Mainstreaming gender equality in African agricultural research and development:
A study of constraints and opportunities

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Executive summary

This study sought to investigate the existing constraints and opportunities for mainstreaming gender equality into the work of African Agricultural Research and Development (ARD), so that the findings would serve as a road map for effective gender mainstreaming in African ARD. The study was designed to be comparative and employed qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. The comparative element sought out the policies, practices, opinions of, and ideas about gender mainstreaming in ARD among Sub-Regional Organizations (SROs). Qualitative methods were used in reviewing relevant documents, literature and publications obtained from the Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa (FARA) and the SROs, and in holding key-informant interviews (in person and/or via e mail) with officials in SROs.

A comprehensive review of gender issues in agriculture identified several constraints and opportunities for mainstreaming gender equality in African ARD. Among the constraints is the informal structural set-up of African smallholder agriculture, which ARD does not adequately plan for in its design and execution, given ARD's present orientation, heavily dependent on Western scholarship. African smallholder agriculture is intimately linked to rural ways of life, whereas ARD perceives agriculture as an impersonal activity. African smallholder agriculture is carried out as a way

of life, which is an embodiment of the culture and values of a particular society. In addition to being a major source of livelihood, African smallholder subsistence agriculture is also one of the many life skills and practices that characterize rural life. Thus, African smallholder subsistence agriculture is governed by a complexity of norms, beliefs and practices that determine individual household members' roles, rights, expectations, obligations, responsibilities and entitlements within and beyond households. The governing norms, beliefs and practices are gendered because society is gendered. Gender, therefore, determines the economic and social roles played by men and women, boys and girls; and in rural households, participation in agriculture is just one of many such roles played by their members. ARD's limited awareness of these dynamics constitutes one of the major constraints for mainstreaming gender equality therein. Another identified constraint to mainstreaming gender equality in African ARD is the ARD's primary focus on outcomes such as improved productivity, markets, value addition, etc., with less attention given to institutional environments within which smallholder farmers do operate. There are lots of inequities, exclusions and unfavourable inclusions rooted in informal and formal institutions within which African smallholder agriculture is practised. These inequities, exclusions and unfavourable inclusions have their genesis in the colonial and post-colonial development frameworks, which excluded and/or unfavourably included rural areas, agriculture, smallholder farmers, females in general and female farmers in particular, in the general development process. Institutions provide the formal and informal rules and constraints, which shape social perceptions of needs and roles. Organizations administer these rules and respond to needs. Institutions, therefore, create the contexts in which organizations in ARD such as FARA, SROs and the national agricultural research systems (NARS) operate. Institutions further tend to socially exclude, and/or unfavourably include, certain categories of people from opportunities for advancement. Thus, ARD organizations, consciously and/or unconsciously, have inherited the cultures of social exclusion and/or unfavourable inclusion of rural areas, agriculture, smallholder farmers, females in general and female farmers in particular, from the general development process.

Unfortunately, most ARD organizations are still conceptually "locked" within *distributional* gender analytic frameworks that focus on females' lack of resources, instead of the *relational features* which point to why females lack resources in the first place; social exclusion and/or unfavourable inclusion that leads to inadequate social participation; lack of social integration and lack of power, resulting in deprivation of capability and experience of resource poverty. It is these forms of exclusion and/or unfavourable inclusion, which are institutionalised within formal and informal settings in which African smallholder agriculture is practised, that mainstreaming gender equality in African ARD should seek to address.

Another identified constraint to mainstreaming gender equality in African ARD relates to females' representation in ARD itself. The increasing number of women and men that join African agricultural research and higher education institutions were mostly young, with relatively low level degrees and at the beginning of their careers. The share of females declined disproportionately on the higher rungs of the career ladder. Only 14% of the management positions were held by women, which is considerably lower than the overall share (24%) of female professional staff employed in agriculture. Females were, therefore, less represented in

high-level research, management and decision-making positions. As a result, females had less influence in policy and decision-making processes, which could further result in gender-biased decision-making and priority-setting.

The constraint of females' representation in ARD was accentuated by the gender bias in the formal and informal delivery of the curriculum in agricultural higher education. The bias was traced to course content, and to the learning experiences that often translated into gendered attrition and retention. Classroom practices, course materials and course content reflected the underlying values of institutions and wider society, incorporating gender biases and stereotypes that hindered gender-sensitive learning. During practical lessons, for example, women were often asked to take notes and record findings, instead of participating in the experiment or the activity itself. This put women at a disadvantage regarding acquisition of practical skills. Further, women constituted a minority of the staff in Faculties of Agriculture in African Universities, especially in senior positions. The career progression for women was much slower than that of men. And within the Faculties, higher numbers of female staff tended to be found in departments teaching courses that have traditionally been dominated by women, such as food science and technology. Women also tended to hold more junior positions, with the vast majority of Faculties of Agriculture having either just one or no woman professor at all. In addition, only a few African Universities have gender policies and the status of their implementation varies.

Low appreciation of the relevance of gender among many ARD organizations was another constraint to mainstreaming gender in ARD. Gender to many ARD organizations means having as many female as male farmers in their memberships, having a gender expert and a few statements in the organizations' documentation about how "gender is integral in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes, so that women and men benefit equally". These commitments are rarely followed up with requisite financial resources for transforming the commitments into actual, realistic and practical activities, with measurable outcomes in transforming the current status quo on gender.

Nonetheless, several SROs that were studied had developed gender policies, strategies, plans and programmes that offered opportunities for institutional learning that could serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. The Centre for Coordination of Agricultural Research and Development for Southern Africa/Southern African Development Community (CCARDESA/SADC), for example, has a Gender Unit, which was tasked with gender mainstreaming in the sub-region. In addition, in 2009, SADC produced a comprehensive Gender Mainstreaming Resource Kit, complete with Facilitators' guide, general facilitation guidelines, notes to exercises and glossary sections. SADC has also developed a Regional Agricultural Policy that is aligned to the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. Gender is equally integrated into the Regional Agricultural Policy, which states that gender equity and empowerment is an established regional priority at three levels: first as a human rights issue; second, as an economic/developmental issue; and third, as a social issue. Unfortunately, CCARDESA/SADC seems to lack an implementation strategy of its Protocol on Gender and Development and a strategy for mainstreaming gender in the SADC Regional Agricultural Policy. Secondly, we could

not ascertain the extent of practical gender mainstreaming implemented by SADC/CCARDESSA, because they did to respond to our interview guide.

The Conseil Ouest et Centre Africain pour la Recherche et le Développement Agricoles/West and Central African Council for Agricultural Research and Development (CORAF/WECARD), too, had developed a draft Gender Policy and Strategy that laid emphasis on strengthening gender equality, through the improvement of the reaction and sensitization of the staff of CORAF/WECARD and institutions of countries in the region that are engaged in integrated agricultural research for development. However, the CORAF/WECARD Gender Policy did not provide many opportunities for institutional learning to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD, probably because it was still in draft form. The interview with the CORAF Gender Adviser revealed that she had been tasked with reworking and updating the Gender Policy.

The Association for Strengthening Agricultural Research in Eastern and Central Africa(ASARECA), too, had developed a Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan 2011–2015, aimed at main-streaming gender into its agriculture research agenda and institutional frameworks. The goal of the Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan is to ensure that ASARECA achieves gender responsiveness at all levels of institutional frameworks and all stages of design, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of its agricultural research agenda. This strategy will be implemented within the institutional framework of ASARECA. The primary responsibility will fall within the Gender Unit and Programme staff, with clear gender indicators that have been developed and incorporated within the ASARECA Monitoring and Evaluation mechanisms. Theoretically, the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan, 2011–2015, offers excellent opportunities for institutional learning to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. The Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan clearly delineates actions aimed at mainstreaming gender in agricultural research and at institutional levels. It is further informed by sound gender analysis and distinguishes between indicators for measuring gender equality and women's empowerment, which most gender strategies do not. In addition, the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan suggests areas where results can be measured for achieving its strategic objectives. Expected outputs and outcomes under each thematic area are equally delineated. Further, a Gender Unit at the ASARECA Secretariat will be established to spearhead the implementation of the strategy, although responsibility for mainstreaming within the programmes will be the responsibility of the programmes themselves, with support from the centre. Nonetheless, we could not draw any practical lessons for institutional learning that could serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD because the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan was formulated as recently as 2011 and is yet to be implemented. The Regional Universities Forum for Capacity Building in Agriculture (RUFORUM), too, had developed a draft Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming in 2011, covering member Universities in Eastern Central and Southern Africa (ECSA) and other relevant actors. The policy is well articulated, realistic and comprehensive in detailing the goals, indicators, activities and sub-activities, lines of responsibility and monitoring and evaluation.

The RUFORUM draft Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming offers excellent opportunities for institutional learning to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. First, the policy acknowledges that there are gender gaps within the entire formal learning environments, which widen at higher levels of education in general but more specifically in the science and technological fields. RUFORUM is simultaneously cognizant of a masculine bias at the heart of most academic disciplines, methodologies and theories. The policy also acknowledges that much as issues of addressing gender gaps are often included in development programmes and projects, the inclusion is often solely an afterthought or a separate and mutually exclusive category. As a departure from conventional "inclusion" of gender into the development processes, the RUFORUM policy seeks to address the broader social and institutional contexts that perpetrate gender discrimination in higher agricultural education. This includes taking cognizance of the heterogeneity of women and men in terms of geographical location, ethnicity, age, and disability, all of which impact differently on women and men and can aggravate existing gender-based exclusion and discrimination. At institutional levels, RUFORUM further notes that there is varied understanding of the basic facts and concerns about gender among staff in member Universities.

Nonetheless, the RUFORUM Ten-Year Strategic Plan 2006-2016 (RUFORUM 2005) was silent on gender. Evidently, the Strategic Plan was developed six years before the gender mainstreaming policy and strategy was developed. The RUFORUM Ten-Year Strategic Plan 2006-2016, therefore, requires revising, so that it is aligned to the gender mainstreaming policy and strategy.

The African Forum for Agricultural Advisory Services (AFAAS) is yet to develop a gender policy and/or strategy. Interviews held with the AFAAS Executive Director and Technical Assistant, however, revealed that a gender policy/strategy would be in place by 2013. Nonetheless, AFAAS has developed a Strategic Plan, 2011–2015 in which gender features prominently. The AFAAS Strategic Plan has a section on Poverty and Gender Targeting. The AFAAS Strategic Plan, 2011–2015 is also cognizant of the linkages between social exclusion, gender and poverty. It mentions that the objective of realising the full potential of agriculture to generate wealth and be the engine for Africa's economic development must be pursued with some caution, because not all economic growth benefits the poor and often it can affect them quite adversely. These are some good opportunities for institutional learning from AFAAS to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. The most appealing opportunity is the linkage between social exclusion and general poverty, and more especially gendered poverty. Targeting the youth in addition to women is also a learning opportunity, for the targeting is again based on the understanding of the social exclusion of both the youth and women from the development process in general and agricultural development in particular.

In addition to the development of gender mainstreaming policies and/or strategies by SROs, there are challenges in effectively integrating gender into African ARD. First, many SRO officials and staff and community and household members feel that gender mainstreaming is a "foreign" concept imposed by donors. Thus, gender mainstreaming has become a process of merely adding women to existing policy paradigms and frameworks without operationalising those paradigms and frameworks. Second, gender mainstreaming competencies are still

wanting in Africa. Most gender experts are gender aware and are competent gender analysts, but they cannot ably operationalise a gender mainstreaming agenda. Building capacity for gender mainstreaming is not synonymous with gender training/awareness. It involves building "mainstreaming competency" (i.e., the skills and qualities needed to implement a mainstreaming strategy) and a wider institutional transformation. Subsequently, few programme and project managers or implementers are able to articulate convincing actions for implementation of gender mainstreaming. This could account for why most SROs had gender mainstreaming policies and/or strategies but were yet to implement them.

There were also weaknesses in gender analysis. Instead of analysing the power relations between males and females and between institutions and farmers, especially female farmers, most of the documentation focused on the outcomes of the inequitable power relations. For example, the CORAF/WECARD Gender Policy and Strategy dwelt at length on women's lack of access to resources, instead of analysing why women lack resources in the first place. All gender mainstreaming policies and strategies reviewed did not analyse the underlying forms of social exclusion, unfavourable inclusion, male resistance and undermined capacities to take up opportunities, all of which ultimately do account for the distributional disparities between males and females.

Another challenge for integrating gender in African ARD is the contemporary focus on institutionalisation (procedures, policies, structures, etc.) rather than on outcomes (effectiveness, impact). Yet, gender mainstreaming is not an end in itself but a strategy, an approach, a means to achieve the goal of gender equality. Thus, effective gender mainstreaming should promote effectiveness in the participation of poor men and women and the impact of participation in the material sense. Therefore, in addition to institutionalisation, tangible outcomes must be incorporated in the goals of mainstreaming gender in African ARD.

Indicators of effectiveness could, for example, include

1. The voice and clout male and female farmers have within and over ARD institutions;
2. Command (entitlements) over physical and material agricultural resources; and
3. Command (entitlements) over agricultural knowledge and information

Indicators of impact in the material sense could include

1. Improved asset base;
2. Improved innovations; and
3. Increased participation in agricultural decision-making and governance at both the formal (SROs, NARS, etc.) and informal levels (communities, households).

Another challenge for integrating gender in African ARD is the limited human and financial resources available for gender mainstreaming. With the exception of CCARDESA/SADC, none of the SROs studied had a fully fledged gender unit, although we could not establish its effectiveness in promoting gender mainstreaming. Whereas ASARECA and CORAF/WECARD had a Gender Expert each, AFAAS, RUFORUM and the African Network for Agriculture,

Agroforestry and Natural Resources Education (ANAFE) had none. And lack of Gender Units is not due to lack of financial resources to establish them. It is due to gender being a subject of exclusion. Several SROs may express "commitment" to gender equality, but they see no reason to commit more financial resources to operationalising that "commitment".

The proposed road map for integrating identified gender concerns into Africa's ARD is informed by the gender issues in agriculture and the opportunities, challenges and best practices for institutional learning identified during the review. The road map should consider tailoring ARD to the informal structural set-up of African agriculture. Current ARD looks at African agriculture from the economic and formal viewpoints; consequently, it places overwhelming faith in agriculture's potential for being the engine for overall economic development in Africa (the example of the New Partnership for Africa's Development [NEPAD] is relevant in this context, see FARA 2006). Yet African smallholder subsistence agriculture is carried out as a way of life, and it is a reflection of the cultures and values of its diverse peoples, whereby gender and household organization determine the economic and social roles played by men and women, boys and girls; in rural households, participation in agriculture is just one of the many roles members are expected to play. Gender and household organization further determine the entitlements and constraints in time, mobility and resources that each experiences in performing their roles in agriculture. African ARD, therefore, needs to be responsive to the needs, constraints and opportunities posed by the informal societal norms and principles that govern individual household members' roles and rights in agricultural livelihoods.

African ARD further needs to address the inequities and exclusions rooted in informal and formal institutions in African societies, if agriculture's potential for being the engine for overall economic development in Africa is to be harnessed. These include, most importantly, the exclusion of rural areas, agriculture, farmers, females in general and female farmers in particular from the development process, compared to males. Thus, ARD should transcend focus on innovations and their adoption and embrace broader informal and formal institutional transformations, if agriculture is to become the engine for overall economic development in Africa.

Integrating gender into African ARD also requires shifting gender analysis from distributional issues to relational features of inadequate social participation, less social integration and access to power, all of which lead to gendered deprivation of females' capability and subsequently, poverty. There is also a need to transcend the "business as usual" approach to promoting gender equality; having in place gender policies, strategies and/or strategic plans, Gender Units, gender mainstreaming tools/resource kits and conducting gender budgets. The road map should undertake major institutional changes that confront the entrenched subcultures of social exclusion and unfavourable inclusion if the principles of gender mainstreaming are to be translated into practice within the African ARD. These institutional changes necessitate major attitudinal changes and adjustments in working methods at all levels of ARD organizations.

Integrating gender into African ARD further requires building a common understanding of what gender mainstreaming is, as well as building gender mainstreaming competencies. Emphasis should shift from the current gender training and/or sensitization approaches to creating

gender awareness within organizations, to gender conscientisation and gender consciousness awakening, to unlearning the long-held gender ideologies and stereotypes and ultimately, transforming organizational cultures. Focus should further shift to relearning new ideologies and adopting organizational cultures that promote gender equality. This should be done in a transformational manner that allows for questioning the long-held gender ideologies, stereotypes and organizational cultures, their perpetration and justification in non-threatening (to gender identity) ways.

And finally, but not least, no commitment speaks louder than financial commitments. Commitments to integrating gender in African ARD must be re-enforced by concomitant budgetary allocations. Thus, ensuring gender sensitivity in budgetary allocations is a necessity; without gender budgeting, it is not possible to mainstream gender effectively and sustainably. It is in this context that the following recommendations are made.

Recommendations

1. Tailor ARD to the informal structural set-up of African agriculture.
2. Shift the gender analytic framework from distributional issues to relational features of gender inequality.
3. Institutionalise gender mainstreaming in African ARD.
4. Build gender mainstreaming competencies of staff in SROs.
5. Institute gender budgeting within FARA and partner SROs.

Section 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This report presents the findings of a study conducted on the constraints and opportunities for mainstreaming gender equality in African agricultural research and development (ARD). The report comprises of seven sections. Section 1 is introductory, and it presents the background, objectives and methodology used to execute the study. Section 2 reviews the gender issues in agriculture that relate to the programmes of the Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa (FARA), especially its Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) Pillar IV and other Pillar IV institutions. Section 3 presents the opportunities for institutional learning that could serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD, while Section 4 looks at the challenges for effective integration of gender into African ARD. Section 5 presents the best practices for institutional learning, to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. Section 6 proposes a road map for integrating identified gender concerns into Africa's ARD, taking into consideration key initiatives currently under discussion to ensure that gender is well integrated into ARD in Africa. Section 7 concludes the report, and presents suggestions and recommendations.

1.2 Background

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) considers agriculture as an engine for overall economic development in Africa (FARA 2006). Sustained agricultural growth at a much higher rate than in the past is regarded as crucial for reducing hunger and poverty across the Continent, in line with Millennium Development Goals (*Ibid*). This calls for improving agricultural productivity through enabling and accelerating innovation. CAADP Pillar IV constitutes NEPAD's strategy for revitalizing, expanding and reforming Africa's agricultural research, technology dissemination and adoption efforts. Currently, chronic shortcomings afflict many of Africa's agricultural productivity programmes. This explains the historical under-performance of the sector and the current plight of African farmers (*Ibid*.). FARA (2006) further notes that institutional weaknesses, such as capacity bottlenecks, insufficient end-user and private sector involvement, and ineffective farmer-support systems persist in most of Africa's agricultural productivity programmes and organizations, thereby hampering progress in the sector. These problems are compounded by the fragmented nature of support and inadequate total investment in agricultural research and technology dissemination and adoption in the region as a whole.

Nonetheless, despite the enormous challenges facing African agriculture, there are reasons for optimism. The African Union (AU), in establishing NEPAD and formulating the CAADP, has given its unequivocal political support for re-igniting agriculture as the overall engine for economic development in Africa. In setting up FARA, Africa has created a way of bringing technical leadership into the frame. Consequently, Africa's development partners have signaled their willingness to respond to Africa's efforts (*Ibid.*).

FARA is the apex organization for agricultural research for development in Africa. Effective 2014, FARA will provide a strategic platform to foster continental and global networking that reinforces the capacities of Africa's agricultural innovation capacity (FARA 2012a). This new value proposition has led to a refocusing of the specific objectives as follows:

i.   broad-based agricultural productivity;

ii.   competitiveness; and

iii. sustainable improvement of markets in Africa (*Ibid*.).

The mission of FARA is to create broad-based improvements in agricultural productivity, competitiveness and markets by a continental level strengthening of the capacity for agricultural innovation (FARA 2012b). The original stakeholders of FARA were the SROs, whose clients were mainly (but not exclusively) the public organizations in the NARS, whose clients, in turn, were the farmers. As a result of FARA being given a mandate to be the lead institution in guiding the development and implementation of CAADP Pillar IV, the stakeholders expanded to include sub-regional and national institutions that are involved in agricultural education, extension/scaling, business promotion, and policy formulation. The services that FARA shall provide to the expanded stakeholders are categorised into three strategic priority (SP) areas, namely

i.   Observatory and catalysing,

ii. Connecting and integrating, and

iii. Advocating and communicating (FARA 2012a).

FARA recognises the need for gender mainstreaming in agricultural research and development in Africa, especially in CAADP Pillar IV. Gender is addressed as a cross-cutting theme in the programmes and activities of FARA and her stakeholders, i.e., the SROs and the NARS. Mainstreaming gender equality into existing programmes, especially into CAADP Pillar IV, is one of the nine guiding principles identified under the evolution and reform of agricultural institutions and services within the Framework for African Agricultural Productivity (FAAP). The FAAP enjoins all stakeholders to work towards the "integrations of gender considerations at all levels, including farmers and farmer organizations, the private sector, public institutions, research and extension staff".

It is in this context that FARA sought to undertake a study on constraints and opportunities for mainstreaming gender equality in African Agricultural Research and Development (ARD), to serve as road map for effective gender mainstreaming in Africa ARD. It is expected that once developed and adopted by FARA and stakeholders, the roadmap will be used at three levels of implementation, among others:

• it will be integrated into the new five year strategic plan for 2014 -2018;

• it will define the priority areas for mainstreaming gender in agriculture in Africa, which was an area for discussion in September 2012 between FARA, the SROs and other Pillar IV institutions;

• it will be incorporated into the Second Global Conference on Agricultural Research for Development (GCARD2) discussion on Gender in Agriculture Partnership (GAP) as an African regional roadmap for GAP.

1.3 General objective of the study

The overall objective of the study is to investigate the existing constraints and opportunities for mainstreaming gender equality into the work of African ARD, which will serve as road map for effective gender mainstreaming in African ARD. More specific objectives are listed below.

1.3.1 Specific objectives of the study

1.   To conduct a robust consultative review of gender issues in agriculture as they relate to FARA's programmes, especially to CAADP Pillar IV and other Pillar IV institutions.

2.   To document the best practices for institutional learning, as well as challenges and opportunities, to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD.

3.   To propose a road map for integrating identified gender concerns into Africa's ARD, taking into consideration key initiatives currently under discussion to ensure that gender is well integrated into ARD in Africa, such as the GAP.

4.   To produce and submit a final report to FARA.

1.4 Gender

Like in all other societies, societies in Africa are highly defined by gender. Gender refers to the social construction of masculine and feminine identities. Identity is a person's internalised sense of self. Gender identity, therefore, refers to the internalised sense of being masculine or feminine (Francoeur 1991). Alternately, Garcia (2001) defines gender as a social construct, linking sex, a biological variable, to expected characteristics and behaviour. For example, due to the uniquely female potential to bear children, women are culturally viewed as uniquely suited for domestic and reproductive activities, such as food preparation, washing and cleaning, health maintenance and childcare (Garcia 2001). Men in several cultural settings are viewed as innately incapable of such nurturing activity, with their inability to give birth offered as evidence.

Gender determines not only how males and females relate with, and are in turn related to, by people of similar and/or different gender, but also the entitlements of males and females within households and the wider socio-economic settings. The way males and females relate with, and are in turn related to, by people of similar and/or different gender is governed by norms which are defined by Marshall (1994) as shared expectations of behaviour that are considered culturally desirable and appropriate. A set of norms attached to a social position is also defined by Marshall (1994) as a role. Therefore, masculinity and femininity are gender identities that embody gender norms that in turn delineate gender roles.

Gender is a fundamental principle that determines the roles, rights, expectations, obligations, responsibilities and entitlements of males and females within and beyond households. Gender determines, for example, the economic and social roles to be played by men and women, boys and girls; in rural households, participation in agricultural production is just one of the many such roles. Gender also determines the entitlements and constraints in time, mobility and resources that each experiences in performing this role (Grieco 1997). The differing entitlements and constraints each gender experiences arise from the differing socio-interactional and material entitlements accorded to each gender by society.

1.5 Entitlements

Sen (1981) defined entitlements as sets of alternative commodity/service bundles that a person can command in a society, using the totality of rights and opportunities that s/he faces. A person's "entitlement set" is the full range of goods and services that s/he can acquire by converting his/her "endowments" through "entitlement mappings". Endowments are those assets, resources, including labour power, that somebody already commands or has access to, while entitlements are the assets that somebody can within certain contexts produce under circumstances determined by prevailing legal and customary regimes. Through the application of endowments, entitlements are created or transferred.

Entitlement sets typically comprise of any one, all, or a combination of elements of the following:
*   social-interactional entitlements, in the form of support, recognition, encouragement, or expectations held of someone by significant others, for example, parents, teachers,

spouses, employers, extension workers, government, development organizations, communities, etc., all of which foster confidence, optimism, control over one's own life and the power to make rational choices.

- production-based entitlements, whereby one is entitled to own what one gets by organising production (for instance, of food), using resources one owns, for example, land, or resources hired/rented from willing parties under agreed conditions of exchange;
- own-labour based entitlements, whereby one is entitled to one's own labour power, and thus to the trade-based and production-based entitlements arising from one's labour power;
- inheritance and transfer entitlements, whereby one is entitled to own what is willingly bequeathed to him/her by another who legitimately owns it; and
- trade-based entitlements, whereby one is entitled to own what one obtains by trading something that one owns with a willing party, for example, selling one's non-food agricultural produce to purchase food;

Entitlements further define the relationships between people and the commodities/services which they need to acquire (or to have access to), in order to be able to lead meaningful and fulfilling lives. In entitlement analysis, a person's command over commodities is said to depend first on the person's identity (gender, socio-economic status); second, on the person's position in society (what their occupation or class is, what they produce, where they live, how much land they own, what skills they possess, what authority they command, etc.); and third, on the rules which legitimise claims over commodities/services. Since a person's entitlement depends partially on their identity and position in society, entitlement analysis introduces a range of social, economic, cultural, and political factors that determine entitlements, including the agricultural entitlements.

According to Sen (1981), a person who has land, labour power and other resources, which together make up his/her endowments, can produce a bundle of food that will be his/hers. Or by selling labour, s/he can get a wage and, with that, buy commodities, including food. Alternatively, s/he can grow cash crops and trade them for food and other commodities. The combined sets of all such available commodity bundles in a given economic situation gives the exchange entitlement of his/her endowment. However, entitlement to such resources is governed by rules and norms that are distinguished and structured by gender, age, marital status and other axes of socio-economic inclusion and exclusion. Gasper (1993) concludes that beyond legal/customary rights, effective access to resources within institutions typically depends not only on formal and informal rules, but also on particular relationships with sources of authority and influence. In essence, entitlements are conferred through social inclusion, exclusion and unfavourable inclusion that allow and/or prevent certain categories in society from effectively participating in developmental processes. Sen (2000) defined social exclusion as a form of inability to do things that one has reason to want to do. Unfavourable inclusion manifests itself in the form of deeply "unequal" terms of social participation, for instance, in the credit and land markets, extension services, on-farm trials and field demonstrations, in the exchange markets, in value chain interventions, in the rural-labour market, in employment or

even in educational and research institutions (Kelles-Vittanen 1998). These contexts explain why females and poor males often lack the rights and access to resources and information vital for addressing the challenges posed by poverty: the economic and social resources, such as credit and extension services, rights, and/or clout with institutions that facilitate agricultural productivity. They are excluded and/or unfavourably included because of their identities (gender, social status, or both).

Entitlements further facilitate active agency, i.e., the ability to undertake meaningful action. That is why some countries, communities, groups, households and individuals have the capacity for enhanced agricultural productivity, while others do not. Similarly, some communities, groups, households and individuals do utilise external (government and non-governmental) programmes aimed at promoting agricultural productivity, while others do not. For example, in many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, Agricultural Advisory Services are ostensibly free, but they are mostly utilized by males, implying that males are more entitled to these programmes than females. Further, it is the non-poor males who take up the programmes more, compared to their poorer counterparts. This is because the design of these programmes unwittingly excludes and/or unfavourably includes females and poorer males. Implicitly, due to gender identity, females may have lesser entitlements for agricultural productivity on their own and may have lesser incentives to effectively utilize external assistance unless the obstacles posed by gendered entitlements are addressed. This also applies to the services and products of ARD.

Combined, lesser entitlements and inactive agency lead to the gender-agricultural productivity security-poverty nexus, which ought to be addressed through evidence-based policy making, planning and implementation. In this regard, the entitlement of females and poor males in all aspects, including their access to appropriate information, skills and adequate resources to activate their agency, is key in enabling them to adopt practices that promote agricultural productivity.

1.6 Gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is a globally accepted strategy for promoting gender equality. Mainstreaming is not an end in itself but a strategy, an approach and a means to achieve the goal of gender equality. Mainstreaming involves ensuring that gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to all activities in policy development, research, advocacy/dialogue, legislation, resource allocation, and in planning, implementation and monitoring of policies, programmes and projects. In July 1997, the United Nations Economic and Social Council defined the concept of gender mainstreaming as follows:

> "…the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality."

Gender mainstreaming includes actions such as the following:

- Undertaking a gender analysis, with a view to identifying inequalities between men and women which need to be addressed;
- Providing equal opportunities to all and carrying out gender-specific actions wherever inequalities are pronounced;
- Starting a process of institutional change;
- Giving girls and women a voice;
- Carrying out gender budgeting; and
- Undertaking participatory gender audits.

1.6.1 The practice of gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is akin to blood transfusion, for it is integral to all development decisions: it concerns the staffing, procedures and culture of development organizations as well as their programmes; and, it is the responsibility of all staff. Because of its integral nature, gender mainstreaming undoubtedly necessitates major attitudinal changes and adjustments in the working methods of organizations at all levels. The changes and adjustments are required not only to address why women and some poor men lack resources but also why they may not even access and utilize resources targeted towards them (Razavi and Miller 1995). In this regard, Gaynor and Jennings (2004) noted that effective gender mainstreaming requires major changes at institutional, policy, organizational and resource allocation levels.

Major institutional changes that confront the entrenched subcultures of social exclusion and unfavourable inclusion are required if gender mainstreaming is to be achieved within ARD organizations, policies, programmes and projects. However, the institutional changes ought to be informed by several conditions, notably a sound framework for gender analysis, eliciting and utilization of men's and women's voices, policy dialogue, capacity building, gender-conscious monitoring and evaluation and accountability. Gender analysis refers to context-specific analysis of the social, economic and power relations between women and men within given historical, institutional and policy contexts. The starting point for gender analysis is the availability of sex disaggregated data, able to reveal differences in the entitlements, needs, interests, opportunities and vulnerabilities of different categories of women and men. Men's and women's voices need to be reflected in ARD policy and its respective intervention programmes. Policy dialogue presents the opportunity to build shared understanding of gender equality and why it is important to pursue this goal. To use such forums effectively, there is a need to collect and share information, and to conduct evidence-based advocacy that reveals how gender inequality affects the achievement of agricultural productivity goals.

At the policy level, Gaynor and Jennings (2004) reported that gender equality commitments should be explicitly backed by requisite resources that translate into programme implementation. At organizational level, organizational norms, procedures and staff require a conscious sensitivity to a culture of gender equality. This is attained through conducting gender audits, which are tools and processes based on participatory methodologies that

promote organizational learning at the individual, work unit and organizational levels on how to practically and effectively mainstream gender (Manyire 2011d). At resource allocation levels (both human and financial), in addition to ensuring that gender sensitivity and specific activities to promote gender equality are covered by the programme budget, staff also need to have access to process funds which can be used to sponsor research to support gender mainstreaming, as well as capacity building activities.

Nonetheless, building capacity for gender mainstreaming is not synonymous with gender training. It involves building "mainstreaming competency" (i.e., the skills and qualities needed to implement a mainstreaming strategy) and a wider institutional transformation. Monitoring and evaluation should include both indicators, to measure impact on gender equality and provide a gender perspective throughout all other indicators. There is a strategic need to develop gender-sensitive indicators appropriate to ARD policies, programmes and projects. Including gender-sensitive indicators and specific gender-equality indicators in the monitoring and evaluation systems of ARD can be a powerful tool to promote accountability and responsiveness.

It is within these prerequisites for gender mainstreaming that this study seeks to investigate the constraints and opportunities for mainstreaming gender equality in African ARD.

1.7 Conceptual framework

The framework within which this study is conceived is represented as a diagram (see Figure 1). As shown in Figure 1, the conceptual framework presumes effective gender mainstreaming to be rooted in sound gender analysis, which should inform the strategies for change at both organizational and programme levels of African ARD. The gender analysis ought to reveal the differences in the entitlements, needs, interests, opportunities and vulnerabilities of different categories of boys and girls and men and women. Simultaneously, there should be analysis of the differential social, economic and power relations between women and men within given historical, institutional and policy contexts. In its own right, gender analysis could lead to transformations with regard to utilizing men's and women's voices and a policy dialogue, and thus help in building mainstreaming competencies and in fostering accountability towards gender mainstreaming. Alternately, the transformation could arise from instituted strategies for ARD institutional change and those of change at ARD programme level, which were also initially informed by gender analysis. However, resistance is to be expected, especially in the forms of social exclusion, unfavourable inclusion, male resistance and silencing and women's undermined capacity to take up opportunities. Fortunately, effective gender analysis, alongside the instituted strategies for institutional change and those of change at programme level, could be instrumental in devising methods of dealing with such resistance. This would pave the way for effective gender mainstreaming in ARD, whereby participation of poor men and women leads to articulation of their interests in ways which can influence institutional rules and practices (effectiveness), and consequently lead to making of decisions about resource use that result in enhanced agricultural production in the material sense (impact).

Gender Analysis

Context specific analysis of the social, economic and power relations between women and men within a given historical, institutional and policy context.

Strategies for Change at ARD Programme Level

- Programme Design
- Implementation
- Monitoring and Impact Assessment

Transformation

- Eliciting and utilizing men's and women's voices
- Policy dialogue
- Building mainstreaming competencies
- Accountability towards gender mainstreaming

Strategies for Institutional Change Within ARD Organizations

- Institutional Policy
- Organizational Norms and Procedures
- Resource Allocation

Resistance

- Social exclusion
- Unfavourable inclusion
- Male resistance
- Undermined capacity to take up opportunities

Gender Mainstreaming

- Effectiveness
- Impact in the material sense

Figure 1. The conceptual framework within which this study was conceived.

1.8 Methodology

Described briefly next are the study design, the methods of data collection and the types of data that were collected in this study.

1.8.1 Study design

This study was designed to be comparative, and it employed qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. The comparative element sought out the policies, practices, opinions of, and ideas about gender mainstreaming in ARD among Sub-Regional Organizations (SROs). The SROs and CAADP Pillar 4 Institutions included the Association for Strengthening Agricultural Research in Eastern and Central Africa (ASARECA), the Conseil Ouest et Centre Africain pour la Recherche et le Développement Agricoles/West and Central African Council for Agricultural Research and Development (CORAF/WECARD), the African Network for Agriculture, Agro forestry and Natural Resources Education (ANAFE), the African Forum for Agricultural Advisory Services (AFAAS), the Regional Universities Forum for Capacity Building in Agriculture (RUFORUM), the Mechanism for Improving Tertiary Agricultural Education in Africa (TEAM Africa), the Institution of Agricultural Research and Higher Education (IRESA) and

the Centre for Coordination of Agricultural Research and Development for Southern Africa/ Southern African Development Community (CCARDESA/SADC). A qualitative design was used in reviewing the relevant documents, literature and publications obtained from FARA and the SROs, and in holding key-informant interviews (in person and/or via e mail) with SROs officials.

1.8.2 Methods of data collection

Data were collected by two key methods: (1) document review and (2) key-informant interviews with officials in the respective SROs. The lists of documents reviewed and officials with whom interviews were conducted are provided in Appendix I and Appendix II, respectively. Some interviews were held face to face, while others were conducted via e mail. Appendix III is the interview guide for SROs. The Terms of Reference (TORs) for the study are provided in Appendix IV.

1.8.3 Types of data collected

The following types of data were collected:

1. Current African ARD organizations' (FARA and partners) understanding of gender mainstreaming.

2. Current African ARD organizations' practice(s) of gender mainstreaming.

3. Resources (human, financial and logistical) set aside for gender mainstreaming by African ARD organizations.

4. Competencies for gender analysis within ARD organizations at continental, sub-regional and national levels.

5. Understanding of the formal and informal rules and norms that govern African smallholder subsistence agriculture.

6. Understanding of the roots and manifestations (both obvious and subtle) of social exclusion and informal exclusion of females and poorer males in ARD.

7. The gendered nature of institutions within which ARD policies, programmes and projects are designed and implemented at continental, sub-regional and national levels.

8. Awareness and statements within ARD policy and programme documentation of the differences in the entitlements, needs, interests, opportunities and vulnerabilities of different categories of boys and girls and men and women.

9. Awareness and statements within ARD policy and programme documentation of the differential social, economic and power relations between women and men within given historical, institutional and policy contexts.

10. Awareness and statements within ARD policy and programme documentation of the resistance to gender mainstreaming expected, especially in the forms of social exclusion, unfavourable inclusion, male resistance and women's undermined capacity to take up opportunities.

11. Policies, practices, opinions of, and ideas about gender mainstreaming in ARD held by different stakeholders in African ARD at national, sub-regional and continental levels.

12. The depth of theoretical and practical competencies for gender mainstreaming exhibited in the design and implementation processes of ARD policies and programmes at continental, sub-regional and national levels.

13. Forms of social exclusion and unfavourable inclusion documented in current ARD policies, programmes and projects, with a view to address them.

14. ARD policies and programmes for enabling poor men and women to articulate their interests in ways which can influence gendered institutional rules and practices.

15. ARD policies and programmes for enabling poor men and women to make decisions about resource use in ways that lead to increased agricultural productivity in the material sense.

16. Existing frameworks and/or policies within ARD organizations for undertaking major institutional changes that confront the entrenched subcultures of social exclusion and unfavourable inclusion.

17. Existing frameworks for transforming organizational norms, procedures and staffing to a conscious sensitivity to a culture of gender equality.

18. Strategies for organizational change and those of change at the ARD programme level.

19. Successes and weaknesses of current gender mainstreaming policies and practices within ARD organizations at continental, sub-regional and national levels.

20. Capacity building needs for effective translation of the principles of gender mainstreaming into practice within ARD organizations.

21. Capacity building needs for effective translation of the principles of gender mainstreaming into practice within ARD theories and practices.

1.9 Data analysis

Data obtained from documents and key informant interviews were analysed by content analysis along the major themes expressed in the first two specific objectives of the study. These are (1) gender issues in agriculture that relate to FARA's programmes, especially to CAADP Pillar IV and other Pillar IV institutions; and (2) the best practices for institutional learning, as well as challenges and opportunities to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. However, to answer objective 3 of the study, data were also analysed along the following themes: depths of theoretical and practical competencies for gender mainstreaming exhibited in the design and implementation processes of ARD within SROs; obstacles to translating into practice the principles of gender mainstreaming within SROs; and capacity-building needs for effectively translating into practice the principles of gender mainstreaming within SROs.

Section 2: Gender issues in agriculture that relate to FARA's programmes (especially to CAADP Pillar IV and other Pillar IV institutions)

2.1 Introduction

CAADP Pillar 4 (agricultural research, technology dissemination and adoption) aims at improving agricultural research and systems, in order to disseminate appropriate new technologies. In addition, by working closely with partners like the Research into Use (RIU) programme of the Department for International Development, United Kingdom (DFID UK), Pillar 4 also aims to boost the support available for farmers to adopt such new options. Specifically, RIU focuses on ensuring that research results are put into use in the field, and on out-scaling and up-scaling workable options that can improve farmers' lives. FARA developed a three-year (2011 – 2013) strategy for implementing the CAADP Pillar IV (FARA 2011). The overall objective of the strategy is to contribute to sustainable reduction in food insecurity and poverty, and to enhance environmental conditions in Africa. The specific objective is to increase agricultural productivity and competitiveness through the integration of agricultural research, advisory services, education and training in the countries of the CAADP, as well as in the regional agriculture and food security investment plans, and to leverage, align and coordinate investments into these areas. The strategy focuses on three key areas of support to CAADP:

- Integrating agricultural research, advisory services, education and training aspects of Pillar IV, as advocated in the Framework for African Agricultural Productivity (FAAP), in CAADP country and regional agriculture and food security investment plans;

- Increasing the scale and quality of investments in agricultural research, advisory services, education and training aspects of CAADP, by raising the profile of CAADP Pillar IV among the stakeholders, including political leadership, private sector and civil society and development partners, in order to mobilize the technical and financial resources required for investment in agriculture; and

- Strengthening the alignment and coordination of financial support from development partners and financial institutions towards common CAADP priorities in agricultural research, advisory services, education and training (*Ibid.*).

This section, therefore, presents a review of the literature relating to gender issues in agricultural research, advisory services, education and training.

2.2 Gender issues in agricultural research

Gender issues in African agricultural research are discussed next, under three broad thematic categories: (1) the informal structural set-up of African agriculture; (2) gendered (or gender-determined) agriculture as a way of life; and (3) the exclusion and/or unfavourable inclusion of women and poor men in African ARD.

2.2.1 The informal structural set-up of African agriculture

Often, agriculture is conceptualised impersonally by agricultural research projects, policy documents and researchers themselves, in terms of quality and quantity of inputs and outputs: inputs like land and water for production, soil fertility, planting and stocking varieties, fertilizers, pesticides, herbicides and ploughing, planting, weeding, harvesting, processing and preservation technologies, etc.; and outputs of crops, livestock, fish and forest products produced or not produced (Manyire 2011a). This relegates humans to the fringes of the agricultural researchers' perception of agriculture. As a result, agricultural research, especially from the physical science perspective, focuses on improvement of the inputs and outputs. Even the key component of African leaders' vision for agriculture as an engine for overall economic development calls for improving agricultural productivity through enabling and accelerating innovation (FARA 2006, p. 3). This conceptualisation of agriculture derives from Western scholarly agricultural theory and practice, whereby agriculture is an impersonal activity carried out on large estates, in a strictly business sense (for the market) and using industrial approaches, i.e., organization of production characterised by specialization, a distinct division of labour, application of technology, and mechanical and electrical power to supplement and replace human labour (Manyire 2011a). In the Western contexts, the relationships between farmers and farming activities are more economic and largely in terms of monetary profit. The Western farmer does not derive his food directly from his farm, and the farmer may be producing just one portfolio, for example, milk, corn, wheat, beef, cotton, etc. The Western farmer also does not necessarily have to rely on family labour, since agriculture there is a practice dependent

on specialised skills acquired more from formal training institutions rather than passed on through the informal family socialization processes. Family members of Western farmers need not necessarily participate in farming activities, which are often formally organised as business enterprises. In the West, therefore, the values attached to agriculture are more impersonal, largely economic and do not necessarily dovetail with the farmers' human and family values (*Ibid.*).

Alternately, in much of the Third World and especially in Africa, agricultural practices are not that impersonal and are structurally different from those in the West. First, in much of Africa, agriculture is carried out by smallholders, who produce 90% of Africa's agricultural output (Adapt Africa 2012). Characteristically, smallholder agriculture is organized within and around the household, less than 2 hectares are cultivated per household, rudimentary tools (hand hoe, axe and panga) are used in cultivation, there is overwhelming reliance on household labour, there is cultivation of a mixed portfolio of crops and rearing of animals, reliance is placed on indigenous planting and stocking materials and production is largely for household consumption (Manyire 2011b).

Secondly, smallholder subsistence agriculture and rural ways of life are intimately intertwined. Rural ways of life are an embodiment of the cultures and values of a people. Thus, agricultural knowledge, skills and practices are informally passed on from generation to generation through socialization processes, alongside other social and economic skills (the productive, reproductive, household maintenance, etc.) that are deemed essential for societal existence and continuity in general, and for rearing children into becoming responsible adults in particular (*Ibid.*). Other forms of socialization include inculcating into children the acceptable cultural/ethnic specific behaviour, attitudes and life skills. Responsible adulthood, in most cases, is understood as ability to raise and cater for a family, in an existence for subsistence. Food self-sufficiency is the pride of such a subsistence existence, for market purchases of food are frowned upon as characteristic of the lazy. In fact, the eligibility of candidates for marriage in many rural communities in Africa was and is still weighed alongside levels of farm-level industriousness and subsequently, food self-sufficiency in the natal homes of the potential candidates. That is why up to today, there are very few smallholder farmers in Africa who cultivate one crop largely for the market (*Ibid*.).

Small-holder subsistence agriculture is, therefore, but one of the many life skills and practices that characterise rural life. In rural life, agricultural and other social skills are mutually reinforcing in that they all contribute to the shaping of a "responsible adulthood". Thus, in most cases, children of smallholders become smallholders themselves in adulthood, and so do their children. And the values attached to agriculture are continuously transmitted across generations through the socialization process, as part and parcel of the general values of living and deriving livelihoods. Since society is gendered, these values are gendered (determined by gender) too, with specific expectations of males and females distinctly delineated (*Ibid.*).

2.2.2 Gendered agriculture as a way of life

Smallholder subsistence agriculture is carried out as a "way of life" within structures of gender and household organization, which are themselves a cocktail of a complexity of norms, beliefs

and practices that govern individual household members' roles and rights in production, exchange and consumption. Gender and household organization remain fundamental principles governing the division of labor and determining expectations, obligations, responsibilities and entitlements of males and females within and beyond households. Gender and household organization, for example, determine the economic and social roles to be played by men and women, boys and girls; in rural households, participation in agriculture is just one of the many such activities. Gender and household organization also determine the entitlements and constraints in time, mobility and resources that each experiences in performing this role (Grieco 1997).

Most African societies are patriarchal, which implies that males are accorded higher social status than females, because an individuals' identities like ethnicity, clan and household membership derive from male lineage. Propagation of lineage is, therefore, regarded as a masculine role and responsibility, the reason males are accorded more entitlements than females in most Ugandan societies. Kabeer (1991) defines entitlements as intra- and extra-household distributional relations, which rest on "accepted legitimacy" rather than legal recognition. The distributional relations do determine the rights that household members have in relation to assets, labour, income, subsistence and skills perceived as requisite for leading a gainful and fulfilling life. Propagation of lineage requires resources, the reason why males have higher entitlements to land (through inheritance), education, productive skills and income, compared to females. Yet females, too, do play a role in the propagation of lineage, because only they are biologically capable of conceiving. They also perform caretaker and household maintenance roles in households and productive roles in agriculture. Thus, they too require resources, but patriarchy expects females to acquire the requisite resources through dependence on males as wives, mothers and daughters (Manyire 2004; Kiyimba 2001; Ssetuba 2002). Paradoxically, due to gender ideology that places the responsibility for household food security onto women, women farmers are responsible for the great majority of agricultural output in most African economies (AU-NEPAD 2003).

By governing the division of labor and determining the entitlements of males and females within and beyond households, gender and household organization simultaneously do influence and determine the nature of human values, not only in rural settings in general but also within agricultural practices in particular. Thus, understanding the relationships between human values and agriculture is of critical importance in agricultural research, for it brings out the centrality of gender in the social, cultural and economic organization of smallholder rural farming practices. This has implications not only for the conceptualisation but also for the design, execution and dissemination of agricultural research if gender equity and sustainable agricultural development are to be simultaneously achieved. For gender inequities affect agricultural development, while human values in smallholder farming perpetuate gender inequalities.

Therefore, much as the formal institutional weaknesses elaborated by FARA (2006) have played a major role in stifling the growth of African agriculture, the informal and gendered structural set-up of African agriculture has also played a significant role (Manyire 2011a; 2011b). But this is yet to receive the requisite attention among agricultural researchers. Yet, capacity to carry out gender analysis and gender mainstreaming is a key indicator of a strong NARS.

2.2.3 Exclusion and/or unfavorable inclusion of women and poor men in ARD

There is growing documentation and increasing awareness in Africa of the practical limitations to women's participation in agricultural development (inordinate roles, responsibilities and workloads, little control of, and access to, resources and existing power relations, all of which prohibit participation and benefit therefrom). However, what is less understood and documented are limitations on women's voice, that is, opportunities available to (and capacities of) individuals and/or groups to articulate their interests, needs and constraints so clearly that they are heard and responded to by the concerned authorities. The limitations arise from the social exclusion and unfavourable inclusion of segments in society from the development process. Because social exclusion and unfavourable inclusion are deeply institutionalised in society, there are inadequacies within ARD policies, programmes and projects in appreciation of the forms of social exclusion and unfavourable inclusion that prevent certain categories of people from effectively participating in development processes (Manyire 2011c).

There is a tendency within ARD theories and practices to assume that promotion of the participation of both men and women revolves around similar mechanisms which automatically promote women's and poorer men's interests. This is misleading, because the assumption does not recognise the obstacles posed by the gendered nature of institutions within which ARD policies, programmes and projects are designed and implemented and within which the targeted men and women farmers operate. Baden (2000) defines institutions as the formal and informal rules and constraints which shape social perceptions of needs and roles, while organizations administer these rules and respond to needs. Institutions create the contexts in which organizations in the ARD such as FARA, SROs and NARS do operate. Institutions further tend to socially exclude and/or unfavourably include certain categories of people from opportunities for advancement. Thus, organizations, consciously and/or unconsciously, have cultures of social exclusion and/or unfavourable inclusion. This explains why FARA (2006) noted that in many parts of Africa, realising the potential of agricultural research to reduce poverty has been elusive, despite the many achievements of agricultural research. Unwittingly, ARD organizations could be excluding and/or unfavourably including smallholder farmers, more especially females, from accessing and utilizing the products of agricultural research.

In Uganda, the terms of reference for the Gender Technical Sub-Committee of the Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture (PMA), which was set up by the PMA Secretariat to mainstream gender in the PMA, realistically lamented that:

> "while gender sensitivity had been included in the PMA, translating this principle into actual, realistic and practical activities by the different stakeholders involved in the implementation of the PMA remains a challenge" (Republic of Uganda 2002, p. 1).

In our view, the challenge arises from inadequacies in appreciation of the forms of social exclusion and unfavourable inclusion that prevent certain categories of people from effectively participating in developmental processes. The tendency within ARD policies, programmes and projects to assume that promotion of the participation of both men and women revolves around similar mechanisms, which automatically promote women's interests, is problematic.

For it is not clear how participation of poor men and women is expected to lead to articulation of their interests in ways which can influence institutional rules and practices (effectiveness) and consequently lead to making of decisions about resource use that lead to increased agricultural productivity in the material sense (impact).

Conventional approaches that promote "gender equality" do not address the difficulties of expressing women's interests within existing frameworks of traditional development practices that are in subtle ways shrouded in male resistance and silencing and women's own internalized subordination. For poor women and some men, the sense of powerlessness and exclusion is a product not just of their gender subordination, but also of interlocking forms of exclusion, simultaneously linked to their socio-economic status. This is what Sen (2000) described as the deprivation of capability and subsequent experience of poverty. Under this form of analysis, focus shifts from *distributional* issues raised in traditional analyses of poverty (the lack of resources at the disposal of an individual or household) to the role of relational features: inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power in deprivation of capability and experience of poverty (Room 1999). Moulaert (1995) further points out that such exclusions and unfavourable inclusions, acting singularly or in various combinations, may ultimately evolve local subcultures within groups, which limit and undermine the capacity of the affected people to take up opportunities for improving their socio-economic well-being. It is these exclusions and unfavourable inclusions, institutionalised within formal and informal settings, that mainstreaming gender equality in African ARD seeks to address.

2.3 Women in agricultural research and technology development

The number of female scientists working in science and technology (S and T) research has increased substantially in recent decades, but the participation of women remains low in most countries; this is true for sub Saharan Africa as well. The Agricultural Science and Technology Indicators (ASTI) initiatives show that for a sample of 29 African countries, an average of only 23% of the agricultural researchers (covering the government, higher-education, and nonprofit sectors) are female. In relative terms, the share of women in total professional staff increased from 18% in 2000/01 to 23% in 2008. Large variations exist across countries. Female participation in agricultural research and higher education was particularly high in South Africa (40%), Sudan (37%), Mauritius (37%), Eritrea (31%), and Botswana (30%). In contrast, only a small proportion of the agricultural professional staff were women in Guinea (3%), Mauritania (5%), Sierra Leone (5%), Ethiopia (6%), and Niger (8%). Female professional staff were also relatively more highly educated in Kenya, Madagascar, and Mozambique, where more than one fourth of the total held PhD degrees.

The increasing number of women and men that join African agricultural research and higher education institutions were mostly young staff, with relatively low-level degrees and at the beginning of the careers. In a 15-country study, more than one half of the female professional staff were younger than 41 years, compared to 42% of the total male professional staff. Comparably, an average of 31% of total female staff and 27% of total male staff held BSc degrees. These 15-country averages, again, mask a wide variation across countries (Beinteman

and Di Marcantonio 2009). The share of women disproportionately declines on the higher rungs of the career ladder. Only 14% of the management positions were held by women, which is considerably lower than the overall share (24%) of female professional staff employed in agriculture. Women are, therefore, less represented in high-level research, management and decision-making positions. As a result, women have less influence in policy and decision-making processes, which can further result in biased decision making and priority-setting.

2.4 Gender issues in agricultural advisory services

Linkages between research systems, extension agents, advisory services and farmers in Africa are weak (AU-NEPAD 2003). Often researchers have little interaction with extension services and farmers, and do not reflect their priorities in the research agenda. In some cases, the national research programme is defined by donors or individual researchers and may have little relation to national objectives or farmers' needs. The lack of linkages has led in some cases to farmers adopting less than 10 % of the crop varieties that they are offered. In other cases, farmers never learn about new technologies developed in the research systems because effective mechanisms to transfer innovations from research to the extension system do not exist. Finally, the extension services have often failed to reach farmers because their communication strategies are not effective, among other factors. Thus, extension services often miss the farmers who would benefit the most from good advice, namely the women farmers who are responsible for the great majority of agricultural output in most African countries (*Ibid.*).

Besides weaker linkages between research systems, extension agents, advisory services and farmers, there is also little appreciation of the relevance of gender among many agents of advisory services. In Uganda, for instance, the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) developed a "Poverty and Gender Strategy" in 2003, with support from the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) (Republic of Uganda 2003). The strategy detailed the approaches (components and outputs) for addressing poverty and gender concerns within the NAADS programme, including the expected outcomes/impacts. DFID hired a gender advisor for the NAADS for two years.

Unfortunately, the gender advisor was not facilitated to operationalise the developed "Poverty and Gender Strategy". Like an afterthought, she would be given 5 minutes for talking "gender" at meetings and workshops. She neither had a specific budget, nor even a vehicle to visit the numerous NAADS sites spread across districts. Her value to the NAADS was simply not understood. Not unexpectedly, upon expiry of the advisor's contract with DFID, the NAADS did not hire its own gender advisor. The work of the gender advisor was "taken over" by the monitoring and evaluation division, which did not have the requisite skills for gender mainstreaming (Manyire 2011c). The NAADS again did not to make any specific budgetary allocations for gender mainstreaming. Yet, budgetary allocations are some of the most important policy instruments of a programme. For without corresponding budgetary allocations, any programme and/or policy, however gender conscious, will be ineffective. The work of the advisor was, therefore, not fully integrated into the mainstream NAADS programme,

commitments to gender equity in programme design and implementation notwithstanding (*Ibid.*).

Currently, gender-related activities are conducted (if at all) within the framework of farmer institution development (FID), which places greater focus on developing or strengthening farmer capacity to perform multiple functions, and to develop into higher-level institutions, even beyond the sub-county, and contribute to the enhancement of the quality of service delivery. The institutions include farmer groups, farmer fora, parish coordination committees, sub-county enterprise development fund committees, community-based facilitators, etc. The annual sub-county FID budget is 3,893,000/= (US $ 1511), which is evidently too low to take the additional responsibilities of gender mainstreaming (*Ibid.*).

However, the NAADS officials were confident that they "did gender" because there were as many women as men in the NAADS' membership. Initially, between 2003 and 2008, the NAADS carried out elementary gender awareness training among farmer groups. The training emphasized the need for women to embrace the NAADS as much as men by joining farmer groups. However, gender training is not synonymous with gender mainstreaming. Gender training is but one of the many components of gender mainstreaming. Therefore, in linking the promotion of gender mainstreaming (men and women's participation) to poverty reduction and later, growth, employment and prosperity for all, the NAADS have tended to emphasize participation as an aspect of accountability rather than effectiveness and impact (*Ibid.*). Even where there is proportionate representation of women and men in farmer groups accessing advisory services, there are concerns with such conventional approaches that promote "gender equality". As earlier noted, the approaches do not address the difficulties of expressing women's interests within existing frameworks of traditional development practices, which are in subtle ways shrouded in male resistance and silencing and women's own internalized subordination. For poor women and some men, the sense of powerlessness and exclusion is a product not just of their gender subordination, but also of interlocking forms of exclusion, simultaneously linked to their socio-economic status. These relational deprivations of capability are key in limiting women and poor men's adoption capacities (*Ibid.*). Further, they may account for farmers' adoption of less than 10 percent of the crop varieties that they are offered as reported by AU-NEPAD (2003).

2.5 Gender issues in agricultural education and training

Educational institutions of higher learning constitute a microcosm of society and its structural inequalities (Mangheni et al. 2010). They are dynamically related to society; therefore, gender inequality in higher education is a reflection of broader societal structural inequality. Below are sets of factors that constitute gender issues in agricultural education and training.

2.5.1 Socio-cultural factors

Mangheni et al. (2010) noted a series of gender issues in agricultural education and training. First and foremost were socio-cultural factors, such as family expectations, societal images

and gender stereotypes that act as key barriers to girls' and women's access to education in general. These were said to restrict access to, progression in, and the type of education that girls and women opt for. Girls are encouraged to take up fields of study which correspond to the stereotypic traditional household roles of women as wives and mothers. These roles are promoted and reinforced by educational institutions and family expectations, and, as a result, the uptake of, and attainment in, sciences in general and agriculture in particular among girls has been low, while enrolment in "softer" subjects is high. Mathematics, science in general, and agriculture in particular, are perceived as masculine disciplines, where women are not expected to possess the physical, mental and social capabilities to succeed, hence are further not expected to obtain as highly remunerative employment as men (*Ibid.*).

Besides the wider societal gender issues influencing women's participation in agricultural education and training, Mangheni et al. (2010) added that there are a range of issues within Africa Universities, which impede women's access, retention and performance at this level. First are gender disparities in enrolment in agricultural training courses. In Universities in the Eastern, Central and Southern African (ECSA), only one quarter of undergraduate agricultural students are female. Again, only 16% of the graduate students are women. One of the key factors curtailing attainment of gender parity was the small numbers of girls who meet requirements for admission in Universities due to fewer numbers of girls taking science subjects in high school. Another key limiting factor for women's progression to postgraduate degree level is society's expectation that women should marry early, yet the University environment lacks sufficient supportive services for married female students. Therefore, women have to make a choice between pursuing higher degrees and establishing a stable family (*Ibid.*).

2.5.2 Negative perceptions of agriculture

Another gender issue in agricultural education and training is the negative perception of agriculture in many countries of sub-Saharan Africa, which have curtailed enrollment by both men and women, but more especially women (*Ibid.*). Agriculture is associated with poverty, drudgery, remoteness and poor working conditions. There are also perceptions that agricultural careers involve fieldwork in remote communities, which contrast with perceptions that women should not travel in order to be close to their families to facilitate reproductive and household management roles. Female students in agriculture also experience negative attitudes from fellow students, lecturers and family members who question their choice of field, which makes it difficult for them to feel confident and take pride in their studies. Once in higher learning institutions, women are more likely to select courses within agriculture that are perceived to correspond to their gender roles and are more socially conforming, similar to the trends described at the secondary school level. Examples of such courses preferred by women include Home Economics, Nutrition and Food Science and Technology, while in contrast, men are more likely to take Agricultural Engineering or Agronomy (*Ibid.*).

2.5.3 Content and experience of agricultural learning

Mangheni et al. (2010) further noted that there is evidence of gender bias in the formal and informal delivery of the curriculum in agricultural higher education. The bias was traced to

course content and the learning experiences that often translated into gendered attrition and retention. Classroom practices, course materials and course content reflect the underlying values of institutions and wider society, incorporating gender biases and stereotypes that hinder gender-sensitive learning. There are instances where female students receive less 'hands-on' experience than male students in some field activities, because of the gender stereotypical view that women do not possess the physical strength or wherewithal to carry out practical tasks, such as inseminating animals or castration (*Ibid.*). During practical lessons, women are often asked to take notes and record findings, instead of participating in the experiment or the activity itself. This puts women at a disadvantage regarding acquisition of practical skills.

2.5.4 University cultures

Most institutional cultures, including University cultures, are not friendly to women and students from disadvantaged regions. The expression of gender stereotypes and biases are often reflected in institutional behaviour, attitudes and language used by students and staff, which can marginalise women in agricultural training programmes (*Ibid.*). There are instances where female staff experience gender-based stereotypes and biases during promotion procedures. Female students also feel uncomfortable with inappropriate sexual remarks by male lecturers during class, which are embarrassing. There is also evidence of higher learning institutions displaying intolerant attitudes towards pregnant students or female students who are considered to dress provocatively. This "masculine culture" in higher education creates an insecure environment for women's participation in University life (*Ibid.*).

2.5.5 Gender issues affecting female staff in faculties of agriculture

Compared to men, women constitute a minority of the staff in Faculties of Agriculture in African Universities, especially in senior positions. The career progression for women is much slower than that of men. Studies have shown the proportion of women academic staff in Faculties of Agriculture to be as low as between 6.1% to 20% (*Ibid*.). Within the Faculties, higher numbers of female staff tend to be found in departments teaching courses that have traditionally been dominated by women, such as food science and technology. Women also tend to hold more junior positions. With the exception of a few Universities, the vast majority have either just one or no woman professor. Though there is no formal discrimination against women in career progression, institutional factors as well as external factors (marriage, domestic responsibilities and culture) limit their progression. The external factors limit women academics' participation in research, culminating in fewer publications, which contribute heavily to consideration for promotion. Another issue is that in most Universities, there are few women in leadership positions, with one study reporting only 17% of the management positions in Faculties of Agriculture occupied by women compared to 83% by men (*Ibid.*). Some of the factors that explain this gap include few women with relevant qualifications, especially in fields that have historically been dominated by men, and reluctance by some qualified women to take up administrative responsibilities due to challenges of balancing career and caring responsibilities. In addition, women in leadership positions do challenge rather than support their counterparts who are not in positions of responsibility. The absence

of women in senior positions means that they are largely absent from discussions where issues pertaining to higher education are deliberated, and this may result in gender-biased decision making (*Ibid.*).

Kayobyo et al. (2011b) identified the following as factors that do limit women's career progression:

1. Impact of multiple responsibilities (teaching, research and family obligations) and the challenges faced in undertaking all these responsibilities simultaneously.

2. Women who chose to devote their earlier years to family often feel later on that the opportunity to advance in their career through further training has passed. Yet most University/College policies on promotion demand that minimum eligibility for positions of senior lecturer and above is a PhD. Unfortunately, most women lecturers do not have PhD qualifications.

3. Limited opportunities for female staff to network, i.e., limited fora for women to share experiences, challenges, good practices and learn from one another ways of circumnavigating leadership challenges induced by their gender.

4. Absence of support structures for women in leadership.

5. Absence of visible role models and mentors. The relative lack of role models, and the relative invisibility of highly successful career women who are balancing successfully their home and career responsibilities, seem to make it difficult to convince more young women that it is possible to be simultaneously a professional and a wife/mother.

6. Institutional challenges women face in balancing their roles is not appreciated.

7. The 5-7 year duration of some PhD programmes is a serious deterrent to women, considering their family commitments.

8. The "glass ceiling", which implies that some women get contented with their first degree or Masters degrees and may need a "push" for them to study for higher degrees.

It is in regard to the aforementioned gender issues in agricultural education and training that the Ministerial Communiqué issued at the Ministerial Conference on Higher Education in Agriculture in Africa (CHEA), held in Kampala from 15 to 19 November 2010, made the following resolutions on promoting women's education and leadership in higher education in agriculture:

1. Ministries of Education and institutions of higher education should create and/or strengthen institutional frameworks for gender mainstreaming at national and institutional levels, through development and review of gender policies that are accompanied by effective strategies, monitoring and accountability systems and adequate resources.

2. Ministries of Education, institutions of higher education and other relevant actors to (should) create a conducive and friendly environment for women and girls' education and career advancement at all levels (i.e., adequate infrastructure, curriculum, facilities, teachers, support of practical needs of women/girls, biological and social roles, etc.).

3. Ministries of Education and institutions of higher education to (should) establish mechanisms for continuous awareness-creation for girls, families, communities and teachers to motivate them toward choosing science in school and agricultural careers (Ministerial Communiqué 2010, p. 7).

2.5.6 Status of institutionalisation of gender mainstreaming in African universities

African Universities are at varying levels of establishing institutional frameworks for mainstreaming gender therein. Formulation of gender policies, coupled with structures and resources for implementation, is a sign of commitment to gender mainstreaming to promote gender justice and manage and prevent gender-based violence, discrimination and injustice (AAU 2006). However, only a few African Universities have gender policies, and their status of implementation varies (RUFORUM 2010). The University of Botswana, Sokoine University of Agriculture, Eduardo Mondlane University, the University of Nairobi, and Egerton University have developed gender policies. The Makerere University's gender policy was still a draft, although the university has a fully fledged Gender Mainstreaming Division under the Academic Registrar's office. Others, such as Eduardo Mondlane University, have *ad hoc* gender mainstreaming strategies, while the National University of Burundi did not have a gender policy (*Ibid.*).

It is important to note, though, that the presence of a policy is not a sufficient condition to ensure its implementation at all levels within institutions. Effective institutionalisation and implementation of the gender policies requires a robust combination of political will, technical expertise, resources, and a realistic time-frame within which to achieve measurable benchmarks, with specific persons and organs designated for implementation and regular monitoring (AAU 2006).

Section 3: Opportunities for institutional learning to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD

3.1 Introduction

Opportunities for institutional learning are derived from the commitments to promoting gender equality evident in the SROs' gender policies, strategies, plans and programmes. The goal of investigating the opportunities for institutional learning is to see how they can serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. In the discussion that follows, we provide an analysis of the information we gathered from eight of the African institutions that were studied. The organizations are not listed here individually, because the sections that follow are arranged by organization, and each organization is clearly identified in the subheadings that follow.

3.2 Opportunities for institutional learning from CCARDESA/SADC

Forsythe and Martin (2011) reported that SADC has had long-established institutional measures addressing Gender and Development in the sub-region. These include the establishment of the Gender Unit, aimed at mainstreaming gender perspectives and concerns in policies, plans and programmes of member states. The SADC Gender Unit, which was tasked with gender mainstreaming in the sub-region, established a Protocol

on Gender and Development that was signed by Heads of member states on 17 August 2008 in Johannesburg (SADC 2008). The Protocol holds countries accountable for adopting policies that empower women, eliminate discrimination, achieve gender equality and equity, and harmonise the implementation instruments of the protocol (*Ibid.*). The SADC Gender Protocol provides a target of at least 30% of women's participation and involvement of women in senior management positions (SADC 2008), which has been increased to 50 % in some SADC member states (Forsythe and Martin 2011). In addition, in 2009, SADC produced a comprehensive Gender Mainstreaming Resource Kit, complete with Facilitators' guide, general facilitation guidelines, notes to exercises and glossary sections (SADC 2009). Part One of the Gender Mainstreaming Resource Kit has separate chapters that introduce key gender concepts, legal and policy frameworks, gender and planning, and gender in project implementation. Part Two of the Kit dwells on gender mainstreaming within sectors, and those covered in separate chapters include sectors such as Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources; Trade Industry Finance and Investment; Infrastructure and Services; Social, Human Development and Special Programmes; Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation; Administration and Human Resources; and Information, Communication and Media (*Ibid.*).

Chapter Six of the SADC Gender Mainstreaming Resource Kit focuses on Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources (FANR), and it is aligned to Article 18 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, which provides that State Parties shall, by 2015, review all policies and laws that determine access to, control of, and benefit from, productive resources by women in order to

a.   end all discrimination against women and girls with regard to water rights and property, such as land and tenure thereof;

b.   ensure that women have equal access and rights to credit, capital, mortgages, security and training as men; and

c.   ensure that women have access to modern, appropriate and affordable technology and support services (SADC 2008, p. 16).

The chapter guides facilitators and readers on requirements for mainstreaming gender in food security management, by posing key guide questions, and providing variables for analysis (head of household profile, household education, human capital factors, HIV/AIDS and food security, food sources by gender and age of household head, community perceptions of the most vulnerable and women's access to productive resources, especially rights to own land, access to credit and capital, etc.). Further, the chapter poses guide questions and provides guide notes and exercises on how to identify gender concerns in FANR plans and programmes, as well as attendant legal and policy instruments. Furthermore, the chapter highlights gender-action planning and provides a gender analysis framework for agriculture that includes the following:

1.   Gendered activity profile (women and men's roles in domestic tasks, in production of goods and services, in reproductive and human resource maintenance activities, in community work and in community organization and activities);

2.   Access and control profile (men and women's resources and constraints, benefits and incentives, analysis of structural and socio-cultural factors);

3. Analysis of the project cycle and project design issues (project framework, access, participation, production, training, information, institution building); and

4. Key gender issues and strategies in selected sub-sectors in the FANR, such as fisheries, livestock, and irrigation (SADC 2009).

SADC has also developed a Regional Agricultural Policy (SADC 2012) that is also aligned to the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. Gender is equally integrated into the Regional Agricultural Policy, which states that gender equity and empowerment is an established regional priority at three levels: first, as a human rights issue; second, as an economic/developmental issue; and third, as a social issue (SADC 2012, p. 78). The Regional Agricultural Policy further states that gender equality is of significant importance not only to agriculture as women make up at least half the rural work force, but also for the reason that rural societies tend to be more conservative and traditional in their cultural practices. For these reasons, the agricultural policy may have a more significant role to play in promoting gender equality than policies in other sectors (*Ibid.*).

Drawn from the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, the overall goal identified for the Regional Agricultural Policy in relation to gender issues is to identify and disseminate technical knowledge of improved approaches to closing the gender gap on access to land, financial services, water management, agricultural production and market access to smallholder farmers, particularly women farmers (*Ibid.*). This will provide both increased local food supplies and improved linkages to the agri-business chain for processing, transporting and supply in the region. The SADC Regional Agricultural Policy adds that the inclusion of gender as a policy issue in the regional agricultural policy is justified on added-value terms only if the policy issue can be translated, at national level, into specific and meaningful interventions and measures (*Ibid.*).

The SADC Regional Agricultural Policy clearly articulates the significance of gender equity in agriculture and points to the need for mitigating gender-related vulnerability and marginalization. The policy also places gender within the wider development context when it states that

> "the importance of agriculture to social and economic growth, poverty reduction, food security, gender equity and nutrition remains central to the region's overall developmental agenda" (SADC 2012, p. 9).

The SADC Regional Agricultural Policy also recognises the relevance of a sound agricultural policy, in close liaison with health and education, in playing a significant role in promoting gender equality, compared to many other sectoral policies (*Ibid.*). According to the policy, gender issues in rural areas affect the key roles women play in food security, particularly child nutrition which, in turn, may also affect the health, education and labour capacity of succeeding generations. The opposite relationship, i.e., the impact of agricultural development patterns on gender, is also important considering that women make up at least half the rural work force (*Ibid.*). Therefore, the interventions identified in support of agriculture's contribution to reducing social and economic vulnerability of the region's population in the context of food security and changing economic environment include the following:

1. promoting the drafting, ratification, implementation and enforcement of national legislation that effectively mainstreams and takes into account gender issues in relevance to agriculture and food security;

2. mainstreaming gender issues in the relevant Regional Agricultural Policy (RAP) interventions; and

3. mainstreaming maternal and child malnutrition in the relevant RAP interventions.

From the foregoing, it is clear that SADC/CCARDESSA presents theoretical opportunities for institutional learning to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. But the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development seems to lack an implementation strategy, while the SADC Regional Agricultural Policy seems to lack a strategy for mainstreaming gender. Secondly, we are yet to know the extent of practical gender mainstreaming implemented by SADC/CCARDESSA, because they did not respond to our interview guide.

3.3 Opportunities for institutional learning from CORAF

CORAF has developed a draft Gender Policy and Strategy (CORAF/WECARD 2010a) that lays emphasis on strengthening gender equality, through the improvement of the reaction and sensitization of the staff of CORAF/WECARD and institutions of countries in the region that are engaged in integrated agricultural research for development. The policy promotes the participation of the two sexes and gives them equal opportunities. The Gender Policy will be implemented through a strategy that clearly explains and provides the resources to translate the policy elements to the different institutional levels, and through operations integrated into the programmes and projects. It involves new mechanisms, responsibilities, institutional mechanisms and key functions (*Ibid.*).

The key elements of CORAF/WECARD's gender policy are as follows:

1. Inculcating a long-term institutional gender expertise in CORAF/WECARD to enable the staff to systematically incorporate gender issues into all programmes.

2. Ensuring that research programmes of CORAF/WECARD affect women and men equitably and give consideration to their specific needs and concerns during planning, implementation and evaluation.

3. Including gender analysis, particularly the collection and analysis of disaggregated data by sex, in methodologies of research programmes of CORAF/WECARD.

4. Assisting the institutions of the NARS of member countries of CORAF/WECARD in formulating national strategies to reduce gender disparities in agricultural research programmes (*Ibid.*).

The overall objective of the CORAF/WECARD Gender Policy is to include gender equity and equality concepts in all the strategies, programmes and operational plans related to agricultural research, in order to support the full realization of the development objectives of CORAF/WECARD. As an organization coordinating regional agricultural research in West and Central

Africa and working towards promoting gender equality in the region, CORAF/WECARD gender policy aims at the following:

1. integrating the current reflection on gender and development issues;
2. increasing the number of project components that benefit men and women equitably according to their specific needs;
3. establishing institutional mechanisms aimed at reducing inequalities between men and women; and
4. supporting the establishment of long-term expertise within CORAF/WECARD to enhance its gender integration process (*Ibid.*).

The CORAF/WECARD Gender Policy is supported by a gender strategy that constitutes the means to implement it. The strategy is in conformity with gender development objectives of continental and regional organizations, such as notably the AU-NEPAD, FARA, Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in the West and Central Africa (WCA) region, SROs, the International Agricultural Research Centres (IARCs), and is linked to regional and international conventions on the topic (*Ibid.*). The strategy aims at ensuring that all efforts deployed for agricultural research and development in West and Central Africa are oriented towards achieving equitably beneficial impacts for both men and women. For the implementation of the Gender policy, CORAF/WECARD is governed by the following principles:

1. Provision of an adequate strategic framework for the approaches and practices;
2. Definition of procedures/strategies for the creation of coordination programmes;
3. Support to countries in the sub-region in strengthening the efficiency of operational approaches in agricultural research, which takes into consideration gender issues;
4. Establishment of a conducive framework to address some of the emerging issues relative to women in the region;
5. Introduction of new institutional mechanisms to improve and increase performances and activities aimed at improving the status of women.

Through a series of targeted activities, the gender strategy aims at offering four clear results:

1. the integration of gender issues in the conception and implementation of agricultural research programmes;
2. the consideration of sex-specific issues in agricultural research and development at the level of national agricultural research programmes;
3. the improvement of opportunities offered to women to access key management positions at the level of sub-regional agricultural research;
4. an increase in awareness of gender issues to the benefit of staff at the Executive Secretariat of CORAF/WECARD, as well of NARS institutions in countries of the sub-region (*Ibid.*).

The CORAF/WECARD Gender Policy does not provide many opportunities for institutional learning to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD, probably because it is still in draft form. The interview with the CORAF Gender Adviser revealed, however, that she had been tasked with reworking and updating the Gender Policy.

3.4 Opportunities for institutional learning from ASARECA

ASARECA has developed a Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan 2011–2015 (ASARECA 2011) aimed at mainstreaming gender into its agricultural research agenda and institutional frameworks. The ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan is informed by sound gender analysis that expounds that gender equality requires changing underlying social norms, in addition to observable outcomes and changes in laws, institutions and policies. Further, it recognises that measuring gender equality and women's empowerment cannot be conducted through a single indicator. While equality indicators measure women's status relative to that of men and are expressed as ratios, empowerment indicators measure changes in absolute levels of women's well-being, rather than in comparison with men (*Ibid.*).

The goal of their strategy is to ensure that ASARECA achieves gender responsiveness at all levels of institutional frameworks, and at all stages of design, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of its agricultural research agenda. This strategy will be implemented within the institutional framework of ASARECA. The primary responsibility will lie with the Gender Unit and Programme staff, with clear gender indicators that have been developed and incorporated within the ASARECA Monitoring and Evaluation mechanisms.

The strategic objectives of the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan have been described as follows:

1. To develop a better understanding of gender among the NARS and key partners.
2. To influence donors and government agricultural policies towards becoming more gender responsive.
3. To secure adequate and equitable allocation of resources for gender mainstreaming (GM).
4. To institutionalise GM at ASARECA.

To operationalise those objectives, two thematic areas have been developed, targeting specific audiences:

Theme I: Developing institutional mechanisms for GM in ASARECA, targeting all NARS in East and Central Africa (ECA).

Theme II: Integrating gender in ASARECA programmes/projects, targeting ASARECA and its implementing partners.

For purposes of implementation, there are six results that must be achieved by 2015:

1. Developing an ECA regional gender policy by the end of 2011.
2. Providing a regional platform for exchange of experiences and the most effective practices through a GM working group by the end of 2011.
3. Supporting the NARS and implementing partners to develop and sustain systems for GM by 2014.
4. Building capacity in gender analysis and GM for researchers and managers of NARS in ten countries by the end of 2012.

5. Facilitating integration of gender into mechanisms and methodologies of ASARECA's programmes and projects by 2014.

6. Generating criteria for gender compliance through developing gendered performance indicators for ASARECA projects and programmes by 2014 (*Ibid.*).

Results areas 1-3 fall under thematic area I and have been identified in order to develop a regional infrastructure that will guide policy changes (direction and coherence) in the NARS, ASARECA management and implementing partners.

The expected outputs of thematic area I include

1. A gender policy to guide the process of GM.

2. A gender action plan in programmes to implement the policy.

3. A gender unit / programme established in the organizational structure.

4. Gender responsive plans, documents and reports.

The expected outcomes of thematic area I include

1. Coherent GM in institutions.

2. Coordinated and effective GM activities.

3. Gender-disaggregated statistics and information.

4. Effective documentation and dissemination of useful messages and the best practices in GM.

Results areas 4-6 (see list above) are aimed at enhancing behavioral change among the targeted audience. The expected outputs of thematic area II include the following:

1. ASARECA researchers and managers will be trained in concepts and tools for GM.

2. Gender issues/concerns will be integrated into the research programmes and projects.

3. Gender analysis will be conducted at each stage of the planning, implementation and monitoring and evaluation cycle, with clear sex-disaggregated statistics and targets.

4. Progress of implementation of the gender policy and strategy will be reported in both quantitative and qualitative terms.

5. Gender Disaggregated Data will be available in all ASARECA programmes.

The expected outcomes of thematic area II include

1. Gender responsive programmes/projects.

2. Increased demand for gender-responsive and gender-specific technology.

3. Increased uptake by both female and male consumers.

4. Creation of a staff body with adequate skills and knowledge for the implementation of GM in agricultural research.

Implementation of the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan will primarily be conducted with the help of the Gender Unit at the ASARECA Secretariat. The implementation of the strategy in the programmes, however, will be the responsibility of the programmes themselves, with support from the centre. The NARS will be offered support by the Gender Unit to implement parts of the policy that fall within the mandate of the Secretariat (*Ibid.*).

In order to achieve the six strategic objectives of GM, ASARECA has distinguished the following interlinked interventions:

1. Research
2. Capacity building
3. Awareness creation
4. Monitoring & Evaluation and advocacy
5. Partnership and collaboration
6. Participatory learning

For purposes of monitoring and evaluating progress made in implementing the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan, the Gender Unit will work closely with the ASARECA Monitoring and Evaluation Unit to develop a set of gender indicators that will be incorporated in the institutions' Monitoring and Evaluation framework/mechanisms. In addition, the Gender Unit will develop a gender Monitoring and Evaluation plan to keep track of the implementation of the strategy (*Ibid.*).

The expected outcomes of monitoring and evaluating progress made in implementing the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan include the following:

1. Having a participatory gender-responsive Monitoring and Evaluation framework in place.
2. Gender analysis reflected at every stage of Monitoring and Evaluation in programmes/projects.
3. Sex-disaggregated data mandatory in Monitoring and Evaluation reports.
4. Staff with skills and knowledge to mainstream gender in Monitoring and Evaluation processes.
5. Improved knowledge, attitudes, and skills related to gender evaluation among research managers and staff.

Theoretically, the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan, 2011–2015, offers excellent opportunities for institutional learning to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. The Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan clearly delineates actions aimed at mainstreaming gender in agricultural research and at institutional levels. It is further informed by sound gender analysis and distinguishes between indicators for measuring gender equality and women's empowerment, which most gender strategies do not. In addition, the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan entails results areas for achieving its strategic objectives. Expected outputs and outcomes under each thematic area are equally delineated. Further, a Gender Unit at the ASARECA Secretariat will be established to spearhead the implementation of the strategy, although responsibility for mainstreaming in the programmes will be the responsibility of the programmes themselves, with support from the centre. Furthermore, the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan has clear plans for its monitoring and evaluation, with the Gender and Monitoring and Evaluation Units having the key responsibilities for keeping track of the implementation of the strategy. Another impressive feature of the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan is that the expected outcomes of progress made in monitoring

and evaluation are set out in the strategy. All these are opportunities for institutional learning to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. Practical lessons are not yet available because the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan is yet to be implemented, as it was formulated as recently as 2011.

3.5 Opportunities for institutional learning from RUFORUM

RUFORUM developed a draft Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming in 2011, covering member Universities in the Eastern Central and Southern Africa (ECSA) region and other relevant actors (Kayobyo, et al., 2011a). The need for a gender policy and strategy was partly derived from RUFORUM research findings under the Strengthening Capacity for Agricultural Research and Development in Africa (SCARDA) programme, which indicated low participation of women in higher education in agriculture (Blackie et. al., 2009; Forsythe et. al., 2010; Magheni et. al., 2010) and partly from its own commissioned issues paper on Gender in RUFORUM (Kayobyo, et. al., 2011b). Based on these findings, RUFORUM's approach is to promote equal opportunities and outcomes for men and women in agricultural research, training and outreach. Forsythe and Martin (2011) observed that overall, the RUFORUM gender mainstreaming policy and strategy is comprehensive, covering all of RUFORUM's activities both operationally and organizationally in higher education and research, including establishing an evidence base for policies and programmes, and strengthening the gender mainstreaming capacity and monitoring system. The policy is also both well articulated and realistic, and comprehensive detail is provided on the goals, indicators, activities and sub-activities, lines of responsibility and monitoring and evaluation (*Ibid.*). Nonetheless, the RUFORUM Ten Year Strategic Plan 2006–2016 (RUFORUM 2005) is silent on gender. Evidently, the Strategic Plan was developed six years before the gender mainstreaming policy and strategy was developed. The RUFORUM Ten Year Strategic Plan 2006–2016, therefore, requires revising, so that it is aligned to the gender mainstreaming policy and strategy.

However, the RUFORUM draft Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming offers excellent opportunities for institutional learning to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. First, the policy acknowledges that there are gender gaps within the entire formal learning environments, which widen at higher levels of education in general but more specifically in the science and technological fields (RUFORUM 2011). RUFORUM is simultaneously cognizant of a masculine bias at the heart of most academic disciplines, methodologies and theories. The policy also acknowledges that much as issues of addressing gender gaps are often included in development programmes and projects, the inclusion is often solely an afterthought or a separate and mutually exclusive category. As a departure from conventional "inclusion" of gender into the development processes, the RUFORUM policy seeks to address the broader social and institutional contexts that perpetuate gender discrimination in higher agricultural education. This includes taking cognizance of the heterogeneity of women and men in terms of geographical location, ethnicity, age, and disability, all of which impact differently on women and men and can aggravate existing gender-based exclusion and discrimination. At institutional levels, RUFORUM further notes that there is varied understanding of the basic facts and concerns about gender among staff in member

Universities. Scepticism towards gender has been perpetuated by traditional beliefs and values which permeate organizational culture. Such ambivalent attitudes limit the efforts to mainstream gender. The persistent lack of operational understanding of gender issues, coupled with limited technical ability to mainstream gender, call for institutional capacity building and staff training about gender (*Ibid.*).

Thus, gender mainstreaming places new demands on the organization's governance and management structures, its staff, as well as the staff of member Universities where RUFORUM programmes and projects are implemented. RUFORUM recognises the ongoing need for institutional capacity building and staff training about gender, so that all key players are able to ensure that gender concerns are part of the mainstream RUFORUM activities. This, according to RUFORUM, will require changing attitudes, developing new skills and acquiring new working methods and tools. It also means revisiting organizational culture. The objective is to change the way RUFORUM works, so that gender mainstreaming is not limited to adding or integrating more women into activities (*Ibid.*).

To this end, RUFORUM will develop gender analytical tools, frameworks and "user's guide"/ manuals to guide its various staff and officials as well as implementers of its programmes and project, including students in the training programmes, on how to integrate gender in their work. Development of the tools will build on, and learn from, existing tools developed by other organizations, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), among others. Development of the tools will be followed by hands-on training of the various staff and officials in their use (*Ibid.*). In addition to development and sharing gender-mainstreaming tools, targeted training will be provided to RUFORUM staff, as well as gender focal persons in Universities and the focus faculties/colleges, to empower them as leaders in gender mainstreaming in their respective departments and/or universities. However, all these are still policy proposals because the draft policy is yet to be adopted by member Universities and implemented.

The objectives of the gender training programme will be as follows:

1. Raise the level of awareness and understanding of gender issues, its related concepts and language;
2. Support changes in attitudes and behavior and, strengthen the vision, capacity and processes needed to build a more gender-responsive organizational culture; and
3. Provide staff, programme/project implementers and grantees with the skills necessary to appropriately ensure the effective integration of gender issues in all stages of the programming and project cycle, thereby broadening RUFORUM's mainstreaming efforts.

The comprehensive sub-activities will include

1. Training all RUFORUM staff on gender and use of gender analytical tools and frameworks;
2. Training all leaders of RUFORUM projects and programmes on gender analysis;
3. Sensitizing RUFORUM governance and management structures on gender;
4. Getting the gender expertise to support the implementation of gender policy;

5. Mentoring of staff on how to undertake gender analysis and addressing gender in the programme cycle;

6. Provision of technical backstopping to the gender units / focal persons in member universities;

7. Increasing access to gender-focused technical materials, notably tool kits; and

8. Facilitating sharing of experiences, good practices, and lessons in mainstreaming gender.

At institutional and governance levels, the RUFORUM Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming pledges to integrate gender perspectives into its programme cycle. Its human resource policies will be reviewed to ensure that they adequately address gender concerns. Gender will be included in staff job descriptions, the management structure and process and at all levels of responsibility for implementing RUFORUM programmes and projects. The Terms of Reference (TOR) documents for programme/project implementers will explicitly address gender. Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming will also undertake measures to ensure gender sensitivity in programme/staff meetings. RUFORUM will institutionalise an incentive system for staff, programme implementers and grantees who effectively integrate gender. RUFORUM will further recognise and reward outstanding efforts and innovations, with measurable positive impact beyond the stated goals related to gender mainstreaming, by RUFORUM staff, programme/projects and Universities. Criteria for the incentive system will be developed and shared with stakeholders (*Ibid.*).

In the context of a gender responsive Monitoring and Evaluation system, RUFORUM recognises the importance of gender-focused performance indicators for monitoring the progress of measures to promote gender equality. Hence, identification of gender-sensitive qualitative and quantitative indicators for specific tasks will be one of the key steps in developing RUFORUM interventions. Clear systems and procedures will be established for checking progress and reporting on achievements of gender mainstreaming. The RUFORUM Monitoring and Evaluation unit will collect and utilize gender-disaggregated data, so as to analyse the impact of interventions. RUFORUM will also encourage the collection and use of gender-disaggregated data in reporting by implementers of its programmes and projects. The system will provide both quantitative and qualitative gender-disaggregated data for reporting progress on implementation of the gender policy and strategy. In order to track progress, the RUFORUM Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming will initially undertake baseline surveys, employing gender analysis to establish current status, and thus provide references points with regard to gender for the key milestones and indicators of its various programme and projects, as well as its member universities (*Ibid.*).

The RUFORUM Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming recognises that achieving the goal of gender equality takes time and resources. Hence, gender sensitivity in allocation of resources must be made to achieve success towards increased participation of the disadvantaged groups in higher agricultural education and research. Without gender budgeting, it is not possible to mainstream gender effectively and sustainably in an organization. Since resources are always limited, there are competing demands for these limited resources during programme implementation. There is, therefore, a need to secure adequate resources for promotion of

gender equality activities, as well as to ensure equitable allocation of the available resources (financial, human, time, physical, etc.) for the gender mainstreaming process at RUFORUM. This will enable gender-responsive projects to be developed and implemented, and thus enhance knowledge and skills in gender mainstreaming through capacity-building activities.

The RUFORUM Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming impressively states that no commitment speaks louder than financial commitments. The RUFORUM policy states that budget commitments will reflect gender commitments. RUFORUM will adopt gender budgeting to ensure gender sensitivity in budget allocations. Gender-responsive budgets (GRB) look at biases that can arise because a person is male or female, but at the same time consider the disadvantage suffered as a result of ethnicity, caste, class or poverty status, location and age. GRB is not about separate budgets for women or men nor about budgets divided equally. It is about determining where the needs of men and women are the same, and where they differ. Where the needs are different, allocations should be different (*Ibid.*).

The RUFORUM Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming specifically mentions that gender budgeting will be utilized to provide resources for deepening efforts for increasing the number of women and other disadvantaged groups participating in higher education and research programmes through the following steps:

1. Employing gender-responsive strategies in admissions of graduate students in agricultural training and research. For instance, establish affirmative action quotas for admission of women and other disadvantaged groups for MSc and PhD training.

2. Providing specific scholarships for women and other disadvantaged groups at MSc and PhD levels. Such scholarships would be widely advertised, and efforts would be made to use the media accessed by the disadvantaged groups/regions, so as to attract girls and boys from those regions.

3. Providing extra tickets for female and married students in RUFORUM training programmes.

4. Training scholarships to cater for gender-specific needs of married students.

5. Developing flexible PhD programmes: Funding should be targeted at encouraging people in the disadvantaged groups (particularly women) to undertake PhD programmes, including female staff at learning institutions. Pilot mainstreaming flexibility in the PhD programmes through allowing more time for completion, electronic correspondence, limited class time, etc. Scholarships for PhD should be linked with personal support through assigning mentors, and with providing administrative, professional and other personal support.

6. Strengthening skills in proposal writing for disadvantaged groups.

7. Supporting participation of women academic staff in Professional Skills Development events, in order for them to be eligible for representation to higher office and become gender sensitive.

8. Advocating for and supporting mentoring programmes for female professional staff. Mentoring programmes to offer mentorship opportunities for female professionals in the agriculture and science sectors, along with opportunities to network with female scientists across Africa (*Ibid.*).

3.5.1 Support for mainstreaming gender in university curricula

At the programme level, the RUFORUM Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming is aware that most educational institutions were developed by males and for males. Later, when women's colleges were developed, they were also patterned after male institutions. The belief was that this would give women an education equivalent to that of men. Consequently, agricultural training institutions are reported not to address the problem of gender-insensitive curriculum and instructional materials. Subsequently, agricultural training institutions do not empower future curriculum developers and teachers with the skills to challenge existing gender insensitivity, bias and discrimination. According to Lowe-Morna (2001), merely increasing the number of women in top positions does not result in better coverage of women's issues and more equitable workplace environments. Hence, educational institutions should include gender in educational training and curricula, so as to avoid sidelining of gender and development issues.

Therefore, in order to promote gender-responsive graduate training programmes and practices in agricultural education institutions in ECSA, the RUFORUM secretariat pledges to support mainstreaming of gender in higher education curricula, to ensure that graduates are capable of identifying and addressing gender issues in their work. The training programmes initiated with the support of RUFORUM will provide the entry point for this effort. The Board will then spearhead calls to the Universities to scale out these efforts. The following will constitute sub-activities.

1. Address the modes of learning, knowing and valuing that may be common to women and men in developing the curriculum of RUFORUM training programmes;

2. Advocate for the integration of female-specific issues into the curriculum for higher education in agricultural institutions; and

3. Advocate for all agricultural training institutions to have a course on gender analysis for all students.

Laudable as these policy suggestions are, RUFORUM ought to extend these efforts to under-graduate and high school learning environments, which prepare postgraduate students. Otherwise, RUFORUM will not address the genesis of institutional discrimination affecting programme uptake of females at higher levels of agricultural training and education.

And finally, the RUFORUM Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming adheres to the key tenet of gender mainstreaming philosophy that notes that responsibility for implementation of gender mainstreaming lies with all staff. RUFORUM notes that a gender policy does not "walk" by itself. Its implementation demands clear organizational responsibilities that need to be established in RUFORUM and its network. And these duties and responsibilities commit each and every body and individual to creating and nurturing a gender-responsive organizational culture. The policy concludes that all departments, programmes and projects of RUFORUM will comply with the gender policy and strategy for gender mainstreaming.

3.6 Opportunities for institutional learning from ANAFE

We could not assess the opportunities for institutional learning from ANAFE to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD, because ANAFE had neither a gender

policy nor a strategy. Attempts to get ANAFE to respond to our interview guide were met with the following response from the Executive Secretary, ANAFE:

> "I looked at the questionnaire you sent and I found it more relevant to training institutions and difficult for me to respond to. ANAFE is not a training institution but a network of training institutions, with headquarters based in Nairobi. We have a very small secretariat. Our staff is composed of 5 persons at the Secretariat (3 men and 2 women), and the regional offices are coordinated by 3 men and 1 woman. We have a programme running called Strengthening Africa's Strategic Agricultural Capacity for Impact on Development (SASACID) which has a component on gender in agribusiness but it is just starting."

3.7 Opportunities for institutional learning from AFAAS

AFAAS is yet to develop a gender policy and/or strategy. Interviews held with the AFAAS Executive Director and Technical Assistant revealed, however, that a gender policy/strategy would be in place by 2013. Nonetheless, AFAAS has developed a Strategic Plan, 2011- 2015 in which gender features prominently (AFAAS 2011a). The AFAAS Strategic Plan has a section on Poverty and Gender Targeting, which states that supporting and spearheading continental agricultural development to impact on poverty has to have an approach that combines the following:

1. the potential for sectoral growth through value chain development;

2. the need for more appropriate innovation and service systems for poorer, marginalised smallholder farmers, to strengthen local food self-sufficiency and improve household nutrition; and

3. targeting women and youth, since these are the social groups whose livelihoods are critically dependant on agriculture and who are most actively and intensively involved in agriculture.

The AFAAS Strategic Plan, 2011-2015 is also cognizant of the linkages between social exclusion, gender and poverty. It mentions that the objective of realising the full potential of agriculture to generate wealth and be the engine for Africa's economic development must be pursued with some caution, because not all economic growth benefits the poor and often it can affect them quite adversely. AFAAS strategies have to ensure that attention is paid to the division of labour and resources, to ensure that technologies that have economies of scale do not favour the wealthy at the expense of the poor. This is especially so in the case of yield or profit-enhancing developments, which often adversely affect the welfare of the poor, women and other disadvantaged groups. Important pro-poor measures must include employment generation and microfinance that can reduce vulnerability while contributing to agricultural growth. Care must be taken to ensure that reforms in Agricultural Services (AAS) directed at economic growth do not come with unacceptable levels of increased risk and vulnerability. The AAS should balance the promotion of technological change that promotes specialisation with that which ensures diversification of agriculture in ways that spread risk among different

enterprises for the poor. This may mean, in some circumstances, the spreading of financial risk between growing products for different markets, and reducing climatic or biotic risk, as different crops (or crop/tree/livestock combinations) offer different types and levels of robustness in the face of these risks (*Ibid.*).

The AFAAS Strategic Plan, 2011–2015 adds that although the involvement of the private sector is one of the keys to success in AAS delivery, the promotion of private sector involvement in AAS must be pursued in ways that are socially responsible. In many cases, this may mean the delivery of AAS through social enterprises funded through public-private partnerships. Such partnerships would lead sector-wide growth that has direct and indirect benefits for the poor. Indirect benefits for the poor come as a result of the private sector and commercial interests benefitting directly and passing these benefits on to the poor through, inter alia, increased employment opportunities, lower consumer prices, greater availability and variety of consumable goods, and improved internal and external input and output markets. The AAS centred around pro-poor growth should not, therefore, exclude the commercial sector, which benefits African agriculture through increased investment (both local and overseas), through gaining access to international and local markets, and through increased competitiveness and an improved policy environment. On the other hand, reduced poverty creates increased opportunities and markets for entrepreneurs, processors and producers (*Ibid.*).

Further, the AFAAS Strategic Plan, 2011–2015 notes that over the last three decades, although the role played by women in decision-making in agriculture has substantially increased, there are areas where progress in advancing gender equality is still needed. These include women's lack of access to land, resource entitlements and inputs such as credit and technology, and the limited role played by women in planning and in the formulation of policy in the sector. Women have also had less contact with extension services, compared to men, and generally use lower levels of technology, because of problems of access, cultural restrictions on use, or the fact that there is less interest in doing research on women's crops and livestock. These gender inequalities tend to slow development, economic growth and poverty reduction. Given the extensive participation of women in all aspects of agricultural production, the mainstreaming of gender into AAS delivery interventions is a key strategy element, not only for the promotion of equality between men and women, but also for sustainable agricultural production (*Ibid.*).

Based on the above considerations, the general AFAAS strategy for targeting poverty and gender should include the following:

1. Developing, testing and evaluating approaches for targeting gender and poverty;
2. Identifying and documenting good practices that promote gender equity and poverty targeting;
3. Enhancing representation and active participation by the different gender groups and advocates of the poor; and
4. Promoting the scaling out and scaling up of good practices on gender and poverty targeting.

In this regard, during the Third Symposium and General Assembly which was held from 12 to 14 April 2011 in Accra, Ghana, Gender in AAS was among the Working Groups that were formed to provide technical leadership in the operationalisation of the Strategic Plan that was recommended by the Board to the General Assembly as being of the highest priority. Other Working Groups formed included:

1. Engaging with CAADP;
2. Climate Change;
3. Country Fora;
4. Information and Communication Technology (ICT);
5. Innovative Advisory Services; and
6. Market Oriented Agricultural Advisory Services (MOAAS) along Value Chains.

The recommendations related to information, communication and knowledge management from the Third AFAAS Symposium and General Assembly on Gender as priority areas for action in AAS were as follows:

1. Commissioning a continent-wide study on the status of gender issues in AAS;
2. Engaging in evidence-based lobbying and advocacy on gender mainstreaming in AAS;
3. Facilitating innovations in gender mainstreaming across countries; and
4. Promoting capacity building on gender mainstreaming among all AAS service providers.

Under the theme of MOAAS, it was recommended that guidelines on the implementation of gender sensitive MOAAS and value chains be developed.

The AFAAS Strategic Plan, 2011–2015 offers some good opportunities for institutional learning from AFAAS to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. The most appealing opportunity is the linkage between social exclusion and general poverty, and more especially gendered poverty. Targeting the youth in addition to women is also a learning opportunity, for the targeting is again based on the understanding of the social exclusion of both the youth and women from the development process in general and agricultural development in particular.

3.8 Opportunities for institutional learning from IRESA and TEAM Africa

Like in the case of ANAFE, we could not assess the opportunities for institutional learning from IRESA and TEAM Africa to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD, because the two SROs did not respond to our interview guide and there was very little information on their website about what they do in general. Subsequently, there was virtually no information on gender on their respective websites.

Section 4: Challenges for effective integration of gender into African ARD

4.1 Introduction

The development of gender mainstreaming policies and/or strategies by SROs is justifiable in the long run only if the policies/strategies are translated at regional and national levels into specific, tangible and meaningful interventions and measures. However, despite the growing trend of developing policies of gender mainstreaming and/or gender strategies in Africa, actual implementation has been difficult for several reasons. First, the gender inequalities are deeply institutionalised at formal organizational levels and at informal household and community levels, to the extent that they are almost regarded as "natural" or "givens". Hence, many organizations' officials and staff, as well as community and household members, feel that gender mainstreaming is a "foreign" concept imposed by donors. Thus, gender mainstreaming has become a process of merely adding women to existing policy paradigms and frameworks without operationalising those paradigms and frameworks. Second, gender mainstreaming competencies are still wanting in Africa. Most gender experts are gender aware and are competent gender analysts, but they cannot ably operationalise a gender mainstreaming agenda. Building capacity for gender mainstreaming is not synonymous with gender training/awareness. It

involves building "mainstreaming competency" (i.e., the skills and qualities needed to implement a mainstreaming strategy) and a wider institutional transformation (Manyire 2011c). Subsequently, few programme and project managers or implementers are able to articulate convincing actions for implementation of gender mainstreaming. Forsythe and Martin (2011) added that the terminology used in gender mainstreaming discourse leaves many, who are not gender experts, unable to comprehend the subject matter. Third, the contemporary focus on institutionalisation (procedures, policies, structures, etc.) rather than on outcomes (effectiveness, impact) and related underlying variables has resulted in weak implementation of gender policies and/or strategies (SADC 2012).

4.2 Specific challenges for effective integration of gender into African ARD

The specific challenges for effective integration of gender into African ARD are discussed next under three topical subheadings: (1) Limitations in Gender Analysis; (2) Contemporary Focus on Institutionalisation Rather than on Outcomes; and (3) Limited Human and Financial Resources.

4.2.1 Limitations in gender analysis

Evidence from the documentation of SROs that was reviewed indicates a weakness in gender analysis. Instead of analysing the power relations between males and females and between institutions and farmers, especially female farmers, most of the documentation focuses on the outcomes of the inequitable power relations. For example, the CORAF/WECARD Gender Policy and Strategy dwells at length on women's lack of access to resources, instead of analysing why women lack resources in the first place. The CORAF/WECARD Gender Policy and Strategy identifies the following constraints facing women:

1. Limited access of women to arable land.
2. Sociological impediments (Social perceptions and traditional practices remain deeply rooted in Sub-Saharan African societies).
3. Low access of women to credit.
4. Low access of women to agricultural technologies.
5. Low access of women to agricultural extension services.
6. Limited access to markets and trade.

This form of analysis focuses mainly on distributional issues raised in the conservative analyses of gender inequalities (the lack of resources at the disposal of an individual or household). A more robust form of gender analysis looks at roles played by relational features, i.e., inadequate social participation; lack of social integration; lack of power, manifest in deprivation of capability; and experience of poverty. The relational features tend to exclude and/or unfavourably include certain categories of people from the development process, by limiting their access to resources. But even when resources are available, relational features evolve local subcultures within groups, which limit and undermine the capacity of the affected people to take up

opportunities for improving their socio-economic well-being. Thus, it is the relational features that account for distributional discrepancies between males and females, not only in access to resources but also in the ability to utilize resources. Therefore, addressing distributional discrepancies as is the wont in current gender analytic thinking (providing women with modern planting and rearing materials, women-specific training in modern agronomic practices, gender equitable land reforms, etc.) is not the panacea for gender inequality. Transformation in the gender status quo towards equitable gender relations will require simultaneously addressing the relational features that account for the inequitable distributional discrepancies.

However, all gender mainstreaming policies and strategies reviewed did not analyse these underlying forms of social exclusion, unfavourable inclusion, male resistance and undermined capacities to take up opportunities, which ultimately account for the distributional disparities between males and females. As a result, the CORAF/WECARD Gender Policy and Strategy, for example, does not make any suggestions for addressing the distributional disparities because it does not identify their underlying causes, which are relational.

The underlying causes are rooted in societal ideologies that create gender and other socio-economic based identities and institutional settings, which in turn determine the entitlements of males and females in society in general, and in agricultural livelihoods in particular. Due to patriarchy, males are accorded more entitlements, which activates their agency, while females' agency is inactive or less activated compared to that of males. Females' inactive or less active agency is demonstrated through social exclusion and unfavourable inclusion in agricultural and general development. The formal and informal institutional settings, including those of the ARD, also do exclude and/or unfavourably include females through both subtle and obvious male habits of silencing and resistance. A detailed discussion of relational features will follow in Section 5.

It is not surprising, therefore, that gender mainstreaming does not appear anywhere in CORAF/WECARD's Monitoring and Evaluation Strategy (CORAF/WECARD 2010b) because they are not sure of what really to monitor and evaluate. Instead, gender is relegated to "cross-cutting issues," alongside promotion of pro-poor or at least scale-neutral innovations; HIV/AIDS awareness in agricultural strategies and interventions; and contribution to ensuring environmental sustainability in the outcome indicators for Result 1 (technical research) and output and outcome indicators for Result 2 (policy research). This way, gender will most likely evaporate, since it is hardly visible in actual implementation.

Similarly, although the CORAF Strategic Plan 2007-2016 (CORAF/WECARD 2010c) explicitly mentions integration of gender considerations at all levels, including farmers and farmer organizations, the private sector, public institutions, researchers, and extension staff, in line with one of FAAP's principles for achieving the African Vision of 6% per annum growth in agricultural production, again gender mainstreaming is relegated to "cross-cutting issues". CORAF/WECARD (2010c) says that several cross-cutting issues have to be considered throughout implementation of CORAF/WECARD's programmes. This means ensuring that they are pro-poor, gender sensitive, HIV/AIDS appropriate and contribute to ensuring environmental sustainability. Again, gender will most certainly evaporate, because it is hardly visible in the

actual implementation processes. Weaknesses in gender analysis are not limited to CORAF/WECARD, but evident also in other SROs. A strategic shift in thinking is required if gender is to be effectively integrated in African ARD.

The desired strategic thinking should transcend the current tendency within ARD theories and practices to assume that promotion of the participation of both men and women revolves around similar mechanisms, which automatically promote women's and poorer men's interests. Take the example of making available agricultural resources to both men and women, epitomized by SROs in the forms of monitoring and evaluation indicators, such as a 10% increase of specific opportunities for men and women to contribute and benefit equitably from agricultural activities and/or a 10% increase of technology adoption rates desegregated by sex, etc. Such conventional approaches for promoting "gender equality" do not address the difficulties of expressing women's interests within existing frameworks of traditional development practices, which are in subtle ways shrouded in male resistance and silencing and in women's own internalized subordination. For poor women and some men, the sense of powerlessness and exclusion is a product not just of their gender subordination, but also of interlocking forms of exclusion, simultaneously linked to their socio-economic status.

Again, conventional approaches for promoting "gender equality" are misleading, because their assumptions do not recognise the obstacles posed by the gendered nature of institutions within which ARD policies, programmes and projects are designed and implemented and within which the targeted men and women farmers operate. Institutions are the formal and informal rules and constraints which shape social perceptions of needs and roles while organizations administer these rules and respond to needs. Institutions create the contexts in which organizations in ARD, such as FARA, SROs and NARS do operate. Institutions further tend to socially exclude and/or unfavourably include certain categories of people from opportunities for advancement. It is because of this exclusion and/or unfavourable inclusion that, in many parts of Africa, realising the potential of agricultural research to reduce poverty has been elusive, despite the many achievements of agricultural research. In Uganda, the terms of reference for the Gender Technical Sub-Committee of the Plan for the Modernization of Agriculture (PMA), which was set up by the PMA Secretariat to mainstream gender in the PMA, lamented realistically that translating the principle of gender mainstreaming into actual, realistic and practical activities by the different stakeholders involved in the implementation of the PMA remains a challenge.

In our view, the challenge arises from inadequacies in appreciation of the forms of social exclusion and unfavourable inclusion that prevent certain categories of people from effectively participating in the development processes. Hence, the tendency within ARD policies, programmes and projects to assume that promotion of the participation of both men and women revolves around similar mechanisms, which automatically promote women's interests, is problematic. For it is not clear how participation of poor men and women is expected to lead to articulation of their interests in ways which can influence institutional rules and practices (effectiveness), and consequently lead to the making of decisions about resource use that result in increased agricultural productivity in the material sense (impact).

ARD often focuses on bio-physical traits comprising of crops, pastures, animals, soil and climate, together with certain physical inputs and outputs. Bio-physical traits are impersonal; hence their appeal, application, and utilization, including the challenges faced in application and utilization, are presumed by ARD to be universal, affecting males and females similarly. In this regard, ARD has been accused of being gender-blind, which refers to research, analysis, policies, advocacy materials, project and programme design and implementation that do not explicitly recognise existing gender differences that concern asymmetries in the entitlements of males and females. Gender-blind policies do not distinguish between the sexes. Assumptions incorporate biases in favour of existing gender relations and so tend to exclude females.

Further, ARD does not adequately acknowledge the influence that socio-economic based statuses have on the appeal, application and utilization of bio-physical traits. This is because ARD pays limited attention to a set of management traits within agriculture. Those management traits refer to people, values, goals, knowledge, resources, monitoring opportunities and decision-making processes within agriculture. Yet, as earlier noted, smallholder agriculture in Africa is carried out as a "way of life" within structures of gender and household organization, which are themselves a concatenation of a complexity of norms, beliefs and practices that govern individual household members' roles and rights in agricultural livelihoods. Gender and household organization further determine the entitlements and constraints in time, mobility and resources that each participant experiences in performing his/her respective role in agriculture. The differing entitlements and constraints each gender experiences arise from the differing socio-interactional and material entitlements accorded to each gender by society. Whereas males are accorded higher entitlements, females are accorded lower entitlements. Thus, the way males and females relate to bio-physical traits is not similar, owing to the management traits that structure gender-asymmetric entitlements. The asymmetries do exclude, and/or unfavourably include, females and poor males (who constitute the majority in Africa) from benefiting from advances in ARD. For deeply rooted exclusions and unfavourable inclusions evolve into local subcultures of fatalism that detach individuals and groups from participating in development in general and ARD in particular, thereby severely limiting and undermining their capacities to take up opportunities arising from ARD. It is these exclusions and unfavourable inclusions, institutionalised within formal and informal settings, that mainstreaming gender equality in African ARD seeks to address.

It is for these reasons that the tendency within ARD policies, programmes and projects to assume that promotion of the participation of both men and women revolves around similar mechanisms, which automatically promote women's interests, is criticized. ARD should aim at enhancing its effectiveness through enabling females and poor males to articulate their interests, in ways which can influence formal and informal institutional rules and practices that exclude and/or unfavourably include them in benefiting from advances in ARD. Subsequently, the effectiveness of ARD should have an impact in the material sense on the lives of females and poor males, by enabling them make decisions about the use of products and services of ARD, which would lead them to improved agricultural livelihoods.

4.2.2 Contemporary focus on institutionalisation rather than on outcomes

The contemporary focus for integrating gender into African ARD is on institutionalisation (procedures, policies, structures, etc.) rather than on outcomes (effectiveness, impact). Yet, gender mainstreaming is not an end in itself, but a strategy, an approach, a means to achieve the goal of gender equality. Thus, effective gender mainstreaming should promote effectiveness in the participation of poor men and women, and in the impact of such participation in their material well-being. Therefore, in addition to institutionalisation, tangible outcomes must be incorporated in the goals of mainstreaming gender in African ARD. Indicators of effectiveness could, for example, include the following:

1.   Voice and clout male and female farmers have within and over ARD institutions;
2.   Command (entitlements) over physical and material agricultural resources; and
3.   Command (entitlements) over agricultural knowledge and information

Indicators of impact in the material sense could include the following:

1.   Improved asset base;
2.   Improved innovations; and
3.   Increased participation in agricultural decision-making and governance, at both the formal (SROs, NARS, etc.) and informal levels (communities, households).

4.2.3 Limited human and financial resources

Another challenge for integrating gender in African ARD is the limited human and financial resources available for gender mainstreaming. With the exception of CCARDESA/SADC, none of the SROs studied had a fully fledged gender unit, although we could not establish its effectiveness in promoting gender mainstreaming. Whereas ASARECA and CORAF/WECARD had a Gender Expert each, AFAAS, RUFORUM and ANAFE had none. And lack of Gender Units is not due to lack of financial resources to establish them. It is due to gender being a subject of exclusion. Several SROs may express "commitment" to gender equality, but they see no reasons to commit greater financial resources to operationalising that "commitment". Thus, responsibility for gender mainstreaming is usually left to an official who is 'passionate" about promoting gender equality, but who may be lacking the requisite skills for gender analysis and/or mainstreaming. Alternately, where there is a Gender Expert, she is usually over-worked, because all gender-related work is brought to her. Her effectiveness has to be compromised by the heavy overloads. Alternately, where there were achievements in gender mainstreaming, for example in ASARECA, they were mostly accounted for by the Gender Expert and the Executive Director, who were personally committed to the gender agenda; the Gender Expert had skills in gender analysis, and both individuals took it upon themselves to influence and engage other staff to ensure that gender activities were taken forward.

Owing to gender being a subject of exclusion, it is also very under-funded. Table 1 shows the budgetary allocations to gender in ASARECA.

Table 1: Budgetary allocations to gender in ASARECA.

Year	Amount Allocated (US $)	% of Total ASARECA Annual Budget
2009	50,989	0.6
2010	132,270	0.73
2011	145,010	1.46
2012	314,910	1.84
2013	564,800	N/A

Source: Gender Expert, ASARECA.

For RUFORUM, the annual gender budget is US $ 30,000 out of a total general annual budget of US $ 7 million. For CORAF/WECARD, the gender budget for 2013 is estimated to be 400.000.000 CFA, representing 3% of the total organization's budget.

Although all these SROs informed us that other "gender costs" are integrated in programmes, but none as yet has integrated gender into their programme budgets, due to lack of gender-budgeting capacities. It is very likely, therefore, that gender could be evaporating, because of limited funding arising from gender being a subject of exclusion.

Beyond budgetary constraints, there are larger challenges to consider, and these are related to human resources. With specific focus on the challenges of institutionalising gender mainstreaming in agricultural research and training institutions, Forsythe and Martin (2011) noted that while some initiatives undertaken by Universities to increase enrolment of women in agriculture have shown encouraging results, many have not been significant in effectively increasing the number of women in higher education in agriculture or the sciences. According to Forsythe and Martin (2011) genuine gender mainstreaming, with a potential to transform African society, is lacking. If Africa is to realise the development and gender-parity targets that have been set in global declarations, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), much more needs to be done (*Ibid.*). Barriers to gender balance in educational opportunity are complex and multifaceted, ranging from the broader political context to the community, the family, pre-University educational institutions, teacher training at all levels, and Universities. Effective interventions must, therefore, target all these dimensions of society. The interventions could include gender-conscious socialization programmes at household and community levels, gender consciousness awakening at community and institutional levels, and revised gender aware curricula and teacher training programmes.

The key challenges to the implementation of the gender policies and strategies can be summarized as follows:
- A lack of human resources (in terms of both overall number and those with relevant technical skills) for mainstreaming a gender agenda. In most cases, those charged with gender mainstreaming efforts undertake the task in addition to their academic, research and sometimes managerial responsibilities.
- Lack of specific office space for the gender mainstreaming unit, which makes coordination and administration difficult.
- Inadequate funds to implement agreed work plans.
- Absence of clear and measurable action plans.
- Resistance from some senior staff (including women) (*Ibid.*).

Section 5: Best practices for institutional learning to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD

5.1 Introduction

Presently, only the SADC has a fully developed gender policy and functional gender unit. ASARECA, CORAF/WECARD and RUFORUM are in the process of developing their respective gender policies, strategies and/or strategic plans. AFAAS and ANAFE are yet to develop their gender strategies. However, no SRO has as yet operationalised its gender policy, strategy and/or strategic plan. Even SADC lacked an implementation strategy for the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. There was also no strategy for mainstreaming gender in the SADC Regional Agricultural Policy. We also could not tell the extent of practical gender mainstreaming implemented by SADC/CCARDESSA, because they did not respond to our interview guide. Thus, presently, there are no tested or obviously desirable practices for institutional learning, based on concrete evidence and proof of action, that could serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. It is when the respective gender policies, strategies and/or strategic plans of the different SROs are translated and implemented into measurable actions that best practices will be identified. However, even at the commitment levels, it is possible to identify the best "theoretical" approaches for institutional learning.

5.2 Holistic gender analysis

RUFORUM's cognizance of the complex and multifaceted barriers to gender balance in educational opportunity (broader political contexts, community, the family, pre-University educational institutions, teacher training at all levels and Universities) is a good holistic approach to understanding and operationalising gender. So are ASARECA's gender analytic lenses that propose changes in underlying social norms--in addition to observable outcomes and changes in laws, institutions and policies--if gender equality is to be attained. Another good approach for institutional learning from ASARECA is the addition of relational to distributional indicators in tracking changes in gender relations. For while equality indicators measure women's status relative to that of men and are expressed as ratios, empowerment indicators measure changes in absolute levels of women's well-being, rather than in comparison with men. ASARECA is yet to specify the indicators in its strategic plan, but they should include levels of social participation, social integration and power to undertake meaningful action in agricultural development, whether in agricultural research and/or innovation and adoption.

The AFAAS Strategic Plan's cognizance of the linkages between social exclusion, gender and poverty is another evidence of sound gender analysis, with implications for institutional learning that could serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. AFAAS counsels that the objective of realising the full potential of agriculture to generate wealth and be the engine for Africa's economic development must be pursued with some caution, because not all economic growth benefits the poor and it can often affect them quite adversely. Hence, attention should be paid to the division of labour and resources to ensure that technologies that have economies of scale do not favour the wealthy at the expense of the poor. This is especially so in the case of yield or profit-enhancing developments, which often adversely affect the welfare of the poor, women and other disadvantaged groups.

5.3 Institutional measures for gender mainstreaming

SADC's long established institutional measures for addressing Gender and Development in the sub-region is another best practice for institutional learning that could serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. The measures include establishment of the Gender Unit, a Protocol on Gender and Development which was signed by Heads of member states, development of a Regional Agricultural Policy that is aligned to the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, and production of a comprehensive Gender Mainstreaming Resource Kit, complete with Facilitators' guide, general facilitation guidelines, notes to exercises and glossary sections. SADC's institutional measures not only strengthen ownership of the gender agenda in agricultural development in the region, but they also foster a common understanding throughout the region of what gender mainstreaming in agricultural development is, its justification and the requirements for its implementation.

Another desirable approach with implications for institutional learning is ASARECA's operationalisation of the objective of its gender mainstreaming strategic plan into two thematic areas, developed for its two distinct target audiences: developing institutional mechanisms for

GM in ASARECA, targeting all NARS in ECA; and, integrating gender in ASARECA programmes/projects, targeting ASARECA and its implementing partners, each with clearly delineated result areas that must be achieved within a specified time. ASARECA's gender mainstreaming strategic plan is comprehensive, covering both programmes and institutional governance. So is RUFORUM's Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming.

5.4 Accountability to gender issues

The proposed Monitoring and Evaluation system in RUFORUM's Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming is another example of how activities and experiences in gender mainstreaming can be documented in monitoring and evaluation systems for institutional learning. Under the proposed monitoring and evaluation system, gender equality is to be tracked on the basis of outcomes from programmes, projects and activities, thus accounting to gender issues. Monitoring and evaluation frameworks and indicators are advised to incorporate, and be sensitive to issues of gender equality, environmental sustainability and other emerging cross-cutting issues, such as climate change adaptation (RUFORUM 2011).

5.5 Gender budgeting

Recognition by the RUFORUM Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming that no commitment speaks louder than financial commitments is another good approach for institutional learning that could serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. If gender mainstreaming is to be achieved, budgetary commitments must reflect gender commitments. For as pointed out by Budlender (1998), whereas budgets are one of the most important policy instruments of an organization or government, policy must drive budget rather than vice versa. Policy, in turn, should reflect the gender situation in society that requires to be addressed. Thus, RUFORUM's proposal to adopt gender budgeting to ensure gender sensitivity in budgetary allocations is laudable; for without gender budgeting, it is not possible to mainstream gender effectively and sustainably.

Section 6: Proposed road map for integrating identified gender concerns into African ARD

6.1 Introduction

The proposed road map for integrating identified gender concerns into Africa's ARD is informed by the gender issues in agriculture and the opportunities, challenges and best practices for institutional learning earlier identified in the preceding sections of this report. It thus takes into consideration the key initiatives currently under discussion to ensure that gender is well integrated into ARD in Africa. The proposed road map places emphasis on tailoring ARD to the informal structural set-up of African agriculture, shifting gender analysis from distributional to relational features, institutionalising gender mainstreaming in ARD, building gender mainstreaming competencies and instituting gender budgeting within FARA and partner SROs.

6.2 Tailoring ARD to the informal structural set-up of African agriculture

The informal structural set-up of African agriculture, and its intertwinement with the gendered rural ways of life, needs to be clearly understood in African ARD. Current ARD looks at African agriculture from economic and formal viewpoints: hence, the overwhelming faith held by NEPAD of agriculture's potential for being the engine for overall economic develop-

ment in Africa (FARA 2006). NEPAD's faith is influenced by a conceptualisation of ARD that is heavily informed by Western scholarly traditions of agricultural practice; agriculture in the West is an impersonal activity carried out on large estates, in the strictly business sense (for the market) and using industrial approaches, i.e., organization of production characterised by specialization, a distinct division of labour, application of technology, and mechanical and electrical power to supplement and replace human labour. As a result, agricultural research, especially from the physical science perspective, focuses on the improvement of the inputs and outputs, aptly termed innovations.

However, unlike the industrial agriculture practised in the developed World, in much of Africa, agricultural practices are not that impersonal and are structurally different from those in the West. Much of African agriculture is carried out by smallholders, and it is organised within and around the household, whereby less than 2 hectares are cultivated per household, by the use of rudimentary tools (hand hoe, axe and panga) and with overwhelming reliance on household labour. There is also cultivation of a mixed portfolio of crops and rearing of animals, reliance on indigenous planting and stocking materials and knowledge, and production largely for household consumption. African smallholder subsistence agriculture and rural ways of life are also intimately intertwined. Rural ways of life are an embodiment of the cultures and values of a people. Thus, agricultural knowledge, skills and practices are informally passed on from generation to generation through socialization processes, alongside other social and economic skills (the productive, reproductive, household maintenance, etc.) that are deemed essential for societal existence and continuity in general, and for rearing children into becoming responsible adults in particular. African smallholder subsistence agriculture is, therefore, but one of the many life skills and practices that characterise rural life. Rural life is structured along established norms and principles of gender and household organization, which are themselves a cocktail of a complexity of norms, beliefs and practices that govern individual household members' roles and rights in production, exchange and consumption. The norms and principles govern the division of labor and determine expectations, obligations, responsibilities and entitlements of males and females within and beyond households. Gender and household organization, for example, determine the economic and social roles to be played by men and women, boys and girls;, in rural households, participation in agriculture is just one of the many such roles. Gender and household organization also determine the entitlements and constraints in time, mobility and resources that each individual experiences in performing this role (Grieco 1997).

African ARD, therefore, needs to be responsive to the needs, constraints and opportunities posed by the informal societal norms and principles that govern individual household members' roles and rights in agricultural livelihoods. African ARD should also be responsive to different households' needs and constraints in life in general, and agricultural production in particular. Agricultural innovations are not the most paramount needs and constraints in the general and agricultural production lives of the majority smallholder farmers in Africa. This is one of the reasons farmers adopt less than 10 percent of the crop varieties that they are offered, according to AU-NEPAD (2003). Inequities in, and exclusion from, entitlements to agricultural production resources constitute the most paramount needs and constraints in the general and agricultural livelihoods of the majority of smallholder farmers in Africa. And these inequities

and exclusion are rooted in informal and formal institutions that these smallholder farmers in Africa have to interact with on a daily basis.

Thus, ARD needs to address the inequities and exclusions rooted in informal and formal institutions in African societies if agriculture's potential for being the engine for overall economic development in Africa is to be harnessed. The inequities and exclusions have their genesis in the colonial and postcolonial development frameworks, which excluded rural areas from general development compared to urban areas; excluded agriculture from the development process compared to education, health, trade and industry, etc.; excluded farmers from development compared to salaried industrial, services and civil service workers; and further excluded females from development compared to males. Thus, ARD should transcend focus on innovations and their adoption and embrace broader informal and formal institutional transformations for agriculture, for it to become the engine for overall economic development in Africa. This calls for expansion of the disciplinary orientation of ARD beyond the physical sciences to include the broader social and human sciences, especially rural sociology, gender studies, community psychology and rural economics. This will strengthen the currently weak linkages between research systems, extension agents, advisory services and farmers in Africa as decried by AU-NEPAD (2003). It will further enhance the interactions between agricultural researchers, extension services and farmers, the current status of which is again decried by AU-NEPAD (2003), and thus facilitate the reflection of farmers' priorities in the agricultural research agenda.

6.3 Shifting gender analysis from distributional to relational features

Gender inequalities have largely been analysed and portrayed in distributional terms (the lack of resources at the disposal of an individual or household; ratios of females to males in different development contexts, etc.), all of which point to representation of females lagging behind that of males in almost all contexts. However, what the distributional analytic perspective does not explain is why females are under-represented. Thus, the roots of gender inequalities have not been captured, which has stalled efforts to address the inequalities, regardless of the resources available for redress. This accounts for the "business as usual" analysis of gender in terms of females' lack of resources, females' under-representation in decision-making and governance, etc., as if males, especially in African smallholder agriculture, lead qualitatively better lives.

Gender is a relational subject in that there is inadequate social participation of females in the development process, females are less socially integrated in society and have less power, all of which lead to deprivation of their capability and subsequently, poverty. Since poor men too bear relational features similar to those of females, for poor women and some men, the sense of powerlessness and exclusion is a product not just of their gender subordination but also of interlocking forms of exclusion, simultaneously linked to their low socio-economic status. It is for these reasons that the proposed road map for integrating identified gender concerns into Africa's ARD should analyse the role of relational features,

defined by Room (1999) as inadequate social participation, lack of social integration, and lack of power manifest in deprivation of capability and experience of poverty, in perpetuating gender inequalities. It is these relational features that make it difficult to address females' interests within existing frameworks of traditional development practices, which are in subtle ways shrouded in male resistance and silencing and in women's own internalized sense of subordination. Most women regard their internalized sense of subordination as "natural," while males term it "African culture". The relational features further exclude and/or unfavourably include females and poor males from participating in development in general and agricultural development in particular. Furthermore, the relational features, acting singularly or in various combinations, ultimately evolve into local subcultures within groups, which limit and undermine the capacity of the affected people to take up opportunities for improving their socio-economic well-being. This may account for why only less than 10 percent of the innovations availed to farmers in Africa are adopted. Hence, it is the multi-faceted forms of these relational features, which are institutionalised within formal and informal institutions in African societies, that mainstreaming gender equality in African ARD should seek to address.

6.4 Institutionalising gender mainstreaming in African ARD

It is politically incorrect in the current development discourse not to talk about gender or mainstreaming gender in development. Thus, the standard practice has been to add a paragraph or two in development policies, programmes and projects about gender being a cross-cutting issue and/or commitment to making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all policies and programmes, so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. Thus, the concept gender has been also used as a form of political correctness and apparent accountability to human rights, especially females' rights.

Therefore, gender policies, strategies and / or strategic plans, gender Units, gender main-streaming tools/resource kits and gender budgets, etc., are a necessary but not sufficient condition for integrating gender in African ARD. To avoid the "business as usual" approach, major institutional changes, which confront the entrenched subcultures of social exclusion and unfavourable inclusion, are required if the principles of gender mainstreaming are to be translated into practice within the African ARD. These institutional changes necessitate major attitudinal changes and adjustments in working methods at all levels of ARD organizations. At organizational levels, the institutional changes are required because by its integral nature, gender mainstreaming is akin to blood transfusion. Transfused blood circulates throughout the whole body, and not only the specific body parts where the transfusion was initiated. At programme levels, the changes and adjustments are required to address not only why women and some poor men lack agricultural resources but also why they may not even access and utilize resources targeted towards them (Razavi and Miller 1995). Thus, gender mainstreaming should become the responsibility of all ARD staff, and it should be integrated at organizational and programme levels. The trend of hiring one Gender Expert in an entire organization should

give way to establishment of Gender Units, whereby gender focal persons would be attached to programmes and projects while the Gender Units provide overall backstopping and technical expertise within ARD organizations.

6.5 Building gender mainstreaming competencies

Integrating gender into African ARD requires a common understanding of what gender mainstreaming is. A review of the gender policies, strategies, gender mainstreaming strategic plans, etc., showed that there is mixed understanding across SROs of what "gender mainstreaming" means as a concept and of how it affects the everyday work of organizations and their programme outcomes. A common understanding of gender mainstreaming would foster effectiveness in conceptualisation of the requirements, responsibilities and implementation strategies for integrating gender in ARD.

Building capacity for gender mainstreaming is not synonymous with gender training, however. It involves building "mainstreaming competences" (i.e., the skills and qualities needed to implement a mainstreaming strategy) and a wider institutional transformation. Thus, emphasis should shift from the current gender training and/or sensitization approaches to creating gender awareness within organizations to gender conscientisation, gender consciousness awakening, to unlearning the long-held gender ideologies and stereotypes and, ultimately, transforming organizational cultures. Focus should further shift to relearning new ideologies and adopting organizational cultures that promote gender equality. This should be done in a transformational manner that allows for questioning the long-held gender ideologies, stereotypes and organizational cultures, their perpetuation and justification in ways that are nonthreatening to gender identity.

Monitoring and evaluation systems should include both indicators to measure impact on gender equality and a gender perspective throughout all other indicators. There is a strategic need to develop gender-sensitive indicators that track the addressing of the institutionalised formal and informal exclusions and unfavourable inclusions that limit females' and poor males' participation in agricultural development. Including gender sensitive indicators and specific gender equality indicators in the monitoring and evaluation systems in ARD can be a powerful tool to promote accountability and responsiveness.

However, the monitoring and evaluation indicators should not be confined to distributive items (number of women accessing innovations, number of women in ARD leadership positions, number of women scientists in ARD, etc.). The indicators should, in addition, but more importantly, seek to measure actual outcomes in achieving gender equality. These include changes in levels of social participation, social integration and power to have voice and/or participate in decision-making at the informal household and community levels and within the formal ARD organizations. The indicators should further monitor and evaluate ARD's impact in the material sense, such as the following factors:

• command (entitlements) over physical and material agricultural resources;
• command (entitlements) over agricultural knowledge and information;

- more gender equitable institutional rules and practices;
- improved asset base;
- improved effective utilization of innovations; and
- improved returns from utilizing innovations.

6.6 Instituting gender budgeting within FARA and partner SROs

As put forward by the RUFORUM Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming, no commitment speaks louder than financial commitments. Commitments to integrating gender in African ARD must be re-enforced by concomitant budgetary allocations. Thus, ensuring gender sensitivity in budgetary allocations is a necessity; without gender budgeting, it is not possible to mainstream gender effectively and sustainably. Since gender is a subject of exclusion, to circumvent the usual "lack of resources" excuse common in many parts of Africa, expenditures for integrating gender equity and equality in ARD should be mainstreamed throughout the budgets of programmes and projects, while the Gender Units should have their own distinct budgets. This is because Gender Units may get under-funded (on account of exclusion) while ARD organizations expect this under-funding to finance the entire integration of gender in ARD.

Section 7: Conclusions and recommendations

7.1 Conclusions

A comprehensive review of gender issues in agriculture identified several constraints and opportunities for mainstreaming gender equality in African Agricultural Research and Development (ARD). Among the constraints is the informal structural set-up of African smallholder agriculture, which ARD does not adequately plan for in its design and execution, given ARD's present orientation, heavily dependent on Western scholarship.. African smallholder agriculture is intimately linked to rural ways of life, whereas ARD perceives agriculture as an impersonal activity. African smallholder agriculture is carried out as a way of life, which is an embodiment of the cultures and values of a particular society. In addition to being a major source of livelihood, African smallholder subsistence agriculture is also one of the many life skills and practices that characterise rural life. Thus, African smallholder subsistence agriculture is governed by a complexity of norms, beliefs and practices that determine individual household members' roles, rights, expectations, obligations, responsibilities and entitlements within and beyond households. The governing norms, beliefs and practices are gendered because society is gendered. Gender, therefore, determines the economic and social roles played by

men and women, boys and girls; in African rural households, participation in agriculture is just one of the many such roles played by its members. ARD's limited awareness of these dynamics constitutes one of the major constraints for mainstreaming gender equality therein.

Another identified constraint to mainstreaming gender equality in African ARD is the ARD's primary focus on outcomes, especially improved productivity, markets, value addition, etc., with less attention given to institutional environments within which smallholder farmers do operate. There are lots of inequities, exclusions and unfavourable inclusions, rooted in informal and formal institutions, within which African smallholder agriculture is practised. The inequities, exclusions and unfavourable inclusions have their genesis in the colonial and post-colonial development frameworks, which excluded and/or unfavourably included rural areas, agriculture, smallholder farmers, females in general and female farmers in particular from the general development process. Institutions provide the formal and informal rules and constraints, which shape social perceptions of needs and roles. Organizations administer these rules and respond to needs. Institutions, therefore, create the contexts in which organizations devoted to ARD, such as FARA, SROs and NARS, do operate. Institutions further tend to socially exclude, and/or unfavourably include, certain categories of people from opportunities for advancement. Thus, ARD organizations, consciously and/or unconsciously, have inherited the cultures of social exclusion and/or unfavourable inclusion of rural areas, agriculture, smallholder farmers, females in general and female farmers in particular, from the general development process.

Unfortunately, most ARD organizations are still conceptually "locked" within *distributional* gender analytic frameworks that focus on females' lack of resources, instead of the *relational features* which point to why females lack resources in the first place: the social exclusion and/or unfavourable inclusion that leads to inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power in deprivation of capability and experience of resource poverty. It is these forms of exclusion and/or unfavourable inclusion, which are institutionalised in the formal and informal settings within which African smallholder agriculture is practised, that mainstreaming gender equality in African ARD should seek to address.

Another identified constraint to mainstreaming gender equality in African ARD relates to females' representation in ARD itself. The increasing number of women and men that join African agricultural research and higher education institutions consisted mostly of young staff, with relatively lower level degrees and at the beginning of the careers. The share of females disproportionately declines on the higher rungs of the career ladder. Only 14% of the management positions were held by women, which is considerably lower than the overall share (24%) of female professional staff employed in agriculture. Females were, therefore, less represented in high-level research, management and decision-making positions. As a result, females had less influence in policy and decision-making processes, which could further result in gender-biased decision-making and priority-setting.

The constraint of females' representation in ARD was accentuated by the gender bias in the formal and informal delivery of the curriculum in agricultural higher education. The bias was traced to course content and the learning experiences, which often translated into gender-

determined attrition and retention. Classroom practices, course materials and course content reflected the underlying values of institutions and wider society, incorporating gender biases and stereotypes that hindered gender-sensitive learning. During practical lessons, for example, women were asked to take notes and record findings, instead of participating in the experiment or the activity itself. This put women at a disadvantage regarding acquisition of practical skills. Further, women constituted a minority of the staff in Faculties of Agriculture in African Universities, especially in senior positions. The career progression for women was much slower than that of men. And within the Faculties, higher numbers of female staff tended to be found in departments teaching courses that have traditionally been dominated by women, such as food science and technology. Women also tended to hold more junior positions, with the vast majority of Faculties of Agriculture having either just one or no woman professor at all. In addition, only a few African Universities have gender policies, and the status of their implementation varies.

Limited appreciation of the relevance of gender among many ARD organizations was another constraint to mainstreaming gender in African ARD. Gender to many ARD organizations still means having as many female as male farmers in their membership, having a gender expert and a few statements in the organization's documentation about how "gender is integral in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes so that women and men benefit equally". These commitments are rarely followed up with requisite financial resources for transforming the commitments into actual, realistic and practical activities, with measurable outcomes that relate to transforming the current gender status quo.

Nonetheless, several SROs that were studied had developed gender policies, strategies, plans and programmes that offered opportunities for institutional learning, which could serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. CCARDESA/SADC, for example, has a Gender Unit which was tasked with gender mainstreaming in the sub-region. In addition, in 2009, SADC produced a comprehensive Gender Mainstreaming Resource Kit, complete with Facilitators' guide, general facilitation guidelines, notes to exercises and glossary sections. SADC has also developed a Regional Agricultural Policy, which is also aligned to the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. Gender is equally integrated into the Regional Agricultural Policy, which states that gender equity and empowerment is an established regional priority at three levels, first as a human rights issue; second, as an economic/developmental issue; and third, as a social issue. Unfortunately, CCARDESA/SADC seems to lack an implementation strategy of its Protocol on Gender and Development and a strategy for mainstreaming gender in the SADC Regional Agricultural Policy. Secondly, we could not ascertain the extent of practical gender mainstreaming implemented by SADC/CCARDESSA, because they did not respond to our interview guide.

CORAF, too, had developed a draft Gender Policy and Strategy, which laid emphasis on strengthening gender equality through the improvement of the reaction and sensitization of the staff of CORAF/WECARD and institutions of countries in the region that are engaged in integrated agricultural research for development. However, the CORAF/WECARD Gender Policy did not provide many opportunities for institutional learning to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD, probably because it was still in draft form. The

interview with the CORAF Gender Adviser revealed, however, that she had been tasked with reworking and updating the Gender Policy.

ASARECA, too, had developed a Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan 2011–2015, aimed at mainstreaming gender into its agriculture research agenda and institutional frameworks. The goal of the Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan is to ensure that ASARECA achieves gender responsiveness at all levels of institutional frameworks and all stages of design, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of its agricultural research agenda. This strategy will be implemented within the institutional framework of ASARECA. The primary responsibility will fall within the Gender Unit and Programme staff, with clear gender indicators that have been developed and incorporated within the ASARECA Monitoring and Evaluation mechanisms. Theoretically, the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan, 2011–2015, offers excellent opportunities for institutional learning to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. The Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan clearly delineates actions aimed at mainstreaming gender in agricultural research and at institutional levels. It is further informed by sound gender analysis and distinguishes between indicators for measuring gender equality and women's empowerment, which most gender strategies do not. In addition, the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan entails results areas for achieving its strategic objectives. Expected outputs and outcomes under each thematic area are equally delineated. Further, a Gender Unit at the ASARECA Secretariat will be established to spearhead the implementation of the strategy, although responsibility for mainstreaming in the programmes will be the responsibility of the programmes themselves, with support from the centre. Nonetheless, we could not draw any practical lessons for institutional learning that could serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD because the ASARECA Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Plan is yet to be implemented, as it was formulated as recently as 2011.

RUFORUM, too, had developed a draft Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming in 2011, covering member Universities in the Eastern Central and Southern Africa (ECSA) region and other relevant actors. The policy is well articulated, realistic and comprehensively details the goals, indicators, activities and sub-activities, lines of responsibility and monitoring and evaluation. The RUFORUM draft Policy and Strategy for Gender Mainstreaming offers excellent opportunities for institutional learning to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. First, the policy acknowledges that there are gender gaps within the entire formal learning environments, which widen at higher levels of education in general but more specifically in the fields of science and technology. RUFORUM is simultaneously cognizant of a masculine bias at the heart of most academic disciplines, methodologies and theories. The policy also acknowledges that much as issues of addressing gender gaps are often included in development programmes and projects, the inclusion is often solely an afterthought or a separate and mutually exclusive category. As a departure from conventional "inclusion" of gender into the development processes, the RUFORUM policy seeks to address the broader social and institutional contexts that perpetuate gender discrimination in higher agricultural education. This includes taking cognizance of the heterogeneity of women and men in terms of geographical location, ethnicity, age, and disability, all of which impact differently on women and men and can aggravate existing gender-based exclusion and discrimination. At institutional

levels, RUFORUM further notes that there is varied understanding of the basic facts and concerns about gender among staff in member Universities.

Nonetheless, the RUFORUM Ten Year Strategic Plan 2006-2016 (RUFORUM 2005) was silent on gender. Evidently, the Strategic Plan was developed six years before the gender mainstreaming policy and strategy was developed. The RUFORUM Ten Year Strategic Plan 2006-2016, therefore, requires revising, so that it is aligned to the gender mainstreaming policy and strategy.

AFAAS is yet to develop a gender policy and/or strategy. Interviews held with the AFAAS Executive Director and Technical Assistant revealed, however, that a gender policy/strategy would be in place by 2013. Nonetheless, AFAAS has developed a Strategic Plan, 2011-2015 in which gender features prominently. The AFAAS Strategic Plan has a section on Poverty and Gender Targeting. The AFAAS Strategic Plan, 2011–2015 is also cognizant of the linkages between social exclusion, gender and poverty. It mentions that the objective of realising the full potential of agriculture to generate wealth, so that it can become the engine for Africa's economic development, must be pursued with some caution, because not all economic growth benefits the poor and it can often affect them quite adversely. These are some good opportunities for institutional learning from AFAAS to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into African ARD. The most appealing opportunity is the linkage between social exclusion and general poverty, and more especially gendered poverty. Targeting the youth in addition to women is also a learning opportunity, for such targeting is again based on the understanding of the social exclusion of both the youth and women from the development process in general and agricultural development in particular.

Despite the fact that SROs have developed their gender mainstreaming policies and/or strategies, there are challenges in effectively integrating gender into African ARD. First, many SRO officials and staff and community and household members feel that gender mainstreaming is a "foreign" concept, imposed by donors. Thus, gender mainstreaming has become a process of merely adding women to existing policy paradigms and frameworks, without operationalising those paradigms and frameworks. Second, gender mainstreaming competencies are still wanting in Africa. Most gender experts are gender aware and are competent gender analysts, but they cannot ably operationalise a gender mainstreaming agenda. For building capacity for gender mainstreaming is not synonymous with gender training/awareness. It involves building "mainstreaming competency" (i.e., the skills and qualities needed to implement a mainstreaming strategy) and a wider institutional transformation. Subsequently, few programme and project managers or implementers are able to articulate convincing actions for implementation of gender mainstreaming. This could account for why most SROs had gender mainstreaming policies and/or strategies, but were yet to implement them.

There were also weaknesses in gender analysis. Instead of analysing the power relations between males and females and between institutions and farmers, especially female farmers, most of the documentation focused on the outcomes of the inequitable power relations. For example, the CORAF/WECARD Gender Policy and Strategy dwelt at length on women's lack of access to resources, instead of analysing why women lack resources in the first place. All the gender mainstreaming policies and strategies reviewed did not analyse the underlying forms of social exclusion, unfavourable inclusion, male resistance and undermined capacities to take

up opportunities, all of which ultimately do account for the distributional disparities between males and females.

Another challenge for integrating gender in African ARD is the contemporary focus on institutionalisation (procedures, policies, structures, etc.) rather than on outcomes (effectiveness, impact). Yet, gender mainstreaming is not an end in itself, but a strategy, an approach, a means to achieve the goal of gender equality. Thus, effective gender mainstreaming should promote effectiveness in the participation of poor men and women, and the impact of participation in the material sense. Therefore, in addition to institutionalisation, tangible outcomes must be incorporated in the goals of mainstreaming gender in African ARD. Indicators of effectiveness could, for example, include the following:

1. Voice and clout male and female farmers have within and over ARD institutions;
2. Command (entitlements) over physical and material agricultural resources; and
3. Command (entitlements) over agricultural knowledge and information.

Indicators of impact in the material sense could include the following:

1. Improved asset base;
2. Improved innovations. and
3. Increased participation in agricultural decision making and governance at both the formal (SROs, NARS, etc.) and informal levels (communities, households).

Another challenge for integrating gender in African ARD is the limited human and financial resources available for gender mainstreaming. With the exception of CCARDESA/SADC, none of the SROs studied had a fully fledged gender unit, although we could not establish its effectiveness in promoting gender mainstreaming. Whereas ASARECA and CORAF/WECARD had a Gender Expert each, AFAAS, RUFORUM and ANAFE had none. And lack of Gender Units is not due to lack of financial resources to establish them. It is owing to gender being a subject of exclusion. Several SROs may express "commitment" to gender equality, but they see no reason to commit more financial resources to operationalising that "commitment".

The proposed road map for integrating identified gender concerns into Africa's ARD should be informed by the gender issues in agriculture, as well as the opportunities, challenges and best practices for institutional learning identified during the review. The road map should consider tailoring ARD to the informal structural set-up of African agriculture. Current ARD looks at African agriculture from economic and formal viewpoints; hence, the overwhelming faith held by NEPAD of agriculture's potential for being the engine for overall economic development in Africa. Yet African smallholder subsistence agriculture is carried out as a way of life and is a reflection of the cultures and values of its diverse peoples, whereby gender and household organization determine the economic and social roles played by men and women, boys and girls; in rural households, participation in agriculture is just one of the many such roles played by individuals. Gender and household organization further determine the entitlements and constraints in time, mobility and resources that each member experiences in performing his/her role in agriculture. African ARD, therefore, needs to be responsive to the needs, constraints and opportunities posed by the informal societal norms and principles, which govern individual household members' roles and rights in agricultural livelihoods.

African further ARD needs to address the inequities and exclusions rooted in informal and formal institutions in African societies, if agriculture's potential for being the engine for overall economic development in Africa is to be harnessed. These include exclusion of rural areas, agriculture, farmers, females in general and female farmers in particular from the developmental process, compared to males. Thus, ARD should transcend focus on innovations and their adoption, and it should embrace broader informal and formal institutional transformations, if agriculture is to become the engine for overall economic development in Africa.
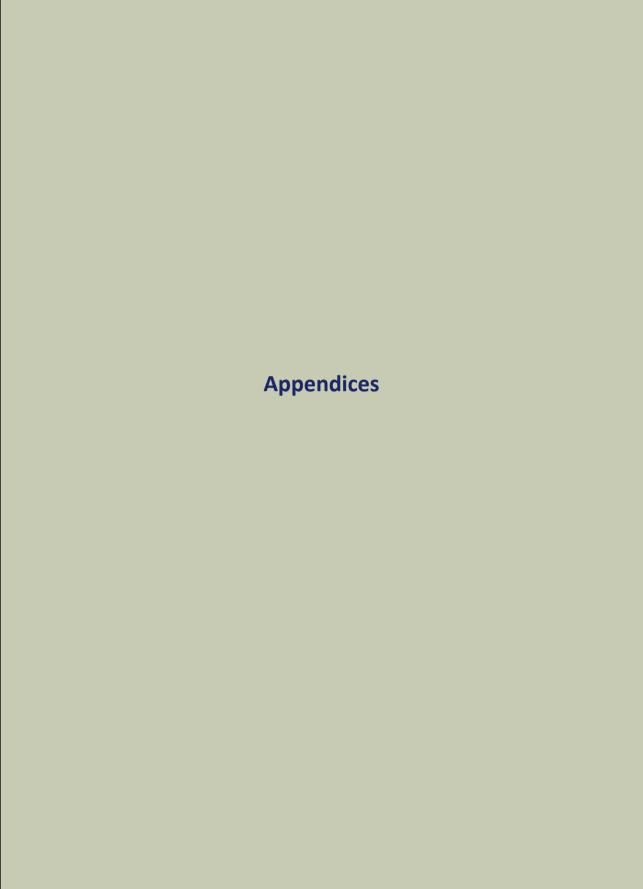
Integrating gender into African ARD also requires shifting gender analysis from distributional issues to the relational features of inadequate social participation, less social integration and access to power, all of which lead to gendered deprivation of females' capability and subsequently, poverty. There is also a need to transcend the "business as usual" approaches to promoting gender equality; having in place gender policies, strategies and/or strategic plans, Gender Units, gender mainstreaming tools/resource kits, and conducting gender budgets would all help. The road map should undertake major institutional changes that confront the entrenched subcultures of social exclusion and unfavourable inclusion, if the principles of gender mainstreaming are to be translated into practice within the African ARD. These institutional changes necessitate major attitudinal changes and adjustments in working methods at all levels of ARD organizations.

Integrating gender into African ARD further requires building a common understanding of what gender mainstreaming is and what building gender mainstreaming competencies means. Emphasis should shift from the the current gender training and/or sensitization approaches to creating gender awareness within organizations, to gender conscientisation, gender consciousness awakening, to unlearning the long-held gender ideologies and stereotypes and ultimately, transforming organizational cultures. Focus should further shift to relearning new ideologies and adopting organizational cultures that promote gender equality. This should be done in a transformational manner that allows for questioning the long-held gender ideologies, stereotypes and organizational cultures, their perpetration and justification, in ways that are non- threatening to gender identity..

And finally, but not least, no commitment speaks louder than financial commitments. Commitments to integrating gender in African ARD must be re-enforced by concomitant budgetary allocations. Thus, ensuring gender sensitivity in budgetary allocations is a necessity; without gender budgeting, it is not possible to mainstream gender effectively and sustainably. The following recommendations should help in this regard.

7.2 Recommendations

1. Tailor ARD to the informal structural set-up of African agriculture.
2. Shift gender analytic framework from distributional issues to relational features of gender inequality.
3. Institutionalise gender mainstreaming in African ARD.
4. Build gender mainstreaming competencies of staff in SROs.
5. Institute gender budgeting within FARA and partner SROs.

Appendices

Appendix I: List of documents reviewed

AFAAS, 2011. *2011–2015 Strategic Plan*. African Forum for Agricultural Advisory Services (AFAAS), AFAAS Secretariat, Kampala, Uganda.

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Appendix II: List of SRO officials interviewed

1. Ms Forough Olinga: Gender Expert, ASARECA
2. Dr Salim Nahdy: Executive Director, AFAAS
3. Mr Max Olupot: Technical Assistant, AFAAS
4. Dr Moses Osiru: Deputy Executive Secretary, RUFORUM
5. Dr Mariame Maiga: Regional Gender and Social Development Adviser, CORAF/WECARD
6. Dr Aissetou Yaye: Executive Secretary, ANAFE

Appendix III: Interview guide for SROs

Study on constraints and opportunities for mainstreaming gender equality in African agricultural research and development

1. Does your organization have a gender policy, or strategy? Can we have a copy? What are your organization's goals? How is gender relevant to your organization's goals?

2. What gender programmes is your organization currently implementing? At what levels are these programmes implemented? Organizational, programme or consumer (of agricultural innovations and research) levels?

3. Does your organization have a gender unit/department? How many staff are in the gender unit/department? What is the gender unit's/department's annual budget? What is the proportion of the annual budget of the gender unit/department, compared to your organization's overall annual budget? Is funding for gender mainstreaming integrated in programme budgets? If yes, how? If no, why not? What other resources are at the disposal of the gender unit/department (computers, motor vehicles, etc.)?

4. What qualifications do staff of the gender unit/department hold? What experience does staff have in gender mainstreaming (previous gender mainstreaming experience before joining your organization, and since joining your organization)?

5. Which office/officer within your organization takes overall responsibility for gender mainstreaming? What responsibilities for gender mainstreaming do other staff hold?

6. What institutional changes at organizational and programme levels have been instituted by your organization to address gender inequalities?

7. What have been the successes of the current gender mainstreaming practices within your organization?

8. What have been the challenges within the current gender mainstreaming practices within your organization? How have the weaknesses been addressed?

9. What are the capacity building needs for attaining effective gender mainstreaming within your organization?

10. What are the human and non-human resources needs for attaining effective gender mainstreaming within your organization?

Appendix IV: Terms of Reference for the study

The following were the Terms of Reference (TOR) of the Study on Constraints and Opportunities for Mainstreaming Gender Equality in African Agricultural Research and Development, which was undertaken between September and December 2012.

A. Background

The Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa (FARA) is the apex organization for agricultural research for development in Africa and the AUC/NEPAD mandated institution to lead implementation of Pillar IV of the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), focusing on generation, dissemination and adoption of agricultural innovations. Harnessing the development and poverty-reducing potential of CAADP depends crucially on the effectiveness, efficiency and relevance of agricultural research institutions and services in addressing the challenges facing African agriculture.

The mission of FARA is to create broad-based improvements in agricultural productivity, competitiveness and markets by supporting Africa's sub-regional organizations in strengthening the capacity of the National Agricultural Research Programmes (NARS) for agricultural innovation. FARA delivers on its mandate through four mutually-reinforcing Networking Support Functions (NSFs) concerned with advocacy and policy analysis (NSF1/3); Access to Knowledge & Technologies (NSF2); capacity strengthening (NSF4); and development of partnerships and strategic alliances (NSF5). The NSFs mobilize and support FARA's constituents and partners (Sub-regional organisations and organisations of the National Agricultural Research Systems) to undertake activities that generate continental spillovers and public goods.

FARA recognises the need for gender mainstreaming in agricultural research and development in Africa, especially in CAADP Pillar IV. Gender is addressed as a cross-cutting theme in the programmes and activities of FARA and her stakeholders, i.e., the Sub-Regional Organisations and National Agricultural Research Organisations, etc.

Mainstreaming gender equality into existing programmes, especially into CAADP Pillar IV, is one of the nine guiding principles identified under the evolution and reform of agricultural institutions and services within the Framework for African Agricultural Productivity (FAAP). The FAAP enjoins all stakeholders to work towards the "integrations of gender considerations at all levels, including farmers and farmer organizations, the private sector, public institutions, research and extension staff."

B. Objectives of the assignment

The main objective of this consultancy service is to carry out a study on the existing constraints and opportunities for mainstreaming gender equality into the work of African agricultural

research and development (ARD), and to serve as a road map for effective gender mainstreaming in African ARD.

Activities to accomplish this objective are elaborated in the scope of work below, and they are expected to be carried out in 15 effective working days over a period of five weeks, beginning September 2012.

C. Scope of work

Specifically, the consultant will undertake the following tasks:

vii. Develop a work plan for the assignment.

viii. Give a brief discussion on methods to be used to collect, analyze and present the information.

ix. Conduct a robust consultative review of gender issues in agriculture as they relate to FARA's programmes. especially to CAADP Pillar IV and other Pillar IV institutions.

x. Document best practices for institutional learning, as well as challenges and opportunities, to serve as a road map for effective integration of gender into Africa ARD.

xi. Propose a road map for integrating identified gender concerns into Africa's AR4D.

xii. Produce and submit a draft report for review and comments by FARA and stakeholders, and submit a final report to FARA.

D. Outputs or deliverables

The following outputs are expected:

i. Submission of a timetable for the work prior to commencement of assignment.

ii. Conducting the study as stated in the scope of work above.

iii. Presentation of a draft report, with recommendations and a road map for mainstreaming gender in Africa ARD.

iv. Submission of an initial draft report for comments, and submission of a final report to FARA and its stakeholders.

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Acronyms and abbreviations

AAS	Agricultural Advisory Services
AAU	Association of African Universities
AFAAS	African Forum for Agricultural Advisory Services
ANAFE	African Network for Agriculture, Agro forestry and Natural Resources Education
ARD	Agricultural Research and Development
ASARECA	Association for Strengthening Agricultural Research in Eastern and Central Africa
ASTI	Agricultural Science and Technology Indicators
AU	African Union
AU-NEPAD	African Union-New Partnership for Africa's Development
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CCARDESA/SADC	Centre for Coordination of Agricultural Research and Development for Southern Africa/Southern African Development Community
CHEA	Conference on Higher Education in Agriculture in Africa
CORAF/WECARD	Conseil Ouest et Centre Africain pour la Recherche et le Développement Agricoles/West and Central African Council for Agricultural Research and Development
DFID UK	Department for International Development United Kingdom
ECA	Eastern and Central Africa
ECSA	Eastern, Central and Southern Africa
FAAP	Framework for African Agricultural Productivity
FANR	Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources
FARA	Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa
FID	Farmer Institution Development
GAP	Gender in Agriculture Partnership
GCARD2	Second Global Conference on Agricultural Research for Development
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
GRB	Gender Responsive Budgets
IARCs	International Agricultural Research Centres
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IRESA	Institution of Agricultural Research and Higher Education
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOAAS	Market Oriented Agricultural Advisory Services

NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
NARS	National Agricultural Research Systems
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NSFs	Networking Support Functions
PMA	Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture
RAP	Regional Agricultural Policy
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RIU	Research into Use
RUFORUM	Regional Universities Forum for Capacity Building in Agriculture
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SASACID	Strengthening Africa's Strategic Agricultural Capacity for Impact on Development
SCARDA	Strengthening Capacity for Agricultural Research and Development in Africa
SROs	Sub Regional Organizations
TEAM Africa	Mechanism for Improving Tertiary Agricultural Education in Africa
TOR	Terms of Reference
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WCA	West and Central Africa

About FARA

FARA is the Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa, the apex organization bringing together and forming coalitions of major stakeholders in agricultural research and development in Africa.

FARA is the technical arm of the African Union Commission (AUC) on rural economy and agricultural development and the lead agency of the AU's New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) to implement the fourth pillar of the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP), involving agricultural research, technology dissemination and uptake.

FARA's vision: reduced poverty in Africa as a result of sustainable broad-based agricultural growth and improved livelihoods, particularly of smallholder and pastoral enterprises.

FARA's mission: creation of broad-based improvements in agricultural productivity, competitiveness and markets by supporting Africa's sub-regional organizations (SROs) in strengthening capacity for agricultural innovation.

FARA's Value Proposition: to provide a strategic platform to foster continental and global networking that reinforces the capacities of Africa's national agricultural research systems and sub-regional organizations.

FARA will make this contribution by achieving its *Specific Objective* of sustainable improvements to broad-based agricultural productivity, competitiveness and markets.

Key to this is the delivery of five *Results,* which respond to the priorities expressed by FARA's clients. These are:
1. Establishment of appropriate institutional and organizational arrangements for regional agricultural research and development.
2. Broad-based stakeholders provided access to the knowledge and technology necessary for innovation.
3. Development of strategic decision-making options for policy, institutions and markets.
4. Development of human and institutional capacity for innovation.
5. Support provided for platforms for agricultural innovation.

FARA will deliver these results by supporting the SROs through these Networking Support Functions (NSFs):
NSF1/3.	Advocacy and policy
NSF2.	Access to knowledge and technologies
NSF4.	Capacity strengthening
NSF5.	Partnerships and strategic alliances

FARA's donors are the African Development Bank (AfDB), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Centre de Coopération Internationale en Recherche Agronomique pour le Développement (CIRAD), the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), the Department for International Development (DFID), the European Commission (EC), the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), the Syngenta Foundation, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), the World Bank and the Governments of Italy and the Netherlands.

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