



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

Male farmer, Zambia¹

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

5 Household Methodologies

Household methodologies build on a growing insight in the development and research¹ community: the long-held assumption that households were cohesive units, with shared assets, needs and goals, does not always match reality. Rather, in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, women and men often lead separate lives even within the same household, with access to different resources and different production and consumption activities.² This indigenous approach to livelihoods can be seen as complementary and may have served families fairly well in the past, but it has been fatally undermined by the fact that over many decades, both colonial and post-colonial governments have treated households as nuclear units, headed by men. Thus, development programmes have mostly targeted men as the household heads, disempowering women. As an extension worker in Kenya noted, “Women are the main farmer, but often they cannot come to the training forums. There is a gap between who receives the information and who implements it.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

CASE STUDY

Household gender analysis for gender transformation (Ethiopia)⁴

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

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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ethiopian men speak

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

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

Relationships

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

Sharing roles and responsibilities

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

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

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

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

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

CASE STUDY

The Agricultural Support Programme (ASP), Zambia⁶

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

⁷ See footnote 6 for references to evaluations.

ASP Farmers Speak⁸

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

Women farmers

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

Men farmers

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

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

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

in the household approach, there are likely to be significant intergenerational benefits. This may, in the long term, encourage children to stay in farming and thus reduce migration into cities, rural underemployment and other problems. One of the most tangible gains that both men and women respondents repeatedly mentioned is that joint planning over expenditure has enabled more children to go to school.⁸

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CASE STUDY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13 See Mayoux (2012), op.cit. Also see the GALS Phase 1 manual: Mayoux, L. (2013). *Rocky Road to Diamond Dreams*. GALS Phase 1: Visioning and Catalysing a Gender Justice Movement – Community Implementation Manual (draft for piloting). http://www.wemanresources.info/documents/Page2_GALS/RRoadDDreams1.pdf.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Ways forward

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

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

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

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

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

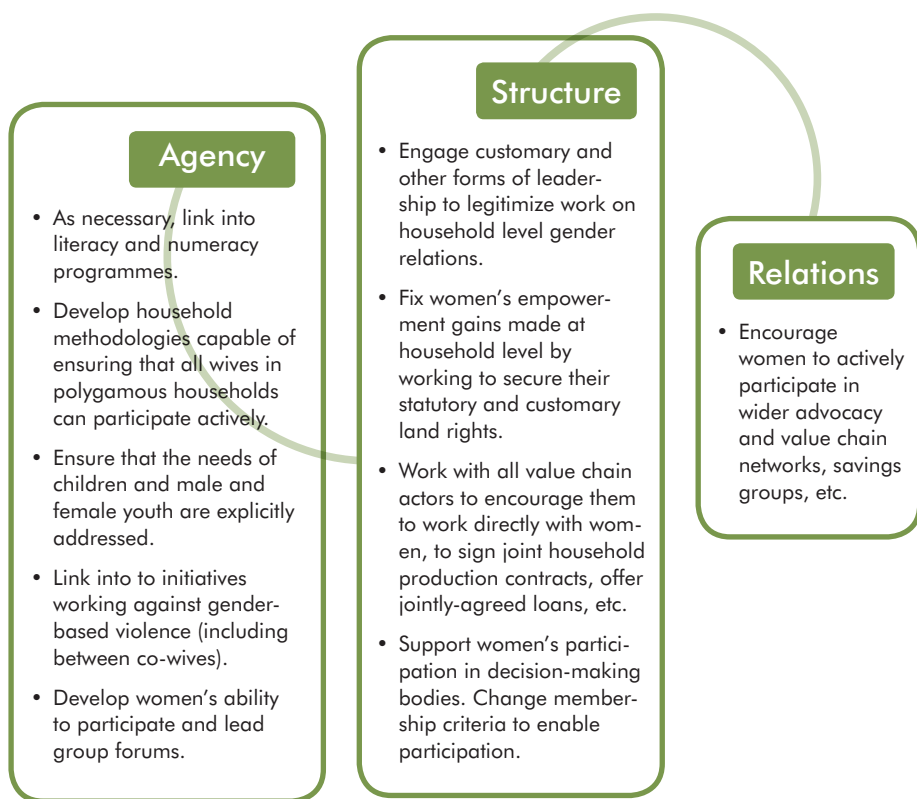


FIGURE 5.1 Embedding household methodologies in wider strategies for change