

A REVIEW AND ASSESSMENT OF GENDER ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES  
WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Terah Sportel

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Department of Geography  
Faculty of Environmental Studies  
University of Waterloo

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## **Abstract**

Two research objectives were established for this paper. review gender analysis techniques and tools of appraisal from the available literature; and assess the applicability of gender analysis techniques within the context of local resource management.

Gender and environment studies aim to achieve development with equity for women. Attempts have been made to integrate gender issues into the analysis of environment and sustainable development policies that will lead to progressive change for women. However, women are often excluded from participating in development initiatives by opportunity-limiting constraints. Gender-environment relations are conceived in different ways, creating a divergence in policy implications.

Only an empowerment-based gender transformatory policy can provide women with the enabling resources to allow them to take greater control of their lives, to determine what kinds of gender relations within which they would want to live, and to devise the strategies and alliances to help them achieve their goals. Gender frameworks can aid in structuring development projects around gender-neutral policies and redress existing gender imbalances.

The methodology behind PRA, although not automatically gender-aware, can facilitate the analysis of gender relations and the prioritisation of strategies for change. The potential of PRA to

empower women depends upon the extent to which it is equally amenable for use by women and men; and it is more successful than other methodologies at raising and addressing issues relevant to women.

Four case studies based on rural development are assessed: Integrated Rural Development, Africa; Irrigation Projects, India; Gender Issues in Irrigation, Cambodia; and From Crops to Gender Relations, Zambia.

# 1 Introduction

The objective of gender and environment studies is to achieve development with equity for women. The observed difference in the sexual division of labour in wage, education, occupation, employment, and more importantly, the unequal access and control over resources and participation in decision-making, which affect the lives of women, must be considered (March, 1999; Ofosu-Amaah, 1996; Sachs, 1997). Although women are central to the issues in environment and development, they are prevented from fully participating by constraints that limit their opportunities (Rodda, 1993). Two major barriers affect women's capacities as community natural resource managers (Ofosu-Amaah, 1996):

1. Social, cultural, and legal norms impose limitations on women's ability to participate effectively at all levels of sustainable development because they:
  - diminish women's capacity as environmental health managers for their families and communities;
  - diminish women's capacity as effective natural resource managers;
  - result in diminished control over the social and economic choices that women are able to make for themselves, their families and communities; and
  - further reduce women's socio-economic status and also contribute to the feminisation of poverty.
2. Women's invisibility in policy and decision-making means that their perspectives, concerns and possible alternative approaches are not considered.

Since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992, the relationship between gender and

environment has become an important focus of research and development policies (Leach et al., 1995; Ofori-Amaah, 1996; Rodda, 1993). Attempts have been made to integrate gender issues into the analysis of environment and sustainable development policies that will lead to progressive change for women (Leach et al., 1995).

Women have multiple relationships with environmental and natural resource management problems: women contribute to deteriorating environmental conditions; women contribute to the resolution of environmental problems; and women are victims of environmental damage (Ofori-Amaah, 1996; Rodda, 1993). Therefore, it is critical that women's understanding of environmental issues should be increased and their knowledge and skills taken into account in the conservation strategy of natural resource management (Rodda, 1993).

Gender differences influence the ways in which men and women relate to the environment (Horsley, 1995). Much can be learned from the various ways in which women and men organise on such fundamental aspects of development as food and agriculture production, forestry, energy needs, water resources, family, income generation, industry, marketing, credit, migration, health, environment, community development, training, and extension education (Horsley, 1995; Hyma, 1999; Ofori-Amaah, 1996). Women must be well informed on the costs and benefits of the sustainable use

of natural resources; and resources must be equally distributed among all users. Women must be seen as key agents in maintaining and improving the quality and quantity of natural resources through a development approach that is both sustainable and profitable (Rodda, 1993).

There are five key issues that must be considered when assessing gender and natural resource management within a community: quality and quantity of resources; resource use; control of and access to resources; investment within the context of who sustains the resource and who benefits; and environmental change (Horsley, 1995; Hyma, 1999). Assumptions based on the premise that women are more intimately linked to environment and natural resource management problems, because of their gender roles, create difficulties when attempts are made to explain the more complex links between women and natural resource management. These links are often difficult to understand for a variety of reasons (Ofosu-Amaah, 1996):

- reliable information and analysis of these connections are often unavailable;
- most of the information on these connections is anecdotal;
- little research has been conducted in this area; and
- few institutions in the development field have devoted adequate resources to enable the systematic documentation of these links to inform policy.

Only recently, has there been a focus on systematic and conceptual analyses of linking women and environment and women and natural resource management (Ofosu-Amaah, 1996).

The roles of women in natural resource management differ considerably from community to community, due to status, cultural norms and traditions, and human or financial resources (Horsley, 1995; Ofosu-Amaah, 1996). Research has shown that in the productive sectors of the economy, women's responsibilities link them more closely to local natural resources than men. For example, women provide up to ninety per cent of the subsistence agricultural labour. Thus, the exclusion of women from environmental management can have negative impacts at both household and community levels (Ofosu-Amaah, 1996). Because of these responsibilities, some women have become the repositories of traditional and customary knowledge that affects natural resource conservation efforts such as seed propagation and medicinal plants. Women's experiences, knowledge, and skills relating to natural resource management activities are not only significant to their own individual needs and to their social, family, and community welfare but also to sustainable development. The significance of these responsibilities is further increased by the growing incidence of female-headed households (Ofosu-Amaah, 1996) and the feminisation of poverty (Shiva, 1989).

**Table 1: Environmental problems and natural resource management issues related to agricultural activity and their links with women.**

**(Adapted from Ofosu-Amaah, 1996: 11)**

Natural Resource and Related Environmental Problem	Causes and Related Human Activity	Impact on women
<i>Land Resources</i>		
Decline in soil fertility	Unsound agricultural practices	Lack of food security
Deforestation	Uncontrolled logging	Loss of access to resources
Desertification	Over-logging	Loss of livelihood and income
Soil erosion	Pesticide and fertiliser abuse	Reduced nutrition
<i>Water</i>		
Deterioration of water quantity	Agricultural practices	Health problems
Unsafe water	Disposal of wastes	Walking long distances for water
Ground and surface water pollution	Inadequate sanitation	Inability to produce food
	Seawater infiltration	
<i>Atmosphere</i>		
Carbon dioxide emissions	Burning of fossil fuels	Subsistence agriculture under stress
Climate change	Industrial emissions	Health problems
Global warming		Travelling long distances to collect fuel and fodder

Gender analysis techniques and tools of appraisal are valuable means of encouraging the participation of women and of accessing women's knowledge of natural resource management activities (Ofosu-Amaah, 1996). Gender analysis frameworks can encourage a practice of development which has the potential to contribute to the struggle for gender equality and for women's rights (March et al., 1999). There is a need to assess the methods and tools available for gender analysis (Locke and Okali, 1999; March et al., 1999; Moser, 1993;). Locke and Okali (1999) argue that there is an urgent need to develop practical methods for analysing changing gender relations that can be integrated into development planning. A focus on techniques that promote the participation of

women and greater equality in social change and environmental change is needed.

Therefore, two research objectives were established for this paper. The first objective is to review gender analysis techniques and tools of appraisal from the available literature. The second objective is to assess the applicability of gender analysis techniques within the context of local resource management.

A review of gender, environment and development is presented in section two. The linkages between gender and environment are assessed, including the applicability for development interventions focused on natural resource management. Debates within the literature are presented. An overview of prominent approaches is provided through a discussion on the women and environment and the gender and development approaches toward development. Section three provides a review of gender analysis frameworks. Four gender analysis frameworks are assessed: Harvard Analytical Framework, Moser Framework, Gender Analysis Matrix, and Women's Empowerment Framework. Gender analysis offers an effective means of solving the problems associated with the linkage between women and the environment and a means of identifying and examining the underlying causes of environmental problems (Ofosu-Amaah, 1996). Section four focuses on participatory methods. An introduction to Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) provides an overview of the basis

of PRA and its development. The applicability of PRA to natural resource management and as a method to implement gender-aware research is discussed.

Section five addresses the second objective of this paper. To narrow the research focus, gender analysis within the context of resource management, case studies based on rural development, specifically agriculture, were chosen: Integrated Rural Development, Africa; Irrigation Projects, India; Gender Issues in Irrigation, Cambodia; and From Crops to Gender Relations, Zambia. Agriculture is invaluable to the livelihoods and subsistence of many women and their families (CIDA, 1989), and is the subject of many case studies. The following arguments have been made for the use of gender analysis in agriculture (Feldstein and Jiggins, 1994):

- research becomes more efficient and effective;
- research may be made more equitable; and
- the areas where there is the greatest need or opportunity for improved technologies are easily identified and their implications for the whole system can be seen.

Case studies are used as the main tool of analysis, offering insight into the strengths and weaknesses of development approaches and current gender analysis techniques and future research needs. The review of the literature, and the conclusions drawn from the case studies, provide an initial assessment of the application of gender analysis techniques for resource management.

## **2 A Review of Gender, Environment and Development**

Linkages between gender and the environment have become an important focus both of research and of development policy and practice (Jackson, 1993; Leach et al., 1995). Researchers have been interested in gender relations as integral to the social and economic organisation that mediates people's roles and relationships with particular environments (Kabeer, 1994; Leach et al., 1995; Parker, 1993; March et al., 1999). Concern with gender as a key component of social difference affecting people's experiences, concerns and capabilities in natural resource management has become an important area of research. Through research focusing on the two-way relationships between gender relations and environmental change in a variety of settings, attempts have been made to integrate gender issues into analysis of environment and sustainable development policies. This will lead to progressive change for women. Debates of recent years have revealed different perspectives (Shiva, 1989; Jackson, 1993; Leach, 1992; Locke and Okali, 1999). Researchers agree that there are differences between women's and men's environmental relations, and that these differences should inform policy concerning environment and sustainable development (Horsley, 1995). However, gender-

environment relations are conceived in very different ways, creating a divergence in policy implications (Leach et al., 1995).

## **2.1 Women and Environment Approach toward Development**

The relationship between gender and environment has become an important focus of research and development policies since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 (Ofosu-Amaah, 1996). The Senior Women's Advisory Group on Sustainable Development, which was established to help formulate UNEP's activities in conjunction with the 1985 Nairobi Women's Conference, convened the Global Assembly of Women and the Environment in Miami in November 1991. The Assembly, together with the World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet, generated recommendations that advanced the concerns of women and the environment in Rio. The Women's Action Agenda 21, a visionary and landmark document, was developed by the Congress in anticipation of the Earth Summit's Agenda 21. The Action Agenda formed the basis for Chapter 24 of Agenda 21 (Martin-Brown, 1993). Chapter 24 focuses on the global action for women towards sustainable and equitable development. The document was the first to recognise gender issues and the necessity of integrating women into all development activities (United Nations, 1993, Martin-Brown, 1993).

A predominant view within the literature highlights women as having a 'special' relationship with the environment, as users or 'managers' (Rodda, 1993). This approach has become known as WED (Women, Environment and Development). Many scholars working on women and development issues have critiqued the impact of Western development on the lives of women in the developing world (Sachs, 1997, Shiva, 1989). The work of Boserup (1970) was pivotal because it was the first to systematically use gender as a variable in an analysis (Rathgeber, 1990). WED, as a common emphasis of policy and intervention from NGOs (Non-Governmental Organisations) to major donor agencies, represents an explicit attempt to link earlier WID (Women in Development) approaches with recent environmental policy concerns. Images of women's current roles as users and managers of natural resources, including hewers of wood, haulers of water, custodians of genetic resources, and food producers, are central to both theoretical and more popular WED discussions. The view that women have a close affinity with the environment, and that women's and environmental interests are complementary, is largely supported. This is the basis for the premise that there is a need for women's increased participation in environmental management (Dankelman and Davidson, 1988).

Within a focus on women's current, material roles, the emphases of WED discussions vary and have changed over time (Leach et al., 1995; Jackson, 1993):

- women have been seen to acquire deep environmental knowledge and concerns for the resource base from their close dependence on natural resources;
- in the early 1980s, women were seen as victims of natural degradation and disaster, and of ill-conceived scientific and development processes which have systematically undermined their resources for subsistence; and
- in the late 1980s, women were seen as capable agents who can be mobilised for conservation projects.

These perspectives create a compelling narrative: women's subsistence concerns make them the agents for conservation—good both for them and for the environment. The narrative gains its support from those perspectives derived from ecofeminism, but is open to strong criticism on several grounds (Leach et al., 1995). Ecofeminism, largely of western origin, has an increasingly vocal international presence through researchers such as Shiva (1989, 1994; Mies and Shiva, 1993), and an implicit influence on many development perceptions. Ecofeminists argue that women are closer to nature at a conceptual level than men, who are associated with culture. Because nature is seen as inferior to culture in 'patriarchal' thought, women too are seen as inferior to men. The woman-nature link is seen as inevitable, with a common vision of an environmentally sustainable future (Jackson, 1993). Other ecofeminist theories are based on woman-nature connections as ideological constructs that

have emerged in particular societies. This theory raises questions about the social and historical construction and variability of concepts relating to gender and the environment (Leach, 1992; cf. MacCormack and Strathern, 1980).

Alternative approaches to the analysis of gender-environment relations (Overholt et al., 1985; Moser and Levy, 1986; Longwe, 1991) have partly developed through critiques of WED and ecofeminist concepts and categories (Braidotti et al., 1994; Jackson, 1993; Leach, 1992). Given social, cultural and economic differences within and between societies, which lead to different experiences between women and nature, researchers now believe that 'women' as a category in their relationship to the environment is inappropriate. The category 'women' also ignores differences related to class, ethnicity, age, and marital position. Therefore, there is a need to recognise diversity among women, and to situate their perspectives both ideologically and materially (Moser and Levy, 1986; Leach et al., 1995; Ofosu-Amaah, 1996; Horsley, 1995). WED approaches have also been strongly criticised for ignoring men and for narrowly focusing on women (Moser, 1989; Guijt and Shah, 1998a). The relationships between men and women are now recognised as crucial to gender analysis of environmental change, although some research is still limited to a more narrow focus on women (Guijt and Shah, 1998b; Cornwall, 1998; Leach et al., 1995).

## **2.2 Gender And Development**

A concern for gender equality in development is sufficiently well established in the literature (Guijt and Shah, 1998a; Moser, 1993). The most important distinction made in the literature is that between WID and GAD (Gender and Development) (March et al., 1999). Each term has been associated with a varying set of underlying assumptions and has led to the formation of different strategies for the participation of women in development processes (Rathgeber, 1990). Within GAD, a number of perspectives coexist therefore, as a policy and planning approach, it remains complex in terms of language and the possible practices which it encompasses (Moser, 1989; Levy, 1996). Early debates revealed that societal attitudes are pervasive and influence the nature of projects intended for women and their ability to achieve project objectives. With a changing approach toward development, from WID to GAD, the importance of gender analysis was realised (March et al., 1999).

A gender equality approach has evolved in development policy and planning from five basic approaches to WID: welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency, and empowerment (Table 2). While the different policy approaches are described chronologically, this is an oversimplification of reality. Many of the policies have appeared simultaneously. Implementing agencies have often followed no method in changing their approach, commonly changing from welfare

to efficiency without consideration of the other approaches (Moser, 1989). The welfare approach is linked with the modernisation paradigm, which dominated the mainstream thinking on development from the 1950s to the 1970s (Moser, 1993). In the 1970s, development changed to an equity approach. Researchers began to question the relevance of modernisation theory, arguing that the relative position of women had improved very little over the previous decades (Maguire, 1984). The anti-poverty approach, a toned-down version of the equity approach, was adopted in the 1970s to promote economic growth through a focus on the productive roles of women. The efficiency approach dominates development initiatives, focusing on economic stabilisation and the economic participation of women. Empowerment, the fifth and least recognised approach, was developed out of dissatisfaction with the equity approach, from emergent feminist writings and the experiences of grass-roots organisations (Moser, 1993).

**Table 2: Policy approaches to women in developing countries.**

**(Moser, 1989: 1808)**

<b>Issues</b>	<b>Welfare</b>	<b>Equity</b>	<b>Anti-poverty</b>	<b>Efficiency</b>	<b>Empowerment</b>
<i>Origins</i>	<p>Earliest approach:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>residual model of social welfare under colonial administration</li> <li>modernisation/accelerated growth economic development model.</li> </ul>	<p>Original WID approach:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>failure of modernisation development policy</li> <li>influence of Boserup and First World feminists on Percy Amendment</li> <li>declaration of UN Decade for Women.</li> </ul>	<p>Second WID approach:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>toned down equity because of criticism</li> <li>linked to Redistribution with Growth and Basic Needs.</li> </ul>	<p>Third and now predominant WID approach:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>deterioration in world economy</li> <li>policies of economic stabilisation and adjustment rely on women's economic contribution to development.</li> </ul>	<p>Most recent approach:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>arose out of failure of equity approach</li> <li>Third World Women's feminist writing and grassroots organisations</li> </ul>
<i>Period most popular</i>	1950–70: but still widely used.	1975–85: attempts to adopt it during and since Women's Decade.	1970s onward: still limited popularity.	Post 1980s: now most popular approach.	1975 onward: accelerated during 1980s, still limited popularity.
<i>Purpose</i>	To bring women into development as better mothers: this is seen as their most important role in development.	To gain equity for women in the development process: women seen as active participants in development.	To ensure poor women increase their productivity: women's poverty seen as problem of underdevelopment not subordination.	To ensure development is more efficient and more effective: women's economic participation seen as associated with equity.	To empower women through greater self-reliance: women's subordination seen not only as problem of men but also of colonial and neocolonial oppression.
<i>Needs of women met and roles recognised</i>	To meet PGN* in reproductive role, relating particularly to food aid, malnutrition and family planning.	To meet SGN* in terms of triple role—directly through state top-down intervention, giving political and economic autonomy by reducing inequality with men.	To meet PGN* in productive role, to earn an income, particularly in small-scale income generating projects.	To meet PGN* in context of declining social services by relying on all three roles of women and elasticity of women's time.	To reach SGN* in terms of triple role—indirectly through bottom-up mobilisation around PGN* as means to confront oppression.
<i>Comment</i>	Women seen as passive beneficiaries of development with focus on reproductive role. Non-challenging therefore still widely popular especially with government and traditional NGOs.	In identifying subordinate position of women in terms of relationship to men, challenging, criticised as Western feminism, considered threatening and not popular with government.	Poor women isolated as separate category with tendency only to recognise productive role; reluctance of government to give limited aid to women means popularity still at small-scale NGO level.	Women seen entirely in terms of delivery capacity and ability to extend working day. Most popular approach with governments and multilateral agencies.	Potentially challenging with emphasis on Third World and women's self-reliance. Largely unsupported by governments and agencies. Avoidance of Western feminism criticism means slow significant growth of underfinanced voluntary organisations.

PGN—Practical Gender Needs; SGN—Strategic Gender Needs

The GAD approach emerged in the 1980s as an alternative to WID (Rathgeber, 1990). The approach challenges many of the assumptions behind traditional planning methods (March et al., 1999). The GAD theory stems from socialist feminism and has bridged the gap left by the modernisation theorists by linking the relations of production to the relations of reproduction, taking into account all aspects of women's lives. GAD is a holistic approach, which analyses social organisation in order to understand particular aspects of society. The approach is concerned with the social construct of gender and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities, and expectations to women and to men. Women are seen as agents of change rather than passive recipients of development assistance; the need for self-organisation among women is stressed for a more effective political voice (Moffat et al., 1991; Rathgeber, 1990). GAD theory contains a number of analytical tools/frameworks that can guide development work to better address gender issues (Moffat et al., 1991) and design and implement natural resource management projects that are gender sensitive (Ofosu-Amaah, 1996).

### **3 A Review of Gender Analysis Frameworks**

Gender analysis frameworks have been designed for different purposes, ranging from helping to initiate social research, planning and monitoring and intervention, to evaluating research achievements (Locke and Okali, 1999). They have been developed in order to

integrate women into project analysis—essential for transforming policy concerns into practical realities (Rao et al., 1991). Framework use can only produce a crude model of reality because each framework is based on a limited number of influencing factors. The selection of factors in any particular framework reflects a set of values and assumptions of the framework designer. The values and assumptions of those that employ the framework will also determine the approaches and interventions selected for project implementation (March et al., 1999; Kabeer, 1994).

Choosing a suitable framework is dependent on the project, context, and the resources available, therefore it is important to consider the main conceptual difference between frameworks (March et al., 1999). Gender frameworks differ in their scope and emphasis, however, many similarities exist between the different gender-analysis frameworks. For example, all of them recognise and emphasise the existence of reproductive work and productive activities. However, the extent to which the framework incorporates an analysis of social relations that goes beyond the issues of gender is an important consideration (March et al., 1999).

Gender analyses must be flexible to recognise changes that might occur over time and to examine how this will affect the community and thus, the project or programme. The degree to which each framework includes and values intangible and tangible resources

must also be considered. Intangible resources include political or social resources: rights and claims of people; friendships; membership of networks; skills; experience of working in the public sphere; self-confidence and credibility; status and respect; leadership qualities; and, often crucially for women, time. If tangible resources, which include land or income, are scarce, intangible resources become important in shaping people's lives (March et al., 1999).

The ultimate goal of each framework is important to consider—whether it focuses on efficiency or empowerment. An efficiency approach does not challenge existing gender relations, and gender-neutral or gender-specific policies or interventions tend to result. For example, further resources will be allocated to men if it is judged efficient, even if this is detrimental to women, or if the inclusion of women would not make a project more efficient, they would not be included (March et al., 1999). Only an empowerment-based gender transformatory policy can provide women with the enabling resources to allow them to take greater control of their lives, to determine what kinds of gender relations within which they would want to live, and to devise the strategies and alliances to help them achieve their goals (Overholt et al., 1985; March et al., 1999).

### **3.1 Harvard Analytical Framework**

The Harvard Analytical Framework (HAF) was one of the earlier frameworks designed for gender analysis. The Framework was

developed in 1985 by researchers at the Harvard Institute for International Development, USA, in collaboration with the WID office of USAID at a time when the efficiency approach was gaining prominence in development (Overholt et al., 1985; Rao et al., 1991). The Framework was developed to demonstrate that it is economically viable to allocate resources to women as well as men. The goal of the HAF is to aid planners in the design of more efficient projects and to improve productivity by mapping the work and resources of men and women in a community and highlighting the main differences. The structure is based on a matrix in order to collect data at the micro-level, such as the community and household level (March et al., 1999). Although the HAF is used to develop a description and analysis of gender relations in a community, it provides no guidance in determining development directions (Moffat et al. et al., 1991). The Framework is organised into four interrelated components: Activity Profile; Access and Control Profile; Influencing Factors; and Project Cycle Analysis.

### **3.1.1 Activity Profile**

The Activity Profile is based on the concept of a gender-based division of labour. The profile will delineate the economic activities of the population in the project area first by age and gender and then by ethnicity and social class, or other important distinguishing characteristics (Rao et al., 1991). The quantity of detailed information

collected depends upon the nature of the project (March et al., 1999). Rao et al. (1991) suggest the following categories: production of goods and services; and reproduction and maintenance of human resources (Appendix 1).

### **3.1.2 Access and Control Profile**

The Access and Control Profile measures the flow of resources and benefits in order to assess how projects will affect and be affected by men and women. The access that individuals have to resources for carrying out their activities and the control they have of the benefits derived from these activities is of particular concern. It is essential to differentiate between access and control because those who have access to resources do not necessarily control them—access can be determined by others, but control implies that one is the determining force. The differentiation between access and control over the use of resources and the benefits derived from the mobilisation of resources is also important. With a focus on resources and benefits, an accurate assessment of power relations between members of a society or economy can be obtained. Thus the probable interaction of women with a project and the effects that the project will have on women can be analysed (Rao et al., 1991).

For example, small-scale market gardens managed by women to meet the challenge of supporting themselves and their families were developed in The Gambia between 1973 and 1991. The garden

projects were a loss of privilege for men who were accustomed to controlling the distribution of benefits generated by development interventions. The women were granted usufruct rights to the land from male elders under the condition that they watered the landholders' trees and vacated their plots when the trees matured. With a renewed emphasis on 'sustainable' agriculture, the government and development agencies encouraged the men to plant more fruit trees to reverse deforestation and stimulate economic growth. The new emphasis on development produced a political shift in labour claims and property rights. The older claims of male landholders regained significance and, in effect, allowed them to resume control of their lands. Women lost their more recent, less secure usufruct claims (Schroeder, 1997).

### **3.1.3 Influencing Factors**

Influencing Factors refer to those factors that shape gender relations and influence the differences in the gender division of labour, access, and control over resources and benefits (Parker et al., 1995). Rao et al. (1991), suggest several categorisations (Appendix 2). The identification of past and present influences on men and women must be identified in order to provide an indication of future trends. Projects are not carried out within the static environment implied by the activity and access and control profiles (Rao et al., 1991). Influencing factors present opportunities and constraints to increasing

the involvement of women in development projects and programmes. Therefore, this tool should aid in anticipating what inputs will be needed to make the intervention successful in forming a gender perspective (March et al., 1999).

**Table 3: An example of the matrix used with the Harvard Analytical Framework.**

**(Adapted from Moffat et al., 1991: 31)**

<b>Activity Profile</b>				
<u>Production Activities</u>	<u>Women/girls</u>	<u>Men/boys</u>		
Agriculture: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Activity 1</li> <li>• Activity 2, etc.</li> </ul> Income Generating: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Activity 1</li> <li>• Activity 2, etc.</li> </ul> Employment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Activity 1</li> <li>• Activity 2, etc.</li> </ul> Other				
<u>Reproductive Activities</u> Water Related: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Activity 1</li> <li>• Activity 2, etc.</li> </ul> Fuel Related Food Preparation Childcare Health Related Cleaning and Repair Market Related Other				
<b>Access and Control Profile</b>				
<u>Resources</u>	<u>Access</u>		<u>Control</u>	
Land Equipment Labour Cash Education/Training Other	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
<u>Benefits</u> Outside Income Asset Ownership Basic Needs Education Political Power/Prestige etc. Other				
<b>Influencing Factors</b>				
Political Economic Cultural Educational Environmental Legal International	<u>Impact?</u>	<u>Opportunities?</u>	<u>Constraints?</u>	

### **3.1.4 Project Cycle Analysis**

The Project Cycle Analysis is designed to assist in the examination of a project proposal or an area of intervention from a gender perspective, using gender-disaggregated data and capturing the different effects of social change on men and women. The tool comprises a checklist of questions relating to four main stages of project: identification, design, implementation, and evaluation (March et al., 1999). The process is to determine which activities the project will affect and how the issues of access and control relate to these activities. The analysis aids in identifying project components that must be adjusted in order to achieve the desired outcome. The project identification stage must address questions that relate to women as project clientele, including women's needs, general project objectives, and possible negative effects. During the project design, questions that relate to the impact on women's activities and access and control of resources and benefits need to be raised. Questions regarding the relationship of women in the project area to project personnel, organisational structures, operations and logistics, and flexibility need to be addressed during project implementation. Data requirements, and data collection and analysis must be reviewed in the project evaluation (Rao et al., 1991).

**Table 4: The potentials and limitations of the Harvard Analytical Framework.**

**(Compiled from March et al, 1999; Locke and Okali, 1999; Kabeer, 1994)**

Potentials	Limitations
Useful tool for gathering and analysing information	Can encourage a superficial, tick-the-boxes approach
Makes visible the work of women—helps planner avoid technical errors such as distributing resources at inappropriate times, or underestimating the workload of women	Does not require community members to analyse their own situation
Useful for initiating discussion	Based on the WID efficiency approach
Can be successfully employed in a participatory manner	Does not specifically address gender relations or power dynamics—may lead to a top-down approach if used in isolation
Can be adapted to account for underlying inequalities by disaggregating the data (culture, ethnic, and economic factors, and gender and age)	Concentrates on activities and resources rather than relationships between different groups (class, race, religious)
Can be adapted to question each state of the project—collect data twice (review and compare)	May be difficult to distinguish between access and control
Prioritises productive and reproductive roles	Provides a static view of the community Community activities not included

### 3.2 Moser Framework

The Moser Framework was developed under the GAD approach, challenging many of the assumptions behind traditional planning methods. Moser developed the Framework as a method of gender analysis at the Development Planning Unit (DPU), University of London, UK in the early 1980s (Moser, 1993). In co-ordination with Levy, Moser further developed the Framework into a gender policy and planning method (Moser and Levy, 1986). “The goal of gender planning is the emancipation of women from their subordination, and their achievement of equality, equity and empowerment. This will

vary widely in different contexts depending on the extent to which women as a category are subordinated in status to men as a category” (Moser, 1993). The Moser Framework questions assumptions that planning is a purely technical task. Gender planning is characterised as distinct from traditional planning methods in several critical ways: it is both political and technical in nature; it assumes conflict in the planning process; it involves transformatory processes; and it characterises planning as ‘debate’ (Moser, 1993). The Moser Framework is based on three concepts: women’s triple role; practical and strategic gender needs; and, categories of WID/GAD policy approaches.

### **3.2.1 Women’s Triple Role**

Gender roles identification or the triple role of women involves mapping the gender division of labour, which consists of reproductive, productive, and community-managing activities (March et al., 1999). All community members are likely to be involved in all three areas of work, however women do almost all of the reproductive and much of the productive work. Alternatively, men are primarily associated with productive and community politics activities. The different roles of men and women have important implications for policy makers. The triple role of women is often unrecognised and the constraints they experience by the burden of simultaneously balancing these roles are

ignored (Moser, 1989). An analysis of the gender division of labour is necessary in order to (Moffat et al. et al., 1991):

- acknowledge all the work done in the community and its true value;
- plan for the impact of projects on the complex balance of community social and economic functions;
- reduce women’s workload; and
- ensure women’s participation in projects.

Ultimately, the Framework aims to ensure that tasks are equally valued. The triple role analysis is useful in a planning framework, because any development intervention in one area of work will affect the activities performed in the other two areas (March et al., 1999).

**Table 5: The triple role of women as defined by Moser.  
(Compiled from Moser, 1993; Moffat et al. et al., 1991)**

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<b>Reproductive Work</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Care and maintenance of the household and its members including bearing and caring for children, food preparation, water and fuel collection, shopping, housekeeping, and family health care</li><li>• In low-income communities, reproductive work is usually labour-intensive, time consuming, and the responsibility of women and girls</li><li>• Although reproductive work is crucial to human survival, it is seldom considered ‘real work’</li><li>• Men generally do not have a clearly defined reproductive role—although they may attend to their children or assist their women partners with domestic activities</li></ul>
<b>Productive Work</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Production of goods and services for consumption and trade (in employment and self-employment)</li><li>• Work is carried out by both men and women—functions and responsibilities often differ, with women’s work less visible and less valued than men’s</li></ul>

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- The stereotype of the male breadwinner or the male as productive worker predominates, even when it is not the case in reality
- In rural areas the productive work of women is usually agriculturally based and often provides secondary income.

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### **Community Work**

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- Collective organisation of social events and services, such as ceremonies and celebrations, activities to improve the community, participation in groups and organisations, and local political activities
  - Community work is seldom considered in economic analyses, yet it involves considerable volunteer time and is important for the spiritual and cultural development of communities
  - Acts as a vehicle for community organisation and self-determination
  - The roles of men and women in the community are markedly different: women have a community-managing role based on the provision of items of collective consumption; and men's community roles are based on leadership in which they organise at the formal political level within the framework of national politics
  - Women, as an extension of their domestic role, frequently take primary responsibility for the formation, organisation and success of local-level protest groups
- 

## **3.2.2 Practical and Strategic Gender Needs**

The gender needs assessment builds on Molyneaux's (1985) concept of women's gender interests and is based on the concept that women as a group have particular needs, which differ from those of men as a group. Moser (1993) distinguishes between practical and strategic gender needs (Table 6).

**Table 6: Practical and strategic gender needs as outlined in the Moser Framework. (Compiled from Moser, 1993; March et al., 1999; Moffat et al. et al., 1991)**

<b>Practical Gender Needs</b>	<b>Strategic Gender Needs</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Would assist women in their current activities if met</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Would transform existing imbalances of power between women and men if met—they exist because of women's subordinate social status and vary in particular contexts</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interventions that focus on meeting practical gender needs, such as water provision,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relate to gender divisions of labour, power and control</li> </ul>

health-care provision, income earning opportunities, basic services, and distribution of food, respond to an immediate perceived necessity, often related to inadequacies in living conditions

- May include such issues as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages, and women's control over their own bodies

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*Meeting Practical and Strategic Needs*

- Does not challenge the causes of practical needs, which include the existing gender division of labour or women's subordination
  - A long-term process—Interventions are based on gender equality and the empowerment of women, providing more opportunities, greater access to resources and more equal participation with men in decision-making
  - A relatively short-term process, which generally preserves and reinforces traditional relations between men and women
-

**Table 7: The potentials and limitations of the Moser Framework.  
(Compiled from Moser, 1993; March et al., 1999; Locke and Okali, 2009; Kabear, 1994)**

Potentials	Limitations
Can be used for planning at all levels from regional to project planning, and in training on gender issues to raise awareness of women's subordination	Neglects social relations and other forms of inequality such as class and race
Accessible, easily taught and communicated	Does not logically distinguish between 'who does what and how', and 'what is produced'
Recognises the institutional resistance to addressing, and transforming gender relations	It is unclear whether community work refers to the production of a third type of resource, or how the labour is organised
Planners are reminded that women's short-term, practical needs must be addressed to facilitate a more balanced relationship between men and women in the long term	The fact that most resources can be produced in a variety of settings, and through a variety of relationships, is lost in the distinction between the triple roles of women
Enforces the interrelations of productive, reproductive, and community work through the 'triple role' of women	The chosen language does not fully capture the dynamics of gender power relations—depoliticises Moser's message to a certain extent.
Categorising various WID/GAD policy approaches helps to review the main policy assumptions driving a particular project, therefore alerting practitioners of possible shortcomings	The classifications of policy approaches are sometimes criticised—practitioners must exercise caution to avoid summarising an intervention in terms of a policy approach without reviewing all of the details.
Definition of strategic gender needs leads to the consideration of women only—creates a powerful concept because it highlights that women are the subordinated sex in a patriarchal system	<p>The division between strategic and practical is artificial and dangerous; in most cases there is a continuum, for example it is difficult to define whether education is strategic or practical— practical interventions affect women's power and status even when they are not factored into the planning process or recognised by those involved in the project</p> <p>Definition of strategic gender needs leads to the consideration of women only—the concept must be extended to include men's strategic interests, to maintain an unbiased approach</p>

### **3.3 Gender Analysis Matrix**

Parker (1993) developed the Gender Analysis Matrix (GAM) in collaboration with development practitioners working for a Middle Eastern NGO. The GAM was developed to accommodate practitioners working at the grassroots level. The practitioners expressed the need for tools and methods for designing and implementing gender-sensitive programmes that would respond to particular circumstances such as imposed shortages of funding and time, illiteracy, and insufficient or non-existent quantitative data on gender roles. The GAM is influenced by the reality and ideology of participatory planning. The Framework is designed to be used in conjunction with other standard tools of analysis such as monitoring tools and needs assessments. The GAM provides a community-based technique for identifying and analysing gender differences to assess the different impact of development interventions on each gender. The tool is used to initiate a process of analysis by community members, and encourages them to identify and constructively challenge their assumptions about gender roles. The GAM is based on three principles (Parker, 1993):

- all requisite knowledge for gender analysis exists among the people whose lives are the subject of the analysis;
- gender analysis does not require the technical expertise of those outside the community, except as facilitators; and
- gender analysis cannot promote transformation unless it is carried out by people being analysed.

The GAM has four levels of analysis and four categories of analysis. The four levels of analysis include women, men, household and community. Depending on the project goals and the community in question, other levels such as age, class, and ethnicity, can be included. Women and men of all ages who are in the target group or in the community and affected by the project must be included. The household comprises all women, men, and children living together, even if they are not part of one nuclear family. The people should determine the definition or unit of analysis for the household level. The community level refers to people within the project area. Because communities are complex and diverse, the community level of analysis can be eliminated if it is not meaningful within the context of the project (Parker, 1993).

The four categories of analysis include labour, time, resources (including access and control), and socio-cultural. The labour category refers to the change of tasks, the level of skill required and labour capacity. Resources include the changes in access to resources as a consequence of the project, and the extent of control over changes in resources for each group analysed. Socio-cultural factors include the changes in social aspects of the participants' lives, including changes in gender roles or status, as a result of the project (Parker, 1993).

**Table 8: An example of the Gender Analysis Matrix.**

**(Parker, 1993: 38)**

	Labour	Time	Resources	Culture
Women				
Men				
Household				
Community				

The GAM is initially facilitated by a practitioner and over time, it is hoped that community members will facilitate the process. A group within the community, which preferably should contain equal representation of women and men, completes the Matrix. The GAM can be used at different stages in the project cycle for the assessment of the potential and actual impact of an intervention on the community's gender relations (Parker, 1993):

- at the planning stage to determine whether potential gender effects are desirable and consistent with programme goals;
- at the design stages where gender considerations may change the design of the project; and
- during monitoring and evaluation stages, to address broader programme impacts.

The analysis should be reviewed and revised once a month for the first three months and once every three months thereafter. Every box should be verified, and the expected and unexpected results recorded. When the collection of data is complete, the group discusses the findings by asking the following questions (March et al., 1999):

- Are the effects listed on the GAM desirable? Are they consistent with the programme's goals?

- How is the intervention affecting those who do not participate?
- Which results are unexpected? (These are identified during and after implementation.)

After the boxes have been filled in with the changes that resulted from the project, group members should make the following additions to the Matrix, providing an overview of the effects of the intervention (March et al., 1999):

- a plus sign (+) if the outcome is consistent with project goals;
- a minus sign (–) if the outcome is contrary to project goals; or
- a question mark (?) if group members are unsure whether it is consistent or contrary.

**Table 9: The potentials and limitations of the Gender Analysis Matrix.**

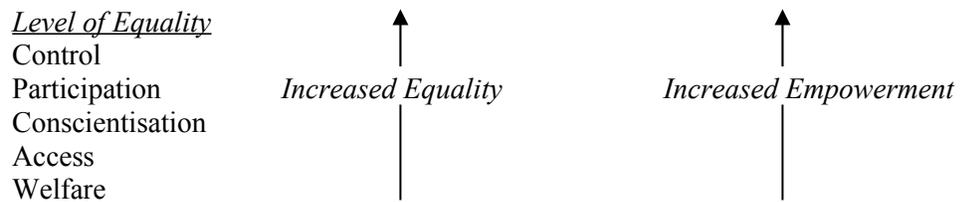
**(Compiled from March et al., 1999)**

Potentials	Limitations
<p>An appropriate tool for transformatory gender training with a high potential for raising awareness of women's subordination as a result of unequal gender relations</p>	<p>Excludes macro- and institutional analysis by not considering the potential offered and the constraints imposed by external forces</p>
<p>Useful for community-based practitioners—accessible, flexible, and it accommodates changes over time</p>	<p>Can lead to a false consensus and false confidence that all members of the community have participated equally</p>
<p>Completing the Matrix can be a relatively quick way of gathering complex and comprehensive data, taking approximately two to four hours</p>	<p>There is a risk of misleading outcomes resulting from power relations between those funding the project and community members—community members may resist discussing all issues freely for fear that funding will be refused</p>
<p>Analyses gender relations between men and women and examines each group separately— helps move practitioners away from a tendency to see men and women as separate, homogeneous groups, which can be considered in isolation</p>	<p>A good facilitator is required for it to be an effective tool—the facilitator must ensure that the participants have a clear understanding of the categories of analysis because they incorporate many aspects and some might be lost</p>
<p>Can be used in projects where men are the target group</p>	<p>Careful repetition of the analysis is required In order to adequately consider change over time</p>
<p>Categories of analysis help raise consciousness about gender inequalities because they move from practical issues to cultural change —participants cannot avoid linking practical impact and intangible changes at a cultural and ideological level</p>	<p>Does not explicitly differentiate which men, and which women, are most likely to experience negative or positive impacts</p>
<p>Community members are encouraged to articulate a full range of expectations concerning a particular project</p>	<p>The Matrix should be adapted to add 'which, women, which men' as a heading, because it is important for the facilitator to determine who will be affected by the project</p>
<p>Enables all concerned, including funding agencies and the community, to anticipate the resistance that the project or programme might encounter, and encourages the implementation of support mechanisms</p>	

### **3.4 Women's Empowerment Framework**

Longwe, a consultant on gender and development based in Lusaka, Zambia, developed the Women's Empowerment Framework (WEF). The framework is intended to help planners question what women's empowerment and equality means in practice and to critically assess the extent to which a development intervention is supporting this empowerment (March et al., 1999). Longwe (1991) defines empowerment as a process that enables women to take an equal place with men, and to participate equally in the development process in order to achieve control over the factors of production on an equal basis with men. She argues that much of the development literature is concerned with defining equality according to the conventional sectors of the economy and society, such as equality in education, employment, and under the law. This system of analysing equality by sectors focuses on areas of social life, rather than the role of increased equality in the development process. Longwe defines development as enabling increased participation and equality, and enabling people to escape from the poverty which arises from oppression and exploitation. The WEF is based on five levels of equality: welfare, access, conscientisation, participation, and control (Figure 1) (Longwe, 1991).

**Figure 1: The five hierarchical levels of equality that comprise the Women's Empowerment Framework.**  
**(Adapted from Longwe, 1991: 151)**



*Definition of the Five Levels of Equality*

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Welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Level of material welfare of women, relative to men (food supply, income and medical care)</li> <li>• Not concerned with whether women are themselves the active creators and producers of their material needs</li> </ul>
Access	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women's access to the factors of production on an equal basis with men (land, labour, credit, training, marketing, public services)</li> <li>• Equality of access obtained by ensuring the principle of equality of opportunity (reform of law and administrative practice)</li> </ul>
Conscientisation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An understanding of the difference between sex roles and gender roles</li> <li>• Awareness that gender roles are cultural and can be changed</li> <li>• Involves a belief that the sexual division of labour should be fair and agreeable to both sides, and not involve economic or political domination of one sex by the other</li> <li>• Sexual equality is the basis of gender awareness and collective participation</li> </ul>
Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women's equal participation in the decision making process, policy making, planning and administration</li> <li>• Important aspect of development projects, where participation means involvement in needs assessment, project formulation, implementation and evaluation</li> </ul>
Control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women's control over the decision-making process through conscientisation and mobilisation, to achieve equality of control over the factors of production and the distribution of benefits</li> </ul>

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The levels of equality are hierarchical, with the equality of control more important for women's development than the equality of welfare. There is a greater probability of increased empowerment of women with development interventions that focus on higher levels of equality rather than projects that focus on lower levels of equality (Longwe, 1991). For example, a project that concentrates on welfare will probably not empower women. Equal participation in the decision-making process regarding specific resources is more important for achieving women's empowerment than equal access to resources. However, equal control is more important than participation or access. When using the levels of equality to analyse the impact of development interventions on women's equality and empowerment, it is important to consider that the ideal intervention does not show activities on every level (March et al., 1999).

Longwe emphasises the importance of identifying the extent to which the project objectives are concerned with women's development, to establish whether women's issues are recognised (March et al., 1999). 'Women's issues' are defined as those that relate to equality with men in any social or economic roles, and involve any of the five levels of equality. Longwe uses the term 'women's concern' to describe matters relating to women's reproductive roles, or their traditional and subordinate sex-stereotyped gender roles (Longwe, 1991). An issue becomes a

'women's issue' when it concentrates on the relationship between men and women, rather than on women's traditional and subordinate stereotyped gender roles (March et al., 1999).

Project formulation must begin with an investigation into the needs of the target group, including those that are implicit, and by inquiring about needs and priorities. 'Women's issues' are often overlooked because a needs assessment is not implemented (Longwe, 1991). Three different levels of recognition of women's issues in project objectives are defined within the Framework: negative level, neutral level, and positive level. At the negative level, project objectives do not mention women's issues and women are usually left worse off. At the neutral level or conservative level, project objectives recognise women's issues, but concern remains that the project intervention may leave women worse off. The positive level is concerned with project objectives that are based on women's issues and the improvement of the position of women relative to men (Longwe, 1991; March et al., 1999).

**Table 10: An example of the Women's Empowerment Framework. (Williams et al., 1994: 302)**

Project title: _____				
Levels of Equality	Level of Recognition	Negative	Neutral	Positive
Control				
Participation				
Conscientisation				
Access				

Welfare			
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**Table 11: Potentials and limitations of the Women's Empowerment Framework.**

**(March, et al., 1999)**

Potentials	Limitations
Can be a useful tool for planning, monitoring, and evaluation	Can encourage analysis of women, without considering gender relations—the relationships between men and women are only assessed in terms of equality—rather than the complicated system of rights, claims, and responsibilities that exists between them
The focus on empowerment emphasises aspects of development work that has previously gone unrecognised	Fails to specify whether development interventions should target women—only, men—only, or mixed groups—women’s empowerment must be the concern of both women and men, and the degree to which the project is defined as potentially empowering women is based on the extent to which it addresses women’s issues.
Allows users to question whether their interventions have transformatory potential	Can be too confrontational in circumstances where the practitioners are not committed to women’s empowerment
Can be used to strengthen the translations of a commitment to women’s empowerment into actual plans and policy	Hierarchical organisation of the levels of equality can lead to the belief that empowerment is a linear process.
Does not maintain a restrictive distinction between practical and strategic gender interests	<p>Using the levels of equality to assess the importance of resources might lead to incorrect data—for example, a strict interpretation of the value of levels might lead to the conclusion that control of hoes contributes more to women’s development than access to land</p> <p>Static, failing to consider how situations change over time</p> <p>Fails to consider other forms of inequality, such as class and ethnicity—can encourage a misleading view of women as a homogeneous group</p> <p>Fails to examine the involvement of institutions and organisations</p> <p>Fails to examine the macro–environment</p> <p>Based on broad generalities</p>

## 4 Participatory Rural Appraisal

PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) is a field-based methodology which has evolved and spread in the 1990s (Mukherjee, 1997). PRA is a family of approaches and methods to enable rural people to share, enhance, and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act and to monitor and evaluate (Appendix 3). The basis of PRA has been derived from practice and that which had been found to work, rather than from *a priori* principles. PRA has three foundations (Chambers, 1997):

- the behaviour and attitudes of outsiders, who facilitate, not dominate;
- the methods, which shift the normal balance from closed to open, from individual to group, from verbal to visual, and from measuring to comparing; and
- partnership and sharing of information, experience, food and training between insiders and outsiders, and between organisations.

For many developers, PRA seeks to empower those who are under subordination, such as women, minorities, the poor, the weak, and the vulnerable. PRA has evolved from, draws on, and resonates with several sources and traditions, some of which are new, adopted, adapted or rediscovered: action-reflection research; agro-ecosystem analysis; applied anthropology; field research on farming systems; and rapid rural appraisal (RRA) (Appendix 4). Evidence shows high validity and reliability of information shared by local people through PRA compared with data from more traditional methods (Chambers, 1994).

Most applications have one of three purposes: topic investigations and research (mainly RRA); training and orientations for outsiders and local people; and as an empowering process of appraisal, analysis, planning, action, monitoring and evaluation (PRA). Participatory methods have been practically applied in natural resource management programmes for women and the poor, agriculture, health and food security (Chambers, 1997). The use of PRA to implement GAD in research emerged in 1990 (Guijt and Shah, 1998b). PRA offers great potential as a methodology for the implementation of GAD because both approaches have an empowerment agenda (Humble, 1998).

#### **4.1 Participatory Appraisal of Natural Resources**

Participatory Appraisal of Natural Resources (PANR) is based on PRA. PANR is an approach for interacting with local people and learning from and with them about natural resources and related issues. The approach involves participatory processes which encompass a set of principles and attitudes and behaviour, congenial to learning and participation. The participatory methods enable local people to participate in knowledge-building exercises, investigate and analyse their problems, evaluate constraints, opportunities, and make informed decisions regarding natural resource management. The primary focus of PANR is on local natural resources from a community's perspective. It only focuses on other community aspects

if they are associated with the community's relationship with natural resources. The approach is based on the premise that local communities have an intrinsic relationship with local natural resources that are important for their lives and livelihoods (Mukherjee, 1997).

## **4.2 PRA, Empowerment and Gender Analysis**

Many practitioners have observed that PRA processes are unlikely to be equally accessible or open to all groups within a community (Mosse, 1994; Mayoux, 1995, Vlaar and Ahlers, 1998). Many participatory development initiatives do not deal well with the complexity of community differences including age, economic, religious, caste, ethnic and, in particular, gender. 'Community' has often been viewed naïvely, or in practice dealt with, as an harmonious and internally equitable collective. The notion of community cohesion continues to permeate much participatory work, hiding a bias that favours the opinions and priorities (Guijt and Shah, 1998b). The potential of PRA to empower women will depend upon the extent to which it is equally amenable for use by women and men; and it is more successful than other methodologies at raising and addressing issues relevant to women. PRA has often failed to address the local, social and political processes through which 'empowerment' takes place. Gender has been ignored as a critical aspect of power relations. The concern of power and power relations has centred instead around the relationship between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', or

between the North and the South. PRA conducted without considering gender relations, does not challenge, and may reinforce, the publicly endorsed definition of women's roles (Crawley, 1998).

Meeting the challenge of equitable participatory development means integrating gender awareness into practice, and not pursuing two approaches with two sets of principles and two series of methods. Participation is only as inclusive as those who are driving the process choose it to be, or as those involved demand it to be (Guijt and Shah, 1998b). Three main types of reasons for women's non-inclusion have been suggested (Robinson-Pant, 1997):

1. Structural constraints:

- impose obstacles on women's ability to attend and participate fully;
- women's social obligations restrict the times of day at which it is possible for them to take time away from their duties to participate;
- the formal, public nature can be inhibiting to women, who in most cultures are not expected to make their presence felt at public assemblies; and
- the methods of articulating information and problems may not seem to women to fit the kinds of changes they wish to see.

2. Available methods:

- much of the traditional methods do not address gender differences or access women's knowledge.

3. Facilitator bias:

- practitioners are hampered in their own work by their own attitudes to women.

PRA will need to address gendered power-relations in order to empower women (Crawley, 1998). Thus, the facilitators must adopt a

gender framework with a long-term commitment to change and an unwavering focus on women's strategic empowerment, through a critical, participatory and reflexive methodology. Although PRA is not automatically gender-aware, the methodology can facilitate the analysis of gender relations and the prioritisation of strategies for change (Humble, 1998):

1. Prolonged critical investigations, not rapid descriptions:

- potential conflict exists between PRA's image of and use as a rapid approach and GAD's requirement for critical analysis;
- more time may be required for discussion and analysis on gender issues, both for the structures and ideology of gender oppression to be revealed, and for women to develop confidence and awareness of themselves as critical social actors capable of promoting change; and
- 'optimal ignorance' and 'appropriate imprecision' lie at the root of this tension with critical analysis.

2. Non-directive facilitation:

- GAD requires an empowering conception of participation, where local people set their own agenda and carry it out, facilitated by, but largely independent of, outsiders; and
- there is a danger of PRA being implemented without due attention to the principles of facilitating and hence of the participation becoming instrumental.

3. Sensitive handling of inevitable conflicts:

- more research, experimentation and training is needed; and
- the existence of gender conflict and the need to respect confidentiality and secure safety may require constraints on information sharing between women's and men's groups.

4. Raising expectations only when ensuring follow-up support:

- if villagers undertake exercises with an external facilitator to identify and prioritise their needs, and make plans on the basis of this analysis, expectations will be raised that additional financial and other assistance will be provided to help implement these plans.

## **5 Case Study Analysis**

Four case studies based on rural development are assessed: Integrated Rural Development, Africa; Irrigation Projects, India; Gender Issues in Irrigation, Cambodia; and From Crops to Gender Relations, Zambia. A discussion of the study/project is provided along with an overview of the study area. An assessment of the gender analysis techniques and the participatory methods applied in the case studies is provided. Table 12 serves as a means of compiling the information in a clear and informative manner. The table allows for easy comparison of the techniques and methods applied in the studies. The effectiveness of the techniques and methods as applied to resource management and the level to which gender relations are addressed are the main foci of the analysis.

The Burkina Faso and Andhra Pradesh case studies provide good examples of a gender assessment conducted on a previously established project. The assessments were not a part of the project but rather a study to test the applicability of the gender framework, and to provide information and recommendations for designing projects that will optimally strengthen women's position. The studies show the importance of an in-depth analysis of gender relations during the planning phase in order to achieve project design and implementation that consider the needs and interests of men and women. The studies highlight: the importance of conducting

interrelated analyses of the national context; the actual position of various groups of women at local level; institutional policy and institutional strengths and weaknesses regarding gender; and the project proposal.

The Cambodia and Siavonga District case studies provide good examples of applying a participatory approach for gender analysis. The methods and results of the PRAs are clearly outlined. The gender analysis frameworks were based on a flexible, participatory approach, similar to that of the GAM, in order to assess gender relations. The Cambodia study reveals the importance of further dividing the target group into socio-economic categories and addresses the sensitivity of accessing information on social relations. The study revealed that the socio-political context of a community can influence the effectiveness of certain methods. However, the study focus was purely research with no means established for addressing social relations within the irrigation projects. The Siavonga District study emphasises the applicability of flexible use and continual adaptation of participatory methods for agricultural extension. Many valuable lessons on gender issues have been learned thus far. For example, the women realised that they influence the process of change as much as their husbands, and the extension staff realised that gender, age, and social status need to be addressed and methods designed to compensate for power differences. The project has successfully identified and addressed

many gender issues focusing on social roles and relations, such as the work overload of women and the lack of a public voice.

## **5.1 Integrated Rural Development, Burkina Faso, Africa**

The study was conducted in 1992 and is based on the integrated development project Programme de Développement Intégré dans les provinces du Sanguié et du Boulkiemdé (PDISAB). The PDISAB was planned to operate from 1991-1995 in the provinces of Sanguié and Boulkiemdé located in the western-central region of Burkina Faso. The project area is densely populated with 96 people/km<sup>2</sup> in Boulkiemdé and 45 people/km<sup>2</sup> in Sanguié. The Mossi from Boulkiemdé and the Gourounsi from Sanguié have different agricultural production systems. Mossi women are strongly integrated into the agricultural production system. They work on all of the main crops (white and red sorghum, millet and maize) with their workload exceeding that of men. The Mossi women fully participate in the family cereal cultivation while the Gourounsi women only aid in the sowing and transportation of the harvest. Within both groups the male head of the household makes decisions regarding land used for family fields and individual plots, resources and labour organisation (Zuidberg, 1994).

The Project is a continuation of a previous Dutch initiative established to support the regional agricultural service. The PDISAB

was established because of the need for better land management and concern about the lack of co-operation between governmental departments and other development organisations. The PDISAB had been approved and initiated at the time of the study, thus adding a different dimension to the gender assessment. The methodology of the study includes (Zuidberg, 1994):

- a context analysis based on background information from the project proposal and additional data collected from research in the villages;
- a content analysis of project documents;
- an institutional analysis of the partner organisations implementing the project; and
- a gender analysis focusing on the division of labour and workload, access to and control over resources and benefits, participation in decision-making, organisational capacity; self-image of women; and the needs and expectations of men and women.

One specific objective of the PDISAB is of particular importance for the purpose of analysis: the creation of favourable socio-economic production conditions for farmers and support for their individual initiatives and organisations. This includes improving women's position through access to the entire range of productive activities and assisting them to create conditions for true emancipation and financial autonomy. The objective was to be achieved through extension, research, credit facilities and training women's groups in financial management (Zuidberg, 1994).

Although PDISAB had already been approved, the project document did not provide the necessary project details, for example

target groups were designated without differentiation between men and women or among various ethnic groups. Recommendations were made for improving planning, implementation and monitoring from a gender perspective. Two broad conclusions were made from the gender assessment (Zuidberg, 1994):

1. When a gender assessment covers a project for which implementation has begun but for which the project document has not been elaborated, the implementing institutions should take the opportunity to elaborate the project plan in dialogue with the target groups.
2. If the objective to 'pay specific attention to women's development' is to become more than an empty phrase, the way the project intends to do this must be clearly stated.

The degree to which the proposed interventions took women's role, whether similar to men's or specific to women, into account was examined. The project was shown to have no strategy considering women's position in production. Consequently, the risk that women's productive tasks would be neglected, if not marginalised was identified. The importance of increased gender sensitivity in all project activities through such initiatives as gender training of decision-makers and field staff was emphasised (Zuidberg, 1994).

## **5.2 Irrigation Projects, Andhra Pradesh, India**

A pilot gender assessment was conducted on two 'twin' projects, which have the same objectives and strategy, in Andhra Pradesh: the Andhra Pradesh Surface Water Lift Irrigation Schemes (APLIFT) and the Andhra Pradesh Borewell Irrigation Schemes Projects (APWELL).

Andhra Pradesh has a predominantly agrarian economy with seventy per cent of the population dependent on agriculture. Land intensification has been occurring for several years and population pressure has been increasing. Irrigation has reduced agricultural risks caused by the long dry season and irregular rainfall patterns during the rainy season. Traditional irrigation, in the form of cascading tank systems, has been used for many centuries, while controlled irrigation was introduced over one hundred years ago. From 1989-1990, the net irrigated area in Andhra Pradesh was more than one third of the total area cultivated (Groverman and van Walsum, 1994).

The modernisation of agriculture increased in the 1960s, creating many changes within agricultural production and community structures. The transition from a traditional mixed cropping pattern to a pattern that emphasises monocropping of cash crops, and the shift from payment of wages in kind to payment in cash, have aggravated food security problems, especially in household primarily dependent on agricultural labour. Wage labour has increased, with medium and large landowners hiring low-caste, landless or near-landless labourers, most of whom are women. In contrast, the traditional work of men has increasingly become mechanised. Modernisation has led to substantial improvement in the lives of small farmers including, increased food production, cash income, and employment. However, those without access, have become severely marginalised, forced to

leave their land fallow and to labour on the irrigated land of others. There is a widening gap between men's and women's roles in agricultural production and a greater dependence on others for support (Groverman and van Walsum, 1994).

In the past, the Directorate General for International Co-operation of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs has supported large-scale irrigation projects with a technical focus. The Netherlands' development policy with respect to India highlights the importance of the land and water sectors. Recently, there has been a shift toward support of smaller irrigation projects focusing more on gender issues and the participation of water users. The gender assessment study is seen as an instrument for further refining this present policy focus. The study comprised four interrelated analyses (Groverman and van Walsum, 1994):

- a context analysis based on the literature, supplemented with data from the case studies in the four villages;
- a content analysis of the APLIFT and APWELL project documents, appraisal, and mission reports;
- an institutional analysis focusing on general policy documents and reports of organisations and programmes related to women and development; and
- a gender analysis which examined: assumptions about gender relations and women's position; constraints and driving forces within the organisations regarding the development of a gender-sensitive approach; and the practical relevance and feasibility of the proposed project approach for village women.

Various aspects were critically examined from a gender perspective: relevance, coherence and feasibility; consistency of

objectives, strategies, activities, inputs and expected output; justification of underlying assumptions; and the way a gender differentiation was made. The analysis revealed differing impacts with the level of irrigation intervention. Borewell irrigation was found to increase self-employment, bargaining power, and sense of security among beneficiary households. While lift irrigation had a similar effect on beneficiary households, the impact on women from non-beneficiary households was quite negative with increased food security problems, an increasing workload as labourers, and increased social tensions within their households and the community. However, the impact on women from non-beneficiary households was negative with increased social tensions and workload. Groverman and van Walsum (1994) concluded that unless a systematic effort is made to incorporate a clear gender focus in the overall project designs, the interventions cannot be expected to have a significant positive impact on women's position. The institutional analysis revealed that neither project has a gender-sensitive approach.

Several conclusions can be made concerning the methodology of the gender assessment. The context and gender analyses demonstrated the dangers of assuming that the target group is homogeneous both in gender and socio-cultural terms. Groverman and van Walsum (1994) stress the importance of separating the target population group into relevant socio-economic

categories, taking ethnic and cultural differences into account. Although the projects' objectives refer explicitly to women farmers as the main beneficiaries, the project designs lack a gender focus without specific outputs and activities, and without specific inputs and budget allocations. The gender analysis was unable to provide a clear assessment of who would benefit from the project intervention. The study also revealed that the gender impact of irrigation interventions depends largely on contextual variables (Groverman and van Walsum, 1994).

### **5.3 Gender Issues in Irrigation, Cambodia**

In January 1994, at the request of several NGOs working in irrigated agriculture as a form of rural development, the SAWA consultancy group undertook research on gender issues in irrigation in Cambodia. Before 1970, the division of labour in Cambodia was relatively clear with men and women performing distinct activities. The agricultural sector has undergone three major transitions (Vlaar and Ahlers, 1998):

1. The Khmer Rouge reorganisation of society into a pure agricultural society (1970–1975):
  - characterised by continuous fighting and a reorganisation of agriculture in liberated areas;
  - society was restructured with labour divisions based on pragmatism rather than norms and values; and
  - an attempt to optimise the agrarian production in which labour needed to be productive.
2. The krom samaki system (1979– ):

- form of rural collectivisation, allowing families to reunite;
- organised in solidarity groups of 10–15 households; and
- a collective production process was encouraged in which men and women identified their own responsibilities

### 3. Agricultural reform (1989– )

- affected land tenure policies, the organisation of farm-level production, and the introduction of pricing, taxation and marketing; and
- the state disengaged itself from production activities, subsidies were reduced, and state enterprises were privatised.

Gender identities have been through radical changes because of political and economic reorganisation. At present, women and men will describe historical divisions of labour. However, women perform many of the activities for which men are said to be responsible. In order to undertake appropriate, effective and gender-sensitive development interventions the current agricultural practices must be understood within this context (Vlaar and Ahlers, 1998).

The objective of the study was to understand how gender relations are affected by, and in turn influence, changes caused by irrigation interventions. The NGOs required information about the potential of irrigation interventions to support gender-balanced development. A participatory research-based gender analysis was employed in order to avoid obscuring local socio-economic differences. This approach is based on the premise that in order to understand better the relationship between gender and the socio-economic situation of a household, local perceptions of both gender

and well-being are crucial. The fieldwork consisted of two phases (Vlaar and Ahlers, 1998):

- Phase One (April-June 1994): compilation of a basis for assessing the potential impact of irrigation interventions, focusing first on gender issues in traditional rice-based agricultural systems where no recent irrigation interventions had occurred.
- Phase Two : assessment of gender-related changes in two rice production systems with an irrigation-based intervention comparing the results with the first four villages.

The participatory approach was highly valued and implemented as much as possible, however certain factors limited its effectiveness. The Cambodian socio-political context does not allow for open discussions, with many villagers hesitant to share their ideas and opinions. For example, the wealth-ranking exercise, which was part of the gender-disaggregated socio-economic analysis of households and headship, was fairly sensitive with villages associating the rank of 'poor' with potential aid and perceiving the rank of 'better off' as insulting, thus biasing the discussions. Female-headed households were found to be very diverse with their economic situation dependent on the composition of the household in relation to the social and political context. Thereby challenging the common perception that female-headed households, by definition, are disadvantaged. SAWA explored irrigation-related issues with women and men, focussing on gender relations. However, the approach did not include other social variables such as class, ethnicity, religion, and

age. The authors concluded that poverty-oriented development interventions must be based on a local analysis of poverty and gender relations in order to have a better insight into the vulnerability of different groups of people. The participatory assessment of well-being using wealth ranking was found to be an invaluable approach for socio-economic analysis (Vlaar and Ahlers, 1998).

#### **5.4 From Crops to Gender Relations, Siavonga District, Zambia**

The agricultural extension staff in Siavonga District, Zambia have been developing a gender-oriented participatory extension approach (PEA). The Siavonga District is primarily comprised of farmers and fisherfolk. The district is divided into 15 agricultural 'camps' with one Camp Officer responsible for providing technical advice to farmers and a Block Officer acting as supervisor. A Subject Matter Specialist develops technical messages, monitors, evaluates and assists the field staff. The extension system is managed by an Assistant and a District Agricultural Officer. The extension groups vary in size from 10-30 people and consist of men and women. Prior to the PEA, a top-down approach was applied through theoretical sessions, practical demonstrations, and individual farm visits in order to transfer scientific knowledge derived from research. Attendance to group meetings was low and messages were adopted by few farmers with varying success (Frischmuth, 1998).

The PEA is supported by the German-Zambian Siavonga Agricultural Development Project (SADP). The approach was initiated by a group of students from Germany. In co-ordination with the extension staff, a range of PRA methods were tested to make the existing extension approach more participatory. The PEA has changed the perceptions and behaviour of those involved, facilitation skills of extension staff and villagers improved, and the understanding of extension as a whole shifted away from a process of giving technical advice. The staff became facilitators, guiding the villagers through a process of self-discovery, finding solutions, providing information and linkages to other services, and identifying causes, effects and linkages of villagers' problems and needs (Frischmuth, 1998).

The facilitators used problem-census and preference ranking with men and women either working in separate groups or together using different colour symbols for visualisation. Seasonal calendars were used to plan the extension work. The calendars revealed that women were much busier than men, however the daily activities were not considered as 'work' by the men and even by many of the women. Men were often unclear about women's activities or the correct timing of certain agricultural tasks. Women gained confidence and suggested that such topics as land-use planning, transport for water, nutrition and leadership training be included in the calendar even though men felt these topics were inappropriate. (Frischmuth, 1998).

The staff initially feared that gender relations were too sensitive to be addressed. Gender was associated with traditions and taboos, and thought to be an issue that is foreign to villagers, that cannot be understood. Extension staff gained confidence from the response of villagers who addressed gender issues, including the traditional divisions of labour, the stereotypes of men and women, traditional roles, and views and values, at most meetings. The importance of addressing gender issues and empowering men and women for sustainable change was realised. Gender became a substitute for participation with gender empowering men and women, enabling all to participate and benefit (Frischmuth, 1998). From the work in the Siavonga District, Frischmuth (1998) identifies valuable lessons for a participatory approach that is gender-sensitive:

- gender is not the sensitive topic some claim it to be—with the right methods, attitudes and approaches, it is welcomed by local people and extension staff;
- gender can be demystified;
- gender affects all aspects of life and determines the success of extension work and development—gender is inherent in participatory development but, but not automatically addressed;
- facilitators must challenge themselves and pursue and allow change at a personal level in order to become sensitive;
- methods must be flexible and adapted constantly;
- PRA methods serve to accompany discussions in the process of change; and
- institutionalisation must be a participatory process, responding to demands for change and inputs, and following the pace of change and development that the actors and participants in the process establish and undergo.



**Table 12: Assessment of gender analysis techniques and participatory research from four agricultural-based development projects.**

Description	Case Study			
	<i>Integrated Rural Development, Africa</i>	<i>Irrigation Projects, India</i>	<i>Gender Issues in Irrigation, Cambodia</i>	<i>From Crops to Gender Relations, Zambia</i>
<i>Organisation</i>	Government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regional Department for Community Development</li> <li>• Regional Water Department</li> <li>• Regional Centre for Agro-pastoral Promotion</li> <li>• Provincial Departments of Health and Social Services</li> <li>• Regional Department of Planning and Co-operation</li> <li>• Provincial Departments of Basic Education and Elimination of Illiteracy</li> <li>• Regional Department of the Environment and Tourism</li> </ul> NGO  National Centre for the Promotion of Rural Artisans	APSIDC  APWELL  2 NGOs: IRDAS, PROGRESS  DGIS	NGOs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NOVIB</li> <li>• PSO</li> <li>• AFSC</li> <li>• CAA</li> <li>• CIDSE</li> <li>• LWS</li> <li>• MCC</li> <li>• Oxfam UK/I</li> </ul> SAWA	SADP  GTZ (Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit)
<i>Organisational Role</i>	Regional Department of Planning and Co-operation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Managing and co-ordinating the programme</li> </ul> Regional Centre for Agro-pastoral Promotion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pre-extension tests with farmers</li> </ul>	APSIDC <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Technical component</li> </ul> APWELL, IRDAS, PROGRESS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social component</li> <li>• Mobilise and organise farmers</li> <li>• Train various partners</li> <li>• Agricultural extension</li> </ul> DGIS	NGOs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Project implementation based on irrigated agriculture for rural development</li> </ul> SAWA <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consultancy group responsible for research on gender issues in irrigation</li> </ul>	SADP <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Responsible for agricultural development projects in the Siavonga district</li> </ul> GTZ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial support and technical advisors</li> </ul>

- Funding
-

<b>Case Study</b>				
<b>Description</b>	<i>Integrated Rural Development, Africa</i>	<i>Irrigation Projects, India</i>	<i>Gender Issues in Irrigation, Cambodia</i>	<i>From Crops to Gender Relations, Zambia</i>
<b>Objectives</b>	<p><u>Overall</u> Raise agricultural production without damaging the environment</p> <p>Solve the rural population's most urgent problems related to water, health care, education and literacy</p> <p><u>Specific</u> Increase and improve plant and animal production</p> <p>Reclamation, conservation and rational exploitation of land</p> <p>Create favourable socio-economic production conditions for farmers and support for their individual initiatives and organisations—including women</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support regional planning process and reinforce planning capacity at all levels</li> </ul>	<p><u>Immediate</u> Increase the agricultural production of small and marginal farmers in the target area by providing them with irrigation facilities</p> <p><u>Long-term</u> Improve the living conditions of small and marginal farmers through sustainable and environmentally sound interventions</p> <p>Women will become equal partners of the male farmers in agricultural and other activities</p>	<p><u>Study</u> Determine how gender relations are affected by, and in turn influence, changes caused by irrigation development</p> <p><u>Project</u> Implement gender-balanced irrigation interventions</p>	<p>To make the existing agricultural extension approach more participatory</p>
<b>Organisational Constraints</b>	<p>Focus on special activities for women, rather than integrating attention to women into the programme as a whole</p> <p>Lack of co-operation between organisations—overlap of interventions</p> <p>No continuity</p>	<p>APLIFT: women's role not considered relevant to technical design and selection criteria</p> <p>NGOs: extent to which gender concerns are integrated into general approach; difficult to judge whether and how they can play a co-ordinating/networking role with other NGOs</p>	<p>No co-ordination between SAWA and NGOs for implementing a gender-balanced approach to irrigation projects</p>	<p>Participation is not institutionalised</p> <p>Lack of support structures that follow up activities, processes, and planning</p> <p>Need a more multi-sectoral approach—needs cannot be solved in isolation</p> <p>All staff are not confident as a facilitator or gender sensitive</p>

**Case Study**

<b>Description</b>	<i>Integrated Rural Development, Africa</i>	<i>Irrigation Projects, India</i>	<i>Gender Issues in Irrigation, Cambodia</i>	<i>From Crops to Gender Relations, Zambia</i>
<i>Project Constraints</i>	<p>Project document does not describe women's productive role or differentiate it from men's role</p> <p>Participation of beneficiaries in project activities not specified</p> <p>Villages not consulted before the interventions related to production conditions and farmers' organisations proposed</p>	<p>No provision for gender expertise in the project documents— crucial to co-ordinate activities with other organisations in area to enhance projects' positive impact and reduce negative side effects</p>	<p>The study was a research activity and was not directly linked to project implementation—did not address community-level action</p> <p>Based the gender analysis on female-headed households—need to be disaggregated further for development interventions because women are not a homogeneous group</p>	<p>Poor conditions of service affect motivation and job satisfaction, for example drought increases frustration levels</p>
<i>Target Group</i>	<p>Farmers</p> <p>Women</p>	<p>Small and marginal farmers including women farmers and women-headed households</p> <p>Scheduled castes</p> <p>Scheduled tribes</p>	<p><u>First data set</u> Female-headed households</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• those with no male support</li> <li>• those that receive some financial or material support from a husband or partner who has migrated temporarily</li> </ul> <p>Couple-headed households run by both husband and wife</p> <p><u>Second data set</u> Undefined-participatory assessment</p>	<p>'Village extension group'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• a variety of interest groups with different needs, roles, resources, and options</li> <li>• groups are linked through power relationships which are mostly unequal</li> <li>• specific attention is given to women</li> <li>• women, men, and children as separate groups</li> </ul>
<i>Approach/Framework</i>	<p>GAD</p> <p>Harvard Analytical Framework</p>	<p>GAD</p> <p>Harvard Analytical Framework</p>	<p>GAD</p> <p>Participatory research-based analysis (GAM)</p>	<p>GAD</p> <p>Participatory research-based analysis (GAM)</p>
<i>Methods</i>	<p>RRA</p>	<p>RRA</p> <p>Other techniques: individual interviews following group discussions, workshops</p>	<p>PRA: mapping, transect walks, seasonal calendars, wealth-ranking, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, life stories, Venn diagrams, interviews, daily time lines, rice matrix</p>	<p>PRA: wealth-ranking, seasonal calendars, role plays/drama,</p>

<b>Case Study</b>				
<b>Description</b>	<i>Integrated Rural Development, Africa</i>	<i>Irrigation Projects, India</i>	<i>Gender Issues in Irrigation, Cambodia</i>	<i>From Crops to Gender Relations, Zambia</i>
<i>Emphasis on Gender Roles/ Relations</i>	<p>Sufficient analysis of gender division of labour and access to and control over resources</p> <p>Did not allow sufficient insight into existing power relations—questions about women’s participation in decision-making, and their control over resources and income as compared to men’s, were difficult to ask</p>	<p>Sufficient analysis of gender division of labour and access to and control over resources</p> <p>Did not allow sufficient insight into existing power relations—questions about women’s participation in decision-making, and their control over resources and income as compared to men’s, were difficult to ask</p>	<p>Gender roles were not specifically addressed, therefore a pre-determined framework was not used</p> <p>Gender relations were the assessment focus</p>	<p>Gender roles and relations are a prominent focus and have become the basis for the initiative</p>
<i>Projects Level of Empowerment</i>	<p><u>Low</u></p> <p>Improve women’s position, giving them access to the entire range of productive activities and assisting them to create conditions for true emancipation and financial autonomy—through extension, research, credit facilities and training women’s groups in financial management</p> <p>The objective of paying special attention to the development of women has not been integrated into the rest of the project</p> <p>Activities targeted at women are limited to women’s reproductive activities</p>	<p><u>Medium</u></p> <p>Institutions have no policy on a gender-sensitive approach</p> <p>Project design lacks a gender focus with women as a homogeneous group</p> <p>Widening gap between women’s and men’s roles in agricultural production</p> <p>Shift in control over production towards men; women have no access to modernised agricultural practices</p> <p>Increased insecurity; change from subsistence to organised labour force</p>	<p><u>Low</u></p> <p>The study was not directly linked to project implementation—the means for empowerment were not addressed</p>	<p><u>High (ongoing)</u></p> <p>Women’s subordination addressed</p> <p>Women’s leadership workshops have facilitated training in management, budgeting, household planning, and good leadership</p> <p>Gender-awareness workshops—women become confident enough to invite their men to women’s group meetings to deal together with fundamental changes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• address oppression, lack of freedom, sole reproductive role, no control over resources, heavy workload, slaves to men</li> </ul> <p>Less assistance expected from external sources</p>

## 6 Conclusion

Based on a review of the literature, so far there seems to have been few projects implemented that specifically employ any of the gender analysis frameworks in combination with PRA. Since these are relatively new approaches, perhaps case studies have yet to be published. Many studies that are published focus on formal interviews/surveys and census data. The case studies by Gianotten et al. (1994) are the only clear examples of how GAD and the HAF can be conducted through PRA. Guijt and Shah (1998) provide case studies on gender and participatory research. The publication fills a gap in the literature, integrating gender and participatory research and exploring the overlaps, linkages, contradictions, and synergies between the two methods. Many manuals have been produced to aid in the facilitation of training and implementation of gender frameworks and PRA (Williams et al., 1994; Moser and Levy, 1986; Overholt et al., 1985; Parker, 1993). However, there is need for further initiatives based on resource management, specifically agriculture (Poats et al., 1988; Feldstein and Jiggins, 1994).

Conceptual advances in development theory, specifically on gender relations, suggest the need to reassess conventional gender analysis within the context of development interventions (Locke and Okali, 1999). The case studies reveal that attempts to 'target' a specific group for agricultural projects are often undermined

by categorising women or men as homogeneous groups and neglecting to consider socio-economic classifications. Gender analysis frameworks must address the process whereby gender relations are negotiated. Many development projects still lack a clear strategy for the implementation of interventions that address social relations. Thus, there is an urgent need to develop practical methods for analysing changing gender relations that can be integrated into development planning (Locke and Okali, 1999; Guijt and Shah, 1998b). However, this presents a challenge because it is difficult to assess how gender issues should be addressed without creating conflict and further disrupting gender relations. Communities must be receptive if development interventions are to be successful. Participatory approaches have the potential to communicate the relevance of gender and development to the community.

An integrated approach, including GAD, PRA and a combination of appropriate frameworks, should be employed in the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of development initiatives. Facilitators must adopt a gender framework with a long-term commitment to change that is flexible and context specific. In order to empower women, PRA will need to address gendered power-relations (Crawley, 1998). Co-operation between organisations and clearly defined roles must also be emphasised. The flexibility and 'unstructured' characteristics that define participatory approaches

provide opportunity for community involvement and a forum for discussion. A project's targeted population group must be divided into relevant socio-economic categories, taking ethnic and cultural differences into account. Women, environment, and development should emphasise gender relations with the environment. Grouping women together as a homogeneous group misrepresents women, makes men invisible, and clouds the understanding of human relationships with the environment (Bradiotti et al, 1994; Leach et al., 1995).

Participatory methodologies are now being introduced into local development projects with an aim to increase women's role in community-based resource management (Guijt and Shah, 1998b). Such methods are not ends in themselves. They are only means to an end. They help in rapport-building, strengthening of participatory process, local community analysis, creativity and empowerment. The better the facilitation of local people by "ourselves", the better is the use of participatory methods and still better is the analysis by local communities (Mukherjee, 1997). In participatory development there remains minimal consideration of gender issues and inadequate involvement of women (Guijt and Shah, 1998b). Simply increasing the numbers of women involved in participatory projects cannot be seen as a panacea, or an easy alternative to addressing politically sensitive aspects of gender inequality (Mayoux, 1995). PRA methods have

addressed some of these gender issues in field research and have provided good contexts in which to explore the ways in which men's and women's experiences, needs and perspectives differ. Innovative ways of representing these differences have also been employed. Nevertheless, the central problem of the dominance of male views still pervades the exercise of rapid appraisal for rural development (Mosse, 1994).

Increased understanding of prominent gender analysis techniques is invaluable for strengthening existing implementation strategies. The limitations of the frameworks to initiate change must be considered. Although the frameworks provide a tool for unbiased research, development practitioners must be careful to employ gender frameworks in a serious, systematic manner, allocating adequate resources, including time, skills, and suitable preparation.

The use of gender frameworks should complement a coherent and gender-sensitive use of other relevant techniques, such as data collection (March et al., 1999). Kabeer (1995: 112) states: "No set of methods are in themselves sensitive to differences and inequalities between men and women; each method is only as good as its practitioner." The usefulness of gender frameworks, such as the Harvard Analytical Framework, Moser Framework, Gender Analysis Matrix, and Women's Empowerment Framework is undisputed. However, practitioners must exercise caution because the frameworks

may encourage an exclusive focus on gender issues in development projects. Gender equality must also be fought for at other levels and by other means, such as advocacy and the collective action of women. Employing, adapting and developing gender frameworks can contribute to the goal of gender equality in development. Frameworks are useful tools in assessing gender relations for natural resource management (March et al., 1999; Ofosu-Amaah, 1996). For example, the Burkina Faso and Andhra Pradesh case studies provide good examples of the HAF used in combination with a participatory approach to assess agricultural production and irrigation.

Interventions based on agricultural production clearly have an impact on the gender division of labour, which in turn decreases the autonomy of women. The skills and knowledge of women must be considered when planning a conservation strategy for natural resources. The available gender frameworks and tools of appraisal, along with the GAD theory, provide the fundamental structure from which practitioners and communities must build.

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## Appendix 1

### *Harvard Analytical Framework: Activity Profile:*

1. Production of goods and services:
  - specific productive activities carried out for all goods and services by men or women should be identified;
  - specific delineation of activities is needed for each country and project setting; and
  - areas most directly associated with a project should contain the most detail, for example if the project is based on new agricultural production technology, the gender division of labour for each agricultural productive activity should be delineated, such as land clearance, preparation, seeding, weeding, and processing.
2. Reproduction and maintenance of human resources:
  - activities that are carried out to produce and care for the family need to be specified according to who does them, e.g. fuel and water collection, food preparation, birthing, child care, education, health care, and laundry;
  - viewed as non-economic and are usually excluded from the national income accounts; and
  - in designing projects that increase time requirements for particular activities the time required for new initiatives in relation to other necessary activities must be considered.

### *Further Classification of Productive and Reproductive Activities:*

1. Gender and age denomination:
  - identification of who carries out an activity, whether it is women, men, children, or the elderly;
  - reveals gender patterns within labour activities; and
  - is the key to the identification of subsequent gender effects.
2. Time allocation:
  - specifies the percentage of time allocated to each activity and whether it is seasonal or daily.
3. Activity locus:
  - specifies where the activity is performed, for example in the home, in the family field or shop, or in the outside community;

- reveals the mobility of women; and
- carries implication for project delivery systems.

(Rao, et al., 1991)

## Appendix 2

### *Harvard Analytical Framework: Influencing Factors:*

- general economic conditions, such as poverty levels, inflation rates, income distribution, international terms of trade, infrastructure;
- institutional structures, including the nature of government bureaucracies and arrangement for the generation and dissemination of knowledge, technology, and skills;
- demographic factors;
- sociocultural factors;
- community norms, such as familial norms and religious beliefs;
- legal parameters;
- training and education; and
- political events, both internal and external.

(Rao et al., 1991)

## Appendix 3

PRA Method/Approach	Description
'Handing over the stick' and they do it	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• facilitating, handing over the stick, chalk or pen</li> <li>• enable local people to be the analysts, mappers, diagrammers, observers, researchers, historians, planners and actors</li> </ul>
Do-it-yourself	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• local people as experts and teachers, and outsiders as novices</li> <li>• local people supervise and teach skills: to transplant, weed, plough, level a field, mud a hut, draw and carry water, fetch firewood, wash clothes, cook a meal, stitch, thatch</li> </ul>
Local analysis of secondary sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• analysis of aerial photographs or satellite imagery</li> <li>• identify soil type, land conditions, land tenure etc.</li> </ul>
Mapping and modelling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• people's mapping, drawing and colouring with chalks, sticks, seeds, powders, pens etc. on the ground, floor or paper to make resource maps of village lands and forests, maps of fields, farms and home gardens, thematic or topic maps (water, soils, trees)</li> </ul>
Time lines and trend and change analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• chronologies of events, listing major local events with approximate dates</li> <li>• people's account of the past, of how customs, practices and things close to them have changed</li> <li>• ethno-biography—a local history of a crop, animal, tree, pest, weed...</li> </ul>
Seasonal calendars	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• by major season or month</li> <li>• show distribution of days of amount of rain or soil moisture; crop cycles; women's, men's and children's work (agricultural and non-agricultural labour); diet and food consumption; illnesses; prices; animal fodder; fuel; migration; sources of income; expenditure; debt etc.</li> </ul>
Daily time-use analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• indicate relative amounts of time</li> <li>• degrees of drudgery etc. of activities</li> <li>• seasonal variations</li> </ul>
Institutional or Venn diagramming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• identify individuals and institutions important in and for a community or group, or within an organisation, and their relationships</li> </ul>
Linkage diagrams	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• flows, connections and causality</li> <li>• versatile; can be used for the analysis of sequences, marketing, nutrient flows on farms, migration, social contact, and impacts of interventions and trends</li> </ul>
Well-being (or wealth) grouping (or ranking)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• card sorting into groups or rankings of households according to local criteria</li> <li>• key local indicators of well-being and ill-being</li> </ul>
Analysis of difference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• gender, social group, wealth/poverty, occupation and age</li> <li>• identifying differences between groups, including their problems and preferences</li> <li>• contrast comparisons: asking one group why another is different or does something different, and vice versa</li> </ul>
Matrix scoring and ranking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• compare through scoring, for example different trees, or soils, or methods of soil and water conservation, or varieties of a crop or animal, fields on a farm, weeds, conditions at different times</li> <li>• express differences</li> </ul>
Shared presentations and analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• maps, models, diagrams and findings presented by local people, and/or outsiders</li> <li>• checked, corrected and discussed</li> </ul>
Drama and participatory video-making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• key issues</li> <li>• enable people to discover how they see things, and what matters to them</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• influence those in power</li></ul>
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(Adapted from Chambers, 1997)

## Appendix 4

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### *Components/Methods of Approaches that have Contributed to the Development of PRA*

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|-----------------------------------|--|
| Action–reflection research        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• professionals should reflect critically on their concepts, values, behaviour and methods</li><li>• they should learn through engagement and committed action</li><li>• they have</li><li>• the weak and marginalised can and should be empowered roles as convenors, catalysts and facilitators</li><li>• poor people can and should do much of their own investigation, analysis and planning</li></ul> |
| Agro–ecosystem analysis           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• visual representations and analysis</li><li>• transects (systematic walks and observation)</li><li>• informal mapping (sketch maps drawn on site)</li><li>• diagramming (seasonal calendars, flow and causal diagrams, bar charts, Venn or <i>chapati</i> diagrams)</li><li>• innovation assessment (scoring and ranking different actions)</li></ul>  |
| Applied anthropology              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• the idea of field learning as flexible art rather than rigid science</li><li>• the value of field residence, unhurried participant observation, and conversations</li><li>• the importance of attitudes, behaviour and rapport</li><li>• the ‘emic–etic distinction’</li><li>• the richness and validity of indigenous technical knowledge</li></ul>   |
| Field research on farming systems | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• the complexity, diversity and risk–proneness of many farming systems</li><li>• the knowledge, professionalism and rationality of small and poor farmers</li><li>• their experimental mindset and behaviour</li><li>• their ability to conduct their own analyses</li></ul>   |
| Rapid rural appraisal (RRA)       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• enables outsiders to gain information and insight from rural people and about rural conditions</li><li>• cost–effective, and timely methods of learning</li><li>• less exploitative than extractive questionnaire surveys where much is taken by the outsider, and little or nothing given back</li></ul>  |

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(Chambers, 1997)

