These differentiated concepts of power provide us with starting points for strategies to help create change.

All too often in development circles, work on gender is mistaken for a “power over” approach: there is a widespread perception that men will lose out as a consequence of women’s gains. This is due in part to approaches in the past that have singled out women (as opposed to gender relations) for special attention, including some WID activities. It is central to this book’s approach to empowerment that men and women understand that not only will both benefit from greater gender equality, but the community as a whole will be stronger when everyone’s skills and talents are used to promote development.

1 Chapter 2 title page quotation: Lay, K. (2012). Why African women are the drivers of development. ONE Blog, 17 September. <http://www.one.org/us/2012/09/17/why-african-women-are-the-drivers-of-development/>.

2 See <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P000822/women-development-wid-project?lang=en>.



The choir of the Igendo Women Growers Association in their greenhouse. © USAID Tanzania, Wikimedia Commons

Research discussed in Chapter 5 also shows that when household decision-making processes are more equal, men's relationships with their children become closer. And all men have daughters, sisters, friends, mothers, co-workers or other women in their lives whose safety and well-being they care about; it is this recognition that has led many men, in Africa and around the world, to mobilize against sexual and gender-based violence.³ Men for Gender Equality Now (MEGEN), which works to "transform masculinities for women's empowerment" in Kenya, urges men to not only shun violence themselves, but to refuse to condone violence perpetrated by others, and to actively work to end sexual and gender-based violence and promote gender equality in their communities.⁴ Programmes that reach out to men also emphasize how gender inequality and stereotypes negatively affect them as well. For example, gender norms that equate masculinity with toughness are known to reduce male health-seeking behaviours.⁵ Retaining men's traditional role of breadwinners even as structural changes in the economy encourage higher rates of female participation can lead to friction, and has been associated with a significant loss of self-esteem and increases in self-harm among men, as well as with the abuse of women.⁶

3 See Greig, A. and Edstrom, J. (2012). *Mobilising Men in Practice: Challenging Sexual and Gender-based Violence in Institutional Settings*. Institute of Development Studies, Brighton, UK. <http://www.ids.ac.uk/publication/mobilising-men-in-practice-challenging-sexual-and-gender-based-violence-in-institutional-settings>. Also, Men for Gender Equality Now (MEGEN), in Kenya, <http://www.megen.org>, and the U.S.-based Men Stopping Violence, <http://www.menstoppingviolence.org>.

4 See <http://www.megen.org/>.

5 See, for example, McEvoy, R. and Richardson, N. (2004). *Men's Health in Ireland Report*. Men's Health Forum in Ireland, Belfast. <http://www.mhfi.org/mhfireport.htm>.

6 The World Bank (2011). *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development*. Washington, DC. <http://go.worldbank.org/6R2KGVEXPO>. Spread 2 (pp.194–196): "The decline of the breadwinner: Men in the 21st century".

The conceptual framework

In order to build our concept of “empowerment pathways”, we build upon an idea developed by CARE, of three interconnected “empowerment dimensions”.⁷ These are **agency** – the ability to make our own choices and act upon them; **relations** – our ability to create, participate in, and benefit from networks; and **structure**, which itself has two dimensions. First, structure includes the organizational forms everyone can see, such as producer cooperatives and marketing boards, the ministry of agriculture, as well as the laws and the policies that determine people’s rights. Second, structure refers to the invisible norms that underlie and “justify” the way organizations are set up, and how laws are formed. In many agrarian societies, for instance, sons rather than daughters tend to inherit land (an “invisible” norm); the laws may support this practice by acknowledging customary law (a more visible expression of the norm). It is important to appreciate that unequal power relations shape each of these dimensions.

Figure 2.1 provides an overview of the three empowerment dimensions and presents the “ideal case” of empowered women and men. Sample activities to empower women and men in each dimension are then discussed.

Agency

Agency is the ability to define one’s goals and act upon them. Promoting agency as a programme goal is about recognizing the right of people to have choices in how they provide for themselves and to determine the course of their lives. Examples of agency in the sense of “power to” include:

- Accessing information freely;
- Setting and realizing goals;
- Deciding how to use one’s own labour;
- Directing benefiting from one’s work;
- Participating in education and extension programmes;
- Implementing lessons learned from training courses;
- Claiming one’s legal and customary rights;
- Joining groups, collectives, and producer and marketing boards;
- Taking on decision-making positions;
- Speaking out and being listened to.

Examples of agency in the sense of “power with” include:

- Women and men working together and making decisions together within households, in groups, and in communities;
- Working together to develop and share productive assets equitably;
- Sharing domestic and caring tasks equitably between men and women;
- Men and women working together to identify and address their respective needs with relation to gender roles and personal development.

7 Lawson-Lartego, L., Kamp, K. and Hill, C. (2009). *A Place to Grow: Empowering Women in CARE’s Agriculture Programming*. S. Bell (ed.). CARE briefing paper. Economic Development Unit, CARE USA, Atlanta, GA. Available at <http://bit.ly/CARE-APG>. At pp.7–9.

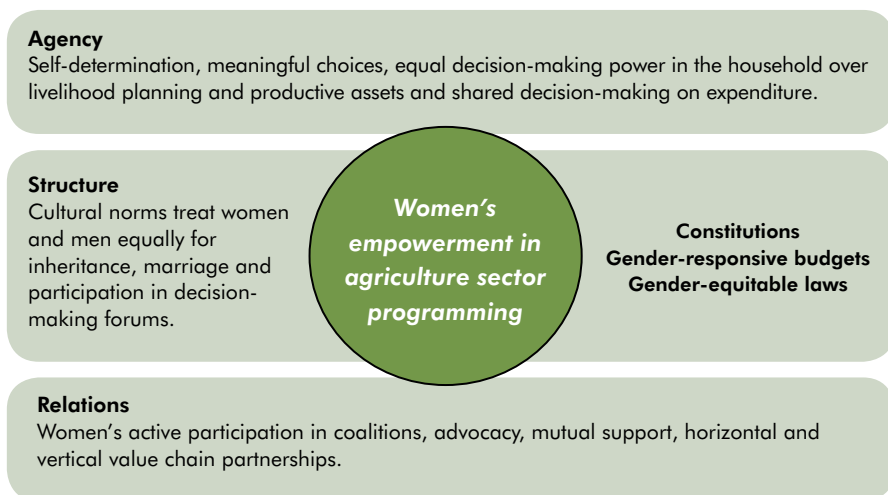


FIGURE 2.1 Three empowerment dimensions

Whilst it is possible to increase agency through education and other types of initiatives, in many situations, agency effectively depends on access to resources, for without them it can be impossible to realize one's business and personal goals, or determine how to live one's life. Meaningful choice requires being truly able to pursue different options: you may have the right to send your children to school next door, but if you cannot pay the fees, you do not really have that choice. Thus, it is the combination of both agency and resources that yields achievements (outcomes).⁸

In agriculture, productive assets are clearly critical for effective participation in market-led programmes. However, as a consequence of unequal gender relations – which arise from cultural norms perpetuated in “structure” – the assets that women control tend to have weak income generation potential and are rarely sufficient to serve as collateral for value chain investments. Women-owned assets often include small livestock, kitchen equipment, firewood, jewellery and savings. Women tend to invest in such assets because they can control them in most societies. Often women's assets also depend on the ability to access and maintain social capital, such as group-based micro-credit schemes. The assets controlled by men, by contrast, tend to be of higher value and contribute more directly to farm productivity, such as land, the ability to command and pay for labour, and farming technologies such as ploughs and sprayers. Women's access to productive resources like these is often mediated by male kin and may be withdrawn in the event of a marital breakdown or the husband's death.

⁸ See Kabeer, N. (1999). *What Colour is the Wind: Feminists, Development Agencies and the Empowerment of Third World Women. Gender, Poverty and Well-being: Indicators and Strategies : Report of the UNRISD, UNDP and CDS International Workshop, Kerala, 24–27 November 1997.* United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. Also: Kabeer, N. (2000). *Resources, Agency, Achievement: reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment. Power, Resources and Culture in a Gender Perspective.* Uppsala Universitet, Uppsala, Sweden.



A couple in Tanzania show off their produce. Photo by Fintec Inc. © ILSAD Tanzania, Flickr

This said, having more resources does not *automatically* mean having more agency and voice – and vice-versa. Reciprocal, causal relationships between asset control and increased agency in all aspects of life do not necessarily exist. For example, in Saudi Arabia, a woman may be wealthy yet have almost no freedom of movement or association. Conversely, a woman who attends a Farmer Field School, for instance, may come to be recognized as an expert by her community, but see no improvement in her physical assets,⁹ and still own no land because

customary norms allocate land to men. In such a case, the woman might be unable to realize her business plans, and might lose her house and land if her husband dies. It is thus essential to develop coordinated strategies to strengthen both women's agency, and their resources.

Structure

As noted above, the term structure covers two interrelated concepts. First, structure refers to the political, cultural, economic and social structures within which women and men live. Structure can have recognizable forms, such as how households are organized (monogamous, polygamous, etc.), producer groups, development agencies, government institutions, laws, and so forth. Second, structure refers to the values, assumptions and ideologies that perpetuate and legitimize these visible entities. There are strong associations between visible and invisible structures, and any given visible structure, such as a producer organization, is likely to be strongly shaped by the society's underlying cultural norms. The way gender relations operate in any society will have a strong impact on the structures that bring people together and how they support their interests – though they may not fully match, as norms evolve over time. When considering how to transform structures to help obtain gender equality, the following areas should be analysed:

- The willingness of organizations to work for gender equality;
- The openness of the political system to women's representatives;
- Women's participation in value chains at all levels, as producers, transporters, processors, aggregators, buyers, retailers, etc.;
- Budgeting practices at all levels to address gender issues;
- Civil society willingness to identify and work for women's rights;
- Equal access to justice for men and women;
- The flexibility of marriage and kinship rules, norms and processes to accommodate women's rights to land and other productive assets;

9 Mancini, F., Van Bruggen, A. H. C. and Jiggins, J. L. S. (2007). Evaluating Cotton Integrated Pest Management (IPM) Farmer Field School Outcomes Using the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach in India. *Experimental Agriculture*, 43(01). 97–112. DOI:10.1017/S001447970600425X. At p.110.

- The willingness of indigenous authorities to increase women's rights within their systems;
- The ability of private-sector players to recognize and respond to gender issues.

As with agency, work on transforming structures requires explicit work to strengthen women's rights at all levels of society, from legislatures, to customary decision-making bodies, to producer and trader organizations. Development partners need to critically examine their own ways of working – gender transformative approaches to organizational change should be a starting point for development actors truly committed to achieving gender transformative change in society at large.

Relations

The concept of “relations” describes the relationships inside our own communities and between communities and external agencies. We can ask, for example: To what extent can women participate in value chain platforms, or forge their own relationships to suppliers and buyers? Are women able to participate actively in women's groups, and can they independently approach government representatives to pursue their rights? Relations are clearly linked to structure and agency, and likewise reflect – and continue to recreate – power relations in a particular society.

In our work, it is essential to identify how actors in the agricultural sector can promote more interdependent and accountable relationships between women and men, and the key people and institutions they engage with. This includes understanding how women organize themselves to access and control key productive assets; the quality of the relationships they have with partners such as development agencies, government representatives, and



Wiyda Women's Club meeting, Central Province, Zambia. ©Heifer International, Flickr

the private sector; and the way in which indigenous and other decision-makers support and work with women.

Thus, relations are about:

- Women's freedom to participate in women's groups;
- Women's freedom to take part in coalitions to claim their rights to land and other resources;
- Women being directly acknowledged and worked with by development partners (as opposed to focusing only on household heads, for example, who are often men, yet may not be the key farmers);
- Women participating actively in value chain partnerships, such as in producer and marketing groups, and in value chain platforms;
- Institutions interacting with women to support their "gender interests" to land, decision-making positions, etc.

Relations are different from structure. Structure is about the political, cultural, economic and social formations within which farming operates, and the underlying values, assumptions and ideologies. By understanding the norms embedded in political, cultural, economic and social structures, we can develop strategies to challenge harmful values and norms and create an enabling environment for empowerment.

Relations, meanwhile, are about the connections people have both within and outside their communities. Those relationships – in the form of value chain partnerships, coalitions amongst actors working for women's empowerment, civil society organizations, and government/development partner relationships, for example – represent a critical step between increasing individual women's agency, and developing the collective agency needed to bring about large-scale change. Thus, relations are about "power with": how collective action at different scales – from membership in a cooperative, to the women's movement more generally – can augment an individual's power.



Jikraza Self-Help Group in Kenya has a small fish farm. ©McKoy Savage

Ways forward

Power lies at the heart of inequitable gender relations. Transforming gender relations requires explicit attention to power dynamics, away from “power over” and towards “power with”, “power to” and “power within”. The three elements of agency, structure and relations are closely interrelated. Visible and invisible structures (cultural norms, laws) can isolate women, prevent them from building crucial relations, and then legitimize their isolation as culturally appropriate. Those structures also limit women’s agency, and women’s weak agency can make it very hard for them to build relations. Improving women’s agency through capacity-building and assertiveness training may have some effect on structures and relations, but it will only go so far if women’s access to resources is limited, and the benefits may erode over time because cultural norms and laws are so pervasive. This is why action across all levels is so vital: individually, within households, at the community level, and across the enabling environment.

Here it is important to return to the point that women’s empowerment is not about “power over”, but about “power with” men. It is essential to develop strategies that enlist men as change agents, to emphasize that the goal of transforming gender relations is to empower both women and men, and ensure that men see the benefits of collaboration. Case studies in this book show that men can quickly be engaged through approaches that focus on behavioural change at the household level, because they see the benefits right away. Transforming higher-level decision-making structures and laws can be much harder, because that involves multiple layers of inequitable power structures, not just between men and women, but between powerful elites and disempowered poor and rural communities. In order to achieve and secure change, strong links must be built between grassroots women and men and higher-level advocacy networks. In all this, work on agency, structure and relations needs to be fused together to help people become effective change agents. Men’s groups working to empower women are part of this story, as are powerful men in customary systems who work to empower women in decision-making bodies.

The thematic chapters that follow all use the “empowerment pathways” framework to analyse key issues, all illustrated with case studies, with a synthesis of lessons learnt at the end. The core message of the book is that far-reaching, sustainable change requires engaging a broad array of actors and institutions at all levels, and the diversity of strategies we discuss reflects this. The overall aim is to ensure better, more resilient agricultural production and marketing systems by developing women’s capacity to learn, speak and maximize their decision-making potential.



“While recognizing tremendous effort that has been put to address gender and governance, it still remains an uphill task. ... It is true that representation and affirmative action may not necessarily solve the problem of gender-sensitive governance. This issue can be addressed through institutional reforms. It is only then that gender equality policies can be implemented ensuring that they are not resisted due to deeply entrenched cultural norms. Implementing gender equality policy will require committed leadership, a paradigm shift in mindset, information, disaggregated data by gender and monitoring and evaluation techniques.”

Grace Ongile, UNWomen Nigeria director, 2011¹

A farmer tends to a soybean field in Borno State, Nigeria. ©IITA, Flickr

3 Transforming the Enabling Environment

Development partners, research institutes, agricultural colleges, governments and non-governmental organizations have all focused to some extent on addressing the visible symptoms of gender equality – the gender gaps – without always addressing the underlying gender norms and attitudes. This has compromised the ability of such initiatives to create lasting change and improve poor women’s and men’s ability to participate in, and benefit from, agricultural initiatives. A broader perspective is essential: one that integrates work to redress gender disparities in resources, technology and services with complementary efforts to promote more gender-equitable systems that allow both women and men to reap the full benefits of what is available.

This chapter examines ways of improving the overall “enabling environment” that is a prerequisite for transformation. It starts with a discussion of gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) and provides a case study from Ghana. Gender-responsive budgeting is critical to ensuring that commitments to women’s equality on paper translate into measures to help finance equity measures in the agricultural sector. The chapter then provides an overview of a radical new initiative by the CGIAR Research Program on Aquatic Systems to “get gender integration right” by transforming its research theory and practice. Following this, we discuss how “gender audits” can help organizations identify barriers to effective integration of gender across their work. We conclude with a discussion of how to change our own attitudes to be more gender-responsive and people-centred in our interactions with farmers. In this context, we discuss insights from “citizen juries” in Mali, which have proven to be a great way to put farmers first.

National transformation: Gender-responsive budgeting

Gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) challenges the notion of that policies and budgets are inherently “gender-blind”, and instead explicitly considers the impact of every part of the budget on women, men, boys and girls, and it identifies and responds to their differentiated needs and interests. Thus, GRB integrates gender equity and equality objectives into governmental planning and budget processes, helping to prevent “policy evaporation” when it comes to programming for women. (Along with gender, it may also consider other socio-economic criteria, such as disability or ethnic origin, in order to maximize equality objectives). In addition, GRB designs and supports specific equity measures to bridge gaps in budget allocations and ensure gender equality. Typically, the development of gender responsive budgets includes the following steps:

- Gender situation analysis;
- Gender policy analysis leading to formulation of gender-sensitive policies;
- Activity planning and costing;
- Gender-responsive budget allocation;
- Gender-responsive programme implementation and budget execution;
- Reporting to show patterns of expenditure allocation; actual expenditures are monitored, and gender audits are performed; an implementation mechanism for tracking should be established.

1 Chapter 3 title page quotation: Ongile, G. (2011). *Beyond Numbers: Gender, Governance and Development*. Presented at the 2nd Africa Governance, Leadership and Management Convention 2011, Mombasa, Kenya, 2–5 August. <http://www.africagovernance.org/Documents/CONVENTION2/Gender%20and%20Development/Grace%20Ongile.pdf>.



UN Women Executive Director Michelle Bacheldt meets with Nana Oye Lithur, Minister for Gender, Children and Social Protection of Ghana. © UN Women, Flickr

In Ghana, GRB was approved by the Cabinet in 2007, with the first pilots launched in the ministries of health, education and agriculture in 2009.² It was supported by a strong enabling environment, starting with an explicit commitment to gender equality and women's empowerment in the country's 1992 Constitution.³ Recognizing that inequalities persist within Ghana, Article 17(4) of the Constitution provides for the possibility of affirmative action by stipulating that Parliament can enact laws to provide for the implementation of policies and programmes aimed at redressing social, economic, or educational imbalance in Ghanaian society. Furthermore, under the Directive Principles of State Policy –Article 36(6) – the Constitution provides that the state shall afford equality of economic opportunities to all citizens and, in particular, take all necessary steps to ensure the full integration of women into the mainstream of the economic development of the country.

Ghana is also a signatory to key international instruments including the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the Millennium Declaration, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). So on paper, there are strong commitments to women's equality; the challenge is to turn them into a reality.

The first steps taken in this regard included establishing a Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC) in 2001 to help develop gender-related policies and programmes, as well as to coordinate the mainstreaming of gender and children's issues across all sectors and

2 For a brief overview of how GRB began in Ghana, see Mends, E. E. and Hayford, F. P. (2009). *Gender Responsive Budgeting: the Case of Ghana*. Presented at the OECD DAC 7th meeting of the GENDERNET, Paris, 10–11 June. <http://www.oecd.org/dac/gender-development/43332630.pdf>.

3 See <http://www.judicial.gov.gh/constitution/home.htm>.

government agencies, from the national to the local level.⁴ MOWAC put in place a National Gender and Children Policy that lays out a framework for integrating specific goals for women and children into Ghana's overall development agenda and offers guidance to the different ministries, departments and agencies, as well as their partners.⁵ With guidance from MOWAC, the ministries of agriculture, education, and health also formulated sector-specific gender policies to enhance gender mainstreaming and the integration of women and men in their interventions, from planning through implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Gender desk officers were established in all line ministries. The Gender Equality Sector Theme (GEST) group was created to promote the coordination and harmonization of policies and programmes towards achieving gender equality. MOWAC co-chairs this body together with development partners. A major achievement of the GEST group was to put gender equality on the agenda of the country's annual consultations with development partners and to insert gender responsiveness into multi-donor budget support programmes.

It is against this supportive background that the GRB process in Ghana was introduced and successfully implemented. The GRB is the result of well-positioned actors' seizing opportunities, supported by a convergence of several factors, ranging from international-level engagement, to effective work by MOWAC, to advocacy by local civil society organizations.

In 2005–2008, Ghana was active in international discussions about financing for development and aid effectiveness, including extensive consultations on gender issues, and culminating in the Third High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in 2008 in Accra.⁶ Also in 2008, key officials MOFEP attended the 52nd Session of the UN Commission on the Status of



Women farmers in Mahan, Ghana, grow oranges for sale in markets. © Gates Foundation, Flickr.

4 See <http://www.mowacghana.net>.

5 See <http://www.mowacghana.net/download/National%20Gender%20and%20Children%20Policy.pdf>.

6 See <http://www.oecd.org/dac/effectiveness/theaccrahighlevelforumhlf3andtheaccraagendaforaction.htm> and http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/women_poverty_economics/financing_aid_effectiveness.html.

Women,⁷ with the theme “Financing for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women”, and this helped build commitment at the highest levels of Ghana’s government.

Within Ghana, meanwhile, MOWAC lobbied ministers and the Director of the Budget for Ministry of Finance, and civil society organizations also advocated for equity measures to be included in the national budget. A local NGO, the Centre for Budget Advocacy at the Integrated Social Development Centre (CBA/ISODEC), and UNICEF Ghana have also made important contributions, jointly publishing analyses of the national budget from a gender perspective.⁸

Ghana began exploring gender budgeting in 2005, and after discussions between MOWAC and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MOFEP), a memorandum recommending gender-responsive budgeting was submitted to the Cabinet in 2006, and approved in 2007. Also that year, a directive to begin implementing GRB was included in the guidelines for the Preparation of the Government Economic Policy and Budget Statement. The 2008 policy statement committed government to enhancing its gender programmes by spelling out a step by step approach to gender budgeting, with pilots to be launched in three key ministries: the Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA), the Ministry of Health, and later the Ministry of Education.

The initiative was also supported by a GRB sensitization seminar with key players, after which a 10 member GRB steering committee was formed, with representatives from the key ministries. The steering committee prepared a GRB Road Map as well as guidelines; the latter include requirements for gender analysis, identification of gender-related gaps in the objectives/activities and services to be delivered, outline activities to bridge the gaps, costings and defence at budget hearings for fund allocation, followed by implementation, monitoring and evaluation of outcomes and expenditure.

Following these steps, technical training in GRB was provided to staff at all levels in ministries, departments and agencies. Associated methodologies for tracking progress were developed. MOFA regional and district offices worked to implement GRB by identifying women-focused farm activities in their areas of operation. They budgeted for specific support with respect to inputs, and lobbied with local authorities for release of land to women farmers. These activities are continuing.

Ghana has been fairly successful with gender-responsive budgeting, though challenges with implementation and commitment remain. Many lessons were learnt. First, with respect to advocacy for change, it became clear that adopting and implementing GRB requires a strong political will, a responsive organizational culture, technical capacity, and accountability. GRB needs champions able to navigate the bureaucracy in charge of national economy and planning.

7 See <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/52sess.htm>.

8 See, for example, Centre for Budget Advocacy and UNICEF Ghana (2009). *The 2009 Budget and Issues Relating to Women and Children Welfare*. Accra. <http://www.isodec.org.gh/publications/2009%20Budget%20Analysis%20by%20CBA%20UNICEFComments%2017%2008%2009-1.pdf>.

Second, it is vital to secure the commitment of the Cabinet and Parliament. Government national policy statements at the highest level, and accompanying framework papers, must clearly express commitments to gender equality, and they must provide clear direction for gender mainstreaming and GRB as a strategy and tool to be applied by all towards achieving gender equality.

Third, the participation of the women's movement must be secured. Civil society organizations and the media must contribute in different ways, including through research, advocacy and awareness-raising, lobbying, monitoring and evaluation. Advocacy is not a one-off event. Sustained and continuous engagement with all constituents is needed to build and maintain consensus and buy-in.

Fourth, development partners play a crucial role. They need to show their commitment to the process through sustained policy dialogue on GRB and by providing significant financial resources to support the GRB process. Where governments operate within the framework of a multi-donor budget support system, development partners can influence the process by negotiating for GRBs outcomes as indicators/triggers in the framework.

In terms of managing the whole process, it is not possible for women's ministries to take on entire responsibility for formulating and implementing GRBs. Such ministries can only help to organize and support the capacity-building required. As part of their advocacy work, they can help to track expenditure and outcomes. It is critical that the ministries of finance and planning are central to implementation and that they are accountable for results.

Furthermore, responsibility for mainstreaming gender and monitoring for results should not rest with gender desk officers alone, but with the entire department responsible for coordinating sector ministry policy direction and budget collation and review. All departmental staff must receive training in gender-responsive budgeting alongside the gender desk officers. It is also important that accountability for gender outcomes forms part of the job descriptions of directors and senior officers. They should be appraised annually on their achievements on gender related indicators.

In addition, capacity development in gender mainstreaming is fundamental. Resources have to be mobilized and committed to provide staff with the tools for gender-related data collection, analysis, identification of activities, budgeting and implementation and impact assessment. In the Ghanaian case, collaboration between the National Development Planning Commission, MOFEP (responsible for resource and economic planning) and MOWAC (gender equality advocacy and technical) resulted in the creation of a technical team in charge of GRB across all sectors. This was instrumental in developing capacity.

A final key lesson is that implementing GRB is a long-term process of change that needs to be sustained. It must be managed, coordinated, monitored and evaluated. Effective collation and analysis of sex-disaggregated data is key. Results must be widely shared by all partners. It should also be noted that many countries in sub-Saharan Africa are decentralizing many government processes. As power and resources shift downwards, gender mainstreaming efforts, including GBR, must be translated into the planning processes.

CASE STUDY

Gender-transformative research for development: The CGIAR research program on Aquatic Agricultural Systems



Women in the AAS programme in the Barotsse floodplain, Zambia. Georgina Smith, © Worldfish, Flickr

The CGIAR Research Program on Aquatic Agricultural Systems (CGIAR AAS) was launched in July 2011 with the goal of reducing poverty and improving food security for people whose livelihoods depend on such systems.⁹ The project focuses on gaining a deeper understanding of the multi-dimensional nature of poverty and finding ways to overcome past constraints, including gender disparities. Getting gender integration “right” is thus a key part of the research approach.

The AAS Gender Strategy will take a broader perspective, integrating efforts to redress gender disparities in resources, technologies and services with complementary efforts to promote more gender equitable systems within which poor women and men can use them. This requires a significant investment in building context-specific knowledge of the dynamics of social inequality. Key to the Program’s success therefore is to understand the systemic nature of gender inequality across program contexts in order to identify ways to create more enabling socioeconomic environments for poor women and men alike.

Decades of research have documented gender gaps in access to productive resources, technologies, markets, networks and business services, and development programmes have been set up to address these disparities. But those programmes offer only partial solutions,

⁹ This text is a synthesis of: CGIAR Research Program on Aquatic Agricultural Systems (2012). *Gender Strategy Brief: A Gender Transformative Approach to Research in Development in Aquatic Agricultural Systems*. Brief AAS-2012-03a. Penang, Malaysia. <http://www.worldfishcenter.org/publications/gender-strategy-brief-gender-transformative-approach-research-development-aquatic-agricultural-systems>.

CGIAR AAS contends, because focused only on the visible symptoms – the disparities – but not on the gender norms and attitudes underlying them. The AAS Gender Strategy aims to take a broader approach, systematically tests different sets of interventions that combine “technical” interventions to deliver better access to markets, new technologies and assets, with interventions that directly target the norms, values and attitudes which underpin the gender and wider inequalities identified in each location.

As part of this process, CGIAR AAS is also working to build knowledge of the systemic nature of gender inequality, helping to bridge the gap between research and practice in gender and development. In the context of aquatic agricultural systems, this means asking questions such as: How do social norms limit the “horizon of possibilities” for women and men? What openings are there for expanding these horizons? How does gender influence risk perceptions, experiences and responses? How do these differences influence well-being outcomes for poor women and men? More broadly, gender transformative strategies will lead to a stronger focus on:

- Gender relations and the importance of working with men on gender, acknowledging shared and conflicting interests within the home, and responding to the multiplicity of identities shaping women’s and men’s positions, motivations and opportunities.
- Encouraging critical awareness among men and women of the consequences of the inequalities embedded within gender roles, norms and the resulting distribution of resources.
- Challenging and changing power relationships between women and others in the community, including service providers and traditional leaders.

Figure 3.1 presents a visual overview of the CGIAR AAS gender transformative approach in its research in development (RinD) strategy.¹⁰ The central box is key, in that it focuses on the need to identify the gendered constraints to change, to develop hypotheses for how to change the problem situation, and then to develop research priorities based on this underlying analysis.

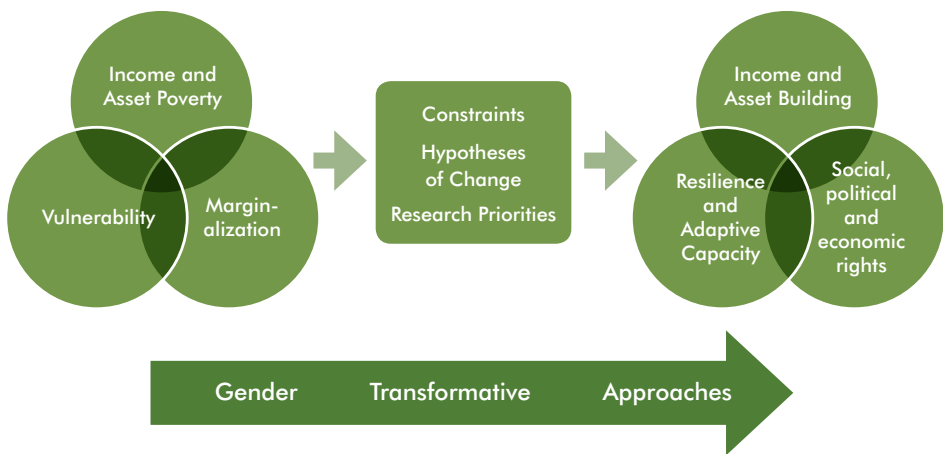


FIGURE 3.1 AAS Gender transformative research in development strategy

¹⁰ Adapted from CGIAR AAS (2012), *op.cit.*, Figure 1.

Gender transformative approaches will cut across the work of CGIAR AAS and help set the programme's priorities, aiming to move people from positions of asset and income poverty, vulnerability and marginalization, to positions in which they are resilient and adaptive, can build income and assets, and are assured of their social, political and economic rights. The CGIAR AAS is developing partnerships at the local, regional, national and global levels to implement and test solutions and to outscale and upscale proven approaches. A monitoring and evaluation system is also being developed to enable learning and anchor the gender transformative action approach within the AAS.

Organizational transformation: Gender audits

It is important that senior management in an organization working with agriculture “begins at home” by taking gender equality seriously both as a task and within its own structure. One effective approach is to conduct a “gender audit”: a focused review of policies, practices, and the attitudes and experiences of people across the organization, to ensure that gender equality and awareness of gender issues have been fully integrated into daily operations.

In 2006, for example, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) commissioned a gender audit of its Tanzania office, which had already taken significant steps to support gender integration, such as creating a gender advisor position and a Gender Working Group, and developing guidelines for gender mainstreaming in the procurement process.¹¹ The audit began with a staff survey, then followed up with discussions. It found a high level of awareness of the importance of addressing gender inequalities, and of USAID's mandate for gender integration, as well as an appreciation of “strong leadership” from management in this regard.

But still, the audit found, gender mainstreaming was not systematically developed or institutionalized. For example, the members of the Gender Working Group needed more training to empower them as leaders, and there was a need for more systematic, coordinated action to enhance gender equality in the workplace and reduce gender constraints in mission programming. The audit produced several recommendations, including development of a vision statement on gender equality, a gender policy



A member of the Wanawake Kwanza group in Morogoro, Tanzania, waters crops. ©USAID, Flickr

11 This section is a very brief, limited summary of the findings of Rubin, D. and Missokia, E. (2006). *Gender Audit: USAID/Tanzania*. Report commissioned by the U.S. Agency for International Development, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. <http://www.culturalpractice.com/resources/gender-audit-usaidtanzania/>.

and a gender action plan, and a long-term effort to strengthen gender integration skills and overall gender awareness among the staff.

ENERGIA, the International Network on Gender and Sustainable Energy, has supported gender audits in India, Senegal, Kenya and Botswana to identify the factors that hinder efforts to mainstream gender in energy policy.¹² In each case, a national team of experts has led a participatory process that reviews energy planning, budgets, ministries' institutional capacity to implement gender mainstreaming strategies, and links between gender, energy and national poverty reduction and development goals.

The Kenya audit, conducted in 2007,¹³ found strong evidence of political will for mainstreaming gender at the “macro level”, such as the establishment of a Ministry of Gender, a national gender policy, and inclusion of gender in development plans and a Bill of Rights. But at the sectoral level, these intentions were not being translated into action; gender awareness in the energy sector was low, and there were few women in top management positions. Notably, the audit identified the Ministry of Agriculture as an example of effective gender mainstreaming. While the Energy Policy didn't address gender issues, the Ministry of Agriculture had made gender equity one of its core values, explicitly stating that “sustainable development of Agriculture should recognize the key role of women in production and marketing of agricultural products”. The audit also notes, however, that any policy efforts will have to overcome societal barriers, including a discriminatory property rights system, disparities in household decision-making power, and women's limited access to and control over productive economic resources – all important concerns in agriculture as well.¹⁴

Personal transformation: Starting with ourselves

The development scholar Robert Chambers suggests that along with power over, power to, power with and power within, we consider a fifth dimension: the “power to empower”.¹⁵ How can change agents – individuals, groups and agencies – work to empower others? This is one of the most critical questions of our book, since we assume all readers would like to empower the people they work with. Chambers asked people in positions of power, whom he calls “uppers”, such as teachers and development workers, to come up with ideas on how they can empower the weaker people – the “lowers” – who they work with. Lowers include all people who face discrimination, including women. Typical replies include listen, respect, trust, inspire, coach, mentor, give responsibilities. Chambers expands on those ideas, drawing upon the participatory rural appraisal tradition:

12 See <http://www.energia.org/knowledge-centre/gender-audit-reports/>.

13 See Mbuthi, P., Odongo, F., Machera, M. and Imitira, J. K. (2007). *Gender Audit of Energy Policy and Programmes in Kenya: Final Report*. Kenya Ministry of Energy and Practical Action East Africa, Nairobi, Kenya. <http://www.energia.org/knowledge-centre/gender-audit-reports/kenya-gender-audit/>.

14 For an example of a gender audit in the agriculture sector – but not limited to Africa – see FAO (2011). *Gender Audit of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations: Final Report – Executive Summary*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/meeting/023/mc027e.pdf>.

15 This section is based on Chambers, R. (2012). Robert Chambers on the Fifth Power (the power to empower). *From Poverty to Power*, Oxfam blog (D. Green, ed.), 29 November. <http://www.oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/?p=12489>.

- Sit down, listen, learn.
- Facilitate: fundamental to good management behaviour, to transforming relationships.
- Hand over the stick (or pointer, baton, marker pen, chalk, PowerPoint clicker, microphone ... even a megaphone with larger groups) to lowers.
- Ask them! Ask lowers what they know, their priorities, their ideas, advice and views. Often they come up with ideas new to the upper. This helps to reverse or at least level power relations. Uppers discover that “They Can Do It” – that lowers have unsuspected capabilities.
- Shut up! Silence can be surprisingly hard to practice, but it is empowering and worth a try. (As the late Brian Goodwin put it, “Participation is in the pause” – listening, thinking, reflecting.¹⁶)
- Make simple empowering rules. Codes of conduct for a workshop, for instance, can give voice to those who hold back and limit the big talkers. With a “Senior Silence” rule, no senior person or upper may speak, and lowers can come into their own.
- Convene: invite people to come together and share knowledge and ideas, co-generate knowledge and gain solidarity. This can be a great strength of women’s groups.
- Broker: act as mediator, intermediary, conciliator.
- Ask empowering questions.

An excellent example of reversed power hierarchies is that of “citizen juries”. Citizen juries have been piloted in West Africa with the assistance of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED). The basic premise is that farmers and other citizens need inclusive and safe spaces to discuss how to build an agri-food research system that is democratic and accountable to wider society, and to help shape the policy for investments in agricultural research that affect them.



A citizens' jury in Mali evaluates the merits of GMOs. Khanh Tran-Thanh, © IIED.

16 Brian Goodwin was a lecturer at Schumacher College, Devon, England. This comment is from a personal communication with authors of this book.

Citizens' juries enable small-scale producers to assess expert knowledge and articulate strategic research priorities and policy recommendations that meet their needs. Ensuring that women can participate equally is central to ensuring that recommendations are gender-responsive. Separate women-only citizen juries may be needed. Table 3.1 summarizes key recommendations made by farmers' juries in Mali over the past two years following their assessment of the work of the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT) and national research bodies.

TABLE 3.1 Recommendations by farmers' juries in Mali for putting farmers first in research and development¹⁷

Models of agricultural production	Involve farmers in every stage of creating and selecting crop varieties and focus research on improving the productivity of local varieties through, for example, growing practices, land use and soil fertility management. Find strategies to promote the use, exchange, and storage of local seeds. Generate knowledge and technologies to support sustainable agriculture, including tools and machines adapted to small-scale farming; use of natural mineral resources and compost; integrated pest management; and mixed cropping.
Land tenure and property rights	Provide producers with accurate information about land registration procedures. Develop research into how to allocate land titles to women.
Farmers and markets	Develop mechanisms to help protect the local market and local produce from unfair competition from imported products. Develop strategies to facilitate sales of local products on markets.
Research governance	Reconstruct agricultural policy to give farmers a central role in defining it. Directly involve producers, users and consumers (both women and men) in controlling, designing, conducting and monitoring research activities. Organize citizens' juries, or conferences, to define the overarching policies and strategic priorities for food and agricultural research. Identify and investigate mechanisms that enable the state to provide more funding to research and reduce dependency on external sources. Increase efforts to circulate and disseminate the results of participatory research, especially in local languages. Build on and disseminate farmers' agro-ecological knowledge and innovations (on seeds, fertilization, etc.).

Ways forward

This chapter is mostly about transforming visible and invisible structures. Figure 3.2 highlights and associates some of the key interrelated activities suggested in this chapter.

Gender-responsive budgeting works to embed gender-transformative change in visible structures and exposes hidden biases and inequities in those structures. Commitments to

¹⁷ Adapted from Pimbert, M. (2012). *Putting Farmers First: Reshaping Agricultural Research in West Africa*. IIED Briefing Paper (17122IIED). International Institute for Environment and Development, London. <http://pubs.iied.org/17122IIED>.

gender equality in the financing of national development plans are put on paper, turning policy pronouncements and international commitments to women’s equality into tangible actions. At the same time, the case study makes it clear that GRB needs a strong enabling environment. It needs a legal and institutional foundation, as well as broad societal shifts, widespread awareness-raising, and support from the grassroots to the top levels of government. Powerful individuals can make a major difference by putting their weight behind GRB. Opportunities must be seized. And change is not a one-off process; work has to continue at all levels to transform visible and invisible structures, and to preserve the progress that has been made.

The gender audits at USAID Tanzania, in the Kenyan Ministry of Energy, and elsewhere show the value of systematically reviewing every aspect of an operation to identify barriers to effective gender mainstreaming. Even if staff are aware of gender issues and committed to addressing them, they may lack the skills to do so effectively, or an explicit plan or policy to guide them. They may also be working with colleagues or supervisors who don’t yet share their awareness and commitment. Or they may lack crucial resources. A gender audit can help an organization to systematically fill these gaps.

The gender-transformative research of CGIAR AAS, meanwhile, points to the critical need to “rethink” gender disparities as not just a series of gaps to be addressed one by one – e.g. access to finance, to equipment or to services – but as the product of systemic inequalities. The focus of the CGIAR AAS project is to expose, understand and start to transform the underlying, often invisible norms that make it so hard for women and men to benefit from improved services and technologies. The final sections support the thinking of both PRISM and the CGIAR AAS by emphasizing how important it is for development actors to recognize their own role in encouraging farmers to speak out, listening to what they have to say, and giving them real decision-making power.

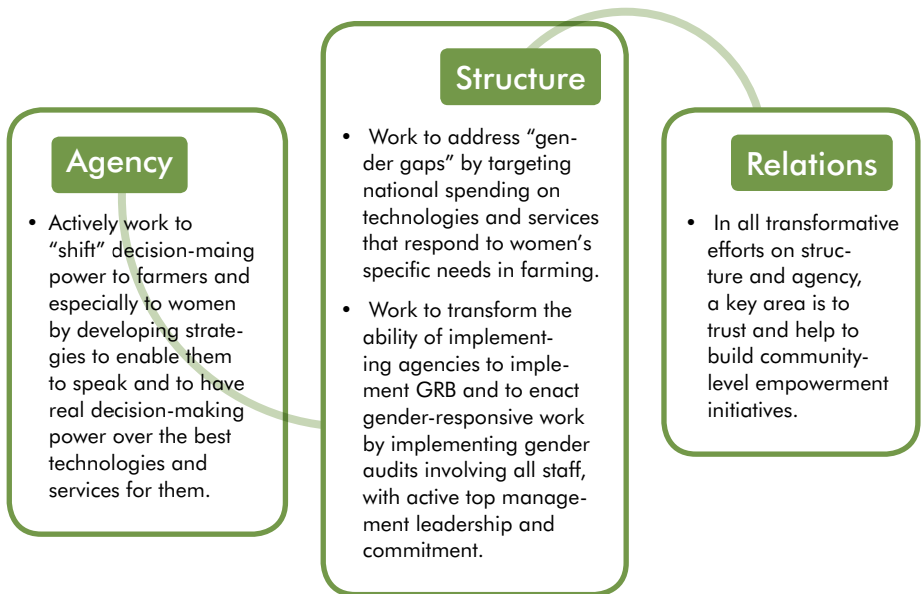


FIGURE 3.2 Creating enabling environments by transforming visible and invisible structures



“The fact that we still have not fully mainstreamed gender issues amounts to exclusion of women. For data that is fundamental to promote growth and poverty reduction, we need to make women more visible in statistics”

Mayra Buvinic, Sector Director,
World Bank Poverty Reduction & Economic Management Network¹

Participants in the Umwizero programme in Burundi. ©Andrea Ciannavei

4 Capturing and Using Data on Gender

Effective interventions in smallholder farming systems depend on good data. Yet many agricultural ministries are notoriously weak at collating, analyzing and using even the most basic sex-disaggregated data. Most countries have no comprehensive data on the different crops that women and men grow, the types of households growing each crop, and the relative productivity of male-managed and female-managed fields. Our understanding of gender differences has been garnered chiefly through the accumulation of smaller studies over the past 40 years. These point to significant gender issues in the agricultural sector with great bearing upon performance, but much needs to be done to encourage agricultural ministries and research institutions to compile nationally and regionally relevant data.

The first part of this chapter explains why we need basic production and productivity data, and also indicators for women's empowerment. It discusses why such data can be so difficult to obtain and presents promising initiatives working to address these deficits. The second part of this chapter details some simple logistical arrangements that can help empower women to speak and to participate in data collation initiatives.

Data collation, analysis and use

There is increased recognition that improved gender-sensitive indicators, and data disaggregated by sex and other variables, are needed to improve decision-making at all levels. Data must be capable of enabling policy-makers, government and development agency planners, and civil society organisations, as well as farmers themselves, to take the best decisions possible. Good data collation and analysis enables farmers to gain a better understanding of the challenges and opportunities they face in planning farm-based livelihood strategies, and will assist women and men along the value chain to better understand their markets.



Terrace farming in Uganda. © DLO, Flickr.

Several initiatives in recent years have made substantial progress in the design of conceptual frameworks and analytical methods, as well as measurement indices and indicators against which to collect data.² However, the scope of these has sometimes been disappointing. For example, widely applied indicators such as those associated with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) provide a rather narrow base against which to measure progress for – and identify disparities between – rural and urban

- 1 Chapter 4 title page quotation: The World Bank (n.d.). Vital Gender Statistics Not Captured in 90 percent of Developing World. <http://go.worldbank.org/EE3E44TL40>. [Accessed 15 August, 2013].
- 2 Examples include the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Agri-Gender Statistics Toolkit (and database), <http://www.fao.org/gender/agrigender/agri-gender-toolkit/en/> and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index, <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/womens-empowerment-agriculture-index>.

women and men. Even though global metrics like the MDGs always include a goal with correlated indicators on gender equality, they often neglect critical social concerns affecting gender equality, such as gender-based violence and harmful traditional practices such as early marriage and wife inheritance. Such practices persist due to inequitable gender power relations and established norms and beliefs, and not only do they affect gender equality outcomes –they are directly associated with weak human development outcomes and with poorer outcomes in the agricultural sector.³

A number of factors are responsible for the lack of progress on gender-sensitive indicators and disaggregated data. For instance, whilst governments and donors increasingly want to collect better data and using it to inform their initiatives, not enough resources are provided to the agencies and programmes responsible for the design, collection, and analysis of data, as well as the dissemination of the findings to highly varied audiences – communities, policy-makers, and others. They often lack sufficient staff or financial and technical inputs such as computers and software, and may lack the institutional capacity – knowledge/skills – required to support this work.

Furthermore, as much as organizations want to demonstrate “impact” and results in terms of benefits for women and girls,⁴ the agriculture and rural development sector still struggles with a lack of data on the impact of donor and government aid and programming on rural women’s and girls’ empowerment and gender equality. The gender equality markers used by the OECD Development Assistance Committee review,⁵ for instance, provide a best estimate of aid flows in support of gender equality and women’s empowerment, as well as the extent to which each donor supports gender equality and in which sector. However, as the OECD-DAC acknowledges, the markers cannot be used to analyse the actual impact of that aid.

At a programmatic and project level, progress has been largely been measured by applying metrics that capture increases in the number of women and girls participating in programmes, training, or specific interventions. Increases in women’s incomes are often used to indicate “success” or positive impact. However, as noted throughout this book, even if women earn more, they may have little power over how their income is spent. Also, very little attention has been paid to capturing the quality of women’s participation in different interventions, or how that participation affects their lives. The indicators also seldom shed light on the multi-dimensional and seasonal aspects of women and men’s work, which is important to understand the potentially different interests and challenges experienced by women and men

3 See, for example, OECD Development Centre (2012). *Do Discriminatory Social Institutions Matter for Food Security?* Issue brief. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris. <http://www.oecd.org/development/poverty/49756756.pdf>.

4 See, for example, the UN Commission on the Status of Women’s 56th session, which focused on rural women’s empowerment, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/56sess.htm>; the Gender, Agriculture and Assets Project led by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI), <http://gaap.ifpri.info/>; and FAO (2011). *Women in Agriculture: Closing the Gender Gap for Development*. The State of Food and Agriculture 2010–2011. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome, Italy. <http://www.fao.org/publications/sofa2010-11/en/>.

5 See OECD-DAC (2013). *Aid in Support of Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment*. Statistics based on DAC Members’ reporting on the Gender Equality Policy Marker, 2010–2011. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee, Paris. <http://www.oecd.org/investment/stats/46864237.pdf>.



An agricultural development programme enumerator interviews farmers in Ghana. © IITA, Flickr.

on a daily and seasonal basis, and ensure that extension workers' interventions are more relevant.

A particularly critical flaw in most available data is that it is aggregated by household, reflecting standard economic models that view households as key units.⁶ As is discussed extensively in this book, aggregating by household obscures often very large gender differences in access to and control over assets and resources. Several agencies and organizations are now conducting research on intra-household dynamics,

including FAO, the UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Rural Women, CARE, Oxfam, the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD).⁷ Still, filling those gaps will take time, and the challenge remains of how to monitor more “intangible” changes in women's and men's attitudes and behaviours. For the agriculture and rural development sector, this is still a nascent area of research. Lessons are being learnt from the work of other sectors, such as health, on how to conceptualize and measure changes in social norms, but there is still a long way to go.

Recent conceptual developments could greatly improve our approach to data collation and analysis. By thinking more broadly about what women's empowerment actually looks like, we can better understand how to measure it. For example, CARE International's Women's Empowerment in Agriculture (WEA) framework – which we have adapted to help structure the analysis in this book – focuses on five levers for women's empowerment: (i) gender-equitable land, property and contractual rights, (ii) gender-equitable division of labour and time, (iii) gender-equitable control over labour and the product of labour, (iv) gender-equitable access to and control over water, and (v) attention to gender equity in institutional systems.⁸ In addition, every CARE project identifies levers for change relevant to its particular context.

6 See, for example, Meinzen-Dick, R. et al. (2012). Gender: A key dimension linking agricultural programs to improved nutrition and health. In *Reshaping Agriculture for Nutrition and Health*. S. Fan and R. Pandya-Lorch (eds.). International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC. 135–44. <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/reshaping-agriculture-nutrition-and-health>.

7 See, for example, Doss, C.R. (2013). *Data Needs for Gender Analysis in Agriculture*. IFPRI Discussion Paper No. 1261. International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC. <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/data-needs-gender-analysis-agriculture>.

8 For more about CARE's framework, see CARE (2010). *Strong Women, Strong Communities: CARE's Holistic Approach to Empowering Women and Girls in the Fight Against Poverty*. Atlanta, GA. <http://www.care.org/downloads/womens-empowerment-report-201005.pdf>.

CASE STUDY

CARE'S Women's Empowerment in Agriculture (WEA) framework in Mozambique

The WEA Framework has been used to design and implement many projects. One is CARE's Sustainable and Effective Economic Development (SEED) project in Inhambane province, Mozambique,⁹ which was not specifically gender-focused, but rather aimed to increase poor households' access to, and control over, an array of sustainable farm and non-farm income-generating activities. The project recognized gender equality and HIV/AIDS as key issues, and explicitly

addressed the issues in the project's design, goals and metrics. "Gender challenges" for the project were assessed through interviews with SEED extension staff, beneficiaries, partners, and people in the community, focusing on everything from staff and partner capacity, to household decision-making, to land tenure issues. To gather baseline data, SEED used a participatory tool, the Income Expenditure Tree: a cardboard tree used to work with men and women to map sources of income (the roots), expenditures (leaves and branches), and household decision-making (the trunk).

SEED prioritized two women's empowerment strategies: (a) creating more economic opportunities for women by increasing the participation of women beneficiaries, and (b) ensuring that the project benefits all family members through fair decision-making. Specific steps included:

- Ensuring services are known to women and accessible to them in terms of time and location, and identifying barriers to women's participation.
- Developing tools to demonstrate the advantages of joint decision-making, such as community theatre and the Income Expenditure Tree, which was used as a baseline and monitoring instrument to map changes in household decision-making over time.
- Integrating women's leadership training into activities.
- Ensuring human rights are reflected in group constitutions.
- Training "positive deviants" – supportive husbands, vaccinators, community members – in public speaking and disseminating messages of change regarding gender equality and women's empowerment.



Women's Association for Rice Farming, near Beira, Mozambique. Meg Ross, © IDRC Photography

⁹ This case study is based on Hill, C. (2008). *A Seed Is Planted: Innovating for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Agriculture – the Case of the Sustainable and Effective Economic Development (SEED) Project, Mozambique*. Case study, A Place to Grow. CARE USA, Atlanta, GA. Available at <http://edu.care.org/Documents/Forms/AllItems.aspx>.

The SEED project also developed several “gender-sensitive” indicators to help measure the different experiences of men and women throughout the project. Most were measures of men’s and women’s participation in different activities, contracts entered into, etc., but through the Income Expenditure Tree, they also monitored changes in intra-household decision-making and spending patterns.

Building on the five WEA levers of empowerment, SEED identified additional levers for change needed for agricultural initiatives. They included:

- Management and staff internalization/prioritization/translation into action of gender equality and women’s empowerment;
- Retooling of agriculture programming to prioritize gender goals and objectives;
- Donor/organizational commitment to a longer period of engagement with communities;
- Indicators of women’s empowerment developed by women themselves – done to some extent with the Income Expenditure Tree;
- Men’s involvement in the process of women’s empowerment;
- Ongoing and long-term dialogue and analysis on power dynamics and gender inequality with women and men in communities and with partners.

The SEED project, and CARE’s work more broadly, shows the importance of starting off with a commitment to women’s empowerment across the three domains of agency, structure and relations. It is necessary to tailor these abstract concepts to the reality of the project on the ground. A gender-responsive baseline, which also examines other key factors contributing to inequality, is vital. Analysis of the baseline will help to ensure existing organizational strategies are finely tuned to the local situation. New strategies and indicators will need to be developed on an on-going basis. A good management information system is vital to ensure lessons are being picked up and translated into activities and measurements.



CARE has also adopted the Millennium Development Indicators “plus” (MDI+) approach to help develop a set of outcome indicators intended to measure the long-term impact of its programmes.¹⁰ They start from the Millennium Development Goals and their related indicators, but then add indicators in each field that draw on CARE’s experience developing and applying women’s empowerment and governance indicators. With regard to MDG 3, gender equality, CARE has added the following indicators:

- Percentage of men and women reporting meaningful participation of women in decision-making at the household level in a domain previously reserved for men;
- Percentage of men and women reporting meaningful participation of women in the public sphere;
- Percentage of men and women with changed attitudes toward gender-based violence;
- Percentage of couples making informed joint decisions regarding sexual and reproductive health;
- Percentage of men and women reporting that women are able to effectively control productive assets;
- Percentage of women reporting an improvement in their psychosocial well-being;
- Average number of hours per day spent on house work, and in relation to the duration of the working day, by sex.

Two frameworks for measuring gender equality in agriculture: GAAP and WEAI

The conceptual framework for IFPRI’s Gender, Agriculture, and Assets Project (GAAP)¹¹ offers a way to map the gendered pathways through which men and women accumulate, control and dispose of assets, separately and jointly, and evaluate every aspect of those pathways, including differences in the kinds of assets that each sex is likelier to own. The framework also provides a way to test different hypotheses about the potential impact of different interventions, such as whether a greater stock and diversity of assets will result in greater well-being; whether increasing men’s and women’s stock of a particular asset will improve their bargaining power; and whether policies and programmes that reduce the gender gap in assets can more effectively improve food security, health, nutrition and other aspects of well-being. GAAP applies this framework in work with agricultural development projects in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa to identify how development projects impact men’s and women’s assets; clarify which strategies are successful at reducing gender gaps in assets; and improve partner organizations’ ability to measure and analyze qualitative and quantitative gender and assets data.

The Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index, developed by USAID, IFPRI and the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI), measures the empowerment, agency, and inclusion of women in agriculture and, more broadly, women’s control over

10 See <http://pqdl.care.org/gendertoolkit/Pages/understanding%20change.aspx> for a description of MDI+ in the broader context of CARE’s tools for monitoring, evaluation and impact measurement.

11 To learn more about GAAP, see <http://gaap.ifpri.info>. The conceptual framework has been published as Meinzen-Dick, R., et al. (2011). *Gender, Assets, and Agricultural Development Programs: A Conceptual Framework*. CAPRI Working Paper No. 99, CGIAR Systemwide Program on Collective Action and Property Rights. International Food Policy Research Institute, Washington, DC. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2499/CAPRIWP99>.

critical parts of their lives in the household, community, and economy.¹² It is meant to help identify women who are disempowered and understand how to increase their autonomy and decision-making power, and also to serve as a tool for tracking progress toward gender equality. The WEAI is based on data from individual men and women in households, and is reported at the country or regional level. It is composed of two sub-indexes:

- Five domains of empowerment (5DE): This measures (1) women's role in making decisions about agricultural production, (2) access to and decision-making power over productive resources, (3) control over use of income, (4) leadership in the community, and (5) time use. This sub-index is meant to capture women's empowerment within their households and communities.
- Gender Parity Index (GPI): This sub-index reflects the percentage of women who are as empowered as the men in their households, based on interviews with both the principal male and the principal female in each household.

The CARE tools, the GAAP framework and WEAI show that significant conceptual advances have been made, and several options are now available for agricultural programmes to measure gender gaps and monitor progress towards closing them. Still, many development partners have yet to incorporate such tools and associated indicators into their programme formulation, monitoring and evaluation frameworks. Even when asked to “include or mainstream gender” into their work, many development partners and initiatives provide just the “requisite gender paragraph”, or just count how many women are involved in events or training – but they don't look at women in relation to men, or at the quality of participation.

Moving towards gender-responsive data capture

Improving data systems to better capture gender inequality and support efforts to address it will require several steps. First, all programme and project stakeholders need to understand what is meant by “gender issues”, and in particular the significance of addressing the relevant “gender issues” involved in their wider programme outcomes – for instance, improved household-level planning and improved agricultural productivity. A vital component of tracking outcomes is the ability to collect and interpret sex-disaggregated data effectively, and to use it continually for planning, monitoring and evaluation.

Second, there is a need for capacity-building among staff who design agricultural monitoring and evaluation systems and data collection instruments. Agriculture M&E field staff are usually more comfortable with data on numbers of people using a specific technology or number of hectares under cultivation, but they can find it more difficult to identify appropriate outcome indicators related to gender equality or build tools to measure them.

Third, it is vital to apply conceptual rigour to data collation, analysis and interpretation. We need more realistic, better-informed understandings of women's lives in the places where they live. At the very least, indicators and data should be disaggregated along the lines of sex and rural/urban location. Other variables including age are also important for

12 WEAI was developed for the U.S. government's Feed the Future programme and has been tested extensively within that programme since the index's launch in February 2012. To learn more, see <http://feedthefuture.gov/article/release-womens-empowerment-agriculture-index>.



distinguishing the progress made by women at different stages in their lives. Data capable of capturing relative progress is also essential to help build an understanding of how subsets of women and men advance in comparison with their peers. We need to collate and work with indicators that examine average annual dietary intake per capita; access to productive resources and financial services including land, credit, extension; and prevalence of gender-based violence and knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions about it.

Fourth, working with women and men in communities to develop their own indicators of empowerment is likely to lead to more relevant strategy development and more meaningful measurement of impact. CARE Burundi did this with its project *Umwizero: A Positive Future for Women in Burundi*.¹³ Funded by the Norwegian government, Umwizero conducted research with women and men to identify their own empowerment indicators and establish locally defined reference levels. Key insights gained include:

1. Men need to be sensitized in good management and control of household goods; this is linked to the importance of integrating men into the programme.
2. Stakeholders need to be sensitized in how to treat human rights violations so that they can justly resolve these complaints.
3. A study on cultural barriers is needed, to discover why women are attached to traditions and customs that oppress them.
4. A study is needed on how to lighten women's workload so they can participate, with ease, in solidarity groups.

13 See CARE International Burundi (n.d.). *Women's Empowerment Indicators in Northern Burundi*. Report by the project team for Umwizero: A Positive Future for Women. <http://pqdl.care.org/sii/compendium/Original%20documents/Burundi%20SII%20Empowerment%20report.doc>. [Accessed 3 May, 2013]. See also <http://www.care.org/careswork/projects/BDI056.asp>.

5. Physical hygiene must be integrated into programme activities to reflect their perceived importance in driving change towards empowerment.

Fifth, it is important to work with both qualitative and quantitative indicators. Most gender-sensitive indicators tend to measure inputs (number/percentage of women/men accessing services/training) or outputs (number/percentage of women/men trained/reached), rather than impact. This approach is further developed in the literature surrounding the “outcome mapping” school of monitoring, where different “boundary partners” are identified and behavioural change on their part is documented.¹⁴

Sixth, it is central to use as few indicators as possible. All too often, indicator “neglect” and under-reporting is simply due to a lack of organizational capacity to monitor indicators, an ineffective M&E system, or simply the inclusion of too many indicators. Avoiding indicator exhaustion/neglect means striking a fine balance between capacity and resources available, and data needs.

Finally, data must be presented in formats useful to different data users, including community members, policy-makers, planners, statisticians and researchers. It is important to consider the target audience: Is a general audience with little background on data and statistics, or an audience that is well-versed in such issues? Visuals often work for those less knowledgeable about the issue; charts and graphs can be more straightforward to understand than tables. Where relevant (audience, purpose), include comparisons of men to women (urban/rural) and other variables (i.e. age). Reporting for communities can be in visual or oral form, including through pictures and drawings as well as through drama or story-telling.

Gender-responsive logistics

Many opportunities for “quick wins” in gender transformative approaches are overlooked. Investing in gender-responsive logistics is a fundamental starting point. Here, we examine how to select the best gender personnel for a particular situation, how to ensure that the voices of women are heard, and the logistical support that women may need to participate in training programmes.

Gender personnel

There are a number of options regarding how to source gender analysis expertise for programmes. These include hiring university-based or consultant experts (male or female) on a one-off basis, establishing continuing links with NGO partners, training women lab-based scientists in basic gender analysis and field work skills, supporting local women professionals (such as teachers) who may be present in the research area to carry out gender analyses of all kinds including small group discussions, surveys, etc., and training male scientists in gender analysis. Each offers advantages and disadvantages, as shown in Table 3.1. It is likely that over the life-time of a project that a mix of skills will be needed. Capacity building to overcome the likely constraints of each type of personnel should be offered to improve their ability to contribute fully and to enhance their accountability to the people they work with.

14 See <http://www.outcomemapping.ca> for an extensive collection of resources on outcome mapping.

TABLE 4.1 Merits and constraints of personnel options for gender analysis¹⁵

Who	Merits	Constraints
University-based socio-economic experts (national or international)	Knowledgeable of the theory Good analytical and writing skills	Theoretical understanding and methodological practice in gender analysis may not be strong Not always available when needed Usually distant from field site
PhD students and post-doctoral fellows in gender and agriculture disciplines	Theoretical knowledge Good analytical and writing skills Could help to develop gender-responsive programs based on good data	Experience applying gender analysis methodologies may be weak
Master's level research students	Could help to compile data (quantitative/qualitative) or analyze existing data	Experience applying gender analysis methodologies may be weak
Consultants	May have strong theoretical knowledge and analytical and writing skills Can be chosen for expertise in gender analysis	Expensive Limits to continuing linkages Quality control can be problematic if project team does not select or know the person
NGO partners	Strong knowledge of context Established working relations with target communities Focused on practical field experience	May lack women field workers or gender analysis expertise May lack formal report writing and/or formal analytical skills May lack adequate technical understanding
Women lab-based scientists	Exposure to the field builds human capital within science establishment Have strong science background	May be reluctant to travel/work in the field May lack sufficient in-depth understanding of social/gender relations and theory to provide adequate analysis Cannot assume women are interested in gender issues by virtue of their sex
Local women professionals	Strengthens local participation Builds local human capital May have special insights because of existing social/family links	May experience time constraints Own identity/position may make it difficult to address certain issues or involve particular groups Cannot assume women are interested in gender issues by virtue of their sex

15 Adapted from Farnworth, C. R. and Jiggins, J. (2003). *Participatory Plant Breeding and Gender Analysis*. PPB Monograph 4. Participatory Research and Gender Analysis Program, CGIAR, Cali, Colombia.

Who	Merits	Constraints
Male researchers	Strengthens the public perception of professionalism within group May be able to interact better with men	Training in gender analysis may be required May bring gender biases to the work May not be able to gain access to women, or may encounter cultural barriers

Interviewer-respondent interactions

Does the sex of the gender analysis practitioner affect process or outcome? The answer appears to be contextual: in some societies, it is absolutely not acceptable for women to be interviewed or otherwise interact with male “outsiders”. In other circumstances the presence of a young boy as “family chaperone”, a shift in the interview setting from home to a more public place where women usually gather, or a switch in method from individual interviews to group interviews, may overcome constraints.

This said, in many cases, interactions between people of the same sex produce higher-quality data. Both women and men are likelier to adjust what they say to match social norms when they are in mixed-sex interview settings—for example, if asked who is responsible for household expenditures. The distinct views and experiences of women and men are best captured by having someone of the same sex interview them separately. In male-headed households, it may also be useful to have male and female interviews occur simultaneously, so neither can intervene in the other’s interview.

Training and employing a cadre of enumerators with an equal number of women and men will incur higher upfront costs, but this will be repaid in terms of much higher data validity. Women enumerators will need safe and secure accommodation and safe travel arrangements, and may need chaperones. Rules to prevent sexual harassment must be strictly adhered to and enforced. All this should be budgeted for.

Ways forward

This chapter has highlighted the need for high-quality gender data collation, interpretation and management. It has also presented new conceptual frameworks to ensure the data gathered – and its interpretation – will be meaningful and robust. CARE’s Umwizero work in Burundi highlights the value of empowering communities themselves to set their data priorities, and to help analyse that data in order to take transformative action. Data can never be “collected”. It does not lie around waiting for a researcher to find it. Rather, data is produced through interactive relationships, and can thus be quite subjective. The quality of the relationships will fundamentally shape the data that is produced. Taking steps to ensure that women can talk openly and freely is essential.



“You see when we started working with the household approach there were men who have since died and left their spouse and children. Their farms are still functioning and are even better after their death. This is because the women were involved in planning and decision-making.”

Male farmer, Zambia¹

A family of farmers in Kitui, Kenya, sits down together for a meal. ©CAFOD Photo Library, Flickr

5 Household Methodologies

Household methodologies build on a growing insight in the development and research community: the long-held assumption that households were cohesive units, with shared assets, needs and goals, does not always match reality. Rather, in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, women and men often lead separate lives even within the same household, with access to different resources and different production and consumption activities.² This indigenous approach to livelihoods can be seen as complementary and may have served families fairly well in the past, but it has been fatally undermined by the fact that over many decades, both colonial and post-colonial governments have treated households as nuclear units, headed by men. Thus, development programmes have mostly targeted men as the household heads, disempowering women. As an extension worker in Kenya noted, “Women are the main farmer, but often they cannot come to the training forums. There is a gap between who receives the information and who implements it.”

Even if women are trained, they may not be able to implement what they have learned because they lack the necessary resources, decision-making power and access to economic networks. For example, 48% of participants in agricultural programmes sponsored by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in Kenya in fiscal 2011 were women, but only 38% of the farmers adopting improved technologies were women. Asked about the gap, women in one production group offered these explanations:³

- The biggest challenge is that when the woman is trained and goes to share with the husband, he says: “What do you know about anything?” Yet I have very good plans, like buying inputs earlier, and I want to buy a dairy cow.
- The training stays inside our heads.
- Mostly men attend training but they do not implement what they learn.
- Men are different biologically. They think slowly. They do things one at a time.
- My husband supports me, and he joined the group.

Very often, male farmers are still treated as key decision-makers when it comes to any kind of interaction with government officials, development agencies, banks, traders, and other players, even though in many cases they do not run the farm on a day-to-day basis. Policies and strategies address men as lead farmers despite the reality of women’s involvement in all areas of farming and in value chains.

A key message of this book that gender inequalities inhibit households’ ability to make the best possible use of the productive resources available to them. Both women and men can fail to take the best economic decisions possible because gender relations can lock women

1 Chapter 5 title page quotation: Farnworth, C. R. and Munachonga, M. (2010). *Gender Approaches in Agricultural Programmes – Zambia Country Report*. A special study of the Agricultural Support Programme (ASP). UTV Working Paper 2010:8. Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), Stockholm. <http://www.sida.se/Global/Gender%20in%20Agriculture%20working%20paper%202010-8%20Zambia.pdf>.

2 Doss, C. R. (1999). *Twenty-five Years of Research on Women Farmers in Africa: Lessons and Implications for Agricultural Research Institutions – With an Annotated Bibliography*. Economics Program Paper No. 99-02. CIMMYT, Mexico City, Mexico. <http://impact.cgiar.org/pdf/246.pdf>.

3 Farnworth, C.R., Nzioki, A., Muigai, S., Kimani, E.N., Olungah, C. and Monyoncho, K. (2012). *Gender Analysis and Action Plan*. Report for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Kenya. Development and Training Services Inc.



A couple in Central Region, Cameroon, plant pineapples together. Jake Lyell, © Heifer International

and men into pre-determined roles and responsibilities. All this hampers the development of good businesses, lowers productivity, and can negatively affect food and nutrition security.

Household methodologies work to correct this problem by opening up “black box” of gender relations – the separate activities and responsibilities – and helping men and women build a coherent livelihood strategy for the entire household. They achieve this by encouraging farming households – including children in many cases – to create a shared vision, analyze their opportunities and constraints, and then work together towards achieving their vision. Critically, household methodologies do not seek to empower one gender (women) at the seeming expense of the other (men). They adopt an approach that works to promote the understanding that unequal power relations between women and men result in failures to make the best decisions possible, and thus contribute significantly to poverty.

Some household methodologies do explicitly set gender justice as a goal. Others work with the understanding that gender-based constraints severely limit the achievement of wider programme goals, and thus seek to identify and tackle them throughout the process. Some household methodologies are deployed as part of a package of development interventions, whereas others are stand-alone. This chapter presents three methodologies: the household approach integral to the Agricultural Support Programme (ASP, Zambia), the Household Gender Analysis for Gender Transformation methodology (Ethiopia), and the Gender Action Learning Systems (GALS, Uganda).

CASE STUDY

Household gender analysis for gender transformation (Ethiopia)⁴

Household Gender Analysis for Gender Transformation is a hybrid of gender analysis and participatory rural appraisal tools developed in 2004 by the Ethiopian gender staff of the Sida-Amhara Rural Development Programme (SARDP). It has now been taken up by the HARVEST Gender Responsive Livelihood Diversifications for Vulnerable People, a programme funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). The central element of the methodology is to measure the contribution of men and women to the survival and well-being of the household, and to likewise measure the privileges held by men and women. The methodology values work equally, irrespective of its nature – whether “productive” or “reproductive”, (i.e. whether or not the work generates income or not) and irrespective of whether the work is done by a man or a woman. It soon becomes clear that men do not necessarily make the largest contribution to household well-being, but they often enjoy greater privileges and benefit more from household resources than the women.

In the HARVEST project, gender dynamics and gender gaps at the household level are analyzed across five domains: division of labour, resources, services, benefits, and decision-making. A further day may be devoted to visioning and life planning, and it is possible to start a day earlier with rapport-building activities. Trained facilitators and community level mentors work with a group of households – separately with women and men members – over five to seven days.

For the first step of the analysis, household members are asked to find local materials, such as sorghum stalks, hand tools, gravel stones, maize seed, jatropha seed, and eucalyptus heads.

The sorghum stalks are used to create a grid. Symbols for women and men are selected from the materials and placed along one side of the grid. Depending on the analysis being undertaken, other items are placed on a different axis to symbolize farm or household activities, resources available to the household, etc. One grid is prepared for women household members, a second grid for men household members. Each group works separately.

In the second step, men and women discuss their roles and responsibilities, again separately. They decide how many gravel stones (or seeds) to place on each square of the grid. To do this, they are given 50 stones (or seeds, etc).



A male programme participant spins cotton. Walshi Shiferaw/Sida-Amhara Rural Development Programme

4 See Farnworth, C. R. and Shiferaw, N. (2012). *Forward Looking Assessment of HARVEST Gender-Responsive Livelihood Diversifications for Vulnerable People*. Prepared for the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) Ethiopia team.



Women with their goats in South Wollo, Ethiopia. Wubet Shiferaw/Sida-Amhara Rural Development Programme

Women distribute their stones according to how they perceive their workload, control over assets, etc., and men likewise.

In the third step, the results are presented to the whole group. The relative contribution of women, and men, to each activity is agreed after a usually lengthy discussion process.

In the fourth step, the facilitator helps to guide a comparative analysis between the size of the contribution, and the privileges held by women and men. The experience of facilitators in both SARDP and HARVEST is that household members typically come to realize that there is a tremendous difference between the amount of work women put into productive and household tasks and the benefits they receive. This is often a very surprising and transformative experience for men and women alike.

The final step is to induce change. The community level mentors work with each household over several months to help them work towards equalizing the amount of labour contributed by women and men in all areas of work, promoting equity in intra-household decision-making, and fostering mutual support. Experience shows that membership in a group with the ensuing support function is very important to help people to maintain change in their gender relations without attracting scorn and also to provide ideas and solutions. The HARVEST approach is to add value to the group work by encouraging households to save for an agreed purpose, perhaps an income-generating project, or to buy basic commodities in bulk to save money.

A forward-looking assessment of HARVEST in 2012 showed that men and women, regardless of ethnic affiliation or religion, were quick to appreciate the benefits of the Household Gender Analysis for Gender Transformation methodology.⁵ One of the most

5 Farnworth and Shiferaw (2012). *Forward Looking Assessment*, op.cit.

Ethiopian men speak

The HARVEST project gathered perspectives from men who participated in the household analyses. Below are some of their comments, in their own words:

It was like God telling us that we were really not good to women. We want to add to our pile of stones. It is our motivation. It is our common sense that tells us what we must do.

Relationships

- We care and respect each other more. We have more love among us.
- Because we are supporting each other we are healthier, we have more rest, we finish things quicker, our relationship has improved.

Sharing roles and responsibilities

- We thought women were doing light work. I left the farm early in the morning. When I came back and things weren't organized we quarrelled. I didn't know she was doing so many things.
- It is not only us who are changing. Women are learning what we are doing.

If I was the only one to change it would be different.

- Before, when I had an assignment outside the village my work did not continue. Now my wife can do these activities. Before, when she was working in the kitchen or doing something else we had to wait. Now, we don't need to wait because we do things together. We finish together and go to bed at the same time.
- Before, women did not know what was theirs. Now, we plan together and use our things carefully.
- Our food security has improved. Before, women did not feel responsible for food security and we had real problems.
- We can demonstrate to you that we can cook and do women's work. In case of economic empowerment, in the past if a woman divorced, she had no right to take anything. This has changed. Currently, if we want to sell goats or sheep or oxen, we don't sell by ourselves. We talk to the women.
- If we really plan like this, our food security will be assured. We may even start to buy things.

important benefits cited by respondents was household resilience. Women have learned how to perform “male” tasks, and men now perform “female” tasks. This means that in the absence of either the man or the woman the household can continue to function, whereas before it was very vulnerable. Previously, men did not feel able to cook and feed themselves or children if the wife was away. This caused a lot of tension. If the man died or emigrated for work, women were often reduced to sharecropping land under highly unfavourable terms, resulting in desperate poverty for themselves and their families.

The Household Gender Analysis for Gender Transformation methodology is simple and powerful. It achieves radical change in a very short time. It can be used with people of low numeracy and literacy. Ideally, it should be integrated into wider development programmes from the very beginning to ensure that the benefits of collaboration at the household level spill over into ensuring full participation in, and benefits from, the wider programme. This will help to support behavioural change over the long term. It is also important to have strong visioning and action planning components; the HARVEST version of the methodology was weaker than the original SARDP application.

CASE STUDY

The Agricultural Support Programme (ASP), Zambia⁶

The Agricultural Support Programme (2003–2008), led by the Ministry of Agriculture of Zambia, grew out of a number of Sida-funded projects working on different aspects of the agriculture sector in Zambia. The household methodology it developed was part of the ASP Farming as a Business approach. Its overarching goal was to change smallholders' attitudes towards farming, and it reached about 44,000 households. The programme produced a gender-sensitive Facilitation Handbook, and guidelines for gender mainstreaming. These documents showed how to incorporate a gender perspective into each stage of the facilitation process. The handbook notes several areas of gender disparity to be addressed at the household, group and community levels: participation, workloads, income, training, access to and control over resources, access to information, and decision-making. Activities under the ASP included, among others, (i) the promotion of diversified farming, to ensure income streams throughout the year, (ii) classic extension activities, (iii) technologies to assist households living with HIV/AIDS, and (iv) ensuring household-level food security in maize by teaching households to calculate their food needs for the year and set aside sufficient maize accordingly.

The ASP took farmers through a staged learning process which involved progressing from a state of extreme poverty to being stand-alone commercial farmers. Participants were divided into five levels. The poorest, least food-secure farmers were classified as level one. They had to achieve food security before they moved onto level two. The farmers were helped to engage progressively with markets, with level five farmers engaging in contract farming, etc. At all levels, obtaining and maintaining food security remained a bedrock of the ASP.

The household methodology was managed by trained facilitators drawn almost exclusively from government extension personnel. They worked closely with every participating household to help implement ASP production, food security and market recommendations and help households achieve their wider objectives. Over a period of three years, facilitators supported households to formulate a household vision, work out the financial requirements, prepare an action plan, implement their plan, monitor progress, and share the benefits. Children were often central to success because in many cases children were the only literate and numerate household members. They were thus important to preparing budgets, writing up visions, and helping to monitor progress. This process was supported by extension work in community meetings, where at least a third of the attendees had to be women. Facilitators were specially trained to encourage women to speak at every meeting.

6 This case study is based on Farnworth and Munachonga (2010), *Gender Approaches*, op.cit., and two other sources:

Farnworth, C.R. (2010). *Gender Aware Approaches in Agricultural Programmes: A Study of Sida-supported Agricultural Programmes*. Sida Evaluation 2010:3. Stockholm. <http://www.sida.se/Global/About%20Sida/Sida%20Utv%c3%a4rderingar/Gender%20in%20Agriculture%20Evaluation%202010-3.pdf>.

Bishop-Sambrook, C. and Wonani, C. (2008). *The Household Approach as an Effective Tool for Gender Empowerment: a Review of the Policy, Process and Impact of Gender Mainstreaming in the Agriculture Support Programme in Zambia*. International Fund for Agricultural Development, Rome, Italy.

For a brief overview of the ASP, see: Sida (2010). *Inspiring Initiative: Agriculture Support Programme, Zambia*. Women's Economic Empowerment Series. Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Stockholm. <http://www.oecd.org/social/gender-development/47562531.pdf>.



A boy in Zambia's Northern Province. © Jeff Walker/CFOR

Evaluations of the ASP show that the household approach has directly resulted in astonishing attitudinal changes regarding “female” and “male” roles and responsibilities, particularly given the short time period.⁷

First, both women and men farmers firmly believe that due to the programme, agricultural output has increased and food security at the household level has greatly improved. Prior to ASP, men were generally responsible for governing the access of each family member to household and farm resources. They were generally able to command female labour, decide upon the use of the fields, and decide upon the spending of income. Very little discussion with other household members, including children, was conducted. Women could not take any decisions in the absence of their male partners. This would not necessarily have been an issue if men were seen to be managing the farm well, but in many cases men were perceived to be poor farm managers, even by men themselves. Second, in male-headed households, the household approach started to create a shift in decision-making over assets. This is because assets are now understood to belong to the whole household rather than any one individual.

Third, a number of female-headed households have benefited from the ASP programme due to the training offered, and a few female-headed households have graduated to high levels in the programme. Fourth, the emphasis of ASP on working with the entire farming household has improved their resilience and coping strategies. This is because all family members now understand their farm system and have been actively involved in shaping it. Farming activities now continue in the absence of the male head or after his death. Investment decisions are often made collectively and, provided food security has been assured, are directed at achieving a wider family vision. Fifth, as a consequence of involving children

⁷ See footnote 6 for references to evaluations.

ASP Farmers Speak⁸

As part of the ASP evaluation, both women and men were asked for feedback on the household approach. Here is a sampling of their comments.

Women farmers

- *There is no chance of going back. Doing things together makes people happy.*
- *Before ASP, we used to go to the fields together, but when we were coming back the wife would carry the baby and the firewood. At home the man would sit around while the wife prepared the food.*
- *The man was just waiting. Now the man is helping the ladies with cooking and carrying firewood, and drawing water.*
- *It is better with ASP. Men used to hide the money. Now women know how much money there is.*
- *The man cooks if the wife is sick or away. They used to expect a female neighbour to do this.*
- *Men used to steal maize and exchange it for beer. They don't do this now.*

Men farmers

- *Before ASP we lived in conflict as households since we always forced our views as men onto all family members.*
- *The non ASP families feel bad because we have left them behind. We feel good because even when I die my wife and children will not suffer. They will continue planning and budgeting for the family farming business.*
- *Mostly it is men and boys who go to sell the produce as it requires some nu-*

meracy and literacy skills that are lacking with most women. The whole household knows what we are going to sell and when we come back we have to sit as family to budget for the funds.

- *Before ASP, we men took the money for women's crops because we were jealous, ignorant, selfish men. We felt that because we are heads of household we should control and benefit from the sale of women's crops. Men wanted to benefit more than women, but joint planning helps to remove that as there is no imposing of one's ideas.*
- *Men are not ashamed to do the female roles. The women who are not in ASP-coded households admire us, while the men are envious.*
- *The change of chores includes men taking up cooking, drawing water, taking children to the clinics, grinding maize, and collecting firewood.*
- *Women have started ploughing.*
- *There is increased output with the involvement of women at household level on planning, implementation and marketing.*
- *Men are still household heads even with the household approach, but we now consult and agree with other family members.*
- *The sharing of roles is not at 50:50 as some men only help women in desperate situations or just occasionally.*
- *The household approach has removed the practice of having a separate man's field where the wife works*

in the household approach, there are likely to be significant intergenerational benefits. This may, in the long term, encourage children to stay in farming and thus reduce migration into cities, rural underemployment and other problems. One of the most tangible gains that both men and women respondents repeatedly mentioned is that joint planning over expenditure has enabled more children to go to school.

A final, critical, finding is that the division between "male" and "female" crops is starting to disappear, according to some respondents. There are also indications that men are not

8 From Farnworth and Munachonga (2010), *Gender Approaches*, op.cit.

asserting sole ownership over “female” crops that have become lucrative, as has happened in many places across sub-Saharan Africa. Women are able to market these in important quantities in their own right in many cases, or if men market them, everyone in the household is seen to benefit. If this is really a widespread phenomenon, and has arisen as a direct consequence of the household approach, it has the potential to revolutionize attempts to involve women in cash cropping and to resist their marginalization.

These life-changing consequences of the household methodology are appreciated by both women and men. The main reason is simply that the gains to intra-household cooperation are seen so quickly. Maximizing everyone’s involvement in the household economy makes economic sense. Critically, empowering women has not been seen to disempower men. Rather, both men and women have felt empowered because intra-household relationships are less tense and more productive. Men not only appear to have better personal relationships with their wives; they appear to have forged closer relationships with their children and can speak to them more freely.

Despite these gains, however, several issues remain. In the majority of cases women’s increased access to resources still depends on their ability to maintain their relationship to the male head of household and to wider kinship networks. There is no evidence that the ASP approach has had any impact upon these wider cultural practices, or that it has protected women in the case of separation or death of the male partner. Rather, already prevailing practices appear to determine the fate of the women in these circumstances. Only in a very few cases have men written wills in favour of their wives to prevent their removal from their property upon the man’s death.

Furthermore, the ASP failed to address structural gender inequalities in relation to access to, and control over, key productive resources. Important opportunities to level the playing field for women, including women in female-headed households who face sharp inequalities in accessing particular resources due to their lack of male kin, were missed. Both women and men respondents confirmed that the ability of the majority of female headed households to graduate through the five phases of ASP programme was critically limited by their lack of resources and by the still-prevailing gender roles and responsibilities in some areas. Finally, although the emphasis on food security really made a huge difference to levels of food security, nutrition was not addressed, except with families living with HIV/AIDS. However, malnutrition in Zambia is endemic, with 45% of children under age five stunted and 21% severely stunted.⁹

This said, the household approach of the ASP created huge benefits. These have verifiably persisted beyond the life of the programme in many areas. Inspired by the ASP, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) has created similar, though smaller, programmes in Malawi and Uganda.

9 Feed the Future (2010). *East Africa FY 2010 Implementation Plan*. U.S. Government, led by U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). <http://eastafrica.usaid.gov/documents/document/document/1377>.

CASE STUDY

The Gender Action Learning System (GALS) methodology for value chain development in Uganda's coffee sector¹⁰

The Gender Action Learning System (GALS) is a gender-focused adaptation of the Participatory Action Learning System (PALS), a methodology for livelihood development and participatory impact assessment created by Linda Mayoux in which gender was mainstreamed.¹¹ As part of Oxfam Novib's WEMAN (Women's Empowerment Mainstreaming And Networking for Gender Justice in Economic Development) programme,¹² the use of PALS tools to promote women's empowerment was systematized as GALS, and piloted from 2008 onwards with partners in Uganda, Latin America and Asia. As part of a joint IFAD and Oxfam Novib pilot project in Uganda, in 2009–2011, GALS tools were adapted as the basis for a value chain development process, aiming at gender justice and pro-poor wealth creation. It is important to note that GALS is not only a household methodology – it works at multiple levels – but in this case study, we focus on the tools and approaches used with individuals and households. We also examine the impact of GALS on farmers in the Uganda pilot – specifically, the work with one of the two Ugandan partners, Bukonzo Joint Cooperative Microfinance Society Limited (Bukonzo Joint).

GALS is a community-led empowerment methodology for individual life and livelihood planning, collective action and gender advocacy for change, and institutional awareness-raising and changing of power relationships with service providers, private-sector stakeholders and government bodies. As of early 2013, GALS had been used in different forms by more than 80,000 men and women in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caucasus, under WEMAN and other initiatives.¹³ Elements of GALS have also been used in several gender and participatory workshops on micro-finance.

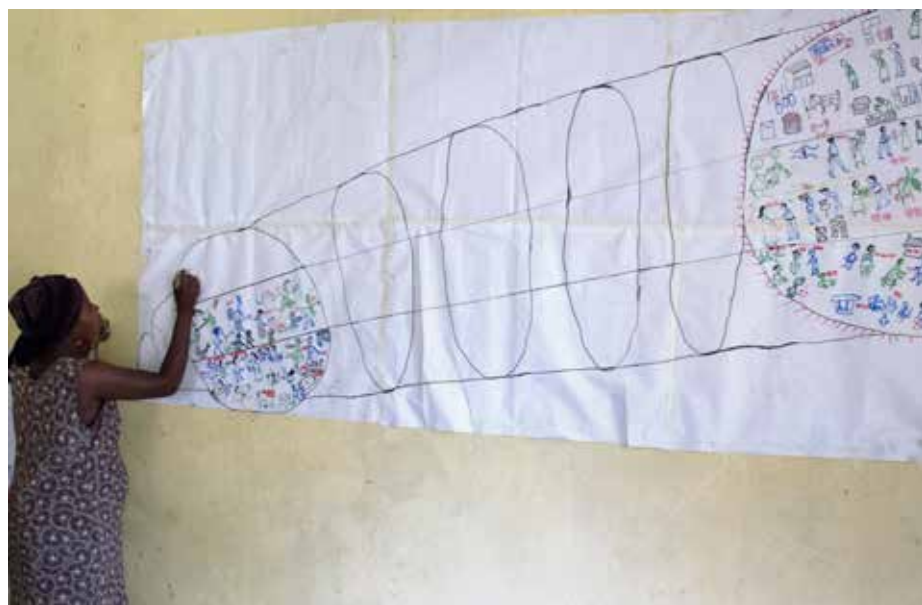
A distinctive feature of GALS is that it starts with women and men as individuals, helping them map out a personal vision for change and gain more control over their lives – which then serves as the basis and catalyst for cooperation within households, community-level collective action, and advocacy. GALS uses a set of diagram tools to analyze people's

10 This case study draws on the analysis in Farnworth, C.R. and Akamandisa, V. (2011). Report on Gender Action Learning Systems (GALS) Approach to Value Chain Development in Bukonzo Joint Cooperative Microfinance Ltd, Uganda. Report for Oxfam Novib and GIZ. <http://africa.procassur.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Final-GALS-evaluation-Bukonzo-Joint-coffee-VC-Uganda2.pdf>. That analysis has been supplemented further research, including a review of the sources cited in footnote 11, and direct contributions by Linda Mayoux.

11 For a brief introduction to GALS and key resources, see the WEMAN website, http://www.wemanresources.info/2_GenderActionLearning/2_0_GenderActionLearning.html. See also Mayoux, L. (2012). Gender mainstreaming in value chain development: Experience with Gender Action Learning System in Uganda. *Enterprise Development and Microfinance*, 23(4). 319–37. DOI:10.3362/1755-1986.2012.031. For earlier work on PALS for gender mainstreaming in value chain development, see the annex to Mayoux, L. and Mackie, G. (2009). *Making the Strongest Links: A Practical Guide to Mainstreaming Gender Analysis in Value Chain Development*. International Labour Organization, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. http://www.ilo.org/empent/Publications/WCMS_106538/lang--en/index.htm.

12 See <http://www.wemanglobal.org>.

13 See Mayoux (2012), op.cit. Also see the GALS Phase 1 manual: Mayoux, L. (2013). *Rocky Road to Diamond Dreams*. GALS Phase 1: Visioning and Catalysing a Gender Justice Movement – Community Implementation Manual (draft for piloting). http://www.wemanresources.info/documents/Page2_GALS/RRo-adDDreams1.pdf.



A GALS facilitator draws the 'multi-lane highway to change'. © Linda Mayoux.

current situation and draw a road map towards their goals; a key focus is breaking through gender-based barriers and inequalities that keep women and men from achieving their vision. This starts with a simple “road journey” to achieve a concrete part of their longer-term vision, as well as a “Gender Balance Tree” to analyze gender inequalities, and a social empowerment map to analyze family and community relationships and the potential for change. These are linked as an overall “multi-lane highway” to change.

Participants draw their diagrams in their personal notebooks, track their progress towards their visions and changes in gender balance, and share their diagrams and gender messages with people identified on the social empowerment map. Through this process, the methodology scales up through a community. As people compare their individual visions, plans, achievements and challenges, they also start forming collective visions, goals and plans within families, communities and organizations. They have also been shared in churches and schools, and sometimes new organizations are formed by participants – for example, to address male alcoholism. Groups also share ideas and replicate one another’s work.

The design of GALS, with its highly participatory processes and visual, rather than written, materials makes it easier to understand the concepts and enables people to participate even if they don’t know how to read or write. It follows a step-by-step process to build up from understanding the local context, to explaining the basic concepts, to individual engagement, to collective action. And it is tailored to each specific setting: GALS is deliberately flexible, adaptable for use for general life planning, livelihood and value chain development, environmental management, conflict resolution, and other purposes. The methodology can be used on its own or integrated into existing activities and programmes.

In the context of value chain development programmes, GALS starts by:

- Developing gender action learning skills of vulnerable stakeholder groups in the value chain, to enable them to identify and implement sustainable strategies as individuals, households and groups to increase incomes, resources, economic choices and negotiation power. This starts with the basic GALS methodology for three to six, then uses further adaptations of the same tools – more detailed business road journeys, household and business income and expenditure trees, market and value chain maps and livelihood calendars – for more in-depth livelihood planning still retaining the gender analysis and change process. A key realization of men as well as women participants is that without sustainable (i.e. equitable) households with a balanced gender tree, no one can move forward.
- Engaging skills, energies and resources of more powerful private sector and institutional stakeholders in the value chain to change gender inequalities, based on a clear human rights and business case, by promoting collaboration and negotiation of win-win strategies. This includes examination of gender relations within their own households, as well as their gender analysis of relations with other stakeholders in the chain.

In order to link the individual and household methodology to the selected value chain, a number of activities are set in motion, in steps but they soon start to run in parallel:

1. Preliminary value chain mapping of main chain activities, stakeholders, value distribution, governance and special focus on gender inequalities and power relations.
2. Participatory action research with different vulnerable stakeholder groups (and where feasible more powerful stakeholders) to identify the poverty and gender issues at each level, identify immediate short term change strategies and strengthen collaboration and peer sharing.
3. Identification, planning and negotiation of multi-stakeholder win-win strategies. At this stage the more powerful stakeholders are involved through value chain multi-stakeholder events.
4. Promotion of sustainable action learning process, including monitoring change through the integration of individual and group level learning into management information systems, peer up-scaling, integration of learning in planning processes and policy advocacy, participatory processes for ongoing change planning in Annual General Meetings, value chain fairs and local government.

An evaluation conducted in 2011 at Bukonzo Joint explored how the GALS approach had worked to improve the coffee value chain.¹⁴ Bukonzo Joint was founded in 1999 in Kasese District in southwest Uganda, initially mainly as a microfinance cooperative. It is owned by its members, who purchase shares and therefore have a stake in its profits and share in its risks. Women make up about 85% of the total of 3,887 registered members – an unusually

¹⁴ The evaluation is Farnworth and Akamandisa (2011), *Report on Gender Action Learning Systems*, op.cit. To learn more about Bukonzo Joint, see <http://bukonzocoop.com>.



Bukonzo Joint staff show farmers how to tell coffee is ripe. © Bukonzo Joint

high share. Bukonzo Joint now offers financial, production, marketing and capacity-building services in coffee production to its members with the goal of empowering them to be active agents in the development not only of themselves and their families, but also of immediate communities and from thence the wider county. Some members had been successfully implementing PALS for developing their livelihoods and groups since 2004, which is why at the end of 2007, it was chosen as an ideal partner to develop GALS in WEMAN, starting to work explicitly on gender with selected savings groups.

Arabica coffee is grown in about 75% of Kasese District, mostly upon the slopes of the Rwenzori Mountains. The value chain is well established, with clear players from input supply through production, processing, bagging, transport through to export. Value chain facilitators include the private sector, local government, the Uganda Coffee Development Authority, and NGOs. Around 74,000 households in Kasese District grow coffee, in farms that average half an acre. They are organized into producer groups and engage in primary processing, while district traders transport the product for secondary processing off site. Dry and wet processing of coffee is practiced in the area. Wet processing results in a higher-quality product called Wugar, but only around 5% of production is of Wugar quality. A principal objective of Bukonzo Joint is to increase the share of coffee that is produced and marketed as Wugar by working with membership cooperatives to which farmers are affiliated. At the time of the evaluation, there were 86 groups (seven primary cooperatives and 79 self-help groups) across the 11 parishes in Bukonzo Joint's area of operation. Within the parishes, approximately two thirds of households (2,495) were working with the GALS value chain methodology to improve gender equality, improve the coffee chain, and increase their income.

Like other programmes described in this book, Bukonzo Joint's work with GALS starts from the recognition that cultural norms in the area seriously constrain not only the individual and economic development of women themselves, but also of the entire community. This is because women and men frequently pursue individual livelihood strategies that demonstrably work against each other. Using the "Gender Balance Tree" at the outset, participants identified a distinct gender division of tasks, roles and power, with women doing most of the cultivation work – about 70% in coffee-producing households – and also

growing food crops.¹⁵ Men typically did only a few heavy tasks, but also came back to harvest and sell the coffee beans, often spending the proceeds on alcohol or women in town. Women had no decision-making power, and in their notebooks, many drew themselves kneeling before their husbands to hand over all their money.

Market maps showed that women often sold fruits, beans and groundnuts, but in coffee all the traders were male, except for a few small barter traders – because the women had no control over the income from the coffee, and thus had no capital. Further participatory analyses found that gender inequalities were a key cause of low productivity, low quality and prices at the farm level. Both men and women were selling unripe beans or beans which had not been fully processed, even if they sold for less – just to keep each other from taking them. Women also lacked good equipment, so much of the coffee was dried on the dusty ground, reducing its quality. The low quality, in turn, hindered the coffee buyers' ability to access premium markets, which demanded uncontaminated Wugar coffee. Thus, gender disparities were getting in the way of both men's and women's visions, and of those of the community as a whole.

The Bukonzo Joint evaluation found ample evidence that GALS has been remarkably successful in unseating powerful cultural norms and also improving the coffee value chain. At the levels which can be directly influenced by Bukonzo Joint – producers, and small and large traders – horizontal and vertical relationships have undoubtedly improved. Producers have been involved in cooperatives and self-help groups for some time, but the difference is that these cooperatives are paying more attention to coffee quality than before. Large traders in Kasese have included women traders in their organization as a direct consequence of GALS. At village level, barter traders (women) and village traders



Women in Bukonzo Joint discuss the impact of the GALS activities. © Linda Mayoux

15 This section draws on a detailed description in Mayoux (2012), op.cit.

(men) are often married to each other. Whereas before they did not support each other's businesses, they are now collaborating actively. The position of coffee sorters, all of whom are women, has also improved, and they now receive more money per day in recognition of the importance of their work to quality control.

Second, many respondents described remarkable life changes linked to their participation in GALS. These include male participation in reproductive tasks such as child care, drawing water and cooking – none of which had occurred before, and increased male participation in farming tasks. A central area of change has been in shared household decision-making over income and expenditure. Respondents have been quick to understand the advantages of collaboration at the household level. They have initiated shared investments in their businesses, and several households have bought land – this was an almost impossible objective in the past. Furthermore, rates of gender-based violence (40% at the outset, per men's accounts) have fallen considerably. Violent disputes were previously associated with arguments over income and expenditure. Alcohol consumption, a major drain on household funds, has also decreased.

Third, some structural changes with regard to access to, and control over, key productive assets have started to occur, particularly among married monogamous couples. Bukonzo Joint, as a consequence of its own reflection upon GALS, is helping members to register customary joint land (husband-wife) agreements with the Land Board, and for the first time fathers have agreed to include daughters in their plans for inheritance. In some trader



Bukonzo Joint members add to a diagram while evaluating GALS activities. © Linda Mayoux

households men had started to now save with their wives, women had started to be involved in coffee business and land had been bought/registered in the names of several wives with the family now working together. The programme's sustained inclusion of influential progressive leaders and local advocacy has also led to increased awareness of women's land rights among local officials (even contributing to dismissal of a badly performing board) and a significant increase in joint registration of bought land, even beyond participants in GALS.

IFAD is now scaling up GALS-based household methodologies in Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Rwanda. The GALS value chain methodology is also being used by TWIN-UK and Hivos in coffee value chains in Uganda, Congo and Tanzania.

GALS has proven effective because it starts where people are. In many ways the Road Journey framework is like a gender-aware Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats (SWOT) analysis. It soon becomes clear to participants that gender-based constraints are a key obstacle to the achievement of their personal, family and collective organizational/community goals. GALS then provides the conceptual framework to enable participants to recognize and overcome these constraints one by one. It shows rapid results because gender-based constraints do indeed seriously hamper development efforts, particularly in agriculture. Addressing them, particularly by promoting cooperation between women and men, reaps almost immediately visible economic and personal dividends.

Some very important constraints remain. Many households in Bukonzo Joint are polygamous, and although the methodology includes analysis of the relationships amongst co-wives and promotion of intra-household cooperation, GALS trainers have tended to focus on relationships between women and men, not the wider household unit. Unless this issue is explicitly raised, men with several wives are likely to form a family vision with just one, and women are also likely to consider only their husband, not co-wives. Violence between co-wives appears to be fairly widespread and has not yet been addressed due to the focus on addressing violence between women and men.

Moreover, although PALS has been used in places like India for examining food security issues, ensuring food security was not part of GALS in the WEMAN value chain project at Bukonzo Joint. Food insecurity and malnutrition are serious problems in the region, and more work needs to be done to address those issues, including potential tensions between value chain development and food security. Also, although GALS has often led to women joining literacy programmes in Uganda and elsewhere, levels of literacy and numeracy in the area are still extremely low, particularly among women. This reduces their willingness to become active in value chain development and to forge their own relationships to other actors. And women's ability to move up the value chain continues to be constrained by inequalities in land ownership and lack of access to capital and larger sources of credit. It is essential, therefore, to maximize complementarities between GALS and other interventions and/or adapt GALS itself to incorporate new uses depending on the situation, in order to progressively address wider contextual challenges.



Tanzanian farmers show off their healthy drought tolerant maize. Anne Wamulachi, © CIMMYT

Ways forward

The case studies show both the great benefits and the limitations of existing household methodologies. In terms of our empowerment framework, it is clear that household methodologies have huge scope for transforming intra-household gender relations. Decisions are no longer strongly skewed by gender norms, but directly address the production constraints and opportunities on the farm and in businesses. Household members – and the communities they are part of – become aware of how gender inequalities negatively affect their incomes and overall well-being, and recognize that more equality will lead to better outcomes. Gender-based divisions within households, and counterproductive rivalries, are replaced by a common vision and collaboration: “power with”.

Still, household methodologies cannot, on their own, correct gender inequalities in farming communities. Even if they greatly improve women’s agency at the household level, there is still a need to create strong and robust measures to enable women to participate effectively in community forums, engage with and become decision-makers in producer and marketing groups, benefit from training and capacity development courses, and be well represented in value chain platforms. Strategies to improve relations are therefore essential in order to build an empowerment pathway between women’s enlarged decision-making space at household level, and their ability to participate in wider society and the economy.

Work on structure is important as well, to ensure that women secure their gains over the long term by, for example, obtaining joint and individual land title, whether statutory or customary. The support of recognized community leaders can be vital in securing support for household methodologies in the wider community. Cultural resistance needs to be addressed by working with indigenous authorities and identifying and promoting progressive cultural norms upon which to “peg” household approaches. This work must

be enabled by creating coalitions of change agents working at all levels: governments, service providers, value chain actors, etc. to address the multiple constraints that affect poor people in general, and women in particular, in value chain development and agriculture more broadly.

Finally, a wide range of technical activities are needed to enable both women and men to maximize their opportunities, including training on ways to improve productivity, assistance with planning for food security and nutrition, numeracy and literacy programmes (especially for household methodologies aiming to support value chain development), the development of linkages to markets, action against gender-based violence, and measures to mitigate and adapt to climate change. Household methodologies also offer potential entry points for Fair Trade certification when they are explicitly predicated on gender justice. Thanks to its effective association of cooperative level work and the GALS approach – and the access to technical support these opened up – Bukonzo Joint has achieved both Fair Trade and Organic Certification for its coffee.

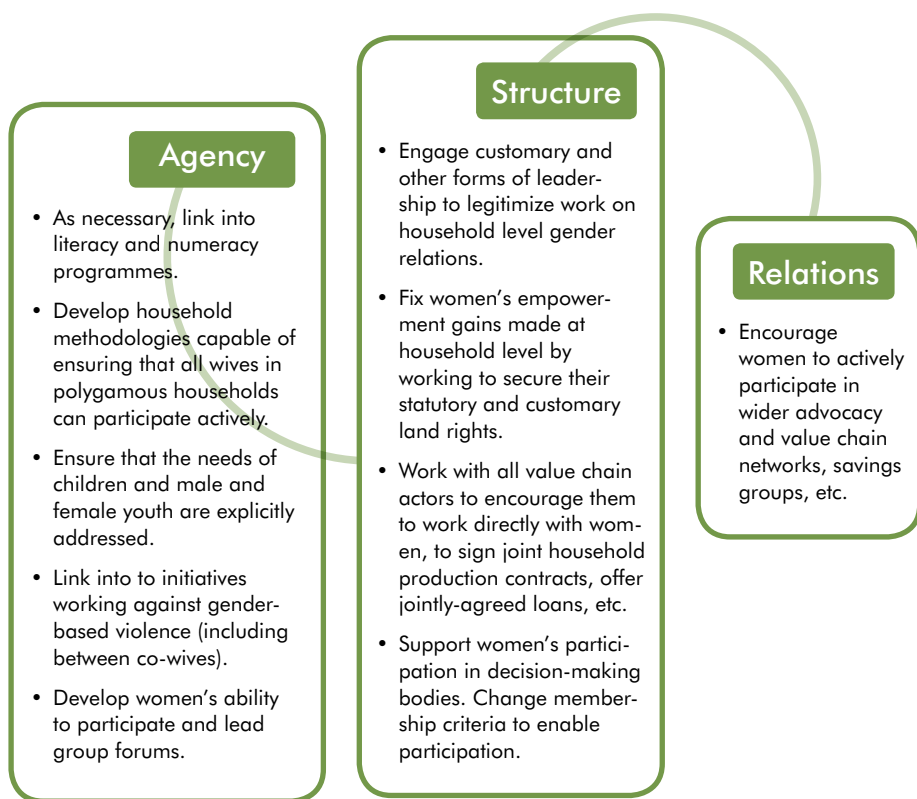


FIGURE 5.1 Embedding household methodologies in wider strategies for change



"I was taught to believe that a man should never cry, should never have compassion, true love, should never show love to the wife, and above all should always be in control – however he can do it – even at the expense of a woman. [Now] I am motivated to share with my brothers and cousins at home what happens if we do not take care of our feelings by bottling them up just because we are either men or women."

Participant in Zambia Men's Network training course¹

Violet Shivatso, left, talks with farmers in rural Kenya. © GROOTS Kenya

6 Community Empowerment

The previous chapter shows that household methodologies are astonishingly effective in empowering women, men and children to transform their lives by working together towards a common goal. However, the case studies also show that if women and their families are to fully realize their visions for a better life, changes in intra-household decision-making need to be accompanied by measures to change the wider environment in which they live. Returning to our empowerment framework, this involves targeted work on changing structures: both underlying cultural norms, and decision-making institutions of all kinds. This chapter looks at different ways of working to change structures at the community level. The approaches presented focus on supporting women as change-makers, enlisting traditional decision-makers as change agents, and getting men on board.

The first case study, from Zambia, examines efforts by indigenous leaders to redesign customary, male-dominated decision-making systems with the aim of giving women a stronger voice in community forums, and to strengthen women's direct access rights to productive assets, including land and oxen. The second case study, from Kenya, explores how grassroots women's institutions have worked to protect and deepen access rights to land for HIV-positive women who had previously lost those rights upon becoming widows. This has been achieved by strengthening their voice collectively and enrolling various institutional actors. The third case study examines the work of the Men's Network in Zambia to engage rural men to support women as leaders.

CASE STUDY

Engaging traditional leadership for women's rights in Zambia²

Zambia is a multi-ethnic nation with 73 ethnic communities. Its constitution permits a dual legal customary and statutory law system. The multiplicity of ethnic groups and the use of two sometimes contradictory legal systems in one country impact significantly upon the ways in which women and men access and control productive assets. This also has knock-on effects for productivity and for women's ability to personally benefit from their work and from the work of other household members.

Although men and women are both involved in agricultural activities, women are widely discriminated against in terms of control over productive resources and in decision-making, particularly with regard to expenditure decisions and the management of assets. This appears to be the case whether they live within matrilineal or patrilineal systems, though there are significant differences between communities. Bemba women in one study conducted in the Northern Region reported, "Women are custodians of money but they do not spend it."³ Explaining their apparent placidity in the face of overt exploitation by buyers who barter for their agricultural produce by exchanging it for salt, sugar, oil,

1 Chapter 6 title page quotation: Men's Resources International (2006). *Zambia Men's Network Leadership Training*. Springfield, MA, US. <http://www.mensresourcesinternational.org/documents/zambiareport.pdf>. At p.6.

2 Where not otherwise noted, the material in this and other case studies in this chapter comes from contributing authors' records of their own field work.

3 Farnworth, C. R., Akamandisa, V. M. and Hichaambwa, M. (2011). *Zambia Feed the Future Gender Assessment*. Report to the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). <http://www.pandiawarleggan.com/pdf/Gender%20and%20Value%20Chain%20Study%20for%20USAID%20Zambia%202011.pdf>.

crockery and cloth rather than money, another woman said, “We do not keep our money. We turn it into other goods. We want payment in cups and plates. This is harder to transform into other things.” Others answered:

- Yes, that is the biggest problem we face. Men want to control all our finances.
- We don’t keep our money, in most cases, in the village. We keep food.
- The problem is that men steal the food to exchange for beer or for another woman.
- Immediately the food is turned into cash it goes into the men’s pockets.
- The man can send you to sell the produce, but immediately you come back he wants the money. He even pretends to be annoyed with you to get the money!
- We hide money with our neighbours.

These findings are very interesting because the Bemba are matrilineal, meaning that property passes down the female line – though often via maternal uncles, and men upon marriage traditionally move to their wife’s village. Local people explained, “In Bemba chiefdoms people respect men more. This is rooted in people’s minds. Even if a woman has an idea men say, ‘Ah, she’s making a noise.’” A male staff member at the District Agricultural Coordinator’s Office said: “From birth on we are told the man should control the purse. Payment is given to the man who takes the produce to market, but the woman who does the work gets almost nothing.” Another respondent noted: “Marketing is where the man comes in. The man determines how to spend the money even though women can look after it. Immediately [when] they start to do commercial [sales] it turns to the man. ... In Bemba tradition a woman cannot spend without the assent of the man, even if the woman is a teacher.” This said, the level of women’s disempowerment in this Bemba community may not be typical. In other Bemba areas, women are noticeably more assertive.

Despite the generally dismal situation for many rural women in Zambia, socio-cultural norms that predate the colonial period and favour women’s rights to property still exist



A village in the Barotse floodplain, Zambia. Georgina Smith, © WorldFish, Flickr

today among some ethnic groups. Among the cattle-keeping Lozi in Barotseland, for instance, women are encouraged to take cattle and other property to their husband's village during the first year of marriage so that they can benefit from them over the long term. This is expressed in a saying: "Bride, go to your marriage with cattle so that wealth may be enough for your household." The ownership of cattle by women contributes greatly to wealth creation by young couples. Children are given heifers upon their birth which they use to meet their needs in later life. Indeed, Lozi tradition allows both boys and girls to have equal rights over assets, and they inherit from both male and female lines. When marriage is dissolved, through divorce or the death of the husband, the woman may return to her home and be given land which she can use for her livelihood. Empowerment methodologies, such as household methodologies, can be readily connected to existing positive norms like these to help people make their livelihood strategies more effective.

However, among other ethnic communities in the country, women face serious constraints with regard to accessing and accumulating assets. In Southern Province, for instance, Tonga women repeatedly report their inability to control land, their labour and the outputs from their work. Tonga men, when demanding things from their wives, say things like: "Did you come with a field from your village?" and "Who owns the field you use to grow maize? Who do the oxen which ploughed the field belong to?" and "A married woman belongs to her husband, and all that she owns or raises belongs to the husband, too. If she wants to control things herself let her leave her husband's village." This said, of course some Tonga men are working more equitably with their wives, and women themselves are working for change. Nonetheless, the overall situation is that women are much weaker than men within this community.

The best way to work for change is to support change from within.⁴ Across Zambia, traditional leaders are widely honoured and respected, particularly in rural areas, and they are also very powerful. A number of such leaders are now working to empower women within traditional decision-making structures. Senior Chief Bright Nalubamba of the Ila people, Namwala District, in Southern Province has established the Mbeza Rural Development Structure (MRDS) as an institution that promotes democracy, human rights, gender equality and development for his citizens. The chiefdom is now run by committees and has a management structure which is accountable and transparent to all citizens. The current five-year strategic plan was developed with all stakeholders. External and internal facilitators funded by partners such as the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA), the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), World Vision, Women for Change, and My Home Town, among others, were important to this process. The MRDS has worked to promote women in various ways. Whereas the previous chieftaincy institutions of the Ila were considered very oppressive to women, the MRDS vigorously supports women's rights. Many women have been appointed to leadership positions that were previously reserved exclusively for men. Indeed, it is now common to find women leading committees and owning productive assets such as land, oxen and ploughs. Due to the closeness and relevance of the traditional leaders to the people, their decrees are accepted and implemented even by remote communities in the chiefdom.

4 This section draws on research by one of this chapter's contributing authors: Akamandisa, V. (2012). *Qualitative Study on Gender in Agricultural Water Technologies Adoption and Management in Zambia*. AgWater Solutions Project Case Study. International Water Management Institute. http://awm-solutions.iwmi.org/Data/Sites/3/Documents/PDF/Country_Docs/Zambia/zambia-gender.pdf.



Livestock in the Barotseland floodplain, Zambia. Georgina Smith, © WorldFish, Flickr

Although there is a long way to go to convince all chiefs in Zambia of the importance of gender equality, there are a number of chiefs working for change.⁵ They include Senior Chief Nzamani of the patrilineal Ngoni in Eastern Province, who has recently formed the Fumbeni Development Trust. Chief Sinazongwe, who stems from a matrilineal ethnic community in Southern Province, has formed the Maliko Development Trust, and a few other chiefdoms have followed

suit. All these institutions are working to bring gender-sensitive development to the people within the chiefdoms.

It is valuable to reflect upon the drivers for change. In Senior Chief Nalubamba's case, his willingness to innovate for gender equality would seem to result from his exposure to different institutional settings and from his participation in various capacity development programmes. Before he became a chief he worked for several years in public service and in cooperatives, where he also learnt much about effective leadership. Chief Siangzongwe worked in the Zambia Electricity Supply Cooperation (ZESCO), and Chief Nzamani worked as a teacher and in ZESCO. Innovative chiefs, therefore, appear to be educated and to have wide exposure to all kinds of people and leadership styles beyond their immediate community.

Continued work with civil society organizations has been important. Such organizations help to deepen the capacity of chiefs and their communities to create effective change strategies. For instance, Senior Chief Nalubamba has continued to work with civil society organizations, such as Women for Change, on gender, human rights, democracy and development issues. Importantly, he has attended many such workshops with his traditional elders. There is no doubt that the presence of other key decision-makers from his community has been critical to enabling him to create a space for change.

Innovative chiefs have encouraged community-level institutions to change. Village heads and councils of elders have been encouraged to allocate land to women. Some chiefs have started providing customary land tenure certificates to women as well as men following education by the Zambia Land Alliance and other organizations.

These examples show that working within traditional institutions contributes to the relevance and the legitimacy of changing local decision-making structures to support women's empowerment. Local people understand their situation best and are aware of the different ways in which the powerful may seek to manipulate and manage change processes.

5 See, for example: Chipoya, D. (2013). Pushing the gender agenda through traditional leaders. *Zambia Daily Mail*, 21 March. <http://www.daily-mail.co.zm/features/1244>.

Investment costs are low because change processes are managed at the community and district level. Furthermore, chiefs and their council of elders control significant resources. When these are used to address practical and strategic gender needs of women and men in communities, the impacts can be felt quickly and are far-reaching. The work of progressive chiefs for gender equality helps to legitimize this cause. Their advocacy makes gender mainstreaming initiatives more feasible and more likely to be adopted by other opinion leaders, such as civic administrators and politicians.

In terms of our empowerment framework, these examples show that changing decision-making structures to explicitly welcome and accommodate women's participation can greatly strengthen women's agency by enabling them to obtain assets and get involved in community-level decisions. This said, much more research is needed on how to support innovative traditional leaders. It is not clear, for example, how effective women actually are in leadership roles. It may be necessary to strengthen their leadership capacity and to support women's participation more broadly.

Other options include encouraging chiefs to support statutory rather than customary land titling processes, and working to standardize customary land tenure certificates. Providing forums for chiefs to meet and exchange experiences, challenges and opportunities would help push change. Currently, the House of Chiefs has only three representative chiefs per province (from over 286 chiefs in the country). Its role is limited to discussions of customs and traditions, yet in practice chiefs in rural areas of Zambia are the first point of call for people wanting to solve problems of any kind. Development agencies could support chiefs to meet, share ideas and practices, and consider how to implement gender-responsive development strategies in their chiefdoms. Exchanges, visits and study tours would help to expose chiefs and traditional leaders to best practices and motivate them to adopt change agendas.

CASE STUDY

Grassroots Women Operating in Sisterhood (GROOTS), Kenya

Structural change can come both from reorganization at the national and policy level and as a result of pressure from below. This case study explores some of the strategies grassroots women use to organize themselves in order to achieve changes in local structures.

GROOTS Kenya (Grassroots Women Operating in Sisterhood) is a network of women self-help groups and community organizations and it is a member of GROOTS International. Its vision is a society in which women and their communities participate effectively in their own development. GROOTS Kenya serves as a platform for grassroots women's groups and individuals to come together to share their ideas and experiences, to network, and to find avenues to directly participate in decision-making, planning, and addressing issues that affect them. It uses a number of strategies to achieve this, including peer learning exchanges, amplifying the voices of grassroots communities, capacity-building, advocacy, outreach and networking.⁶

⁶ To learn more about GROOTS Kenya, visit <http://www.groots.org/members/kenya.htm>.



The experience of GROOTS Kenya is that empowering a grassroots woman is the first step to enabling her to articulate the issues affecting her in any sector, including agriculture. It is important that empowerment strategies help women link up with others in the same situation and that the strategy shows a clear link between the individual as a change agent and the individual as part of a collective voice.

GROOTS Kenya begins its work in a community by identifying the key issues facing women in rural areas. For example, in 2004, women caring for other women living with HIV/AIDS realized that the numbers of widows being thrown out of their homes and denied access to land had increased rapidly. GROOTS caregivers started to work with these widows using a mapping exercise to understand exactly what was happening. This involved speaking to the widows about their experiences, visiting the homes that they had been forced to leave, and viewing the land they had abandoned. GROOTS workers also spoke to local decision-makers. It became clear that local institutions were often powerless or uninterested in the issue. Key decision-makers did not coordinate with one another. Following the mapping exercise, GROOTS caregivers organized community feedback meetings and invited key decision-makers as well as widows. Women who had lost land shared their experiences. A major outcome of these meetings was that many women were resettled.

Since the key issue was the lack of coordination between decision-making bodies, GROOTS has continued working on local governance and accountability mechanisms. It uses a tool called Champions for Transformative Leadership (C4L) to train grassroots women to stand for committees such as the District Agriculture Boards, the Sugar Cane Growers Forums, and Community Development Funds Committees, and to work effectively within them. In

order to ensure that these women continue to be accountable to those they represent, the C4L tool is used to strengthen their interactions with constituents. The leaders are interviewed and asked how they understand their roles, and dialogues between with constituents are promoted to let grassroots women share their views on how leaders should promote their agenda, and let leaders explain the kind of support they need to be effective. The final step is to create a task force of constituents and leaders to meet regularly, identify women-specific issues for lobbying and advocacy work, and identify potential new leaders in the community to stand in local elections. Throughout the process, men who are supportive of women's leadership are identified and worked with.

GROOTS Kenya has learned that it is essential to organize women carefully and well. A long process is involved to take women from being isolated and focusing just on their own issues, to realizing that they share these issues with many other women, and getting involved in working for change as part of a large group. In our empowerment framework, this case study strengthens women's agency by helping them see their own situation in a broader context, and then it strengthens their relations by organizing women into networks. Through their collective action, they can then achieve changes in formal decision-making structures. It is not clear how much underlying norms are changed through this process, but it is likely that the changes on the ground have at least some impact upon such norms.

Development partners can support women's networks by allowing them to take the lead and set the agenda. They can help to fund capacity development workshops and premises from which to work, as well as fund key staff. Supporting stakeholder meetings is also critical.

CASE STUDY

The Men's Network, Zambia

The Zambian National Women's Lobby established the Men's Network Project in order to engage men for change in gender relations; it is part of the international MenEngage Alliance.⁷ The Men's Network Project is developing methodologies to "reach men where they are found" – as opposed to trying to entice men to workshops and seminars. Whilst the Men's Network Project has not yet conducted significant work with farmers and thus does not address agriculture-specific gender issues, its work is included in this chapter as an example of good practice that could be built upon for work in the agricultural sector.

An interesting methodology developed as part of this project is the Men's Campfire Conference. This aims to locate and support men willing to work for gender equality. The Men's Network decided to use the idea of bringing men together around a campfire because in many parts of Zambia men often socialize at night, drinking beer and discussing various issues. However, women are not allowed to join them since this is considered wrong. In order to use this tradition in a more positive way, the Men's Network first approached traditional leaders to gain permission for holding a campfire meeting. Traditional leaders exert considerable influence over their subjects, and they are capable of mobilizing men to undertake specific activities. The Men's Campfire Conference is usually held around a

⁷ To learn more about MenEngage, visit <http://www.menengage.org>. The Zambia project page is at http://www.menengage.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=82&Itemid=61.

bonfire in the middle of a village. It gets men to contribute firewood, food sourced within the village, and non-alcoholic drinks. The men build the fire and eat and drink together whilst discussing issues raised by the facilitators.

Men who have come into contact with the Men's Network become the catalysts for organizing Campfire Meetings. Typically, such men are church leaders, community service organization members or volunteers, or traditional leaders. They start with the formalities of asking for permission from the local leaders, choosing a convenient site for the campfire, collecting firewood, publicizing the event, inviting the participants, and helping to prepare the drinks. The coordinator's office provides some logistical support and resource persons that may be required for the event. At the Campfire Meeting, burning topics with respect to gender are addressed. The emphasis is on examining the causes of any gender issue, the effects this issue has upon community relations, and solutions the men want to put forward. Later, Zambia Men's Network members monitor implementation of these solutions. This said, demand for Campfire Meetings is high and there are currently not enough volunteers to organize Campfires and assess progress. Money is needed to cover transport costs and per diems for volunteers to travel to outlying areas.

The concept of the men's Campfire Conference is gaining in popularity because it uses a traditional setup to allow men to discuss controversial and novel themes. It builds upon the oral cultures which are still strong in Zambia. As such it works well with illiterate and semi-literate people. Although to date few Men's Campfire Conferences have been



A farmer in the Barotsse floodplain, Zambia. Georgina Smith, ©Worldfish, Flickr

held, things are already happening. During the elections in October 2011, some participants campaigned for women to take up leadership positions at different political levels.

Others have also gone to influence other men in institutions such as churches and community development committees. This has worked well because some participants in the Campfire Conferences are church leaders. They are working to get their parishioners to discuss gender issues in church meetings on the basis that love is a core value of the Christian faith. Working through the church has proven effective because it is possible to reach husbands, wives and children at the same time, since families attend church functions together. Furthermore, people of different social classes meet in church. This increases the “multiplier effect” and, since the message on gender equality comes from respected community figures, it has more legitimacy. In other areas, such as Chipata, Monze and Mongu Districts, Men’s Network members have been engaged by women’s groups to talk to women and men groups about gender equity and equality and their benefits for households and communities’ development.

The Men’s Network also organizes Boys’ Campfires to talk about the rights of girls. Boys participating in the campfires have gone on to make public statements against child abuse and gender based-violence. The overall aim of this work, and with work in schools through the Boy’s Network, is to encourage boys to adopt “positive maleness” in the hope that this will positively contribute towards gender equality in their societies.

Despite the progress made, the Men’s Network faces important challenges. These include the fact that in Zambian villages, people often live on their own land holdings, quite far away from one another. This means that quite a lot of men do not attend the Campfires because they cannot travel at night back to their homes. Furthermore, some men have stigmatized men trying to empower women, calling them “women-men” and other epithets. This has proved an important barrier to encouraging men to become actively involved in supporting women and to change their own behaviour. Some Zambian women’s organizations have also been ambivalent about the Men’s Network Project, feeling that they are trying to hijack their agenda and attempting to cash in on the limited resources that they have mobilized. Finally, development partners have been slow to support the Men’s Network Project – partly because “gender” is still seen by many agencies as being about support to women.

Viewed through our empowerment framework, this case study shows that the Men’s Network Project has succeeded in achieving some change in “structures” by encouraging men to support women as leaders. However, work on transforming underlying cultural norms is proceeding slowly and painfully. The conceptual categories of “male” and “female” in Zambian societies remain quite rigid. Whilst a good number of men are proving willing to work for change, to be effective they need more support at a personal level to strengthen their “agency” and to feel confident about what they are doing. The Men’s Network Project is therefore trying to bring men into one national legally registered network with provincial and district chapters to collaborate with other gender-focused government and private institutions. This will hopefully contribute to strengthening mutual support networks and relations. Development agency support for this proposed network will be important.

Ways forward

The case studies highlight a wide variety of locally driven approaches to working for gender equality in rural areas – and creating an “enabling environment” for women’s empowerment. Very different approaches to transforming gender relations have been taken. GROOTS strengthens women’s individual and collective agency by organizing them into networks – the relational aspect of empowerment in our framework. These networks have then worked to challenge and change decision-making structures by making them more accountable, by helping them to coordinate with one another, and by ensuring that women get elected to leadership positions within those structures. Traditional leaders in Zambia, meanwhile, have taken a top-down approach to transformation for gender equality. They have worked directly to increase the ability of women to participate in community-level decision-making by creating positions for them, and by ensuring that women have increased control over productive assets. The Men’s Network Project is very different from both of these. It appeals directly to men rather than women. It asks men to critically examine and change their own behaviour, and thus to support changes in cultural norms. It also asks men to work towards overt structural change in their societies by supporting women as leaders.

It is clear from the case studies that each approach has the potential to achieve radical structural change. It is equally clear that it would be useful to consider working across the three dimensions of the empowerment framework in a more structured way to foster mutually supportive activities at all levels. Men also need to be empowered to change, and thus work on building their agency and developing support networks – relations, is important. Figure 6.1 summarizes the key points made in this chapter.

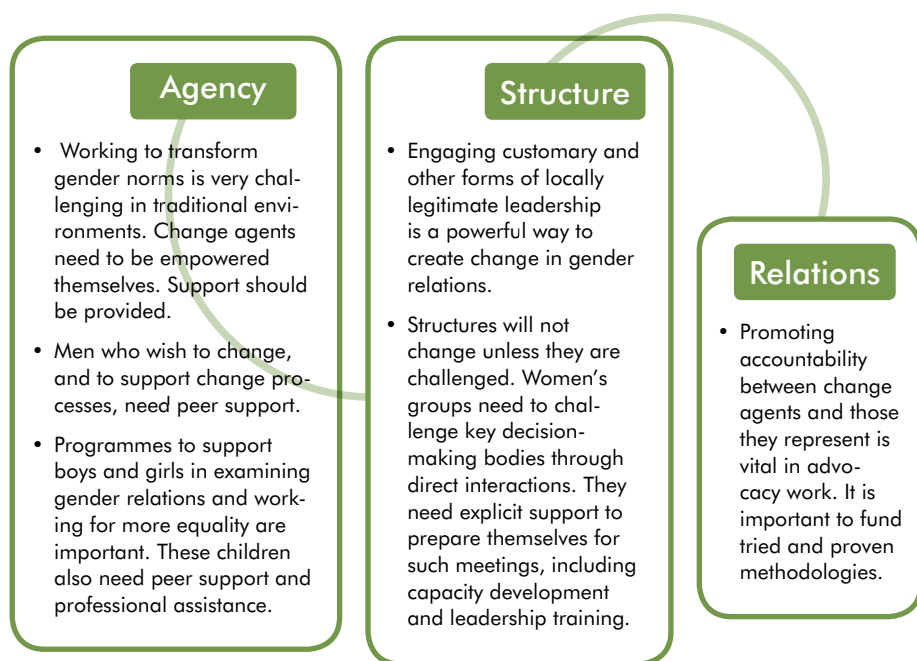


FIGURE 6.1 Linking work at the community level to work on agency and relations



"One day a pupil in uniform walked in our office with a gloomy face and greeted us with such a commanding tone such that we were all jacked up. She introduced herself as Mary Banda, a grade 11 pupil at Petauke Boarding High School. ... She said, 'I have come here to seek some assistance to reclaim land which belonged to my late stepfather who gave [it to] me and has been grabbed by my aunts upon my father's death.'"

Zambia Land Alliance¹

80-year-old Rufina Gibson, a groundnut farmer in Malawi, works her field. ©ILRI, Flickr

7 Land

We argue throughout this book that empowering women demands change strategies at multiple levels. One of the most important is promoting women's direct access to, and control over, productive resources. Land is clearly a fundamental resource in agricultural production, yet across the continent very few women have statutory land title, largely due to their weak capital base. Huge numbers of African women still access land through male kin in customary land tenure systems, and their livelihoods are thus dependent on their ability to maintain relationships with fathers, husbands, sons and other male relatives. When these relationships fail – due, for example, to widowhood or divorce – women may be made to leave their land by their husband's clan. In customary systems single mothers may not be able to access any land. Young women in general may see no place for themselves in rural areas and move away. Thus, women at key turning points in their lives often have to move to the towns and cities to find work.

Despite all the evidence of positive food security and livelihood outcomes when women have equitable access to land, there is unfinished business in the area of land reform. In many Sub-Saharan African countries, land reforms have consistently failed to develop novel ways of securing women's access to, use of, and control over land. These are often the direct outcomes of gender-biased – or “gender-neutral” – land reforms which fail to take into account the different ways in which women and men access resources, and which therefore fail to level the playing field. In Zimbabwe, for example, customary access to land works reasonably well for married women, but poorly for divorced and single women.



Chukwura Social Farmers Association members prepare a tree nursery. © Trees for the Future, Flickr

1 Chapter 7 title page quotation: From an unpublished case file, shared through a personal communication with the authors.

Widowhood often presents problems for land use for women, especially in the absence of adult sons to defend their mother's land use rights. In such cases mothers may want land to devolve to sons rather than daughters as a strategy to hold onto the land.

Development outcomes improve when women have direct access to land. It is known that promoting women's rights over land and natural resources strengthens the livelihoods and food security of smallholder households.

Research by the OECD Development Centre shows strong associations between women's control over land and progress towards MDG targets. In relation to MDG 1: Eradicate extreme hunger and poverty, for instance, countries where women lack any right to own land have on average 60% more malnourished children.²

Secure access to land also supports women in their function as primary caregivers for children, elderly people, and family members living with HIV/AIDS and other chronic conditions.³ Since women are often responsible for ensuring food security, increasing their influence over land allocation can help to ensure more of it is devoted to food crops for household use, or that enough of the proceeds from selling crops are used to purchase food. This said, programmes working to strengthen women's land rights in association with food security should ensure that they do not inadvertently undermine the roles of men in household food provisioning.

Women everywhere are engaged in agricultural production – whether it is for their own families, or for local, regional or international markets. They thus depend upon reliable access to land for their livelihoods. Land is also a crucial form of collateral for loans to invest in agricultural and non-agricultural businesses, and when women do not own land – or have to ask permission from a male relative to put it up as collateral – they often cannot access funds to expand their businesses.⁴ At best, they may be able to access informal credit, which is of some help but is likely to be much smaller-scale.⁵ Thus women often remain

A 14-year-old farmer in Gura Tebebo Union, Ethiopia, shows off her land ownership certificate. Photo by Links Media, © USAID



- 2 OECD Development Centre (2010). *Gender Inequality and the MDGs: What Are the Missing Dimensions?* 'At Issue' brief. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris. <http://www.oecd.org/development/poverty/49016646.pdf>.
- 3 See, for example, Izumi, K., ed. (2006). *Reclaiming Our Lives: HIV and AIDS, Women's Land and Property Rights, and Livelihoods in Southern and East Africa : Narratives and Responses*. HSRC Press, Pretoria, South Africa. <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2168>.
- 4 See, for example, Almodóvar-Reteguis, N., Kushnir, K. and Meilland, T. (2012). *Mapping the Legal Gender Gap in Using Property and Building Credit*. Women, Business and the Law. The World Bank, Washington, DC. http://wbl.worldbank.org/reports/~/_/media/FPDKM/WBL/Documents/Notes/Legal-Gender-Gap-in-Using-Property-and-Building-Credit.pdf.
- 5 See, for example, Owuor, G. and Shem, A. O. (2012). *Informal Credit and Factor Productivity in Africa: Does Informal Credit Matter?* Presented at the International Association of Agricultural Economists (IAAE) Triennial Conference. Foz do Iguaco, Brazil, 18–24 August. <http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/126624/2/Owuor.pdf>.

locked into value chains as poorly paid producers with scarcely any opportunity to move into off-farm value-added activities. Work on enabling women to have direct access to land – as opposed to being mediated through kinship networks – can help women to improve their productivity and to strengthen their decision-making power with respect to crop/livestock choice and with regard to how the income is used. In terms of our empowerment framework, ensuring women have direct access to land helps them to make meaningful choices (resources + agency = meaningful choice).

Although customary laws have generally made it difficult for women to access land except through their husbands, there are exceptions. For example, the Isukha Luyia ethnic community in Kenya historically ensured that women, regardless of marital or child-bearing status, were able to access land. Since Isukha men were polygamous, they passed their land to their wives for their use. The land was shared equally, regardless of whether a wife was childless, or whether she “only” had daughters. In cases where a woman was childless, the husband’s family was responsible for identifying a son to support her, and to act as her son. When she grew too old to farm actively she would pass her own land to this son. For this she could demand compensation, for example a cow, but she would be allowed to live on the land until her death. At that point the son could take the land. However, this tradition has not been maintained into modern times, though village elders still remember it. Today, Isukha and Luyia⁶ men rarely give land to childless wives, or to women who only have daughters. This has marginalized these women.

The jury remains out regarding the degree to which formal land titling programmes empower women. Factors contributing to empowerment under land titling include strengthening women in household level decision-making processes, and the participation of women’s networks and other civil society actors to ensure appropriate forms of land titling. Experience shows that land title is only the start of the process. Complementary programmes to promote women’s access to other resources, including credit, tools and information, are vital if they are to farm their land effectively.⁷

Three case studies are presented in this chapter. The first, from Kenya, highlights how the women’s movement came together to ensure that the Constitution recognized women’s land rights in full. This study is complemented by a second Kenyan study which emphasizes the importance of grassroots organizations in ensuring the implementation of legal reforms. The third study highlights Zimbabwe’s experience and draws out lessons.

6 These are ethnic groups residing near the Kakamega area in Kenya.

7 See Quisumbing, A. R. and Pandolfelli, L. (2010). Promising Approaches to Address the Needs of Poor Female Farmers: Resources, Constraints, and Interventions. *World Development*, 38(4). 581–92. DOI:10.1016/j.worlddev.2009.10.006.

CASE STUDY

Women's land rights under the Constitution of Kenya, 2010

In Kenya, the women's movement fought for over 20 years to get women's land rights recognized in policy and the legislature. Their struggles were rewarded in 2010, when Kenya adopted one of the most progressive constitutions in Africa, with an explicit assertion of gender equality in land rights and protections for spouses and other dependents upon the dissolution of marriage or the death of the male landowner.⁸ This is an important step forward for Kenyan women; our case study explains how they achieved it, and it also explains what remains to be done to ensure that women really can benefit from the provisions of the Constitution. Though much progress has been made, there is still a long way to go.

First it is helpful to take a step back to appreciate why land reform was so necessary. Overall, it is estimated that 27% of the smallholdings in Kenya are solely managed by women, whilst a further 47% of smallholdings are managed by women in the absence of their husbands.⁹ However, Kenyan women only hold about 5% of registered land titles together with their husbands, and just 1% in their own name.¹⁰ Female land ownership is so low partly because women generally have limited economic resources and therefore



Women in Mombasa, Kenya, demonstrate for land rights. ©Tom Chandler, Flickr

- 8 See Republic of Kenya (2010). *The Constitution of Kenya, 2010*. Nairobi. http://www.kenyalaw.org/klr/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/Constitution_of_Kenya__2010.pdf.
- 9 Kenya Land Alliance/Centre for Land, Economy and Rights of Women, 2004. *The National Land Policy in Kenya. Critical Gender Issues and Policy Statements*. KLA Issue Paper No. 1/2004.
- 10 See Ellis, A., Cutura, J., Gillson, I., Manuel, C., Dione, N. and Thongori, J. (2007). *Gender and Economic Growth in Kenya: Unleashing the Power of Women*. The World Bank, Washington, DC. <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/6810>.

find it difficult to buy land on their own, but it has also been kept low by discriminatory practices under customary law. And although Kenya's Constitution of 1963 was amended in 1997 to explicitly prohibit discrimination, including on the basis of sex, it made a major exception, for laws and provisions "with respect to adoption, marriage, divorce, burial, devolution of property on death or other matters of personal law".¹¹ Patriarchal norms also continued to prevail in the distribution of land. Very often, fathers continued to transfer land only to sons. In most cases, matrimonial property is still registered in the name of a spouse, typically the male, or considered to belong to him. Even now, despite having been made illegal, the disinheritance of widows remains a widespread phenomenon across the country.¹² Kenyan women as a group (daughters, sisters, wives, mothers, grandmothers) are discriminated against in land ownership regardless of how the land is acquired, whether inherited, held individually or communally. In the event of singlehood, marital separation, divorce or widowhood, women who depend solely on land for their livelihood often become destitute upon their removal from the land.

To address this situation, civil society organizations including the Kenya Land Alliance, the Centre for Land Economy and Rights of Women (CLEAR), the Women's Political Caucus, and Federation of Women Lawyers Association (FIDA-Kenya) worked closely together to secure women's rights to land during the Constitutional Review (2000–2010). This involved rethinking and re-fashioning lobbying and advocacy strategies. The organizations aimed to hold the government accountable for commitments it had made regionally, nationally and globally to women's rights. Lessons were learned from neighbouring countries, particularly Uganda and Tanzania, where activists have managed to ensure that women's concerns have been addressed in their national constitutions.

To guide the process, CLEAR, in partnership with the Kenya Land Alliance, developed an informational tool for lobbying the constitutional delegates, communities and policy-makers. The Kenya Land Alliance commissioned CLEAR to carry out a study and recommend measures to rectify the situation. The outcome of the study was a booklet, *Gender Aspects of Land Reform: Constitutional Principles*, which was used to lobby the constitutional delegates, government representatives, NGOs and other stakeholders during the Constitutional Review.¹³ The booklet compares the realities of women's land rights with core constitutional principles, including the ban on discrimination on the basis of sex; equal rights regarding inheritance, succession and matrimonial property; and equal rights in relation to land distribution, resettlement schemes, and land markets, among others.

The Kenyan Constitution was promulgated on 27 August, 2010, and is considered one of the best constitutions in Africa for women. It comprehensively addresses gender equality, enshrining it in the Bill of Rights, which promotes women's representation, participation, opportunities and empowerment of women as equal citizens. Three separate articles also protect women's rights with regard to land. Article 60, the first in a section on land reforms,

11 See Republic of Kenya (2009). *The Constitution of Kenya* (1963, Revised Edition 2009). Nairobi. http://www.kenyalaw.org/klr/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/Constitution_of_Kenya__2010.pdf. Article 82 (4)(b).

12 See, for example, <http://grootskenya.org/sitez/index.php/resources/item/120-forum-meeting-in-nakuru>, and <http://kelinkkenya.org/2012/09/innovating-justice-for-widows-in-kenya/>.

13 Kenya Land Alliance (2002). *Gender Aspects of Land Reform: Constitutional Principles*. Nahuru, Kenya. Available at <http://www.mokoro.co.uk/other-resources/east-africa/kenya>.

starts with the assertion: “Land in Kenya shall be held, used and managed in a manner that is equitable, efficient, productive and sustainable”. It then outlines several principles, including equitable access to land, security of land rights, and “elimination of gender discrimination in law, customs and practices related to land and property in land”. Article 40, meanwhile, guarantees all Kenyans’ right to acquire and own property and offers protection from arbitrary takings or limitations on property use. And Article 68 calls for a series of land reforms to, among other things, “regulate the recognition and protection of matrimonial property and in particular the matrimonial home during and on the termination of marriage”, and “protect the dependants of deceased persons holding interests in any land, including the interests of spouses in actual occupation of land”.

As a consequence of the professionalism of the women’s movement and the broad consensus for change it was able to achieve, the relationship between the government and the women’s movement changed for the better. Historically, this relationship has always swung between cooperation and conflict. Women used the arena provided by the Constitutional Review process to the maximum to ensure that the constitution adopted strong language on gender equality. The creation of consultative alliance building and networking processes to establish common ground with respect to addressing women’s land rights was vital. Commitment, knowledge, strength in numbers, and a unified voice were all central.

In terms of our empowerment framework, the women’s movement worked to develop the legal framework – the “structure” – fundamental to the ability of women to realize their rights to land. However, the women’s movement recognizes that the underlying norms which have legitimized discrimination against women for generations still remain largely unaffected by the changes to the law. Traditional practices and patriarchal land institutions will continue to discriminate against women with regard to land access and ownership. Complementary programmes such as raising women’s awareness of their rights, legal literacy programmes, and advocacy strategies of various kinds, will have to be employed for a long time to come before culture, attitude and perceptions change.

The women’s movement also exploited the “relations” aspect of empowerment to the utmost. It learned from its past experience in fostering partnerships, networking, and developing collaborative alliances with community-based women’s organizations, other civil society organizations, and policy-makers. Drawing out the critical issues and policy recommendations in the form of an accessible booklet for advocacy worked well. Campaigners for change were able to speak with one consistent voice and could provide clear messages to policy-makers.

This said, more work remains to be done in terms of building relations. Development partners can help farming women to realize their land rights by strengthening national and local women’s networks. Such networks need support in monitoring the implementation of the land laws, in ensuring law enforcement, in taking challenges in court, and in helping to roll out the constitution in local languages. All this costs time and money, and money in particular is desperately needed.

CASE STUDY

GROOTS Kenya

GROOTS Kenya provides some ideas of how civil society organizations can work to ensure the law is implemented. As part of its support to women living with HIV/AIDS, GROOTS works with women who have lost their land upon becoming widows. Together with these women GROOTS approaches decision-makers – including land tribunals, elders, and representatives of the Provincial Administration (chiefs, assistant chiefs and district officers) – to ask them to explain their position on women’s land rights. Part of this process is described in Chapter 6 on community empowerment methodologies. Following agreements with decision-makers, women leaders and the various bodies involved with land rights set up “Watchdog Groups” to oversee the implementation of agreements.

Watchdog Groups are further enlisted to track what is happening in the community and to act quickly should other women lose their land. The groups also work to inform the wider community about the consequences for women of being disinherited upon their husband’s death. Specific activities include educating women on the key legal documents they need to assert their rights to land, such as land titles, marriage and death certificates. Finally, the Watchdog Groups encourage community members to write wills, so widows’ and orphans’ inheritance rights are clearly asserted.

GROOTS Kenya realized that the Watchdog Groups needed a better understanding of the law in order to work well. Thus, it developed a Community Paralegalism Programme, whereby a person selected by the community is trained as a paralegal expert able to articulate the law. Several community paralegals are widows who have survived discrimination following the death of their husband. Importantly, the Watchdog Groups work to avoid conflict over land. They achieve this by providing a community level mechanism for resolving land issues, as opposed to encouraging people to engage in long, complex and costly court cases. The ultimate aim is to ensure that widows have land to settle on with the agreement of the whole community.

GROOTS Kenya has learned that resettling widows on land is only the first step. Experience showed that such women frequently lease out their hard-won land because they have no money for tools and inputs. To address this situation, GROOTS Kenya sets up collective farming groups. Extension officers provide technical support to the entire group. GROOTS Kenya also provides a basic agricultural start-up kit for each group. The kit includes tools like pangas (machetes), hoes, pumps, seeds and seedlings. The kit is not repaid by the recipients. Rather, GROOTS works to ensure the group’s sustainability over the long term. Members are encouraged to be innovative, for example by selling products when prices are high, engaging in village-level saving and credit schemes, and saving seeds. Many women are now engaged in greenhouse production and in the planting drought-resistant crops.

The work of GROOTS relates strongly to our empowerment framework. The Watchdog Groups work to ensure the implementation of the law (visible structure). To do so, they help to push for change in the underlying norms of society (invisible structures). They have a very clear target group, innovative strategies and are very firm in what they expect to achieve. At the same time, the Watchdog Groups recognize that conflict is counterproductive, and they also recognize that the legal system per se can be complex and hard to manage. For

this reason, they work to get the whole community to agree to widows settling new land, or retaining their own land. This is a powerful way to refashion gender norms at the community level and to bring them into alignment with statutory provisions on gender equality.

Development partners often shy away from helping grassroots women to organize, yet their support would make a big difference. For example, they could help to support capacity development programmes aiming to strengthen the leadership capacity of grassroots women. This may involve helping to facilitate meetings, peer learning, exchange visits and supporting community-level dialogue processes. Assistance with paying for office space is very helpful. Development partners can support land reform programmes by assisting with the supply of basic farming inputs.

Furthermore, development partners could consider direct grants and capacity development to local-level women's groups rather than higher-level federations. Local groups often lack the ability to apply for funds from international donors, and they also need to demonstrate that they have the technical capacity to manage funds. However, working directly with local women's groups can yield great results in terms of empowering them at all levels, and in making a difference to their farming productivity. Development agencies should therefore develop innovative ways to reach local women's groups. The Global Fund for Women has some experience in this respect which can be built upon.¹⁴

CASE STUDY

Women and land in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe's land reform process was originally "gender-neutral", but in a male-dominated society, neutrality results in gender gaps in land ownership, control, management and productivity.¹⁵ At the onset of the Fast Track Land Reform, the policy framework did not provide an enabling environment to redress gender imbalances of land and inheritance issues, especially for widows. The permit, offer letter or lease was in the name of the applicant, irrespective of marital status or gender. This resulted in ad hoc practices based on prevailing customs. The existence of the dual legal system, with both customary law and statutory law in issues of inheritance and marriage, resulted in women's discrimination in terms of accessing land in their own right or as equal citizens.¹⁶

Early on in the struggle for women's land rights, the Utete Land Committee recommended that 20% of the land to be given to women. The Committee also supported the inclusion of women's names on land offer letters. However, most provinces did not reach the 20%

14 For a quick introduction to the Global Fund for Women's approach to grant-making, see <http://www.globalfundforwomen.org/what-we-do/how-we-grant>.

15 See, for example, The World Bank, FAO and IFAD (2009). *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook*. The World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, and International Fund for Agricultural Development, Washington, DC. <http://go.worldbank.org/5Z9QPCC7L0>. Module 4, on gender issues in land policy, notes that a common problem with land reforms is "'gender-neutral' legislation and programs that, because they ignore the normative and practical constraints women face in obtaining land rights, are in fact biased against women" (at p. 24).

16 Jirira, K. O. and Halimana, C. M. (2008). *A Gender Audit of Women and Land Rights in Zimbabwe*. Paper prepared for the Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network. Harare, Zimbabwe. At p.14.

threshold. Variations occurred depending on the strength of the women's groups and their lobbying skills in specific areas.

Women and Land in Zimbabwe (WLZ), initially the Women and Land Lobby Group, was established in 1998 by academics and activists. Its work, complemented by the struggles of women on the ground, led to real change. The policy framework now ensures an equal quota for women in land allocation schemes and it ensures that both the man and the woman are named on land leases. Single women are also able to apply for a land permit in their own name, and are not discriminated against in land allocation. Women war veterans have been very active in struggling for their land rights. Many have been allocated land in their own right rather than as wives. Over 150,000 families have been resettled through the Fast Track Land Reform Programme to date.

Studies in Zimbabwe show that many women who have received land title, either individually or as part of a family, have had their lives transformed.¹⁷ Many married women feel they are much more involved in farming operations than in the past, and many women state that they are able to negotiate on an equal footing with men. District and land committees have discretionary powers in solving land disputes and inheritance issues. Research indicates that many officers are gender-sensitive and generally sympathetic to women. For example, even where men have been named on permits or offer letters, the general practice is that the widow is allowed to stay on the farm. In such cases, the permit or offer letter is transferred into the widow's name. In one case of a divorce, the husband retained the land but the wife was allocated land elsewhere, since the land committee recognized that she had been the main farmer. Overall it is fair to say that attitudes are changing quite rapidly due to the land reform process, but equality has not yet been reached. One woman said, "You have to be aggressive and strong – you have to act like a man and not give up." Inheritance issues remain problematic. As the Kenyan study shows, even if the legal framework enshrines women's rights to land, struggles to realize these rights must continue.

An important component of the land reform process has been to support women who have been allocated land. The Women Farmers Land and Agriculture (WFLA) Trust was formed in 2006 with the mandate to promote the contribution of women farmers to national food security and to enable economic empowerment of women by means of capacity-building, lobbying and advocacy, and to facilitate their access to farming resources such as equipment, irrigation and inputs. The WFLA Trust now has more than 2,000 members, including women engaged in farming as a business, and single women farmers who are divorced, widowed or never married.

Although numerous women are now "farming as a business", it is clear that the ability of many to reinvest sufficient monies into farming is hampered by their myriad family

17 See Mazhawiwa, P. and Manjengwa, J. (2011). *The Social, Political and Economic Transformative Impact of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme on the Lives of Women Farmers in Goromonzi and Vungu-Gweru Districts of Zimbabwe*. International Land Coalition Research Report 8. Women Farmers Land and Agriculture Trust and Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe. <http://www.landcoalition.org/publications/social-political-and-economic-transformative-impact-fast-track-land-reform-programme-li>. Also: Hanlon, J., Manjengwa, J. and Smart, T. (2012). *Zimbabwe Takes Back Its Land*. Kumarian Press, Boulder, CO, US. https://www.kpbooks.com/title/Zimbabwe_Takes_Back_Its_Land. Research in Mazowe, Goromonzi and Murhewa districts is presented in the book, which includes a chapter titled "Women Take Their Land".



responsibilities, ranging from putting food on the table to sending children to school. Women feel that ensuring household food security is their duty. Poor women in particular find it very hard to meet this responsibility whilst setting aside sufficient money for investment. Some women farmers have failed and have dropped out. However, many other women have made it as successful farmers. Gertrude Chimbwanda is a resettled farmer who earned \$4,200 USD from selling her tobacco in 2011. She says, “As a widow and woman farmer I think I have done well for myself because I managed to build a homestead. I own a few goats and chickens. This farming season I planted tobacco, barley and maize. I am honoured to be a woman land owner, and this has helped to look after my family after my husband passed away.”

The Zimbabwean experience shows that it is vital to work with policy-makers to help them understand that “neutral” land reform policies serve to embed the status quo. Issuing joint titles is not enough – implementing bodies need to be gender-aware to help guide the implementation of land reform on the ground. Training may be necessary. In common with GROOTS Kenya, activists in Zimbabwe have learned that securing women’s access to land is only one step in a longer process. Women need help with inputs and training in good agricultural practices to make up for years of gender biases in extension, and to compensate for women’s continuing low asset base. The Zimbabwe study further shows that women’s expenditure responsibilities remain a challenge to capital accumulation. Women find it harder than men to succeed in market-orientated farming for this reason.

CASE STUDY

Fighting for land rights in Zambia: Mary Banda's story

Traditional or customary marriages – recognized within the tribe but not backed by a legal document – remain common in Zambia. Two factors affect women's land rights in these communities: whether when couples get married, they are expected to settle in the man's village (virilocal) or the woman's (uxorilocal), and whether inheritance is patrilineal or matrilineal.¹⁸

In matrilineal societies, when a couple marries, the couple is given land by the woman's family, though the man usually controls it for the duration of the marriage. If he dies or the couple divorces and the woman is in her own village, her male relatives will generally control the land, but provide for her. If she's in her husband's village, she will usually be allowed to keep at least some land. In patrilineal societies, however, a woman's access to land is through her husband, and in the event of his death or divorce, the man's family will often take back the property, leaving the woman with nothing. In both patterns of marriage, the couple's children can also be easily disinherited.

This is not what Zambia's laws call for. Under the Intestate Succession Law of 1989, a man or woman who is widowed inherits 20% of the deceased's estate, and shares the house with the children. However, the law excludes property held under customary law – the land that 80% of rural Zambians rely on for subsistence farming.¹⁹ Thus, legal reforms have been of little help to rural women and children.



The road from Petauke, Eastern Province, Zambia. © Sarah Depper, Flickr

Mary Banda walked into the Petauke District Land Alliance office one day in 2008, dressed in her school uniform, distraught but determined. Her land had been taken away, and she wanted help to reclaim it.

Mary was born in Luanshya district, in the Copperbelt Province, in 1978. When she was 2 years old, her father died, and the family moved to Kakwiya village, in Petauke District of Eastern Province. Two years later, her mother married a man who already had two other wives and many children.

18 Zambia Land Alliance materials supplemented here by: USAID (2010). *USAID Country Profile: Property Rights and Resource Governance – Zambia*. U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington, DC. <http://usaidlandtenure.net/zambia>.

19 See USAID (2010), *Country Profile*, op.cit.

The stepfather paid for Mary to attend school, and she and her mother both worked on his land. In 1993, Mary was admitted into Petauke Boarding High School, but after completing the ninth grade there, at the end of 1994, she found herself pregnant and had to drop out. In 1995, she got married.

In 1997, Mary's stepfather called his family members, per the local tradition, and told them he intended to demarcate part of his land and give it to Mary. The family had no objection. The stepfather provided for Mary to inherit 10 hectares of cropland and one hectare of garden.

In 2007 Mary – now a mother of two – got divorced, and decided to go back to school. But her stepfather died that same year, leaving her with no support. Yet she had the land, so she grew maize, sold it, and used the proceeds to buy flour and begin baking buns and scones. This became Mary's main source of income, allowing her to pay for school and support her children. She also had to help her mother, two older sisters and two brothers: Upon her stepfather's death, her mother had been forced off the land and sent back to her village, and her relatives there had only given her a small amount of poor-quality land. Then her sisters had lost their husbands and been forced to move back in with their mother. Mary enlisted them to help with the land and with the baking.

The following year, however, while Mary was at school, her late stepfather's family took her land away and gave it to two of her stepsisters who had lost their own land – one because of divorce, another after because of her husband's death. The family argued that under customary law, Mary wasn't entitled to inherit even a sewing needle. When she returned from school, she found all they had left her was a rocky and unproductive area. Her stepfather's family told her she should go to her father's grave to ask for land, driving her to tears. She went to the village head and the chief's representative, but they saw nothing wrong in what had happened. The local police turned her away, too, but suggested she seek help from the Petauke District Land Alliance.

Mary was devastated; she had two years of school left, and without land, her dreams would be shattered. She was also being threatened, but she was willing to fight for her property. The Land Alliance set out to help her.

The village leadership confirmed Mary's story, saying that a ruling had been made by the village court in accordance with Nsenga customs. The Land Alliance staff requested a meeting with Mary, the village head, the chief's representative, and Mary's aunts – and to their surprise, almost the entire village came, including the two stepsisters who had been given Mary's land. After almost three hours of discussion, the family agreed to return the land to Mary. But three weeks later, Mary came back and reported that her aunts had changed their minds and reverted to their earlier decision.

The Land Alliance wrote to the chief, asking him to intervene, and arguing that per her stepfather's wishes, Mary was the rightful owner of the land. If anyone in the family had any objections, they should have raised them in the three years between the stepfather's announcement and his death. The chief sent his Nduna to Mary's village, and he called a meeting with Mary, her stepfather's family, and headpersons from surrounding villages. In the interest of social justice, the Nduna announced, and given the relatives' failure to object

to Mary's inheritance while the stepfather was still alive, the chief found it prudent for Mary to take back her land immediately.

The matter took two years, and Mary worked on the Land Alliance's field during 2009/2010 farming season – the year she completed secondary school. But she got her land back, and now she is a model for other young people in the district.

Ways forward

In terms of our empowerment framework, land reform is one of the most critical ways to transform gender relations. When women have land title, either customary or statutory, they have direct access to the factors of production and are no longer dependent on maintaining relations with male kin. These relations are anyway largely out of women's control – the death of a spouse can result in their immediate removal from land they may have farmed for decades. The studies show that radical change to the overall "structure" – legislation – is often best achieved by promoting coalitions and networks of women grassroots activists and academics. Attention to "relations" is thus central. To enable women to participate on an equal footing in such networks requires capacity development, particularly for grassroots women, to enable them to create and take spaces in such broad movements. The studies also show that work on identifying positive cultural norms, and continually working to transform norms that favour men for land and inheritance must continue long after equality in the eyes of the law has been achieved.

The continuing responsibility of women for core household expenditures remains a real challenge to women and hampers them from accumulating money for re-investment. Household approaches, discussed in Chapter 5, may well provide a way out of this impasse. Credit, particularly in sufficient quality to actually transform a business, is a further critical input. Training, tools and other inputs often need to be provided to ensure women truly benefit. Figure 7.1 summarizes key activities that can be undertaken to support women's rights to land.

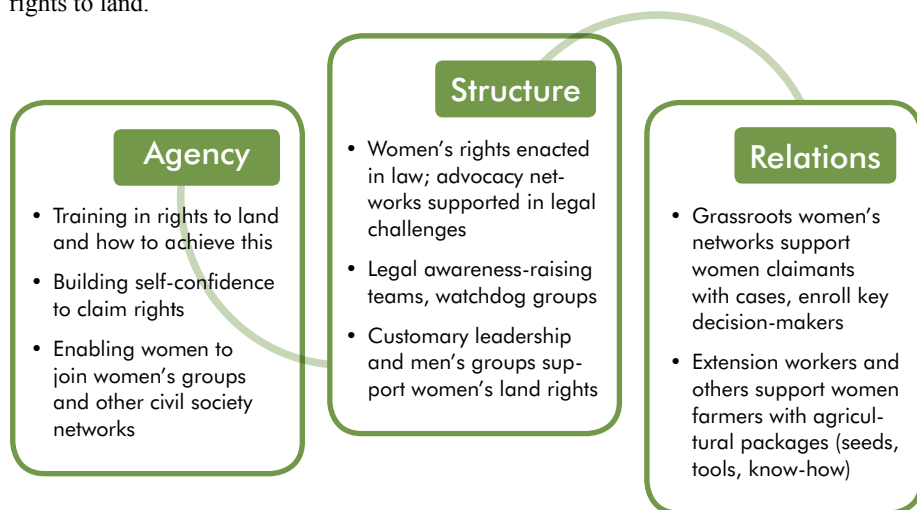


FIGURE 7.1 Activities to support women's rights to land



“Very often, efforts to improve value chains miss out half of the population – the female half. It is men who sell the products and who keep the money from those sales. The women, who do much of the work but are not recognized for it, often have to work even harder to meet ever-increasing quality requirements. But they see few of the benefits.”

*Anna Laven, co-editor of **Challenging Chains to Change**¹*

Farmers in Burkina Faso pick the seeds from freshly harvested cotton. Olivier Girard, © CIFOR, Flickr

8 Value Chains

There is a growing interest in value chain approaches in the agricultural sector. From governments' and donors' perspective, they are instrumental in helping smallholders shift from subsistence farming, to earning cash from their crops, thus becoming more secure. Value chain approaches are also seen as more holistic and effective than many previous interventions, which have tended to focus on improving the capacity of one set of actors, such as producers, whilst not considering how to strengthen the whole value chain – from “field to fork” and beyond. This lack of a holistic focus has meant that in some cases farmers have been encouraged to produce for a weak or non-existent market. As one development worker commented, “There is only so much guava jam Kenya can take!”

This chapter discusses gender issues in value chains and presents a typology for interventions. The discussion is illustrated by two case studies looking at the work of the Kenya Horticultural Crops Authority (KHCA), and the Zimbabwe Organic Producers and Promoters Association (ZOPPA), which has supported organic women farmers under very difficult economic circumstances.

Gender issues in value chains

Although agricultural commercialization is continually creating new market opportunities, much of this market is very difficult for poorer women and men producers, processors and traders to access because of their inability to meet stringent product and delivery requirements.² As supermarkets extend their geographical range and virtually extinguish local markets in some countries, and as buyers structure horticultural value chains ever more minutely, smallholders are losing out. Effective and hygienic post-harvest processing, packing (including in some cases cold storage) and transport to markets is essential, yet very costly and difficult in areas with poor roads. Numerous intermediaries step in, each taking a small slice of the profit along the way, which often results in needlessly expensive and uncompetitive goods. Since capacity among smallholders is often so low, supermarkets frequently prefer to source from large producers, or import goods from abroad, rather than support local smallholders. In response, development actors need to work with small farmers and other actors to significantly develop their capacity to engage in “just in time” delivery schedules, and to produce the kind of uniform product that is often demanded by consumers.³ Encouraging policy support to the smallholder sector is vital, since capacity support alone will not enable smallholders and associated small and medium-scale entrepreneurs to compete effectively.⁴

1 Chapter 8 title page quotation: See <http://www.kit.nl/kit/Publication?item=3289>.

2 Farnworth, C. R. (2009). Module 5: Gender and Agricultural Markets. In *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook*. The World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, and International Fund for Agricultural Development, Washington, DC. <http://go.worldbank.org/5Z9QPCC7L0>.

Also, see Berdegue, J. A. and Reardon, T. (2008). The retail-led transformation of agrifood systems. In *Creating Food Futures: Trade, Ethics and the Environment*. C.R. Farnworth, J. Jiggins, and E.V. Thomas (eds.). Gower Publishing Ltd., Aldershot, UK. 11–26. <http://www.ashgate.com/default.aspx?page=637&calcTitle=1&isbn=9780754649076&lang=cy-GB>.

3 Boselie, D., Henson, S. and Weatherspoon, D. (2003). Supermarket Procurement Practices in Developing Countries: Redefining the Roles of the Public and Private Sectors. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 85(5). 1155–61. DOI:10.1111/j.0092-5853.2003.00522.x.

4 Berdegue and Reardon (2008), op.cit.

Many value chain programmes target “youth”, but for several reasons, including that many women marry and have children while quite young, often the programmes reach mostly (or only) young men. This is particularly unfortunate because in many places, young women have more limited asset bases (current and expected) and fewer livelihood options than men, and thus need more support. Some women eke out a living by selling raw and processed products with very low profit margins.



Member of a women's group in Benin processes cassava. Arne Hoel, © World Bank, Flickr

Overlooking gender dynamics hampers the effectiveness of many value chains. Both women and men are constrained by local gender norms that can prevent them from acting as rational economic actors and maximizing market opportunities. For example, rigid gender roles and responsibilities along a value chain can prevent it from working well. If either the man or the woman is absent during a critical phase, from production to processing it may not be possible for them to take on a “male” or a “female” task (such as fertilizing, spraying, harvesting, husking, storing and pounding etc.).

As discussed in Chapter 5, household inequalities may also result in men and women failing to collaborate well to ensure maximum product quality. The Gender Action Learning Systems (GALS) case study notes that in the Rwenzori Mountains of Uganda men typically control monies from the sale of Arabica coffee. Since women are responsible for putting food on the table yet have almost no money with which to buy key ingredients, they often sell unripened coffee at a low price “on the side”. Men also sell unripened coffee to meet their immediate personal needs. This behaviour results in poor-quality coffee entering the chain, low market interest, and low profit margins for all. More generally, since women often do not receive a “fair share” of the benefits from their work on cash crops, they may lack motivation, which can lead directly to poor product quality. Women’s heavy domestic workloads can also have an impact. In Senegal, women often harvest tomatoes in the heat of the day, with significant knock-on effects for product quality.⁵

Smallholder farmers and the managers of small associated value chain enterprises face many difficulties to effectively financing their participation. Banks are cautious about agricultural lending in any case due to the inherent risks involved. For women, it can be even harder than for poor men to obtain working and investment capital. But as noted in previous chapters, women’s relative lack of collateral, compared to men, and their relative lack of social standing and connections can make it very difficult for them to secure loans or find guarantors. As a consequence, women find it harder than men to develop thriving

5 Kitinoja, L. (2002). Identifying Scale-Appropriate Postharvest Technology. In *Postharvest Technology of Horticultural Crops*. A.A. Kader (ed.). Division of Agriculture and Natural Resources and University of California, Oakland, CA, US. 481–90.

Ghanaian small-scale women traders face chronic lack of capital

Women aggregator/traders in the Techiman and Tamale maize markets in Ghana generally lack reliable value chain relationships which endure over the long term, whether to suppliers or to buyers. This can primarily be ascribed to their weak capital base – which, in turn, is partly due to their lead responsibility for financing their children's education and for household necessities. Women traders are trapped in a vicious circle, whereby they never build up sufficient working capital to buy maize in order to meet the needs of large buyers, nor are they able to build up investment capital. Due to the perceived financial weaknesses of women actors, both suppliers and buyers tend to prefer male aggregator/traders as value chain partners. Below are some comments from women aggregator/traders in Tamale:

- We face competition from men maize traders. When the villagers bring their maize to sell, men traders pay in cash. They buy everything. The producers tell the women traders to make way for the men traders since we can only pay them when we have sold on the maize.
- Sometimes we want to buy maize in large quantities to meet an order, but we don't have enough money. We have no one to act as guarantor and we have no collateral. If you do not save in the bank you cannot get a loan. The income we get is used to support our family, and whenever we sell maize we use the money pay school fees and domestic things like food. We don't have enough left over to save in the bank. There are instances whereby farmers come to

supply the market but we cannot benefit from the low price they sell for.

- Even as we speak I have a customer who called from Ashanti region. He wants to buy 100 bags of maize, but I don't have enough money to pay the producers. They will not wait until I get paid by the buyer – and he will not pay until I supply the maize.
- In many cases producers stop working with women aggregator/traders because we find it hard to pay in cash.

This said, some women aggregator/traders in the Techiman market stated that they have long-standing relationships with some bulk traders. These are either family members, or men that they trust to pay them the going rate for maize minus their commission. A few have become “maize queens”, but such women are the exception rather than the rule. Some maize queens take on female apprentices. In this way some younger, ambitious women obtain an entry point into this otherwise male-dominated, capital-intensive chain.



Freshly harvested maize in Ghana's Northern Region. Neil Palmer, © QAA, Flickr

businesses and to shift from production into more lucrative parts of the chain. Whilst micro-credit can be an important starting point, in many larger amounts of working and investment capital are needed if women are to build competitive businesses, as farmers, processors, traders and sellers along agricultural value chains. The experience to date is that women often lose existing niches in value chains when they are “improved” simply because they cannot finance the additional costs required to be competitive.



Agnes Forkuo, once a maize aggregator, got into farming when she saw the potential profits. Elisa Walton, © USAID Ghana

Women entrepreneurs face other gender-specific constraints, too. In many countries, women simply lack the time to take products to market due to their many responsibilities, and in some areas cultural restrictions such as *purdah*⁶ may make it hard for women to sell their products themselves for the best price, and to secure inputs themselves. Even in less culturally restrictive environments, women may be far less likely than men to have their own means of transport, and they often don't have the physical strength needed to load, much less carry, heavy boxes and bags.⁷ To the extent that they have to pay for loading and transport that men can provide for themselves, they are placed at a disadvantage.

The quantities in which agricultural inputs are sold have been a concern in Rwanda, for example, where it was noted that not only can women not carry the standard 50kg fertilizer bags, but such large quantities far exceed many smallholders' needs.⁸ In Malawi and Cameroon, a study found that when suppliers sold fertilizer in smaller, easily transportable bags, women bought and used more.⁹ Similarly, interviews in Kenya and Tanzania found men bought agricultural inputs in bulk, whereas women bought smaller quantities more frequently.¹⁰ However, while buying smaller bags may suit women's logistical constraints, they may also increase their costs, as they forgo the savings from buying in bulk.



Formers in Nigeria redeem fertilizer vouchers. © IFDC Photography, Flickr

- 6 The seclusion of women from public observation among Muslims and among some Hindus.
- 7 See, for example, Rubin, D., Manfre, C. and Barrett, K. N. (2009). *Promoting Gender Equitable Opportunities: Why It Matters for Agricultural Value Chains*. U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington, DC. <http://egateg.usaid.gov/resources/1082>.
- 8 Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources (2009). *Strategic Plan for the Transformation of Agriculture in Rwanda – Phase II (PSTA II) Final Report*. Kigali. http://www.rab.gov.rw/IMG/pdf/PSTA_II-php.pdf.
- 9 Gladwin, C. H. (1992). Gendered impacts of fertilizer subsidy removal programs in Malawi and Cameroon. *Agricultural Economics*, 7(2). 141–53. DOI:10.1016/0169-5150(92)90004-I.
- 10 Rubin, D., Manfre, C. and Barrett, K. N. (2009). *Promoting Gender Equitable Opportunities in Agricultural Value Chains: Handbook*. Prepared by the GATE Project, Development & Training Services Inc. (dTS), for the U.S. Agency for International Development Office of Women in Development, Washington, DC. <http://www.culturalpractice.com/resources/promoting-gender-equitable-opportunities-in-agricultural-value-chains-a-handbook/>.

A women's milk cooperative in Somali Region, Ethiopia. Neno Terral, © USAID, Flickr



More widely, women often lack the social networks critical to developing relationships with actors in value chains. They may also find it hard to participate in producer and trader cooperatives, and in value chain platforms. This may be due to membership criteria which women may find hard to meet – such as a land holding in their name, and they may face difficulties in getting men to take their gender-specific issues seriously and to take action to resolve them.

When women and young men and women are overlooked as partners, or when their businesses are simply too small to create meaningful demand, associated industries such as fertilizer suppliers and seed businesses lose opportunities to make money and expand. Wider development goals can also be hampered. Numerous studies show that resources and incomes controlled by women are more likely to be used to improve child health, nutrition and education. Measures to increase women's influence within the household, such as education, are associated with better outcomes for children, thus contributing to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).¹¹

Working to support value chain development amongst the poorest segments of rural society is vitally important. In so doing, it is important to recognize that balancing social goals whilst meeting commercial objectives will always be a challenge due to the high levels

11 OECD Development Centre (2010). *Gender Inequality and the MDGs: What Are the Missing Dimensions?* 'At Issue' brief. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris. <http://www.oecd.org/development/poverty/49016646.pdf>. Zinazofanana:

of support that farmers and their organizations may need before they can stand alone. Yet this can be done with careful planning. Small opportunities can be found in local markets, for example, by providing a snack alongside a milky drink, working to develop a loyal clientele for lunches, and supplying institutions such as schools, colleges, prisons, etc. – all of which can help to generate viable local food hubs.

In many countries, demand for “traditional products” such as leafy vegetables, which are typical “women’s crops”, is strong in urban centres. At the higher ends of the market, opportunities exist for high-value and often labour-intensive crops such as coffee and spices. These can be developed and then branded as fair trade and organic or “women-produced”. In terms of the enabling environment, hygienic spaces for women to store, prepare and market their goods in marketplaces is vital, along with safe sanitary facilities. Action at the policy level may be needed to break cartels in wholesale markets to permit small women and men traders to sell their goods without harassment and for a reasonable profit. Unionization may be important to help producers ensure a fair price.

Balancing food security and nutrition objectives with value chain objectives is another real challenge. Research over many decades into household decision-making shows that there are no grounds for assuming that increased incomes will result in more and better food for all. This is because women and men often manage separate income streams, and have different household responsibilities. If women are responsible for ensuring that everyone in the home eats, yet are unable to determine how money from the family’s participation in a value chain is spent, nutrition may be compromised. The Agricultural Support Programme (ASP) in Zambia (discussed in Chapter 5) balanced value chain development and food security goals by training all participating farmers, men as well as women, to calculate their annual food security needs using International Labour Organization guidelines, and to set aside sufficient maize before being permitted to sell maize and other agricultural products.

Selecting a value chain intervention strategy

An effective value chain strategy will have different entry points tailored both to the nature of the society within which a development programme is working, and to the ultimate gender goals of the intervention. As a starting point, every gender-responsive intervention must be based on a detailed understanding of gender roles, responsibilities, opportunities and constraints in a project location, as well as any specific issues facing youth and discriminated-against groups. A “targeting checklist” can help in this regard, supported by a gender- and youth-responsive value chain analysis. The analysis should include an assessment of potential opportunities for the poorest populations, for women and for young people, and identify barriers that must be overcome.

Table 8.1 builds on work by the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) and outlines an array of gender-responsive strategies.¹² The selection of a particular strategy depends partly on the development partners’ analysis of the potential for change in a given society, and on their ambition.

12 KIT, Agri-ProFocus and International Institute of Agricultural Reconstruction (2012). *Challenging Chains to Change*. A. Laven and R. Pyburn (eds.). KIT Publishers, Amsterdam. <http://www.kit.nl/kat/Publication?item=3289>.

TABLE 8.1 Selecting a value chain strategy

Strategy	Components	Type of intervention	Where/ Why/ How	Indicative projects
Mitigating resistance by building on tradition	Professionalize women's traditional, informal activities Create new roles for women in traditional activities Remove barriers to transform traditional responsibilities into new opportunities	Gender-specific intervention Starting point – existing gender division of resources, labour and responsibilities First steps to improving women's position Livelihood focus	Conservative communities with rigid gender roles Post-conflict settings	Promotion of 'women's crops', 'women's chains' and 'women's tasks' in value chains. SHEP case study in this chapter
Creating spaces for women, youth and other disadvantaged groups	Open up new positions in value chains for women, youth, and other disadvantaged groups Support target groups in male-dominated chains Promote access to new technologies and new markets Develop female/youth entrepreneurs and associated organizations, e.g. cooperatives Change bylaws to allow women to take up membership of farmer organizations and new roles in value chain	Gender-redistributive intervention Supports women, youth, discriminated against groups in male-dominated chains by making their existing contributions explicit Works to change perceptions of women's/ men's roles in households, communities, government, companies	In value chains where small, low-cost technological innovations can make a big difference Where it will be difficult to challenge land ownership and access to other key productive assets	Promoting women's participation in traditionally male-led chains, e.g. honey, dairy, cashew

Strategy	Components	Type of intervention	Where/ Why/ How	Indicative projects
Organizing for change	Collective action Capacity-building Working with men Financing value chains for women	Gender-redistributive intervention Women's individual and community level empowerment achieved in multiple ways Strengthening women's agency (decision-making power) accompanied by work to change attitudes at community and higher levels	Working with men: to create supportive environment for women to take up new activities, support women as required, and encourage women's participation and leadership	All household methodologies (see Chapter 5)
			Capacity-building to overcome knowledge gaps and promote leadership capacity	
			Collective action to access credit, to bulk produce to obtain larger share of product value and improve interest of buyers, and improve access to services and training	
			Financing to enable women to access working and investment capital	
Standards, certification and labels	Develop women-only labels, seals and standards Piggy-back on existing standards and certification infrastructure	Gender-redistributive intervention Impact across the chain, from producer to consumer Work on chain context (standard setters, auditors, etc.) critical	When market differentiation can be a selling point Adjust standards and indicators in organic and fair trade systems to improve gender equity	Niche products, e.g. women-produced coffee Add value to existing fair trade, organic, etc. ZOPPA case study in this chapter

Strategy	Components	Type of intervention	Where/ Why/ How	Indicative projects
Gender-responsible business	Develop public-private shared understanding of values, and complementary expertise, to create gender-responsive corporate social responsibility strategy	Gender-redistributive intervention. Improve value chain performance and marketing through social justice approach Improve positioning of women in value chain Needs senior private company management commitment	Partnership between public and private actors Integrating gender into core business principles	

Source: Adapted from KIT et al. (2012); see footnote 9.



A Zambian farmer tests a groundnut sheller. ©Swathi Sridharan, ICRISAT, Flickr

CASE STUDY

Kenya Horticultural Crops Development Authority

The Japanese government supports the horticultural industry in Kenya through various projects. An interesting bilateral technical cooperation project entitled the Smallholder Horticulture Empowerment Project (SHEP) was implemented through the Ministry of Agriculture, the Horticultural Crops Development Authority and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in 2006–2009.¹³ SHEP's work specifically aimed to empower women farmers. To do this, it worked with existing farmer groups which had been established by the National Agricultural and Livestock Extension Program (NALEP). These were known as Common Interest Groups (CIGs). Whilst some CIGs were successful, with around one quarter forming federations, many CIGs remained producer- and production-focused, with a weak understanding of the roles and requirements of other market actors. This seriously hampered their market effectiveness; it is here that SHEP stepped in.

SHEP conducted gender-disaggregated baseline studies which revealed that women performed around 80% of the labour on food crops and around 50–60% of the labour on commercial crops, yet did not benefit commensurately with their input. About 2,500 farmers from 122 groups from four provinces (Central, Rift Valley, Nyanza and Western) were examined in the baseline study. Based on the gender inequalities revealed by the survey, SHEP undertook a number of staged activities to mainstream gender across the project. These included:

1. Reaching a consensus on “what, why and how” to mainstream gender among SHEP team members. Detailed strategies based on the actual gender situation in each project area were developed.
2. Setting gender-sensitive indicators for the project design matrix, with disaggregated data for men and women. For instance, the lead indicator for verifying the project purpose, “Developed capacity of smallholder farmer groups supported by the project”, was that by the end of the project, the net income of individual men and women should increase by 14.7–20.2%.
3. Group empowerment indicators reflected the qualitative and quantitative aspects of empowerment. For instance, the group empowerment indicators for Level 3 were: “Both men and women are comfortable in expressing him/herself freely in the meeting” and “Women are actively involved in group management”.
4. At the community level, a variety of activities were designed to link women as well as men smallholder farmers from the target model groups to other stakeholders and to deepen awareness of gender issues among stakeholders:

13 For another short overview of SHEP, see the JICA website, http://www.jica.go.jp/english/our_work/thematic_issues/agricultural/study.html. For a more in-depth review, see JICA (2009). *Smallholder Horticulture Empowerment Project (SHEP)*. Programme evaluation. Japan International Cooperation Agency. http://www.jica.go.jp/english/our_work/evaluation/tech_and_grant/project/term/africa/c8h0vm000001rp75-att/kenya_2009_02.pdf.

- The Farm Business Linkage Stakeholders (FABLST) Forum linked farmers to input suppliers, produce buyers including middlemen, agro-processors, transporters, etc.
- The Joint Extension Staff and Farmers Dual Gender Training (JEF2G) brought together equal numbers of women and men farmers (50:50 participation) for a week's residential training. Gender awareness raising, democratic crop selection and ranking for group members, market surveys, Donou technology (soil in a canny bag) and agro-processing were covered.
- Facilitators' Training for Farmer Demand Driven Extension and in-field training (FT-FaDDE). Group facilitators were trained to be equipped with the relevant information according to the demands made by the farmers. Simple technologies such as Bokashi (a high-speed, low-odour composting system developed in Japan), making tomato jam, preparing banana planting materials, solarization, and demonstration of weed control by using appropriate weeding tools were demonstrated.
- In-field training; the group facilitators trained farmers on specific crops which they selected after conducting market surveys.

SHEP's final evaluation report noted a number of benefits over the project period.¹⁴ These include significant overall increases in farmer income (doubling between May 2007 and October 2009 compared with the baseline) and improved income parity between women and men (baseline discrepancy 31.1% in favour of men, 14.9% in favour of men two years later). Both women and men farmers attributed their increases in income to their gender awareness training, with 39% of respondents noting this as significant. One woman said, "Previously we lost tomatoes because my husband did not spray on time. Now I don't wait for my husband to spray. I do it myself." One man said, "Many women can approach their husbands. Now the workload is more balanced." This said, training in market surveys (57%) and in crop planting/rotation (42%) were placed higher in terms of contributing to net increase in income. This shows that paying attention to improving gender relations is not enough – such training must be accompanied by technical training too.

The SHEP model is now being scaled up through a five-year (2010–2015) bilateral initiative by the Governments of Kenya and Japan, called the Smallholder Horticulture Empowerment and Promotion Unit Project (SHEP UP).¹⁵ Collaboration between SHEP and JICA experts, the government's extension services, and private-sector players has been enabled and strengthened through the innovative group learning and sharing methodologies created by SHEP. Produce buyers, farm input suppliers, and financial institutions still work with groups which established linkages during SHEP activities. The SHEP story shows that it is not necessary to create new structures when setting up a new programme. Rather, SHEP built upon structures already in place through working with famers who already had a track record of working together in the CIGs. The key innovation was to strengthen the remaining parts of the value chain.

¹⁴ See JICA (2009), op.cit.

¹⁵ See http://www.kilimo.go.ke/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&id=40&layout=blog&Itemid=133 or, for a feature on some recent activities, http://www.jica.go.jp/kenya/english/office/topics/top-ics110927_02.html.

Further, SHEP prioritized working on changing gender relations on the ground. It did this by first agreeing within the team that this was a critical step, and establishing consensus on what to do. It did not lose sight of this vision, since progress was continually monitored by setting, collecting and analyzing gender-sensitive quantitative and qualitative indicators at all levels of the project design, implementation and monitoring.

CASE STUDY

ZOPPA – organic value chains in Zimbabwe

ZOPPA, the Zimbabwe Organic Producers and Promoters Association, is a national movement working towards the development of the Zimbabwe organic sector. The development of the organic sector has been propelled by the fact that over 70% of Zimbabweans are farmers whose livelihoods have been affected by dwindling returns due to the spiralling costs of synthetic fertilizers and chemical pesticides. Apart from affecting livelihoods, the inaccessibility of inputs is having knock-on effects on food and nutrition security. When household resources are scarce, women find it difficult to meet their household responsibilities because available resources are first allocated to the man's fields and crops, with insufficient inputs are deployed on the women's fields. This affects the food situation for the whole family. Men contribute importantly to household food security by providing sufficient maize – the staple crop. However, women are responsible for producing the additional foods important to a healthy and tasty food basket. Typically, women plant orphan crops – meaning crops ignored by mainstream researchers and extension workers – such as cowpeas, rapoko, groundnuts, beans and other indigenous crops. ZOPPA's experience is that the more men develop an interest in cash-cropping, the less land is available for household food crops. Conventional farming discourages mixed and inter-cropping, and thus “women's crops” are squeezed onto ever-smaller land parcels. As the economic situation worsens men are dedicating more and more land to commercial crops such as maize, tobacco and cotton.

ZOPPA is meeting these challenges by working with both men and women in Mashonaland East Province to produce organic food. In its current project, 1,747 members (65%) are women and 941 (35%) are men. ZOPPA is working closely with Fambidzanai, another indigenous organization, to realize its objectives. Fambidzani trains farmers on organic production techniques whilst ZOPPA trains farmers on organic production standards. It works to increase their understanding and ability to comply with international organic standards, as well as helping them to set up their local compliance systems. Zimbabwe's own organic standards, which are awaiting international accreditation, meet International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM) and UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)/World Health Organization (WHO) Codex Alimentarius guidelines, and comply with European Union and U.S. National Organic Program standards. The accreditation process will take a long time because ZOPPA lacks funds with which to push the process.

Achieving compliance with Zimbabwe's organic standards means that the farmers are entitled to use the Zim Organic label. They apply the label to their packaged products and sell them to fruit and vegetable wholesalers who then distribute them to shops. The Zim Organic label helps farmers benefit from a truly organic niche market, though this market



ZimOrganic-brand produce for sale. ©ZOPPA

is currently limited in the country. So far, ZOPPA does not have a market for Zim Organic beyond Zimbabwe. However, the label permits expansion because it is registered in eight African countries: Botswana, Tanzania, Lesotho, Uganda, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Swaziland.

The Zim Organic label was introduced in 2011, and 32 organic producer groups received standards training; by the year's end, four groups were certified and selling produce under the label.¹⁶ Most of the other groups were close on their heels, delayed mostly by the fact that their land was still under conversion, having been treated with chemicals and fertilizers within the past three years. Still, despite the progress being made, there remain some important constraints. For example, reading and understanding organic standards is a challenge for many women due to their low literacy rates. Also, organic produce must be transported separately to the market in order to avoid any mixing with conventional produce. This can be tricky because large quantities of organic produce are needed to justify the cost.

As discussed throughout this book, women often find it particularly hard to produce large quantities due to their low capital base, and they can find it harder than men to meet upfront transport costs as well. ZOPPA also finds that since women often do not directly control the land but rather access it through customary systems, the land is at risk of being converted back to conventional farming by husbands or male relatives. This may diminish women's incentives to invest in the high learning demands of organic farming.

16 See the ZOPPA 2011 Annual Report, <http://www.zoppa.org.zw/index.php/organic-farming/downloads?download=6:Documentation>.

More generally, women are often disadvantaged when it comes to trading at the market. They are required to provide documentation, including tax numbers. Men are more likely to have their paperwork in order due to their dominance in the selling of crops at wholesale markets. This gives them an added advantage in the market compared with women (and other men) who are new to such markets. Furthermore, women can suffer more than men due to the fact that wholesalers and retailers do not pay on delivery – at the earliest they pay a week after receiving the goods. This makes it tough for women who have to come back to the market to get their payments. Women often find it harder to leave their homes due to their household responsibilities, and they often feel concerned about theft and harassment on the road.

Ways forward

This chapter shows that developing pro-poor value chains means addressing the constraints that both poor women and men face, as well as addressing the special additional constraints that women face due to their gender. It is critical that commodity-specific gender analyses be carried out at the very beginning of any intervention since each commodity brings with it specific challenges and opportunities. Maize, for example, is very different from tomatoes due to its less perishable nature, bulkiness, and its relative importance in local diets in many parts of Africa.

In terms of our empowerment framework, work on value chains involves developing “relations” between actors. Women need to be well represented in value chain organizations and platforms, and to participate effectively. “Structure” also needs to be addressed at all levels. Cultural norms often mean that livestock and crops are considered “men’s” or



Women in Morogoro, Tanzania, go to the market. ©Monira Gali Baza.

“women’s” crops, depending on the location. Value chain interventions, however, often turn women’s crops/livestock into men’s crops/livestock, allowing men to benefit. The entire policy framework, not discussed in this chapter, is also critical. It must be supportive of smallholders and provide the necessary incentives.

It is clear that a pre-requisite to all this activity is strong agency for the poorest farmers, and for women in particular, regardless of their level in the selected value chain. Work on strengthening the decision-making power of poor people, and women, is critical. Money too is vital – innovative credit solutions are much needed, particularly to enable women to obtain important amounts of credit without collateral. Figure 8.1 summarizes the key features of this discussion.

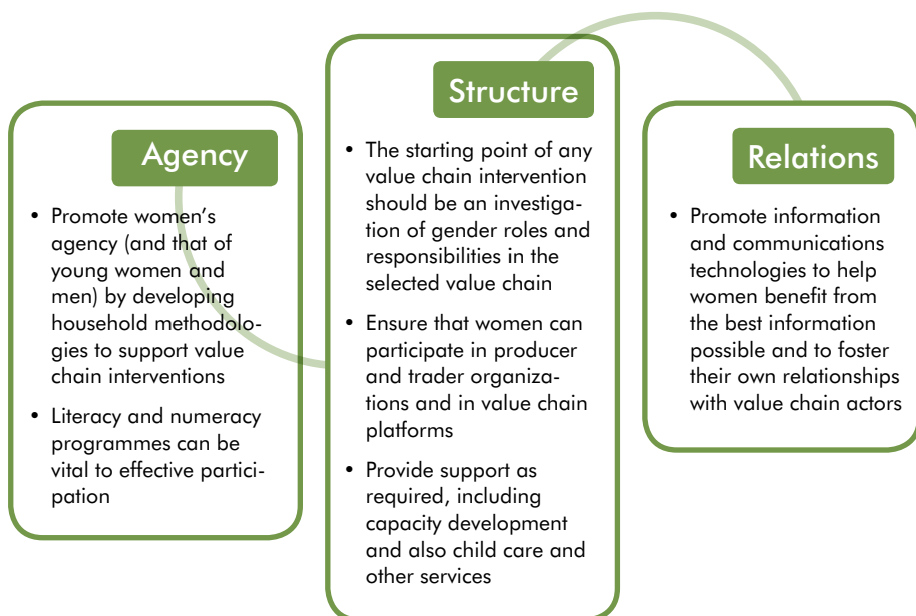


FIGURE 8.1 Gender-responsive value chain interventions

TABLE 8.2 Checklist for gender-sensitive design for value chain projects

PREREQUISITES OF GENDER-SENSITIVE DESIGN FOR VALUE CHAIN PROJECTS	Yes	No	Partial	Issues and Recommendations
1. Project document contains poverty and gender analysis data				
Marketing studies analyze gender issues with respect to marketing channels including mobility issues/transport, wholesale and retail markets, and consumer requirements, etc.				
Commodity-specific analyses identify and address gender-based constraints to participation of women at all levels.				

PREREQUISITES OF GENDER-SENSITIVE DESIGN FOR VALUE CHAIN PROJECTS	Yes	No	Partial	Issues and Recommendations
2. Project gender strategy				
Expand women's access to and control over key productive assets required for value chain development: large-scale capital (working and investment), land, information, and technologies.				
Strengthen women's agency in value chain governance: participation/leadership roles in farmer groups, marketing boards, women-only groups and value chain platforms.				
Facilitate women's full participation in value chain activities through easing domestic and caring workload: access to child care services, provision of labour-saving devices, encouraging men's participation, etc.				
Measures to improve women's role in decision-making over productive assets and expenditure at household level: household approaches, measures to support men in behavioural change, etc.				
3. Operational measures to ensure gender-equitable participation in, and benefit from, planned activities				
Sets specific targets regarding proportion of women participants involved in all value chain activities. If this is not appropriate, then provide a clear rationale and compensating measures.				
Ensures that selected value chains include women-led chains.				
Ensures that actions – such as childcare/ safe transport - in the value chain strategy necessary to enable women's participation in training activities and decision-making bodies are planned and reflected in the cost tables.				
4. Monitoring and evaluation				
Gender-sensitive value-chain indicators for all activities are included in log-frames and tracked regularly.				
5. The project provides opportunities for dialogue with private sector on how to include women				
Gender strategies and indicators are included in corporate social responsibility policy, codes of conduct, etc.				



"[Climate-smart agriculture] is smarter when it is able to help meet food security, adapt to and mitigate climate change, and promote equality between men and women in a changing climate."

- Dr. Lamia El-Fattal, WOCAN¹

A groundnut farmer in Malawi practicing conservation agriculture. T. Samson, © CIMMYT, Flickr.

9 'Climate-Smart' Agriculture and Beyond

Climate change has become a major concern in African agriculture, with farmers in many places struggling to cope with changing temperatures and rainfall patterns and increased flood and drought risks. For subsistence farmers, especially, these changes pose a serious threat to food security. At the same time, efforts to both adapt to and mitigate climate change can bring substantial development benefits for African farmers. This chapter focuses on ways to integrate gender in these approaches – which are often called “climate-smart” agriculture (CSA), though some of the activities we discuss here go beyond farming.

The concept of climate-smart agriculture emerged in recognition of the urgent need to reduce both greenhouse gas emissions, and the vulnerability of agriculture – and thus, of food supplies – to the impacts of climate change. CSA aims to sustainably improve agricultural productivity, increase farmers’ resilience, reduce and/or remove GHG emissions, and support the achievement of food-security and development goals.² This is an ambitious goal, and many CSA interventions involve trade-offs amongst these objectives. Reducing vulnerability for women and other disadvantaged groups, and ensuring that the benefits of CSA are equitably shared, adds yet another challenge.

Research shows that women in many places are more vulnerable to climate impacts than men, for many reasons, including their greater dependence on natural resources for



Irrigated fields in Nigeria © Arne Hoel / World Bank

- 1 Chapter 9 title page quotation: El-Fattal, L. (2012). *Climate-Smart Agriculture Is ‘Smarter’ When Informed by a Gender Perspective*. WOCAN Policy Brief. Women Organizing for Change in Agriculture & Natural Resource Management, Bangkok, Thailand. http://wocan.org/sites/drupal.wocan.org/files/FINAL%20120919_WOC_Policy_Brief_3_vol1.pdf.
- 2 For a succinct introduction to climate-smart agriculture, visit <http://www.climatesmartagriculture.org>, a website maintained by a global partnership on CSA that includes the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Bank, the United Nations Environment Programme and the World Food Programme, among others.

livelihoods; responsibility for securing food, water and fuel for their households; more limited assets, and social, cultural and political barriers that restrict their decision-making power, access to information, and even mobility.³ In addition, the same factors that make women's farm plots less productive – such as poor soil quality, lack of organic or chemical fertilizers, and lack of adequate farming tools, as discussed in Chapter 1 – can make them more vulnerable to climate change and land degradation as well.⁴

Gender inequality can also hinder adaptation to adapt to climate change, including the adoption of climate-smart strategies. For example, the TerraAfrica partnership found that insecure land tenure, lack of capital and limited farm inputs – all common problems for women farmers – were all major barriers to the adoption of conservation agriculture in sub-Saharan Africa.⁵ A study of two ethnic groups in a village in northern Burkina Faso, meanwhile, found that one was successfully adapting to climate change whilst the other was falling deep into poverty, and the reason was that the first group's top strategies for livelihoods diversification, which included engaging women in economic activities, were culturally unacceptable to the other group.⁶ At the same time, as food producers and stewards of natural resources in their households and communities, women are well positioned to be effective agents of change for both mitigation and adaptation, if they are given the opportunity to do so.⁷ Thus, there are multiple compelling reasons to incorporate gender equality in climate-smart agriculture initiatives – and the UN Food and Agriculture Organization's *Climate-Smart Agriculture Sourcebook*, for example, reminds readers many times of the need to address gender issues in their efforts.⁸

Yet that is not a simple task. There are many challenges, especially if the goal is not just to be gender-sensitive or equitable in climate-smart agriculture interventions, but to actually work to transform gender relations as part of the process. Although there is a growing

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- 3 For a good overview of gender and climate change issues, see UN WomenWatch (2009). *Women, Gender Equality and Climate Change*. Fact sheet. United Nations, New York. http://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/climate_change/.
 - 4 See, for example, Romero, A., Belemvire, A. and Saulière, S. (2011). *Climate Change and Women Farmers in Burkina Faso: Impact and Adaptation Policies and Practices*. Oxfam International. <http://www.oxfam.org/en/grow/policy/climate-change-women-farmers-burkina-faso>.
 - 5 Terrafrica (2011). *Sustainable Land Management in Practice: Guidelines and Best Practices for Sub-Saharan Africa. Field Application*. Prepared by WOCAT; coordinated by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN, Rome, Italy. http://terrafrica.zaloni.net/sites/default/files/media/SLM_in_Practice_E_Final_low.pdf. At pp.76–81.
 - 6 Also El-Fattal, L. (2012). *Climate-Smart Agriculture Is 'Smarter' When Informed by a Gender Perspective*. WOCAN Policy Brief. Women Organizing for Change in Agriculture & Natural Resource Management, Bangkok, Thailand. http://wocan.org/sites/drupal.wocan.org/files/FINAL%20120919_WOC_Policy_Brief_3_vol1.pdf.
 - 6 Nielsen, J. Ø. and Reenberg, A. (2010). Cultural barriers to climate change adaptation: A case study from Northern Burkina Faso. *Global Environmental Change*, 20(1). 142–52. DOI:10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2009.10.002.
 - 7 UN Commission on the Status of Women (2008). *Gender Perspectives on Climate Change*. Issues paper for interactive expert panel: Emerging issues, trends and new approaches to issues affecting the situation of women or equality between women and men. 52nd session of the Commission on the Status of Women, United Nations, New York. <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw52/issuespapers/Gender%20and%20climate%20change%20paper%20final.pdf>.
 - 8 FAO (2013). *Climate-Smart Agriculture Sourcebook*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN, Rome, Italy. <http://www.climatesmartagriculture.org/72611/en/>.



Anna Bassil, of the Tanzanian national extension service, spreads knowledge of drought-tolerant maize. © CIMMYT, Flickr

body of research on climate-smart agriculture, much remains to be learnt about what form interventions or agricultural practices may take in different environments – and which interventions are most effective at generating equitable benefits. And even when good approaches are found that meet both these needs in a particular setting, scaling them up may not be easy, as the combinations of technical needs and gender issues will vary. Some technical lessons may translate well into similar environments, but the gender dynamics may differ – or vice-versa.⁹

Still, this is important work, and it is happening across Africa, with tangible results. One case study in this chapter, from Ghana, describes the work of a coalition called Gender Action on Climate Change for Equality and Sustainability (GACCES), hosted by the NGO ABANTU for Development, to sensitize policy-makers about gender issues related to climate change, build local capacity and awareness, and promote women's active participation in decision-making processes on climate change at all levels.¹⁰ The programme has been able to make good use of women's knowledge and expertise, including traditional practices, in climate change mitigation, adaptation and disaster reduction.

9 Even within a single country, differences in factors such as the distribution of labour between men and women can make the same intervention benefit women in one place, but make their lives harder in another. For an example from India, see: Jost, C., Bhatta, G. and Verchot, M. (2013). Are there gender impacts from 'climate-smart' agriculture? CGIAR Climate Change, Agriculture and Food Security (CCAFS) blog, 2 July. <http://www.ccafs.cgiar.org/are-there-gender-impacts-climate-smart-agriculture#.UiEElj8mmvM>.

10 See Baafi, A.A.A. and Suleman, M. (2010). Ghana: Local Women to Engage in Climate Change Decision Making. *Boilingspot*, 15 April. <http://boilingspot.blogspot.com/2010/04/ghana-local-women-to-engage-in-climate.html>. Also: Government of Ghana (2010). Gender Sensitisation Forum On Climate Change. News archive, 27 July. <http://www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php/news/general-news/2823-sensitisation-forum-on-the-gender-implications-of-climate-change>.

A second case study describes an initiative to identify participatory tools useful for addressing gender and climate change research questions, which field-tested tools in Bangladesh, Ghana and Uganda and produced a training guide. Next, we look at the Sustainable Agriculture in a Changing Climate (SACC) initiative in the Nyando River Basin in western Kenya, a project designed to generate carbon credits through agroforestry that included specific measures to maximize the participation of resource-poor women. Then we discuss PROMARA, an initiative sponsored by USAID in Kenya's Mau Forest Complex that focused on developing the skills and capacity of women and youth groups to change their attitudes and behaviour towards the exploitation of forest resources and thus to better adapt to climate change. Finally, we discuss the Africa Biogas Partnership Programme, an ambitious initiative launched in 2009 in six African countries – Senegal, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burkina Faso and Ethiopia – that aims to improve rural households' living conditions by introducing more than 70,000 domestic biogas digesters by the end of 2013.

Making climate-smart agriculture 'gender-smart' as well

A crucial first step in ensuring that women fully benefit from climate-smart agriculture is to ensure that we understand gender issues – from overall cultural norms, to the division of labour in farming households – in the specific setting for the CSA intervention. Thus, the women-focused agricultural expert network WOCAN recommends that a gender analysis be conducted within all CSA projects, programmes and policies to assess their implications and benefits for men and women.¹¹ WOCAN also recommends four other measures, all under the umbrella of ensuring that both men and women targeted by CSA programmes can operate in a “supportive political, economic and cultural environment”:

- Identify women's groups and provide them with training and support for leadership, negotiation and communication skills, as well as business skills.



A farmer in Lower Nyando Kenya, tends to vegetables in her farm. K. Trautmann, © CGIAR Climate, Flickr

11 WOCAN is Women Organizing for Change in Agriculture & Natural Resource Management; see <http://www.wocan.org>. The recommendations cited here are from El-Fattal (2012), op.cit.

- Support women's participation in decision-making related to climate change, particularly at the local level.
- Provide training to both men and women on CSA technologies and practices, and gender awareness.
- Facilitate women's access to land and credit through transforming laws and local practices.

These recommendations highlight a key aspect of successful CSA implementation: the critical role of local institutions for the success of innovative practices. These institutions can be central to leading collective action and enforcing property rights. It is essential to enrol them in CSA interventions to help ensure that farming communities can adopt sustainable agricultural technologies and improved natural resource management practices.

However, as other chapters in this book show, many local-level institutions – and indeed the laws of the land – may be clearly biased against women. A recent examination of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) Kenya programming in natural resource management showed that, despite some excellent projects in the water sector, climate change-responsive agro-forestry projects have often had difficulties in identifying and challenging local gender roles and responsibilities.¹² For instance, whilst group membership provides a means of validation for tree ownership where beneficiaries lack land title, there are challenges to ensuring that women benefit from carbon credit payments due to intra-household dynamics. In rangeland and community conservancies, outreach and gender approaches are rarely used consistently. This limits engagement with women in general, younger women and men, and people with disabilities. These findings are not unique to USAID, of course; they are typical of many such programmes.

There is a growing understanding of what it takes to make climate-smart agriculture work for everyone in a community, including women and the poor. A recent workshop on “Institutions for Inclusive Climate-Smart Agriculture” identified five key requirements:

- Inclusiveness at the global as well as local level, to ensure that the poor benefit;
- Information about changing climatic conditions as well as possible responses;
- Innovation to develop and disseminate new practices and technologies;
- Investment in physical infrastructure and/or in learning new agricultural and/or marketing practices;
- Insurance to cope with risks due to climate shocks and risks of adopting new practices.¹³

Several climate-smart agriculture initiatives are now trying to incorporate these and other elements, which also form a good starting point from which to develop gender-responsive practices.

12 Farnworth, C. R., Nzioki, A., Muigai, S., Kimani, E. N., Olungah, C. and Monyoncho, K. (2012). *Gender Analysis and Action Plan*. Report for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Kenya. Development and Training Services Inc.

13 Meinzen-Dick, R., Bernier, Q., Haglund, E., Markelova, H. and Moore, K. (2012). *Identifying the Institutions for Climate-Smart Agriculture*. Presented at the International Research Workshop on Institutions for Inclusive Climate-Smart Agriculture, Nairobi, Kenya, 10–13 September. Collective Action, Property Rights and Institutions (CAPRI) and Climate Change, Agriculture and Food Security Programs of the CGIAR. http://www.capri.cgiar.org/wks_0912.asp.

CASE STUDY

Improving capacity in gender and climate change research

A recent initiative brought together the highly collaborative CGIAR Research Program on Climate Change, Agriculture and Food Security (CCAFS) and the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). It explored, tested and refined a range of participatory research tools found to be useful for addressing several gender and climate change research questions, developed web-based resources, and produced a training guide.¹⁴ Experienced research teams also field-tested three major groups of tools from the manual in pilot sites in Bangladesh, Ghana and Uganda to examine:

- The ways in which women are able to participate in, and benefit from, farmer-to-farmer exchanges with farmers in other regions who are currently coping with environments similar to those predicted for their own areas in the next two or three decades. This method is called “**climate analogues**”;
- How **weather-related information** is accessed and used differently by men and women; and
- What **climate-smart practices** are being adopted by women and men, and to what degree they are different for women versus men with respect to access and benefits.¹⁵



Farmers spread manure on a field in Ghana. © C. Peterson, CIAT/CCAFS, via CGIAR Climate, Flickr

- 14 The website is <http://www.ccafs.cgiar.org/gender>. The guide is Nelson, S. and Chaudhury, M. (2011). *Training Guide for Gender and Climate Change Research in Agriculture and Food Security for Rural Development*. Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations and CGIAR Research Program on Climate Change, Agriculture and Food Security, Rome, Italy. <http://www.fao.org/climatechange/micca/75949/en/>.
- 15 See Chaudhury, M., Kristjanson, P., Kyagazze, F., Naab, J. B. and Neelormi, S. (2012). *Participatory Gender-sensitive Approaches for Addressing Key Climate Change- Related Research Issues: Evidence from Bangladesh, Ghana, and Uganda*. CCAFS Working Paper 19. CGIAR Research Program on Climate Change, Agriculture and Food Security. <http://cgspace.cgiar.org/handle/10568/24448>.

The findings suggest that farmer-to-farmer visits to “climate analogue” sites will be more challenging and problematic for women than men. This is because women travel less frequently and to closer locations than do men, due to their household (child care, gathering wood and water) and farming obligations. More innovative means of sharing information from the climate analogue sites are now being explored. These include the use of mobile phones, films and presentations at central locations already regularly visited by women and men.

Findings on access to, and use of, weather-related information showed that although there were differences in how people from various sites – men, women and young people – accessed weather information, there were many commonalities. Many people rely on indigenous knowledge. Fewer people access longer-run seasonal weather forecasts. Very few people trust, or indeed understand, daily weather forecasts. These findings indicate that as projects seek to improve the ways in which weather-related information is provided and accessed, it will be particularly important to be sensitive to issues of access, technology and language that differ for men and women.

With regard to the adoption of climate-smart agricultural practices, the findings highlight the importance of understanding the gender division of labour in each location. The labour demands of the various practices/options must be taken into consideration to ensure that women as well as men benefit from them. With respect to communication, non-governmental organizations and government extension agents clearly play a key role in providing agricultural information and advice to both men and women. Efforts to strengthen their capacities and knowledge base will assist them to better play their key role in enhancing adoption of CSA practices by both men and women.



A CCAFS workshop with farmers in Borana, Ethiopia. ©Anton Eitzinger, CIAT, via CGIAR Climate, Flickr

CASE STUDY

Sustainable Agriculture in a Changing Climate

Sustainable Agriculture in a Changing Climate (SACC) is a partnership of CARE International, the World Agroforestry Centre (ICRAF) and CCAFS, with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation.¹⁶ SACC works in the mid and lower sections of Nyando River Basin in western Kenya, a mixed crop farming and livestock area with high levels of poverty and significant environmental degradation. Launched in September 2010, it was originally framed as a project designed to deliver payments to smallholders from carbon markets for carbon stored through the adoption of agroforestry practices. Whilst seedlings were provided free of charge, planting trees on farms involves other costs such as labour for digging holes, time fetching water, shifting some land from crops to trees, etc.

Training farmers on climate-smart agriculture in Nyando, Kenya.
© V. Aluko, CCAFS, via CGIAR Climate, Flickr



In order to overcome the resource constraints of participants, and in particular to maximize the participation of resource-poor women, the project introduced interventions designed to provide immediate short-term income and food benefits, allowing farmers to plant the trees that would generate carbon payments in the longer run. These included the introduction of early-maturing, drought-resistant and higher-value crops, an emphasis on sustainable agricultural practices, and linkages with a complementary Village Savings and Loans Associations project, which works with community-based informal financial groups. As a result of lessons learned in the first phase of this project, SACC has shifted its emphasis away from carbon finance and towards a “climate-smart smallholder agriculture” approach, with a focus on research and actions aimed at improved agricultural productivity and farm-level adaptation. This change is expected to be of particular benefit to women.

SACC’s work to date shows that gender and social differences are dynamic and nuanced within communities. Men’s and women’s participation and benefits from these projects are heavily influenced by social norms and intra-household decision-making patterns. A greater understanding of these differences is critical for climate-smart smallholder agriculture programming. Interventions that provide new spaces for men and women to come together and make decisions together can foster collaboration, and both sides seem to value the resulting improvements in communication and changes in women’s household roles. An iterative approach that adapts to new lessons learnt is seen as the most effective way to produce gains in gender equity and improve outcomes.

¹⁶ For a brief overview of SACC, see <http://www.careclimatechange.org/carbon-finance-initiatives/sacc>. For a synthesis of lessons on gender and CSA derived from the project – a key source of information for this section – see Bernier, Q., Kristjanson, P., Neufeldt, H., Otzelberger, A. and Foster, K. (2013). *Addressing Gender in Climate-Smart Smallholder Agriculture*. Sustainable Agriculture in a Changing Climate (SACC) policy brief. CARE International, World Agroforestry Centre (ICRAF), and CGIAR Research Program on Climate Change, Agriculture and Food Security (CCAFS). <http://www.worldagroforestrycentre.org/newsroom/highlights/gender-connection-climate-smart-agriculture>.

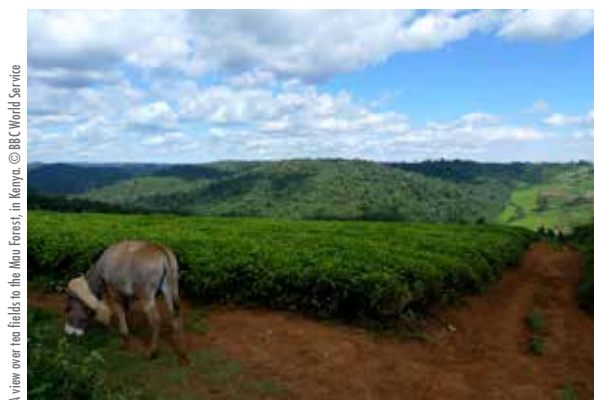
CASE STUDY

Reforming gender-biased institutional arrangements: PROMARA, Kenya

Reforming gender-biased institutional arrangements is vital to enhancing women's access to information, mobilizing resources, strengthening capacity, and building linkages between policy-makers and other institutions. PROMARA, an initiative sponsored by USAID in the Mau Forest Complex, Kenya's largest surviving forest, is an example of how this can be done.¹⁷ It focused on developing the skills and capacity of women and youth groups to change their attitudes and behaviour towards the exploitation of forest resources and thus to improve their capacity to adapt to climate change. PROMARA established woodlots and tree nurseries, and planted fruit trees in homesteads and schools with the assistance of women and self-help groups who are now benefiting economically from these activities. Bee-keeping and small farm enterprises were established or strengthened. A cooperative was founded to develop technical expertise and market outlets. This cooperative has provided training to community members in river bank protection, soil conservation, and reforestation.

An evaluation of PROMARA showed that women had been strongly empowered. This can be traced to the fact that an assessment of women's and youth's needs had been done at the very beginning to inform the gender and overall implementation strategy. Gender and youth-sensitive approaches were supported by budget allocations. Gender and conflict mitigation were cross-cutting elements with specific inputs for each programme component. The programme management plan included gender indicators to assess outputs and impact.

Ensuring that gender-responsive programming started on day one helped to create a conducive climate for wider reforms, some of which were highly novel to the community. These included strengthening the statutory and customary land rights of women and youth through a combination of legal literacy, assistance and formalization. Regarding customary land rights, for example, the programme worked with elders and local leaders to secure customary land use rights based on constitutional provisions, legislation and policies. Regarding statutory land rights, technical support was provided for drafting land legislation which incorporates and implements constitutional requirements related to devolution, the role of the National Land Commission, community lands and gender equity. A wider programme to encourage men to involve women in decision-making and to share household work was instigated alongside work to create forums for women and youth to speak.



17 For a quick introduction to PROMARA, see <http://kenya.usaid.gov/programs/environment/395>. The gender-specific discussion here is based on Farnworth et al. (2012), op.cit.

CASE STUDY

Biogas: A sustainable source of energy and manure¹⁸

Biogas digesters convert animal dung and human waste to combustible gas and bio-slurry.¹⁹ Domestic biogas is a clean source of energy which is mainly used for cooking and lightning in rural households. Bio-slurry is cleaner, odourless, and has a much higher nutrient value than cow manure. Biogas digesters can help to curb deforestation and reduce charcoal production, thus contributing to reduced human impact on the environment and mitigation of climate change.

The Africa Biogas Partnership Programme (ABPP) is a public-private partnership between the Humanist Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries, the Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV) and the European Union's Directorate-General for International Cooperation (DGIS).²⁰ It started in 2009 in six African countries – Senegal, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burkina Faso and Ethiopia – with the aim of improving the living conditions of rural households containing half a million people through the introduction of more than 70,000 domestic biogas digesters by the end of 2013. The ABPP addresses basic development needs at the household and community levels. These include the need for affordable, clean energy and the promotion of good health and sanitation, as well in improving agricultural productivity.

Experience shows that women rarely decide upon whether to purchase a biogas digester. Biogas purchasing households are typically male-headed, and ownership is vested in male heads because the purchase of energy and other key resources is traditionally seen as a male task. Biogas digesters remain fairly expensive (250–500 euros) and are out of reach for poorer households. A ready supply of biomass is critical, in this case animal manure, in order to make purchase feasible.

In all ABPP countries, the percentage of women attending users' application training sessions has moved towards the target of 50%. Every actor sees the relevance and need for targeting the main users of biogas digesters in training sessions on their use and



A couple in Kenya feeds slurry into a biogas digester. © Africa Biogas Partnership Programme

¹⁸ This section draws on a report co-authored by one of the contributors to this chapter: ENERGIA (2010). *A Guide on Gender Mainstreaming in Africa Biogas Partnership Programme (ABPP)*. Prepared by ENERGIA: the International Network on Gender and Sustainable Energy. Nairobi, Kenya. <http://africabiogas.org/blog/abpp-knowledge/guide-for-gender-mainstreaming-in-abpp/>.

¹⁹ This said, in the current African situation human waste is hardly ever used – only in Ethiopia are significant numbers of latrines attached to biogas plants.

²⁰ For more information, see <http://africabiogas.org>.



A woman cooks with a stove powered by biogas. ©Africa Biogas Partnership Programme

maintenance. However, women's attendance in bio-slurry training has been lower, and this may have to do with a general underestimation by planners of women's role in market-orientated agriculture. Biogas digesters typically utilize cow manure and thus can be integrated into livestock and horticultural production. Women in ABPP countries rarely own large livestock, although they are often heavily involved in milking, feeding, removing manure and the general care of dairy cows. It is important to find ways to improve women's benefits in the dairy chain. The same applies to the use of bio-slurry for horticultural production for the market, and the use of crops for promoting household level food security and nutrition.

A clear benefit to women is in the considerable amount of time saved each day. A baseline study conducted for the Uganda ABPP programme showed that women who do not use biogas typically spend six hours daily on cooking, more than one and a half hours on firewood collection, and a further hour collecting

water. A users' survey conducted a year after introduction indicated that the majority of the respondents strongly agree that the digester had greatly reduced their workload. Both women and men now have more time for community development activities, supporting children with homework, making handicrafts, and – as women specifically noted –for home-based income generation activities such as selling vegetables from kitchen gardens and poultry-keeping.

The ABPP has learnt that the best results have occurred in countries where project teams have developed a gender mainstreaming strategy, clear goals and a budget for gender mainstreaming from the very beginning. It has also learnt that although women benefit strongly from the project in terms of having a reduced workload, this does not automatically mean that they are active agents in the project, nor that the project is currently capable of addressing their strategic gender interests. The danger is that although women may gain in some dimensions, they may lose out, or at least fail to benefit, from other aspects of the programme. This is particularly true of value chain development opportunities. Furthermore, although women spend much less time on cooking and associated activities, very few men have started taking on domestic tasks, even though the cookstoves are clean, modern and simple to use. Much more research needs to be done on the gender needs of women as biogas purchasers, users and as masons. ABPP's country experience is very varied, yet the reasons for this require further investigation.

A woman in Sempu, Ghana, sells yams at the market. © Terrie Schweizer, Flickr



Ways forward

Climate-smart agricultural initiatives are much more likely to achieve their desired outcomes if they emphasize the agency of women to take ownership and implement changes at the farm level, ensure that women have the resources to do so by reforming institutional arrangements (structure), and work with men to ensure that they value the contributions and ideas of women in regards to this role (relations).

The case studies show that involving different members of the community – men, women and youth – is critical to ensuring effective joint learning on locally relevant climate-smart practices. Co-learning strategies help both to create new spaces and to provide the additional support that may be needed to encourage dialogue at household and community levels about the roles of women and others in supporting agricultural innovation. Such strategies can be employed to help reduce structural inequalities around resource access and to encourage male support for change. Analogue visits and participation in multi-stakeholder dialogues will be key to adaptation and mitigation due to the rapid pace of change and the global nature of the challenge. Figure 9.1 summarizes the discussion in this chapter.

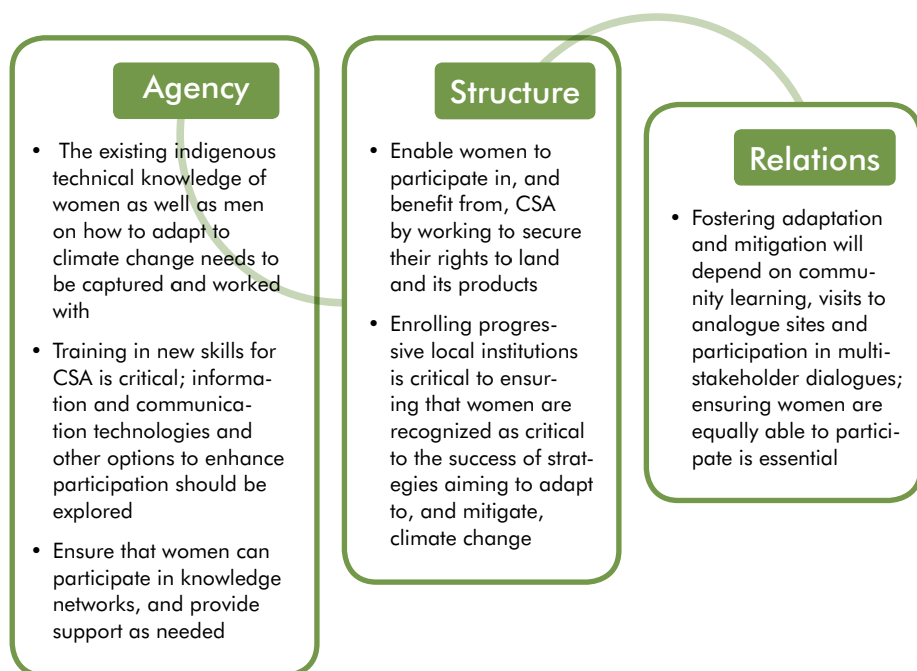


FIGURE 9.1 Gender-responsive strategies for CSA

Several steps can be taken to translate findings into practice, and in particular to ensure that poor and vulnerable households are reached. They include:

- A manual for practitioners which pulls together available technical knowledge and methodologies for designing and implementing gender-responsive technologies in climate smart agriculture.
- Policy-makers and development partners must better recognize the relevance of gender relations to create positive impact in their interventions. One way of doing so is to understand gender as a factor for success in meeting the challenge of climate change. Mainstreaming gender-responsive tools in all climate change programming and policy making is vital, such as needs and vulnerability assessments, knowledge mapping, and gender-disaggregated M&E. Sufficient funds for gender mainstreaming must be earmarked.
- Examples of best practices can be highlighted through learning events and web portals to help replication of successful methodologies; promote an understanding of approaches which have failed, and why; and to encourage communication between experts active across programme scales.

Although this is not discussed in this paper, it will be important to assist modellers working at the basin and national levels to add gender as a variable in their work. They need assistance on how to include gender at various scales, and why it adds value – for example, by running scenarios to help make gender trade-offs explicit (likely impact on male/female workloads in relation to adoption of particular practices, etc.). We also need to ensure that basin-level recommendations are locally informed.



Conclusion

This book grew out of a feeling shared by many of us whose work in the agricultural sector has been affected by gender roles at all levels that the role of gender is viewed too much as an obstacle or a constraint, when working with gender can actually free up resources and enable us to participate in more rewarding and more sustainable development of the agricultural sector.

Based on this optimism about the possibilities for field implementation, we also felt that the problems created by gender inequality are by now fairly well understood in the academic debate, and what was needed was a source of inspiration for implementers. While we do work with a theoretical framework, outlined primarily in Chapter 2, we hope that what is most useful about this book is the highlighting of actual experience which has served to reinforce this theoretical model.

The many examples of successful gender transformation strategies used in this book do not fit into one neat category. We relied on the experience of those who contributed to the book and constructed our chapters after much discussion of what material was available. However, there are a number of general patterns that can be discerned in the case studies provided:

1. Gender roles affect how systems work at all levels: from the individual, to interactions within households and communities, to local, regional and national institutions, to the global socio-economic institutions and systems.
2. Agricultural production is an economic activity greatly affected by the way in which men and women interact at all levels, and enabling them to interact in new ways will free up important resources for food production and poverty alleviation.
3. Solutions to the problems created by gender inequality need to be implemented as part of a greater package which will allow support and reinforcement to come from all levels.
4. In terms of the agricultural sector, “Think Globally, Act Locally” is a useful approach. Policies and enabling environment should be in place, but action is necessary at the local level.
5. Local action requires that there are structures which facilitate the use of grassroots-level knowledge and participation.
6. While it is important to analyze the situation of the individual, very little can be done in terms of transformative change if individuals do not organize themselves in some way, both to press for change, and to make it feasible to reach them with programs and investments. This is why women’s self-help groups and cooperatives have played such a crucial role in agricultural development in Africa.

7. It is important to build constructive settings or enabling environments in which greater equity can be achieved with a minimum of confrontation and conflict. People are the resource whose input into agricultural production and rural development needs to be strengthened: conflict saps strength.

Ways forward

The original inspiration for writing this book came from the realization that there have been many successful attempts to improve gender equity in the agricultural sector which have both served to strengthen “agency” (as the empowerment of the individual is referred to in our analytical framework) and improve the productivity of the agricultural sector.

Recent analyses of the need to increase food production to reduce hunger and keep pace with a growing world population have highlighted the need to achieve that increase with very little expansion of cultivated land, which has been the “escape route” to avoid mass starvation in the past.¹ There is simply not enough land left – especially if we are to preserve crucial ecosystem services. Faced with the necessity to intensify production, most analysts look to improve systems to increase yields, and then to new plant varieties and cultivation methods.

While this book has as its premise that social justice and gender equity are worthwhile goals in and of themselves, there is strong evidence, as discussed in Chapter 1, that transforming gender roles in agriculture could also greatly increase the productivity of women farmers across sub-Saharan Africa, thus making much better use of the resources we have at our disposal to fight hunger.

Throughout the chapters we look at transforming visible and invisible socio-economic structures at the level of the individual, the household, the community and the institution. We seek to point out concrete examples where the inclusion of gender analysis in addressing a problem has been successful in supporting sustainable change at all these levels. We consistently return to the multi-faceted nature of the problems created by inequitable gender roles and how solutions result in both greater justice and greater efficiency.

This book is not the last word in how to implement transformative change in gender roles in the agricultural sector. We have not been able to go into great depth in any of the areas, and further academic research is needed to pinpoint weaknesses and quantify results in terms of agricultural production. Our focus has been on only one continent: Africa, and then we have relied heavily on the field experience of co-authors who are primarily from eastern and southern Africa.

However, we do want to contribute a positive and hopeful note to the debate on addressing global hunger, gender inequality and poverty. Yes we can and yes, we have already proven it can be done!

¹ See, for example, FAO (2009). *How to Feed the World in 2050*. Background paper for High-level Expert Forum in Rome, Italy, 12–13 October 2009. Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN. http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/wsfs/docs/expert_paper/How_to_Feed_the_World_in_2050.pdf.

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SIANI is a member-based network that supports and promotes Swedish expertise and provides an open and interactive platform for engagement and dialogue in a global context. Our mission is to enable sustainable food security and nutrition for all.

SIANI facilitates activities across the sector, with diverse membership, including government, civil society, private sector and academia. It provides the opportunities to come together to address a wide variety of areas within the global agricultural and development sector which include focus on food security, poverty reduction and environmental sustainability.

SIANI operates in line with the Swedish policy agenda and pushes for policy coherence across sectors. Our aim is to establish long-term form of institutional support for Swedish policy development and to strengthen the capacity and competence of Swedish institutions.