Draft for Discussion

Proposal to Develop an Approach for Analysing Changing Gender Relations for Monitoring and Evaluation in the Renewable Natural Resource Sector

October 1996

Contents:

Acronyms:

AGRITEX	Agricultural extension service, Zimbabwe
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CGR	Changing gender relations
CPHP	Crop Post-Harvest Programme
DR&SS	Department of Research and Specialist Services, Zimbabwe
ITDG	Intermediate Technology Development Group
NRI	Natural Resources Institute
NRSP	Natural Resources Systems Programme
ODA	Overseas Development Administration
PRA	Participatory rural appraisal
SEM	Socio-economic methodologies
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa

KEY INFORMATION

Project Title:	Analysing Changing Gender Relations for Monitoring and Evaluation in the Renewable Natural Resource Sector
NRSP Programme System:	Socio-Economic Methodologies
NRSP Programme Purpose:	Addressing Gender-Specific Needs in Relation to Access to Technological Change
Principal Investigators:	Dr Christine Okali and Dr Catherine Locke The School of Development Studies University of East Anglia Norwich NR4 7TJ
Collaborators:	Crop Post-Harvest Programme collaborators in selected country.
Total Project Cost:	Not yet finalised
Duration of Project:	24 months
Date of Submission:	
Location of Project:	

Analysing Changing Gender Relations (CGRs) for Monitoring and Evaluation in the Renewable Natural Resources Sector (RNR)

Narrative Summary	Objective Indicators	Means of Verification	Important Assumptions
Goal			
1. Effectiveness of RNR research improved through the implementation of socio-economic methodologies applicable across all RNR production systems	• By 2005 implementation of two or more new methods by client institutions in the NARS of at least six priority countries • A new method validated and applied in 50% of RNRRS programmes by 2005	• RNRRS Programme Managers' reports • Reports of target institutions • Evaluation of NRSP	• Research results taken up through uptake pathways • Enabling environment for widespread adoption of new technologies and strategies exists
Purpose			
1. Approaches developed to address gender specific needs in relation to access to technological change	• At least one refereed publication by 2000 • At least one methodology validated in field trials by 2000	• Annual research reports of programmes • Annual reports on promotion of research products and their impact	• Target institutions integrate new socio-economic methods into research programmes • Practical and affordable methods developed • New methods effectively disseminated to research programme managers
Outputs			
1. Understanding of the processes of CGRs improved. 2. Methods for analysing processes of CGRs developed. 3. Approach for the monitoring of CGRs in a specific context understood by Crop Post-Harvest Programme (CPHP) managers. 4. Experience of analysis of CGRs by CPHP programme and project staff acquired.	• Methods for analysing CGRs identified from literature review by month 5. • Workplan for field tests in two projects agreed with collaborators by month 7. • Field tests completed in two projects by month 13. • Analysis of data completed by month 14 • In-country workshop conducted by month 15. • Agreed guidelines distributed to CPHP managers and in-country collaborators by month 17 • Workshop with CPHP managers conducted by month 18 • Resource book drafted and distributed to RNRRS managers by month 24	• Research project report. • Workplans. • Monitoring reports, data. • In-country workshop programme, in-county workshop report • Guidelines, circulation. • Workshop summary. • Resource book.	• Practical and affordable methods for CGRs can be identified • Zimbabwe/Uganda programme continues and collaborators want to explore CGRs

Activities	Budget		
1. Review literature on CGRs with particular reference to SSA in order to identify and evaluate appropriate ways of understanding these processes. 2.1. With CPHP managers and in-country collaborators agree methods and set up field tests for specific CPHP projects in Zimbabwe/Uganda. 2.2. In-country collaborators carry out field tests of agreed methods in two projects with interim visit from principal investigators. 2.3. Collaborative review of usefulness and practicality of field-tested methods in a workshop in Zimbabwe/Uganda. 2.4. Collaborative agreement of guidelines for analysing CGRs in CPHP in Zimbabwe/Uganda at workshop. 2.5. Workshop with CPHP managers to assess whether understandings of processes of CGRs can be integrated into ongoing planning processes. 3. Write resource book.	Not yet finalised.		

Notes: 'Methods' is used here to mean conceptual framework, key research questions, criteria for developing indicators and techniques for data collection
'CGRs' are 'changing gender relations'.

DEMAND, UPTAKE AND GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS

Project Purpose

The project's purpose is to develop an approach for analysing changing gender relations for monitoring and evaluation in the renewable natural resources (RNR) sector. This is a first step towards addressing output 7 of the Socio-Economic Methods (SEM) component of the renewable natural resources research strategy (RNRRS) to develop approaches to address gender specific needs in relation to access to technological change.

Developmental Problems or Needs the Project is aimed at:

There is consensus at the macro-policy level that development assistance should at least be gender-sensitive and at best should enhance the status of women by promoting gender equality. Although projects in the RNR sector are increasingly likely to take cognisance of women as a beneficiary group, targeting alone has proved insufficient to ensure that women benefit equally from interventions. Linking macro-policy on gender to micro-level research on the development of new technologies is similarly problematic.

Evidence suggests that the gender frameworks in common usage are not sensitive to the complexities of changing gender relations and that these complexities can subvert the intentions of targeting. Within the RNR sector specifically, inappropriate understandings of gender needs have led to inadequate assessments of the potential and actual impact of new technologies on gender relations. However, there is currently a dearth of well-known and practicable approaches that can provide a more sophisticated understanding of gender specific needs in relation to women's access to technological change.

This research intends to develop a generic approach to monitoring changing gender relations in the RNR sector in order to provide a more appropriate information base for planning, monitoring and evaluating the gendered impact of new technologies. Creating this information base is the first step towards developing approaches that can meaningfully address gender issues in the RNR sector.

Evidence of demand for the research:

Gender is highlighted as a significant concern to be addressed in priority settings in Overseas Development Administration's (ODA's) research programmes within the renewable natural resources (RNR) sector. This focus reflects the concern with the apparent increase in poverty of many rural areas, especially in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), and with the increasing proportion of the poor accounted for by women. Most donors, therefore, now require projects to assess impacts on men and women and ODA specifically asks that project proposals address the question 'Are there any outputs which could adversely affect women?'. This research is aimed at addressing the needs of projects to respond to this demand.

ODA provides guidelines to programmes and projects on avoiding recurrent problems such as ignoring existing gender roles, ignoring women's practical and strategic gender needs (HMSO, 1995). However, the Social Development Division has expressed also a need for further development of methods that are better able to evaluate the impact of development interventions on gender relations.

ODA's Renewable Natural Resources Research Strategy (RNRRS) includes a Socio-Economic Methodologies (SEM) component which aims to develop and promote the use of socio-economic tools that will improve the effectiveness of (RNR) research. The SEM component seeks, amongst other priorities, advances in approaches to address gender specific needs in relation to access to technological change. The Crop Post-Harvest Programme (CPHP) has supported the production of this proposal and is interested in field testing of the approach developed within its projects.

The project's contribution to resolving these problems or needs and over what time-scale:

This 2 year research project seeks to develop a general approach for monitoring the way in which development interventions in the RNR sector influence the gender relations within households and communities. Such an approach will provide programme managers with greater understanding of the capacity of RNR projects to meet women's practical and strategic gender needs.

This general framework will be adapted and validated in a specific country and programme context. The context-specific adaptation of this approach will provide a clear indication of the way in which donors and implementors might approach impact assessments with the principal objective of evaluating the implications for gender relations.

The geographic focus of the project:

The geographic focus of the research is Sub-Saharan Africa although the framework and methods could be adapted for use elsewhere.

Promotion pathways:

The project is to be carried out within the Crop Post-Harvest Programme of the NR sector of ODA and should feed into its monitoring and evaluation work. This work is currently a programme priority, given the number of projects already approved (CPHP, 1996:25). The programme itself is developing links with other RNRRS programmes, with ODA bilateral activities and with other donor projects in country-focused programmes. The results of this work should, therefore, be well placed for more widespread promotion.

Beneficiaries:

The capacity to assess changing gender relations more accurately in relation to new technologies, will provide a more appropriate information base for monitoring and evaluation of the capacity of new technologies to address gender inequalities. The managers of planned interventions, and of related research, who adopt the approach developed will be better able to respond to macro-policy on gender in their work. The generic approach to monitoring changing gender relations within the RNR sector will require tailoring for specific programmes and country settings along the lines recommended by the research. If this is done, women involved in RNR projects in Sub-Saharan Africa will benefit from more accurate assessment of the impact of new technologies on gender relations. The research will produce agreed guidelines for monitoring changing gender relations in CPHP projects in a selected country. As a direct result of this work, women utilising technologies promoted as a result of CPHP research in the country selected for field-tests will benefit.

SCIENTIFIC BACKGROUND

Gender Impact Assessments

This proposal is addressing the widespread demand for gender impact assessments. We argue that there are both conceptual and methodological issues which make gender impact assessments especially difficult. This proposal seeks to provide guidelines for looking at processes by which individuals and communities influence gender relations and to provide a way of monitoring these processes within the context of project interventions.

Despite the recognised importance of gender issues for effective development interventions, there has been no comprehensive analysis of the impact of specific technologies on gender relations (Palmer, 1991; Stamp, 1989), nor on the way in which men and women use interventions to meet their own needs and objectives. Nevertheless, the view that the impact on the position of women in relation to men has been negative is fairly widespread (Stamp, 1989). While there are guidelines available for project planners and implementors to minimise this negative impact. (Moser, 1989; Feldstein and Poats, 1989; Overholt et al, 1985; ODA, 1995), the guidelines are primarily orientated towards identifying appropriate target populations to ensure the distributional equity and efficiency of project outcomes (Razavi and Miller, 1994:13-16).

Although appropriate targeting goes some way towards ensuring equity, it is also widely understood that social change is a complex process which cannot be controlled simply by directing interventions to specific individuals or groups or by engaging local populations more directly in project planning and implementation. There is considerable information on ways in which men and women try to maintain and change their relative social, economic and political positions, both within the context of households and of communities. In addition, there is now a growing literature about the ways in which local populations everywhere use project interventions to serve their own purposes (cf. Long and Long, 1992). Both sets of literature are relevant for this work and provide indications of the processes by which change occurs and suggest ways in which these processes might be monitored.

Macro-policy emphasises the importance of ensuring that development interventions are at least gender-sensitive and at best positively address unequal gender relations. Generally this concern has been reflected in the increasing targeting of interventions towards women either as members of beneficiary groups or as a specific priority group. However, the documented failure of such a strategy to translate into significant gains for women has been an important spur to the evolution of thinking about how we understand gender.

Below we review evolving conceptual understandings about the processes of changing gender relations, examine their importance for policy formulation, discuss methodological issues relating to their analysis and ,finally, consider the extent to which existing gender planning frameworks are able to address changing gender relations.

Conceptual Understandings of Changing Gender Relations

The household has always been an important focus for development interventions as it is the locus of production as well as consumption in many rural areas of developing countries. It is now accepted that households do not have unified interests and the deconstruction of the household constituted a significant breakthrough in gender analysis.

Within economics, unitary models of the household assumed the pooling of income under the authority of a benevolent household head. Criticism of these assumptions led to the development of bargaining models which explicitly recognised the existence of both co-operation and conflict within the household (Hart, 1995:46). Although conflicts of interest between men and women within the household occur, negotiation must be moulded within the general format of cooperation if the household is to survive. Therefore intra-household negotiation can be characterised as a series of 'co-operative conflicts' (Sen, 1990). These models assume that the outcomes of 'cooperative conflicts' are determined by the relative bargaining power and respective fallback or breakdown positions of men and women in the household and therefore will tend to perpetuate existing gender inequalities. In other words, the extent to which women will risk open conflict will depend on the circumstances in which they would find themselves if they lost favour or the household unit broke down.

Nevertheless women are not powerless within households and women employ a variety of strategies to optimise their livelihoods and security in the context of unequal gender relations (Kandiyoti, 1988). For example, in Bangladesh within the constraints of male control over household income generating activities and access to the market *"women do have strategies to assert economic control"* (Goetz and Gupta, 1996:53). These strategies may be seen as a process of bargaining that exploits gender-specific spheres of control and the various points of leverage to which women have access - such as appealing to male relatives for support, or withholding food or labour from their husbands.,Goetz and Gupta note that :

> *"Village ethnographies have shown that considerable variation in gendered patterns of income and asset control within the household give women control over a certain range of household decisions (often relating to consumption). Women also employ a range of strategies to establish control over assets, through informal lending of cash or paddy to other women as a form of dispersed insurance against future crisis, investing in livestock, and saving small amounts of paddy, all of which constitute 'female assets' which are out of the immediate sphere of male control"* (1996:53)

Kandiyoti has referred to such strategies as *"bargaining with patriarchy"* (1988) and includes within this category women's strategies that trade-off personal autonomy with the security of economic, social and physical protection by male relatives.

Women's strategies are intimately related to the general household livelihood strategies in ways that reflect the tension between the joint interests of households and the separate

interests of women within households: for instance, women's crop processing activities have long been recognised as an integral part of seasonal coping strategies for households whilst women's preference for turning their savings into easily convertible stores of value under their own control can be seen as a hedge against potential crises, sometimes including family breakdown (Jiggins, 1986). Such evidence points to the importance of situating any discussion of intra-household bargaining within an understanding of different household's economic strength. It also suggests potential difficulties in distinguishing gender-specific coping strategies (by implication reactive) from gender-specific bargaining strategies (by implication proactive).

In the 1980s, economic formulations of intra-household bargaining gave way to more rigorous, multi-disciplinary understandings of the determinants of relative bargaining power to include factors such as access to external kin networks alongside economic variables such as access to employment (Hart, 1995:47; Agarwal, 1990; Folbre, 1986). Whilst these developments in household economics remained concerned with *extra*-household parameters affect on women's and men's breakdown positions, anthropologists pointed to the subtlety and negotiability of gender relations *within* the household.

Bargaining within the household is often covert involving emotional manipulation and unspoken power games that may not be readily detectable nor fundamentally threatening to prevailing gender relations. Moreover, while certain delineated areas of gender relations may habitually permit a degree of negotiation, others routinely preclude negotiation. Such an analytical distinction forms the starting point for enquiry into the processes whereby taken-for-granted knowledge about existing gender relations can be opened up to contestation (Agarwal, 1994: 58-59). Further, it suggests that bargaining power cannot be treated effectively in the abstract but can only be meaningfully evaluated or monitored in relation to a particular sphere of activity in a specific social context - in other words, a woman's ability to negotiate over recompense for work on another woman's fields may or may not be distinct from the ability to negotiate over payment for work on her husband's fields, depending upon the particular social context in question.

In any particular context, the rights, obligations and expectations of spouses can be understood as unwritten 'conjugal contracts' specifying the terms on which husbands and wives exchange goods, incomes and services, including labour (Whitehead, 1981:88). 'Conjugal contracts' structure notions of legitimacy and agency, which in turn forms the basis for husband-wife negotiations. Sen's development of intra-household bargaining models therefore stresses the importance of *perceptions* of interests, claims and entitlements in determining both women's *experienced* breakdown positions and, as a result, their *effective* bargaining power. Agarwal builds on Sen's model by disputing the 'false consciousness' approach (that questions women's ability to define their self-interest) in favour of emphasising the importance of increasing women's bargaining power by removing external constraints to women acting in their own interests (1994:57). Integral to Agarwal's development of this model is her extension of the analysis beyond the household to consider relations with the market, the community and the state (ibid:62).

In the 1990s, household economics has finally begun to deal with the negotiability of intrahousehold relations that was first recognised by in-depth anthropological research (Hart, 1995:57). Non-cooperative collective models of household economics represent a major departure from bargaining problem formulations employing the idea of gender-defined spheres within household economies (ibid:56). In addition, the Carter-Katz model both provides a sophisticated analysis of how transfers between husband and wife are mediated by the conjugal contract and recognises that women's and men's agency, or as they call it 'voice', can lead to renegotiation of the terms of the conjugal contract (ibid).

Although such models represent a significant advance in economic thinking about gender, they are unable to capture a conceptual understanding of gender relations within and beyond the household (Hart, 1995). In attempting to formalise insights derived from ethnographic work, economic models necessarily incorporate an understanding of social behaviour as bound by structural rules, albeit rules that may be subject to renegotiation. Although the new models are more culturally informed, they lack the subtlety to address the question of *how* meanings (cultural constructions of gender) are negotiated and refined in everyday practice (Hart, 1995:41,57). The more general theoretical shift within analyses of social development processes towards recognition of the agency of social actors within the constraints of structural relations has focused attention on this area of enquiry.

This question can be approached *by "reconceptualising 'the household' in relational terms"* and focusing on *"the micropolitics of negotiation, co-operation and contestation in different but intersecting institutional arenas"* (ibid:61). Within this framework 'conjugal contracts' should be understood *"as actual resources that are drawn on in the process of negotiation, rather than as norms that determine the outcome of a negotiation"* (Moore, 1992, cited Hart, 1995:57). Fundamentally the capacity to enforce or renegotiate 'conjugal contracts' is about power and any meaningful understanding of this capacity must be related to an understanding of intra-household relations to both particular households' positions in wider society and individuals' gendered relationships with this society as mediated by local market, kin and non-kin networks.

Moreover, as Berry notes that *"people may invest in meanings as well as in the means of production - and struggles over meanings are as much a part of the process of resource allocation as are struggles over surplus or the labour process"* (1989, 1993, cited Hart, 1995: 58). This is clearly demonstrated by Jones' study of intra-household bargaining in a rice-growing scheme in Cameroon which concluded that:

> *"It is not only the rate of compensation and type of contractual agreement that are being negotiated but also* ***the meaning of the contractual arrangement*** *itself. Women are bargaining not only over the level of the 'wage' they are paid (by their husbands) but also over their right to be paid a certain amount based on the level of their labour input, in effect, they are* ***challenging the husband's right to dispose of the product of his wife's labour****, a right which was recognised heretofore by the transfer of bridewealth cattle"* (1986:118).

Given the significance of struggles over meanings, it is not surprising to find that the bargaining power of an individual woman is related cumulatively and additively to her own and others successful bargaining in relation to a particular issue - in other words successive and successful negotiation may open up particular areas of gender relations to increasing contestation (Agarwal, 1994:71-80).

However, women's strategies to change gender relations are inevitably ambiguous and what appears as consumption may actually represent an investment in strengthening social relations. For example, Guyer notes that even poor men and women engage in creating and maintaining at least some goods and relationships that are *multipurpose* and can veer from investments, to consumption, to status signifiers as needed. Thus present strategies of consumption and expenditure can express, confirm or create a potential claim over the longer term (1993:19, cited Hart, 1995:60). The creation of extra-household networks commonly requires ongoing investments of resources and time, and intra-household relations are reciprocally linked with relationships and networks that household members forge with those outside the household. Evidence suggests that impoverishment is also about the disintegration of these social networks which can affect men and women in very different ways. Indeed, Agarwal's work on the Bengal Famine on 1943 demonstrated that the disintegration of kinship networks had far more serious implications for women than for men (1990).

A final ambiguity in women's manoeuvring is found in their public representations of their activities and reveals the simplification of notions of women's practical and strategic needs found in mainstream gender planning frameworks. For example, Villarreal documents a beekeeping project aimed at women in Mexico. Women involved in beekeeping consciously portrayed their activities to the *ejido* as of little importance as a strategy to ensure male approval of their access to land on which to conduct their income-generating activity. Here the strategic manipulation of cultural ideas about the worth of women's activities was used to gain access to land and maintain control over beekeeping (1992:261). Shah and Shah also document the way in which women's strategies in a Gujurat village were able to manoeuvre men into forming a forest management committee. The committee met the women's need for forest protection to ensure a supply of domestic fuel whilst allocating the formal work of forest protection to men (1995). Similarly, von Bulow (1995) demonstrates how Chagga women use the forum of women's groups to legitimise actions which are at the borderline of acceptable female behaviour at the same time as they succeed in increasing their status as respectable modern women.

It is clear that the significance of gendered policy cannot simply be read-off or deduced from women's relative bargaining power or fall-back position (Whitehead, 1981). Rather a key determinant of policy outcomes is whether and how the terms of access to and control over resources and labour are renegotiated. The relevant focus is:

> *"not only **what** the culturally variable rules are that govern access to and control over resources, and labour, but also **how** definitions of rules, rights and obligations are reinforced, renegotiated and, on occasion, openly challenged."* (Hart, 1995: 41)

Implicitly such an approach recognises that development interventions:

> *"not only have differential effects on different household members, but may also provoke a renegotiation of the rules governing access and control over resources and labour"* (ibid:56).

We now turn to look at selected evidence from development experience to demonstrate that this is indeed the case.

Policy Signficance of Changing Gender Relations

In thinking about the implications of processes of changing gender relations for renewable natural resources (RNR) sector generally and for Crop Post-Harvest Programmes (CPHP) specifically, it is useful to look at recent work in the micro-credit sector. Micro-credit, like CPHP, has become increasingly woman-targeted, with the aim of contributing to macro-policy goals relating to gender. Unlike CPHP, significant research into micro-credit programmes has provided a more nuanced account of their apparent 'success'.

Goetz and Gupta's analysis illustrates that input-delivery focused programmes like micro-credit programmes, and we would argue like CPHP technologies for processing, storing and marketing crops, cannot simply assume that easing women's access to these resources can be translated unproblematically into their control (1996:61). Changes in women's activities do not automatically lead to changes in socio-cultural perceptions of women (ibid:58-59). Experience in both the micro-credit and CHPH sectors confirms that increasing the targeting of inputs to women may on its own be insufficient to ensure a gender equitable outcome for interventions.

This begs the question of how to evaluate 'success' in addressing gender policies, how to monitor ongoing programmes, and what constitutes an appropriate information base for planning to address macro-policies on gender.

Goetz and Gupta present qualitative evidence on the capacity of 275 purposively selected women to maintain managerial control over loans from women's micro-credit programmes in Bangladesh. Borrower's loan histories were used as the basis for creating an index of loan control, the scores of which were related to other circumstances or characteristics of individual women in order to investigate their impact on women's ability to keep control over their loans. The results illustrate the importance of complex understandings of how a new resource articulates with the ongoing negotiation of gender relations (1996:48).

In some cases, for instance, women used new-found credit resources to negotiate a better deal in an entirely different arena:

> *"an **apparent loss** of control may disguise a negotiated transfer, where the nature of the negotiation and the transfer, and the rights and privileges gained in return, may indicate a **power achievement** for the woman borrower"* (1996:48 emphasis ours).

The ambiguities captured by the analysis informed a number of clear policy-relevant conclusions for micro-credit programmes, such as the importance of adequate skills training in accounting procedures *before* loans are made and the critical role of *female support networks* for women pursuing sole managerial control over their loans in the face of male disapproval.

Ackerly's quantitative analysis of women's empowerment, also in the context of participation in group guaranteed lending schemes in Bangladesh, measured women's knowledge about accounting for her loan activity as a proxy indicator (1995). Her research demonstrates that there is room for policy choices to enhance women's empowerment in policy practice despite the fact that *"women are in effect a means to credit for the family and they are a means to reduced collection costs for the lending organisations"* (1995: 60). Although Ackerly's work focuses on outcomes rather than processes, her work clearly points to the importance of cultural and gendered constructions of technologies or resources in affecting the valuation of outcomes. The significance of gendered ideologies about resources/technologies is undervalued in conventional analyses of gender roles and thus neglects the potential for conflict when women enter realms of activity previously considered to be the preserve of men (Goetz and Gupta, 1996:58-59).

Further work by Goetz, on a fish-smoking project in Guinea, is not only extremely pertinent to the CPHP sector but demonstrates how conventional gender planning frameworks can disastrously mis-specify the situation. The gender analysis which informed project planning by "focusing on the gender division of tasks without considering their interdependencies undermined a functioning system" (Goetz 1989, paraphrased by Razavi and Miller, 1994:27). The subsequent failure of this project which intended to introduce a labour-saving technology into the states of production in which women were concentrated, can only be explained by taking into account the complex bargaining relationship women had with men. Perceiving women as the beneficiaries of outside funds, fishermen increased their prices beyond a level that the new women's fish-smoking cooperative could afford. The implicit assumption that project intervention directed at women at one stage of the production process in which they were the prominent actors would have no impact on other stages was wrong. Nevertheless this assumption implicitly underlies understandings about what constitutes gender-sensitive planning both in the CPHP sector in particular as well as across RNR sectors generally.

In the CPHP sector itself, Ladipo (1991) describes the impact of a new technology targeted at women in western Nigeria. Here a maize project, begun in 1961, had unintentionally shifted control over maize processing, traditionally performed by women as an obligation to their husbands, and maize-marketing, traditionally performed by women for the food crop, towards men as a fodder crop. However, in 1976 women requested project help to develop their own food co-operative and purchase a maize sheller. Intense renegotiation over gender relations followed.

Men objected to their loss of control over shelling and the direction of new technology towards women. They demanded free shelling and eventually seized the machine. The women were forced to sell the machine, although they were able to resist purchase by their husbands and very little manual shelling of maize resumed. The leverage women acquired through the project and the maize sheller enabled them to attempt to sustain a claim to recover some of their 'lost' income from maize marketing. Ultimately they failed in this enterprise, but husbands could no longer anticipate that wives would honour their obligation to shell maize manually.

In the 1990s, with the introduction of a different maize variety that was acceptable as a food, the women's co-operative has actually come to control several aspects of maize production and marketing through their creation of large maize storage facilities, in a context where men are forced to enter into forward-buying arrangements to purchase expensive inputs to maize cultivation. Ladipo speculates that their next investment may, once again, be a maize shelling machine.

The history of this project indicates both the importance and limitations of new points of leverage for women in the form of external resources. Women's co-operatives are significant as women-controlled organisations of economic strength. However, the existence of a reciprocally-linked need to 'renegotiate' gender relations (women's desire to regain control over maize marketing and men's needs for entering into forward-buying) and the fact that 'renegotiation' of gender relations was occurring in arenas removed from the domestic setting (in this case as a 'market' transaction not a husband-to-wife interaction) also seems critical to women's success in 'regaining' their control over maize income.

These particular pieces of research probe some of the subtleties of changing gender relations and demonstrate the extreme urgency of mainstreaming more sophisticated assessments of the gender impact of development interventions. In addition, the studies also provide policy relevant conclusions of both a project specific and more generalisable nature. The general policy conclusions include the fact that there are real 'second generation' problems for women to whom resources are targeted in retaining control over these new resources (Goetz and Gupta, 1996:61), and that "intervention in the form of new resources to either men or women will upset pre-existing systems of exchange, sometimes with negative consequences" (Razavi and Miller, 1994:26). Targeting in and of itself is likely to be insufficient for women to retain control over new resources or technologies; rather attention also needs to be paid to the circumstances in which women can successfully renegotiate for this control.

Methods for Analysing Changing Gender Relations

It is clear from this literature that negotiation is a central process by which men and women maintain and change gender relations. However, the range of terminologies demonstrates unresolved conceptual issues. Approaches to monitoring changing gender relations are not self-evident, nor is it clear how understandings of changing gender relations can be incorporated into planning processes.

The various terminologies used to refer to these processes and their outcomes provide considerable insight into changing gender relations. The origins of these various terminologies also betray disciplinary biases and preoccupations as well as the concerns and expectations of donors and development agencies. All can be critiqued but all provide some insight useful for this work. The most well-known terminologies are presented in the table below.

General processes	bargaining, negotiating, strategising
Specific processes	investing in gender-specific assets; investing in kin/non-kin groups; investing in meanings; covert strategies; withholding of resources/ services; coping strategies; resistance; manipulation.
Determinants	conjugal contracts; cultural constructions of gender; gender roles; gendered access to and control over resources and decision-making; gendered access to kin and non-kin networks and to state support; gendered breakdown (fallback) positions; access to points of leverage and 'weapons of the weak'; locally-specific social, economic and political context and household's position within it; macro-policy environment and wider political-economy.
Outcomes	empowerment; exploitation/appropriation; patriarchal bargains; transactions; trade-offs; increased status/income/autonomy/security.

Despite recognition of the importance of the processes whereby gender relations change, there is currently a lacuna of recognised and practicable methodological approaches for their analysis, particularly for the purposes of development planning. Most of the work reviewed here says little *explicitly* about methodology but *implicitly* suggests conceptual frameworks and, through empirical data, suggests indicators for approaching the analysis of changing gender relations.

There are a number of methodological problems for the analysis of changing gender relations in the context of development interventions. The key problems relate to monitoring ongoing changes, recording low visibility strategies and covert negotiations, valuing changes and strategies for change, and, finally, incorporating retrospective and possibly ambiguous understandings of changing gender relations into the planning of interventions.

The analysis of changing gender relations clearly necessitates some form of *process* monitoring, however the lifetime of individual projects may not be congruent with the timespan appropriate for monitoring changes occurring in gender relations as a result of those interventions. At one extreme, Hart concludes that only in-depth anthropological

research can provide a full understanding of such processes (1995:60). On the other hand, work on the impact of women's micro-credit programmes in Bangladesh demonstrates the feasibility of collecting qualitative and quantitative data that provides considerable insight into changing gender relations within the means and timeframes relevant to project interventions (Ackerly, 1995; Goetz and Gupta, 1996).

Historical and longitudinal data is obviously important, but can be meaningfully reconstructed through secondary data, narratives and personal histories. In-depth anthropological research may provide rich detail of particular processes of change in gender relations, but is less able to reflect the degree of generality of processes of changing gender relations. Experience demonstrates the possibility of analysing the impact of development interventions on changing gender relations, and in a few instances indicates that such data collection could become a useful part of the routine monitoring practice of projects (cf. Jackson, 1996).

More complex is the issue of recording the 'hidden' elements of processes of changing gender relations. As noted earlier, processes of changing gender relations may be covert, critical elements of exchange may not be articulated and the meaning of particular actions, words or silences may be taken-for-granted. Guyer notes that analysis of changing patterns of interaction at the microlevel and their relationship to political and economic changes at the macro-level *"is problematic because the data are limited with which to trace subtle and cumulative changes in a sphere as intimate as domestic relations. The question of 'how' is critical"* (1988:155). This difficulty can be at least partially addressed by the meticulous and detailed collection of information relating to particular activities and the narratives surrounding them (cf. Guyer, 1988). Whilst long term anthropological research is neither necessary nor practical for these purposes, it will be necessary to build up rich and detailed knowledge of particular contexts in order to probe 'hidden' processes of changing gender relations.

The social embedded-ness of negotiation over gender relations means that low-level domestic struggles may not be explicitly articulated or acknowledged and will only be revealed by carefully probing what may appear to be self-explanatory changes. Skjonsberg's detailed and participatory time allocation studies in Zambia generated rich qualitative data on the strategic behaviour of women (1995). The relatively objective and intense observations of women's and men's daily activities was especially effective at uncovering the frequent divergence of actual behaviour from well-articulated social 'rules'. For instance, Skjonsberg documents the way in which gendered conflicts in particular spheres may be transferred into seemingly more acceptable spheres. This research shows how detailed observation of the extremely concrete, and often 'mundane', activities can lead to an extremely nuanced account of women's agency.

In examining processes of change, especially within domestic settings, the collection and analysis of different narratives about the past, present and the future will be of particular significance. Not only are narratives necessary to piece together events in the past or ongoing negotiations behind household walls, they are also central to probing the arena of

perceptions, meanings and values. Chen and Mahmud present a method for assessing change in women's lives as a result of the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee's (BRAC's) interventions. They envisage using women's life histories to construct a series of five matrices that aim to 'map' processes of change. The focus is on individual change and the identification of critical pathways, but only hints at institutional and ideological changes which are of course fundamental to women's lives. Aside from life histories, other kinds of tools have been used in various sectors to probe perceptions, meanings and values such as attitude statements and focus groups. However, the use of these tools has rarely been adequately situated in a structural and dynamic understanding of the wider context of gender relations.

Recently, discourse analysis has been recognised as a powerful tool for examining how meanings are negotiated at the interface between development interventions and local people as well as within local society. For example, Jackson (1996) analyses the daily diaries kept by three fieldworkers in a large ODA financed project in East India between 1989 and 1995. The emerging account reveals fieldworkers' difficulties in pursuing a particular policy goal emphasising mainstreaming of gender in a participatory project where women had their own ideas of what they needed - namely women-targeted activities against male alcohol abuse and domestic violence. She concludes that *"if the ability to enrol project staff in activities not directly related to the central concerns of the project is an indicator of participant agency than one might conclude that women proved rather stronger than men in this regard"* (1996:895.7).

The question of valuing the significance of ongoing changes in gender relations is also concerned with the relationship between the individual/collective ability to seek change and both household welfare and the general social, economic and political environment. Methodologically, this implies that to be meaningful any analysis of interactions at the micro-level *must* be situated within an understanding of local social context that disaggregates 'women' and the households to which they belong, and of the wider environment and its dynamic impact upon local interactions. For example, Guyer's work in Cameroon strongly indicates that women seek to renegotiate the level and destination of their partner's earnings as their income falls relative to men's, or as structural features of the general economy and society change (Dwyer and Bruce, 1988:13).

Finally, methodologies intended to inform development policy and practice must consider the inevitably retrospective and ambiguous nature of analyses of changing gender relations and question whether and how such understandings could be incorporated into the planning of interventions. The case for developing a more sophisticated approach into gender impact analyses - the retrospective evaluation of a project's effect on gender relations - is unquestionable. Making practicable methods for analysing changing gender relations accessible would be a clear advance in assessing the effectiveness of particular development interventions. The ambiguities arising out of more complex analyses should not be regarded as problems to be resolved methodologically. Indeed these ambiguities are an intrinsic and valuable component of the data.

Rather the proper discussion about these ambiguities is how to address them or take them into account in the planning and monitoring of development interventions. Necessarily, there must be a degree of uncertainty over whether such an analysis can generate clear policy recommendations for planning future interventions. However, the assumption must be that if we understand more about the processes of negotiation over gender relations and the impact of past interventions of these processes, this will provide us with clues to strategic interventions. The evidence presented above from the micro-credit sector strongly suggests that this is indeed not only possible but extremely important.

Even this limited review is suggestive of the basic information that will be required from project locations in order to monitor changing gender relations. To draw out four key interim methodological conclusions:

- *Meanings and cultural ideas about gender* are equally as important as more mainstream concerns with ways in which physical activities and access to and control over resources is gendered.
- Both dimensions of gender relations need to be considered with regard to (a) behaviour/obligations *within households*, and (b) access to, control over and ideas about *specific kinds of resources* and (c) *family, local and wider networks and mechanisms* of resources, influence and support.
- To be meaningful, such an analysis must be *relational, historical and trace the individual.* Additionally, it must situate itself within a *disaggregated* understanding of local categories of women in terms of their *direct interest* in the concerned development intervention and the complex of *factors affecting their ability to renegotiate* gender relations.
- An abstracted analysis of changing gender relations makes no sense. Analysis of ongoing process of changing gender relations must be rooted in a *concrete, focused and detailed empirical examination of a specific context.*

Guyer's analysis of domestic budgets in Cameroon is a good example of a 'promising' method for monitoring ongoing changes in gender relations in relation to a particular sphere. This practical, time-bound investigation collected data on incomes and expenditures for 27 women in 2 villages for 2 key months of the year. The limited sample is purposive and includes women from their late teens to very advanced ages, of different marital status and married to husbands with a range of incomes (1988:163). The analysis focused on individuals, traced their *inter*actions over time and importantly, treated individuals as having links with resources, services and networks outside the household, rather than as being entirely enclosed within it (ibid:172,160).

The collection of quantitative data was explicitly *relational*, separating out transfers from husbands, other kin, non-kin and wives from earnings. It was interpreted through qualitative understanding of the general historical context, the local social, economic and political environment and specific details of women's individual circumstances and strategies. Despite the difficulties of such an analysis, Guyer's approach demonstrates that it is possible and practicable to monitor *"the ongoing process of bargaining about the*

organisation of interpersonal transfers and responsibilities under shifting conditions" (1988:171).

There are already a number a gender frameworks for the analysis of gender relations for development planning, monitoring and evaluation in existence. Some of these are well recognised and widely used but, we have argued, are unable to address processes of changing gender relations and consequently to provide advice beyond targeting. Therefore the final section to the scientific background sets out this argument in detail.

Existing Gender Frameworks:

We have argued that a major barrier to translating information about gender relations into beneficial programming is the absence of an analytical framework for integrating women into project analysis. How far do existing frameworks address the concerns identified above?

The most well-known framework used for gender planning is that of Moser (1993) based on the work of Molyneux. It aims to ensure the inclusion of gender concerns in the formulation of policy and is based on the understanding that men and women perform different roles and have different needs. Central to the "Moser Method" is the identification of women's triple roles, and the distinction between practical needs - those women identify in their accepted social roles- and strategic gender needs - those needs women identify that would change existing gender relations. Alternative policies - which are classified by their key purpose - welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment - are then evaluated in terms of their impact on women's practical needs - such as their workload - and/or strategic needs - such as their control over household income.

The Harvard framework, referred to elsewhere as the 'gender roles framework' (Razavi and Miller, 1994) and detailed in Overholt et al (1985), is concerned to make women visible. The framework is based on the understanding that the household is not an undifferentiated grouping of people with a common production and consumption function. The cornerstone of the framework is data which highlights the key differences between the incentives and constraints under which men and women work. The data collection centres on the completion of an activity profile aimed at detailing gender-based divisions of labour, the gendered allocation of resources (both resources and benefits) and the gendered control of decision-making. The final component is a list of factors such as population increase and environmental degradation, which affect the different opportunities and constraints on men's and women's participation in development. Modifications of the Harvard framework has been widely adopted by agencies working in rural settings. Within farming systems research and extension it is the accepted way in which gender issues are addressed and the adapted framework appears as part of standard monitoring practice (see Feldstein and Poats (1989) for details of the adapted framework and case studies).

Together, these frameworks provide a checklist for planners to ensure that obvious errors, in targeting project partners or initiating action which, at the outset, appears to increase gender inequities, are avoided. Since the checklist includes both paid and unpaid work and covers both reproductive and other roles, for all individual household members, the frameworks have assisted programmes to incorporate some understanding of the subordination of women in many societies and the way in which this has been sustained, and even promoted, through interventions.

Nevertheless, frameworks that do not go beyond documenting roles and access to and control of benefits fail to address the subtleties of the relations between men and women, the meanings attached to the various roles and benefits and to any change in these activities. They are to be applied at different stages within the project management cycle, thus documenting shifts that have occurred in gender relations, but not probing the *processes* whereby these different outcomes have emerged. They also tell us about the separation of responsibilities and obligations between men and women in respect of incomes, expenditures and activities but not about what Razavi and Miller refer to as "togetherness" (1994:14). The frameworks might, therefore, improve the definition of project objectives, and anticipate, at a certain level, the effects on women. However, implicit in the data collected, on labour use and financial contributions and benefits for instance, is the sense that if the correct units of production, consumption and distribution are identified, and become the focus of project activity, there will be no increase in gender gaps, discrimination and subordination. Gender equity is defined in terms of individual access to and control over resources and the contribution of women towards production. This provides the rationale for allocating resources and focusing projects on them. Such an analysis is explicitly economic and ignores much of what we already know about gender relations.

As is evident from this brief overview of the literature, while the information on roles and benefit allocations is important, all the evidence supports the view that it is the perceptions or meanings, rather than directly measurable outcomes which are the focus of negotiation processes which underpin changing gender relations. When joint interests and the broader context of exchange/reciprocity within which any particular negotiation takes place are considered, the implications of targeted interventions can be more readily assessed and questions, such as - will the changes/increased incomes enhance women's status or place them in a more vulnerable position because they undermine certain family or community rights? - will be asked (Razavi and Miller, 1994).

Both the Moser and Harvard frameworks share the limitation that they fail to reflect the mechanisms by which women and men *themselves seek to change gender relations* in order to arrive at their own empowerment. The less well known 'Women's Empowerment Framework' detailed by Longwe (1991) is more directly concerned with detailing gender gaps, gender discrimination and gender subordination in women's empowerment (at the level of welfare, access, conscientisation, participation and control) and calls for programmes to work more directly towards achieving these aims.

Finally, since the most commonly used frameworks tell us nothing about how these responsibilities and obligations are negotiated, and, therefore, how they might be renegotiated. For example, women's groups offer themselves as an ideal instrument for implementing women-centred activities but they also need to be seen as part of women's strategy for managing change (Khasini and Njiro, 1993). These frameworks also provide little guidance on how to interpret the information collected beyond using it for targeting. For this, an understanding of current gender ideologies about gender roles and norms, and about how and under what circumstances these can be negotiated, would go a long way towards providing a basis for analysing the information acquired from using this framework. This information forms the basis of another training approach to operationalise gender, social relations analysis.

The central concern of social relations analysis is to understand the basis for womens' disadvantaged position in society. Its focus is on the redistribution of power, not resources, and it approaches this by taking a holistic approach to social relations going beyond the preoccupation of production to "the social relations of everyday life" (Pearson, Whitehead and Young, 1981:x) and including relations within a range of institutions, including marriage, the market and the state. Finally, it places understandings of gender difference within the broader framework of differentiation within society as a whole, and is based on an appreciation of the differences between women. We learn from this approach, therefore, that there is no direct relationship between a woman's ability to earn an independent income and her power in household decision-making which requires a change in the overall terms of exchange and co-operation, and that interventions which introduce new resources to either men or women can have negative consequences because of the "togetherness" or "social connection" (Razavi and Miller, 1994) and joint interests (Whitehead, 1981) between the parties concerned.

Social relations analysis has not been widely adopted with development programmes and projects because it deals with non-economic incentives and disincentives, sees women's self-empowerment as a political project and does not offer 'quick fix' recommendations for action. Whilst social relations analysis has been effective in achieving a shift in thinking from women in development (WID) to gender an development (GAD) approaches, there remains long way to go in operationalising its more complex understanding of gender in such a way that it can be integrated into development policies (ibid:42).

Concluding Remarks

To conclude, frameworks that do not go beyond documenting roles and access to and control of benefits inevitably focus on quantifying actual labour and financial contributions and benefits. Whereas it is evident from this brief review that *perceptions* of the value of contributions by all the parties concerned, in the context of wider social relations, powerfully mediate the significance of contributions. Therefore, *meanings* as well as directly measurable outcomes are both the *subject* of negotiation and *resources for* negotiation. Furthermore, *joint interests* and the *broader context* of exchange/reciprocity

within which any particular negotiation takes place, are essential for appreciating the implications of targeted interventions.

Despite the limitations of the more well known gender frameworks, it is clear that conceptual thinking about changing gender relations has made significant advances and that development experience indicates the integral significance of changing gender relations for the planning, ongoing monitoring and especially the final evaluation of project interventions. Whilst there are strong indications that the methodological problems surrounding such an analysis are not intractable, practicable approaches for analysing changing gender relations are not widely known at present.

It is the intention of this research to fill this gap. It is clear from the work done so far, that we are not talking about a new 'tool', such as PRA, but about something more fundamental. We envisage that what is required is the development of an approach that will consist of a conceptual framework to guide thinking about research questions, data collection and analysis; criteria for identifying key indicators; key research questions; and possible techniques for data collection. The development of this approach will be an *adaptive* process drawing on existing advances in conceptual thinking about gender relations, building on existing work developing indicators and key research questions and adapting existing (but often disparate and less known) techniques for data collection.

OUTPUTS AND ACTIVITIES

Outputs

The project will produce findings relating to:

- the way in which gender relations change, especially processes of negotiation involving shared and competitive interests by different categories of men and women and in the context of Crop Post-Harvest Programme interventions;

- a practical approach for analysing changing gender relations for gender impact assessments in renewable natural resource projects and detailed guidelines about how to do this in a selected country for the Crop Post-Harvest Programme;

- ways to incorporate gender data collection and analysis into routine project monitoring.

- the value of gender relations analysis to for programme planning.

Dates of the specific outputs are envisaged as follows:

- Literature review and methods identified by month 5

- Workplan for field tests established by month 7

- Field tests completed in two projects by month 13

- Guidelines distributed by month 17

- Resource book drafted by month 24

CPHP managers will be involved in discussions throughout the project and in-country work will be completed in collaboration with project staff and in-country institutions. Both dialogues will culminate in a workshop, one in-country and one in the UK, to collaboratively review the strengths, weaknesses and usefulness of the approach developed. Therefore, aside from findings, the outputs of this project also include an understanding by the crop-post harvest programme managers and experience within a collaborating institution in a selected country of monitoring changing gender relations. Therefore the project will have already put in place the capacity to implement such an approach in future.

Project Activities

This project has three parts including the development of a monitoring approach and analytical framework, the testing of an approach in specific contexts, and the development of a resource book. The project activities, therefore, include: document search and literature review; collaborative agreement of a workplan specifying approaches, methods and responsibilities; field-testing of methods; collaborative assessment of findings and the practicality of methods for future monitoring; preparation of analytical guidelines; collaborative review of possibilities of integrating understandings into future planning processes; and publication of a resource book.

(1) Literature Review to Identify an Approach for Analysing Changing Gender Relations

The literature review will bring together current understanding of what should be the focus of a gender impact analysis and an evaluation of the usefulness of existing methods for looking at these. Although the main focus will be sub-Saharan agriculture, the review will also cover other relevant literature. An important part of this review will be project-related literature since it is assumed that much relevant information has not been documented in accessible literature. At the same time, use will be made of library searches and key institutions and individuals involved in similar work will be contacted.

As a result of the literature review, an appropriate conceptual framework, criteria for key indicators, generic checklists of research questions and promising research techniques methods will be identified. These will form the basis for detailing the workplan for field-testing in a selected country within the Crop Post-Harvest Programme. Although the review will be an integral part of the final resource book, at this stage this output is largely for the use of the principal investigators and research collaborators.

This work will be completed by the 2 principal researchers and a research assistant over a 4 month period.

(2.1) Collaborative Agreement of Workplan

The principal investigators will be responsible for orienting the Crop Post-Harvest Programme staff and will also take primary responsibility for ensuring the adaptation of the proposals generated from the earlier review and discussions to the particular situations within which the monitoring is to take place. This can only be done in country and with collaborators.

It is emphasised in all the literature relating to this subject that approaches will need to be modified based on the local context. This modification will need to take the issues identified in the literature review into account, and will include identifying sets of indicators of change in women's lives, identifying cultural ideologies, identifying key events in women's lives, and familiarisation with the general social, economic and political

environment of the selected country. As far as possible this will be undertaken through secondary materials by principal investigators and collaborators.

The workplan will specify the scope of the field-tests and the agreed responsibilities of principal investigators and collaborators for carrying out, analysing and reviewing field-tests in a collaborative manner. The set-up period will include the piloting of proposed techniques of data collection and possibly the training of field assistants by principal investigators and collaborating research officers.

The focus of the field tests is expected to incorporate two elements, one which is retrospective in nature focusing on exploring processes of change in the past, and another which is prospective, tracking programme-related changes and corresponding changes, or moves to change, gender relations. It is envisaged that field testing with the direct involvement of the 2 principal investigators, will only be carried out within 2 projects in the first instance.

The direct field involvement of the principal investigators would, nevertheless, be limited to the initial setting up of the monitoring activity within the selected projects, a mid-term monitoring visit and a final visit for checking data, preparing the workshop for discussing results and drafting guidelines.

It is envisaged that a research officer will be needed for each of the two selected projects. These individuals would be the principal collaborators who would work directly with the principal investigators in setting up the field tests, managing field assistants, completing the analysis and preparing the guidelines. This will necessitate a 3 week visit to Norwich after fieldwork has been completed.

(2.2) Field Testing

Once the workplan is prepared, the approach will be field tested over a 6 month period. An assessment of the analytical framework will be based on the outcomes of the field tests.

The Zimbabwe and Uganda projects within the Crop Post-Harvest Programme of ODA have been selected as the location of possible sites for the fieldwork. The Crop Post-Harvest Programme is appropriate for addressing issues relating to gender impact because its activities are very closely concerned with family nutrition and well-being. These particular family concerns lie at the centre of much of the debate about gender ideologies and their impact on project plans and outcomes. In addition, because of the widespread responsibility of women for crop post-harvest activities, women are the focus of a number of the projects within this programme and thus there is joint interest in this proposal.

A country focus has been selected as the most appropriate for this research. This will allow for the involvement of a group of researchers and their staff in the development and assessment of an approach which is expected to be of wider value for project monitoring

and evaluation. We are also aware that any approach used for assessing processes of change must be adapted for use within a particular context. A country focus potentially allows for this to be done both at programme and project levels.

The Zimbabwe programme appears to be especially suitable for this work because it is an umbrella programme centring on the Department of Research and Specialist Services (DR&SS) within the Ministry of Agriculture. In addition, the programme is just starting and, therefore, plans for monitoring and evaluation are still under consideration. However, a Post-Harvest Working Group is being set up which will advise on the direction of the programme and the programme will include a number of individually funded components. The working group will involve the DR&SS, AGRITEX (providing extension and technical services to farmers), the University of Zimbabwe and the Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) as the main collaborators. The Crop Post-Harvest Programmes is appointing an expatriate co-ordinator until a local counterpart is identified (NRI, 1995).

(2.3) Collaborative Review of Practicality of Approach.

Although the preliminary exploration of data will be ongoing, a thorough analysis of the findings will be conducted in the UK when field-tests are completed. It is envisaged that a three week period of collaboration between in-country research officers and the principal investigators will be necessary to prepare research findings for the workshop in-country.

The in-country workshop will be orientated to discussion, firstly, of the usefulness of findings and, secondly, the practicality of the field-tested approach to analysing changing gender relations. It is envisaged that Crop Post-Harvest collaborators from a number of projects and institutions may wish to participate as well as selected individuals from other organisations.

(2.4) Collaborative Agreement of Guidelines

This one day meeting will be followed by a second day workshop for CPHP collaborators and managers only. The purpose of this second day will be to draw up guidelines for the analysis of changing gender relations in the Crop Post-Harvest Programme of the selected country. Once agreed, these guidelines will be finalised and distributed to the Crop Post-Harvest Programme in the selected country by the principal investigators.

(2.5) Workshop to Assess Whether the Approach can be Integrated in Planning

This half day workshop with Crop Post-Harvest Programme managers in the UK will focus on whether and how understandings of changing gender relations can be integrated into ongoing planning processes. It is envisaged as a forum for collaborative reflection on the implications of an analysis of changing gender relations to project and programme planning. The principal investigators will circulate briefing documents to participants in

advance of the workshop and take responsibility for preparing an agreed workshop summary afterwards.

(3) Resource Book

The resource book will be prepared by the principal investigators with the help of a research assistant. Since this will largely be based on material prepared during the first two parts of the project, it is expected that a draft can be completed within two months of the last in country workshop and discussions with all the Crop Post Harvest managers.

Budget

A detailed budget is not yet finalised but details of inputs from principal investigators and collaborators are specified overleaf. A preliminary bar chart of activities is presented below with milestones. The workplan allows space for flexibility to undertake field tests and hold workshops at times that are convenient to collaborators.

Month	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Review literature	x	x	x	x								
2. Agree methods and set up field tests					x	x						
3. Collaborators carry out field tests							x	x	x	x	x	x
4. Review field tests												
5. Agree guidelines												
6. Assess usefulness for planning												
7. Write resource book												

Month	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1. Review literature												
2. Agree methods and set up field tests												
3. Collaborators carry out field tests												
4. Review field tests	x	x										
5. Agree guidelines		x	x									
6. Assess usefulness for planning				x								
7. Write resource book					x	x	x					

Milestone	**Delivered by**
Literature review completed and methods for analysing CGRs identified	month 5
Field tests agreed and set up	month 7
Field tests completed	month 13
In-country workshop conducted	month 15
Guidelines distributed	month 17
UK workshop conducted	month 18
Resource book distributed	month 24

Detailed Inputs (Collaborators in bold type)

Part 1: Detail analytical framework and methods and approaches.

Research Assistant (1)	4.0 months x 1	(UK)
Principal Investigators (2)	0.75 months x 2	(UK)

Part 2: Field testing of methods and approaches.

i) Orientation of principal investigators to context and projects; discussions with programme, project staff and collaborators to develop detailed workplan, train field assistants, pilot methods.

Principal Investigators (2)	0.75 months x 2	(in country)
Research Officers (2)	**0.75 months x 2**	**(in country)**
Field Assistants (6)	**2 days x 6**	**(in country)**

ii) Collecting and Assessing data etc.

Research Officers (2)	**1.5 months x 2**	**(in country)**
Field Assistants (6)	**1.5 months x 6**	**(in country)**
Research Assistant (1)	1.0 months x 1	(UK)
Principal Investigators (2)	0.25 months x 2	(UK)

iii) Monitoring visit

Principal Investigators (1)	0.5 months x 1	(in country)

iv) Data review, analysis and workshop preparation

Research Officers (2)	**0.75 months x 2**	**(UK)**
Principal Investigators (2)	0.5 months x 2	(UK)
Research Assistant (1)	1.0 months x 1	(UK)

v) Workshops and discussions (in UK with CPHP and in country)

Research Officers (2)	**0.5 months x 2**	**(in country)**
Principal Investigators (2)	0.25 months x 2	(in country)
Field Assistants (6	**1 day x 6**	**(in country)**
Principal Investigators (2)	4 days x 2	(UK)

Part 3 Resource Book:

Research Assistant (1)	2 months x 1	(UK)
Principal Investigators (2)	0.75 months x 2	(UK)

References

Ackerly, B. A., 'Testing the Tools of Development: Credit Programmes, Loan Involvement and Womens Empowerment'. IDS Bulletin. 1995; 26: 56-68.

Agarwal, B., A Field of One's Own: Gender and Land Rights in South Asia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1994.

Agarwal, B., 'Gender, Resistance and Land: Interlinked Struggles Over Resources and Meanings in South Asia'. The Journal of Peasant Studies. 1994; 22(1): 81-125.

Agarwal, B., 'Social Security and the Family: Coping with Seasonality and Calamity in Rural India'. Journal of Peasant Studies. 1990; 17(3): 341-412.

Ahmed, I., (ed), Technology and Rural Women. Conceptual and Ethnographical Issues. London: Allen and Unwin; 1985.

Ashby, J. A., The Participation of Women as a 'User Group' in Technology Generation for Small Farmers In Low-Income Countries. Columbia: CIAT mimeo. (n.d.).

Bancroft, R. D., Low Cost Cassava Root Storage Technology Adaptive Transfer from Latin America and Field Testing in Sub-Sahara Africa. NRI. 1996.

Barrett, H. R., and Browne, A. W., 'Women's Time. Labour-Saving Devices and Rural Development in Africa'. Community Development Journal. 1994; 29(3): 203-214.

Berry, S., No Condition is Permanent. Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press; 1993.

Berry, S., 'Social Institutions and Access to Resources in African Agriculture'. Africa. 1989; 59(1): 41-55.

Bryceson, D. F., 'African Women Hoe Cultivators: Speculative Origins and Current Enigmas' in Bryceson, D. F., (ed) Women Wielding the Hoe: Lessons from Rural Africa. Oxford: Berg Publishers; 1995.

Bryceson, D. F., (ed) Women Wielding the Hoe: Lessons from Rural Africa. Oxford: Berg Publishers; 1995.

Von Bulow, D., Power, Prestige and Respectability. Women's Groups in Kilimanjaro,Tanzania. CDR Working Paper. Centre for Development Research. (95.11): 1995.

Chakraborty, S., Gleason, JE., Mandal, B., and Das, C. S., 'Integrating Women into Farming Systems Research: A Homestead Vegetable Production Project in Coastal West Bengal'. Journal for FSR-E. 1991; 2(2): 51-58.

Chen, M. and Mahmud, S., Assessing Change in Women's Lives. Concept Paper for the BRAC-ICDDR,B Collaborative Research Project. Harvard BRAC-ICDDR,B Methods Workshop. 1993.

Cloete, L., Domestic Strategies of Rural Transkeian Women. Development Studies Working Paper. Rhodes University. (54): 1992.

Coppock, D. L., 'Haymaking and Calf Management in Ethiopia'. Journal for Farming Systems Research and Extension. 1991; 2(3): 51-68.

Davies, S., Adaptable Livelihoods. Coping with Food Insecurity in the Malian Sahel. Macmillan; 1996.

Digges, P., Report Describing the Initiation of the Socio-Economic Assessment Phase of the Low Cost Cassava Fresh Root Storage Technology. Crop Post-Harvest Programme. NRI. 1994.

Digges, P., Report Describing the Preliminary Findings of the Socio-Economic Assessment Phase of the Low Cost Cassava Fresh Root Storage Technology. Crop Post-Harvest Programme. NRI. 1995.

Dixon- Mueller, R., Women's Work in Third World Agriculture. ILO, Women, Work and Development Series (9): 1994.

Ekejiuba, F., 'Down to Fundamentals: Women-centred Heartholds in Rural West Africa'. Development. 1995; 1: 72-76.

Feldstein, H. S., Poats, S. V., Cload, K. and Norem, R. H., 'Conceptual Framework for Gender Analysis in Farming Systems Research and Extension' in Feldstein, H. S. and Poats, S. V., (eds) Working Together: Gender Analysis in Agriculture. Connecticut: Kumarian Press; 1989: 7-37.

Feldstein, H. S. and Poats, S. V., (eds). Working Together. Gender Analysis in Agriculture Volume 2: Teaching Notes. Connecticut: Kumarian Press; 1989.

Gianotten, V., Groverman, V., van Walsum, E., and Zuidberg, L., Assessing the Gender Impact of Development Projects. London: Intermediate Technology Publications; 1994.

Goetz, A. M. and Gupta, R. S. 'Who Takes the Credit? Gender, Power, and Control over Loan Use in Rural Credit Programmes in Bangladesh'. World Development. 1996; 24(1): 45-63.

Greely, M., Kabeer, N., Davies, S. and Hussein, K. Measuring the Poverty Reduction Impact of Development Interventions. Research Proposal for Collaborative Research with Action Aid. IDS. 1992.

Guyer, J., 'Dynamic Approaches to Domestic Budgeting: Cases and Methods from Africa' in Dwyer, D. and Bruce, J., (eds). A Home Divided. Women and Income in the Third World. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press; 1988.

Hart, G., Gender and Household Dynamics: Recent Theories and Their Implications in Quibria, M. G., (ed). Critical Issues in Asian Development: Theories, Experiences, and Politics. Hong Kong: OUP; 1995: 39-74.

Heyer, J., 'Landless Agricultural Labourers' Asset Strategies'. IDS Bulletin. 1989; 20(2): 33-40.

Holmboe-Ottesen, G. and Wandel, M., 'Wife, Today I only had Money for Pombe' in Stolen, K. A. and Vaa, M., (eds). Gender and Change in Developing Countries. Norwegian University Press; 1991.

Idowu, O. and Guyer, J. I., Commercialization and the Harvest Work of Women in Ibarapa, Oyo State, Nigeria. African Studies Centre. Working Paper 172. Boston University. 1993.

IDS. The Power of Participation: PRA and Policy. IDS Policy Briefing. IDS. (Issue 7): 1996.

Jackson, C., 'Environmental Reproduction and Gender Relations'. Development. 1994; 1: 72-75.

Jackson, C.. 'Gender and Participation at a Project Interface'. Public Administration and Development. 1996; 16: 895.2-895.9.

Jackson, C., 'Rescuing Gender from the Poverty Trap'. World Development. 1996; 24(3): 489-504.

Jiggins, J. 'Women and Seasonality: Coping with Crisis and Calamity'. IDS Bulletin. 1986; 17(3): 9-18.

Jones, C. W., 'Intra-Household Bargaining in Response to the Introduction of New Crops: A Case Study from North Cameroon' in Moock, J. L., (ed). Understanding Africa's Rural Households and Farming Systems. ; 1986: 105-123.

Kabeer, N., Necessary, Sufficient or Irrelevant? Women, Wages and Intra-Household Power Relations in Urban Bangladesh. IDS Working Paper 25. Institute of Development Studies. 1995.

Kabeer, N., Reversed Realities. Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought. London: Verso; 1994.

Kabeer, N. and Subrahmanian, R., Institutions, Relations and Outcomes: Framework and Tools for Gender-Aware Planning. IDS Discussion Paper 357. IDS. 1996.

Kandiyoti, D., 'Bargaining with Patriarchy'. Gender & Society. 1988; 2(3): 274-290.

Katz, E. G., 'Gender and Trade Within the Household: Observations from Rural Guatemala'. World Development. 1995; 23(2): 327-342.

Ladipo, P., 'Gender Issues in Farming Systems Research and Extension'. Journal for Farming Systems Research-Extension. 1991; 2(2): 39-50.

Ladipo, P., 'Looking Beyond the Farm for Gender Issues in FSRE'. Journal for Farming Systems Research. 1991; 2(2): 39-50.

Leach, M., 'Women's Crops in Women's Spaces: Gender Relations in Mende Rice Farming' in Croll, E. and Parkin, D., (eds). Bush Base: Forest Farm. Culture, Environment and Development. London: Routledge; 1992.

Long, N. and Long, A., (eds), Battlefields of Knowledge: The Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Development. London: Routledge, 1992.

Mayoux, L., 'Beyond Naivety: Women, Gender Inequality and Participatory Development'. Development and Change. 1995; 26: 235-258.

Mencher, J. P., 'Women's Work and Poverty: Women's Contribution to Household Maintenance in South India' in Dwyer, D. and Bruce, J., (eds). A Home Divided. Women and Income in the Third World. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press; 1988.

Moser, C. O. N., 'Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs'. World Development. 1989; 17(11): 1799-1825.

Moser, C., Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training. London: Routledge; 1993.

Natural Resources Institute. Country Framework Document, India. Crop Post-Harvest Programme. NRI. 1995.

Natural Resources Institute. Country Framework Document, Ghana. Crop Post-Harvest Programme. NRI. 1995.

Natural Resources Institute. Country Framework Document. Tanzania. Crop Post-Harvest Programme. NRI. 1995.

Natural Resources Institute. Country Framework Document, Southern Africa. Crop Post-Harvest Programme. NRI. 1995.

Ngaido, T., Understanding Women's Role in Agriculture: Their Position in Pulaar Society (Land Access Issues). Contributions of FSR/E towards Sustainable Agricultural Systems. Farming Systems Research/Extension Symposium 1988. Winrock International Institute for Agricultural Development. (Farming Systems Research Paper Series Paper No. 17): 1988.

Norris, M. E., 'The Impact of Development on Women'. Journal of Development Economics. 1992; 38: 183-201.

O.D.A. A Guide to Social Analysis for Projects in Developing Countries. London: H.M.S.O.; 1995.

Oppong, C. O., Middle Class African Marriage. London: George Allen & Unwin; 1981.

Overholt, C. , Anderson, M. B., Cloud, K. and Austin, J. E., Gender Roles in Development Projects: A Case Book. West Hartford: Kumarian Press; 1985.

Palmer, I., Gender and Population in the Adjustment of African Economies: Planning for Change. Geneva: ILO; 1991.

Poats, S. V. Gender Analysis in Farming Systems Research and Extension Projects. Contributions of FSR/E towards Sustainable Agricultural Systems. Farming Systems Research/Extension Symposium 1988. Winrock International Institute for Agricultural Development. (Farming Systems Research Paper Series No. 17): 1988.

Poats, S. V., Schmink, M. and Sping, A., (eds). Gender Issues in Farming Systems Research and Extension. London: Westview Press; 1988.

Pottier, J. 'Poor Men and the Politics of Household Food Security'. Conference on Gender and the Politics of Environmental Sustainability in Africa. May 1994. 1994.

Rath, S., Das, S. N. and Patnaik, A. K.. Role of Women in the Tribal Community for Economic Development in a Forest-Based Mixed Farming System. Contributions of FSR/E Towards Sustainable Agricultural Systems. Farming Systems Research/Extension Symposium 1988. Winrock International Institute for Agricultural Development. (Farming Systems Research Paper Series Paper No.17): 1988.

Ravallion, M., Poverty Comparisons. LSMS Working Paper. The World Bank. (88): 1992.

Razavi, S. and Miller, C.. From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse. Geneva: UNRISD; 1995.

Risseeuw, C., The Fish Don't Talk About the Water. Leiden: E.J.Brill; 1988.

Sen, A. K., 'Gender and Cooperative Conflicts' in Tinker, I., (ed). Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 1990.

Shah, M. K. and Shah, P., 'Gender, Environment and Livelihood Security: An Alternative Viewpoint from India'. IDS Bulletin. 1995; 26(1): 75-82.

Shiva Kumar, A. K., 'UNDP's Gender Related Development Index. A Computation for Indian States'. Economic and Political Weekly. 1996; April 6: 887-895.

Skjonsberg, E., 'Documenting Women's Views through Participatory Research: Dairies of Daily Activities in Rural Zambia' in Bryceson, D. F., (ed). Women Wielding the Hoe. Oxford: Berg Publishers; 1995.

Stamp, P., Technology, Gender and Power in Africa. Ottowa: International Development Research Centre; 1989.

Suphanchaimat, N. et al. Application of Gender Analysis in a Farming Systems Research Project: A Case in Ban Don Por Daeng, Khon Kaen, Thailand. Contributions of FSR/E Towards Sustainable Agricultural Systems. Farming Systems Research/Extension Symposium 1988. Winrock International Institute for Agricultural Development. (Farming Systems Research Paper Series paper No.17): 1988.

Tinker, I., (ed), Persistent Inequalities. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 1990.

Valdeavilla, E. V., 'Breakthroughs and Challenges of Making the Philippine Government Work for Gender Equality'. IDS Bulletin. 1995; 26(3): 94-101.

Villarreal, M., 'Power, Gender and Intervention from an Actor-Oriented Perspective' in Long, N. and Long, A., (eds). Battlefields of Knowledge. London: Routledge; 1992.

Walker, C., Women and Resistance in South Africa. London: Onyx Press; 1982.

Webb, M., Conroy, C., Baguma, D. and Kabanyoro, R., Visit Report: Survey of the Socio-Economics of Feed Control on Smallholder Farms in Three Districts of Uganda. Natural Resources Institute. 1993.

Webber, L. M. and Ison, R. L., 'Participatory Rural Appraisal Design: Conceptual and Process Issues'. Agricultural Systems. 1995; 47: 107-131.

Welbourn, A., PRA, Gender and Conflict Resolution: Some Problems and Possibilities. Paper for PRA and Gender Workshop, 6th and 7th December 1993. IDS. 1993.

White, S. C., Arguing with the Crocodile. London: Zed Books; 1992.

Whitehead, A., 'I'm hungry, mum' The Politics of Domestic Budgeting' in Young, K., Wolkowitz, C. and McCullagh, R., (eds). Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination Internationally and its Lessons. London: Routledge; 1981: 93-116.

Whitehead, A., 'Rural Women and Food Production in Sub-Saharan Africa' in Dreze, J. and, Sen, A., (eds). The Political Economy of Hunger. Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1990; 1.

Whitehead, A. and Bloom, H., 'Agriculture' in Ostergaard, L., (ed). Gender and Development: A Practical Guide. London: Routledge; 1992.

Wieringa, S., (ed). Subversive Women. Historical Experiences of Gender and Resistance. London: Zed Books; 1995.

Young, K., 'Household Resource Management' in Ostergaard, L., (ed). Gender and Development: A Practical Guide. London: Routledge; 1992.

Young, K., (ed). Women and Economic Development: Local, Regional and National Planning Strategies. Berg/Unesco; 1988.