

*Orientation to Gender Analysis
Workshop Report*

December 22-23, 1997

M.S. SWAMINATHAN RESEARCH FOUNDATION
III Cross Street, Taramani Institutional Area, Taramani
Chennai - 600 113

ORIENTATION TO GENDER ANALYSIS

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This report seeks to summarise the key issues which were discussed in the gender analysis workshop, and the participants' own analysis of their projects from a gender perspective. The overall purpose is to help the participants recapitulate what they learnt from each other in the course of the workshop, as well as point to directions for making the projects more gender-aware in the future.

1. Introductory

Background

This workshop is not an isolated initiative of the Foundation to make itself more gender-aware. In October 1996, the Uttara Devi Resource Centre on Gender and Development was established, one of its major objectives being to strengthen and operationalise MSSRF's commitment to institutionalise gender concerns within its activities. A series of in-house gender-related workshops have been organised since then, which were attended by staff from several projects, as well as outsiders with expertise in the area of gender and sustainable development. A Gender Task Force, comprising representatives from different projects involved in field interventions, was constituted in July '97 to plan and monitor concrete activities to mainstream gender concerns. One of the key activities initiated by the Centre/Gender Task Force has been to provide tailor-made capacity building to its different projects in the area of gender and development. The Bio-village and Coastal Mangrove Development Projects have already started receiving support in this direction. This particular workshop, organised at the Foundation in Madras, marked the beginning of such tailor-made support to the Ecotechnology Centre. The members of the Gender Task

Force were also invited to lend continuity to this process, and strengthen their ability to replicate the lessons from this workshop in other projects of the Foundation. 33 participants attended the workshop {23 from the Ecotechnology Centre and 5 members from other in-house projects and 5 members of the Gender Task Force (Annexure - 1). The workshop was facilitated by Ranjani K. Murthy, Gender Specialist.

Objectives

- strengthening understanding of the participants on gender concepts in the context of sustainable development initiatives.
- familiarising the participants with different tools and frameworks for analysing gender concerns within development projects and programmes.
- strengthening skills to institutionalise gender concerns within the various projects of the Foundations.

Expectations

After a brief introduction by Mina Swaminathan, Honorary Director, GENDEAVOUR (Resource Centre in Gender and Development) on the need for such an initiative, the workshop began with a self-introduction by each participant. In the course of this introduction the participants also shared their expectations from the workshop. Some of the key expectations were:

- to understand what the term "gender" really means, and its relevance to the work in which the Foundation is involved.
- to familiarise themselves with simple tools to analyse the gender-differentiated impact of the projects of the Foundation.
- to analyse the extent to which the projects of the Foundation are gender sensitive.
- to understand how to incorporate gender concerns in different stages of the project cycle.
- to evolve concrete plans of action to strengthen institutionalisation of gender concerns within the Foundation.

Ranjani K. Murthy, the external facilitator of the workshop, was happy to note that the expectations of the participants more or less matched with the tentative workshop design

evolved with the Gender Task Force (elaborated later). She, however, expressed that it may not be possible to go into the details of how to incorporate gender concerns within different stage of the project cycle, given the time constraints.

Structure

The workshop was divided into three broad segments.

- The first explored what the term gender means and why it needs to be taken into account in development interventions through a case-let on an irrigation project.
 - The second segment introduced the participants to three different gender analysis frameworks, and encouraged their application through case-lets/discussion on a credit, income generation and agricultural project.
 - The third and final segment sought to facilitate reflection on how far the different projects at M.S.S.R.F. were gender-sensitive, and what could be done to strengthen further institutionalization of gender concerns.
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2. Why Gender Perspective?

The Case Study

The Mahaweli Development Programme in Sri-Lanka was chosen as a case-let for driving home the different reasons why gender needs to be taken into account in development interventions. The case-let (see Box 1) was on the impact of a resettlement programme initiated by the Government of Sri Lanka to rehabilitate those households displaced by the Mahaweli Dam constructed in 1975. The participants were divided into four groups and asked to discuss four questions pertaining to the case-let:

1. Is the project gender sensitive? Why? What do you understand by the term gender?
2. What are the different consequences of not taking gender relations into account?
3. Have all men and women been affected in the same way by the project? How does gender and class operate together to affect poor women?
4. What are the different societal institutions which have a direct or indirect bearing on the lives of poor men and women in the project area?

BOX - 1

Mahaweli Development Programme

The Mahaweli Dam was begun by the Sri Lankan government in 1975 with the objective of bringing the dry zone in Sri-Lanka under year long cultivation through one of the largest irrigation projects undertaken in the country. The overall goal was to increase agriculture production, food security and health, nutrition and literacy status of the population in the area. For those displaced by the dam, a resettlement programme was initiated; namely the Mahaweli Development Programme. Under this programme each displaced household was given two and a half acres of irrigated land, and a half acre homestead plot. Loans for purchase of seeds, fertilisers and other inputs for paddy cultivation were provided, and so were agriculture extension services. Justifying agricultural related activities as an entry point, a senior government official noted 'farmers are initially interested only in increasing productivity. Only after consolidation of these project benefits and successful cultivation do they become fully involved in social, cultural and religious activities. Only then do they participate together as a community in programmes with respect to environmental sanitation, community health, nutrition, clean drinking water, day care centres and so forth'.

An evaluation of the nutritional status of pre-school children in the Mahaweli resettlement area after five years of the project revealed that under nourishment amongst these children was very much higher at 39% than the national average of 7%. In fact, under-nourishment of pre-school children seemed to have increased after the programme; inspite of the fact that production of rice had, overall, increased in the area. Analysing the reasons for this phenomenon she found that before the construction of the dam, in a drought prone situation, food security was prioritised by households, and was accompanied by a particular gender based division of labour. Men in this area were traditionally responsible¹ for growing paddy, the

¹ Though women did contribute in terms of weeding, harvesting and post harvest processing.

more socially significant but also less reliable crop since it required adequate and timely rainfall while women were responsible for slash and burn or chenna cultivation and contributed a range of more drought-resistance food crops, such as finger millet, soya, green-gram which tided the family over in times of food shortage. They were also more nutritious than rice. Women had also enjoyed equal rights to land according to local customary laws. Ninety six of the hundred and twelve land allocations were made to men, as men were viewed as farmers, and women as house-wives by the government. Of the sixteen women who were allotted land, most were women heading households. To prevent land fragmentation the norms further specified that there should be only one heir to land. Since the main crop promoted by the project was paddy, which was identified as a male crop, this inevitably implied that a son would be designated as the heir. Some women still had chenna land, but its distance from the project area meant this additional source of food could not be utilised. Most women were reduced to growing a few fruit trees on the homestead plot where there was little land left once the house and latrine had been constructed. Further, the range of food crops grown by households and their nutritious value got reduced, as well as food in the direct hands of women. Agricultural extension activities were directed at men, as only they were seen as being involved in agricultural activities. Women's important role in transplanting, weeding and harvesting operations in paddy cultivation (though overall under male control) were ignored. Thus increase in production of paddy was not as much as envisaged.

Though all the families in the resettlement villages now had land, in the past a majority of them were either landless or small and marginal farming households and were indebted to landlords of the pre-resettlement villages². In spite of the fact that the government had formed farmer's groups to manage the distribution of water equitably, these pre-existing relationships came in the way of how much irrigation water different groups could access. Loans on the names of marginalised sections were at times cornered off by the landlords of the past. The (previously) landless and marginal farming households in particular could hence pay back only 20% of the loans taken from the project. A substantial proportion of the loan amount had to be diverted into consumption. Many ended up unofficially mortgaging some of their lands to the landlords of the past, and became wage labourers with women earning two-thirds of the wage that men earned. The projections on increase in paddy production did not really materialise as a result of these factors as well.

Along with the increased burden of earning the family livelihood, women from the marginalised sections experienced additional demands on their time, because of the distance of the new settlement from schools and medical facilities. While day-care centres had been set up by the government, the requirement that children bring a meal from home and be dressed properly tended to exclude poor mothers who, while they needed such support most, were least able to provide their children with adequate clothes, a home-made lunch or to spare the time to deliver and fetch them from the centre every day. The national policy shift from food subsidies to food coupons further exacerbated the problem. Whereas free rice and commodities tended to be collected by the mother and were used for the entire household, the new food coupons tended to be collected by the fathers and could- and were- converted into cash to finance more individual forms of consumption: alcohol and tobacco. Research showed that only 35% of the income of male farmers which remained after loan repayments were used for the collective consumption of the household.

Discussions

All the four groups felt that the above programme was not gender sensitive. Several reasons were cited for this conclusion:

1. *Gender biased assumptions*

The programme views men as farmers, and women as housewives.

² Whose land had also got submerged, and who were also allocated land in the new resettlement.

2. *Gender biased objectives*

The project objectives themselves are gender-blind (also class-blind). It is mentioned that the overall objective of the Mahaweli Dam and resettlement programme is "to increase agriculture production, food security and health, nutrition and literacy status of the population in the area". However, the population is treated as an uniform category, the unequal position of men and women, as well as different economic groups within the population, is not taken into account.

3. *Gender and class biased interventions*

The programme has taken into account the needs and priorities of men, but not of women and girl children in the resettlement area. This is for example, reflected in the following :

- agricultural land was allotted predominantly to men much against existing norms ;
 - agricultural extension was directed at men and kitchen gardening at women;
 - mono-cropping rather than mixed cropping pattern was promoted;
 - norms for attending day care centres were anti-poor and anti-girl children, and so on.
- Further, the project interventions did not take into account the diversity amongst men and women on the basis of class. For example, pre-existing economic and social relationship between ex-landlords and landless labourers were taken for granted.

4. *Gender and class differentiated impact*

- women's traditional rights to agricultural land got alienated, and their access to *chenna* land got reduced. Patrilineal system of inheritance, on the other hand, was introduced into a community used to collective ownership of land. Though poor men gained ownership of land, they soon lost control over it due to pre-existing relationship with landlords of the past.
- the increase in output was not as much as planned, as agriculture extension activities bypassed women, eventhough they played an important role in this sector. Pre-existing class relations also came in the way of expanding production.
- food security and nutritional status of the family declined, due to shifts in cropping pattern, fall in production, as well as the introduction of food coupons,
- control over the produce and income rested with men, as marketing of paddy was carried out by men as per the traditional gender based division of labour,
- poor children in general, and girl children in particular, got excluded from the day care centres.

Costs of Neglect

Thus the case-let highlights three inter-related costs of not taking gender into account in development projects and programmes

- **welfare costs** (e.g. drop in nutrition levels of children and family members);
- **efficiency costs** (e.g. less than anticipated increase in agricultural production); and
- **equity costs** (e.g. transfer of land from community to male ownership).

All development projects have different impact on men and women due to gender relations. The impact on different groups of men or women also varies, depending on their location in other social relations. Though the case-let highlighted the impact of class differences within men/women on development outcomes, caste, religious identity, marital status, age etc. also have a bearing on outcomes.

What "gender" means

In the course of the discussions, the meaning of the term gender was debated upon. The participants expressed that the term gender referred to:

- the different roles played by men and women in society,
- the different responsibilities held by men and women in society,
- the unequal access of women over decision making processes,
- the unequal relationship between men and women in society, and the need for bringing about a balance.

The facilitator sharpened the above understanding by pointing to both the *descriptive* and *analytical* meaning of the term gender. At a descriptive level, the term "gender" refers to social differences between men and women in terms of their roles, responsibilities, behaviour pattern and qualities. It is often used in contrast to the term "sex" which refers to biological differences between men and women.

At a more analytical level, the term *gender* is used to make the point that the problem in women's development is not the women themselves- that they are illiterate, ignorant, dependent etc. but arises from the socially constituted power relations between men and women. Gender relations interlock with social relations of class, caste, religion, age, marital status, and lead to women's poverty and unequal position in society. This is not to

say that men are not affected by gender relations. For example, societal norms that men should not reveal their emotions or nurture their children, and norms that they should act as the breadwinners of the household also put men under pressure. A typical example is the case of male farmers in parts of AP who committed suicide when faced with pest attack and surmounting debts, leading to their inability to play their economic role within the family. Gender issues are thus a key to the development of the full potential of both men and women.

Heated debate on what are the biological differences between men and women in society followed. There was a consensus that the ability of women to produce children and breast feed them, and the inability of men to do so, was indeed a sexual difference. But opinions varied as to whether the general superior ability of women to bring up children was biological or social. So did opinions on whether men have greater physical strength than women. In spite of these differences in view points, there was a consensus that the primary reason for women's secondary status in society was social, and not biological.

Institutional Influences

The MDP case study also highlighted several institutions which shaped gender identities and relationships, which are equally relevant in the Indian context. The key ones identified by the participants were:

- The *Bureaucracy*: Agricultural Departments, Social Welfare Departments (day care centres) etc.
- The *Market*: labour market, credit market and commodity market,
- The *Community*: religion, caste, traditional Panchayats, farmers' groups etc., and
- The *Household* and kinship systems.

The facilitator pointed out that apart from the administrative apparatus of the State, the *legislature* and *judiciary* also have a bearing on the social construction of gender. *Education* and *Media* are two other key institutions which shape gender identities. Several features mark these institutions:

- ideologies which privilege men over women, the better off over the poor, upper caste over dalits, etc. For example, men are viewed as heads of households and breadwinners, and women as members of household and supplementary earners.

- resource allocation patterns, which discriminate against women, the poor and so on.
- practices, which operationalise these ideologies in the day to day context. For example, patrilocal residence (in most communities) and patrilineal systems of inheritance (in most communities).
- distribution of power and influence in favour of men, the rich and upper caste.

This is not to say that women (the poor and dalits) are totally powerless and passive victims. They are active agents seeking to address these imbalances within social relationships. How to strengthen these initiatives through appropriate policy and planning is perhaps one of the challenges facing the participants at this level.

3. Analytical Frameworks for Gender Analysis

The facilitator pointed to three analytical frameworks which could help the participants mainstream gender concerns within their programmes:

1. The Gender Analysis Matrix, evolved by Rani Parker.
2. The Harvard Method, evolved by Overholt et al
3. The Moser Method, evolved by Caroline Moser.

1. Gender Analysis Matrix:

The Gender Analysis Matrix involves analysis of proposed/ongoing project effects on different groups of women and men, household and the community across four variables: labour, time, resources and culture. While analysing the impact on resources, it is possible to distinguish between impact on access to resources, and control over them. In the light of this analysis the framework raises the questions:

- Are the effects listed consistent with program goals?
- Are the effects listed desirable?
- How will this project/activity affect those who do not participate?

After a brief introduction to the framework the participants were divided into four groups and asked to analyse a case study on a credit project (see Box -2) using the following questions :

1. What are the objectives of the credit project? Are they sensitive to gender issues?
2. What is the impact of the credit project on different groups of men and women, across four categories of analysis: labour / time, economic resources, health and education, awareness and culture?
3. What is the impact of the project on labour and resources of the intervening agencies, namely the government and NGOs?
4. Is the impact of the project desirable vis a vis the objectives of the project, and also in relation to the goals of gender, class and caste equity?
5. What would you recommend to make the credit project empowering for women?

Credit Project for Poor Rural Women

With the emphasis on privatization and liberalization as part of the structural adjustment programme, the "BIN" (name of country) government and multilateral aid agencies have been emphasising the role which NGOs could play in reaching poor rural women and providing them and their families with a supplementary source of income. They have also argued that credit inputs to rural women would increase the productivity of the economy, as it was believed that poor rural women had unutilised free time. Hence the BIN government and a multilateral aid agency launched a project to support NGO efforts to organise poor women into self help groups around credit, and also to provide financial support to these credit groups through commercial banks. This project was to be implemented through the respective state governments. One such project was located in the State of Timbaktu.

The Timbaktu government and the multilateral aid agency collaborated with several NGOs in the state, and one such agency was the "Women in Development Organisation" (WIDO) working in 60 villages of Timbaktu district since 1989. It is a sister organisation of the "Rural Integrated Development Society" (RIDS), which has been working in the area for the last ten years organising self help groups of the poor around credit, agriculture and natural resources development. As it was felt that women were not adequately integrated into the activities of RIDS, a separate organisation was started to promote supplementary income for women, and to enhance the education and health status of women and, through them, their families. As RIDS had a good reputation with the government, WIDO was approached in 1990 by the Timbaktu government to take part in the credit programme for rural women. Since the objective of the programme was to alleviate poverty of rural women and their families, WIDO immediately agreed to take part in the programme, which was its first major activity. As the Timbaktu government and the aid agency wanted to show immediate results, it was decided that sixty groups would be organised in the first year, one in each village. Six women staff were recruited, each in charge of 10 villages. The Timbaktu government recommended that the wife of the Panchayat leader should be used as a contact point to enter the village and identify poor rural women, and this guideline was followed by the women staff of WIDO. Three of the women staff had children to look after, and hence could not visit the villages in the evenings. They therefore met women who were in the village during the day time, and organised groups of 30 women (the group size as per the scheme) in each village in their area of operation around credit and savings. As each of them had to monitor ten groups, and did not have access to office vehicles, they could at the maximum attend one group meeting per group every month.

As per the norms evolved by the government, aid agency and WIDO, each group should begin with a thrift programme wherein every member contributes Rs.20/- per month towards groups funds, which in turn would be used to lend money to the group members for consumption loan. Once the group had shown its ability to manage credit and savings, the Timbaktu government and the aid agency would provide seed capital at the rate of Rs.750/- per member to the group (through the Commercial Banks in the Areas), which it had to rotate as seed money to meet the needs of its members. However, this norm could be always be followed. As targets had to be achieved, irrespective of the cohesiveness of the group or its ability to manage finance seed money was provided to them. Each group was managed by an Executive Committee of literate women who were incharge of identifying poor women amongst its members, apprising the feasibility of activities proposed by the member, monitoring the repayment and managing finances of the group.

The men in the village were happy with this new scheme for women; they accompanied the women to the bank, BDO and WIDO offices. They also attended group meetings of women and helped them make decisions. Several of them had availed loans of Rs.2,500/- to Rs.8,000/- for land development, irrigation and petty trade from the men's groups. The members of the men's group who had gone for land based activities felt that the Rs.750/- which their wives, daughters and mothers could get as loans from the women's sanghas would come in handy to purchase seeds, fertilizers and other inputs; the men's sanghas do not give crop loans more than once. As women had household work, the men decided not to increase their responsibilities and they themselves went to purchase inputs required for cultivation using the loans given to the women members of the family. This anyway was the usual norm. The same pattern followed for marketing. But there were a few women in the women's group (predominantly dalits) who were single and heading their households, and used and managed the credit themselves. Some of them were encouraged by WIDO to go in for tailoring and animal husbandry (cross bred cows). They took up these activities, but the market was seasonal. School uniforms and dresses were required only during some parts of the year. Milch animals yielded more milk during winter. Because of these new activities, they had given up agricultural wage labour through which they earned Rs.6/- per day. But the income from these

new activities was irregular. They therefore sold off their assets, repaid their loan and went back to wage labour. They felt that what they required was not a supplementary source of income but some activity which would provide them more than Rs.6/- per day. Along with it, they did not mind some country cows or a sheep or two which could be reared by the children in the family.

An assessment of the project was made after two years by the Timbaktu government, aid agency and WIDO team (one male Director, one (male) second line leader, assisted by nine women staff). It concluded that the project was a great success : 120 groups were organised in two years, 3600 women had been covered, Rs.27,00,000 had been given out as loans to groups of which 80% was being paid back on time. However, in some areas the recovery was only 60% on crop loans, as the ground water levels were declining. The family income had gone up by Rs.2,000/- per annum because of the programme, and was therefore a good supplementary income generation programme. This had been invested by the family in the education of their sons and dowry for their daughters; and in better food and health care for family members in general and the male members in particular. The multilateral aid agency and the Timbaktu government requested WIDO to act as the nodal agency for co-ordinating NGO efforts in the State of Timbaktu related to the programme; and sanctioned funds for a training centre in this regard.

One WIDO woman staff (who felt that women should be involved in managing the credit and in marketing) however, left the project. Three other women staff left as they found the living conditions unsafe and the work difficult.

Source : Ms. Ranjani K. Murthy (Consultant)

Discussion

The participants expressed that the objective of the project was "to alleviate poverty of rural women and their families through tapping their un-utilised time, expanding their access to credit and enhancing their supplementary income". Two groups felt that the objective per-se was gender sensitive as it focused on women, while the remaining two felt that the objectives were not really sensitive to gender concerns. The later group pointed out that the objectives were based on the notion that women were supplementary earners, and men were bread winners. It was also assumed that poor women had "untapped" free time which was far from reality.

The facilitator commented that any development objective or policy could be *gender-blind*, *gender-neutral*, *gender-ameliorative* or *gender transformative* (See Box-3). While gender-blind objectives or policies were totally blind to gender issues, the last three represented different degrees of gender sensitivity. The objectives of this project were, in different ways, gender-neutral and gender-ameliorative. At one level it perpetuated the notion that women's reproductive work and subsistence activities were not work and that women were supplementary earners; and hence could be considered gender-neutral. At another, it sought to improve women's day to day living condition; and hence could be considered gender-ameliorative.

BOX - 3

Different ways gender may be present or absent in development policies

- **Gender-blind policies** often appear neutral (they are couched in abstract categories like promoting "people's" or "poor's" participation in mini-watershed development etc.) but are implicitly male biased, because they are premised on the notion of a male actor and their needs and interests. Statements like "we believe in working with families and communities in watersheds", "we work towards transfer of technology" or "increase in agricultural production" often reflect gender-blind policies, as quite often these programmes are directed at men, and exclude women.
- **Gender-neutral policies** rely on accurate information about the existing gender based division of labour and resources, in order to ensure that development policy objectives, of technical nature, are met in the most effective manner by targeting the right inputs and resources at the right people. However, gender relations are more or less left intact. For example, if the objective of the programme is development of government wastelands and enhancing income of the Forest Department as well as communities, gender-neutral environmental policies would target training at men and women based on the activities in which they are involved.
- **Gender-ameliorative policies** again rely on accurate information about the existing gender based division of labour and resources, but use the information to formulate development policies which *ameliorate* women's condition in society, but often leave their *position* unchanged. An example of such a policy is targeting of homestead plantations or kitchen gardening at women. It often increases women's access to fuel, fodder, fruits and vegetables and thus improves their living conditions, but several studies have revealed that these programmes leave them with little time to participate actively in forest protection committees or watershed development committees initiated by development organisations, which manage larger quantum of resources. Gender relations are not changed in any fundamental manner through these policies.
- **Gender-transformative policies** seek to transform existing gender relations by redistributing more evenly the distribution of resources, responsibilities and power between men and women. Examples include policies which promote redistribution and joint ownership of private land for afforestation; equal wages for work of equal value within forestry work; equal representation and participation in forest protection committees (combined with separate space for women to meet); sharing of domestic work and child care; equal responsibility for earning income for the family etc. Gender-transformative developmental policies offer the most politically challenging option, because they do not simply channel resources to women within existing relations, but require men to give up certain privileges and take certain responsibilities in order to achieve greater equity in social relationships. In the process, men also gain by access to opportunities for personal growth, and freedom from pressures to be the main earners for the family.

Source: Kabeer (1994), *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*, Verso Press, United Kingdom.

There was a consensus amongst all the four groups on the impact of the project on the labour, time, resources, health and education of women and men, and on socio-cultural barriers to women's advancement. On the whole, the project has led to little difference in women's *position* in society vis a vis that of men. In fact gender inequalities seem to have increased through the project. However, it has contributed to improving the *day to day condition* of the better off women in the project area. But whether even these small improvements are sustainable is questionable, given the reduction in ground water levels with poor water management

practices. Thus, one can conclude that the project has not really achieved its objectives of alleviating the poverty of poor women in the project area, and neither has it reduced gender, caste and class inequalities. Infact, it seems to have enhanced the resources at the disposal of the NGO concerned rather than poor women; reflected in the expansion of its vehicles and infrastructure. But in spite of the increase in financial resources and infrastructure the NGO has not been able to retain women staff, as it has not taken into consideration their need for security and transport.

BOX - 4				
Analysis of Credit Project				
	Labour/time	Economic Resources	Health & Education	Culture
Women / Girls	No change in the gender based division of labour Increase in work load of women	Increase in access of women to credit, but not expansion in control. Increase in indebtedness of dalit women heading households. Better off women may have benefited more than the poorest ones given the norms on savings, timings of field visits by staff and leadership by upper caste and class women.	Increase in access to food and health care, though gender inequalities persisted.	No positive change. In fact increase in income led to greater expenditure on dowry.
Men / Boys	No change in the gender based division of labour	Increase in access and control over credit and income. Men (Rs 2500 to 8000) could access more NGO resources than women (Rs 750 per member)	Increase in access to food and health care. Increase in access of male children to education.	No change in the gender ideologies.

Suggestions

To make the project "empowering" for women the following strategies were recommended by the participants:

- ⇒ planning measures should be preceded by gender and social analysis of the project area.
- ⇒ before commencing a project, its potential impact on men and women belonging to different groups should be analysed.

- ⇒ poor women should be actively involved in different stages of the project; and their priorities should be taken into account.
- ⇒ the objectives of the project should be consistent with the goal of women's empowerment and poverty alleviation (i.e. should be gender ameliorative and transformative)
- ⇒ credit programmes should be combined with income generation if it is to reach the poorest amongst women.
- ⇒ the project should be process rather than target driven.
- ⇒ investment should be made in strengthening gender awareness of men and women at the community level, as well as staff of NGOs, banks and government agencies involved.
- ⇒ process and impact indicators consistent with gender-ameliorative and gender-transformative goals of the project need to be evolved. Output indicators like repayment rate are highly inadequate to judge impact on women's empowerment.
- ⇒ proper attention should be paid to recruit staff committed to women's empowerment and their orientation.
- ⇒ rules and regulations sensitive to women staff's multiple responsibilities and need for security need to be put in place.
- ⇒ self help group members should have a say in influencing decision making processes related to the project.

2. Harvard case study method

This method evolved by Overholt et al (1985) emphasises three inter-related components which need to be taken into account while planning:

- activity profile, analysing the division of responsibilities in production and reproduction, across gender and age.
- access and control profile, analysing the access and control of men and women over resources and benefits.
- analysis of factors influencing the activity and access & control profile.

In the light of the above analysis, the framework seeks to highlight:

- areas of a project which have to be adjusted in order to achieve the desired outcome
- what will be the impact of the project on women

- mechanisms for reducing the work burden of women and increasing women's access to and control over benefits as related to the project

After an introduction to the Harvard Framework, the participants were divided into four groups and asked to use the framework to analyse the case study on the puffed rice programme in Bangladesh (see Box - 5) with the help of the questions that follow.

Puffed Rice in Bangladesh

BOX -5

In Bangladesh many agencies give small loans to individual women from landless families, to embark on a household-level rice-processing business*. Equipment costs are low in such activities, with mainly household items used. However, the working capital needed to purchase unprocessed paddy is often beyond the means of very small families. Loan to overcome this problem can, therefore, help to provide employment for many women using existing skills and equipment.

One common rice-processing activity supported by such loans is the production of *muri* (puffed rice). Both men and women engage in this activity, the men in transportation and marketing and the women on the skilled production side. Men purchase paddy in the local market and take it to the women, who parboil it twice and dry it. The men then take it to the local rice mill, for milling. They return it to the farmsteads, where the women separate the grain from the mixed bran and husk. Although the mill delivers rice from one outlet, and bran/husk from another, the men normally load all of this into one bag. The women then painstakingly have to separate it out again, using a winnowing tray. The chaff with dried leaves is used for fuel in parboiling paddy and puffing rice, which demands great skill. The final product is then either sold locally or taken by bus to the major wholesale market in Dhaka. In either case it is the men who sell the final product and control the earnings.

Source : Marilyn Carr (1984) *Blacksmith, Baker, Roofing-sheer Maker..... Employment for Rural Women in Developing Countries*, London : Intermediate Technology Publication, pp. 30-31

1. What are the activities related to the production of puffed rice in which women and men are involved? What is the location of the activities in which women and men are involved?
2. What are the resources and benefits associated with the activity/programme? Who has access to and control over these?
3. What has been the impact of the programme on the work load of women and men, the division of labour between women and men, and access and control of women and men to resources and benefits?
4. What could the project managers have done to reduce the work burden of women, to enhance women's mobility and to expand women's control over resources and benefits?

The following gender based division of labour was identified by the groups:

BOX - 6			
Gender based division of labour and location			
ACTIVITY	DIVISION OF LABOUR		LOCATION
	WOMEN	MEN	
Purchase of paddy		*	Markets
Collecting fuel	*		Homestead
Parboiling	*		Homestead
Drying	*		Homestead
Going to the rice mill		*	Miller's shop, outside the house
Separation of grain from bran and husk	*		Homestead
Puffing	*		Homestead
Transporting	*		Outside the house
Marketing	*		Market

From the above analysis it is apparent that there is a marked gender based division of labour in the production of puffed rice. A pattern also seems to be emerging on the location of activities: women's activities are located within the house and homesteads, while men's activities usually take them beyond the village. This pattern reflects the broader exclusion of women from the public domain in society. Given the fact that men do the marketing, they ultimately control the income. Though women have accessed the credit, by and large the men appear to control the use of the same. On the whole, the project has had little impact on the prevailing gender based division of labour and intra-household distribution of resources. Not only has the project failed to improve women's position, but it has also added to their work burden. Whether the increase in income in the hands of men led to improvement in the day to day living condition of women is an open question, on which information was not available.

Suggestions

To reduce the work burden of women, enhance their mobility and expand their control over resources and benefits the participants recommended the following strategies:

⇒ equipment which will reduce the production time.

- ⇒ sharing of labour by men and women, both related to production of puffed rice and domestic work and child care.
- ⇒ rice and bran separation at the mill itself.
- ⇒ formation of self-help groups of the women involved in production of puffed rice
- ⇒ providing the groups with transport infrastructure
- ⇒ encouraging collective/group purchase of paddy and sales by the women, and milling.
- ⇒ training of women for marketing and functional literacy and numeracy.

3. Moser method to Gender Planning : Practical and strategic gender needs

This method, evolved by Caroline Moser (1989), distinguishes between the **practical gender needs** of women (which make it easier for women to carry out their socially assigned roles) and the **strategic gender needs of women** (which arise out of challenging the division of responsibilities). Practical gender needs do not question existing gender relations or division of labour, but arise out of it, while strategic gender needs seek to transform these.

Practical Gender Needs and Strategic Gender Needs in Agriculture		BOX -7
Practical Gender Needs	Strategic Gender Needs	
Access to land Right to work Implementation of minimum wages Access to agricultural credit and inputs Technology for reducing the drudgery transplantation and post harvest processing Access to transport Access to child care centres Access to income	Equal rights to private land and common property resources Equal wages for work of equal value. Breaking down of norms on the gender based division of labour in agriculture Access to, and control over, agricultural credit. Equal access to water and other resources Equal say in decision making on cropping pattern, and choice of farming systems. Equal representation in farmer's co-operatives, as members and leaders. Respect for women's indigenous knowledge and patenting of the same. Equal access to agricultural extension Information on markets and equal participation in agricultural marketing Women's equal say over the use of income	

Access to water, fuel, fodder, sanitation facilities and child care facilities are examples of practical gender needs of poor women. Examples of strategic gender needs of poor women include the breaking down of gender based division of labour within the household

and outside; equal wages for work of equal value; equal rights to private property and common property resources; and equal representation and participation of poor women in decision making forums. Practical gender needs can usually be met in the *short term*, while strategic gender needs may take a *long time* to address. Participatory processes and strengthening of women's organisations is central to the achievement of strategic concerns, while practical gender needs can also be met in a top down manner. Moser argues for the need for projects and programmes to, in the long run, strengthen poor women's capacity to address their strategic gender needs; though one may begin with their practical gender concerns.

The practical and strategic gender needs of women in the area of agriculture as identified by the participants are listed in Box - 7.

4. Gender Analysis of Projects

Equipped with basic understanding of the three gender analysis frameworks, participants analysed seven projects in which they were working from a gender perspective, in small groups. Different groups adopted different methods of analysis. The methodology used and the reflections of the group are summarised below :

1. Coastal Wetlands-Mangrove Conservation and Management

The objectives and sub-objectives of the project are given below. The group felt that at this juncture the project objectives are at best gender-neutral, but there is an implicit commitment to gender-ameliorative policies.

Objectives

Developing a model for sustainable mangrove management

Sub-objectives

- To convert unsustainable dependency to sustainable dependency.
- To develop participatory mode of management.
- Capacity building
- To study and apply various scientific principles in mangrove conservation and management

The group's analysis of the impact of the project on women and men in the project area is summarised below. The analysis reveals different impact on men and women. On the positive side women have picked up new skills and their access to resources has expanded. On the other hand, their work load has increased, and they have little control over resources. The project has not led to any change in the gender based division of labour.

Work load	Division	Access	Control
M - F ↑ ↑	M - F digging hand stick picking	M - F √ √	M - F √ X

The practical gender / class needs (PGN / PCN) and strategic gender / class needs (SGN / SCN) being addressed presently by the project are given below. As can be seen, at present the project is addressing the practical needs more than the strategic ones.

PGN	PCN	SGN	SCN
Water	Water	Training for capacity building	Training for capacity building
Credit	Fodder Agro forestry Agro sylvi pasture Home orchard Kitchen garden Fishing equipments Revolving fund		

2. Minor Millets

The group analysed the following gender division of labour in agriculture:

Agricultural activities	-	men & women
Marketing	-	outside & local
Decision making	-	both
Credit management	-	men
Food processing	-	women
Buying inputs	-	men/outside

The questions were perhaps not communicated properly to the group at first. So, the task was more clearly communicated to the group, and it was given the assignment of carrying out the analysis in greater detail at a later stage.

3. Backyard Aquaculture Project

(Breeding and Culture of Backyard Ornamental Fish)

The group analysis is presented below:

Target : Only women
Needs being addressed : Predominantly PGNs (Practical Gender Needs)

Activity Profile with regard to aquaculture:

	Male	Female	Children	Location
1. Infrastructures :	----- Provided -----			
2. Water filling and refilling :	x	√	x	Local
3. Stocking Purchase :	----- Provided -----			
4. Stocking, Feeding :	x	√	x	Local
5. Management :	x	√	x	Local
6. Decision making :	x	√	x	Local
7. Marketing & earning :	x	√	x	Local

The activity was seen as supplementary income generation programme, performed during the non-agricultural season. It generated a supplementary income of Rs.300/- per month, while their main occupation, agricultural labour, yielded Rs.600/- per month during the agricultural season. The project had helped women develop new skills, and the production process was controlled by them. As they were involved in marketing the income through the women fish farmers' group, they had both access to and some control over income (see below). On the other hand, women's work load has increased.

Type of Resources	Access		Control	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Entire system	√	√	x	√

Overall, the project can be considered fairly gender sensitive.

4. Integrated Intensive Farming System

The following access and control profile was chalked out by the participants:

	Access		Control	
	M	W	M	W
Land	√	√	√	X
Inputs	√	√	√	X
Market	√	√	√	X
Decision making	√	√	√	X

The group pointed out that income of the family increased as a result of the project, but women did not always have control over it. Further, the work load of women seems to have increased substantially. Mechanisms to reduce the work load of women, and expand their role in decision making were felt to be necessary.

5. Rain water harvesting & pulse cultivation

The group presented the following project profile :

Objective	: Maximise output per unit volume of water
Location	: Ramanathapuram & Pudukkottai
Target	: Small & marginal farmers
Methodology	: PRA / baseline survey
Entry Point	: Through School Teacher (Ramnad) Through Women's Sangam (Pudukkottai)

The following gendered impact of the project was presented. It is apparent that the project has expanded women's access to resources, but the control continued to rest with men. It had met some of the practical gender needs of women, but not their strategic gender concerns. Whether their work burden had increased significantly as a consequence of the project may need to be further explored.

Activities	Access		Control	
	M	F	M	F
1. Construction of farm ponds / recharge pits	/	/	/	x
2. Contour bunds	/	/	/	x
3. Supply of quality seeds	/	/	/	x
4. Training on seed treatment & cultivation	/	/	-	-
5. Labour	/	/	-	-
Benefits	/	/	/	x

PGN : Information supply
Training
Introduction of water & soil conservation methods.

6. IPM Farm level Biopesticide Production

The objective of the project is to redefine the mass production technology at the farm level. This project is in its initial stages of operation. The working group of the project is drawn from two villages in the district of Theni. There are 30 participants / trainees in each of the two villages. The composition of the participants is landless labour (women) and the youth (landed and landless) of the village. The primary mandate is training this group in the production of Biopesticides.

At this stage of operation, the project addresses only the practical gender needs, in terms of generating an additional livelihood opportunity in the community. It is envisaged that once a contract with the private sector for streamlining the market operations becomes functional, other issues in the context of strategic gender needs would emerge. These needs would be in the area of decision making with regard to marketing, control of prices, negotiation, contract execution, etc. A profile of the community reveals that both gender and class are the determining variables in the participation process. Of these the major constraint is the communal tensions in the area. The project anticipates that once fully operational, the position of women, especially with regard to control would improve.

7. Eco Aqua Culture

The group analysed the gender based division of labour. This reveals a greater involvement of men in project activities when compared to the backyard aqua-culture discussed earlier. While on the one hand, it may reduce the work burden of women, on the other, women may not have control over the assets and income. This is confirmed by access and control profile.

Activity profile:

S.No	Activities	Male	Female	Male child	Female child	Location
1.	Pond digging	√	X	X	X	Local
2.	Fertiliser	√	X	X	X	Local
3.	Young ones	√	X	X	X	Outside
4.	Purchase	√	X	X	X	Outside
5.	Medicine	√	√	X	X	Local
6.	Harvest Handpick	√	√	√	√	Local
7.	Post harvest processing	√	√	X	X	Outside
8.	Market	√	√	X	X	Local/Outside
9.	Earnings	√	X	X	X	-

Access and control profile:

Resources	Access		Control	
	M	F	M	F
Pond	√	√	√	X
Equipment	√	X	√	X
Labour	√	X	√	X
Capital	√	X	√	X
Earnings	√	X	√	√
Training	√	√	√	√
Marketing	√	√	√	√
Benefit	√	√	√	√
Assets and ownership	√	√	√	√
Education	√	√	√	√
Political (Aqua-group)	√	√	√	√

After the presentation of the various groups, the facilitator observed that the groups had made a very good beginning in gender analysis of their own projects, revealing their ability to put into practice some of the tools and frameworks learnt. Greater attention may be needed for the gender division of **reproductive** work, as it will have a bearing on the overall work burden of women. Disaggregating activity profile by caste, class, religion, age and ethnicity may also be useful, which had been attempted by only some of the groups. Analysis of factors determining the activity profile and access and control profile in the context of each project may help in evolving strategies to bring about change.

Gender sensitivity

The analysis revealed that most projects were gender-ameliorative or gender-neutral in nature. They had expanded the skills of women and their access to resources, but not their control over assets and resources. Often the work load of women seems to have increased, at times to a greater extent than that of men. Practical gender needs seem to have been addressed more effectively than strategic gender concerns. The exception to the above generalisation is the backyard aqua-culture project, which was controlled by women and addressed some of their strategic gender concerns. However, this is a purely supplementary income generation activity. The challenge is to ensure women's equal rights over resources and benefits in mainstream income generation projects, break norms on the gender based division of work, and reduce the work burden of women.

Strategies needed

Some of the participants pointed out that while the tools were helpful to point out areas which need to be looked into, they had little to say on **strategies** to adopt at the grass-roots level to translate gender aware plans into action. A brainstorming workshop on possible strategies may be useful at a later stage, along with a review of experiences of other organisations in addressing strategic gender concerns in similar projects.

5. Feedback and Evaluation

The participants feedback was elicited through a feedback sheet (Annexure - 2). The questions in this sheet covered a range of issues from usefulness of inputs and follow up plans to the kind of training infrastructure offered. The feedback reveals the following:

- For most participants, the workshop helped gain conceptual clarity on gender, develop skills in gender analysis and understand different degrees of gender sensitivity possible in development projects. A few participants expressed that they were still not clear about some of the technical aspects of these frameworks.
- The content and method adopted were found appropriate by most participants, and overall the workshop was found quite useful. However, nearly 50% of the participants felt that the workshop was for too long a period. On the other hand, 25% of the participants felt that the time was too little, and pointed to the need for using more case studies and giving more time for group discussions so that everybody could participate.
- Expectations were completely fulfilled in the case of 45% of the respondents. In the case of the rest, expectations were only partially fulfilled. Reasons for this need to be explored.
- Only 6 of the 28 participants were able to cite concrete ways in which they would apply the learning. Many suggested the need for periodic follow up meetings and on the job help with application of these frameworks.
- The option to use Tamil was appreciated by some of the participants more fluent in Tamil than in English.

Overall, the workshop seems to have given a good impetus to ongoing efforts to institutionalise gender concerns within the projects of the Foundation. However, it does point to the need for "hands-on" follow up support at the project level to facilitate use of these frameworks in the project context. Organising project level workshops in regional languages for grass-loom level functionaries may also be useful, along with sessions on grass-roots strategies for women's empowerment. An exercise to re-look at each project proposal and the planning, monitoring and evaluation system of each project of the Foundation may go a long way in reaping the full benefits of this workshop.

In-house Gender Workshop

22 - 23 December 1997

List of Participants

S.No.	Name	Project
1.	Hopper R.S.S. Dr.	Biovillages
2.	Manimaran D. Mr.	Biovillages
3.	Kalaiselvi K.T. Ms.	Biovillages
4.	Mohan Das A. Mr.	Coastal Wetlands
5.	Ramesh Babu Mr.	Coastal Wetlands
6.	Thamizoli P. Dr	Coastal Wetlands
7.	Zubeeda Banu Dr.	Smt. Uttara Devi Chair / Resource Centre for Gender & Development
8.	Radhika D. Ms.	HFAP
9.	Raja Manickam Mr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
10.	Israel Oliver King E.D. Mr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
11.	Murugesan S. Mr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
12.	Rengalakshmi R. Ms.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
13.	Amalan Stanley V. Dr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
14.	Balasubramanian K. Dr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
15.	Brinda N. Ms.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
16.	Ganesan M. Mr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
17.	Gopala Krishnan A. Mr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
18.	Jayabharathi A.P. Ms.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
19.	Kaliamoorthy Mr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
20.	Latha Nagarajan Ms.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
21.	Mahalakshmi R. Ms.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
22.	Nachimuthu K. Mr .	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
23.	Nageswaran M. Mr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
24.	Saravanan S. Mr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre

25.	Shaleesha A. Ms.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
26.	Shilpa Patel Ms.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
27.	Shiva Kumar N. Mr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
28.	Subhashini H.D. Dr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
29.	Thilagar C. Mr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
30.	Dhanapal D. Dr.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
31.	JayashreeVencatesan Ms.	JRD Tata Ecotechnology Centre
32.	GeethaRani M. Ms.	MAC ARTHUR - II
33.	Raja Samuel S. Mr.	Project ACCESS

Resource Person

Ms. Ranjani K. Murthy

Facilitators

S.No.	Name	Project
1.	Kalaiselvi K.T. Ms.	Biovillages
2.	Dhanapal D. Dr.	Ecotechnology
3.	JayashreeVencatesan Ms.	Ecotechnology
4.	Raja Samuel S. Mr.	Project ACCESS

Co-ordinator

Dr. Zubeeda Banu, Smt. Uttara Devi Fellow

Observer

Ms. Mina Swaminathan, Hon. Director, GENDEAVOUR

In-house Gender Workshop

22-23 Dec, 1997

Evaluation Form

Do not write your name.

Answers can be in Tamil or English or both.

1. Mention not more than three new ideas / concepts you got from this workshop.

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

2. Mention not more than ideas / concepts about which you got greater clarity.
(If the same as Q. No. 1, say so)

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

3. Mention not more than three ideas you found difficult to understand / need time to think about.

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

4. Mention not more than three practical ways in which you plan to use what you learnt in this workshop?

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

5. What did you think of the following aspects of this workshop? Tick one answer in each case.

i) Content - too much
 - just right
 - too little

ii) Duration - too long
 - just right
 - too short

iii) Method - helpful
 - neutral
 - not helpful

iv) Usefulness - useful
 - neutral
 - not useful

6. What else could have been done? Or not done?

7. Were your expectations fulfilled?

8. Would you like something more as a follow-up? If so, what?

9. Any other comments.