

# Household Approaches Synthesis Paper

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IFAD has spent about four years experimenting with household methodologies in order to promote gender equality and women's empowerment in rural and agricultural development. To date, these experiments have remained fairly small. Evaluations of the pilot projects have been very encouraging, leading IFAD to consider ways of replicating and up-scaling household methodologies in several countries across Sub-Saharan Africa. In order to enable this process to proceed on the basis of the best information available, this paper synthesizes the lessons learned from IFAD's work and from the work of other development partners. The preparation of this paper, and some of the follow-up work on implementation, has been generously supported by Finnish Supplementary Funds.

The paper is divided into five parts. Part 1 discusses why it is not possible to treat the household as a single economic unit which makes a single set of production and consumption decisions. Part 2 provides initial findings as to the success of household methodologies. Part 3 provides an overview of the household methodologies studied in this paper. Part 4 draws out the key lessons learned from five case studies by way of a comparative matrix and an in-depth analysis. Part 5 presents recommendations. The annexes consist of (i) evaluations of two key household approaches, and (ii) details of household mentoring by programme.

## 1 Household decision-making models

Empirical studies show that women and men in Sub-Saharan Africa often engage in separate, individually managed production and consumption activities even if they live under one roof. Women and men are frequently responsible for specific crops and livestock, and are likewise frequently ascribed gender-specific responsibility for obtaining consumption items such as school fees, clothing, basic staples, and additional food items. Moreover, many types of household exist across the continent. Although households are generally defined as a group of people living under one roof, eating out of the same pot, and making joint decisions, in Sub-Saharan Africa production and consumption units may not be the same. Women in polygamous households may experience a lot of autonomy in both production and consumption activities<sup>1</sup>. In many countries, the percentage of female-headed households- whether *de facto* or *de jure* - is high to very high.

Despite these empirical caveats, much of the economic literature assumes it is possible to treat the household as a single economic unit which makes a single set of production and consumption

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<sup>1</sup> 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. CIMMYT Economics Program Paper No. 99-02. Mexico D.F.: CIMMYT.

decisions. The assumption is that the household (i) has a welfare function that reflects the preferences of all its members, (ii) pools resources with the result that all household members enjoy the same level of welfare, and (iii) has a head who is an altruist who takes into account the wellbeing of other members of the household<sup>2</sup>.

The popular conceptualization of the household as immune to further disaggregation has played out in development assistance as an unwillingness to work at the household level. It has been assumed that empowering women through work at the community level, for instance, will result in improved economic and social justice outcomes *per se*. Even where there is some cognizance of bargaining processes within households, it is frequently assumed, or hoped, that women can ‘translate’ their empowerment at the community level into stronger negotiating power within the household. However, the ability of women to do so depends critically upon their resource endowments, upon their ability to take decisions over how these endowments are used, and the extent of their personal agency (the ability to define a goal and act upon it). Naila Kabeer argues that meaningful choice – the ability to live as one chooses, often depends on having sufficient resources to do so. Thus: resources (preconditions) + agency (process) = achievements (outcomes)<sup>3</sup>.

The work of Amartya Sen is a valuable tool to understanding why and how households need to be ‘taken apart’ to understand what is happening within the household in relation to asset management and control, and decision-making regarding benefits from the work of each household member. Box 1 presents key points.

#### Box 1. Disaggregating the Household as an Analytic Unit

Sen’s ‘functionings and capabilities’ framework<sup>4</sup> challenges the view that possession of commodities alone translates into well-being for all household members, as traditionally posited by economists. Sen explains that the possession of goods does not translate automatically into well-being since possession is different from the ability to benefit from the characteristics of these goods. That is, it is not the possession of the commodity or the utility it provides that proxies for well-being, but *rather what the person actually succeeds in doing with that commodity and its characteristics*. For example, a ‘household’ may ‘own’ a plough, but the right to use it may be exclusively vested in the male head.

To help explain how this happens, Sen shows in his essay *Co-operative Conflicts*<sup>5</sup> that household gender relations profoundly affect the intra-household distribution of commodities and the ability of each gender to use particular commodities. Women and men may collaborate to bring wealth into the family, but the division of wealth is a source of conflict. In many cases, wealth is not divided according to the share brought in by each household member. Rather, division is determined by relative power. Very often, men hold more power than women and thus wield more control over assets and expenditure.

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<sup>2</sup> Njuki J., Kaaria, S., Chamunorwa, A., and Chiuri, W. (2011) Impacts of commercialization of crop and livestock products on women’s decision making and income management in Uganda and Malawi. A powerpoint presentation provided to the Gender and Market Oriented Agriculture (AgriGender 2011) Workshop Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. 31st January–2<sup>nd</sup> February 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Kabeer, N. (1997) What Colour is the Wind: Feminists, Development Agencies and the Empowerment of Third World Women. In *Gender, Poverty and Well-Being: Indicators and Strategies: Report of the UNRISD, UNDP and CDS International Workshop, Kerala, 24-27 Nov 1997.*, UNRISD, Geneva, Switzerland. And also Kabeer, N. (2000) Resources, Agency, Achievement: reflections on the measurement of women’s empowerment, In *Power, Resources and Culture in a Gender Perspective*. Uppsala Universitet, Sweden.

<sup>4</sup> Sen, A.K. (1998) The Living Standard. In Crocker, D.A. & Linden, T (eds) *Ethics of Consumption: The Good Life, Justice, and Global Stewardship*: 287-311. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Oxford.

<sup>5</sup> Sen, A.K. (1990) Gender and Cooperative Conflicts. In Tinker, I. (ed.) *Persistent Inequalities*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

The key point being made here is that household decision-making processes impact strongly upon the ability of a household to attain desirable economic and social justice outcomes, and, by extension, upon the ability of the development community at large to achieve such outcomes. Due to gender inequalities household decision-making does not necessarily result in the best use of the resources available to the farm household. This has been known for a long time. In Cameroon, for example, Jones (1983) found that labour was not allocated efficiently across men's rice fields and women's sorghum fields<sup>6</sup>. In Burkina Faso, shifting inputs from plots controlled by men to plots controlled by women planted to the same crops resulted in increased total production levels<sup>7</sup>. The FAO (2011) State of Food and Agriculture provides substantial empirical data which show that *'across countries and contexts women have less access than men to agricultural assets, inputs and services and to rural employment opportunities ... This imposes costs on the agriculture sector, the broader economy and society as well as on women. If women had the same access to productive resources as men, they could increase yields on their farms by 20–30 percent ... Closing the gender gap in agricultural inputs alone could lift 100–150 million people out of hunger.'* Obviously the gender gap cannot be ascribed to gendered decision-making processes at household level alone. Gender inequalities are shaped by complex interactions between cultural norms, policy interventions, and all manner of societal and environmental change processes. However, it is clear that households are key sites of economic activity and decision-making which have their own dynamic and do not correspond exactly to gender relations at other levels. Malfunctioning gender relationships at the household level contribute significantly to the catastrophic development outcomes just noted.

Household decision-making processes do not only affect how productive assets are managed. The way household expenditure decisions are made is of vital interest to women and men. A study conducted in Malawi and Uganda showed that whilst men spent 6% of their money on food women allocated 23%<sup>8</sup>. This study is backed up by numerous other studies which show that resources and incomes controlled by women are more likely to be used to improve family food consumption and welfare, reduce child malnutrition, and increase the overall well-being of the family, thus contributing to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and other hoped-for development outcomes. However, development interventions may unwittingly shift control over crops and decision-making from women to men. For instance, in the Gambia rice was once a crop controlled by individual women. The introduction of centralized pump irrigation was supposed to lighten their workload, but it resulted in a transfer of decision-making power over the use of rice from individual women to male compound heads<sup>9</sup>. In Uganda, women in the fruit and vegetable trade lost out to men as markets were developed in Kampala and for export<sup>10</sup>. When women lose out there can be a chain reaction that results in negative inter-generational impacts upon human capital formation.

Doss (1999)<sup>11</sup> concludes *'the African farm household is a diversified and multifaceted economic entity. It pursues numerous agricultural and non-agricultural enterprises and operates within*

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<sup>6</sup> Cited in Doss, C.R. (1999).

<sup>7</sup> Udry (1996). Cited in Doss, C.R. (1999).

<sup>8</sup> Njuki J et al (2011) Op cit.

<sup>9</sup> Von Braun and Webb (1989). Cited in Doss, C.R.(1999).

<sup>10</sup> Mayoux, L. (2009). Engendering Benefits for All. <http://www.thebrokeronline.eu/Special-Reports/Special-report-The-power-of-value-chains/Engendering-benefits-for-all>

<sup>11</sup> Doss, C.R. (1999). Op Cit.

*elaborate networks ... households include people with competing goals and objectives, cooperating fully on some issues and less so on others'.*

## **2 Promising Initial Findings**

Although household methodologies are relatively new, preliminary evidence is very promising. It indicates that working on gender relations within the 'black box' of the household can contribute significantly to gender equality objectives, opportunities for livelihood generation, improved farm decision-making, improved links between communities and development partners, and, depending on the context, improved value chains.

All household methodologies work to bundle the disparate livelihood strategies pursued by women and men (her plot, his plot *etc.*) into one coherent strategy. The formation of a 'family vision' to which children – in many cases - contribute enables the family to conceptualize and work towards a shared time-bound goal. Critically, household methodologies do not seek to empower one gender (women) at the seeming expense of the other (men). They adopt a 'power with' rather than a 'power to' approach, and work 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. This said, some household methodologies – particularly the Gender Action Learning System (GALS) seek gender justice as a lead 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 through the process. Some household methodologies are deployed as part of a package of development interventions, whereas others are more 'stand-alone'. Finally, household methodologies are being implemented by governments, development agencies and NGOs.

The evidence to date (see annexes 1 and 2 for the summaries of two evaluations) shows that change in cultural norms that have existed for generations can be achieved within one or two years, simply because the benefits of collaboration are seen so rapidly. Women begin to experience more decision-making power and suffer less gender-based violence. Men start to take on domestic and caring tasks and sharing work on the farm, thus freeing up women's time and securing men many personal benefits, such as more positive relationships with their children. Decision-making regarding household income flows and expenditures becomes more transparent and starts to involve all adult, and – in some cases – child members. In all cases, household methodologies are associated with programmes addressing wider objectives, such as work targeting HIV/AIDs, creating assets for the most poor, improved participation in value chains, linking women and men to functional literacy programmes, and work with female-headed households.

Despite the many positive outcomes of the household methodologies examined in this paper, areas of important concern remain. These are discussed below in relation to specific elements of the household approaches studied.

### 3 Overview of Household Methodologies

Two household methodologies and their variations have been selected for study. The two primary methodologies are (i) Agricultural Support Programme (ASP) from Zambia, and (ii) the Gender Action Learning Systems (GALS) developed by OxfamNovib (ON):

- Household methods modelled on the ASP include IFAD-supported District Livelihoods Support Programme (DLSP) in Uganda and the Gender, HIV and AIDS Household Approach in association with the Irrigation and Rural Livelihoods (IRLAD) Project in Malawi.
- IFAD is engaged in three ongoing GALS initiatives: support to OxfamNovib under a large grant to rollout the methodology to Rwanda, Nigeria and across Uganda; some provision for piloting household approaches in Liberia and Senegal with funds under the Legal Empowerment of Women (LEWI) programme funded by Canadian Supplementary Funds, and (iii) spontaneous option by staff within the programme management units to integrate GALS in the Rehabilitation and Community-based Poverty Reduction Project/ Rural Finance and Community Improvement Programme (RCPRP/RFCIP) in Sierra Leone. Finally (iv) the Rural Enterprise Programme in Ghana has, following exposure to GALS training by the M&E officer, decided to pilot a GALS approach in some of its work without IFAD funding.

This section provides an overview of each methodology. It is followed by a matrix which compares each methodology across a range of features. Key points derived from the matrix, evaluations of the methodologies, and documentation from each programme, are discussed in Part 4.

#### 3.1 ASP-based Programmes

##### 3.1.1 The Agricultural Support Programme (ASP) Zambia<sup>12,13</sup>

The ASP (2003-2008) grew out of a number of Sida-funded projects that had engaged over many years with different aspects of the agricultural sector in Zambia. It promoted a 'Farming as a Business' approach. Its overarching goal was to stimulate attitudinal change amongst smallholders as to the way farming is conducted.

The ASP produced a gender-sensitive Facilitation Handbook, and guidelines for gender mainstreaming. These documents suggested how to incorporate a gender perspective into each stage of the facilitation process. The Facilitation Handbook notes that areas of gender disparity to be addressed at household, group and community level include: participation, workloads, income, training, access to and control over resources, access to information, and decision-making. The Household Approach was central to the implementation of a package of activities that included, among others (i) the promotion of diversified farming, which aimed to ensure income streams throughout the year, (ii) classic extension activities, (iii) work on HIV/AIDS, and (iv) work on ensuring household level food security in maize. The ASP took farmers through a staged learning process by taking them through a range of levels. The lowest level was level 1 (extreme poverty, no food

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<sup>12</sup> Farnworth, C.R. (2010) Gender-aware approaches in agricultural programmes: a study of Sida-supported agricultural programmes. Sida Evaluation 2010: 3. Also: Farnworth, C.R., & Munachonga, M. (2010) Gender Aware Approaches in Agricultural Programmes – Zambia Country Report: A special study of the Agricultural Support Programme (ASP). Working Paper 2010:8. Secretariat for Evaluation. Sida.

<sup>13</sup> Bishop-Sambook, C., & Wonani, C. (2009). The Household Approach as an Effective Tool for Gender Empowerment: A review of the policy, processes and impact of gender mainstreaming in the Agricultural Support Programme in Zambia.

security) and the highest was level 5 (stand-alone commercial farmer who could be engaged in outgrowing ventures). Most farming households entered the programme around level 2 or 3. Over the five years of the ASP every household who elected to join the Farming as a Business programme was mentored – totalling 44,000 in all.

Annex 1 provides more information on the ASP approach.

The Household Approach aimed to reinforce extension messages initially communicated at the community level. Individual meetings between household members and camp facilitators (extension workers) took place over a period of three years. All adult household members (husband, wife and older children) participated in setting the household vision and preparing an action plan, worked together during implementation, and shared the benefits together. Children were important because they were sometimes the only literate people in the household and thus were often essential to proper accounting, as well as to sharing their ideas for development.

### 3.1.2 District Livelihoods Support Programme (DLSP) Uganda<sup>14</sup>

The DLSP is a seven year Government of Uganda (GoU) programme funded by IFAD, GoU and the beneficiary communities. The goal of the programme is to improve the standard and sustainability of the livelihoods of poor rural households in the programme area. The two principal objectives are (i) to empower rural households to increase their food security and incomes, and (ii) to empower local governments to deliver decentralised services. Programme components include (i) community access roads, (ii) agricultural development including enterprise development and land tenure, (iii) community development component which includes **household mentoring**, functional adult literacy and group formation, and (iv) support for the sub-county and district administrations.

The principal target groups for household mentoring include (i) transitory poor households who are economically active but are not yet in a position to participate fully in commercial activities – should benefit from agricultural development activities as group members, and (ii) poorer households with limited assets and restricted livelihood options who do not currently participate in community activities or development initiatives. It is expected that 17,280 households will be mentored over the five year programme.

The household mentoring approach is based upon the work of the ASP in Zambia. A trained volunteer mentor is responsible for regularly visiting selected households over one or two years. The overall aim is to *‘transform the thinking of the adult members of the households into one of self help and self sufficiency’*. This is achieved through a five stage process. Phase 1: Entry – selecting households based on set criteria to target the most poor, developing a household vision in relation to food security, asset formation, better child health, better sanitation *etc.* and developing an action plan to achieve this. Phase 2: Implementation – promoting a culture of self-reliance, monitoring implementation of the household vision and action plan. Phase 3: Developing functional partnerships with other development partners. Phase 4: Supporting households to participate in other development initiatives. Phase 5: Handing over to other development partners. The central idea is that households are taken through an ‘empowerment pathway’, from enhancing personal

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<sup>14</sup> This section is developed from (i) a powerpoint presentation prepared by Judith Ruko, Rural Sociologist, DLSP, (ii) DLSP Uganda, on a two page document provided by the DLSP on their household mentoring approach, and (ii) extensive discussions with Judith Ruko.

decision-making capacity through to engagements in household clusters through to the formation of producer groups able to interact with other market actors. Some household clusters have elected to join other government-supported initiatives such as the Community Demand Driven Development and Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF II).

### **3.1.3 Gender, HIV and AIDS Household Approach, Malawi<sup>15</sup>**

The Department of Agriculture Extension Services (of the Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and Water Development), with support from IRLADP, began implementing the Gender, HIV and AIDS Household Approach in 2010, following an exposure visit to ASP in Zambia. This work is intended to support the wider work of IRLADP, which aims at increasing the incomes and agricultural productivity of capable poor small-scale farmers in 11 districts across the country. In all project districts, gender inequalities are recognized as one of the major contributing factors to poverty and as one of the drivers of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

The Gender, HIV and AIDS Household Approach is modelled on ASP's household approach<sup>16</sup>. Currently, it is being piloted in three sites across the country and thus is very small-scale (45 households). Based on this experience, the plan is to upscale it in other IRLADP sites. Its key objectives are to improve decision-making with regard to 'farming as a business', and to enable households to plan and implement their household vision within a set time frame. It works to mainstream behavioural change at the household level with regard to gender roles and responsibilities at the household level, to improve food security and income generation, and to target the drivers of HIV/AIDS.

The main elements of this approach are (i) regular, consistent and semi-intensive individual household visits to the participating households by the extension worker, (ii) participation of all household members (husband, wife, and children) in the setting of the household vision, (iii) development of the household action plan with the support of the extension worker, (iv) mobilization of resources for the implementation of the work plan, and (iv) review of the work plan with all the household members.

## **3.2 GALS-based Programmes**

### **3.2.1 The Gender Action Learning Systems (GALS) Uganda<sup>17</sup>**

The GALS builds on the work of Linda Mayoux over several years on pro-poor development strategies which have become increasingly gender-aware. As part of Oxfam Novib's WEMAN programme, the GALS approach was developed and piloted from 2007 onwards with partners in Uganda, Sudan, Pakistan, and Peru. One project, '*Gender Justice in Pro-Poor Value Chain Development*' (2009-2011), was co-funded by IFAD and developed with two local partners in

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<sup>15</sup> This section is developed from (i) IRLADP (2012) Gender, HIV and AIDS Household Approach in Malawi. An impact Assessment report of the Household Approach in Limphasa, Likangala and Nkhate Irrigation schemes. January 2012 Draft Report, and (ii) Extensive discussions with Remy Tolani, Social and Community Development Specialist, IRLADP.

<sup>16</sup> IRLADP (2008). Implementation Guidelines on Household Approach Adapted from Zambia Agriculture Support Programme (ASP). Irrigation Rural Livelihoods and Agricultural Development Project (IRLADP). Private Bag A 192. Lilongwe, Malawi. Supported by World Bank, IFAD, Government of Malawi.

<sup>17</sup> Farnworth, C. R. and Akamandisa, V. (2011) Report on Gender Action Learning Systems (GALS) Approach to Value Chain Development in Bukonzo Joint in Uganda. For OxfamNovib and GIZ. November 2011.

Uganda, Green Homes and Bukonzo Joint Cooperative Micro-Finance Ltd (Bukonzo Joint). As a consequence of the positive pilot period, IFAD is supporting up-scaling of the methodology through a large grant in Rwanda, Nigeria, and in other locations in Uganda.

The GALS for Value Chain Development is conducted in four principal stages, all of which are participatory and depend on the use of visual, rather than written, material to work with. The process starts with creating initial commitment and action priorities for gender justice in an entry point event (the “tree of diamond dreams”) with participants from vulnerable groups within communities and the professional staff of service providers. It aims to achieve a positive orientation by encouraging participants to develop individual and then household level visions for their futures (step 1) before establishing their current situation (step 2). In order to promote a sense of achievement and to help them identify cause-effect linkages, the participants are asked to consider where they have come from (step 3). Next, participants identify the opportunities and constraints that will affect the realization of their vision (step 4). Step 5 focuses upon enabling participants to identify their objectives, and finally, step 6 asks participants to set milestones on the road towards the achievement of their overall vision.

It is critical to appreciate that the GALS focuses explicitly upon achieving gender justice. It trains participants to understand gender justice using the framework provided by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

Annex 2 provides more information on the GALS approach, with particular reference to an evaluation conducted at Bukonzo Joint.

### **3.2.2 Rehabilitation and Community-based Poverty Reduction Project/ Rural Finance and Community Improvement Programme (RCPRP/RFCIP)<sup>18</sup>**

Work on the GALS has just started in Sierra Leone. The aim is to integrate the methodology into ongoing RCPRP/RFCIP activities, rather than being a one-off/extra activity. The PCPRP has four key target groups selected on the basis of a poverty and livelihoods analysis: smallholder farmers, women, youth - particularly unemployed youth, and micro/ small entrepreneurs. People with Different Abilities (commonly referred to as disabled) are an important target group. NPCU/MAFFS/IFAD launched the GALS last year by training 12 facilitators from the targeted farming communities, government bodies and service providers. The facilitators later organised a GALS Event for sensitization on the method with the participation of people from three communities. The GALS is currently being piloted with the Inland Valley Swamp (IVS) community groups.

GALS will be used to analyse gender-based constraints in markets and in the negotiation of win-win strategies for more equal access, particularly for rice and tree crops. GALS will also be used mainstream gender in decentralisation and community development activities by strengthening women’s ability to speak and through opening forums for discussion on gender equality. IVS

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<sup>18</sup> This section is developed from Lowe, H.Z., (2011) Report on the Introduction of the GALS Methodology in Sierra Leone, 8-29 August, 2011. and extensive discussions with Claire Bilski, Technical Assistant for Monitoring & Evaluation/Gender & Targeting, National Programme Coordination Unit (Freetown, Sierra Leone).

Association women leadership training will be launched this year and will deliver training on women's leadership to the IVS Associations involved in GALS, as well as developing links with local women's organizations to support future stages in the GALS process.

## **4 Analysis and Reflections**

This section provides some general reflections, based on the comparative matrix, documents supplied by programme leaders, and programme evaluations conducted by the author and others into the ASP Zambia and GALS at Bukonzo Joint in Uganda. Further details of the evaluations are provided in annexes 1 and 2. The comparative matrix (presented on the following page) shows wide variability in across all programmes with respect to development objectives. Annex 3 provides details of the mentoring approach adopted by each of the five programmes.

### **4.1 Vision and Action Plan**

All household methodologies work with households to develop a time-bound vision and action plan based on specific activities. The GALS uses visual methods whereas ASP-type methodologies develop written visions and plans in local languages. Evidence from the field shows that across all ASP-type methodologies some farmers have difficulty creating written visions and plans due to lack of literacy. This will undoubtedly constrain women more due to their higher levels of illiteracy in all countries studied. On the other hand, educated youth in families have undoubtedly been empowered by working with their parents to develop written visions, plans and budgets.

## Comparative Matrix: Key Features of the Selected Household Approaches

Feature	ASP-Based Approaches			GALS-Based Approaches	
	ASP Zambia	Gender, HIV&AIDS Malawi	DLSP Uganda	GALS Uganda	RCPRP/RFCIP Sierra Leone
<b>Implementing and Involved Organizations</b>					
Government	X	X	X	-	X
Development partner	X	X	X	X	X
NGO/ community group	-	-	-	X	X
Traditional/indigenous Leadership	-	-	-	X for land tenure issues	-
<b>Source of Funding</b>					
Government	X	X	X	-	X
Development partner	X	X	X	X	X
NGO/ community group	-	-	-	X	-
<b>Main Focus of Methodology</b>					
Explicit gender justice	-	-	-	X	X
Specific actions to remove gender-based constraints to realization of wider development objectives	X	X	X	X	X
<b>Targeting</b>					
Est. no of beneficiaries	44 000 HH	45 HH (pilot)	17,280 (current 9,000) HH	2,495HH (from 3,887 member HH)	750 group members currently in training
Specific target criteria for beneficiary selection	-	-	X	-	X
Special targeting of most poor HH	-	-	X	-	X
Targeting of FHH	-	-	X	-	-
Targeting of youth	-	-	-	-	X
Targeting of disabled/ elderly/orphans	-	-	-	-	X
Modification to suit polygamous households	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Training and Facilitation</b>					
Facilitation Manual	X	X	X	X	X
Training of Facilitators	X	X	X	X	X
Peer Training	-	-	-	X	X
<b>Methodological Components</b>					
Socio-economic baseline study	-	X part	X part	-	X part
Staged approach – taking farmers through different ‘development levels’	X	-	X	-	-
Household vision	X	X	X	X	X
Household action plan	X	X	X	X	X
Household mentoring: govt extension staff	X	X	-	-	-
Household mentoring: community volunteer	-	-	X	X	X
Internal M&E	-	-	-	X	X

External M&E	X	X	X	-	-
<b>Associated Gender Work at Community /Higher level</b>					
Thematic Govt / community programmes	-	X	X	-	X
Community Level Group	X	X	X	X	X
Farmer-based organizations	-	-	-	X	X
<b>Complementary Programme Components</b>					
Agronomic extension in community groups	X	X	-	-	-
Food Security	X	X	-	-	-
Nutrition	-	-	X	-	-
Access to Markets	X	X	X	-	X
Specific value chain programme/ work with actors along the chain	-	-	-	X	X
Micro-credit/financial services/ savings culture	-	-	X part	X	X
HIV/AIDS	X	X	-	-	-
Gender-based violence	-	-	-	-	-
Functional literacy/ numeracy	-	-	X	-	-

## 4.2 Selection of Organizational Partner & Implementation Arrangements

The GALS in Uganda as implemented by Bukonzo Joint, a cooperative, is the only example of a household methodology which has not been integrated to some degree into wider governmental programmes. It is widely accepted that working with government structures should ensure long-term sustainability, legitimacy and help enable an exit strategy by the development partner. However, in some cases, a strong and accountable community-based organization (CBO) may be able to refine the design and targeting strategy, and be also able to implement the methodology. This could enable the methodology to become truly 'owned' at the community level. This has certainly happened at Bukonzo Joint. At the same time the longevity and validity of the process will be entirely reliant on the effectiveness and integrity of the implementing CBO.

Working with governmental structures has had mixed successes. The ASP in Zambia worked with Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperative (MACO) extension workers, but key decision-makers and all financial management (apart from extension worker salaries) were managed by an implementing agency. Partly as a consequence, MACO did not continue with the approach after the closure of the programme, despite its outstanding successes. Indeed, three years after the programme closure farmers still call for household-based approaches to be reintroduced. The Gender, HIV and AIDS programme in Malawi initially experienced difficulties with the commitment of government extension workers to the mentoring process (as did the ASP initially), as well as the loss of trained mentoring staff- due to movement or retirement. Mainstreaming household methodologies into government structures needs to be undertaken with great care with the delineation of clear roles and responsibilities for all partners. A hybrid arrangement may work well, with CBOs, service providers, and value chain programmes such as Phase 2 of the Vegetable Oil Development

Programme (VODP2) in Uganda<sup>19</sup>, being tasked with implementation or partner as part of a wider governmental development initiative.

No programme has really made an effort to work with traditional / indigenous authorities, though Bukonzo Joint has enlisted their support for land titling initiatives. In locations where indigenous authorities are powerful sidelining them may result in programme failure. In such cases, indigenous authorities bestow legitimacy upon development initiatives, without which it is hard to function. Therefore, close work with local leaders to ensure their collaboration, and enrolling them on initiatives to identify cultural norms which are positive to women's gender interests, will greatly enable smooth implementation of the methodology. This is particularly important when the household methodology, such as the GALS in Uganda, seeks to 'fix' empowerment gains for women by promoting joint land-titling, for example. In many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, land is ultimately managed by traditional authorities. The collaboration of such authorities in locations where they still have a strong say will be vital to land titling initiatives that seek to vest long-term 'ownership' in women and their descendents. Family agreements - a kind of living will - are another example of how asset dispersal after the death of a key family member can be mediated and validated by traditional authorities.

### 4.3 Beneficiary Identification

The GALS as implemented by Bukonzo Joint worked with an understanding that 'everyone is poor' and this approach may have mitigated potential accusations of favouritism and thus community tensions. However, an evaluation (see Annex 2) showed that some people were much poorer than others, particularly female-headed households and families headed by poor men. Failure to identify and meet their specific needs was already leading them to fall behind despite the short history of the programme in the area. Women in polygamous families were also falling behind because it is self-evident that a collective vision is impossible to achieve between several wives who run semi-independent enterprises, and relate more often to their husband rather than to each other. The husband cannot share workloads equally with each wife and so they are left with the major part of realizing their vision alone.

As already noted, the ASP classified households according to their level of poverty. The aim was take the most poor (level 1) through a staged learning process up to level 5 - those able to engage fully in entrepreneurial farming. Households whose starting point was classified as level 2 or 3, say, were also expected to reach level 5 in due course. The DLSP in Uganda and RCPRP/RFCIP in Sierra Leone have identified specific groups they wish to work with. The DLSP is the only context which specifically targets the most poor (economically almost inactive), and female headed households, whereas the RCPRP/RFCIP aims to work with disabled people and youth (differentiating between young women and men) in addition to smallholder farmers, and women more generally.

### 4.4 Data Management

All IFAD-supported projects conduct some form of basic socio-economic analysis at design stage which contribute to beneficiary identification. The GALS relies on the participatory identification of key problem issues in its target community at the outset of its work. These almost always focus upon

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<sup>19</sup> Bishop-Sambook, C. (2011) Gender Issues in Oil Seed Value Chains, Uganda. IFAD.

personal men/women behavioural issues and rarely identify structural issues that also contribute to poverty and gender inequality.

The lack of a wider socio-economic baseline demonstrably hampers full identification of beneficiaries and engenders the risk of elite capture. The lack of such a baseline also hampers the identification of key issues at community level that the methodology may need to address directly in the design and implementation process. For example, theft by young men of coffee beans is a major issue at Bukonzo Joint, and this in itself is an outcome of poor schooling, lack of food, and lack of livelihood options in the area. Young men often buy alcohol and drugs with the proceeds of their illicit dealing. However, the GALS in this area has not identified young men and women as a specific target group. In almost all communities, intergenerational transfer of land and other assets is a key challenge for young men and women. Studies show that heads of household may be reluctant to transfer such assets – even if they are not being used to full capacity – to young adults<sup>20</sup>.

Furthermore, the lack of a baseline can make the framing of indicators and effective attribution of the impacts of the household methodology difficult.

It is recognized that the GALS has developed a process whereby all indicators are internally generated and monitored, and in doing so, overcomes – to some extent - the need for externally generated indicators. Internally generated indicators provide critical insights into ‘what matters’ to community members and thus ensures the validity of indicators. The process also ensures that community members remain in charge of the data management process. The big difficulty with relying on internally generated indicators is that in any community particular voices will be more powerful than others and thus influence the ultimate framing of indicators.

Much more important is the fact that a vast body of literature on well-being, including the work of Amartya Sen<sup>21</sup> and Martha Nussbaum<sup>22</sup>, shows conclusively that there are huge gaps between people’s subjective appraisals of their well-being, and ‘objective’ appraisals. For example, diets that fail to deliver the most important nutrients – thus contributing to high rates of stunting and maternal deaths - are commonplace in many Sub-Saharan African countries. However, they can be difficult to modify. This is not only due to poverty but also to strong cultural norms regarding what is considered a good diet, which may be coupled with a lack of awareness that mortality and morbidity rates elsewhere are much lower. Together, norms and awareness may inhibit objective perception of harm and thus an inability to see the importance of change such as aiming for lower childhood stunting. Empowering people to enable them to move towards more universally accepted concepts of well-being and entitlements is a powerful and important process. This calls for judicious mix of internally-generated and externally-generated indicators.

It should also be noted that an independent evaluation of the GALS at Bukonzo Joint demonstrated that the internal M&E system exaggerates the rate of change. Women respondents consistently

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<sup>20</sup> Farnworth, C.R. (2010) Gender aware approaches in agricultural programmes: A study of Sida-supported agricultural programmes. Sida Evaluation 2010: 3.

<sup>21</sup> See for example Sen, A.K. (1998) Op. cit.

<sup>22</sup> See for example (1) Nussbaum, M.C. (1998) The Good As Discipline, the Good As Freedom. In Crocker, D.A. & Linden, T (eds) *Ethics of Consumption: The Good Life, Justice, and Global Stewardship*: 312 – 341. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Oxford. (2) Nussbaum, M.C. (2000) *Women's Capabilities and Social Justice*. Prepared as part of UNRISD's work for ‘Beijing + 5 review: Gender Justice, Development and Rights’. UNRISD, Geneva. (3) Nussbaum, M.C. (2001) *Woman and Human Development: The capabilities approach*. Cambridge University Press.

over-reported change with regard to the contribution of men to domestic and farm work, whereas men tended to under-report change. The development of a complementary, external M&E system would alert programme manager much more quickly to unevenness in progress towards gender equality. It is critical that internal and external M&E systems are used together, and that synergies between the two are developed.

Finally, the M&E system should be able to capture information on take up of the household methodology in each location, both in terms of spontaneous adoption, and with respect to why eligible households are not participating.

## **4.5 Complementary Programme Components**

### **4.5.1 Food Security and Nutrition**

Although food security and nutrition are undoubtedly fundamental issues in all households targeted by these methodologies, only two have targeted improvements in household level food security. The DLSP in Uganda provides food security grants. The ASP in Zambia trained all participating farmers to calculate their calorie needs for a whole year using international norms set by the FAO. Women and men had to agree to set aside sufficient maize to cover these needs. Any remaining maize could be used for visitors and social functions, or for sale. Furthermore, participating households had to ensure they had attained household food security before they were permitted to move to the next level of the programme. The effects were remarkable. An evaluation conducted two years after the programme had closed showed that in one area during the hungry season only ASP households had sufficient maize set aside to meet their food needs. Importantly, men were made equally responsible for ensuring adequate food was available. This contrasts with the GALS at Bukonzo Joint, where farmers agreed that they never plan their food security needs and often sell food which has taken 'six months to grow in a single week'. According to the health centre, health indicators were poor. Many children do not take lunch to school.

This said, farmers in the DLSP and the Gender, HIV and AIDS programmes are including food security as part of their vision. The difference is that institutional support for the enactment of their visions relates to improved agronomic practice as opposed to creating a goal around how much food to set aside, and regulations for how this food is managed by household members.

No household methodology has addressed nutrition, even though wider data points incontrovertibly to severe malnourishment in all the programme areas.

### **4.5.2 Functional Literacy and Numeracy**

Only the DLSP has linked households to functional literacy programmes. However, lack of literacy and numeracy is a fundamental constraint to engagement in wider development processes, and particularly hampers participation in market and value chain activities. Women in the GALS evaluation spoke repeatedly of their 'fear' in engaging with others and travelling outside the community. Almost none of the women could read Arabic numerals, unlike most men. Literacy and numeracy is fundamental to signing contracts, using ICTs such as mobile phones to conduct transactions, and so on.

### 4.5.3 Addressing Gender Justice Explicitly/ Overcoming Gender-based Constraints

The most fundamental difference between the ASP-type approaches and the GALS is the way in which women's empowerment is conceptualised. For the GALS, 'gender justice' is its *raison d'être* and its starting point. For the ASP and associated approaches, women's empowerment is a means to wider developmental aims. Indeed, the ASP talked rarely of 'gender' in its work within households, but rather focused on working with farmers themselves to identify and remove constraints to development, many of which were gender-based. In the process women were undoubtedly empowered, often to a great degree, as the findings from assessments of the ASP, DLSP and the Gender, HIV and AIDS programmes show. Potential resistance to 'empowering women' by extension staff at all levels, and private service providers and trainers was undoubtedly lowered by the lack of an explicit empowerment agenda.

However, the lack of attention to gender justice *per se* means that ASP-type methodologies run the risk of failing to anchor women's empowerment gains over the long-term, for example by encouraging joint land agreements recognized by traditional/statutory authorities, or by securing 'family agreements' that secure women's rights to property upon a man's death, *etc.* The GALS currently works much more strongly to promote this translation of the 'feeling of empowerment' to concrete unassailable rights.

### 4.5.4 Integration of Household Methodologies with Gender Empowerment Strategies at Other Levels

Generally speaking, more work needs to be done to enable empowerment gains at the household level to be translated into empowerment gains at other levels. Some attempts at linkages have taken place. The ASP in Zambia worked to ensure strong participation of women in community extension groups. It insisted that women had to form 30% of all participants in meetings, otherwise the meeting would not be convened. It also insisted that women sit with men on chairs as opposed to sitting separately on the ground which is a cultural norm. The facilitators were trained to enable women to speak in such meetings. GALS in Uganda has sought to ensure female participation in value chain multi-stakeholder meetings, though it has been enabled in this aim by the fact that women represent about 85% of the membership of Bukonzo Joint. The RCPRP/RFCIP in Sierra Leone is planning specific work with farmer-based organizations to empower women members.

There is considerable scope for 'upscaling' the learning process around gender-based constraints and gender justice. Women are, for example, being harder hit by climate change due to their heavier use of natural resources such as fuel wood and water. Climate change mitigation measures need to be linked into measures to dismantle gender-based constraints and empower women – for example, a typical gender-based constraint prevents tree planting by women as this signifies a claim to land ownership.

There are also opportunities for household approaches to provide traction for gender and targeting strategies which are an integral part of IFAD projects. As part of this, it is important to create an enabling environment at the community and higher levels to facilitate behavioural change. Activities may include fostering men's support groups, and working with indigenous leadership structures, *etc.*

### 4.5.5 Market Orientation and Value Chain Development

All the ASP-type methodologies have an explicit producer focus, aiming to develop 'farming as a business' and to ensure that women as well as men are able to participate. The DLSP is committed to

working with the most poor to try and get them onto the very first rung of participation in markets. This is achieved through the provision of food security grants and the formation of economic clusters among poorer households.

The GALS has recently started to develop a value chain orientation. Bukonzo Joint works with actors in the coffee chain and work on value chains is planned in the Sierra Leone programme. Actors involved in Bukonzo Joint's work include producers, barter traders, small-scale traders, and medium traders. There is no doubt that coffee quality has improved considerably as a result of the intervention. This is because women and men are cooperating with one another at each node. For instance, whereas men and women producers used to sell unripened coffee to middlemen separately 'on the side' to try and get monies to meet their immediate needs, household level collaboration now means that both agree to sell coffee when it is properly ripened and sorted. Barter traders are all women and are often married to male middlemen. Previously, there was no collaboration between the two. Now, couples often cross-subsidize each other's businesses. As a consequence of improved gender relations at household level -resulting in improved coffee being sold into the chain from the farm gate, the incentives for cheating between actors at different levels has been much reduced. This has been facilitated by the bringing together of actors in value chain platforms. Finally, more women have been admitted to the 'big traders' association. Bukonzo Joint does not have any specific plans to upgrade women in the value chain even though this is often seen as an important step.

Despite its practical and theoretical work to date, GALS has not yet succeeded in developing a full understanding and model of how to engage with value chain development. Its focus upon improving gender dynamics at the household level certainly permits women to participate more effectively, but women's full participation is hampered by a wide range of gender-based constraints that are not only located within the household. These need to be identified and worked with. A much wider commodity-specific gender-based constraints analysis is a first critical step. Targeted work with value chain facilitators and service providers on mainstreaming gender is vital – including improving women's access to facilities at retail and wholesale markets, access to safe transport, access to financial service providers beyond those offering micro-credit, and enabling women to engage safely in large-scale trade including cross-border trade. The RCPRP/RFCIP is planning some work to empower women with farmer-based organizations and micro-finance providers and it will be interesting to track their progress.

Rather than asking household methodologies to engage with identifying and tackling all gender-based constraints at all levels, it would seem advisable to partner with partners specifically dedicated to gender-aware value chain development. The focus of the household methodology would be primarily upon improving women's access to, and control over, assets managed at the household level including production and post-harvest technologies, land, finance, transport *etc*, as well as working towards more equitable sharing of household tasks between all household members in order to free up women's time. This work should be conducted with all value chain actors in a specified chain, and be conducted in association with wider gender mainstreaming initiatives.

## 5 Recommendations

Recommendations for each analytical area are provided here.

### 5.1 Vision and Action Plan

- Work with visual methodologies where people are illiterate. The GALS offers a comprehensive toolkit but it may need to be complemented by a wider constraints analysis relating to the farming system and other issues.
- Deepen work with young people, children as well as youth, in the household on vision formation and planning. Ensure that their specific needs, as well as the needs of the family as a whole, are identified and addressed.
- Develop specialized strategies to address women in female-headed households and in polygamous arrangements, as well as other categories including orphan-headed households, elderly, and disabled people.

### 5.2 Selection of Organizational Partner & Implementation Arrangements

- Different combinations of partners will be required in every situation, but working with community based organizations as lead implementers, in association with government programmes and private service providers identified as offering critical support functions (agricultural service, micro-finance, literacy and numeracy, *etc*) may be the best way to implement the methodology.
- Ensure that CBOs tasked with implementation have strong structures to ensure transparency and accountability, with a devolved decision-making structure to ensure constant verification of learning processes and decision-making based on monitoring outcomes. Organizational development support may be necessary.
- Work with government support structures and service providers to mainstream gender in their own organizations, in close association with their support to the implementation of household methodologies. In so doing, ensure that responsibility for gender outcomes is allocated to specific actors, with appropriate support and incentives.
- Work closely with traditional/indigenous leadership structures in areas where they are important power brokers and significant in setting and maintaining cultural norms. More generally, identify and work with cultural norms which support work on gender equality.
- In value chain work specifically, ensure that women actors representing different levels of the chain are strongly represented on value chain platforms.
- Develop complementary interventions at the community level to help create enabling environments, for example, community conversations, community listening groups, men's support networks.

### 5.3 Beneficiary Identification

- Fully stratify communities according to a range of socio-economic indicators.
- Clear identification of target group for HH methods, according to programme priorities.

## 5.4 Data Management

- Design and implement socio-economic baseline studies in target areas in collaboration with proposed implementing agencies and target groups. The findings should feed into overall programme design and should be used to inform indicator development for monitoring and evaluation purposes.
- Continue to develop and work with internally generated M&E indicators, but ensure that their use is complemented by the application of externally derived criteria and indicators. Ideally, incorporate both internal and external indicators into log-frames and similar.
- Ensure that cases of spontaneous adoption and also rejection of the methodology are tracked and understood.
- Develop learning trajectories between work on gender equality at household level to work on gender equality in associated formal structures (governments, service providers) and looser groupings such as traditional leadership *etc.* It is critical that ‘empowerment pathways’ are made that crosscut all these levels.

## 5.5 Complementary Programme Components

### 5.5.1 Food Security and Nutrition

- Given the current food security and nutrition crises across Sub-Saharan Africa, all household methodology programmes should develop measures to promote, and support, food security and nutrition as part of the visioning and planning processes. The best example with regard to food security planning is the ASP. Beneficiaries should be linked to appropriate support organizations, when necessary.

### 5.5.2 Functional Literacy and Numeracy

- All household methodology programmes should address functional literacy and numeracy as part of the visioning and planning processes. Beneficiaries should be linked to appropriate support organizations, when necessary.

### 5.5.3 Addressing Gender Justice explicitly/ Overcoming Gender-based Constraints

- Whilst both the GALS and ASP-type methodologies work to identify and ameliorate gender-based constraints, the GALS foregrounds gender justice as a lead goal, whereas other overcome gender-based constraints as part of the solution. Depending on the cultural norms in the area, programmes need to decide upon which goal to promote.
- Regardless of the methodology followed, every attempt should be made to anchor empowerment gains through placing assets directly under women’s control, such as land, loans, contracts of any kind, *etc.* All associated documents must name women as well as men (or women alone), and special arrangements must be made for women in polygamous arrangements. Attention must be paid to intergenerational benefits, so that women can pass on property to children. Family wills should be encouraged to prevent women from losing assets upon a husband’s death.

### 5.5.4 Integration of Household Methodologies with Gender Empowerment Strategies at Other Levels

- Work with existing community groups, or help to foster new community-led processes to develop new groups, such as men’s support groups.

- Work with indigenous leadership structures to help legitimize the programme, tailoring it as necessary.
- Work with development partners of various kinds (fair trade, organic, government bodies, partners working on climate change mitigation strategies etc) to help develop shared understandings of how to identify and tackle gender-based constraints across programming.
- Work to develop 'empowerment pathways' through which households can move, both in terms of household capacities and also in terms of encouraging clustering to represent interests.

#### **5.5.5 Market Orientation and Value Chain Development**

- Deciding whether to focus on producers or on actors across the value chain is an important strategic choice that needs to be made. Programme components in both the ASP and GALS methodologies may need significant modification depending on the choice made – at present, they are designed to suit producers more than other actors.
- Commodity-specific gender-based constraints analyses must be carried out among all actors along the value chain, complemented by work to identify other significant constraints in the selected value chain (in relation to climate change scenarios, competition etc).
- Ensuring access to financial service providers is critical, particularly those who are able to offer larger sums to cover immediate working capital needs (such as a trader wishing to finance a large-scale transaction); to enable large-scale investments in processing or storage facilities, and facilitate savings. Such schemes can be offered alongside micro-credit schemes, but micro-credit alone will never enable women to secure niches at higher value chain levels.
- Support to women petty and large traders is essential in order to open chains to women/ prevent them from losing control. Programme designers need to identify and create specific support measures that target women's needs. These will be identified through the recommended commodity-specific GBC study.
- Support should be offered to mixed producer and mixed trader associations to encourage female membership, participation and management. In some locations women-only groups at all levels will be needed. In addition to strengthening women's voice, specific work to links women actors at all levels and other value chain actors is essential.

## **Annex 1: The Agricultural Support Programme (ASP), Zambia)**

In the ASP programme, the household approach aims to reinforce extension messages initially communicated at the community level. It describes a process whereby individual meetings between participating households and camp facilitators take place over a period of three years. All adult household members (husband, wife and older children) participate in setting the household vision and preparing an action plan, work together during implementation, and share the benefits together. Children are important because they are sometimes the only literate people in the household and thus are important to proper accounting. The power of the household approach lies in its ability to bundle the often disparate and competing livelihood strategies of household members together to form a shared goal, or 'vision' in ASP terminology. Its motor force comes from its treatment of farmers as farm managers rather than as beneficiaries.

The attitudinal changes that have been wrought with respect to the cultural norms governing 'male' and 'female' roles and responsibilities are astonishing, particularly given that the time period has been so short. Research shows that these changes 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 relationships with their wives; they appear to have forged closer relationships with their children and can speak to them more freely.

As a consequence of mainstreaming women, both women and men farmers firmly believe that 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 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 be an issue of itself if men were seen to be managing the farm well, but in fact in many cases men are perceived to be poor farm managers, even by men themselves.

In male-headed households, the Household approach has started to create a shift in decision-making over assets since, according to the approach, assets are understood to belong to the whole household rather than any one individual. Many female-headed households have benefited from the ASP programme. In the absence of men, they have been free to join training meetings organized by extension workers, and to decide themselves how to use their land and to form their vision. Some female-headed households have graduated to high levels in the programme. Interestingly, anecdotal evidence suggests that some women in polygamous households have been able to exploit the spaces created for discussion and questioning of norms to their own benefit. Two wives reported that they had previously been in a violent marriage with no say over resource use or expenditure. The husband commanded them to work on 'his' land. Following the introduction of the household approach these relationships were renegotiated. The women now hold land in their own right and no longer have to work for the husband. They have their own sources of income and control its use.

Furthermore, the emphasis of ASP on working with the entire farming household has increased the resilience and coping strategies of many households. This is because all family members understand their farm system and have been actively involved in shaping it. Farming activities now continue in the absence or death of the male head. Investment decisions are often made collectively and, provided food security had been assured, are directed at achieving a wider family vision.

As a consequence of involving children 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 urban drift, rural underemployment, etc. Moreover, 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 significant intergenerational benefit.

Despite gains for women farmers, though, there remain several outstanding issues. In the majority of cases women's increased access to resources still relies on their ability to maintain their relationship to the male head of household and to wider kinship networks. There is no evidence to date 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. In a few cases, men wrote wills in favour of their wives to prevent their removal from their property upon their husband's death.

Furthermore, since ASP focused on creating a knowledge economy, it significantly 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 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.

### **Household Food Security**

The ASP made an explicit commitment to ensuring household food security. Critically, farmers were strongly discouraged from selling produce on the market unless they had set aside enough food (maize) for home consumption for the entire year.

To achieve this, ASP used United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization guidelines for explaining how much food each household should set aside for their own use before sale. One former facilitator explained: *'Households were trained to plan jointly on how much food was needed per person, and to set aside food for funerals and hospitality. Most of the farmers adhered to the guidelines; women came out strongly on the issue of household food security'*. Household food security was promoted through training farmers on the planning cycle (resources for production or inputs), actual production of crops/livestock, how much to set aside for household consumption, and how to calculate excess for sale. Farmers were also taught how to assess the likely food needs of visitors and for funerals and to set aside some food for this purpose – provided their own food needs for the year had been met. The practice of reserving food grains for household consumption has been sustained beyond the life of ASP. Farmers explained that they do not sell the 'reserved' grains until after the next harvest.

Household food security was also promoted through training farmers to diversify from growing only maize to developing mixed crop/livestock production systems. They were encouraged to produce large livestock (cattle) and small livestock (goats, pigs, chickens) which can be sold to realize cash as necessary.

Both female-headed households and male-headed households attributed the achievement of household food security entirely to the training acquired through ASP. However, some constraints remain to the achievement of full food security over the long term. Some of these lie beyond the power of ASP to influence and include: (i) natural disasters, climate change and the government's weak communication systems on adaptation/mitigation measures; (ii) overall poor provision of extension services by MACO; (iii) the disproportionate burden of care for HIV/AIDS patients on women and girls, which results in women's absence from economic activities, and frequently the

absence of girls from school; and (iv) the continuing perception of a man as head of the family household, which permits some husbands to use household resources for their personal gain.

### **Market Development for Women**

Since ASP was fundamentally about 'farming as a business' it should have been able to improve women's performance as market actors. However, although a few women have become successful outgrowers, in the main women have benefited less than men with respect to marketing. Interviews with women in the course of this study revealed that their success in marketing, or otherwise, could be attributed as much to local market conditions as it could to ASP's efforts on their behalf. Indeed, in general, the study showed that rural farmers are price-takers and do not get maximum returns to their investments. Although ASP claims to have facilitated major improvements in the agribusiness environment, this was generally not considered to be so by the farmers themselves, though admittedly the sample was small.

With respect to gender issues, it is clear that most players (both sellers and buyers) on the market are men and boys since women tend to have low numeracy and literacy skills. It is said that this stops them from bargaining properly. The distance to markets, poor road infrastructure and traditional/cultural norms and values also prevent women from travelling in search of better markets for their crops and livestock outside their communities. Nevertheless, women are becoming more involved with marketing, but this is a consequence of improved intra-household decision-making as a result of the Household approach rather than an outcome of the work of ASP on improving markets access. One man said, *'I have worked with ASP for three years and in those years my wife went two years running to the market to sell groundnuts that we grew as a household'*. Another man said, *'In my case, my wife went to sell cotton for 2 years'*. In these and other cases women had previously never been involved in marketing such crops.

A fascinating finding is that the division between 'male' and 'female' crops is, according to respondents, starting to disappear. Critically, there are indications that men are not 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. One man said with respect to the practice of men controlling the income from women's crops, *'Before ASP, those things were happening because of jealous, ignorant, selfish men. They felt that because they are heads of household they 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'*.

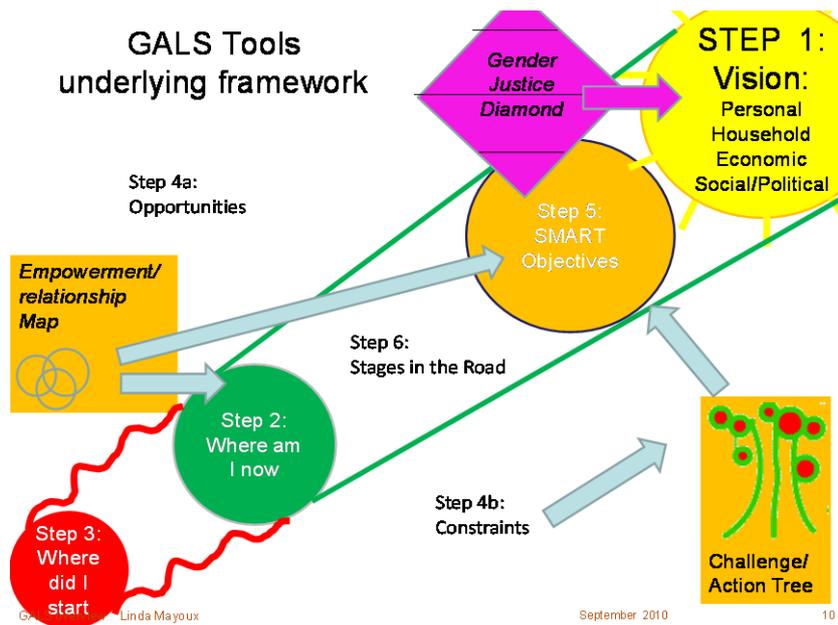
However, ASP could have done so much more to strengthen the position of women in local commodity chains. Even a cursory analysis demonstrates a great number of entry points that were never identified by ASP nor taken up. Women respondents pleaded for women-only marketing cooperatives. Mobility and literacy constraints could have been tackled quite easily through planned programme interventions. Women engaging in farmgate sales, which are the only option available to remote households, could be aided through information communication technologies (e.g. mobile phones with up-to-date market price information). Productive relationships between middlemen and women could be developed which aim to develop their respective capacities in understanding the needs of the end consumer, and to increase levels of trust.

## **Annex 2: The Gender in Action Learning System (GALS) Methodology for Value Chain Development: Case Study on the Coffee Value Chain in Uganda**

The GALS is a recent methodology. It builds on the work of Linda Mayoux over several years on pro-poor development strategies which have become increasingly gender-focused. As part of Oxfam Novib's WEMAN (Women's Empowerment Mainstreaming And Networking for gender justice in economic development) programme, the GALS approach was developed and piloted from 2008 onwards with partners in Uganda (Bukonzo Joint Microfinance Cooperative Ltd (Bukonzo Joint) and Green Home Women's Development Association), Sudan (PASED/ LEAP), and Movimiento Manuela Ramos and Finca in Peru. It has been adapted by ANANDI in India and it was piloted by the Sungi Development Foundation and TRDP in Pakistan. It was also used as part of a series of gender training sessions for the Pakistan Microfinance Network.

The Ugandan project investigated here, *'Gender Justice in Pro-Poor Value Chain Development'* (2009-2011) drew upon and developed the experience already gained to focus specifically upon extending the GALS to value chain approaches. The project was co-funded by IFAD. As a result of the positive pilot period, IFAD is now supporting the up-scaling of the methodology in Rwanda and Nigeria, and in other locations in Uganda in the near future. Since the GALS is still in evolution, a key aim of the pilot project was to further develop the methodology through experience.

The GALS for Value Chain Development is conducted in four principal stages, all of which are participatory and depend on the use of visual, rather than written, material to work with. The underlying framework is depicted in the diagram below. The process starts with creating initial commitment and action priorities for gender justice in an entry point event (the "tree of diamond dreams") with participants from vulnerable groups within communities and the professional staff of service providers. It aims to achieve a positive orientation by encouraging participants to develop individual and then household level visions for their futures (step 1) before establishing their current situation (step 2). In order to promote a sense of achievement and to help them identify cause-effect linkages, the participants are asked to consider where they have come from (step 3). Next, participants identify the opportunities and constraints that will affect the realization of their vision (step 4). Step 5 focuses upon enabling participants to identify their objectives, and finally, step 6 asks participants to set milestones on the road towards the achievement of their overall vision.



At the value chain level a number of stages are set in motion.

Stage 1: Preliminary mapping of main chain activities, stakeholders, value distribution, governance and gender inequalities.

Stage 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.

Stage 3: The 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.

Stage 4: The 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.

### Bukonzo Joint and the Coffee Value Chain

Bukonzo Joint was founded in 1999 in Kasese District in southwest Uganda. It is owned by its members who purchase shares and therefore have a stake in its profits, as well as the risks its faces. Dividends are distributed annually with women shareholders being allocated a 60% share, and male shareholders a 40% share, of any profits made upon their share. Overall of the total membership of 3,887 households, women account for around 85% of registered members. This is a very high sex ratio for Uganda. Bukonzo Joint offers financial, production, marketing and capacity building services 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.

Coffee is Uganda's largest export commodity, contributing about 20% of Uganda's export earnings. 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. Interventions include the supply of improved seedlings, farm implements, training, hullers and pulpers, and market linkages. Around 74,000 households in Kasese District grow coffee upon an average of 0.5acre. They are organised into producer groups and engage in primary processing. District traders transport the product and engage in secondary processing. Dry and wet processing of coffee is practised in the area. Wet processing results in a higher quality product called Wugar. However, only around 5% of production is of Wugar quality. A principal objective of Bukonzo Joint is to produce and market Wugar coffee through working with membership cooperatives to which

farmers are affiliated. Currently, there are 86 groups (7 primary cooperatives and 79 self-help groups) across the 11 parishes which comprise the sub-county within which Bukonzo Joint operates. Within the parishes, a large percentage of households (2,495) are working with the GALS methodology to improve gender equality.

Cultural norms in the area serve to seriously constrain not only the individual and economic development of women themselves, but also the entire development of the community. This is because women and men frequently pursue individual livelihood strategies that demonstrably work against each other. For example, women and men both sell coffee 'on the side', even if it is unripe and commands a low price, in order to meet their immediate needs. This directly results in poor coffee quality and quantity, and hampers the development of positive horizontal and vertical value chain relationships. Buyers, for example, cannot obtain the margins associated with local and overseas premium markets unless they can access uncontaminated Wugar coffee. At the household level, failure to collaborate hampers the development of a systemic approach to the maximisation of the capacities of all household members to contribute to the well-being of everyone in that household. Inequitable distribution of benefits at household level, particularly in ways that do not reflect the actual contribution of each household member to overall household income, verifiably results in low motivation to improve economic outcomes and militates against the best use of household and farm assets.

### **Research findings: Achievements of the GALS**

The research study into the efficacy of the GALS was conducted by two independent consultants in October 2011. It demonstrates conclusively that the GALS has been remarkably powerful in unseating powerful cultural norms that have existed for generations. Implementation of the GALS by Bukonzo Joint has resulted in the following changes, amongst others.

First, many respondents pointed to remarkable life changes occasioned by their participation in the GALS. These include male participation in reproductive tasks such as childcare, drawing water and cooking – none of which had occurred before, and increased male participation in farming tasks. A central area of change was 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 in land purchase. Furthermore, rates of gender-based violence have reportedly fallen considerably. Violent disputes were previously associated with arguments over income and expenditure. Alcohol consumption, a major drain on household funds, has also decreased.

Second, some structural changes with regard to asset 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 the GALS, is helping members to register customary joint land (husband-wife) agreements with the Land Board, and daughters are being considered in land agreements, particularly with respect to inheritance. This is a historic change given that women could previously only access land via male kin.

Third, the GALS has resulted in important improvements to the capacity of both women and men to participate effectively in 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 organisation as a direct consequence of the GALS. At village level, barter traders (women) and village traders (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

with them receiving more money per day in recognition of the importance of their work to quality control.

The GALS has proven effective because it starts where people are. In many ways the 'road journey' is like a gender-aware SWOT analysis, to which it adds a sense of direction by starting with individual visions. It posits gender-based constraints as a key obstacle to personal, household, community and economic development, as well as to relations between value chain actors. It then provides the conceptual framework to enable participants to recognise and overcome these constraints one by one. It shows rapid results because gender-based constraints do indeed seriously stymie development efforts, particularly in agriculture. Addressing them, particularly through promoting cooperation between women and men, reaps almost immediately visible economic and personal dividends.

The various visual tools that underpin the methodology of the GALS work well, particularly at an individual and household level. People maintain their diaries and books with care and use them effectively to improve their decision-making and the actions they take. The tools are used to track positive changes and make tangible the benefits of more equal decision-making patterns. The visualisation itself is critical to this process because people can 'see' change has occurred at the household and at the community level. In the latter case the monitoring is performed by member cooperatives who are implementing the GALS to improve organizational performance.

Although the GALS methodology is primarily targeted at individuals and households, it enables community transformations to occur by proposing new behavioural norms and demonstrating their value. For this to happen, it is essential that a 'critical mass' of participants in any one community are reached in order to create a momentum for change. These participants, by enacting gender equality and its benefits, can act as role models. Some may actively wish to contribute to change as well by acting as change agents, for example as peer trainers in the GALS. Some men have started men's groups those these are currently not very active.

### **Research Findings: Limitations of the GALS**

There are some important limitations to the GALS. These are discussed at length in the full report to the study and are summarized here. It should be pointed out that these limitations are likely to apply to all capacity development methodologies implemented in relation to improving value chains. They should, therefore, should be considered carefully.

First, and most importantly, the GALS focuses upon improving the agency of women and men. Agency can be defined as the ability to define one's goals and act upon them. Effective agency is critical to the ability of women and men to take rational decisions in farming, as well as to wider empowerment agendas. However, in many cases effective agency, particularly in agrarian communities, is closely linked to productive assets. Without such assets it can be difficult to develop and realise meaningful goals, particularly goals that lead to truly significant life changes, such as moving permanently out of poverty, and the realisation of personal goals such as who to marry, how many children to have, and how to live. The study findings show that (1) single women (widows, divorcees and daughters) and poor men had very limited visions compared to those of married monogamous couples. Such people were poor not because they lacked entrepreneurial potential - they had well-formulated visions, but because they lack the physical assets with which to properly underpin their vision, gain sufficient monies for investment, and so on, and (2) that the GALS works very well in a nuclear household with a man and a woman in a monogamous relationship, together with children. However, it undoubtedly operates less well in polygamous arrangements. Many households in the study area, and indeed in many of the areas identified for up-scaling in Africa, are polygamous. It is obvious that multiple households, headed by women and acting largely as

independent economic units, but linked by one man, will find it difficult to agree a single household vision.

Second, there is strong potential for the remit of the GALS to be expanded well beyond a methodology aiming to achieve gender justice at household level and community level. It should be able to contribute towards, and underpin, broader development agendas. Whilst gender justice is important, it is probable that synergies between the GALS, the implementing organisation, and the work of their development partners will not be recognised and developed unless more work is devoted to demonstrating how gender relations can inhibit progress in other development arenas, such as the mitigation of climate change. The danger is that the GALS will become locked into an approach to achieving gender justice per se and will not even impact sufficiently on value chain development unless methodically applied.

Third, a comprehensive participatory baseline/ situational analysis was not carried out in the study area. Such a study is critical for several reasons including: (i) Preventing Eurocentric gender concepts from skewing implementation of the methodology and interpretation of the results. Such concepts may include, for instance, the assumption that nuclear one man-woman households are the main marriage model;(ii) Situational analyses should identify existing cultural norms that support equity agendas, describe livelihood strategies and challenges, and map main organizational players in the location; and (iii) a gender based constraints analysis should be conducted for the commodity being supported to identify gaps and opportunities to promote gender equality alongside promoting value chain effectiveness.

#### **Links to GALS videos on YouTube:**

■ **"Mapping the roads to change: women's empowerment in Western Uganda using the Gender Action Learning System (GALS)":**

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dGtFnUAYK0k> (part 1)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=whoZ2GuBnrQ> (part 2)

■ **Gender Action Learning in the coffee value chain in Western Uganda:**

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ZWgm6ZYMUU> (part 1)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HcyGLZ8e1M0> (part 2)

### Annex 3: Household Approaches. Mentoring in Detail

Questions	ASP Zambia	DLSP Uganda	Gender, HIV&AIDS, Malawi	GALS Bukonzo Joint, Uganda	GALS Sierra Leone
Frequency of visits: How often (weekly/monthly etc) are/were the households mentored?	At least every six weeks, first 3 years.	HHs are visited at least once a week for the first 4 months; at least twice a month for next 4- 8 months; then at least once a month.	Extension workers visit a HH once a fortnight, with a total of 5 HH per extension worker.	Usually weekly but tailor made to each case.	GALS community facilitators to facilitate meetings as part of their regular monthly IVSA meeting, as per the action plan.
Over what time period? One-two-three years?	3 years intensively, less frequently for a further two years on demand.	1-2 years depending on capacity of a particular HH.	Two years for each HH	Usually one year (tailor made). Expectation of collective follow up.	Since September 2011.
Are adult male/female youth explicitly included in HH planning?	Yes.	Yes. All adult members of HH are involved, including youth. Targeting criteria emphasizes inclusion of youth during HH identification.	Yes adult male/female youth are included.	No, ad hoc.	Facilitators include male/female youth and male/female youth in HH are included.
Are younger children (boys, girls) explicitly included in HH planning?	Yes, especially orphan households.	No, ad hoc.	Younger children are not included, unless they can contribute to decision making in design and implementation of the action plan.	No, ad hoc.	No but could be considered.
Has there been spontaneous adoption by other households who not included?	Yes, some reported.	Anecdotal evidence show some of the mentored households have become mentors themselves.	Yes. Reported that some farmers implementing HHA have also trained their fellow farmers.	Yes, provided critical mass has been achieved.	Too soon to know.
Are there parallel activities on gender equality and women's empowerment at community level?	Extension work at community level required 30% women participants at any meeting, otherwise meeting cancelled. Facilitators trained to include women/motivate them to speak/women sit with men instead of apart.	Gender must be mainstreamed in the process. Gender activities are expected to strengthen the HH mentoring methodology. They are not stand- alone activities.	Main gender issues discussed at community level include gender division of labour, access and control over assets, resources and benefits. These discussions are guided by extension workers and followed up during HH visits.	Yes through work of Bukonzo Joint micro-finance which favours women through dividend system (40% to men and 60% to women) etc. Limited work to strengthen women in role as VC actor (esp barter buyers and big traders) but not to increase women participation in new roles.	Yes - the process is linked to individual, household and community/farmer-based organizations. In 2012, working with recently established Decentralisation and Community Development Unit of the Project - aim for GALS to be a key process linked to institutional capacity building of farmer organizations.