Chapter 10

TOWARD STRUCTURAL CHANGE: GENDER TRANSFORMATIVE APPROACHES

Cynthia McDougall, Lone Badstue, Annet Mulema, Gundula Fischer, Dina Najjar, Rhiannon Pyburn, Marlène Elias, Deepa Joshi, and Andrea Vos

Almost a quarter of a century after the Beijing Declaration, and with 10 years left to meet the Sustainable Development Goals, *The Guardian* announced the SDG Gender Index's finding that, "Not one single country is set to achieve gender equality by 2030" (Equal Measures 2030 2019, Ford 2019). This aligns with the most recent Global Gender Gap Index, which signals that, on the current trajectory, it will take approximately 170 years to achieve gender equality (WEF 2016)—a wait of seven generations, or two and a half lifetimes for the average woman.[1]

While there has been progress through legislative reforms and targeted interventions in education, health, and social protection, gender inequalities remain particularly pervasive in agriculture-dependent and low-income countries. In the SDG Gender Index, for example, no country in sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and North Africa, or Latin America and the Caribbean has achieved a *good* category score.[2] Moreover, progress toward gender equality "... is hugely variable, hard to advance at pace and, in places, in retreat... discriminatory gendered norms prevail and resistance to progress is common" (Pantuliano et al. 2019, 2).

Girls and women continue to have insufficient control over economic, social, and political resources, and "stark disparities between women remain, influenced by intersecting social identities such as gender, age, disability, ethnicity and class" (Pantuliano et al. 2019, 2). These inequalities are embedded in complex and dynamic socioeconomic–environmental contexts,

1 The estimated current lifespan for women is 72 years globally (CIA n.d.).

2 On a five-point scale: very poor-poor-fair-good-excellent (Equal Measures 2030 2019). Fragility of context is also a factor: the 10 lowest-scoring countries (Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Yemen, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad) are all on the 2018 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development fragile states list.

characterized by climate uncertainties, globalization, and a neoliberal ethos that has embraced yet simultaneously watered down women's empowerment with remarkable momentum (Cornwall 2018).

This limited and uneven progress calls for a critical evaluation of why gender approaches in development—and specifically in agriculture and natural resource management in low-income contexts—have not delivered as intended. This requires an interrogation of how agriculture and natural resource management frame and engage with gender, so that these sectors can more substantively and sustainably address gender inequalities.

This chapter responds to the pressing imperative for these sectors to rethink current manifestations of Gender and Development (GAD). It does so by investigating gender transformative approaches as an emerging response and potential post-GAD way forward. Gender transformative approaches complement and go beyond current "business-as-usual" approaches. The latter *work around* gender constraints and often focus on building women's individual or collective agency or assets. By contrast, gender transformative approaches seek to constructively, and in a context-driven way, *transform* structural barriers, in particular constraining norms, that underpin gender equality. In this way, they go deeper than common gender integration and mainstreaming and tackle the root causes of gender inequalities instead of addressing its symptoms (AAS 2012a). As such, emergent gender transformative strategies embody the ambitious goal of addressing the very foundations of gender equality, seeking to reshape unequal power relations and structures toward more gender equal ones (Morgan et al. 2015, Wong et al. 2019).

As a starting point, this chapter offers a rapid critical review of Women in Development (WID) and GAD approaches as they have been applied in agriculture and natural resource management over the past decades. We then look into gender norms as a leverage point for transformative change (Badstue et al. 2018a). Next, we turn to gender transformative approaches, examining evidence and examples of these in terms of their potential to accelerate progress toward gender equality. The chapter concludes by presenting priority questions for a future research agenda.

The WID to GAD trajectory and critiques

Agriculture and natural resource management, and associated agricultural research for development, have implemented strategies to engage, benefit, and at times empower women for more than half a century. In line with the broader development sphere, these strategies began in a WID approach from

the 1960s–1970s. As criticisms of WID became widespread, the sectors transitioned to a GAD approach, which forms the basis for gender mainstreaming today (Razavi and Miller 1995, Okali 2011). Specifically, GAD sought to redress WID's emphasis on women and on getting women into formal development processes.

The approach (at least in theory) turned the focus to gender (rather than women) and to shaping development processes and outcomes (rather than "shaping women" by getting them to take on more responsibilities). It did so first through *roles*-focused framings such as the Harvard Analytical Framework (ILO 1998) then moved—albeit to differing degrees—toward a gender *relations* lens, such as Kabeer's (1994) Social Relations Framework[3] (see March et al. 1999, Okali 2012, Kawarazuka et al. 2017). In practice, efforts to address gender inequalities are lagging behind these theoretical advancements (Cornwall 2000, Baruah 2005, Chant 2016), despite policy and programmatic investments in the agriculture and natural resource management sectors toward mainstreaming and becoming more "gender aware" (see Box 10.1, Milward et al. 2015, Drucza and Abebe 2017). Decades of implementation have now created the opportunity for reflection on the degree to which and why these are—or are not—effective and on track. We present such critical reflection by pointing to two significant areas of critique of common current manifestations of gender approaches: *outcomes* and *how change occurs* (causality).

The first dimension of critique relates to the failures of current gender approaches to deliver gender ***outcomes*** as intended. As Wong et al. (2019, 14) note, "gender integration efforts in development initiatives generally, and in agricultural development in particular, are not as effective as they could be." We identify four key shortcomings in relation to outcomes.

First, current approaches may translate into benefits only for the women directly involved in a given project, and are unlikely to have empowering effects for women *beyond* its reach. This links to a project focus on reducing visible gaps (such as assets or training) for select women ("beneficiaries") rather than addressing broader social constraints that affect all women in the context (beyond project participants).

3 The Social Relations Framework is positioned in a paradigmatic shift in GAD studies in the 1990s, away from the unitary model of the household to the investigation of bargaining processes within households. Kabeer's framework also recognizes how intrahousehold relations are affected by extrahousehold institutions, and hence takes into account four institutional sites: household, community, market, and government (Kabeer 1994).

BOX 10.1 A gender continuum—exploitative, accommodating, transformative

The Gender Integration Continuum positions policies or programs along a continuum ranging from "gender blind" (ignoring gender considerations) to "gender aware" (examining and addressing a range of gender issues, relations, and dynamics). Within the "gender aware" area, the spectrum moves from:

- Gender exploitative: reinforcing or using unequal gender dynamics to achieve project goals—this should be avoided;
- Gender accommodating: recognizing but working around the gender barriers and inequalities, for example engaging women within the homestead; and,
- Gender transformative: fostering examination of gender dynamics and norms and intentionally strengthening, creating, or shifting structures, practices, relations, and dynamics toward equality.

Source: IGWG (2017).

Second, effects on empowerment or gender equality may dissipate or reverse after programs or projects finish. For example, land is a foundational factor in gender equality and a primary lever for women's access to programs, technologies, water, and markets (Agarwal 2003, Gunchinmaa et al. 2011, Meinzen-Dick 2014, Namubiru-Mwaura 2014). Yet the targeting of land resources to women during a project does not necessarily ensure lasting (intergenerational) equitable outcomes. Studies have found that, even after women acquire land—through a project, purchase, redistribution, or other means—a plethora of complex structural factors may subsequently erode their control, including patrilocal residence norms and practices (Gray and Kevane 1999, Hilliard et al. 2016, Doss et al. 2018, Najjar et al. 2020).[4]

Third, some strategies may (unintentionally) reinforce gender stereotypes or barriers (Leder et al. 2017). For example, nutrition-oriented programs that focus on working with women's groups to deliver nutrition and cooking

4 This includes that land may be reallocated from women to male children once the project ends (Jackson 2003, Baruah 2010, Najjar et al. 2019, 2020). In India as well as Egypt, for example, it has been observed that women who acquire and hold land are unwilling or hesitant to pass land on to their daughters (Baruah 2010, Najjar et al. 2019, 2020).

messaging may unintentionally be reinforcing the norm that cooking and unpaid domestic work are "women's work."[5]

Fourth, common current approaches—including and perhaps especially those that target women—may have perverse outcomes. For example, a program in the Gambia targeted women with the task of planting trees because it perceived that they were "environmentally enthusiastic." The work was not only without pay but also increased women's already significant workloads (Schroeder 1993). Perverse outcomes may also include a backlash, tensions, or violence against women (see Kabeer 2005, Slegh et al. 2013).

Next, the second dimension of critique of common current gender approaches relates to ***how social change occurs***. One primary concern is that common approaches address visible gaps (such as access to technology, assets, or knowledge) but fail to engage with underlying structural gender barriers, in particular gender norms (Farnworth et al. 2013, IGWG 2017).[6] Gender accommodative approaches, as the name implies, acknowledge—and work around—gender constraints. For example, an accommodative aquaculture or agriculture project may focus on engaging women within the boundaries of the homestead and in relation to foods for home consumption, as these spaces and the food focus are family and domestic related, and thus already socially acceptable for women. The limitation is that this stays within the boundaries of gender constraints and thus is unlikely to address the underlying formal (policy) or informal (gender norms, attitudes) factors that perpetuate and reproduce these constraints (Kantor 2013, McDougall et al. 2015, IGWG 2017, Wong et al. 2019). In other words, although accommodative strategies may close visible gaps in project activities, the underlying factors that originally limited women and men from engaging and benefiting equally—such as policies, gender norms, or attitudes—are likely still in place.

A related concern is that current approaches risk reverting toward WID's weaknesses in terms of engaging *only* women. Research and interventions have tended to focus on women as atomized units, rather than engaging with complexities and in negotiations of the underlying power relations that serve to reinforce gendered inequalities (Okali 2011, 2012, Alsos et al. 2013). This fails to recognize that agriculture and natural resource management initiatives are complex social change processes in which both men and women are actors and are interconnected (McDougall 2017). Similarly, many interventions

5 This may be considered "gender exploitative" because it is taking advantage of existing gender norms in a way that benefits the project (see IGWG 2017).

6 See Peterson (2005) for related epistemological critique.

target women for training and technologies, aiming to strengthen their individual agency within existing social and economic structures, rather than challenging structural factors, such as land tenure or structural adjustment policies and trade agreements, which shape the potential for changes in gender dynamics (Cornwall and Edwards 2016, Galiè and Kantor 2016). Together, this focus on individuals as the unit of analysis in interventions represents a weak mechanism for leveraging change. Specifically, it is overly reliant on the ability of those individuals to translate their improved knowledge and capacities into meaningful choice and strengthened livelihoods. This then risks the outcomes of interventions being limited or short-lived. It may even generate perverse outcomes: men may perceive women-targeting as threatening, which can lead to backlash (Promundo and AAS 2016).

Finally, an associated critique in terms of *how change occurs* relates to scale: it is common for approaches in agriculture and natural resource management to operate at a single scale, often that of the household. On the one hand, this disregards the significance of intrahousehold dynamics (see Okali 2011, Ambler et al. 2018). On the other hand, it misses the fact that gender barriers—and opportunities—are embedded within multiple scales and thus enacting effective and lasting change requires engagement across these (Cole et al. 2014a).[7] For example, Agarwal (1997) showed how individual women's efforts to receive their share of land required "interlinked contestations," such as the establishment of social legitimacy for women's independent land rights in the community *and* equal inheritance laws at the government level (see also Kevane and Gray 1999, Lambrecht 2016). Similarly, Morgan et al. (2015) highlight that gender dynamics influence women's capacity to use a new aquaculture technology at five nested scales, from individual through to macro.

Current gender mainstreaming efforts have lost touch with earlier potent thinking on empowerment and the feminist foundations of gender in development. The seminal framing of empowerment by Kabeer (1999, 2001) and the emphasis on "the relational nature of empowerment… has fallen out of the frame" (Cornwall 2016, 364), for instance in frameworks that emphasize assets and opportunity structures (Alsop et al. 2004). While investments in women's agency may be valuable, an overly narrow approach is likely insufficient for widespread or sustained change.

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7 Applying a systems thinking lens to this critique (see Meadows 2010), business-as-usual approaches are undercutting their own potential in two ways. First, by neglecting to engage with the feedback loops that work across scales to reinforce (stabilize, perpetuate) or disrupt unequal social systems. Second, by missing the opportunity to engage with critical leverage points for change, in particular norms (McDougall 2017, Manlosa et al. 2019).

Similarly, current gender approaches tend to reinforce an individual and instrumental approach to empowerment. They often focus on economic empowerment in the neoliberal political economy context (Cornwall 2018) for the purpose of leveraging other development goals, such as nutrition or growth. The risk here is of losing the intrinsic value of gender equality, and, along with it, the inherently political mandate of empowerment to address social and gender inequalities (Cornwall 2016). In missing the opportunities for leveraging equality through challenging structural factors, the burden of the work involved in social change is transferred to women (Chant 2016), rather than shared by women and men (and all genders) as members of society and invested in by wider political structures.

These critiques, combined with the increasing establishment of gender on donor and development agendas, have led to a push for more effective engagement with gender in the agriculture and natural resource management sectors over the past decade. Pockets of innovation have emerged, drawing on sectors that were already using gender transformative approaches, in particular reproductive health. Gender transformative strategies were conceptualized, designed, and piloted in various agriculture and natural resource management spheres, including small-scale fisheries and aquaculture (AAS 2012b). A common focus of these emerging strategies is explicit engagement with structural gender barriers, in particular *norms*. The next section sets the stage for understanding gender transformative approaches by elucidating social—and in particular gender—norms and their significance in shaping gender inequality in agriculture and natural resource management.

Gender norms as leverage points for transformation

Social norms are the unwritten rules of behavior regarding what is considered acceptable and appropriate in a given group or society. They "govern social relations and establish expectations as to how we are to act in our everyday affairs… and they determine in significant ways the distribution of the benefits of social life" (Knight and Ensminger 1998, 105). Social norms include perceptions about others that are shared and reproduced within social groups and serve as critical drivers, either enabling or constraining particular social practices.

Social norms regarding gender play a central role in creating and perpetuating gender equalities and inequalities. Gender norms represent socially constituted rules that differentiate women and men's expected roles and

conduct (Pearse and Connell 2016). They differ across contexts and interact with other aspects of identity (such as wealth, ethnicity, or religion) and other expectations and practices. Gender norms and the associated power relations operate at multiple levels, from household, social group, and community to agroecological landscapes, market systems, and the overall policy and legislative environment. They are tied to deeply rooted, albeit context-related and dynamic, value systems that inform day-to-day practice in varied and sometimes seemingly contradictory ways. Gender norms are often subconscious and largely maintained by everyday social interactions, and psychological processes that come to define power relations, including women and men's subjectivity (Ridgeway 2009). In many settings and across scales, deep-rooted beliefs about men's intrinsic authority and competence relative to women are continuously "re-inscribed into new organizational procedures and rules that actors develop through their social relations" (ibid., 152), reproducing what is known as hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).[8]

Normative expectations are reinforced by social sanctions, such as the ridicule of men who show their emotions, or the condemnation and harsh criticism of women who interact in public with men who are not their relatives. The perceived threat of social sanctions against women or men who challenge existing gender norms have been found to compel youth of both genders across a range of agricultural and natural resource management contexts to conform to normative expectations (Elias et al. 2018).

In agricultural and natural resource management contexts, gender norms shape what are considered appropriate pursuits and assets for women and men, the value and recognition placed on each gender group for performing them, and the distribution of benefits derived from these. In Ethiopia, for example, local beliefs framed technologies appropriate for women as those that fit within the homestead and aligned with gendered norms positioning women as responsible for household food and nutritional security (Mulema et al. 2019). Similarly, studies in Africa and Asia found that women's ability to pursue new technologies and engage as agricultural innovators were shaped by norms related to mobility constraints, gendered workloads, and perceptions of men

8 Hegemonic masculinity refers to the socially legitimized practice of men's dominance in society. Specifically, it embodies the dominance of men who represent ways of "being a man" associated with what are considered traditional powerful masculine identities in any given society. Conversely, the term refers to the socially legitimized subordination of women, and other genders, including nonconforming ways of "being a man", perceived as feminine (see Jewkes et al. 2015).

as "farmers" and decision-makers versus women as "helpers" and subordinates (Aregu et al. 2018, Mulema et al. 2019).[9]

In agricultural contexts, these norms intertwine with hegemonic masculinity, connected with the dramatic qualities and visual allure of technology, machinery, and infrastructure (Oldenziel 1999, Brandth and Haugen 2005, Zwarteveen 2008).[10] The "masculine rural" (Campbell and Bell 2000) in Southern African contexts, for example, is associated with the value placed on hard physical labor, toughness, and the need to control nature and equipment. As Cole et al. (2015, 158) describe, "'big man' in a rural, southern African setting... might describe a person who is powerful, chief-like, demands respect, is married (perhaps to multiple women) and head of a household, accumulates wealth through people (e.g., children, spouse), and owns or controls assets such as land, cattle, and farming equipment." This cultural linking of technology, leadership, and masculinity underpins influential gender norms shaping behaviors, opportunities, and constraints for men and women.

Patriarchal norms also have significant influence beyond household and local scales; they manifest in, and shape, whom development programs and policy recognized and enable. Women often remain largely invisible to institutions at program and policy scales, as they are not perceived as "real" farmers, fishers, and agricultural or natural resource management leaders in many contexts (see Zhao et al. 2013, Feldman 2018). As Twyman et al. (2015, 12) note, despite widespread farming of rice by women, "this is a norm held by many researchers, enumerators, community leaders, and male and female farmers, all of whom claim unequivocally that, 'women are not rice producers.'" Gender norms and associated biases that ascribe authority and economic roles to men often mean that women's farming or natural resource management initiatives remain hidden or framed as part of their domestic work. Women's contributions are then underrepresented in data, leading to omissions or weakness in agriculture and natural resource management policy and practice (Kleiber 2015).

Following on from the above, gender norms embedded in development programs and institutions influence the extent to which women and men are able to benefit from new knowledge and technologies delivered through extension systems. Agricultural training and extension systems have been

9 See also the GENNOVATE collection of studies on norms and innovation from across 26 countries: https://gennovate.org/

10 In Australia and Norway, agricultural leadership is also seen as masculine, drawing credibility from masculine notions of on-farm technical expertise, mechanical competence, and physical strength (Brandt and Haugen 2005, Pini 2005).

found to favor men as knowledge recipients and as "knowers," reflecting institutionally held gender norms that position men as "heads of household" and "primary farmers" and imbue them with greater resources and decision-making power (Gilbert et al. 2002, Katungi et al. 2008, Peterman et al. 2010, Davis et al. 2012, Aregu et al. 2017). An analysis of data from 84 GENNOVATE community case studies in 19 countries shows that more than twice the amount of men as women reported receiving encouragement from extension services, and there was an overall difference in the type and quality of men and women's interactions with external partners (Badstue et al. 2018b). Women's unequal access to agricultural information is further reinforced by various locally reinforced norms that exclude women from public spaces and hinder their opportunities to gain knowledge, skills, recognition, and benefits from their agricultural and natural resource management pursuits (Elias 2018).

Patriarchal ownership and inheritance of land in rural societies also evidence the interactions between gender norms across scales. As Doss et al. (2018, 71) highlight:

> "Both the legal systems and patriarchal gender norms may prohibit or make it difficult for women to acquire and retain land. In addition, almost all inheritance systems disadvantage women in terms of inheritance, and when women legally inherit, they often face strong social pressure to relinquish their inheritance."

As an illustration of the tenacity of this challenge, in Ethiopia, multiple iterations of land reform have been enacted to even out land ownership among different groups of people, including adding married women to land certificates (Mulema and Damtew 2016). Yet, although these reform processes have led to modest changes, men still dominate decision-making over land, as formal tenure interacts with local informal dynamics and norms (Tefera 2013; see also Doss et al. 2013). This constrains the productive ability of women in general, and female-headed households are affected more than others in terms of knock-on constraints in accessing inputs and services (Mulema and Damtew 2016; see also Agarwal 1994, 2003). This interaction of structural factors across scales perpetuating land inequalities is similarly illustrated in the Pacific. In the Solomon Islands, for example, "the recursive constitution of property and authority through the state tends to consolidate control over land in the hands of a small number of men, while reproducing state norms and institutions as a masculine domain" (Monson 2017, 385). A critical point is that gender norms are not fixed or immutable; rather, they are negotiated and (re)constructed,

sometimes in complex and strategic ways (Locke et al. 2017, Stern et al. 2017). In the heavily male-dominated shrimp production sector in Indonesia, for example, a minority of women engage in a norm-transgressing livelihood activity as shrimp farm operators, even at the cost of condemnation from community members (Sari et al. 2017). In Zambia, some men have taken on caregiving roles traditionally associated with women, while giving up drinking and extramarital behaviors traditionally associated with masculinity, because they perceived the benefits to their family outweighed the risks of social retribution (Bevitt 2017).

In a nuanced example, some women in Egypt who took on irrigation roles, and who were given land titles and training on irrigation technologies, transgressed gender norms related to leadership and technological prowess. Interestingly, these women simultaneously accented their compliance with other norms, such as obedience and propriety, which enabled them to better negotiate their participation in irrigation management and the adaption of the associated technologies (Najjar et al. 2019). The dynamism of norms is of significance to the proposition of gender transformative change: it means that norms may be endogenously questioned in ways that can provide space for negotiation, contestation, and change (Stern et al. 2017). This, in turn, may spur a process in which new normative expectations—and thus gender dynamics—take hold and spread across key reference groups (Bicchieri 2005). In sum, the fact that gender norms are underlying drivers of gendered practices but also dynamic and changeable makes them critical leverage points for enhancing gender equality (McDougall 2017).

Gender transformative approaches: experiences and evidence

In response to the above critiques of current gender approaches, and given expanding awareness regarding the significance of gender norms, a growing number of research-for-development institutes and development agencies have developed and applied a range of gender transformative strategies over the past decade.[11] This section takes a closer look at the approaches and seeks to better understand what outcomes they generate and the mechanisms through which change happens. Table 10.1 draws on existing reviews and the broader

11 These include, but are not limited to, Oxfam Novib's Gender Action Learning System; Send-a-Cow's Transformative Household Methodology; Oxfam's Rapid Care Analysis; World Food Program Community Conversations; Wise Asset-Based Community Development; the Self-Help Africa Family Life Model; CARE's Social Analysis and Action; the Helen Keller Institute's Nurturing Connections; and Promundo and CARE's Journeys of Transformation.

literature to present examples of gender transformative approaches from across health, nutrition, agriculture, and natural resource management sectors.[12] We discuss emerging insights regarding reported *outcomes* and *how change happens* (mechanisms) of the gender transformative approaches. We further unpack the mechanisms of change by presenting and discussing two in-depth examples.

The six selected examples of gender transformative approaches in Table 10.1 offer three emerging insights in terms of outcomes. First, these approaches foster a range of significantly important and interconnected **gender outcomes**:

- Shifts in barriers underlying gender inequalities (gender attitudes including about violence, behaviors associated with harmful masculinities such as drinking alcohol);
- Multiple kinds of improvements in women's empowerment and changes in gender relations (in particular decision-making, division of labor and care work, control over assets, ability to apply knowledge); and,
- Contributions to other development outcomes or intermediate outcomes (production practices; nutrition, HIV and health).

These emerging findings align with the hypothesis that gender transformative approaches may be able to redress limited and superficial gender outcomes. In particular, they represent a significant breadth and *depth* of gender-related outcomes, including changes across the cases in underlying attitudes. As attitudes are measured as a proxy for norms, this suggests the approaches are at least starting to contribute to shifts in some underlying structural gender barriers.

Second, however, the selected cases reveal a **gap in empirical evidence** regarding outcomes from gender transformative approaches compared with those from gender accommodative approaches. Without this evidence base, it is difficult to empirically assess the specific and relative contributions of transformative dimensions across different gender transformative approaches.

The study by Cole et al. (2018; see also Cole et al. 2020) is one of the few that offers a direct empirical, quantitative comparison of an accommodative with a transformative approach. It does so in relation to a technical

12 This selection builds on existing reviews of gender transformative approaches to identify cases with evidenced outcomes (Rottach et al. 2009, Drucza and Abebe 2017, and Wong et al. 2019) as well as specific peer-reviewed publications and gray literature. Some information, such as the duration of interventions, was not available for all cases.

TABLE 10.1 Gender transformative approaches in health, nutrition, agriculture, and natural resource management—mechanisms and outcomes

Sector	Mechanisms and strategies	Key empirical outcomes	Type and size of evaluation or study	Organization and source
Behavior change communication Barotse Floodplain, Zambia				
Small-scale fisheries/ agriculture	• GTA combined with a technical innovation process (participatory action research testing of technologies to reduce postharvest loss) • The GTA (communication for social change) comprised bespoke community theatre (drama skits) raising local gender dynamics, iterating with discussions in participatory action research groups • Time period: 3 months+	**Changes in GTA sites compared with gender accommodative sites:** Increased gender attitude scores (28.6% vs. 11.7% overall), especially for the men who participated (35.7% vs. 13.3%) **Changes in women's empowerment after implementation of GTA:** • Increased women's participation in fishing (5% to 75%) • Increased women's contributions to intrahousehold decisions about the income generated from processing fish (49%) • Fishing gear ownership status changed from sole ownership by men to joint ownership with spouses (44% to 76% reported joint ownership)	**Design:** Quasi-experimental comparing GTA and accommodative (practical gender needs) approaches **Method:** Quantitative survey **N=**6 villages (80 participants)	WorldFish and FISH, AAS with Zambian Department of Fisheries (Source: Cole et al. 2018)
Rapid Care Analysis Ethiopia, Colombia, Malawi, Philippines, Uganda and Zimbabwe				
Health and agriculture	Participatory exercises and focus group discussions focusing on: (1) increasing the recognition of care work; (2) reducing its drudgery; (3) redistributing responsibility for care more equitably; and, (4) ensuring the representation of care workers in interventions. The approach is implemented as part of other community interventions.	**Reported changes after implementation of GTA:** • Increased recognition in households and communities of the burden of unpaid care work on women's lives • Increased recognition among men of the value of care work and the need to redistribute tasks among household members • Changes in intervention and project design within Oxfam to include the burden of unpaid care work on women's lives	Not specified	Oxfam (Sources: Kidder and Pionetti 2013, Oxfam 201 in Druzca and Abebe 2017)

continued

Sector	Mechanisms and strategies	Key empirical outcomes	Type and size of evaluation or study	Organization and source
Gender Action Learning System (GALS) Lilongwe, Malawi				
Agriculture	Six- to twelve-month community-led methodology that can be implemented on its own or integrated into existing development projects. It starts with a Change Catalyst Workshop with participatory visioning and the creating of action plans. This is then scaled up through community action learning and later reviewed by the community.	**Changes in GALS sites compared with non-GALS sites:** • Significant shift toward sharing of on-farm tasks and household tasks between household members • Increased joint realization of benefits from agricultural produce reported between husbands and wives • De facto female-headed households reported increase in social standing and participation in community life	**Design:** External systematic mixed-method evaluation **Method:** Focus group discussions and key informant interviews, GALS and non-GALS participants **N=**260 respondents and 13 focus groups, 2 GALS sites 1 control site	Oxfam and Linda Mayoux (Source: Farnworth 2012 in Wong et al. 2019)
Nurturing Connections Côte d'Ivoire				
Nutrition	Four-month curriculum with four blocks: (1) Let's Communicate; (2) Understanding Perceptions and Gender; (3) Negotiating Power; and, (4) Acting for Change. Each weekly session follows an action learning cycle that begins with a game, or story, followed by a reflection on this activity after which learnings are formulated. The cycle ends with a planning phase where insights are translated into proposed actions. Nurturing Connections is implemented within an agriculture-for-nutrition program (CHANGE).	**Changes in Nurturing Connections (NC) villages compared with non-intervention sites:** • Comparative increase in women's roles in decision-making, including joint decision-making, in four domains: (1) children, spending and youth; (2) nutrition and domestic work; (3) agriculture; and, (4) livestock • Increased spousal communication, especially for women in NC villages • Slightly more equitable viewpoints within households	**Design:** Longitudinal intention-to-treat evaluation **Method:** Survey, analysis: difference in difference. **N=**423 respondents in 8 intervention and 6 non-intervention villages	Helen Keller Institute (Sources: Nordhagen et al. 2017, Hillenbrand 2015 in Wong et al. 2019)

Sector	Mechanisms and strategies	Key empirical outcomes	Type and size of evaluation or study	Organization and source
Agriculture, Nutrition and Gender Linkages (ANGeL) Bangladesh				
Nutrition	ANGeL combines facilitated agricultural production and nutrition behavioral change trainings as well as Helen Keller Institute's Nurturing Connections approach (also described above).	**Changes after implementation of GTA:** • Increased crop diversity in homestead farms • Adoption of improved production practices • Overall: women more likely to apply knowledge gained from trainings • Improved nutrition outcomes • Increased asset ownership for women • Improved gender-equitable attitudes among men and women	**Design:** Internal impact evaluation: randomized control trial **Method:** Baseline and endline household surveys **N=**3,125 households in 16 districts	IFPRI and Helen Keller Institute (Source: IFPRI 2018)
Program H Brazil				
Health (HIV/AIDS prevention)	Questioning traditional norms and masculinities among men using group education activities as well as a behavior change communication campaign. Included role-plays, brainstorming exercises, discussion sessions, and individual reflection on five themes: sexuality and reproductive health; fatherhood and caregiving; from violence to peaceful coexistence; reasons and emotions; and preventing and living with HIV/AIDS. The campaign promoted these themes at community level.	**Changes in GTA sites compared with control/delay sites:** • Young men four to eight times less likely to report sexually transmitted infection symptoms over time in intervention sites • Significant decrease in agreement with inequitable gender norms (10–13 out of 17 items vs. 1 out of 17 in the control area). These positive changes were sustained at the one-year follow-up period	**Design:** Quasi-experimental control design **Method:** Gender-Equitable Men Scale **N=**780 in 2 intervention and 1 control/delayed site	Promundo (Source: Pullerwitz et al. 2006 and Verma 2006 in Rottach et al. 2009)

NOTE: GTA = gender transformative approaches.

innovation (postharvest loss reduction technologies) in three villages in the Barotse Floodplain, Zambia. Using a quasi-experimental design, the study applied an accommodative gender approach in three villages. This entailed timing and location of participatory action research sessions to accommodate women, strategies to include and give space to women in participatory action research sessions, and so forth. In a separate treatment branch of three similar villages, the study applied these practices plus a gender transformative strategy. This comprised drama skits focusing on context-specific gender issues combined with reflexive sessions within participatory action research groups. Comparing findings across study, the gender transformative approach was found to catalyze more significant change in gender attitudes, as well as in the measured indicators of women's empowerment as compared with the gender accommodative approach.

Third, the above gap notwithstanding, the cases illustrate a shared strength in terms of **how to measure complex outcomes.** While the specific measures of gender equality and women's empowerment are not consistent across the cases in Table 10.1, the cases' approaches to measurement have in common that they value multiple research methods and methodologies and employ different ways of knowing. Qualitative and quantitative approaches are used to unveil different experiences of change. As such, the cases reflect an emergent critical questioning in the field regarding the dominance of quantitative methodologies and data as (the only) "real evidence" and increasing recognition of qualitative methods and measures in the field of assessing gender transformative change (Morgan 2014, Hillenbrand et al. 2015b).

In terms of **how change happens**, the examples in Table 10.1 illustrate that gender transformative approaches seek to engage with underlying barriers and focus not only on women. The mechanisms used across the cases are rooted in a combination of reflexive, participatory methods and tools designed to enable participants to be agents in a social change process. These focus in particular on locally driven critical reflection of gender norms and dynamics. Cases 10.1 and 10.2 present two in-depth cases that elucidate strategies and processes in more depth. We then further unpack how gender transformative approaches work iteratively in and across three levels and spheres: *individual capacities; social relations; and, social structures* (see Sarapura and Puskur 2014; also Wong et al. 2019).

At the *individual level*, in both Cases 10.1 and 10.2, the approaches use reflexive processes to develop capabilities and agency in order to critically examine and shift constraining gender norms and practices. When effective, this type of learning is transformative: it shifts mental models, values, and

CASE 10.1 Testing a gender transformative approach combined with a polyculture harvesting technology in Bangladesh

Frequent consumption of nutrient-rich mola, a small indigenous fish, can play a significant role in combating stunting and undernutrition (Belton et al. 2011), both of which are common in Bangladesh. Yet in the Barisal region of southwest Bangladesh, similar to other areas, the harvesting of fish from backyard ponds is a role socially assigned to men. Women—and their spouses—face criticism or ridicule from family and neighbors if women take on this role. Moreover, since harvesting typically requires getting into the pond, women express reluctance to engage in this role—because it would mean their clothing would stay wet all day.

To address these challenges, WorldFish developed and piloted an integrated social and technical strategy as a part of the United States Agency for International Development-funded Aquaculture for Income and Nutrition project. A technical innovation in the form of a gillnet that could be used from the bank was developed to address the practical challenge that women faced. Addressing the normative barriers, however, required a gender transformative strategy at both intrahousehold and community level.

At the household level, this comprised gender consciousness-raising exercises, adapted from Helen Keller International's Nurturing Connections manual (Hillenbrand et al. 2015a). These were facilitated by WorldFish with women and men from the same households, and more powerful household members (often in-laws), over approximately one year, integrated within technical aquaculture and nutrition trainings. Facilitators sought to create a socially and emotionally safe environment for participants to engage candidly and without fear of repercussions. Tools included Hopes & Fears, Power Hierarchies, Who Decides, trust-building exercises, and discussions of gendered behaviors, access to nutrition, and obstacles to change (adapted from Hillenbrand et al. 2015a, Promundo-USA and WorldFish 2016). Several of these were emotionally powerful experiences for participants: some tools surfaced recognition of negative emotional and practical (income or nutrition) effects of gender norms on women and other household members. This sparked dialogue between more and less powerful household members about possibilities for changing gender dynamics.

To reduce normative barriers at the community level, the project piloted similar exercises with community members, including neighbors and village leaders. The tools used included Hopes & Fears, Looking at Our Attitudes, Acting Like a Man/Woman, How Will We Empower Each Other?, Gender Equality Solutions, The Man Box, and a historical timeline of changes in gender relations.

Source: Kruijssen et al. (2016), Choudhury (2019), Österblom et al. (2020), Choudhury and Castellanos (2020).

CASE 10.2 Using *Community Conversations* to transform gender relations in Ethiopia

Research under the CGIAR Research Program on Livestock and Fish looked at gender inequalities and animal health disease constraints in small ruminants and how these affected men and women in smallholder livestock production systems in Ethiopia. The Program found that gender norms and division of labor expose women and men to different levels of risk of zoonotic diseases, with women often more affected. Gender norms constrain women from owning and controlling livestock, which limits their ability to make livestock-related decisions, join local associations such as community-based sheep-breeding cooperatives, and adopt integrated livestock health management practices that improve rural livelihoods and empower women. The Program aimed to address these through gender-related interventions tackling the unequal division of labor, access to and control of livestock resources, and exposure to zoonotic diseases by different household members.

The gender teams from the International Livestock Research Institute and the International Centre for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas in Ethiopia piloted a community-based transformative approach called Community Conversations. Between 2018 and 2019, a series of modules were facilitated in four villages in three districts in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples region, and Amhara region. Fifty to sixty men and women small ruminant farmers, researchers, and local development partners participated in a series of four rounds of these conversations. Each session used a combination of interactive learning techniques to aid understanding, learning, and reflection, including pictures and posters, story-telling, and probing questions. Facilitators sought to create a safe space for women and men to freely articulate their views and agreed on indicators of change together with participants. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to track change in knowledge, attitudes, and practices.

Source: Lemma et al. (2018), Kinati et al. (2019).

beliefs because it goes beyond knowledge acquisition (Cole et al. 2014b, Wong et al. 2019). Dialogues facilitated in gender transformative processes aim to engage participants at an emotional level to trigger an appreciation of the need for change. For example, Case 10.1 sparked interest in change by surfacing awareness of the effects of constraining gender norms and relations on individual well-being as well as family goals and well-being. This reflects that transformation works through a process of seeing-feeling-changing. This flow

of see-feel-change is more powerful than that of analyze-think-change when it comes to catalyzing change (see Kotter and Cohen 2002).

In terms of *social relations*, two points merit attention. First, both in-depth cases—and all examples in Table 10.1—engage men and women *together* in the gender transformative learning processes. Although transformative learning has an individual dimension, it also takes place *among* individuals. The nature of transformative learning and how it occurs is in fact highly social, relational, and interactive (Vernooy and McDougall 2003). The women and men involved "*together* build a more integrated or inclusive perspective of the world. Through the learning process, they jointly transform some part of their worldview, for example their understanding of social relations" (ibid., 116; emphasis added).

Building on this, a second point is that both in-depth cases illustrate participatory interactions about relations and power dynamics. Tools such as 'Power hierarchies' and trust games within facilitated dialogues make these relations and power dynamics—and their outcomes—explicit. The effectiveness of the tools relies on the facilitators being able to create a socially safe and enabling environment that allows reflexive dialogue of this nature (McDougall et al. 2015).

Third, in terms of *social structures*, both cases illustrate the fundamental difference between accommodative and gender transformative approaches: the focus on engaging with underlying structural gender barriers, in particular dynamics around gender norms. While locally focused, both cases additionally illustrate engagement with structures across *multiple scales* and with multiple actors. Case 10.1, for example, explicitly and sequentially engaged at intrahousehold and community scales; Case 10.2 engaged both farmers and other development actors. The latter, in particular, highlights that gender transformative approaches aspire to challenge development actors and agencies, including development and research-for-development organizations, to become critically self-aware of their own gender positions, beliefs, and biases (Sarapura and Puskur 2014, Wong et al. 2019).

Looking ahead: a research agenda to enable more transformative change

A critical unpacking of the quiet, emerging evolution in gender approaches outlined in this chapter suggests that agriculture and natural resource management—and, more broadly, development—are progressing along a spectrum, moving beyond mainstream GAD and accommodative approaches. In other

words, the gender, agriculture, and natural resource management trajectory is transitioning into a new era: that of seeking transformative change. Proof of concept and pilot studies are setting the stage for an engagement with gender that is unprecedented in terms of going below the surface to tackle the deeper normative and structural barriers that underpin and perpetuate gender inequalities. These highlight that it is possible to use natural resource management and agriculture interventions as entry points to address structural gender inequalities by engaging community actors in a process of normative change, which will affect women and men's lives beyond agriculture and natural resource management.

While there are solid theoretical arguments and evidence that GAD accommodative approaches are insufficient on their own for enabling agriculture and natural resource management programs to contribute fully to women's empowerment and gender equality, there are still substantive gaps in knowledge and progress is needed in gender transformative approaches. As a contribution to a future research agenda that promotes robust movement toward women's empowerment and gender equality, here we present priority research issues and questions in three critical areas: (1) transformational change with diverse actors and in different contexts; (2) scaling out change at the local level; and, (3) scaling up change beyond the local.

Achieving transformational change with diverse actors in different contexts

The importance of intersectionality is increasingly recognized in gender approaches in agriculture and natural resource management (for example Colfer et al. 2018, Perkins 2019). This needs further progress in gender transformative approaches. As Ndinda and Ndhlovu (2018, 2) note:

> "... we must focus not only on what divides and unites us, but also the complex and interdependent processes that highlight the reasons why women are subordinated. Thus, given diversity of populations, levels of oppression depend on gender, class, race and ethnicity. Such conceptualisations also guard against tunnel vision approaches for investigating SDGs and their implications for redistributive policies and the nature of ownership and control."

In order for a transformative agenda to be inclusive, further investigations are needed regarding how to engage effectively with the multiplicity of gender and identity (Marlow and Martinez Dy 2018, Ndinda and Ndhlovu 2018). This will have important implications in terms of "leaving

no one behind"—especially women facing multiple forms of marginalization—within the larger neoliberal trends shaping agriculture and natural resource management.

As well as generating intersectional insights, and refining the ability to measure transformative change (see Chapter 9, this volume), the agriculture and natural resource management sectors will need to generate evidence to guide effective transformative strategies. This includes resolving tensions regarding entry points. Literature suggests that change at the household level is more difficult than change at the community level, and that women simultaneously engage in "scalar politics" to disperse gender struggles at the household and community levels (Howitt 1998, Bassett 2002). Women may thus need to bypass the scale of the household in order to secure productive resources for agricultural innovations. Yet much momentum around gender transformative approaches is focused on household methodologies.

Bringing these together, there are three key gaps/questions:

1. Identifying which gender transformative strategies, at which scales (household, group, district, national) reliably catalyze which outcomes in agriculture and natural resource management. How do these outcomes compare with those from common GAD approaches in the short and the longer term (that is, sustainability), for different actors? How to limit perverse outcomes in agriculture and natural resource management (such as time burdens and backlash)?

2. Clarifying local entry points. Under what conditions do tensions and opportunities between household and community scales exist, and what are the implications for effective and efficient gender transformative strategies?

3. Advancing research outcomes and change needed to unpack variability between and within contexts. How do outcomes of gender transformative approaches vary by context? For different groups within the same contexts (by age, socioeconomic status, other), including more vulnerable women and men? Which factors enhance or limit effectiveness of gender and social change mechanisms for different groups in varying contexts?

This calls for further investment in well-designed pilots across contexts, and with a range of women and men (and other genders, as appropriate). To optimize the utility of the findings, balancing innovation with breadth, these

ideally strike a balance between emerging strategies and measurement and the adoption of harmonized methodologies that can enable later meta-analysis.

Scaling-out change at the local level

While a growing number of projects apply gender transformative approaches, to date these efforts have relied on relatively intensive, facilitated, face-to-face interactions with household members. Given the demands of transformative strategies, it seems unlikely that sufficient widespread change will occur through the route of *more* projects in discrete locales. Moreover, as gender transformative approaches gain in popularity among development organizations, there is a significant risk that these complex strategies may be scaled in a reductionist way. In other words, they may be applied as tools without substance, or via organizations lacking the prerequisite capacities, and thus without potential for effective influence (Wong et al. 2019).[13]

These signal a research agenda that address the following three questions:

1. What are the *essential* elements of gender transformative strategies—and are these viable for scaling? To what extent and how can strategies be trimmed and kept affordable, as well as moved across contexts, without becoming token and losing transformative effects? As gender transformative approaches are trimmed down, adapted, and scaled, how can we mitigate the risk of reductionist use or co-optation?

2. Beyond development projects, what is the role and capacity of public and private sector actors in catalyzing and scaling out transformative change, such as through extension systems? Conversely, to what extent can gender transformative strategies be scaled through peer-to-peer (community-to-community, South-to-South) learning models? How does the nature and quality differ from scaling directly through development agencies? For all of the above, how would the required capabilities best be developed?

3. Are there ways to engage women and men effectively in gender transformative processes that do not rely on extensive face-to-face engagements, for example through the use of digital platforms? What risks would this involve and how can these be mitigated?

13 Gender transformative approaches could potentially be co-opted by facilitating agencies (and their alliances, including the private sector) in the way that farmer field schools are reported to have been in some contexts, shifting from people- to technology-centric or from empowerment to profit (Sherwood et al. 2012).

Scaling-up: enacting change beyond the local

While household-scale change is essential, achieving lasting, substantive transformation toward gender equality will require change at multiple levels. Specifically, it will require the scaling-up of transformation to beyond-household scales and institutions, including to groups, markets, and policy and legal arenas (Stern et al. 2017, Wong et al. 2019)—and, importantly, to research-for-development organizations themselves. Yet, while some beyond-household approaches are emerging, to date there are relatively few evidenced strategies and pathways to continue "upward" with transformative change. This is an area in critical need of further examination.

In terms of organizational change, the above strategies and pathways rely on the engagement of actors, such as development agencies, government, and civil society organizations (Kantor 2013, Sarapura and Puskur 2014). In order for these organizations to be effective as change agents, they themselves need to manifest gender equality (Goetz 1997, Rao et al. 1999, Cole et al. 2014a, Sarapura and Puskur 2014). Yet development organizations—despite decades of expressed commitment to gender mainstreaming—continue to manifest "tenacious forms of resistance" when it comes to internalizing gender (Verma 2014, 193). Thus, knowledge gaps regarding how to catalyze and sustain effective organizational change are also a priority for further research, so that organizations facilitate first by "walking the talk" of gender equality.

Finally, scaling-up further requires critical engagement with contemporary neoliberal investments and policies that pervade global discourse, including orientation toward a free market, deregulation, and privatization of resources and services. In terms of gender, dual trends and risks are evident. There are risks of decision-making and opportunities excluding women (and marginalized groups), such as within the rapidly expanding, but so far gender-blind, Blue Economy (Cohen et al. 2019, Njuki and Leone 2019, Österblom et al. 2020). Moreover, the very visible global embracing of women's economic empowerment risks co-optation of feminist goals in a way that does little to challenge deeply rooted and persistent power imbalances. Unless explicitly challenged, gender and social inequalities may be further entrenched or even intensified in such investments and trends (Bezner Kerr 2012, Cornwall 2018, Njuki and Leone 2019).

To enable progress in these areas, three key questions emerge:

1. What are the most promising strategies to catalyze gender transformative change beyond the household level—that is, at the community group or network level, and in markets and policy and legal arenas?

What are the risks and how can we mitigate them? What are the effects of different strategies at different scales? How, why, and in what direction does transformation at one scale lead to transformation at another, and what does this indicate in terms of entry points? What factors shape the extent to which transformation occurs, is amplified, or is sustained?

2. How can organizations seeking to catalyze gender transformative change in the development sector transition to and maintain *internal* gender equality cultures and systems as a foundation? What would incentivize such transitions? What lessons are transferable across public, private, civil, community, and development organizations, including agricultural research-for-development organizations?

3. Within the larger neoliberal trends, how do gender transformative strategies affect the ways that different women and marginalized people engage with broader socio-political and economic processes, opportunities, or risks? Are there risks associated with private sector engagement in transformative approaches? What does all the above imply for actors, entry points, and sequencing of strategies to support gender equality in the current neoliberal climate?

Final thoughts

The need to strengthen the contribution of agriculture and natural resource management to gender equality is serious and pressing. Agriculture and natural resource management shape the livelihoods, nutrition, and well-being of the majority of the world's men and women in low-income contexts—yet manifest in deeply gendered outcomes. These dynamics and inequalities have persisted despite wide mainstreaming of GAD. Emerging transformative approaches advance gender in these sectors by pushing back on the limits of how gender is addressed, including against the instrumental trend of essentializing women as "special agents of development." Specifically, transformative approaches represent a shift toward engaging with the underlying constraining social structures and intersectional power dynamics that perpetuate gender inequalities across scales. In doing so, they add value to the sectors by helping unmask and address the systemic faultlines of complex inequalities and institutionalized power and politics, exclusion, and inequality.

More broadly, transforming a persistently unequal world will require analyzing—and consciously strengthening—how gender is interpreted and

played out by agriculture and natural resource management institutions as well as in the wider political economy of development. Gender transformative approaches offer a potent opportunity to shift the trajectory and transition from pervasively slow or regressive trends toward substantive and lasting progress. The 2030 transformational agenda provides the mandate and momentum for this transition, calling for "bold and transformative steps which are urgently needed to shift the world onto a sustainable and resilient path" (UN 2015).

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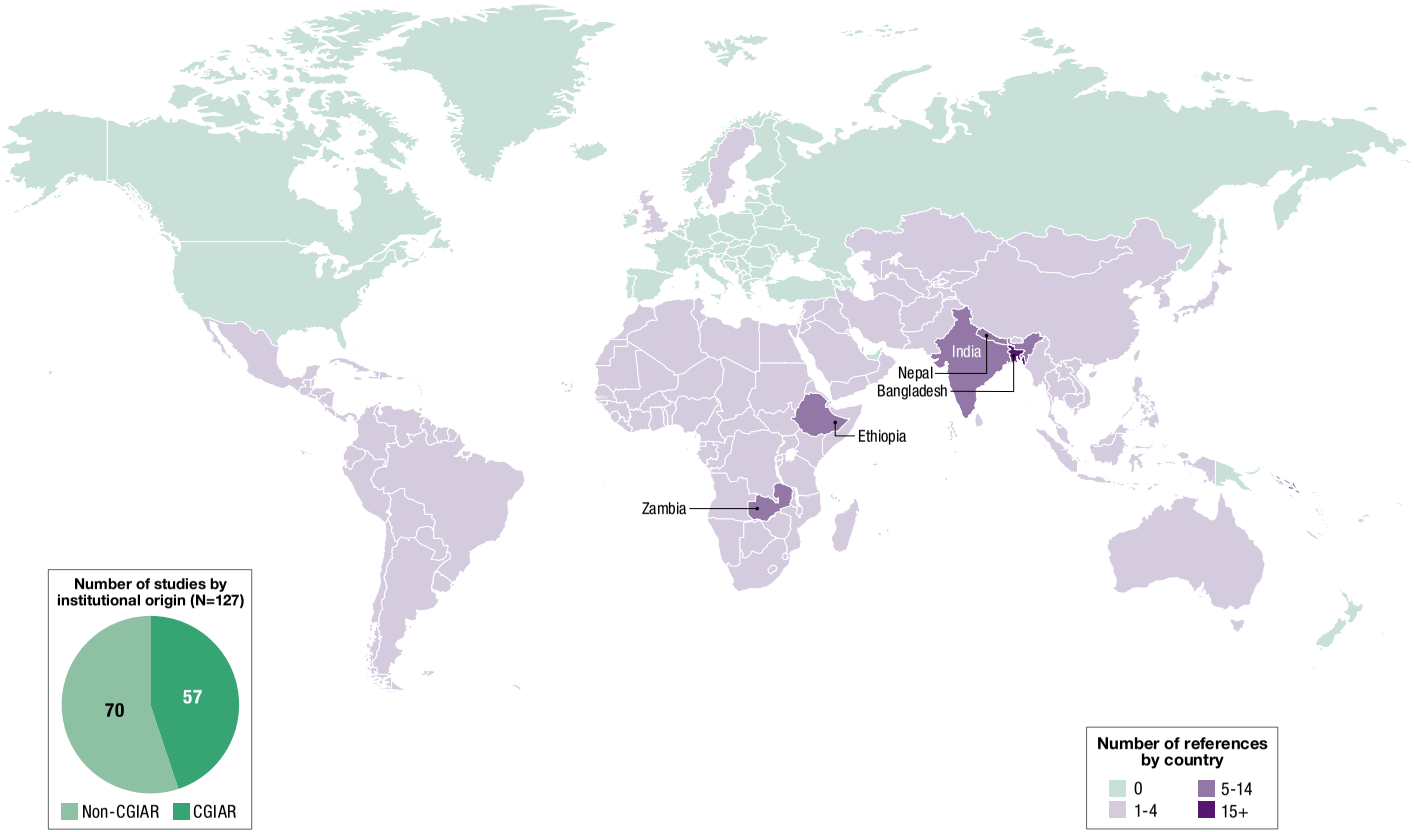
Geography of study sites for publications cited in Chapter 10



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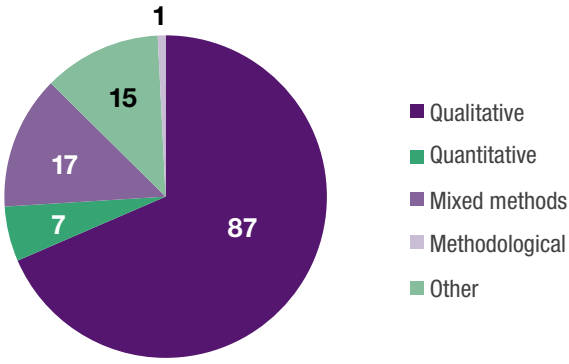

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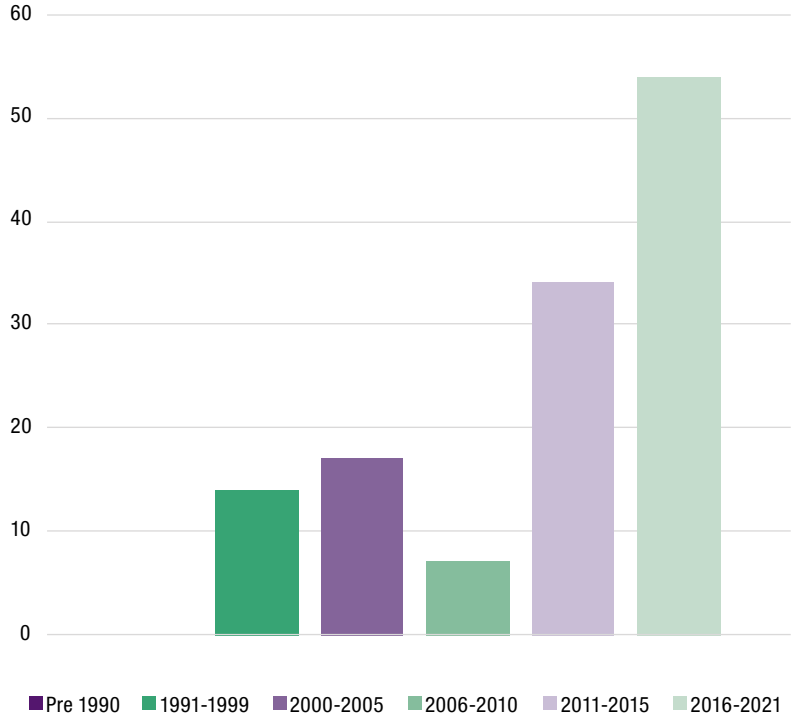

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