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Using evidence and operational responses to accelerate gender equality in Kenya

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Abstract: Agriculture is a main contributor to pro-poor growth in Africa, but gender inequalities in the sector hold back agricultural growth and affect household welfare negatively. The sector has been characterized by a lack of gender-disaggregated data and patchy gender-integration in policies and operational responses. To remedy this, the World Bank (WB) and the Government of Kenya (GoK) integrated gender in a pronounced way in the design and implementation of the Kenya Agricultural Productivity and Agribusiness Project (KAPAP). A robust gender-disaggregated baseline was established to provide operational guidance as well as inputs for a policy dialogue that aimed to integrate gender in the agriculture sector. This paper uses the recent empirical and practical experiences as the basis for a discussion on the opportunities and challenges of linking foreign aid to local development processes.

Keywords: poverty reduction, agriculture, gender, markets, Kenya
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1 Introduction

Despite recent trends observing urbanization and a move out of farming in many places, agriculture continues to be a main contributor to pro-poor growth and poverty reduction in African economies because it focuses on the parts of the economy in which the poor are active (Diao et al. 2010).[1] According to the recent *World Development Report* (WDR) 2013, which focused on jobs, the majority of low-income development countries are 'agrarian' economies, defined as countries in which 60 per cent or more of the population live in rural areas.

Women constitute the majority of smallholder farmers and the constraints that rural women face have been comprehensively documented in recent publications, including the WDR 2012 on Gender Equality and Development (World Bank (WB) 2011), the State of Food and Agriculture 2011 of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and the Gender and Agriculture Sourcebook (WB, FAO, IFAD 2008). These reference studies have all convincingly concluded that gender inequalities hold back agricultural growth and negatively affect household welfare. Indeed, women are over-represented among poor farmers and do most of the farm work; further, they do not equitably access resources required to farm effectively.

In spite of this recognition, the sector suffers from a lack of gender-disaggregated data that could demonstrate the findings robustly and empirically and allow for the measurement of gender-disaggregated results. Data on country-level indicators have often been typically patchy and often out-of-date, and gender-disaggregated national data has been in limited supply. However, several initiatives have been recently launched to enhance the available stock of gender-related data by global institutions, and to allow the public access to these, gender-disaggregated rural data are still limited.[2] The gender gaps in agriculture are frequently referred to in context-specific and sweeping citations. More national robust comparable data are required to allow for such generalizations and hence to enable forceful policy shifts that would integrate gender equality pronouncedly in the sector.

Similarly, there has been a lack of action to promote gender in operations in the sector. Gender integration in the sector is still negotiated with difficulty and programmatic responses, if any, are often in the form of small-scale pilot initiatives. A valuable contribution taking stock and evaluating interventions that promote women's economic empowerment was recently prepared by Buvinic et al. (2013). When addressed at all, gender consideration is often limited to setting targets—often modest—regarding women's participation as beneficiaries in projects. Indeed, an evaluation of the 'Strategy for Women and Gender Equality in Development Cooperation' over the period 1997–2005 undertaken by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) (2005) concluded that little progress had been made over the years, and that the main challenge was to move from policies and goals to translate the gender equality agenda into country-level dialogue, programming, and operations.

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[1] Diao et al. (2010) showed for instance that a one per cent annual increase in Kenya's per capita GDP driven by agriculture would lead to a 1.25 per cent reduction in the country's poverty headcount rate per year whereas a similar increase driven by non-agriculture would only contribute to a 0.57 per cent reduction in the poverty rate.

[2] A notable exception to this is the new programme of the Living Standards Measurement Study-Integrated Surveys on Agriculture (LSMS-ISA), which collects nationally representative data for seven countries (not Kenya) and takes a more disaggregated approach to farming and asset ownership, among other things. Also, USAID has now piloted data collection for the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index in 19 countries and is using this data to monitor/track progress of the US Feed the Future Initiative. FAO is working with national government to improve questions in Ag Censuses on women and men's ownership of and access to key assets along with other questions.

More up-to-date empirical data regarding effective ways for women and men to more effectively participate in the agricultural sector were hence deemed necessary. This required overcoming methodological challenges, as conventional surveys usually interview only the 'head of the household' to provide information for all household members, the underlying assumption being that information is shared in households. We have therefore limited information regarding the situation of women living in households headed by men. Since men are assumed to head most households, women's views have been underreported; this has distorted the current understanding about the opportunities and actual constraints women face in farming.

To fill these gaps, WB Kenya and the Government of Kenya (GoK) took determined action to integrate gender in the design of the Kenya Agricultural Productivity and Agribusiness Project (KAPAP). One prominent activity was to design and implement a robust national gender-disaggregated baseline survey, which was used to engage in an evidence-based gender policy dialogue in the sector, to identify adequate operational responses, and to allow measurement of future gender-related impacts. This paper uses these recent empirical, theoretical and practical experiences as the basis for a discussion on the opportunities and constraints in integrating gender in agricultural development. The following specific research questions are addressed:

1. The key current gender-related features of farming in Kenya are described and robustly validated, but how can gender-disaggregated data contribute to overcoming gender-related constraints in the agricultural sector? What were the challenges faced?

2. What practical experiences and success factors to effectively mainstream gender in agricultural programmes can be drawn from this experience?

3. What lessons can be learned from this initiative about effective ways and challenges involved in linking local development to foreign assistance?

This brief introduction is followed by a section which focuses on why gender matters in agriculture and a section on foreign assistance to agriculture in Kenya. This is followed by the results section which presents the operational and policy responses from the WB Kenya programme on gender and agriculture and comprising a presentation of the research findings. The final section turns to responding to the research questions and discusses the generalizability and scalability of the study findings.

1.1 Why gender matters in agriculture

Since Boserup's seminal work on gender and agriculture (1970), cumulative evidence has robustly demonstrated that in households, women and men engage in different activities and often control different sections of the household budget and income for different purposes.[3] Women have been reported to contribute most of the labour in farming—in Kenya, a frequently mentioned figure is that women do 70-80 per cent of the work (GoK 2010). Women have furthermore been observed to work more hours and devote more time to care-related activities and housework than their male partners (WB 2011).

Recent research has convincingly demonstrated that women's and men's different roles, responsibilities and access to rural resources have resulted in women's lower agricultural productivity and earnings compared to men (WB 2011). Thus viewed, gender inequalities in agriculture can be viewed to have slowed down rural development.

[3] There are observations noting that there are 'men's crops' and 'women's crops' and that there are gender-related patterns for livestock as well (FAO 2011).

It has been well established that increases in the resources controlled by women commonly translate into larger share of household resources going to family welfare, and especially to expenditures on children (WB 2011; Duflo 2012). Viewed from this perspective, gender inequalities in the agricultural sector therefore also inhibit the poverty reduction effectiveness of agricultural development programmes.

Gender inequality can be viewed as the product of a structural condition that over time has contributed to place men solidly at the core of the economy and society (Torkelsson 2008). Men are also the gatekeepers to this sphere and women can access it through their connection with men, but find it difficult to access them and the resources therein on their own. The division of roles and responsibilities is often such that men undertake tasks central in and visible to the economy, society, and public, whereas women primarily maintain the household and the private sphere. Thus stipulated, the roles of women and men in households are complementary, but women's abilities to be productive economic agents in their own rights are more problematic than men's, who have a greater legitimacy in economy and society. Social and cultural expectations for women's unpaid household work create additional pressure on their time, resulting in their lower productivity and earnings.

Existing research has focused on understanding and enhancing women's and men's effectiveness as farm managers and identifying the constraints they face in accessing rural resources, concluding that gender disparities in access to inputs and asset ownership catch many women in a '**productivity trap** where they [work] hard on an uneven playing field with unequal access to productive inputs' (WB 2011: 236).[4]

There are also mechanisms that appear to hold back women's ability to improve their situation which appear to be embedded in gender. For example, studies have shown that when value is added to a given crop, such as happens through trade (Dolan 2002; Doss 2002), men take it over, even if it used to pertain to women's sphere of responsibilities. Trading in markets could represent an important opportunity for rural women's economic empowerment. Indeed, sociological research on markets has suggested that markets are not driven by 'invisible hands of economic men' as economic theories would predict, but are embedded in social relations and gender relations have specifically been observed to be reproduced in markets (Torkelsson 2008). These mechanisms also slow down women's ability to benefit from market-based approaches.

All of this taken together can be taken to explain that gender is intimately at the core of development, and that redressing gender-related gaps are critical for effective development efforts in the agriculture sector. Indeed, in its conclusion, the WDR 2012 observed that women's lower voice, agency, and participation in the household, society, and markets are 'sticky areas' that continue to hold back development.

1.2 Foreign assistance in the agriculture sector in Kenya

Agriculture is one of the most important sectors in Kenya and its performance greatly affects the poor. In addition to its role as a source of food and income, the sector directly accounts for 24 per cent of Kenya's gross domestic product (GDP), and for another 25 per cent indirectly through its linkages with other economic sector (WB 2013). The sector provides about 70 per cent of rural employment. In it vision for 2030, the GoK launched its long-term development

[4] Results from research under the WB Gender Action Plan (GAP) which focused on Women's Economic Empowerment (WEE) for example found women's less solid land ownership to be one key driver of the gender difference in agricultural productivity.

blueprint for the country. The economic pillar aims to achieve an economic growth rate of 10 per cent per annum and sustain it until 2030 and the agriculture sector is deemed an important contributor to achieve this growth**.** The overall vision of the sector is to transform Kenya's agriculture into a profitable, commercially-oriented, and internationally competitive economic activity.

The Agricultural Sector Coordination Unit (ASCU) has been the secretariat for ten ministries addressing agriculture and rural development.[5] Its activities are specified in the national policy document, the Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS) 2010-20. ASCU's mandate is to co-ordinate the activities of sector ministries and other stakeholders in implementing the vision of the agricultural sector. It achieves this through driving reforms in the agricultural sector, monitoring and fast-tracking the implementation of the ASDS, influencing resource allocation to areas deemed to be of highest impact, and initiating major studies and policies.

From the side of Development Partners (DPs), sector co-ordination working groups have been important vehicles for collaboration and co-ordination, harmonizing and aligning foreign assistance to government efforts, and providing an opportunity to interact on a regular basis to agree on priorities, with the aim to reduce duplication of efforts. The key DPs active in the sector in Kenya have been the African Development Bank (AfDB), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Department for International Development (DfID), European Commission (EC), Finland, FAO, GIZ, International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Swedish International Development Agency (Sida), Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV), the World Bank, USAID, and the World Food Programme (WFP). In addition, there are regional partners and civil society. The estimated respective commitments of DPs to the sector over the period 2010-15 are shown in Table 1.

In terms of funding of the sector, each sector ministry proposes activities under its docket in a Medium-Term Plan (MTP), which will be funded by the GoK, DPs. and the private sector. The main method of disbursement is through the GoK budget (86.9 per cent).

In spite of a strong co-ordination mechanism, a Republic of Kenya (RoK)/ASCU consultancy report (2012) that assessed the alignment of the Agricultural Sector Programmes/Projects to ASDS and MTP noted considerable overlaps and duplication of projects. For example, in the area of value chain development, both USAID, World Bank KAPAP, GIZ, the Sida-supported National Agriculture and Livestock Extension Programme (NALEP), and SNV were involved in providing extension and advisory services to the same clients. The report concluded that there was need to *inter alia* reduce fragmentation and improve transparency in the sector.

Also, in spite of the important recognitions regarding the role of agriculture to drive growth in developing countries, Chimhowu (2013) observes that aid from public sources on agriculture has been in a rather steady decline in recent years.

5 These are the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Livestock Development, Ministry of Cooperative Development and Marketing, Ministry of Fisheries Development, Ministry of Water and Irrigation, Ministry of Lands, Ministry of Regional Development Authorities, Ministry of Environment and Mineral Resources, Ministry of Forestry and Wildlife, and Ministry of State for the Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands.

Table 1: Planned projects financing by type of foreign facility 2010–15

	Projects	Grants Shs M	Soft Loans Shs M	Loans Shs M	Total Shs M
Germany/GIZ/KfW	4	461.3		2480	2,941.30
IDA/WB	11		30,684.50	132.7	30,817.20
EDF/EU	13	1,545.40		10,975.80	12,521.20
Finland/FINNIDA	4	4,849.30			4,849.30
USAID	10	8,108.50			8,108.50
AfDB	12	-		26,545.60	26,545.60
IFAD	6	881.5		2,554.00	3,435.50
Denmark/DANIDA	4	1,201.20			1,201.20
Japan/JICA	4	-	16.6	2,042.30	2,058.90
Sweden/SIDA	3	8,137.00			8,137.00
FAO	25	1,470.40			1,470.40

Source: RoK/ASCU (2012).

In terms of gender, a similar fragmentation can be noted. While many DPs sympathise with the gender agenda and have it among their chief priorities, specific sectors still suffer from a lack of gender integration and operational responses are patchy and few. There is a gender sector co-ordination group as well in Kenya, but it operates in a fairly isolated way and lacks interface with the agricultural sector co-ordination working group. The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development (MoGCSD) is charged with leading gender mainstreaming, but has not been fully resourced to fulfill its mandate to have gender permeate the institutional set-up that has involved about 42 different ministries and various public institutions. However among the notable efforts of the Ministry of Gender so far are the inclusion of gender mainstreaming activities in the Performance Contracts of Chief Executive Officers in all ministries/institutions and appointment of gender officers. There is also a team comprising gender experts in the MoA.

2 Operational and policy responses to integrate gender in the agricultural sector

The WB Kenya launched an active programme to bring about gender-related results in Kenya. The programme was designed to be relevant and integral to the WB's lending portfolio in Kenya, to address critical gender-related gaps in the country, and to complement the activities of other donors. It was led by a field-based senior gender specialist based in the country who maintained a close and consistent dialogue with actors in the agriculture and gender sector. It is however not possible to identify the proportion of the budget that goes to promote gender integration since it cuts across expenditure.

At the onset of the US$82 million KAPAP lending operation, it was decided that gender would be integrated in its design. A team of gender specialists from the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA), the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI), and the WB pooled together and identified entry points for gender integration in the project, using the collective team experiences, and then negotiated those with the design mission. Subsequent programme review missions reviewed progress in this area, with the entire gender team on board.

The KAPAP objectives are to increase agricultural productivity and incomes of smallholder farmers by enhancing agricultural productivity, diversification and value addition in agriculture, livestock and fisheries, and the promotion of Public-Private-Partnerships (PPPs) in service delivery and agribusiness development.

The agreed gender-related components in KAPAP aimed to accelerate rural women's economic empowerment through operational measures that were reflected in the results framework and programme budget. A programme gender strategy was developed and targets were set for women's participation in project activities, and gender mainstreaming responsibilities—including for monitoring—were specified, and specific investments such as gender integration in the project extension and farmer empowerment operational procedures, gender awareness creation at all levels, adoption of the 30 per cent gender rule during establishment of farmer grant management structures and collection of gender dissagregated data, altogether aiming to strengthen women's economic empowerment and participation in decision-making processes as well as addressing gender issues upstream. It was further decided that a gender-disaggregated baseline survey would be undertaken at start-up, and that its findings would be used to support the gender policy being undertaken in the agricultural sector, provide operational guidance regarding the specific gender-related gaps to which programmatic support could be designed, and constitute a basis for the assessment of future gender-related impact and results.

2.1 Gender disaggregated baseline survey: method and findings[6]

The data from the survey enabled the design of the extension and farmer empowerment component in the following ways; (1) recognition on the need to avail a basket of options in regard to selection of the value chains of focus to include enterprises that women have a potential to participate in; (2) use of common interest group approach to avail extension services that enables women to participate as individual farmers; (3) the data beefed up the regional specific community resource assessment (CRA) data used in the development of the problem statements for the expression of interests to contract appropriate service providers; and 4) data has also been used in the revision of the performance data in the project's results framework. Guidelines on integrating gender were also included in the research grant manual, using the survey findings.

The survey targeted the primary farmer in the household, rather than the household head, and comprised 4,052 interviews covering a total of 2,529 households from 33 districts in Kenya. This approach radically altered the number of female respondents relative to previous surveys that targeted the household head, as women constituted more than half of all primary farmers. A second individual was also interviewed in households to arrive at a comprehensive view regarding gender in rural Kenya. The **primary farmer** in the household (instead of the household head), defined as 'the adult male or female in the household who is the main decision maker in terms of farming activities', was identified through dialogue in the household. He or she then responded to a *household questionnaire*. One more person of the opposite gender in the household, referred to as the **individual respondent**, was interviewed concurrently using a separate questionnaire. This was commonly the spouse of the primary farmer but it could also be an adult child or another adult available to participate. The individual-level data thus provided a vital complement to the collective household view. Since being a household head could still be a relevant category, a further distinction was made between those women primary farmers who did

6 The following section is adapted from WB (2013).

not head their households (denoted hereafter as *non-heads*) and those who did (denoted *heads*) as self-reported.[7]

The households covered in this survey were randomly selected but were all part of a set of panel data that have been generated by a national policy research institute since 2006 and formed part of the baseline of a previous phase of the project. A multi-stage sampling method was used to select the non-project locations and households.[8]

A *Gender Policy Note* (GPN) was prepared by the World Bank (2013) based on the material and validated the importance of gender in agriculture, but showed that it matters perhaps in new ways, and that smarter design and targeting of agricultural programmes and policies are needed so that the full potential of agriculture can be realized (WB 2013). The three key novel findings are discussed separately below, starting with an updated view on rural demographics, followed by women's and men's access to services, and lastly a discussion on the gender dimensions of market trade.

The following sections summarize the findings from the gender-disaggregated baseline survey. These are shared as they are important elements in the process of linking local development realities with foreign development efforts, as they can be viewed to communicate rural realities.

2.1.1 Farming has a female face

The results show a rather aged population, with low levels of education. Female household heads (FHHs) were noticeably more poorly educated and overall older than other groups. There was a myriad of salient marital patterns prevailing in the data, with pronounced gender gaps. While most male primary farmers were married, a substantial portion of female primary farmers was not. Even when they were married, many women, and no men, were living and farming on their own. For example, there were about 1,000 respondents 'missing' in the individual-level data in spite of considerable effort to locate two partners. Results then showed that being *de facto* on one's own is associated with less access to resources; this feature should be taken into account in the design of programmatic sector responses.

The median household income did not vary substantially between households in which the primary farmer was a man compared to those in which it was a woman, but further analyses showed that a larger portion of income was contributed by men and was generated off-farm. The income was dramatically lower among FHHs than among those women who did not head their households. This can be partly explained by the fact that FHHs mostly recorded income earned from one individual. However, the gender-related income gap was dramatic in the individual-level data: men's income was around four times higher than that of women. Most male respondents owned land individually, whereas few women did, confirming the existence of a pronounced gender gap in access to land. The gender gap in individual land ownership was, however, less pronounced than conventionally estimated (GoK 2010). Even if women believed they owned land, their name was rarely on the deed and hence their tenure may not be secure. This could be due to a selection bias, since being a farmer requires access to land and women, without this access, could probably not remain in rural realities.

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7 These have been demonstrated to be important categorizations in the wider literature (Posel 2010) due to the reported privileges in terms of decision-making power and resource access of household heads.

8 For more information about the survey methodology, see http://go.worldbank.org/ETKDJPYK70 and WB (2013).

Table 2: Profile of respondents (age, marital status, education) by gender

	Male primary farmers n=1,158	Female primary farmers n=1,371	Non-heads n=947	Heads n=424	Men n=566	Women n=957
Age (average years)	51	54 ***	52	58 ***	48	42***
Civil status (%)						
Monogamous	71	51 ***	68	13 ***	66	82 ***
Widowed	6	29 ***	14	63 ***	1	1 Ns
Education (%)						
None	14	26 ***	17	44 ***	10	26 ***
Primary education	59	47 ***	50	42 **	56	57 Ns
Secondary	21	21 Ns	25	12 ***	27	14 ***
College	5	5 Ns	6	3 **	6	2 ***
Ability to read and write (%)	78	76 Ns	84	57 ***	88	69 ***

Source: Adapted from WB (2013). *Notes*: Independent samples' statistic t-tests were used to assess the variations between groups. Significances (2-tailed, equal variances assumed) are reported as follows: *** p <0.001, ** p< 0.01, * < 0.05, Ns – no significant variation.

The results further suggested that women have been increasingly left to manage farms on their own, as men have taken off to engage in off-farm work.[9] When shared in households, men's income provides a productive injection to rural income that allows farming to be more intensive, diverse, and productive. Yet it is often not shared and this accentuates the vulnerability of those women who are left to farm on their own, holds back spending in favour of family welfare and nutrition, and slows down the agricultural sector as a whole. Farming is still gender-coded in many places and the division of rural responsibilities and resources place women in a vulnerable position, especially when they are left alone in farming. Considering the demographic trends, this is an imminent risk. The specific constraints of FHHs have been amply demonstrated by others (WB 2011; Radeny et al. 2012). However, this group is often treated as a uniform category in the literature and development design and implementation of development initiatives, whereas in reality it is a very diverse group. Married women with perhaps more equitable access to resources also live in fragile situations as their access to critical rural resources, such as land, cannot be ascertained should their marital unions fail. This finding also impacts on development since many initiatives require secure access to land, such as in export promotion, and hence may benefit men even though women would be doing the work.

Another salient demographic feature was the aging of rural areas. Yet there are also youth who 'go rural' either because of disappointing urban experiences, or because they succeed in carving out an entrepreneurial farm business. In Kenya, there are salient tensions as the older groups more so than the youth have access to the capital needed for productive farming, including land,

[9] The increasing importance of rural non-agricultural activities in the livelihood strategies of rural households has been widely established (Winters et al. 2009) and the recent literature finds a positive relationship between non-farm income and household welfare indicators across much of rural Africa (Jayne et al. 2010).

whereas youth have higher levels of education, access to information, and a higher degree of mobility and connectivity. The youth also have negative attitudes towards agriculture that are perpetuated by lack of role models and the education system that emphasize more on non-farm employment. More development initiatives need to address the needs of young women and men in agricultural markets and societies in Kenya. Data collection was foremost relevant because it provided a solid evidence-base allowing the influence of policy development.

2.1.2 Gender and access to rural services and technologies

Accessing rural services and agricultural technologies were found to be strongly and positively associated with rural income, but women were however disadvantaged in accessing these. Table 3 shows the average income from crops in situations in which women and men accessed an agricultural service or input and those in which these were not accessed.

Table 3: Association between crop income and use of agricultural services and inputs, by gender

	Household data				Individual data	
	Male primary farmers [n=1,158]	Female primary farmers [n=1,371]	Women non-heads [n=947l]	FHHs [n=424]	Men [n=566]	Women [n=957]
Mean crop income (KSh):						
With extension service	71,815	59,379	60,600	56,176	51,573	21,639
Without extension	67,580	43,032	48,000	31,620	32,687	21,883
% change	6 Ns	28 ***	26*	77**	58 Ns	-1 Ns
With fertilizer	86,854	61,473	64,441	52,919	56,493	30,287
Without fertilizer	49,999	37,942	39,202	34,926	25,203	20,045
% change	74**	62***	64 **	51 Ns	124*	51 Ns
With improved seed	75,366	55,577	58,466	47,744	49,285	26,519
Without improved seed	25,722	22,350	23,955	19,846	13,706	10,477
% change	193 **	148 ***	144 ***	140 **	259**	153*
With mobile phone	75,952	54,309	56,224	48,594	50,390	28,792
Without mobile phone	47,501	32,538	38,366	25,184	19,233	15,349
% change	60 *	67 ***	46 *	93 **	162**	87*
With credit	90,999	70,549	70,754	69,891	66,258	22,245
Without credit	60,375	45,038	45,038	31,839	32,349	21,679
% change	51 **	57 ***	57 ***	119 ***	105**	3 Ns

Notes: Independent samples statistic t-tests compare the results within each group, so that incomes were compared in the scenario of with or without access to a specific resource for a given group. Significances (2-tailed, equal variances assumed): *** p <0.001, ** p< 0.01, * < 0.05, Ns – no significant variation.

Source: Adapted from WB (2013).

The results validate that for all groups in the household data, the average income from crops was higher, and usually dramatically so, when an agriculture-related service or input was accessed compared to when it was not. Even if this is perhaps intuitive and the findings do not allow for the establishment of causality, the analysis of the percentage change for different groups does not contradict the view that it perhaps pays off differently for different groups. For example, women primary farmers had higher percentage increases of income from crops in their households than men when they received extension. The changes of income in the former two

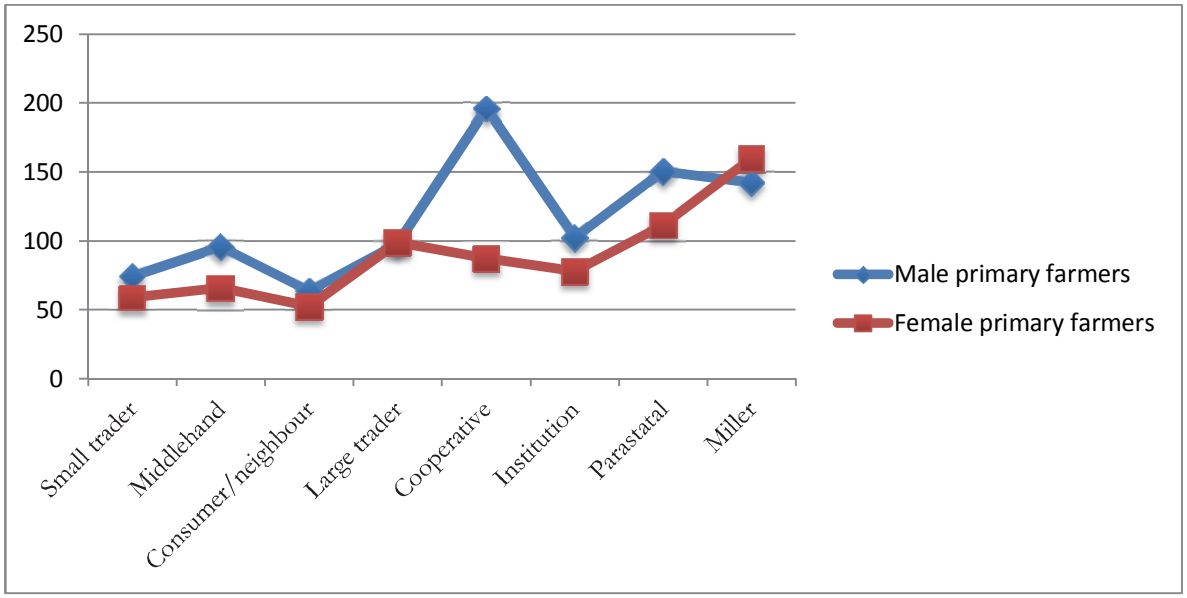
variables were dramatically positive, especially for FHHs, suggesting that there could be substantial economic and welfare gains to be realized if women could access services and inputs in their own rights. The CIG approach enables both men and women farmers to access extension services focused on the value chain continuum on their own rights.

2.1.3 Gender matters in markets

Engaging more actively in market trade and value addition could substantially enhance rural income. There are ongoing transformations with direct implications for women's and men's ability to trade on local markets. Distances to markets have greatly improved in recent years and access has improved, but markets are still underutilized, marketed quantities are small, and market engagement is often haphazard**.** Lack of market opportunities and poor roads were among the most serious concerns voiced by respondents. This was captured during field data collection by one female primary farmer, who said: '[…] the problem with marketing is that when we produce, the numbers are large and prices fall down and there is no storage so you just waste a lot'. Another woman explained during fieldwork: 'If there is no market, I will just have to slash the cabbage and dig it into the ground… and when it is raining the brokers cannot get here because of the mud…even the bridges are swept away so there is not much we can do'.

Products were traded in different locations using different trading avenues. In the following, the inquiry was on the types of markets men and women used for the trade of their products, focusing on the buyer of the largest sale.

Figure 2: Average agricultural income and trade in different markets



Source: Adapted from WB (2013).

There were observed differences in the average income earned from crops by women and men primary farmers who traded in different markets, but the only variations that could be ascertained statistically were those between women and men trading through small traders, middlehands, and consumers/neighbours. The average income in households in which men were the primary farmers was consistently higher, except in the case of trading through large traders and millers, where the income of female primary heads was actually larger. A significantly larger proportion of FHHs than female non-heads traded through consumers/neighbours and millers, whereas those women who did not head their households traded through middlehands in a larger proportion than others. In qualitative interviews, women said they increasingly looked for

brokers rather than trading in local markets because the money from crop trading or providing non-agricultural casual labour was too small to make it worthwhile and they needed money urgently; they felt forced to sell their produce through brokers, with little bargaining voice in doing so.

There is considerable plurality in current and emerging market actors, and given that different markets appear to produce particularly favourable outcomes for women, while others were more effective to men in terms of their effect on household income, there is need for DPs to understand further why some service providers and some markets appear to have better effect on women and men. Emerging market-based approaches and development initiatives therefore need to address the mix of constraints encountered by women and men farmers, identify opportunities to enhance the plurality of agriculture, find ways to allow women to plug into markets, and strengthen women's bargaining voices in these. The recognition that women and men farmers face different challenges in accessing markets led to the inclusion of the marketing aspects in the design of KAPAP's extension service delivery model. In addition to increase in productivity, linking the farmers to markets and the resulting increase in their incomes was the expected outcome of the service providers' interventions. Expertise in marketing was included in the TOR during recruitment of the service providers and the increase in farmer earnings is the key indicator in the setting of the service fee payment benchmarks as negotiated and agreed between farmers and their service providers in the contract documents.

2.2 Using data to engage in policy dialogue on gender and agriculture

One important result was to use the robust data from the gender-disaggregated baseline survey to engage in a policy dialogue on and contribute data to the national Agricultural Sector Gender Policy that was being developed in the sector (draft, January 2013).[10] To do so, the initiative had employed a conscious collaborative approach throughout.

At all steps of the process, a dialogue was maintained with the agriculture and gender sector community, through the agricultural and gender sector co-ordination working group, and by participation in the gender policy task team development group that was managed by ASCU but also included representatives from other ministries, the research community, the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), and representatives of other DPs. Prior to identifying the survey modules used for the baseline survey, an inventory was made of the existing gender-disaggregated data and methodological approaches for gender-disaggregated data collection. A leading international expert who had been engaged in developing similar surveys was recruited to work with a national consultant to develop the survey instruments. The modules then underwent several rounds of field testing to ensure the questions would be applicable for the varied circumstances of farming women and men across the country, easy to understand, and valid. The research institute ultimately undertaking the survey further modified and finalized the instruments to make them applicable to the local context.[11]

Also within the WB, partnerships were established that aimed to develop and amend key modules addressing key areas in other sectors as well (household energy, water, and climate

[10] As stated in the draft policy, its goal is: 'Gender equality in Kenya's agricultural sector for enhanced and equitable productivity, food security, growth and national development' and its specific objectives are to (a) enhance gender-responsive programming and institutional transformation in the agricultural sector; (b) strengthen institutional capacity to mainstream gender in the agricultural sector; (c) promote support and accountability for gender mainstreaming in the agricultural sector; and (d) harness and co-ordinate sector efforts in gender mainstreaming for greater impact.

[11] The process of data collection and research methodology is described in an ARD working paper (WB 2012a).

management) for which gender-disaggregated data was equally lacking. The GoK valued the survey results since ASCU and the gender policy task force used the data in the development of the gender policy. Once finalized, this policy when ready will be disseminated to the various sector Ministries and Institutions to inform modification of their development approaches. It is expected that each Ministry/Institution will then develop their specific strategic plans towards implementation of the policy.

The activity made efforts to communicate closely with the agricultural and gender sector co-ordination groups, presenting and communicating both design and progress to make sure it would be relevant to the sector actors, but also to avoid possible duplication of efforts. Several other collaborations emerged from this approach. For example, serving the initiative, JICA undertook an initial stocktaking that would represent the basis for this study and Sida-financed consultants to assist in the preparation of the gender policy.

Engaging with sector stakeholders was also a way to make sure the activity would lead to a sustained increase of gender-disaggregated sector data, as the intent was for it to also represent a cost-effective starting point for the accumulation of comparable gender-disaggregated data in the agricultural sector, to which all partners could contribute their data. For comparative purposes, this would require the use of the same methodology and comparable research instruments. Other DPs also expressed interest to contribute and use the survey instruments, but their commitments did not materialize; indeed a concurrent initiative aiming to develop a Monitoring and Information System (MIS) for the sector was ongoing at the time, but did not incorporate gender concerns.

2.3 Operational responses

To ensure implementation of gender-related commitments, activities were undertaken on two fronts. On the one hand, an institutional web was created comprising staff with gender mainstreaming responsibilities at all levels of programme implementation, and at the same time, capacity-building initiatives were undertaken to level-up the overall gender-mainstreaming capacities of programme implementers and expand the basis of gender awareness. Gender-responsibilities were assigned at the level of Regional Service Units (RSUs), which are the implementing programme units and the interface with the beneficiaries, overseen by a gender specialist based at the central project implementation unit (KAPAP Secretariat, KS) who, in addition to this task, was responsible for building capacity on the gender and youth dimensions of the project, and for liaising with other partners in the sector. The WB senior gender specialist provided technical backstopping, and also contributed to managing and interacting with partners.

Based on previous experiences,[12] the expectation was that gender integration would be a tricky task to accomplish, one that would meet substantial resistance and enjoy limited success. In technical areas, gender issues are often called a 'high-hanging fruit.' This is partly due to the different backgrounds of gender specialists, who often come from a social science discipline and have difficulty communicating with scientists or policy makers representing different backgrounds. And agricultural initiatives are often seen as requiring technological solutions at a fairly high level of aggregation, whereas a gender perspective requires a strong beneficiary view. Gender specialists often have to 'walk the whole way' to see the issues from a technical or policy perspective; there is rarely a middle ground on which to meet. Thus, one must be well prepared when negotiating gender integration. One common response is that gender is an agenda imposed by foreign assistance with limited relevance for local development and to succeed, gender

[12] Mine were from several years working on gender and agriculture in other parts of the UN system.

integration must be backed by hard facts and arguments regarding targeting efficiency. One additional convincing argument for harvesting support for explicit gender integration was that women and men had already been actively engaged in the project during previous phases; it is widely known that women contribute most of the work on farm, but this programme had the opportunity to robustly demonstrate this novel orientation.

A mid-term review (MTR) in 2013 noted satisfactory progress made in streamlining the gender activities into the project implementation, such as in terms of: (1) enhancing the participation of men, women and youth in the project as indicated by the overall 53 per cent men and 47 per cent CIG membership within the project area; (2) increased participation of women in decision making through adoption of one third gender rule in the establishment of farmer structures; (3) having youth specific CIGs as well as youth beneficiaries in the mixed groups; (4) notable progress in the development of the sector gender policy; (5) gender sensitivity during design and implementation that led to identification of a basket of priority value chain options that attracted the participation of various gender categories of farmers; (6) Increased capacity to integrate gender among the implementing agents; and (7) collection and documentation of gender dissaggregated data through the MIS system and project reports. A good degree of gender parity in participation at the level of Common Interest Groups (CIG) had been achieved *(*overall, 57 per cent of members were men and 43 per cent were women) which suggests radical improvements compared to project baseline. However, progress was uneven; gender-related differences were observed both in some regions and value chains, and implementation will address these gaps.[13] The need to find ways to more actively involve youth in activities was another lesson learned.

Although women's membership is fair, there remains a challenge in bringing women in leadership positions, a finding that is in line with observations by others (cf. Quisumbing and Pandolfelli 2010). There may be a need to review meeting models; especially women may not have the time to attend lengthy meetings, which are oftentimes delayed or cancelled at the last minute. Indeed, participation could be quite costly if female farmers have competing responsibilities and innovative measures might be particularly costly to them. Social capital is hard to build; it is usually scattered, fragile, and fragmented and there is fluidity in the engagement. Often middle-class effects are at work in group formation, and valuable social capital is biased against women and easier for men to access, while youth are rarely absorbed in the process. In addition, although the intent is often to build a strong and sustainable web of social capital, the survival rate of groups beyond the programme support is often uncertain. On the other hand, group-based activities have assisted women to defend their voices and retain their revenue and strengthen their bargaining voices in the economy and society.

Still, problems remain with women being challenged to retain the revenue from their trade. There was anecdotal field-level evidence that women's group-based approaches collaborating along the dairy value chain in Meru had helped them retain income, as they perceived their voices as more solid when anchored in a group, which contributed to their economic empowerment; this would benefit from further documentation, however. Women also said that by now going straight to markets on their own, they are then able to deposit income in bank accounts on the way back home. Women are also finding other and innovative ways to cope with their constraints in accessing larger resources (e.g., making smaller batches of fertilizer and selling these).

[13] Larger proportions of women than men in dairy camel milk, aloe sap, grain amaranth, black beans, dairy goats, groundnuts and local poultry. Men more so than women were present in the mango, gums/resins, tomatoes, citrus, fish, honey, farm-forestry and bulb onions value chains (only 5 per cent women in the latter value chain).

A gender-disaggregated impact assessment undertaken at a later stage should be able to validate and interpret these findings more robustly.

3 Discussion and lessons learned

This paper has tried to show that a strong upfront investment in gender integration on both the policy and programmatic levels can contribute to a sustainable integration of gender in one sector such as agriculture. It further argued that the two types of investments are mutually reinforcing as well as necessary ingredients for a sustained change to take place.

The positive winds and favourable conditions that enabled this initiative came from the general policy climate at the time, globally and within both the WB and Kenya. Globally, the gender agenda had started to move from the periphery to the core of development, yet there was a quest to engage in concrete operations that could move beyond the fuzzy commitment of 'gender mainstreaming' in organizations. Within the WB, a Gender Action Plan (GAP) had been launched, supporting and promoting initiatives that *inter alia* aimed to increase gender integration in the lending portfolio; and gender was a special theme in the International Development Association (IDA) 16 replenishment process. In addition, the WDR 2012 firmly demonstrated how and why gender matters in agriculture and summarized the accumulated global evidence on the link between a gender-sensitive approach and poverty reduction effectiveness. Kenya was finalizing its new Constitution, which addressed gender equality in a prominent and new way; a pronounced objective of Kenya Vision 2030 is to achieve gender equity in power and resource distribution. Taken together, there was a strong and clear signal among all DPs that gender matters, nullifying excuses to not integrate gender in various sectors, including agriculture. Viewed from this perspective, the timing was right to support evidence-based policy making on gender in the agriculture sector.

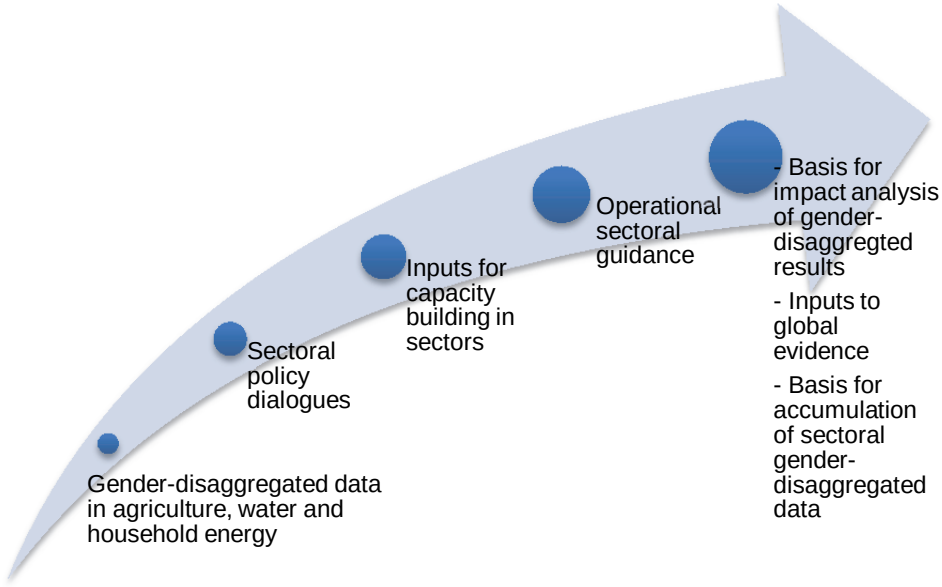
The initiative took a conscious approach to use the ensemble of development rhetoric in practice. It listened to clients and attempted to meet their needs; it used a cost-effective approach and sought synergies and partnerships; and it teamed up, inside and with others, to achieve lasting effects. It co-ordinated, aligned, and harmonized with the work of others. It generated knowledge and spread it actively. But above all, it strove to place gender equality at the core of the results agenda.

This section describes the spins that this initiative has had within the WB, in Kenya, and in the wider development community, and traces the lessons learned about effective ways and challenges involved in linking local development to foreign assistance.

3.1 Spins of the initiative

For the WB, the initiative had several spins. If and when Kenya's gender policy in agriculture is approved and implemented, it will be one important and lasting contribution of the initiative, that will require future programmes that are more aligned to the needs of rural women and men. In the WB, the initiative is embedded in, and contributes to, the WB's Agriculture and Rural Development (ARD) sector, which is one of the leading sectors at the WB in gender-informed operations. The department has registered a significant shift since the mid-2000s as in the fiscal year (FY) 2012, 100 per cent of IDA agricultural and rural development operations were rated gender-informed, and about 90 per cent of operations included gender-informed analysis, actions, and monitoring and evaluation (WB 2012b). This initiative has clearly contributed to this substantive improvement. Figure 3 shows the ensemble of the spins that the initiative has had within the WB.

Figure 3: Initiative spin in the World Bank and beyond



Source: Adapted from Torkelsson and Rop (2011).

In addition, the experiences from this initiative were added to the WB's global knowledge on gender and agriculture, and the lessons learned were replicated in other sectors and geographical areas and was used as a model example of gender-disaggregated data collection in several capacity-building initiatives. The results were widely communicated both within and outside the WB.

The process was also used as a model for gender mainstreaming as specified in the Kenya Country Partnership Strategy (CPS 2010), which committed to collecting critical sectoral gender-disaggregated data, and using them to engage in policy dialogue and capacity building. This provided an important entry point for WB engagement in other sectors; data are now available in other sectors that piggy-backed on the survey, generating gender-disaggregated data in the areas of water and sanitation, household energy, and climate management. A similar model to that of agriculture is now being embarked upon in the energy sector, namely analyzing the data to provide inputs for sectoral policy dialogues and operations. Considerations to do so for the water and sanitation sectors have also been discussed. The model (data-policy-programme) has been used when providing cross-country support and advisory services as well.

Other spin-off effects include programmatic initiatives that build on the lessons learned from this initiative and the outcomes from the baseline survey. In Kenya, a project aiming to strengthen women's access to markets and trade has been designed, influenced by a recognition of the gender-related gaps unravelled by the survey. A US$3 million grant by the Japan Social Development Fund (JSDF) and managed by the WB was provided to GROOTS Kenya, a network of women-led, community-based organizations and self-help groups across the country. The funds will be used to implement a programme aiming to strengthen the access of rural women to markets and trade and to enhance their role as agricultural producers and actors in markets by improving their organizational capacitites and enhancing their business skills. Up to 3,400 women will benefit from the project in selected agricultural value chains.

Another chief contribution that could benefit the larger development community in the future is the actual availability of gender-disaggregated data that allow the measurement of results in the agricultural sector. The previous lack of such data may have inhibited results-based programming, and vice versa, trapping the gender equality agenda in a typical 'chicken or egg' dilemma: since there are no data, actions are not taken, and data are not collected because policy makers have not been convinced that gender matters in agriculture. Thus viewed, the lack of data has actually inhibited the effectiveness of the gender equality agenda and led to missed opportunities in proving that gender matters in terms of results in the sector. Without a gender-disaggregated baseline, it has been impossible to analyse gender-disaggregated impacts. The former is a necessary prerequisite for the latter.

While a favourable global climate was a necessary condition for this initiative to succeed, it was also important to have professional staff in place to follow implementation closely, and to leverage resources and partnerships to effectively steer the gender equality agenda. While the vision is for gender to be fully integrated in regular activities, until gender mainstreaming responsibilities permeate the core of work plans and timesheets and top governments' lists of priority areas for support, there is still need for additional support. Resources are critical, and here again the 'chicken and egg' dilemma persists: if there is no one to persevere and lead the agenda, resources are hard to capture, and without resources it is difficult to leverage greater effects. Indeed, the Kenya programme leveraged about seven times in programmatic gender support for every currency unit of staff cost, to the benefit of communities. Perhaps a field presence is even more important when it comes to providing advice on a cross-cutting issue such as that of gender, which needs to be aligned to operations, and more so with high requirements for dialogue and negotiation. In the future, the role of the gender specialist could be merged with related responsibilities and perhaps more aptly be labelled 'beneficiary adviser' or 'poverty reduction effectiveness specialist.'

There has never in history been a better occasion to be a gender adviser: the evidence is convincingly in place, there is very little resistance to the fact that gender matters, and the challenges now focus on how best to advise on operations. Here again data are critical. One challenge of a gender specialist is the need to work on multiple fronts, vis-à-vis colleagues and clients. The gender sector co-ordination group was an important partner in this initiative, both as a sounding board and as a source of energy. Many gender specialists are at the periphery of their organizations and the sector groups are important vehicles to retain energies, share knowledge, and join hands and resources.

3.2 Making data talk

Data can be viewed as a tool that captures the voices of beneficiaries, and analysis aggregates these to provide a strong description of rural realities. Data can thus be characterized as the currency of communication between local development efforts and flows of foreign assistance. The problem has been how to make these two levels communicate. Policy makers do not always understand research evidence, and researchers do not always understand the social context of policy making. Both groups are trapped in their own realities; for example, policy makers live by electoral cycles (although about half of the electorate are women), while researchers live by fiscal or financing years.

Researchers or administrators of foreign assistance can be the mediators in this process, amplifying the voices of beneficiaries. This is also our duty. However, despite an expression of interest by DPs in replicating the methodology, critical for accumulating comparable gender-disaggregated data in the sector, this did not materialize. Joining hands would have had other

benefits as well, such as reducing future costs for baseline surveys/studies, while at the same time accumulating in a cost-effective way robust evidence that could be used for the results agenda. Instead, there were parallel ongoing initatives regarding the development of a monitoring and information system (MIS) that was devoid of a gender perspective. This example is illustrative of the fragmentation in the sector that should encourage also DPs to self-relect upon why there have been so few substantive results in forwarding the gender agenda. For example, in the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (HLF-4) in Busan, the development community agreed to continue to collect gender-relevant data and develop strong accountability mechanisms. It is critical for the donor community to join hands and overcome patchy efforts to achieve gender equality.

As argued in this paper, any baseline survey represents an opportunity to listen. We hence owe collaboration and the maximum use of survey findings to most effectively benefit survey respondents. If results are not communicated, active listening has not taken place. Continued repetition of patchy inquiries and taking people's time without generating comparable data could fall within a wider debate of the ethics of data collection. As a required ingredient in the results agenda, surveys need to be substantive and well-thought out and must contribute to national knowledge. But any new data collection initiative erodes the comparability of existing data if survey instruments are not aligned.

Collecting data is difficult and costly, but data used well can be a valuable investment. There are sometimes ethical concerns related to taking people's time in surveys, but in this experience, the feedback from farmers was that they felt they were being empowered through the interview, as it offered them a chance to discuss and reflect on their lives and farming with experts in the sector (most enumerators were graduates with an agricultural profile).

However, even with good data available, there may be challenges to ensuring they are effectively used in policy dialogue. This activity aimed to contribute data to the policy process to allow for an evidence-based, solid policy. Led by the GoK/ASCU, the policy development process took many different forms; starting with a structured approach with a gender policy task team. After this fell silent, it was revitalized with support from Sida, whose contribution of consultant(s) resulted in a draft policy in January 2013. The consistency and perseverance of stakeholders was crucial, requiring them to adapt to the new pace and emerging situations as they unfolded. They had to be ready to communicate and engage in processes whenever possible.[14] A high deal of flexibility and readiness for 'last minute' engagement was essential.

Ultimately, in this initiative, the data made their way into the draft policy and were used to guide operations. In addition to the success factors mentioned earlier (the favourable climate, having staff responsible in place), it was critical that the initiative was backed by a team. The WB Task Team Leader (TTL) made sure progress was reviewed in every mission, gave the team adequate resources and space to undertake its task, and was very active in the baseline survey. The Country Director was supportive. In the GoK, the MoA Permanent Secretary contributed his important support by singling out progress on the gender component and requesting feedback in every review mission. The KAPAP team also provided strong commitment throughout.

3.3 Changed agricultural sector?

What has changed in the agricultural sector as a result of the intervention? The programme contributed to further moving gender from the periphery of development efforts to the center.

[14] Staff rotations and human resource constraints in ASCU were also contributing factors (Lundgren (2010) describes many of the challenges ASCU has been facing).

Provided the gender policy is approved and subsequently implemented, the data will have contributed to a lasting and sustained transformation of the sector. The intervention also contributed to a vast set of data, and thus invalidated claims that there is not enough evidence to argue for integration of gender in the sector.

Several measures were taken to contribute to deepening the debate on gender and agriculture. The data were analysed and several research outputs were prepared and presented to different audiences.[15] The results were shared in many different venues, including publications in peer-reviewed journals, participation in public events such as conferences and seminars, face-to-face meetings with policy makers, interviews with the media (newspapers, television, radio), and use of social media. In addition to several research papers, a methodological note and the GPN were prepared and used as a basis for policy dialogue, as were blogs for the wider audience and fact sheets for development practitioners. In this way, the debate on gender and agriculture was advanced. The use of the data in the development of the gender policy and in the design of KAPAPs extension service delivery model are indicators of impact. However it is important to note that a baseline survey is normally not expected to have any measurable impact since it is a basis on which to measure the final project impacts, but this baseline was used much beyond conventional baseline usage.

To enhance the linkage to the agricultural sector and ensure the relevance of the initiative to the client's needs, representatives from the GoK were invited to participate at all steps in the finalization of the research outputs, as well to review and comment on papers. They were also invited to be involved in the actual design of the survey to ensure all key concerns of high sector relevance would be addressed. The final GPN (WB 2013) was validated with stakeholders at a workshop in June 2013, comprising presenters from the GoK, DPs, civil society, UN Women, and the research community, as well as local media. The findings stimulated an engaged debate among sector stakeholders on effective approaches to reduce the observed gender-related gaps and represented an important opportunity to engage in policy dialogue. However, even at the launch of the GPN, the GoK's participation was not substantive. This was partly due to the general reconfiguration of the sector as a result of the recent elections and new incoming leadership.

Another important avenue used to engage with the larger sector was to interact closely with the sector co-ordination groups, whose core mission is to link foreign assistance more closely to local development processes. Since policy makers as well as DPs are embedded in their own distinct realities, the sector co-ordination groups enhanced communication between the two.

Another contribution to the wider debate has been the generation of information regarding how gender effects operate in markets, hence complementing existing knowledge that focused on the production side. The survey findings contribute to this shift, capturing the many constraints in which gender inequalities in agriculture are embedded. Other contributions are the validation of old issues, such as the feminization of agriculture, and the emergence of new issues and evidence (e.g., on why different types of services and inputs appear to pay off differently for women and men; on how aging and feminization will influence future types of agricultural activities and the available labour force; and on how the noted transitions will play out over time for both women and men). The research also provides a stepping stone into new areas of inquiry. It will, for

[15] Examples are training administrators and Bank TTLs from the Multi-Donor Trust Funds (MDTF) in South Sudan, Juba, May 2010; 'Gender Mainstreaming in the Bank's Kenya Programme – Strategies and Result'. Sida Stockholm, June 2010; 'Gender-Disaggregated Data'. Training several ministries on gender-disaggregated data in North Sudan, Khartoum, November 2010; case study invited to be submitted in the OECD/DAC annual report 2012; global UN conference on advancing the role of rural women in Addis Abeba 2012; several WB seminars.

example, be important to understand why some market-based group initiatives survive and others do not, how groups can be made relevant for all, what the characteristics of success and survival groups are (including leadership), and how groups dynamics and focus evolve over time. There may be a need to rethink not only the timing but also the content of meetings, to better address women's needs. Leaders should be trained in meeting management, including time keeping and chairing to make sure all voices are equally heard. Groups take a lot of people's time; members need to trust that their participation will pay off. Since there is 'fungibility' in the social texture created by foreign assistance development efforts, DPs should harmonize their activities to avoid the transaction costs incurred to create and reach groups.

4 Conclusion

Gender equality remains a large and complex agenda, and will remain a challenge over the long term, as it involves changing attitudes, traditions, and behaviours. Women's economic empowerment is still weak, women's productivity and earnings lag behind those of men, and investments may not adequately address their needs. Women's lower voice, agency, and participation in the household, society, and markets are other sticky areas. Maternal mortality is still off track globally. The agenda is characterized by patchy and rather modest financing. There is dire need for true co-ordination and alignment of efforts. When it settles in some countries, the 'One UN', and particularly UN Women's role in this architecture, may be one such way forward, but as of now there is still a high degree of fragmentation. There is still a way to go until gender permanently permeates the agriculture sector, but it cannot be a passing fad. Foreign aid administrators have their role to play, persisting in defending the agenda and making their sustained contributions to realize the goal of gender equality. This will be particularly important for the MDGs and the post-2015 development agenda.

There is no way to forward the results agenda unless baseline surveys are undertaken. A hard choice has to be made: either commit resources to proper gender-disaggregated baseline studies or modify the ambitions of the results agenda. Policy makers continue to avoid the costs of conducting proper baselines yet require demonstrated results; this is a conundrum. Cost-saving methods such as piggy-backing on existing surveys are good interim solutions, but it is critical to utilize similar methodologies to build a stock of globally comparable data. One option would be for the international community to agree on some key local development indicators, such as 'proportion of wo/men participating in the programme', or 'proportion wo/men benefitting from the programme'.

There is also a need for DPs to engage in serious self-reflection—in a world of scarce resources, what is the real change to be promoted? How should goal conflicts be dealt with and what tradeoffs are acceptable? This paper shows that there is a need to work on the broad front, to tackle institutional challenges, and to collaborate. Local development processes have been set into motion and must continue to be supported. But the policy push that will link foreign to local development processes still remains critical.

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